Recollections of Past Days

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Introduction

1. Joseph Smith had spoken, taught, and written extensively about the need of the members of the new church to gather. Among several examples of his teachings on the subject is this from January 8, 1841:

   The greatest temporal and spiritual blessings which always come from faithfulness and concerted effort, never attended individual exertion or enterprise. The history of all past ages abundantly attests this fact. In addition to all temporal blessings, there is no other way for the Saints to be saved in these last days, [than by the gathering] [brackets in original] as the concurrent testimony of all the holy prophets clearly proves, for it is written—“They shall come from the east, and be gathered from the west; the north shall give up, and the south shall keep not back.” “The sons of God shall be gathered from afar, and his daughters from the ends of the earth.”

   It is also the concurrent testimony of all the prophets, that this gathering together of all the Saints, must take place before the Lord comes to “take vengeance upon the ungodly,” and “to be glorified and admired by all those who obey the Gospel.” The fiftieth Psalm, from the first to the fifth verse inclusive, describes the glory and majesty of that event. (Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 183)

2. Numbers and statistics used here in describing the handcart operations of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints come from the encyclopedic records and compilations of Lyndia Carter, whose decades of research will be published in a forthcoming book about the Martin handcart company.

3. For an excellent and concise discussion of the role of memory and history in the culture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, see Jill Derr’s “Lives of the Saints,” *Writing Mormon Biography and Autobiography*.

4. Isaiah 35:1 reads, “The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.” This was a significant scriptural prophecy in the minds of the emigrants establishing homes in the desert valley, which they could easily see being fulfilled as their agricultural efforts were rewarded and the valley began to be more hospitable and inviting.

5. The mutual efforts of Eliza R. Snow and Edward W. Tullidge to collect autobiographies of Mormon women are fully recapitulated in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher’s *The Personal Writings of Eliza R. Snow*, Chapter 1. Eliza R. Snow was an early convert to the church, a poet, and a woman of
significant power and influence among the Mormon people. Her brother was Lorenzo Snow, who would become the fourth president of the church. She had been sealed as a plural wife to Joseph Smith, and upon his death was sealed to Brigham Young. She was one of the original members of the Relief Society, a woman’s organization developed in Nauvoo for the promotion of good works, and approved by Joseph Smith as an auxiliary to the functions of the priesthood, around which the church is organized. When the Relief Society was reactivated in Utah, Eliza R. Snow became its president, and was a powerfully influential woman amongst both male and female Mormons. Edward W. Tullidge was a British convert to the church and a man of significant literary talent in the effusive style of his times.

6. Beth Olsen, historian and author of an upcoming book about Pleasant Grove, Utah, describes the significance of Patience’s autobiography on modern audiences in Pleasant Grove:

Patience’s story is at the top of the scale of American Fork Canyon folklore. Her canyon adventures are retold at campfire gatherings, acted out in detail at evening Forest Service presentations, and referred to often. Through repetition it has assumed almost epic proportions, and it is representative of the many canyon folk tales that could be told if they had been recorded in as much detail as Patience wrote her harrowing experiences. (28 June 2004)

7. Ann Douglas, in *The Feminization of American Culture*, provides a comprehensive study of the changing roles of women in the nineteenth century and the impact of sentimental fiction, both as cause and effect, on those roles. Brian Wilkie defined and defended the sentimental voice in “What Is Sentimentality?”

8. While the Salt Lake valley and its inhabitants were geographically and socially cut off to some extent from the rest of the world, attention to education and provision of reading materials was an early concern and was conscientiously approached. Jane Tanner, in an unpublished journal recording her experiences as a youth growing up in the Salt Lake valley, writes about her own education and available reading materials:

There was a free library, well supplied with good and useful books, from which I selected and read many useful volumes. There I first met with Robinson Crusoe, the pet romance of the childish heart. I believe that was about the only novel the library contained. It was, at least, the only one I found there. I read Milton’s “Paradise Lost,” McCauly’s [*sic*] England, History of Arabia and other books of history and travel. I was also fond of light literature, and read more than I should have done, had I known then as I do now the value of a good historical education. But trashy literature was not then spread broadcast as it is now, and my reading was not such as to produce any injurious results on my mind, but perhaps gave me a more general idea of society and the effects of ignorance and wrong courses than I would have gained from historical works. (Journal 1, 83)

This excerpt from Tanner’s history provides a glimpse into the kinds of things Patience could have been reading, and simultaneously confirms two
interesting insights into Mormon culture during the last half of the nineteenth century: history was revered as reading material, and the official library shelves included only carefully chosen fiction. But clearly Jane (and we presume many others) managed to obtain “trashy literature,” which would almost certainly have included sentimental novels—those that were didactically designed to at least purport to give “a more general idea of society and the effects of ignorance and wrong courses.”

9. Donna and DeWitt Paul, “The Epistles of Paul: A Family Newsletter,” May 1987. A copy of the newsletter is in possession of Drusilla Smith of Pleasant Grove, Utah, who is a descendant of Patience Loader’s brother John. Many members of the Loader family have actively pursued research into the history of their families and have carefully documented and preserved their discoveries, distributing them via this and other family newsletters.

England, 1827–December 1855

1. Anglican bishops Ridley and Latimer were burned at the stake for heresy on October 16, 1555. Bishop Granmer translated religious materials in 1549 to produce the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England.

2. *Burke’s Peerage* records that Sir Henry John Lambert (1792–1858) was the fifth in his genetic lineage to hold the title of baronet, the first title having been conferred on February 16, 1710, and passed down to the eldest son consecutively (a descendant continues the titled lineage today). James Loader began working for Sir Henry Lambert in about 1820.

3. A genealogy of the Loader family appears as appendix 1.

4. The gardener’s cottage where Patience was raised still stands in Aston Rowant and is still quite lovely. It is the only remaining building of Sir Lambert’s estate, the other buildings having been destroyed by fire in 1957. The cottage is surrounded by flowers and a carefully cut lawn, but the water Patience mentions surrounding the property is no longer visible, having been diverted for other use. The “old fashion casements wendows with dimant cut glass” have apparently been replaced, but a glass insert above the front door, according to the current owner, probably dates back to the time of the Loaders’ occupation of the house. A ripple suggesting the letter “L” appears at the bottom of the glass, visible upon careful examination.

5. About 1844.

6. The correct, or current, spelling of the town’s name is Watlington.

7. Thame was a market town about six miles northwest of Aston Rowant. According to the current Thame web site, a market day has been held on Tuesdays since 1230 AD. Additionally, for part of the town’s history, a two-day fair has been held in October. Later in Patience’s narrative she explains that she fulfilled her one-year contract at the boarding school in Watlington on October 11, 1845, so perhaps the fair she attended was the two-day October event in 1844, after which she left immediately for her first job away from home. Country fairs were primarily agricultural exhibits, but often offered such dashing entertainments as strong men exhibits, silhouette cutting, harness racing, and mummer’s theatres. Daniel Pool, in *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew*, writes on page 177,

Fairs were a magnet for the young and single, and the relaxed, exhilarating atmosphere meant that single servants who were generally
denied any opportunities for courting by their masters often produced a number of pregnancies in the ensuing months. . . .

By noontime . . . business would be winding down, and from then till eleven or midnight there was dancing, flirting, and entertainment—traveling shows . . . cockfights, smockraces in which women competed, wrestling, magic shows, and rope dancers.

Pool’s emphasis on the romantic involvements of young single adults would surely explain Patience’s father’s stern countenance against his children attending any fair.

The little market town of Thame, though, was extremely poor because of low agricultural prices, and since its population by 1901, some fifty or sixty years after Patience’s attendance at the fair, had only climbed to three thousand, the fair that Patience and Ann attended may have been much more modest. At any rate, the day’s events, as Patience notes, offered ample opportunity for dancing and socializing, which was definitely the girls’ main concern.

8. The sister Patience refers to is actually Zilpah, born in 1831. Patience’s formal education was minimal and her capital letters are not always consistent.

9. There are two villages near Aston Rowant that bear the name of Kingston—Kingston Stert and Kingston Blount. Family records (see bibliography for a full list) indicate that Patience’s mother, Amy Britnell Loader, was born in Kingston Blount, as were her ten brothers and sisters. It’s difficult to determine which aunt Patience may be referring to here, but Patience had a double aunt and uncle: Patience’s mother’s sister Elizabeth married Patience’s father’s brother Daniel. Since the cousin who accompanies Patience and Ann home the next morning is named George Loader, perhaps he was the son of Elizabeth and Daniel.

10. Daniel Pool discusses the hierarchy of domestic servants:

[I]n less affluent households, there was the poor maid-of-all-work, the young girl or teenager hired to do all the things for a house- hold that a wealthier family would have divided up among a cook, housemaid, nursemaid, lady’s maid, and so on—washing, scrubbing, cooking, cleaning, taking care of the children—with nothing to look forward to at the end of the day except falling asleep or sitting alone in the kitchen while the family enjoyed their evening together in the upstairs room. . . . Perhaps some three fifths of all maids in the England of Queen Victoria were maids-of-all-work. (229)

Domestic service provided the most significant employment opportunity for unmarried women in England during the nineteenth century. Well-to-do families would hire a hierarchy of domestic servants; “upper class” service for women included the roles of governess, housekeeper, skilled cook, and parlourmaid. “Lower class” servants did the heavy work—laundry, cleaning, etc. Patience’s awareness of the social status within domestic service reveals itself repeatedly throughout her narrative; she has a particular lifelong aversion to doing laundry, perhaps resulting from the experience she describes here as she works for the boarding school in Watlington.

A wealth of information on the subject of domestic service is extant. For an easy and quick read, see any one of numerous web sites that describe the
roles, pay, and social conditions of domestic servants, including reproductions of typical employment advertisements. Particularly succinct information is provided by the Hastings History web site listed in the bibliography.

11. Chilblains are inflammations of the skin caused by prolonged exposure to the cold. While not serious injuries in themselves, if left untreated they can cause small lesions, after which the skin can crack and danger of infection is increased. Chilblains usually appear on the feet, but can also occur on hands and face.

12. Patience would have been about seventeen years old at this time.

13. No 1845 London postal directory is available at the British National Archives in Kew, and while the 1846 Postal Directory for London lists several Loaders, Jonas is not among them, so it’s hard to know exactly what part of London Patience may have lived in when she first arrived. At any rate, though, Patience was eighteen years old when she departed for the big city to make her way in the world.

14. Ann Britnell Thompson, born 1796, was an older sister of Patience’s mother. Islington is a borough in London. During the nineteenth century it was a fashionable area and contained a number of large and impressive dwelling places (“Islington”).

15. Pool includes an entire chapter entitled “A Taxonomy of Maids.” He describes the role of the lady’s maid, considered “one of the upper servants;” the housemaids, who “kept the household running. . . . [They] made the fires, brought up clean water for bathing and washing[,] . . . cleaned the chamber pots, drew the curtains and turned down the beds at night, and cleaned the bedrooms and the public rooms and areas in the house.” Pool 227. Next in hierarchical order to the housemaid was the kitchenmaid, then the dairymaid, then the nursemaid, and later in the century, the parlormaid. While Mrs. Martin held the title of housekeeper in Miss Hennion’s home, Mrs. Martin was herself elderly and Patience probably acted as housemaid, which was backbreaking work—but not as bad, in Patience’s mind anyway, as doing the laundry!

Patience was probably about twenty-one when she left Miss Hennion’s employ.

16. A number of religions had break-off groups who called themselves independents, including Methodists, Baptists, and Unitarians. Patience doesn’t provide enough information to definitely identify what sect the Hennion household may have belonged to; certainly the Church of England was the most likely. According to Leigh’s New Picture of London, 1819, page 3, Independents were numbered among a list of divisions of Christianity based on “Opinion respecting church government, and the administration of ceremonies”. The entry reads, “INDEPENDENTS from the independency of each church in its own discipline or government.” Whether Leigh assumes these independents were splinter groups of the Church of England is not clear.

17. In spite of the number of fascinating details Patience provides about the Hendersons, I have not yet been able to locate historical records that would provide additional information about this family for whom Patience had such affection.

18. Being offered a job as seamstress was a step up in the ranks of domestic service. Dr. Beth Ugoretz of the State University of New York notes that “needlework and teaching were seen as ‘natural’ professions for women, and so would have been appropriate for those from the middle and upper
classes” and therefore distinctly desirable positions for domestic servants. Ugoretz goes on: “Millinery and dressmaking constituted the higher end of female employment with the needle. . . . The number of women involved in dressmaking alone in the early 1840s was estimated to be 15,000.”

Pool says that needlework was often the responsibility of the top level of hierarchy among domestic servants: the lady’s maid.

She was free of the housekeeper’s control, unlike the other maids, and attended the lady of the house, personally dressing and undressing her, arranging her hair, reading to her if need be, and using her needlework skills to do repairs on items of personal dress. . . . [I]n all events a lady’s maid was supposed to be youthful and more personable than the housemaids who drudged away all day long doing the household’s heavy manual labor. . . . The lady’s maid had the privilege of being given her mistress’s cast-off clothes.” (227)

Patience’s employment with the Hendersons probably began in late 1849 or 1850.

19. Patience’s remembrance of time spent at these various domestic jobs is a good way of reconstructing the time sequence of her life, since she sometimes omits specific dates in her recollections. If she was eighteen when she went to London the first time, the year would have been about 1845. She had a brief stint at the home of her brother’s friend and then says she spent three years and three months with Mrs. Hennion and her housekeeper Lydia Martin, putting the time of that termination of employment somewhere in late 1848 or 1849, making Patience about twenty-one or twenty-two. Following that, she went to live with the Hendersons, at Highbury Place in “the out skirts of London,” where she says she stayed three years and six months; this would have been about 1851, making her twenty-three or twenty-four years old. A number of documents referring to later recorded incidents that Patience remembers as having occurred while she was in Ramsgate place her in that seaside town in the summers, or partial summers, of 1851 and 1852. She says she was in Ramsgate about a year; she was back in London for the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, which occurred in November of 1852, when Patience was about twenty-five years old.

20. Greenwich is an area on the southeast side of greater London located on the Thames River. Gravesend is further east on the Thames, where the river widens in its progress toward the North Sea. Woolwich (which Patience refers to as Woolwage Common) is also situated on the Thames, between Gravesend and Greenwich.

21. Patience may be referring here to Astley’s Circus. Wikipedia, under an entry entitled “Philip Astley,” indicates that Astley, who was known as the father of the circus, began his career in trick riding and training horses. He used a circular riding pen so that the audience could see everything that was going on, and also because the circular motion of the horses caused centrifugal force that enabled riders to maintain their balance while standing on the horses’ backs. Astley’s Circus became extremely popular and spread to capitals throughout Europe. Its successors eventually included the likes of Barnum and Bailey, and also the wildly popular Wild West shows in America and Europe. A horse from “Ashley’s Circus” would presumably be either well trained or liable to break into stunt moves—or both.
22. There is no record of a Libury College as a self-contained entity in London. A religious establishment called Great Munden has a building named Libury Hall; at various times grammar schools were conducted there, but Great Munden is in Hertfordshire, a significant distance by nineteenth-century standards from Islington, where Highbury Place and the Hendersons’ home was located. The word college can mean a number of different things besides today’s common usage that denotes an institution of higher education. Perhaps Patience is referring to a preparatory or high school that offered no degrees; or possibly, in view of Mr. Henderson’s missionary service, the Libury College she refers to was a clerical establishment that functioned as part of a larger institution.

23. Ramsgate, in addition to being a resort town, has historically been an important military point of debarkation; it has the distinction of being the only designated royal harbour in the United Kingdom. Situated on the English Channel between the towns of Margate and Deal, the coast of France is visible on clear days. Ramsgate is sometimes listed among the Cinque Ports (though it was not one of the original ones); the Duke of Wellington was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and resided for part of each year in Walmer Castle at Deal, another seaside town visible from Ramsgate and one of the original Cinque Ports. The Duke of Wellington’s presence in the area was important to local citizens, as reflected in Patience’s several recollections about him later in the manuscript.

24. Interestingly, donkey rides are still offered to children on the beaches at Ramsgate.

25. Pegwell Bay (Patience’s handwriting seems to say Pegmellbay) adjoins Sandwich Bay, which connects the Ramsgate coastline with the Deal coastline. Ramsgate occupies a rounded point of land, and at the southern side of the point is Pegwell Bay. As a point of reference, Deal lies about halfway between Ramsgate and the famous white cliffs of Dover to the south.

26. Bathing machines, used between 1735 and the 1920s, were horse-drawn box-like carriages similar to small wooden, fully enclosed cabins. They provided for modest entrance into the ocean to swim. Swimmers would board the bathing machines fully clothed, change into their swimming clothing, and then ride in the bathing machines as the horse drew them out into the water. The Margate Historical Society explains how it worked:

The bather would enter the machine through a rear door and undress or change into a swimming costume. When the machine, towed by a horse, reached a point just off the shoreline the bather would then open the rear door and enter the sea. (Handout)

A particular kind of bathing machine that was invented by Benjamin Beale and first introduced at Margate, just up the coast north of Ramsgate, is described in an explanatory drawing entitled “Benjamin Beale and His Bathing Machine,” by the Margate Historical Society:

[Beale’s machine] had at its rear end a hooped and hinged canvas screen which, once the machine had been driven into position, could be let down by the driver operating a pulley so that it formed a tent on the water, thus allowing the occupant to descend the steps of the machine to bathe in complete privacy from onlookers . . . [it]
received glowing tributes in the guide books of the day—"by means of this very useful contrivance both sexes may enjoy the renovating waters of the ocean, the one without any violation of public decency, and the other safe from the gaze of idle or vulgar curiosity."

27. The *London Times* of Wednesday, August 13, 1851, page 7, column 5, carried the following brief item under the heading “Bathing at Ramsgate”:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir.—Two persons were drowned here on Saturday, one while bathing and the other in the attempt to rescue him. Two others were nearly drowned the day before. Perhaps a notice in your influential paper will induce the authorities to have one or two boats, with apparatus, always afloat during the time bathing is going on. This plan is adopted at Boulogne, and has been the means of saving many lives.

Yours &c

A Visitor

Ramsgate, Aug. 11

The writer to the newspaper is obviously more concerned with the ongoing problem of accidents in Ramsgate’s harbor than he or she is with the personal circumstances of these two particular deaths; Patience’s recollections, however, provide more detail about the tragic incident than the newspaper does, and her sympathy is clear.

28. The house where Princess Victoria summered is now privately owned and inhabited. It is marked by the royal crest displayed in stone above the entryway. The walled garden Patience mentions, which lies directly in front of the building’s main door, is now a grassy parkway, walled only by hedges and trees, and open to public use. The house does not, however, face the sea, and did not during Patience’s sojourn in Ramsgate—the house faces north and the sea is east. Perhaps the property as it originally existed did have an eastern view of the sea. A row of buildings on Nelson Crescent, formerly private dwellings erected in 1799 and now a combination of private dwellings and lovely little hotels, separates Victoria’s summer home, about two blocks inland, from the front seaside buildings. While a tunnel from the royal house to the sea, mentioned a little later by Patience, would have been long, it is entirely possible that it did exist. According to James Thomas, proprietor of the Royal Harbour Hotel and local historian, Ramsgate was riddled with tunnels during the nineteenth century.

29. Jacob’s Ladder is the name still used for a steep iron staircase running down the cliff as Patience describes. It is about two blocks from Queen Victoria’s summer home. Near the bottom of the ladder is a small church; the door to that edifice may be the one to which Patience refers, although it is not iron in its present form. The church was erected as a chapel for sailors in the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the time of Patience’s sojourn in Ramsgate, the city harbor was indeed tidal. Now gates have been installed to prevent tidal fluctuation.

30. The Goodwin Sands lie six miles off the coast of the North Sea near Ramsgate. The Sands are a series of sandbanks that have caused literally thousands of shipwrecks over almost a thousand years of recorded history. The sand banks are about eleven miles long and six miles across and are
especially dangerous because of strong winds and enormously powerful currents that make the banks shift and the channel change. In spite of numerous attempts to mark the sands with lighthouses and other safety markers, the lifeboat business of the Ramsgate Harbour continues to be brisk.

It’s very hard to determine which particular wreck Patience may be referring to in this account; several are documented during the summers of 1851 and 1852. An example of the kind of occurrence that she describes, though, is found in the *London Times* of Friday, November 11, 1853, page 7, column 6:

Fatal Shipwreck.—Ramsgate, Nov. 9—A shocking shipwreck took place on the North sandhead of the Goodwin-sands last night, which resulted in the loss of several lives. The unfortunate vessel was a fine French schooner named the Eloisonore, J. B. Bloom, master, bound to Dunkirk...with a cargo of tar, iron, and deale. She caught the sands about 9 o’clock, and the wind blowing strong at the time, with a heavy sea on, all efforts of the crew failed in getting her off. The boat and lugger from this port put off to the rescue of the unfortunate creatures as soon as possible after intelligence of the wreck had been received, but we regret to add that, owing to the boisterous weather which prevailed, the whole of the poor fellows on board, with the exemption of the captain and a young man named Le Febre, a passenger, perished before any of the crafts could get near enough to rescue them. The passenger had a most marvellous escape; he contrived to secure himself to an afterpiece of the wreck, and so remained, exposed to the fury of the elements the whole night, and was then taken off and brought ashore. The vessel speedily commenced to break up, and portions of the cargo have been picked up and brought in here. None of the bodies have been cast ashore as yet.

A maritime museum in Ramsgate contains artifacts from a number of wrecks and commemorates naval and rescue efforts, tracing the development of rescue devices and services over several hundred years. The Goodwin Sands are described in a number of web sites accessible on any search engine by typing in those two key words.

31. While some specific locations for businesses in Ramsgate during the nineteenth century are discernible by perusal of tax records, at the time of publication of this document, I have as yet been unable to pinpoint Mrs. Davice’s shop or Mrs. Shepard’s home.

32. This is the Pall Mall section of London. Pronunciation then and now would more easily accommodate Patience’s spelling than the correct one.

33. Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington, died on September 13, 1852, at his home at Walmer Castle, Deal, near Ramsgate. A former prime minister, Wellington was better admired as the hero of Waterloo—and is of course still remembered for the boots he designed. According to Gregory Holyoake, nine thousand mourners in the area of the tiny towns of Deal and Walmer alone paid respects to the departed duke, and a local newspaper, the *Maidstone Journal, Kentish Advertiser, and South-Eastern Intelligencer*, in an article entitled “Death of the Duke of Wellington” carried a long description of particulars of the duke’s death and noted that
In Deal and Walmer the event produced the impression which was to be expected, and which will be shared in throughout every part of the country. All the shops were closed, the streets were deserted, the flag at the fort was hoisted half-mast high, and an air of gloom prevailed, with which the state of the weather was in sorrowful keeping. (September 21, 1852, column 1)

Two months lapsed between the time of Wellington’s death and his eventual burial at St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, as Parliament debated when, where, and how the high honors should take place. The official funeral began at last on November 11 when the body was moved by mourning coach from the castle at Deal to the railway station bound for London; it would lie in state at Chelsea Hospital. On November 18 the final ceremonies occurred and burial took place. Patience evidently watched the event from her friend’s home in Pall Mall.

In an article called “Funeral of the Duke of Wellington,” carried by the Maidstone Journal, Rochester and Chatham Journal, West Kent Journal on November 25, 1852, page 2, there is a detailed description of the procession and the catafalque in London, including a list of the order of the procession (the list alone took an entire column and included, in addition to military, diplomatic, parliamentary and royal representation, Her Majesty the Queen and a personal attendance by Prince Albert). What Patience would have been part of was described by the newspaper reporter thus:

The procession passed from the Horse Guards parade through St. James’s Park, up Constitution Hill, to Hyde Park Corner, halting when the car had arrived in front of Buckingham Palace, to allow her Majesty and the Royal Family, who were in the balcony above the main entrance, an opportunity of seeing it. . . . [in] houses along the west end of Piccadilly the windows and balconies were completely occupied by the families who inhabit them and their friends, while the pavement on either side of the way was filled to the kerbstone with people. It almost seemed as if the whole world had assembled to witness the ceremonial, for the people were everywhere—built into the walls, swarming in the streets, and clustered like hives on every projection and parapet. When St. James’s street was reached, the double view first, eastwards, along Piccadilly and then down towards the Palace, was singularly impressive. There must have been 30,000 people within range of sight at this point, and the orderly and respectful behaviour of even the humblest among them, crowded and hemmed in as they were, cannot be too highly praised. . . . At Trafalgar square it is supposed that 40,000 people must have been assembled. Every house and window along the Strand was crammed, and from Charing cross to St. Paul’s it is calculated that 200,000 seats were provided.

At the end of the service, the duke’s staff of office was broken in pieces and the Garter King at Arms “cast the fragments into the vault.” As Patience muses upon the scene and remarks many years later, it must have been a solemn and impressive experience.

34. Gregory Holyoake writes in Wellington at Walmer, “Although [the Iron Duke] lived a Spartan regime at Walmer Castle, he was a warm, generous
host and his active concern for his neighbors endeared him to the local community" (9). At a time prior to his being named Duke of Wellington, when Sir Arthur Wellesley first returned to England from France after the Napoleonic wars, a subordinate officer failed to recognize him and gave him an order. Holyoake says, “Sir Arthur replied: ‘The order shall be attended to, but I rather believe you will find that I am your senior officer instead of you being mine’” (15). Patience’s sailor friend may have been recounting a version of this story, or perhaps had had a personal experience with the duke at a time when he lived in a less formidable dwelling place than Walmer Castle.

35. According to the 1846 Postal Directory for the city of London (available at the British National Archives), Atkinson Morley, owner of the Burlington Hotel, lived at 29 Cork Street and at adjoining addresses of 29 and 30 Old Burlington Street. This supports Patience’s later description of the hotel’s front and back doors opening onto different streets, and also gives some idea of the size of the building. The location of the hotel was close to Piccadilly Circus, in an area just behind what is now known as Burlington Arcade.

36. Benson is southwest of Aston Rowant, beyond Watlington (where Patience first worked away from home).

37. Patience’s storytelling skills are impressive here. John Dalling would later marry Patience’s sister Ann, and Patience would, some thirty years later, marry John Archer, whose English wife elected, after migrating to America, not to accompany him further to Utah. In this part of the manuscript, however, Patience keeps to the story at hand and gives the reader no clue that either of these men would be significant in her later life.

38. As Patience uses the word here, it means to “un-appoint” rather than to frustrate.

39. According to the records of the Westminster Branch on file at the Church Office Building of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, Patience was baptized in June of 1853, (apparently, according to Patience’s account, somewhere near Aston Rowant, although the official church record does not indicate that) by J. Dalley (probably John Dalling) and confirmed by E. T. Haley. She was received as a member of the Westminster Branch in London on June 26, 1853, her membership transferring from Aston. She was nearing her twenty-sixth birthday.

40. Patience was at the Burlington Hotel from June 1853 until June 1854.

41. The Westminster Branch was organized on December 22, 1849, and meetings were held “one mile northeast of Victory Station, London, Middlesex, England.” There are no records of when President Priday was appointed, but he was released from the presidency on August 7, 1854. On November 7, 1858, the Westminster Branch was dissolved and its members transferred to the “Chelsea” Branch, probably because Mormons were emigrating to America in such great numbers that the congregation was insufficient to maintain a separate congregation. Patience appears on membership lists of the branch, and, as she will later mention, was responsible for increasing its numbers by at least three.

42. While Mr. Atkinson Morley’s love life is not recounted in historical documents, other aspects of his life are. He studied medicine at St. George’s Hospital in Hyde Park around the turn of the nineteenth century, but became an entrepreneur of hostelry instead. He died in 1858 a very wealthy
man. In his will he left money to St. George’s Hospital, the trustees of which decided to build a convalescent home. They purchased a beautiful acreage formerly belonging to the Duke of Wellington and opened the home in 1869. It continued as a convalescent home until 1939. The facility, moved to a new location in Brixton, is now called the Atkinson Morley Hospital.

Interestingly, a part of Atkinson Morley’s last will and testament is reproduced on the LUNG home page, “Saving Atkinson Morley’s Hospital Green Space and Working for a Greener London.”

43. A photocopy of the tract Patience gave to Mrs. Graison, “The First Principles of the Gospel,” is in the Historical Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah. The copy is difficult to decipher, however, and cannot be reproduced here.

44. Sarah Mansell was baptized November 6, 1853, by Elder Priday, as Patience remembers, and was confirmed by an Elder Beasley. Susan Mansell was baptized March 26, 1854, also by Elder Priday, and confirmed by an Elder Bayless. Apparently the Mansell sisters adopted Patience’s missionary zeal; the Westminster Branch records indicate that Mary Ann Mansell, a resident of Ludgate Hill, was baptized November 26, 1854, at Holburn, and was Emigrant No. 165, meaning, presumably, that she had emigrated to America.

45. Eliza seems to have been a guest in the hotel while Patience worked there. Eliza’s antagonism towards the Mormon religion apparently did not abate, and she was one of four children of James and Amy Britnell Loader who did not emigrate to America. She married Thomas Heritage, and her death date is unknown. Others of Patience’s siblings who remained in England were Jonas (died 1865), Emma (died 1869), and Marshall (died 1865). That the family kept in touch in spite of their continental separation, though, is clear from appendix 6, which is a letter from Marshall Loader to his mother in 1857.

46. DeWitt Paul indicates that when Sir Henry Lambert learned that James Loader and part of his family had joined the Mormon church, Sir Henry rather sadly gave them a year to renounce their new religion or be evicted. They would not renounce and so their son Jonas, who wanted nothing to do with the Mormon church, moved his parents into a small house in Kingston. As soon as possible the Loaders made plans to emigrate to America with the help of John Jaques, who had married the Loaders’ daughter Zilpha and who was working in the London office of Apostle F. D. Richards.

47. December 12 was the departure date for the ship, from Liverpool. Patience actually left the general’s home on December 9, 1855, as she mentions a little later in the manuscript. The manuscript seems to indicate that she went to visit her father on December 9 and then returned to the general’s house, but she actually departed for Liverpool on the 9th and remained there until the 12th when the ship set out.

48. A blotch at this point on Patience’s handwritten manuscript looks much like a tear had fallen as she remembered the old general and wrote about his distress at her departure.

49. John Jaques and Zilpha Loader were married on October 31, 1853, in Liverpool. Jaques, born in England, served a mission during which he visited the Aston Rowant area, where he met Zilpha. He would later become one of the captains in the Martin handcart company and also the official historian for the journey.
50. Although Patience provides a significant amount of information on General William Turner and wife—that they lived on Half Moon Street off Piccadilly; that he was engaged in the battle of Waterloo; that his age was eighty-two years in 1854; that he had been married fifty-one years to his wife Constance; that she died in December 1853 at the age of seventy-two after having endured twenty-eight sea voyages with her husband; and that she always went wherever her husband went although they had no children—Achievements, Limited, a research organization based in London, is unable to identify and/or locate him. Their research found three William Turner deaths in the area of London where Patience last saw her old friend—one in June and one in September 1856, and one in September 1857. All left wills, and all had living descendants. Judith Batchelor of the research department feels that Patience’s General Turner must have returned “to the country” before he died, and without a specific location, it would be impossible to locate him.

On the *John J. Boyd*, December 1855–February 1856

1. The ship was actually the *John J. Boyd*, as Patience correctly notes later in the manuscript. Conway Sonne notes in *Saints on the Seas*, page 169, that the ship left Liverpool on December 12, 1855, and would not arrive until February 16, 1856. The voyage of sixty-six passage days was the longest recorded for Mormon emigrations.

2. Loader family members who traveled aboard the *John J. Boyd* were James and Amy Britnell Loader; John (35) and his wife Harriet King Loader, with two small children; Patience (28); Maria (19); Jane (15); Sarah (12); and Robert (10). Ann Loader Dalling was already in Salt Lake City with her husband John. As Patience explains, her sister Zilpha, with her husband John Jaques and infant daughter, would remain in Liverpool until July and then join the rest of the family for the overland journey from Iowa to the Wasatch Mountains.

3. According to Sonne, page 151, there were 512 passengers on board the *John J. Boyd* when it left Liverpool on December 12, 1855.

4. Though both Charles Savage and Knud or Canute Peterson are familiar names in LDS church history, surprisingly little concrete information about their assignments to this emigrant ship seems to be available. Peterson left a journal, the original of which is in the archives of the Church Historical Department, but it is not translated into English, is very short, and seems to pertain entirely to ship business. In April of 1946 the *Instructor* magazine carried an article entitled “The Story of Canute Peterson As Told to His Daughter Carrie.” In it Peterson tells about his first mission (to Wisconsin, in 1844); his attendance at the Nauvoo Temple in 1846; his marriage; his migration to Utah in 1849; the birth of his first son (Peter Cornelius, June 11, 1850); and his assignment to settle Lehi, in Utah County, in July of 1850. The article ends, seemingly, in the middle of the tale. He was obviously a devout follower of his religion and it is not surprising that he would be given assignments to travel to Europe to help with the emigrating converts, especially since five hundred of the emigrants (according to Patience) were “Danish.” (“The Story of Canute Peterson,” page 171).

5. According to the ship’s roster (available on microfilm at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City), William and Catherine Hailey were both born in 1791, making them about sixty-four years old.
6. Franklin D. Richards was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. After the assassination of church founder Joseph Smith, the Quorum of the Twelve governed the church, with Brigham Young as president. Three and a half years after Smith’s death in 1844, the First Presidency was reorganized with Brigham Young as president. At that time the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles assumed its original position as second governing body of the church, under the administration of the First Presidency. F. D. Richards, as an apostle, had been appointed as senior church official administering the affairs of the church in England, particularly proselytizing and emigration.

7. Patience is alone among record keepers in pronouncing a specific number of deaths aboard that initial voyage of the *John J. Boyd*. Official ship rosters and church records do not list specific numbers, but in a record of deaths on board LDS emigrant ships, organized in descending order with high numbers listed first, Sonne lists this voyage of the *John J. Boyd* first, with the notation “many” (167). Patience gives the exact number twice in her manuscript.

8. According to the ship register, the *John J. Boyd* left Liverpool on December 12, 1855, and arrived in New York on February 16, 1856. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 150–151. The roster records the number of passage days as sixty-six, not seventy-seven as Patience suggests. The difference could be that official ship registers may not count as voyage time those days spent in the harbor or nearing the harbor. Patience does not give a specific date of arrival, but does confirm that it was in February.

9. The captain’s name was T. Austin. (Sonne 150–51).


11. Zilpha Loader, daughter of John and Harriet King Loader, was born February 25, 1855, in Aston Rowant. The exact date of her death on board the *John J. Boyd* is not known. John and Harriet had previously lost another child, James Jonas (1850–1851) who died of croup. After Zilpha's death they had one surviving son, Henry, also aboard the ship.

12. Personal revelatory experiences were an integral part of the Mormon faith, and special effort was made to record such experiences for posterity and as a testimony to the presence of the hand of God in mortal affairs. Patience’s manuscript is less laden with testimonials than many; however, she clearly remembers a few key experiences and does often painstakingly mention her recognition of heavenly assistance, especially during very difficult times in her life.

13. Patience is mistaken about the age and service of the *John J. Boyd*. Sonne indicates on pages 150–153 that it was actually almost new; it had been built in New York in 1855, and was to carry, under a different captain, two more groups of LDS emigrants from Liverpool to New York, one in 1862 and one in 1863. Neither of the latter two voyages was nearly as long as the one Patience endured; the 1862 passage was thirty-nine days and the 1863 was twenty-nine days.

America, February–July 1856

1. David Laskin, in *The Children’s Blizzard*, describes on pages 22 and 23 an immigrant’s entry into Castle Gardens. Laskin is recounting experiences
of new arrivals some twenty years after Patience’s group would have been there, but at least generalities of the situation would have been the same:

[New arrivals] marched down the wharf and directly into the low-domed circular building known as Castle Garden. This curious structure, neither a castle nor a garden, was an early example of creative urban recycling. Built between 1808 and 1811 to fortify the southern tip of Manhattan . . . Castle Garden was reborn as a summer restaurant in 1824; then in the 1840s it was roofed over and converted into an opera house and theater (Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, sang there for an audience of four thousand); and finally, in 1855, it became the nation’s primary immigrant processing center. Over the next thirty-four years, more than eight million immigrants passed through these thick red granite walls on their way to new lives in America.

. . . [T]he scene inside Castle Garden looked like pandemonium and sounded like Babel. Immigrants in their heavy woolen clothes filled the rows of benches on the lower level. Overhead hung two tiers of balconies where families who had arrived earlier camped while waiting clearance. Children shouted and babies squalled. The smell of cheese, rolls, and coffee drifted in from the humid kitchens. Red-faced officials tried vainly to contain and channel the human flood.

2. John Taylor, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, was president of the Eastern Mission, based in New York. His authority, as one of the Twelve, was equal to that of Franklin D. Richards, and their areas of influence were determined by their assigned fields of labor, Richards’s in England and Taylor’s on the east coast of America. Later in the manuscript Patience notes Taylor’s reluctance to interfere with counsel previously given by Franklin D. Richards when the Loader family was in England and under his jurisdiction.

3. Lyndia Carter, author of a forthcoming exhaustively researched book about the Martin handcart company, points out that the Loader family was listed on the roster for the John J. Boyd under the heading “Ordinary,” which meant that they paid their own fare. But an account had been set up to assist with the expenses of other emigrants who could not pay their own way. Called the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF), this account was established using donations made for the purpose, and the idea was that emigrants could borrow from the PEF and then repay the monies so that the fund would exist in perpetuity for ongoing emigration. Some emigrants had to draw on the Perpetual Emigration Fund for travel by sea as well as overland; some used PEF money for only part of the journey. As events unfold in Patience’s story, it appears that she and her family were not planning to rely on PEF funds at all for their migration, but their plans changed, with dramatic results. NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, all information about the Martin handcart company and its experiences has been provided by Lyndia Carter.

4. Williamsburg was a suburb of New York City.

5. Patience is talking about her brother John Loader.

6. Leroy and Ann Hafen explain that the idea for handcart emigration had been introduced and approved by church leaders in 1851, but until the
crop failures of 1853–55 in the Mormon settlements the plan was not employed. As church funds became depleted, a more economic means of providing a way for less affluent members to make the 1,300–mile trip from Iowa to Utah had to be found. Handcarts to Zion, 30.

Lyndia Carter adds that enthusiasm for handcart migration began to increase in the fall of 1855. According to John Taylor (see appendix 3) Brigham Young wrote to Taylor, president of the Eastern States Mission, discussing the idea and asking Taylor to gather some data and make some projections on the feasibility of the plan. Young also wrote to Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission, and their correspondence on the subject was published in the Millennial Star, a newspaper that served as the official means of communication between church leaders and members in the British Isles from 1840 to 1970.

Enthusiasm for the experimental handcart migration gained momentum in the British Mission, as noted in a letter published on December 1, 1855 in The Mormon (New York City) (appendix 4). Richards and his assistant, John Jaques (Patience’s brother-in-law) had come to embrace the idea with great zeal. Through January of 1856 the Millennial Star continued to carry articles that made clear the increasing expectation that all PEF emigrants would travel by handcart. While the Loaders were probably not PEF emigrants, they traveled with a number who were, and John Jaques soon seemed to equate in his own mind the idea of handcart travel as a proof of faith, as Patience’s manuscript will later reveal.

Since the John J. Boyd had set sail on December 9, 1855, before the Millennial Star letters were published, and landed in February of 1856, after the new regulations had been thoroughly discussed, the Loader family was entirely unaware of the shift in emphasis and expectation from wagon to handcart migration. As Patience says, it was “a terrable great suprise.”

There were in all between 55,000 and 80,000 total Mormon emigrants, and only about 3,000, or 4 percent, traveled by handcart, according to Lyndia Carter’s best estimates as of the summer of 2003. In spite of the obvious difficulties, many handcart expeditions were entirely successful. Unfortunately, the company with which the Loader family traveled was one of two that encountered dramatic and severe hardships, with significant loss of life.

In view of later events, it’s interesting to note that it is Patience’s mother, not her father, who requests that Patience write to John Jaques.

Letters between Patience and John Jaques appear as appendix 5.

The Loader family’s plan to work a year for means to properly equip themselves was not unusual and had in fact been the approved way of preparing for travel across the continent. According to the Millennial Star, xviii [1856], 369–72, a little under half (1,998 of 2,397) of the anticipated emigrants departing England between November 30, 1855, and July 6, 1856, were initially expected to “locate . . . in various parts of the United States, in order to obtain means to complete their journey whenever circumstances will permit.”

Lyndia Carter points out that Apostles Richards and Taylor had different views on the efficacy of handcart migration. Among other things, John Taylor’s estimate of expenses for a dependable outfit was $27 per cart while Richards’s was $11. Taylor’s letters on the subject were printed in The Mormon, a New York-published newspaper with a Mormon audience similar
to the *Millennial Star* in England. Taylor initially expressed his opinion that handcart migration might be a good option for male emigrants; he even acknowledged the possibility that some women might be able to make the journey by handcart if in very carefully controlled circumstances. He was forthright, however, in explaining that he did not see handcart migration as the best means of travel, nor did he ever embrace it as an exclusive approach. His editorial for *The Mormon*, Saturday, December 1, 1855 appears as appendix 4.

Richards, on the other hand, became deeply embued with zealous enthusiasm for any means of emigration (see *Millennial Star* editorial, Saturday, December 22, 1855, appendix 3) at least in part because Britain was also in economic depression and many British converts were in desperate straits, some facing severe hardship, including assignment to a poorhouse, if other means of provision were not discovered. Seen through the eye of faith, and weighed against practical necessity, handcart migration seemed to offer an answer. Without the use of handcarts, only one emigrant in twenty would have the means to make the journey.

11. Patience is refreshingly honest in her admission of being embarrassed by assignment to a handcart company. A scarcely veiled personal pride is certainly one of her most appealingly human attributes, and her continual struggle to overcome that pride is an endearing quality throughout the manuscript.

12. T. B. H. Stenhouse was an active member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for over twenty years, but he later became disaffected, joined a group of other dissenters, and formed a separate church called the Godbeites (named after William S. Godbe). That group developed an anti-Mormon journal named *Utah Magazine*, which would eventually become the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Ronald Walker, *Godbeites*, 1. Both Stenhouse and his wife wrote books and pamphlets whose aim was to “unveil Mormondom.”

13. The letter to which Stenhouse refers, published in the *Millennial Star*, is reprinted in appendix 5.

**Starting Westward, July 3–July 28, 1856**

1. Dunkirk, New York, is a city situated on the shores of Lake Ontario. It was a major rail center of the time.

2. Lucy Ward would become a member of the Willie handcart company, which traveled in close proximity to the Martin company and the Hodgett wagon train. All three units would suffer terribly from cold and hunger caused by delays and an early winter.

3. It isn’t clear why Patience and Lucey would keep to themselves such a secret as a dead body on the road. Their apparent nonchalance, walking on to bathe with handkerchiefs in the lake, seems especially peculiar. However, during the nineteenth century deaths due to disease and accident were hardly uncommon, and in the absence of modern mandates governing the handling of bodies, death seemed much more an ordinary element of the life cycle than it does now.

Something else may be playing into the manuscript at this point, though. As Patience writes her recollections, we feel no sense of her being unnerved or intimidated by any of the potentially threatening situations she mentions in England—life as a domestic servant in a number of situations, including
a large hotel in London and in the naval port of Ramsgate, nighttime walks of many miles, etc. But beginning with this episode in America, her manuscript sometimes seems to reflect a sense of consciousness of personal vulnerability, a consciousness perhaps related to life in a new, strange country, and one that heightens and sometimes dramatizes the events she chooses to narrate.

4. Lyndia Carter has learned that the railroad bridge Patience refers to collapsed when a steamer hit it.

5. Davenport is of course in eastern Iowa, but Patience, as a new emigree, would scarcely be able to distinguish it from Moline on the Illinois side of the river. The family’s destination was Iowa City, some three hundred miles away on the western border of the state. A number of Mormon emigrants passed through this area, and the ruffians Patience mentions were no doubt accustomed to trying to unnerv them. Their taunts may have seemed more seriously threatening to Patience because she was not yet acclimated to the freer and less formal American culture; nevertheless, if Patience describes the rough ways of some, she is also careful to point out the kindnesses and thoughtfulness of others among the non-Mormon Americans she encounters.

6. Lyndia Carter explains that tents were sometimes made by Mormon emigrant women on board ship and distributed later as part of the pack supplies for the overland handcart trek. Ordinary passengers on board emigrant ships paid $45 per adult as fare for travel to Utah, including ship passage and tent and supplies for the overland journey. Fare for travel across the plains without ship passage was $25. All members of the Martin handcart company were considered PEF, but not all were indebted, or under necessity of repaying their fares. Carter, July 3, 2003. Without wagons and teams, these tents were vital as the only shelter for handcart emigrants.

7. The Martin company, most of whom (including the Jaques family and Patience’s sister Tamar) had come from England on either the Thornton, which had sailed on May 3, or the Horizon, which left Liverpool on May 25, arrived in Iowa City on July 8, 1856, and came into the camp where the Loaders were on July 9. The Willie company, which traveled close to the Martin company, was already in camp when the Loaders arrived.

8. John and Harriet King Loader had previously lost two children, one to illness in England, and one on board the John J. Boyd. Their reluctance to start the arduous handcart journey when Harriet was in late-term pregnancy is certainly understandable.

    Years later, when Patience was living in Washington during the Civil War, she visited her brother John in the hospital. According to family records, he had been wounded October 19, 1864, at the Battle of Cedar Creek, West Virginia, and was hospitalized in Winchester, Virginia. He and his family later traveled to Utah in company with Patience and her family after the war, and settled permanently in Pleasant Grove.

On the Plains, July 28–November 30, 1856

1. John Jaques records that the handcart company “moved off nearly a mile for a start” on Monday, July 28, 1856. Stella Jaques Bell, Life History and Writings of John Jaques, 118.

2. All of the handcarts had arrived in Florence, Nebraska, by August 22, 1856.

3. A blessing from Franklin D. Richards, one of the twelve apostles, would have been met with high faith and great expectation, and with a deep sense
of responsibility on the part of the recipient to do everything possible to enable the blessing to be fulfilled. In addition to administrative assignments as previously described, the twelve apostles were considered individually as well as collectively as having power and authority to act in the name of God as had apostles in the meridian of time. Richards, in company with another apostle, John Taylor, also administered at this time to Tamar, who was very ill. Her blessing promised that she would walk before she arrived in Utah, which she did.

4. Cutler’s Park had been a campsite for the first Mormon immigrants who left Nauvoo, Illinois, in the spring of 1846. While Patience records the distance as seven miles between Florence and Cutler’s Park, John Jaques says two and a half, and other journalists say about three miles.

5. Patience here implies that her sister Ann had married John Dalling in England before she migrated to America in 1855. Perhaps her memory was inaccurate here. Paul DeWitt says on pages 3 and 5 that Ann married John two months after she arrived in the Salt Lake valley, and speculates that her fondness for Dalling had perhaps prompted her emigration a year earlier than the rest of her family. DeWitt’s source is an unpublished biography of Ann written by her granddaughter Leah Goodfellow. Ann’s marriage date to John Dalling is listed as November 11, 1855 (see appendix 1), and it seems likely that she would have traveled to Utah prior to her marriage, during the summer months, arriving in the valley in September and marrying John in November.

6. According to Jaques, the company camped at Cutler’s Park on August 25. Bell, Life History, 129.

7. Handcarts weighed about sixty pounds, and according to T. B. H. Stenhouse, quoted in Hafen and Hafen Handcarts to Zion, 54, a handcart was “a fragile structure, with nothing to recommend it but lightness.” Stenhouse describes the handcart:

They were generally made of two parallel hickory or oak sticks, about five feet long, and two by one and a half inches thick. These were connected by one cross-piece at one end to serve as a handle, and three or four similar pieces nearly a foot apart, commencing at the other end, to serve as the bed of the cart, under the centre of which was fastened a wooden axle-tree, without iron skeins. A pair of light wheels, devoid of iron, except a very light iron tire, completed the . . . handcart.

In addition to the weight of the cart itself, each family member was allowed seventeen pounds of freight. If James Loader’s family freight included all six of his unmarried children (Patience, Tamar, Maria, Sarah, Jane, and Robert), plus himself and his wife, the handcart’s total weight would have been just short of two hundred pounds. It’s possible that some of the Loader family’s goods were carried on the Jaques’ handcart.

8. The Jaques’ son was born August 27, 1856.

9. Any flu-like malaise, probably viruses, were called “mountain fever.”

10. Lyndia Carter’s records indicate that Sarah Ann Barlow Ashton died September 11. She and her husband William had lost a two-year-old child, Elizabeth, who died at sea. William left the company at Laramie, where he enlisted in the army. Three daughters, Betsy (11), Sarah (7), and Mary (4)
continued with the company. Betsy died in Wyoming of cold and hunger. Sarah and Mary made it to Salt Lake City.

11. The camp captain’s responsibilities were later described by Joseph Argyle, Jr.:

   The duty of the company captain . . . was to look after everything in general to see that the company was provided with all provisions that they were able to carry and to assist in all that would aid for the betterment of the company. The tent captain was expected to give all his time and attention to his company, to make sure that all allotments of one pint of flour for each person were given every twenty-four hours and to equalize as nearly as possible all labor, or to act as the father over his family. (Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 59).

12. Edward Martin was one of several British missionaries who had been given responsibility for trail companies. There were probably nearly six hundred people in his company, which included “146 handcarts, 5 wagons, 30 oxen, and 50 cows and beef cattle.” At the time of this company’s migration, Martin was thirty-seven years old. Born and converted to the LDS church in England, he had previously emigrated to America and was perhaps better prepared for leadership of an emigrant company than some others by virtue of his having served in the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* 93.

13. Patience’s distress seems warranted. However, in fairness to Edward Martin, he must have been acutely aware of the hazards of this overland trek which started so late in the season, and his concerns necessarily had to focus on the pressing need to get the main body of the company moving and keep it moving as rapidly as possible. Unfortunately, there would have been little room in the sick wagons to accommodate ministering relatives.

14. Joseph A. Young was the oldest son of Brigham Young. He was not a member of the company, but he appears several times in Patience’s narrative, arriving to give assistance at various points on the trail as he travels by horseback between the emigrants and Salt Lake City. Lyndia Carter indicates that he, too, was a returning missionary, and was part of a group herding mules to Utah.

15. The Jaques’ son was named Alpha Loader Jaques. Born August 27, 1856, at Cutler’s Park, Nebraska, he lived through the rigors of the handcart experience and had a long life, dying December 9, 1945, as perhaps, according to Lyndia Carter, the last of the Martin handcart survivors.

16. Lyndia Carter believes this is actually Moses Cluff, a returning missionary and part of the Hodgett Wagon Train, which traveled close to the Willie and Martin handcart companies. Cluff was horseback because he was herding cattle to Utah as an investment.

17. The woman’s name was actually Wilson instead of Williams—but this is an assumed name. See Note 18.

18. Patience’s remembrance of events in this part of her narrative, points out Lyndia Carter, does not match chronologically the records of John Jaques and Samuel Openshaw. Remains of the infant of Mrs. Wilson were actually found by members of the Willie company, traveling just ahead of the Martin company. John Jaques records that Babbitt had been killed on August 25, that the site was Prairie Creek, and that the Martin company passed the site on September 11.
Babbitt, a teamster, actually had two parties, both of which were killed by Cheyenne Indians.

Perhaps Patience’s recollections, written many years later, are associated in her mind because of common elements (fear of Indians, vulnerability of women and infants on the plains).

19. According to Lyndia Carter, at this point in the trail, the handcart companies were moving across land belonging to Pawnee and Omaha Indians.

20. Patience later describes her father’s death and says that James Loader passed away on September 24, 1856, on the handcart trail on the north side of the Platte River and was buried at Ash Hollow. Patience’s sister Tamar’s life story records that on September 23 James had been “carried into the prayer circle and assisted in singing ‘Come, Come Ye Saints.’” Later, his grave was placed beside a single ash tree; the company moved on immediately and the following evening as they camped they could hear the wolves howling, which Tamar believed was an announcement that the graves had been discovered. Brent Bell, “Tamar Loader Ricks.” Patience indicates later in her narrative, though, that her father’s body was buried deep to protect it from the wolves.

Interestingly, no other trail journals mention deaths on September 23 or 24, although Jaques and others (unpublished and privately owned, copies held by Lyndia Carter) mention deaths on September 27 and burials on the 28th. It is possible that Patience was mistaken on the date, and that other family members accepted her assertion. While it seems unlikely that daughters would forget the date of their father’s death, none of the Loader family except John Jaques was making daily diary entries at this time, and it also seems unlikely that Jaques would fail to record the date of death of someone so near to him. Burials were recorded for several reasons, not the least of which was that taking the time to dig graves further delayed the company’s progress.

21. This handcart song was written by J. D. T. McAllister, another returning British missionary who helped outfit handcart companies in Iowa City. For more information about McAllister and the song, which was very popular and is still sung by LDS children, see Hafen and Hafen, Handcarts to Zion, pages 65–66 and 272–273. The current (1989) Children’s Songbook of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gives only one verse, and it differs from that recorded by Patience’s daughter Amy Rozsa in her biography of her mother. The longer version would have sustained the plodding handcart emigrants as they labored across the plains.

The simple words that Patience taught her daughter are sung to a merry, lilting tune:

Ye Saints who dwell on Europe’s shore
Prepare yourselves with many more
To leave behind your native land
For sure God’s judgments are at hand.

For you must cross the raging main
Before the promised land you gain
And with the faithful make a start
To cross the plains with your handcart.

Chorus: For some must push and some must pull
As we go marching up the hill
So merrily on our way we go
Until we reach the Valley, Oh!

The lands that boast of modern light
We know are all as dark as night
Where poor men toil and want for bread
And rich men’s dogs are better fed
These lands that boast of liberty
You ne’er again would wish to see
When you from Europe make a start
To cross the plains in your handcart.

As on the roads the carts are [pulled]
’Twould very much surprise the world
To see the old and feeble dame
Thus lend a hand to pull the same,
And maidens fair will dance and sing
Young men more happy than a king
And children, too, will laugh and play
Their strength increasing day by day.

But some will say: It is too bad
The Saints upon the foot to “pad,”
And more than that, to pull a load,
As they go marching o’er the road.
But then we say, it is the plan
To gather up the best of men
And women too—for none but they
Will ever travel in this way.

And long before the Valley’s gained
We will be met upon the plains
With music sweet and friends so dear
And fresh supplies our hearts to cheer
And then with music and with song
How cheerfully we’ll march along
And thank the day we made a start
To cross the plains in our handcart.

When you get there, among the rest
Obedient be and you’ll be blessed,
And in God’s chambers be shut in
While judgments cleanse the earth from sin.
For we do know, it will be so,
God’s servants spoke it long ago.
We say it is high time to start
To cross the plains in your handcart.

(Amy Rozsa, “Patience Loader Rozsa Archer,” 4–5.)

22. As Lyndia Carter points out, Patience’s mention of the shortage of food probably refers to the fact that members of the party who were financially
able had been supplementing camp rations by purchasing food in settlements or forts they passed. As the emigrants traveled ever further away from settled areas, they had to depend only on supplies carried with them or what could be provided by hunting. Official cuts of the daily rations did not occur until the company neared Laramie. But the strenuous demands of pulling and pushing the carts increased immigrant appetites, and full rations were scarcely sufficient. Carter emphasizes that even in handcart companies that traveled safely and quickly, almost every diarist records hunger as one of the abiding trials of the trek.

23. There was no one by the name of Loane or any name similar enough to be identifiable in the Martin company. James Loynd, who was fifty years old and traveling in the company of his wife Elizabeth and five sons, is possibly the person to whom Patience is referring. However, at this time there is no known record of James Loynd, or anyone with a similar name, serving as a captain. Company responsibilities were carefully organized and divided, with captains of ten (or in the handcart companies captains of the tent), and captains of a hundred. Tent captains sometimes changed several times during the trek and may not have all been recorded in documents that survived.

24. Blessings of healing for the sick in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are of course always understood to be contingent upon the will of God for fulfillment. If it appears to be God’s will that death occur, church doctrine acknowledges authority by worthy priesthood holders to “seal up” the dead for resurrection in the Celestial Kingdom, or the place where God dwells. Here Patience recalls from memory, several decades later, some of the essential words of that comforting final blessing.

25. Samuel Openshaw says that September 23 was the hardest day of the entire trip for pulling handcarts because of heat and deep sand, which made the effort of moving the handcarts grueling and brutal.

26. The brothers were Samuel Stephen Jones and Albert Jones, English converts from Middlesex. Samuel was secretary of the Martin company and was nineteen years old in 1856; his brother Albert was almost seventeen. Lynne Slater Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 151.

27. Patience here refers to William Mason Jones, who was traveling, as she notes, alone, at age seventy-three. Turner, 151.

28. Daniel Tyler was subcaptain of the company under Edward Martin, and seemed to be the spiritual leader. He had been made bishop of the camp at Iowa City.

29. According to Stella Jaques Bell, an “[e]ntry on deaths of emigrants reads: ‘James Loader from Aston Rowant Branch, Warwickshire Conference, September 27 about 11 p.m., west side of sandhill, 13 miles east of Ash Hollow, of diarrhoea. Buried 6 a.m., September 28. Age 57.’” Bell footnotes this reference as an excerpt from the “Diary by John Jaques.” There is no further reference to this entry about deaths, and Jaques’ original diaries were lost in the Teton Dam disaster, so it’s difficult to determine when and where John Jaques made this entry.

30. The first snow fell on October 19, when the company was about five miles above the bridge over the Platte River near Red Buttes. Jaques records that the weather was very hot through October 5, “fine” or not mentioned until the 18th, and then bitterly cold on the 19th. Lyndia Carter notes that Samuel Openshaw, however, mentions a cold wind on September 17 and September 20.
31. This is the Hodgett company, which traveled close to the Willie and Martin handcart companies.

32. John Jaques records the man’s name as Stone. Stella Bell, “Life History.” The event referred to occurred just across the river from modern day Casper, Wyoming. Lyndia Carter’s research reveals that Stone was originally scheduled to travel by wagon while Mrs. Baliam (Patience mentions her in the next line as Ballen), a relative of Stone’s, was scheduled to travel by handcart. Apparently Stone switched travel arrangements, probably to help Mrs. Baliam, who had children ages seventeen and eight traveling with her. Lynne Turner in *Emigrant Journals* records on page 207 that Stone had a nine-year-old granddaughter with him who suffered the same fate as Patience recounts.

33. Porter and Bastian (mentioned as Bestam by Patience in the next lines) were missionaries the Loaders had known during their time in New York. Nathan Porter, who later wrote his own reminiscences, was traveling with the Hodgett wagon train.

34. The last of many crossings of the Platte River occurred on October 19, the day of the first serious snowfall and bitter cold. Carter, July 3, 2003.

35. According to Lynne Turner, pages 117–118, this crossing of the Platte occurred “[a] short distance from the present day Fort Casper” and the company camped near Red Buttes. Turner includes this quote, which is not identified:

That was a bitter cold day. Winter came on all at once, and that was the first day of it. The river was wide, the cold, exceedingly cold water, was up to the wagon beds in the deepest parts, the current was strong, and the bed of the river was covered with cobble stones. Some of the men carried some of the women over on their backs, or in their arms, but other women tied up their skirts and waded through, like the heroines they were, and as they had done through many other rivers and creeks. The company was barely over, when snow, hail and sleet began to fall, accompanied by a piercing north wind, and camp was made on this side of the river.

36. The man charged with care of the sick was actually, according to Lyndia Carter, George P. Waugh, an Englishman aged sixty-eight, who died just before the company reached the Salt Lake valley.

37. Heber Robert McBride was about thirteen when he started across the plains with his family as part of the Martin company. In recollections written years later, he mentioned a night when his father and thirteen other men died. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 230. Lyndia Carter believes this to be the same incident, occurring on about October 21, and involving the lost wagons carrying the sick. If so, there is a discrepancy between McBride’s recorded number of deaths and Patience’s.

38. Lyndia Carter believes this to have been George Lawley, a fifty-five-year-old Londoner. John Jaques does not list a Laurey among the dead. He does, however, record the death of George Lawley as occurring on October 6. Bell, *Life History*, 307. Carter believes the date to be incorrectly recorded.

However, Patience says that the man she is talking about had been staying in their tent since her father’s death, which makes it less likely that she would confuse his name. It is possible that “Brother Laurey” did exist and
was a member of the company, and that Patience is the only source that mentions him. If Patience’s chronology of events is correct, this man would have died on about October 21. According to Carter, the company didn’t move on October 22, but moved out and arrived at Red Buttes on October 23.

39. John Toone was born in England in 1813, and was clerk of the Martin company. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 162.

40. John Jaques wrote that on the 17th of October, because the emigrants and teams were growing weaker, “the baggage, including bedding and cooking utensils, [had been] reduced to ten pounds per head. . . . Good blankets and other bedding and clothing were burned, as they could not be carried further, though needed more than ever.” Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 117.

41. Again Patience honestly reflects on the difference between the information provided emigrants in England and the reality of experiences they would encounter. It was true, however, that England in 1852 was suffering serious economic depression, and perhaps Brother Laurey’s chances in America, even considering the exigencies of the Utah situation, were not after all much less than those he had left behind.

42. Mary Ann Greening was born in 1829. She survived the handcart trek and died in 1914. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 148.

43. Members of the Jones family in the Martin handcart company were Sarah Bradshaw Jones, born in 1801, and her sons Samuel Stephen, born 1837, and Albert, born 1839. All were born in England and all survived the handcart trek. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 151.

44. Joseph Young and companions reached the Martin company on October 28. The next day the company moved on and camped at Rocky Avenue, thirty miles or so east of Devil’s Gate in modern day Wyoming.

45. John Jaques says Daniel W. Jones and Abel Garr were among the messengers from the valley. Bell, *Life History*, 148. Ephraim Hanks wrote about his experience as a member of the relief effort. His narrative is part of the Journal History of the Church under the date Nov. 30, 1856, page 4.

46. Beginning with this page in the handwritten manuscript Patience starts her first line at the top of the page instead of on the first printed line. Perhaps, having begun the second tablet and still having progressed only to 1856 in her narrative, she began to feel the pinch of the possibility of running out of paper.

47. A careful chronology constructed by Lyndia Carter indicates that this would have been the night of October 29th, when the company camped at Rock Avenue. By the 30th they had made it to Willow Springs.

48. David Blair, born 1810 in Scotland. He was traveling with his wife Deborah (1816) and children Deborah (1848), Elizabeth (1851), and David (1856), all born in England. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 142. Patience remembers four small children but only three appear on handcart company lists. According to Lyndia Carter, David Blair did not die until many days later than the order in which Patience discusses his death, but Patience indicates a possible digression from chronological discussion when she says, somewhat parenthetically, “I remember . . .”

49. John Jaques records on October 31 that the company was encamped at Greasewood Creek (now Horse Creek), where six wagons waited. Clothing items distributed included boots and stockings, and among highly prized food items were a few onions. Bell, *Life History*, 150–51.

50. John Jaques recalled that the men camped and waiting for the company were “George D. Grant, Robert T. Burton, Charles Decker, C. G. Webb, and

51. Here Patience’s chronology is a bit off. William Whittaker died when the company was camped at Willow Springs, as Patience mentions; that was on October 30. But they didn’t meet the relief wagons until the 31st, at Greasewood Creek.

52. Elizabeth Georgina Quilley Rhead (1805), wife of Samuel George Rhead, both born in England. Elizabeth Rhead had started on the journey with her husband and two sons, but one son, Walter, "left with two men just before they reached Council Bluffs. The father, Samuel George, 48, and son, Samuel Milford, left the train to look for Walter Pyrimus, 6. They found him, but didn’t get to the valley until later." Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 158. Elizabeth Rhead’s sympathy for the unnamed children Patience discusses is made more poignant by the fact that her own six-year-old son was missing somewhere.

53. After extensive research, Lyndia Carter believes this incident Patience records with some detail may have involved the Hartle family. Perhaps Carter’s continuing research will eventually provide more information.

54. Robert and Ellen Walker Holt, both born in England, were forty-two and forty-four respectively when they began the handcart trek. Their oldest daughter, Margaret, was about twenty-four. Younger children were James, about twenty-one; Daniel, about fifteen; Alice, thirteen; Joseph, either three or eleven; and Martha, five. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 150.

55. Patience may be referring to Margaret Agusta Pucell, fourteen, and her sister Ellen, nine. Lyndia Carter notes that both were born in England and were the daughters of Samuel Pucell, about fifty-one, and Margaret Perren Pucell, about fifty-three. Samuel died October 22 and Margaret on October 27. Carter, “Martin Handcart Company.” Wesley P. Bauer wrote of this family: Margaret became ill, so had to ride in the handcart part of the way. Her husband grew so weary and weakened from the lack of food that this additional burden caused him to slip and fall one day as he crossed a river. Having to travel in the cold, wintry weather with wet clothing he, too, became ill and died from hunger and exposure. His wife died five days later, leaving ten-year-old Ellen and fourteen-year-old Maggie orphans . . . . Many died and many others suffered from frozen limbs, among them the Pucell girls, both having badly frozen feet and legs. . . . When shoes and stockings were removed from the girls’ feet, the skin came off. Although Maggie’s legs were frozen, she would not allow them to do more than scrape the flesh off the bones, but Ellen’s were so bad they had to be amputated just below the knees . . . . The girls stayed in Salt Lake waiting for their wounds to heal. Later they lived in Parowan for awhile, then on to Cedar, where both married and reared families, although Ellen Pucell (Unthanks) went on her knee-stubs all her life. (Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 138.)

56. According to Carter, the company camped at Devil’s Gate on November 2. John Jaques recalled in 1878–79 that the company had camped five miles west of Devil’s Gate on November 1, but this is apparently an error. (Bell, *Life History*, 153.)
57. These “log huts” were apparently the remains of an abandoned fort that once had guarded Devil’s Gate pass. Lyndia Carter notes that George D. Grant was captain of the rescue mission encamped at Devil’s Gate; Joseph A. Young and the others who had met the handcart company and brought encouragement were part of Grant’s party, sent ahead as an express to provide some immediate relief.

58. Patience here describes the final crossing of the Sweetwater River between Devil’s Gate and the geological anomaly now called Martin’s Cove. The crossing, which occurred on November 3, 1856, is commemorated now by a bridge constructed over the site. A plaque recounts the heroic efforts Patience here describes. The “few miles” Patience mentioned was about two miles.

59. The three men who carried people across the Sweetwater were Clark Allen Huntington, George W. Grant, and David P. Kimball. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 133. Ira Nebeker, only seventeen years old, and Stephen Taylor were also in the water. Carter. William H. Kimball and James Ferguson were not in the water but had been among the rescue party (Hafen and Hafen 124), and Patience is clearly a little confused in her memory of events at this critical juncture. All of the handcart company emigrants were by this time exhausted and weak from hunger, and trying to recall the events decades later proved difficult for many of them. John Jaques would write, years later, “If I were certain of the names of all those brave waders, I would insert them here.” Turner, *Life History*, 126.

60. Patience refers here to the area now known as Martin’s Cove, near present-day Muddy Gap, Wyoming.

61. John Jaques says they camped at Martin’s Cove for “two or three or more” days. Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 127. Robert T. Burton, a member of the rescue party who kept a camp journal, said the company moved out on November 9, a Sunday, which he described as a “[f]ine warm morning.” Burton, “Camp Journal”; Bell, *Life History*, 292. Both Jaques and Patience were writing from memory many years after the event.

62. Amy Britnell Loader was fifty-four years old when she began the trek across the plains. Family tradition says she always wore extra petticoats so that she could provide dry clothing for her children after stream crossings, and as winter drew on she had hand carried a small basket containing extra stockings for their wet feet. When she had sufficient flour she made small biscuits instead of gruel for her family; the biscuits were evenly divided and if there were any leftovers she carried them in her pocket so she could give small bits to her young son Robert when he cried of hunger. Early in the manuscript Patience had indicated that her mother was a “frail, delicate woman”; however, Amy Britnell Loader survived the entire handcart trek and lived in Pleasant Grove, Utah, until her death in 1885. The incident Patience describes here, according to family traditions, typifies Amy’s steely mental and emotional strength and her important role in providing encouragement to help her family survive.

63. For some reason at this point, once again, in the original handwritten manuscript Patience begins writing between the lines as if attempting to conserve paper. After half a page or so she goes back to observing the line spacing as printed on the tablet.

64. John Jaques wrote in 1879:

> It was a trying time, that day in leaving the ravine. One perplexing difficulty was to determine who should ride, for many must still walk,
though, so far as I recollect, and certainly for most of the company, the cart pulling occupation was gone. There was considerable crying of women and children, and perhaps a few of the men, whom the wagons could not accommodate with a ride. One of the relief party remarked that in all the mobbings and drivings of the “Mormons” he had seen nothing like it. (Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 128.)

65. Patience’s assertion that the wagons were colder than the tents is supported by John Jaques’ recollections: “It was warmer sleeping with beds on the ground, where if the biting, frosty air got the upper hand of you, it could not get the underside of you as well, but it could do both in a wagon.” Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 132.

66. Lyndia Carter comments that Patience omits about twenty days in her recollections. Between November 9, when the company left Martin’s Cove, and November 26, when Echo Squires was born, the company continued to suffer serious and severe hardships, and a number of people died—perhaps as many as thirty or more. They camped on Black’s Fork on November 21 and at Fort Bridger on November 23.

67. Flora Loader Jaques died 23 November 1856. The Jaques’ determination to bury their child where their new home would be was against rules that prohibited, for obvious reasons, transporting the dead. But the child was small and the weather was cold, and the company was relatively near the valley, and apparently the Jaques family, with the conspiratorial approval of the rest of the Loader family, hid the little body on the handcart and managed to convey it to Salt Lake City. As Patience mentions, Flora was buried first in Franklin D. Richards’s lot, in December of 1856. In June of 1866 the Jaques family moved Flora’s body to the city cemetery and placed it next to the body of another child, Rose, who had died in 1865. Bell, *Life History*, 216, 220.

68. According to Lyndia Carter, Henry Augustus Squires and his wife Sarah Minnie Cattlin Squires, from England, traveled with five daughters: Sarah Augusta, eight; Mary Emily, about six; Catherine Harriet, about five; Clara Annie, about three; and Rosetta Agnes, about one. Echo Squires was born on November 26, 1856, in Echo Canyon.

In the Valley, November 30, 1856–December 1858

1. John Jaques later described the handcart company’s arrival in the city:

   [O]n Sunday, the 30th of November, [the company] passed down the . . . canyon and arrived in this city about noon, driving into East Temple Street as the congregation was leaving the old adobe tabernacle in the southwest corner of the Temple block. The meeting of the emigrants with relatives, acquaintances and friends, was not very joyous. Indeed, it was very solemnly impressive. Some were so affected, that they could scarcely speak, but would look at each other until the sympathetic tears would force their way. In a short time, however, the emigrants were taken into the homes of their friends and made as comfortable as circumstances would permit them to be, while they thawed the frost out of their limbs and regained their health and strength. (Turner, *Emigrating Journals*, 134.)
2. The Seventh Ward included an area bounded on the north and south by 3rd South and 6th South, and on the east and west by Main Street and 2nd West. Ward Map; B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 281–282. Bishop Thorne’s family occupied the second house facing south near the corner of 1st West and 6th South in Salt Lake City. Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., “Pioneer Map of Great Salt Lake City.”

3. Thomas E. Ricks was one of the rescue party Patience discusses who arrived while the company was camped at Martin’s Cove. He was impressed by the manners of the Loader family. When the company arrived in the valley, Ricks invited Tamar to live with his family as a maid. Family tradition has it that Tamar had a dream in which she saw Thomas Ricks as her husband, and when she actually did see him for the first time she told her mother he would be her future husband. They were married March 27, 1857. Ricks eventually became the founder of Ricks College, now Brigham Young University Idaho, in Rexburg.

4. John Dalling was married to Patience’s older sister Ann. See Note 37, *England*, and appendix 1.

5. This comment has been incorrectly attributed in other sources to Amy Britnell Loader.

6. Jedediah M. Grant, an apostle, died December 1, 1856, at age forty. He was a well-known individual, having had a fiery temperament. Perhaps his body was lying in state when Patience and Annie Thorn visited.

7. Gilbert Clements had a residence on the southeast corner of 1st West and 2nd South in the Fifteenth Ward of Salt Lake City. Morgan, “Pioneer Map.”

8. George Riser’s residence was on the southwest corner of the intersection of North Temple and 4th West. Morgan, “Pioneer Map.”

9. Patience’s formal address, using titles and surnames rather than given names, makes it difficult to identify some of the people she mentions. There are no records of a Bell family in the Westminster Branch in London, so how she knew them is uncertain, but Bell’s family home was on 5th West, one lot south of 5th North. Morgan, “Pioneer Map.”

10. According to Surnames.Com, “Pioneer Indexes to Washington County, Utah, 1852–1870” and related family group sheets, Conrad Kleinman was a half-brother to John Conrad Naegle; his first wife’s name was Johanna Catharina Maria Germer. Kleinman had worked on the Nauvoo Temple and had served as one of the temple bodyguards at night. He had been appointed as a scout for the vanguard pioneer company. Later he would assist John Naegle in winemaking at Toquerville.

   C. Kleinman was also one of the men who, in response to a request by John Taylor, investigated the feasibility of handcart migration. See appendix 4.

11. John Conrad Naegle (Americanized to Naile) was born in Germany in 1825. His parents emigrated to America when he was seven, and he joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints when he was a teenager. He volunteered for the Mormon Battalion, and after his military release in California he went to Sutter’s Mill, where he was working when the first gold was discovered. He married Mary Louisa Kepple in 1853 in Indiana when he went home to visit his parents, and arrived in Salt Lake City on November 1, 1853. Shortly thereafter he bought a large farm at Lehi and operated two ranches, one near the Jordan River and another at Cold Springs near the Jordan Bridge. He traveled back and forth between Utah and California, where he maintained lucrative property, and in 1854 moved...
his family to Carson Valley, Nevada. The family had just returned to Utah to make their permanent home in October of 1856 before Patience met them in December. As Patience recounts John’s brother’s remark, the Nailes were indeed “rich,” and they were always generous with their means, as is demonstrated by their solicitous care of Patience, which she describes later in the manuscript. See “The Life of John Conrad Naegle” on file at the Mormon Battalion Visitors’ Center in Old Town, San Diego, California, for a full account of the Naile family.

12. Patience is speaking of making ceremonial clothing for wear when participating in ordinances within the temples of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

13. George Gottlab Zimmerman was born in Germany in 1781. His wife was Julia Ann Hoke, also from Germany, and born in 1798. They had, in addition to the daughters Patience mentions (Rosannah and Susan), three sons and four other daughters. George Zimmerman was a schoolteacher and a shoemaker, and was appointed as the first keeper of the Jordan River Bridge. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1271.

14. With the required permission of his first wife, Louisa, John Naile married Susan and Rosannah Zimmerman on July 6, 1857, in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. The ceremonies were performed by Brigham Young. Naile would later take four more wives, each of whom had her own room in his large home. “The Life of John Conrad Naile,” 4.

15. Patience’s casual little comment about amusing circumstances piques modern audiences as it comes titillatingly in conjunction with Conrad Naile’s taking of two additional young wives. It is interesting that nowhere in Patience’s manuscript does she indicate her feelings, if she had any strong ones, about plural marriage, but in spite of the fact that she was a near party to several polygamous marriages (several of her sisters as well as the Naile family’s), Patience did not practice polygamy herself.

16. The Nailes owned land near Cold Springs and also near the warm springs that are now incorporated into a small town called Saratoga Springs, near Lehi, Utah.

17. Patience, as did all ladies of the nineteenth century, rode sidesaddle. In this instance she straddles the horse to gain better balance.

18. It is not possible at this time to identify which brother-in-law this may have been.

19. American Fork is about three miles from Lehi.

Camp Floyd, December 1858–July 27, 1861

1. John Rozsa’s autobiography is on file in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections Archives of the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. John was born November 7, 1820, at Saint Anna Arader County, Hungary, the son of John Rozsa and Rosalie Speth Rozsa. He was one of six children; the others were Franz, Joseph, Nina, Katrina, and Philippine. John came to America to escape punishment for desertion from the Austrian military, and arrived in New York on May 15, 1853. On December 12, 1853, he enlisted in the United States Army; in May of 1855 he transferred into the Tenth Infantry Regiment and was assigned, he says, to C Company. As part of the Utah Expedition, he had arrived in Utah on June 13, 1858, and was part of the initial contingent of soldiers who set up and established Camp Floyd.
2. In 1858 American President James Buchanan dispatched an army under the eventual command of Albert Sidney Johnston to Utah to fight the “Mormon War” (now called the Utah War). Partly a political ploy to divert attention from the gathering storm of issues involving slavery and states’ rights, the army did, however, fully expect to quell a Mormon rebellion and came with some air of hostility. The Mormons, after having been persecuted from New York to Missouri to Illinois and having fled to the mountains, were wary at best and hostile towards the army at worst. Mormon men, many of whom were veterans of the Mormon Battalion of the Mexican War, held “Johnston’s Army” off by guerilla tactics and fortified Echo Canyon, the main route into the Salt Lake Valley. The American army was forced to camp under serious privations for the winter. In the following spring an agreement was reached between federal authorities and Brigham Young, and the army entered the valley peacefully, passing through a mostly deserted Salt Lake City (the Mormons had moved south to gather their resources until they were sure what the army might do). As previously agreed, Johnston marched his men through and past Salt Lake City and encamped the first night at a site just south of town (Audrey Godfrey indicates that the location was at about present-day 2100 South and Redwood Road). The next day the army moved thirty miles further south, and finally set up a permanent camp on the west side of Utah Lake, near a tiny Mormon settlement named Fairfield.

Eventually the Mormons moved back into the city and environs, and a kind of wary coexistence between Mormons and soldiers came to bear. Mormons helped make adobes to construct the fort, and sold produce and other goods to the soldiers. But Mormon girls were cautioned to stay away from soldiers, and army commanders discouraged marriage of enlisted men, particularly to Mormon women. For a full discussion of Camp Floyd, see Donald R. Moorman’s and Gene Sessions’s *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: the Utah War; “The U. S. Army’s Mormon Expedition of 1859”; and Stephen Seyburn’s *History of the 10th U.S. Infantry*.

3. Abel Evans was an early settler of the city of Lehi, and served in a ward bishopric of the Mormon church between 1852 and 1861, during which time he apparently baptized John Rozsa. Evans was an adobe maker and may have become acquainted with John as Mormons sold adobes to the soldiers to construct the fort. Richard Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portraits of a Utah Town*, 91–94).

4. Stuck between the pages of the first of Patience’s three original notebooks is a copy of the marriage record of Patience and John Rozsa performed by church officials. She was thirty-one at the time of her marriage, and John was thirty-seven.

5. Patience here refers to the first bridge built over the Jordan River near Lehi. It was a commercial enterprise constructed by a stock company in 1853 as a toll bridge. Fees were set by act of the City Council; in fact, the tolls were the first official city ordinance. Rates were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For crossing a vehicle of any kind drawn by two animals</td>
<td>20c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or six tickets for</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For each and every vehicle drawn by one animal</td>
<td>15c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For each animal and rider or each pack animal</td>
<td>10c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For loose horses, mules, jacks, jinnies, and cattle, each</td>
<td>5c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For sheep and hogs</td>
<td>1c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For each foot passenger</td>
<td>5c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fines were imposed for moving across the bridge faster than a walk, whether the speeders were loose animals, wagons and teams, or foot traffic. Hamilton Gardner, *Lehi Centennial History*, 41–42.

While the tolls are historically interesting, the bridge was important in several ways: it provided income for the settlers and it served as a crossroads where soldiers, Mormons, and travelers would come into association. It seems certain that the environs of the toll bridge were the locus of meeting between Patience and John.


7. Audrey Godfrey notes in “Home Hungry Hearts,” page 47, that the army did not encourage enlistment of married men and that the number of women allowed into the camp as wives of soldiers would be governed by the number of laundresses needed. In “Housewives, Hussies . . .” Godfrey explains that wives of soldiers were

neither wanted nor encouraged to accompany husbands. Special permission from company commanders had to be given. . . . Army regulations, while not forbidding enlisted men to marry and include their wives in their tours of duty, made life difficult for those who did by not recognizing their wives’ presence or by denying privileges unless the spouses became laundresses or cooks. (158).

8. John Rozsa says in his autobiography that he was in Company C (though this may be a handwriting transcription error in the typed copy) of the Tenth Infantry at Camp Floyd. According to the roster “Enlisted Men of the Tenth Regiment, U.S. Infantry (Regular Army)” John was in Company F. Companies were frequently reorganized and sometimes entirely disbanded, so this disparity is not disturbing. The roster lists a John Burchill as a private in Company F of the Tenth Infantry; this may have been the man John Rozsa sent to bring Patience into the fort.

9. John Carson was one of the original settlers of Fairfield, Utah, and served as branch president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints there for a number of years. Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portraits*, 6. He also constructed and ran the Carson Inn, now known as the Stagecoach Inn, which was a haven for travelers and which has been restored and now stands in Camp Floyd State Park. It’s probable that Patience waited for John in Carson’s inn.

10. James Buchanan Porter was a justice of the peace (an elected official and local citizen) who would have been recognized by the army as licensed to perform lawful marriages. Born in Pennsylvania, he was a lawyer by profession. He married twice; his first wife’s name was Elizabeth, and they had three sons and one daughter, Martha, who would have been twenty in 1858 when Patience and John were married. His family eventually relocated to Mt. Pleasant, Utah, where he died and is buried. Curtis Allen, November 2004; Jill Bingham, June 2005.

11. A Sergeant Charles W. Trumbull appears on the enlisted men’s roster in Company F & S; Company K lists a Private James H. Trumbull. Perhaps this is the Mr. Trumbull John sends for Patience. His wife, presumably, is the
person who helps John prepare Patience’s bridal quarters. Unfortunately, because Patience uses the formal names of military women mentioned in her narrative, including only their titles and surnames, it is almost impossible to identify these friends with confidence. Their kind deeds will have to speak for them.

12. Interestingly, John N. Kalapsey’s enlistment papers, which include a physical description of the enlistee, are among a handful available for perusal at Camp Floyd State Park. He was born in Hungary, and enlisted June 20, 1857, in Pennsylvania, specifically for the expedition to Utah. He was thirty-one years old at the time of his enlistment, and had grey eyes, brown hair, and a fair complexion; he stood 5 feet 8 inches tall. Since John Rozsa enlisted in New York, Kalapsey must have become his friend during their service together. Certainly they would have been drawn to each other by their common ethnic backgrounds. His name does not appear on the official roster of enlisted men, but such discrepancies are not unusual in military records.

13. Fairfield, Utah, which sits in a long valley known locally as Cedar Valley, was established in 1854 by Mormon settlers, abandoned because of Indian attacks, and then reinhabited in 1857 when Mormon families returned. The following year the settlers were once again forced to turn part of their properties over to Johnston’s Army. Once the army was established, Fairfield became the locus of a host of disreputable camp followers, and the city was the site of a sizable number of bars and brothels. Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd*, 60–63. But the Mormon families stayed on, and John Carson built the Stagecoach Inn, which became an important resting place on the westward trail. The city may have symbolized to Patience the contrast between her familiar world and the new one she was entering with her husband.

14. Audrey Godfrey discusses the close relationships formed among men of a military company:

Members of a company lived twelve to a room that measured roughly twenty-by-twenty feet. This group drilled together, ate together, competed in sports together. They also planted a company garden and each took his turn with his comrades in tending it. The members pooled their money in a company fund from which extra cooking equipment, food, and other items were purchased. When a man found himself in dire straits financially the company often came to his aid through this fund. (“Home Hungry Hearts,” 51.)

Patience may have been very pleasantly surprised by a warm welcome once she actually arrived on the post. As her narrative continues she seems to describe the very kinds of camaraderie and mutual caring that Godfrey described—extended in this case to the women of the company.

15. “Annie Laurie” was composed by William Douglas of Scotland early in the 18th century; the words of the song, according to Dean W. Sandeman in the Moniave, Scotland, home page, were handed down by his descendants. The story of the song explains how the match between the singer and Annie Laurie was doomed; both married other people. The song became an anthem for broken-hearted lovers everywhere. The words are:
Maxwelton Banks are bonnie where early falls the dew;  
Where me and Annie Laurie made up the promise true;  
Made up the promise true and ne’er forget will I  
And for bonnie Annie Laurie I’ll lay down my head and die.

She’s backit like a Peacock, she’s breastit like a Swan,  
She’s jimp about the middle; hear waist ye may weill span.  
Her waist ye may weill span and she has a rolling eye,  
And for bonnie Annie Laurie I’ll lay down my head and die.

16. A song by this title was printed in 1857, the lyrics published in *The Harmoniad and Sacred Melodist* and reproduced on a web site that lists, among other things, composers, poets, meters, and first lines of hundreds of songs. [http://www.fasola.org/index/L/359.html](http://www.fasola.org/index/L/359.html), accessed June 2004. The tune to the 1857 version of the song was printed in 1869 by H. S. Reese. The words are:

Farewell, Mother, tears are streaming  
Down thy pale and tender cheek;  
I in gems and roses gleaming,  
Scarce this sad farewell can speak.  
Farewell, Mother, now I leave you,  
Griefs and hopes my bosom swell;  
One to trust who may deceive me:  
Farewell, Mother, fare you well.

The MedFools web site (Amazon.com in the United Kingdom) indicates that an earlier version of the song appeared in Thomas Williams’s *Sylph Annual* of 1830. The words for the first song were written by Miss M. L. Beevor. The book containing the words is out of print, unfortunately. Patience is more likely to have known the 1830 version than the 1857 one, since she says John counts the song as one of his favorites, and having been stationed in Utah for several months, he would not likely have heard the later one. Sentimentality was an important element of nineteenth-century culture, though, and it’s very likely that the tenor of the earlier song would have been much the same as this one. The sentimental nature of the tunes must have worked heavily on Patience—newly married, among strangers in a place considered by many of her friends to be the host of evil, alone and away from her family and friends for the first time, all the uncertainties of a new marriage and a new beginning lying before her.

17. I have inserted a comma here in brackets because absence of punctuation has led some family members to search in vain for a record of a second marriage by Amy Britnell Loader. Patience’s intent seems clear—she is delineating the emotions she is feeling, and is not referring to her mother having married and left! Amy Britnell Loader never remarried and is buried in Pleasant Grove, Utah.

18. While these furnishings may have seemed sparse and primitive to Patience after the relative wealth and comfort of living with the Nailes, John’s friends in his company had actually done very well by her, and according to camp standards she was well suited indeed. She seems to have recognized this; there is no strain of self-pity in her remembrances about the beginning of her married life.
Still, it must have been rather a forbidding setting. “With an eye more
toward utility than beauty, the soldiers’ living quarters were one-storied
buildings, divided into rooms twelve or fifteen feet square, with comfort-
able fireplaces. Because of the high cost of glass, windows were dispropor-
tionately small.” Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd*, 57.

19. Patience’s reluctance, prompted in part by poor health, to assume the
responsibilities of a laundress could also have been motivated by recogni-
tion of the reduction in status that title implied. Audrey Godfrey writes,
“Laundresses would not normally have been included among the ‘ladies’
mentioned in writings of the time. That term was reserved for officers’
wives in most cases.” “Housewives, Hussies” 159. While Patience had worked
as a maid in the Burlington Hotel in London, she was not required there to
do laundry; and her main complaint against her first employers, when she
was seventeen, was that they expected her to do the family wash. Patience
was a person of significant personal pride, shown at various times in her
manuscript: her reaction to being required to travel across the continent
by handcart and her unwillingness to acknowledge to Mr. Naile that she
had fallen off a mule and seriously injured her face being prime examples.
Later in her life neighbors and acquaintances, as well as family and friends,
would remember that Patience and her sister Ann always took pride in con-
ducting themselves as British ladies.

Perhaps the greatest personal insight we can gain from this part of the
narrative, though, is John’s self-sacrificing response to Patience’s dismay.
He may actually have been in serious need of the extra income that would
be provided by Patience’s appointment as laundress. Finances for soldiers
were sometimes very difficult. Moorman and Sessions note on page 84 that
soldiers were paid only twice yearly and were at the mercy of constantly
increasing sutler’s charges.

20. The child was named John James Rozsa. He thrived and left a large pos-
sterity, and died in San Diego, California, on February 19, 1944. He’s bur-
ied in Pleasant Grove City Cemetery, Utah. Patience’s mother was living
in Pleasant Grove, about thirty miles from Camp Floyd, when she came to
attend Patience during her confinement.

21. This part of Patience’s narrative is remarkable for things it does *not*
mention. During the time she lived in Camp Floyd, the nearest town, Fairfield,
was a hotbed of irreputable people including prostitutes, gamblers, and
gunfighters who had followed the army camp. Some of these people did of
course enter the camp, but even when they were not physically present, their
influence was certainly felt. As for personal friends, laundresses, of which
group she was at least ostensibly a part, were known to be good-hearted but
rough; and other Mormon women who came to the camp (including Mercy
Tuckett, an actress) were not always models of pious behavior.

On a more positive note, in the camp itself there were social gather-
ings of all kinds, including theater performances, Temperance meetings,
and various ethnic-related clubs and groups, all being held as part of the
very air which Patience breathed. Additionally, army troops had occasional
verbal conflicts with Mormon settlers, and certainly John must have been
involved with some of the varied military assignments which included
opening new trails east and west and responding to Indian outbreaks. (See
the full works of Moorman and Sessions, and Audrey Godfrey’s articles, for
fascinating insights into life at Camp Floyd.) Patience is absolutely silent
about all of that. We can only assume that, based on our recognition of her attention to detail and her profound storytelling ability, she chose not to discuss this part of her life. Perhaps her loyalties were divided, as she certainly did become a devoted army wife; or perhaps she felt that such experiences were not significant to her purposes for writing. At any rate, she confines her observations to her own personal experiences—and handles them sparsely at that.

Another reason for her omission of descriptions of Camp Floyd’s daily life may have had to do with her own physical incapacities at the time, first because of her illness after the hard freeze and then complications, we assume, of childbirth. It’s interesting to speculate whether Patience’s ongoing bad health at Camp Floyd could have been at least partly psychologically induced in response to the distresses of her location and perhaps a subconscious need to isolate herself from camp life. Certainly she seems to be perfectly healthy at all other times, at least according to what she talks about in her manuscript.

22. Ruby Valley was the site of an army outpost, to the west in present Nevada, that would during the Civil War have an important role in protecting the overland mail route across central Nevada

23. The enlisted men’s roster includes a private Stephen from Companies E and H, no given name recorded; Private Ella Stephens from Company D, and Private Wesley Stephens from Company G.

24. Captain Henry Frances Clarke, a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, was born in Pennsylvania and was one of the original officers assigned to the Tenth Infantry when organized, leading Company A, but “declined” and was replaced by another officer. Seyburn, History of the 10th, 1. He then “accompanied the Utah expedition of 1857 as commissary of subsistence, and remained there as chief commissary till 1860.” Virtual American Biographies, 1–2.

25. Twenty-five enlisted men by the name of O’Brien (with a variety of spellings) appear on the roster.

26. The Tenth Infantry was housed on the northwest corner of Camp Floyd. If Patience lived to the back or north side, she may well have been especially vulnerable to break-ins, since beyond the camp fence would be empty fields. At the time Patience describes, fully one third of the United States Army was stationed at Camp Floyd, according to a video now shown at the state park, and a brochure distributed at the park indicates that there were “more than 3,500 military and civilian employees—cavalry, artillery, infantry, and support units.” Brochure entitled “Camp Floyd/Stagecoach Inn State Park and Museum.” Considering the number of people and the hustle and bustle of the encampment, it is not remarkable that neither Patience nor her neighbor Mrs. O’Brien could positively identify the man who broke down Patience’s door.

27. Identification of this man is complicated by the fact that Patience’s manuscript seems to say “Walton” in some places and “Walters” in others. There was a Private William G. Walters of Company B listed on the roster, and also a William S. Walton listed as a recruit and without a company assignment.

28. Curtis Allen feels, after extensive research into military records pertaining to Camp Floyd and soldiers from Camp Floyd stationed elsewhere earlier and later, that the “Abraham” Patience fears is Private Francis Abraham of Company (Battery) A of the Fourth Artillery. Allen writes,
He enlisted during the 1857–1858 period and . . . the first we see of him in the Camp Floyd records is as a prisoner at hard labor 5 February 1860. The reports continue to show him in that status until 9 July 1860 when he disappears from the prisoner list. A List of Prisoners and their sentences shows him as having been convicted by a General Court Martial March 23, 1859 (Battery A was at Fort Laramie at this time) of “Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline” and sentenced to confinement. This charge is a catch-all and the punishment can be anything from a reduction in rank, a small fine, [or] short imprisonment to a quite severe sentence. Abraham was hit by the book. He was sentenced to confinement at hard labor for the remainder of his enlistment (9 August 1863) wearing a ball and chain and forfeiting pay and allowances. The labor was quarrying rock from the area west of the camp and whatever other heavy work needed to be done, working and marching in silence. Abraham was often excused because he was too sick to work. It does not appear that Sergeant Rozsa was in any way involved with this court martial. (It is surprising, though not unheard of, that Abraham was brought from Fort Laramie with his battery when it was transferred to Camp Floyd in 1860). Rozsa did, however, serve as Sergeant of the Guard while Abraham was in the guardhouse. There were typically 25 prisoners in the lockup and Rozsa would have known a little about each of them. It may be that he was well aware of Abraham’s infraction, court martial, and sentence.

[Abraham] apparently was released, with his sentence remitted, in July, 1860 [and] is next seen as standing guard duty [between] 16 December 1860 and . . . 1 March 1861.

The date of 19 February 1861 is significant as “Sergeant John Rosa” (always spelled this way in these records) was Sergeant of the Depot Guard and was in charge of Abraham who was a Depot Guard that day. . . . Rozsa and Abraham would have had close contact on this assignment, with Rozsa in command. Rozsa being in the Infantry and Abraham being from a different regiment could have made the apparently unruly Abraham unwilling to accept any discipline from this strange sergeant. The 19 February date is the only one that paired these two, although Rozsa continued to have Sergeant of the Guard assignments as far as the records go. This latter plus some assignments away from camp for a week or two, would have provided the opportunity to add to the motive. The means would simply be the dark campground. (E-mail, November 3, 2004).

To “close the loop” on Abraham, Allen also indicates that Abraham was born in Limerick County, Ireland; was “one of the many Irish immigrants that came to the United States and joined the army because there was no other option open to them;” was twenty-seven years old when he enlisted in the army; was by occupation a bricklayer; had blue eyes, red hair, and a ruddy complexion; and was five feet ten inches tall.

Apparently he later “straightened up” and served well during the Civil War; he was recommended for promotion because of his actions on July 3, 1863, at the repulse of Pickett’s charge at Gettysburg. After his honorable discharge, nothing is known of him. Allen used the Register of Enlistments
and *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* to discover this information. I am greatly indebted to Curtis Allen for his untiring assistance in research pertaining to Camp Floyd/Crittenden and other army activities.

29. Captain Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley (comically dubbed “North American Manning Dudley” by some of his men because of his apparently self-important attitude) was less sympathetic to the Mormons than some other officers were, as seems reflected in his less than compassionate response to Patience’s concerns about the violence attempted upon her by this unknown soldier. At another time, in a conflict revolving around a federally appointed anti-Mormon Judge named Cradlebaugh, Dudley, acting in behalf of the army, issued a warning that any Mormon attempting to rescue “wards of the court,” or Mormons arrested by Cradlebaugh in a confrontation at Provo, would be “summarily executed.” Moorman and Session, *Camp Floyd*, 111. Born in Massachusetts, Dudley was appointed to duty with the Tenth Infantry on March 3, 1855. He would later (September 13, 1864) be promoted to Major in the Fifteenth Infantry but would be court-martialed in 1861 for “conduct unbecoming an officer” and again in 1870 for drunkenness, which resulted in his suspension for sixty days. Seyburn, *History of the 10th*, In spite of repeated disciplinary actions against him (he was indicted for arson but acquitted in 1879), Dudley rose in the ranks and retired in 1889 as a brigadier general. He died in 1910 and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. “‘Hero’ of the Lincoln County War,” 1–3.

30. Moorman and Sessions discuss punishments meted out at Camp Floyd (and other military installations) and point out that “discipline at Camp Floyd was severe. Isolated from the public eye by geography or by public indifference, enlisted men were often subjected to arbitrary punishment not prescribed by the military code, a violation that was increasingly accepted though not publicly by the army.” Moorman and Sessions quote the journal of Private J. E. Farmer as he describes some of those punishments:

> [O]fficers often subjected enlisted offenders to “bucking and gagging, and carrying large timbers before the guard house, knocking them down with their muskets, maiming them by saber cuts and in some instances shooting them.” Flogging was frequent . . . (97)

Moorman and Sessions also quote an unidentified sergeant:

> In the foregoing, I have made use of the term “bucked and gagged,” which perhaps will need explanation to some of your readers. It is a punishment never resorted to except in aggravated cases. . . . To “buck” a man, his wrists are first firmly bound together as close as possible. He is then placed in a sitting posture, and his knees are forced between his arms. A stick is then introduced between the bend of his legs and the bend of his arms; and he is unable to move without grumbling over on his back, which, from his helpless condition, is no pleasant feat to perform. Gagging is simply introducing a stick between his teeth and fastening it with strings that was drawn so tight as to cut the corners of their mouths, and cause the blood to flow down on their coat collars, but this is too severe, and few officers resort to it except to silence a man who otherwise cannot be induced to be quiet. (98)
Moorman and Sessions also point out that “corporal punishment was considered a deterrent to crime” and was, in one form or another, standard operating procedure. If John Rozsa subscribed to such forms of punishment, it is easily conceivable that an infuriated and humiliated soldier might try to take his vengeance on Rozsa’s greatest vulnerability: his family.

31. According to enlistment rolls (see Index to Service Records), John reenlisted with Company C, Tenth Infantry, on October 12, 1858, at Camp Floyd, for six more years. He was at the time thirty-six years old, and is described in the papers as having blue eyes, brown hair, and a fair complexion; he was five feet eleven inches tall.

On the Trail to Washington, July 27–November 1861

1. Camp Floyd, originally named after the secretary of war, had been renamed as Camp Crittenden in February of 1861. John B. Floyd, for whom it was originally named, had joined the Confederacy. Allen, October 26, 2004.

2. Charles C. Scott, a private in the Fourth Artillery, kept an almost daily diary, part of which recounts the trip from Camp Crittenden to Washington, D. C., in 1861. He indicates that on July 27th the company camped the first night “on the Jordan near the Lake at half past two. Distance 16 miles Telegraph poles from the City to our late Camp nearly all up.” Patience indicates that they camped so early in the day in order to obtain hay for the cattle and also because the “teamsters” were inexperienced and the rest of the camp had to wait for them to catch up.

3. A Henry Simmonds joined a volunteer infantry in Lehi for the Indian wars in September of 1857 and was a member of the first elders quorum in Lehi in 1858. His wife, Catherine Davis Simmonds, was a midwife in Lehi. Richard Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portraits*, 7, 95, 315. A picture of Catherine appears on page 76 of Gardner’s *Lehi Centennial History* and is labeled “A hand cart veteran.” Since Patience uses only Mrs. Simmonds’s formal title, it’s not possible to make positive identification, but Lehi’s population was relatively small and it’s likely that this is the person Patience is talking about.

Van Wagoner spells this surname with a *d*; Curtis Allen indicates that Henry Simmons himself did not use the *d*. According to Allen, Henry Simmons was with the Israel Evans handcart company.

4. John Rozsa records in his autobiography that he had in actuality deserted once before, in August 1849, from the Sixth Hungarian Linize Regiment; this desertion prompted his removal to America. Whether Mrs. Simmons was aware of this part of John’s history is doubtful. Ironically, however, John would indeed later be accused of desertion—this time from the Union army for a brief time to be with Patience when she was confined with their second son in Washington, D. C.—though the entire affair seems to have been something of a mix-up.

5. Patience seems to imply that Mrs. Simmons’s determination to bring Patience away was some sort of local conspiracy. This is not unlikely. A prevalent idea of the time was that leaving the valley was tantamount to leaving the church; additionally, a common fear among LDS women was that non-Mormon men might pretend to convert to the Mormon faith, marry a Mormon girl, and then abandon her later. (According to Patience, John had joined the Mormon church, but kept the matter a secret because of his military responsibilities.) Jane Tanner wrote about the hard decision
her own mother had to make as to whether to leave the valley and join her husband in California:

. . . [P]eople began telling her that it was not wisdom to go away from the church. There was much prejudice [sic] at that time against the outside world. We had suffered too much from the hands of our enemies to think that any good thing could come out of “Babylon;” and those who left the little band of brethren who were struggling for a home in the wilderness were considered weak in the faith. (Marjorie Ward, *A Fragment*, 64–65)

A great niece of Patience’s, Annie Pearl Loader Davis, recounts a family story that seems to support the prevalence of this attitude of fearfulness:

When [Aunt Patience] met John Rozsa, he was in Johnson’s [sic] Army at Camp Floyd in Cedar Fort. One day he rode up to the house on his horse and my great grandmother [Amy Britnell Loader, mother of Patience] went out to the fence and told him to go away. “We are good Mormons and you belong to that evil army. I don’t want you coming here to see my girl.” He spoke right up and said that he was going to marry Patience. He did . . . . (7)

6. Patience here omits the all-important word not. Often in her autobiography when her recollections stir up strongly emotional memories, she seems to begin to write hurriedly, which sometimes results in omissions.

7. It is interesting to contemplate what turmoil Patience’s feelings must have been in at this time. Clearly, she is more warmly and confidently received by the familiar company of the soldiers than she is by the would-be church family represented by Mrs. Simmons. Perhaps such ideological conflicts aided her brave decision to travel with the army, literally following her husband away from the security of her family and into the unknown—including a violent Civil War.

And, while recounting the warm reception of her husband’s companions as she returns to the military encampment, Patience implies that a conspiracy to prevent her leaving the army had been widely discussed—a tidbit of gossip or speculation that evidently traveled to and sparked interest among the soldiers as well as the townspeople.

8. According to Charles C. Scott, the company started out the next morning, July 28, at six a.m., but “at Lehi the Battery wagon broke down which delayed our Squad over an hour passed through American Fork and Pleasant Grove and Camped at the mouth of Timpanogas Canyon at half past two.” Patience records a wagon breakdown, though perhaps not the same one, as occurring the next day, after the company had left Cottonwood.

9. The roster of enlisted men does not indicate profession or assignments except for musicians, artificers, and hospital stewards. Patience later identifies the baker as Mr. Flavord. No such name appears on the roster, but Curtis Allen indicates that civilians were sometimes employed as cooks, etc.

10. The only Vance on the enlisted men roster for the Tenth Infantry was Henry R. Vance of Company B, no rank indicated.

11. Teamsters in the army were notorious for being unkempt, undisciplined, and violent—“border ruffians.” Moorman and Sessions quote a Captain
Phelps (John Wolcott Phelps, commander of Co. B, Fourth Artillery at Camp Floyd, according to Curtis Allen), who “saw them as 'young, half-savage men who looked as if they had not washed their persons or dress since leaving the Missouri,' easily provoked to violence, brazenly quarrelsome, and universally expert in the use of vulgar language, the mildest form of which could sear prairie grass for a distance of fifty yards.” *Camp Floyd*, 67-68. While the man Patience refers to may not have been a hired teamster, since Patience later mentions that he was a member of one of the army’s companies, his behavior seems consistent with Moorman and Sessions’ description. Patience will have another teamster later, however, who is every bit a gentleman.

12. Patience’s final epithet about the reprehensible teamster is amusing; for the wife of a Union officer, what could better be said or implied about the man’s character than that he had deserted to the enemy?

13. Patience’s failure to identify the man Abraham to Captain Dudley as her would-be assailant back at Camp Floyd is difficult to understand. She says earlier in the narrative that she feared to tell John who the man was for fear John would shoot Abraham and then suffer ill consequences. Here, though, it is apparent that John is not at hand, being, we assume, assigned to duties and responsibilities away from the wagons carrying goods and laundresses. It’s not possible to identify the unknown Mr. Jones, who will replace Abraham as Patience’s teamster.

14. According to Charles Scott’s diary, the army camped near or just past Echo Canyon on August 1, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth on October 6, after passing through Forts Bridger, Laramie, and Kearney. Jones evidently served Patience well for over two months.

15. Scott’s diary confirms a delay at Leavenworth. He indicates that they arrived there on October 6, were prepared to leave by steamboat on October 7, were unaccountably delayed and “passed a miserable night” on October 8 because their bedding was packed up, and finally ended up at St. Joseph on October 9. After recounting the conversation she had with Captain Dudley at Fort Leavenworth, Patience flashes back to some experiences that occurred on the plains previous to their arrival in Leavenworth.

16. This part of the narrative invites speculation as to whether Captain Dudley is less concerned with Patience’s comfort and welfare than he is with rid-ding the army of a “hysterical” woman who fears for her life at the hands of teamsters and mysterious assailants. His suggestion that she would be nearer to her mother in Pleasant Grove if she stayed in Fort Leavenworth is ironically amusing; by wagon, Leavenworth was somewhere in the neighborhood of 1300 miles from Pleasant Grove, Utah—nearer, certainly, but not near to Patience’s mother.

17. Divorce was not uncommon among women who entered into plural marriage and then decided they could not tolerate it. Brigham Young was relatively lenient in his willingness to grant divorces and seemed to have a personal policy of ensuring that no woman was required to stay in a relationship she found intolerable. Contention was likely to arise only in determination of who should have custody of the children. Traveling with the army was a relatively safe, and obviously free, way of returning to the eastern United States. The army would have been willing to accommodate such requests because of abhorrence of plural marriage and the circumstances of potential hostility between the Mormons and the army.
18. An even dozen Murphys appear on the roster for enlisted men for the Tenth Infantry. However, Deborah Petite of Roll-Call Research notes that post returns indicate that by May of 1866, almost three months before Patience’s group left, only Company H appears to have still been at Camp Floyd/Crittenden, all other companies having been transferred elsewhere. Whether the other companies reconnoitered from other points and joined Company H on its wagon and rail route east, and for how long they may have traveled together, is difficult to determine from the scattered records available.

At any rate, Patience remains in the company of her good friend Mrs. Murphy, and later will be “put in charge” of a Sergeant Murphy, who could possibly be Sergeant Peter Murphy of Company A of the Tenth Infantry—if we could assume the Tenth stays together as they travel. The Murphys figure heavily in Patience’s remembrances of this journey, but so far it simply isn’t possible to identify exactly who they are.

19. On August 4, 1861, Charles C. Scott wrote in his diary that his company had arrived at Fort Bridger, where they camped. The following day, August 5, he wrote:

Laying by. It is rumored in Camp that Dudley was attacked in Echo Canyon by Bill Hickman’s Gang and two of his men killed. A party of twelve Dragoons under Lieut Sanders have just left Camp to meet him. It is also said that Joe Kerrigan and his party, who left Fort Crittenden for Carson City the same day we left, have been massacred.

Two days later, on August 7, he recorded that his company was still camped at Fort Bridger, and made the following entry:

The Bull-train arrived to day. Dudleys command exchanged shots at long distance with a party of Indians, or Mormons disguised as such, in Echo Canyon no damage was done, it was their evident intentions to attack the train, as they thought Dudley had come ahead.

If army gossip can be trusted, the events Patience describes in this confrontation with Indians occurred in Echo Canyon, roughly only about sixty miles from Camp Crittenden.

Perhaps the most revealing information we can glean from Scott’s diary juxtaposed with Patience’s, however, is the obvious fear or distrust Scott has of the Mormons—nearly equal to his concerns about Indians.

20. The burning of certain kinds of limestone to obtain lime for use in making plaster and other building materials and also for agricultural applications has been a home industry for centuries in Great Britain and since the early days of settlement in America. Patience doesn’t provide specific enough information to identify this particular lime burning camp or the people to whom she refers, but once again, as she so often does, she casually mentions a personal experience that puts her readers in touch with another intriguing glimpse into nineteenth-century life, and another bit of history that invites further investigation. Several web sites provide interesting information on the burning of lime and can be accessed by simply typing the keywords “limestone burning” into a common search engine.

21. Porter Rockwell was a Mormon gunfighter who was said to act in defense of and on the orders of church leaders; he had served as bodyguard to
Joseph Smith. Richard Lloyd Dewey, Porter Rockwell. Bill Hickman called himself the “Destroying Angel” and acted as a Mormon vigilante who fought with guns as well as fists. William H. Hickman, Brigham Young’s Destroying Angel. Lot Smith was commander of the Nauvoo Legion, a Mormon military contingent, who had led several excursions of the Nauvoo Legion to harass the army as it approached Utah. See “Lot’s Hundred.” The Legion burned grass and supply wagons, causing the army serious suffering during the winter of 1857–58. Though Smith’s unit of the legion never numbered more than a hundred men, fantastic rumors had attributed to him a great force. His name still brought uneasiness to the army camp even after the years of comparatively peaceful coexistence between Camp Floyd and the Mormons. Brendon J. Metcalf, “The Nauvoo Legion.”

Patience does not describe the men, but the tone of her words implies that she, like many other Latter-day Saints, had conflicting emotions and looked upon these three individuals with a mixture of admiration and fear. She is definitely relieved that they ride on without pressing the issue of whether or not their wives are traveling with the army.

22. It’s hard to determine exact dates for the events Patience describes. Charles Scott’s company arrived at Bridger on August 4, at eleven a.m. This is where he heard the rumors about Dudley’s confrontation with the Indians and the presence in the army camp of Rockwell, Hickman, and Smith.

The army was on the trail east for exactly three months. Company E, under First Lieutenant Dudley, left Fort Crittendon (formerly Camp Floyd) on July 22 as guard to a public train en route to Fort Leavenworth. They arrived in Spring Creek, Kansas, October 6, and went on to Camp Anderson, Washington, where they arrived on October 22, 1861. Seyburn, History of the 20th Infantry, 31.

23. Possibly Sergeant Samuel Wright of Companies C and I at Camp Floyd/Fort Crittenden. 10th US Infantry Enlisted Roster.

24. Charles C. Scott records that the army had camped at Fort Laramie, not Fort Bridger as Patience states, on August 27 and had left there on September 2. His entries for September 2 and September 3:

Resumed the march at seven, in passing through Laramie Old Alec had the 20th Infy Band playing at the head of our Infantry - Road sandy at first and afterwards hard & level. Camped on the Platte. plenty of grass but a half mile to wood & water.

September 3d Shortly after taps last night, a most terrific thunderstorm came up, the clouds seeming to be very near the earth, the water coming down in sheets, so that the whole camp was flooded and everybody got ringing wet, there was several loud claps of thunder & flashes of lightning that seemed to keep the heavens in a continual flame. The Lightning struck one of the Sibley-tents of “E” Co. of the Dragoons shattering the pole to splinters, and killing a man Carey. besides seriously injuring seven others who were sleeping in the tent, the lightning also killed a horse belonging to the Dragoon Band and a Cow, besides striking a horse in the mouth. After burying the Dragoon at 7 oclock we left Camp at eight Road muddy and in some places very sandy for 10 miles then level. Camped on the Platte plenty of grass, crossed to the islands in the river for wood.
Curtis Allen’s research reveals that William Carey, born in Kings County, Ireland, was twenty-seven years old when he enlisted on March 6, 1854, at Ft. Snelling. He stood five feet and eleven inches tall, had grey eyes, brown hair, and a fair complexion. He served in the Second Dragoons, Co. E, of the Third Artillery, and was “killed by lightning, 2 September 1861, at Fort Laramie.” Register of Enlistments, U.S. Army, NARA microfilm M233.

25. There were twenty-seven Overland Trail stage stations listed on a route map dating 1862–1869. www.over-land.com/images/overland.gif. It’s not possible to identify which of these stations Patience may be referring to.

Note, though, that a number of “odd” vehicles and attendants (Mrs. Russell in her carriage, for example) are traveling with the army. This is because Dudley’s company was assigned to escort a “public train,” meaning nonmilitary travelers who desired to return to “the states.”

26. Charles C. Scott’s September 14 diary entry reads as follows:

Started at 1/3 to seven Road good. Camped at Frumont’s Slough on the Platte Bottom. . . . Whiskey caused three Dragoons to set themselves up as targets for each other, yesterday afternoon, and the consequence was, that one named Tague was shot through the neck and killed, one named White through the thigh, and the man that done the most shooting (Collins) was shot in the arm. One of our horses was found wounded in the thigh, most probably from a stray shot, we had to leave him behind.

A web site featuring items from Andreas’ History of Nebraska indicates that Fremont’s Slough is the name of a watering place where two small streams meet. It is located in Lincoln County, Nebraska. “Andreas’ History of the State of Nebraska,” Part 1.

27. The commanding officer was Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, who was a colonel in the Second Dragoons in 1858 and who was the second man to replace Albert Sidney Johnston as commanding officer of the army in Utah in 1860. “The U. S. Army’s Mormon Expedition of 1857,” 2, 4. Among other things, General Cooke was known as “the father of the U.S. cavalry,” was a West Point graduate, and would become a Union army general at the same time his famous son-in-law, J.E.B. Stuart, led Southern troops. Civil War Cavalry, 1. He left Camp Floyd in 1859 but returned and was in command at Fort Crittenden when the army was recalled to Washington in 1861. He was the last commander to leave the post, “about July 22, 1861, when the last of the Tenth departed for the east.” Allen, October 26, 2004.

28. Patience catches up with herself here, remembering, correctly, that the soldiers injured by lightning were left at Fort Laramie. Had the incident she describes actually occurred near Fort Bridger, as she had erroneously indicated, the suffering soldiers would have been transported almost four hundred miles by joggling army wagon before being placed in the care of an army hospital! Charles C. Scott’s diary helps us untangle this part of Patience’s remembrances.

29. According to Scott, the army arrived at Fort Leavenworth on October 6, where they camped until October 9.

30. Patience does not indicate in the manuscript exactly where the army boarded the train for the first time, but Charles C. Scott wrote that his company went by boat from a steamboat landing near Leavenworth to St. Joseph,
where they “commenced loading the Cars with the Horses.” John Rozsa says they traveled “part by water and part by railroad” from Leavenworth to St. Joseph. *John Rozsa’s Autobiography*, 16.

Patience mentions only three specific cities on the rail route to Washington: St. Joseph, Missouri; Quincy, Illinois; and Baltimore, Maryland. Extensive research by the Colorado Railroad Museum was unable to pinpoint exactly which of the network of rail lines the army might have taken.

But Charles C. Scott’s personal diary outlines the entire trip. The army, according to Scott, left St. Joseph on October 11 and arrived in Easton about noon on October 12; they then passed through “Chillicothe, Brookfield, Hudson & Palmyra,” and “arrived at West Quincy at 4 a.m.” October 13. On that day they “crossed the Mississippa on the Ferry boat to Quincy” and “laid over till dark when the trains started.” On October 14 they “traveled all night passed through Aurora and several other towns” and “[a]rrived in Chicago at three p.m.,” then “left Chicago at 9 1/2 p.m.” They arrived in Fort Wayne, Indiana, on October 15, were in Crestline, Ohio, “at dark” and “started again at 9 1/2 pm.” On October 16 they “[r]eached Pittsburgh at 10 A.M.” and on October 19 arrived in “Baltimore at 2 1/2 A.M. . . . Started again about noon and reached Washington about 4 p.m.” where they “stopped in a building called the Soldiers Rest.” The map route included in this volume comes from Scott’s record.

31. John Rozsa refers to this incident in his autobiography, page 16:

After 2 days rest we embarked and went up the Missouri till St. Joseph this we reached part by water and part by Railroad when we arrived there we found that the R. R. Bridge accross the Missouri Platte River was destroyed by the Seccesh, therefore the Infantry was ordered to march by land the 15 miles to Easton where the connection of the RR would commence the Artillery and Cavalry took another (the lower) road, the Head Gen and Staff and Soldiers Women were to go by R.R. to the destroyed Bridge . . . .

Charles Scott records on October 9, “it is said that we are waiting until the bridge is completed, that was destroyed a few weeks ago by the rebels. the Infantry left during the evening for the bridge . . . .”

See Note 39 for a description of this incident, which Patience hears about and discusses later in her narrative.

32. Curtis Allen writes, “There were two Montgomeries who were associated with the Utah Expedition. One was Samuel who was the Department’s military storekeeper, a civilian. The other was Alexander who was a 2nd Lit. in the 4th Artillery who stayed at Laramie.” E-mail, October 26, 2004.

I have not yet been able to identify a major Montgomery whose history fits into Patience’s narrative. A Major Montgomery C. Meigs, who was a military engineer responsible, among other things, for the Washington aqueduct system, served as the army’s quartermaster general; he had been born in Alabama but moved to Philadelphia and was an ardent member of the Union army. “The Meigs Family.” There is no reason to assume that Major Montgomery Meigs might be the person Patience was talking about—unless he had been sent to oversee the reconstruction of the destroyed bridge and happened to be on hand the night of the flatboat accident. Curtis Allen thinks this highly unlikely.
33. John James Rozsa was about twenty-one months old at this time.
34. John Rozsa, page 16 of his autobiography, also recorded this incident, and describes it thus:

Women were to go by R. R. to the destroyed Bridge across the River on a raft used as a ferry boat and small skifs. When the raft crossed with the second or third load the rope broke and several lives were lost most children of the soldiers. Mrs. Rozsa with her child had crossed the River in one of the skifs came safe through but we lost our bedding.

*The History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph* describes an accident that sounds somewhat similar but attributes it to a collision with a log: “Early in . . . November, while a regiment was crossing the swollen stream on a pontoon bridge, a heavy log dashed against the structure, causing destruction and loss of life. Seven were drowned, among them the wives of two soldiers.” Chapter 24, unnumbered page. If this is the same accident, the *History* also misses the date by several days, since the army arrived in Washington on October 22.

35. A soldier by the name of Thomas Gill was listed as a private in Company A of the Tenth Infantry at Camp Floyd.
36. Unfortunately, there were twenty-three soldiers by the name of Wilson in the Tenth Infantry alone. Since the oldest son was named Dickey, perhaps he was named after his father, as was traditional. No Dick or Richard Wilson is listed, but there is a Private R. F. Wilson of Company A. This is the same family with whom Patience later lives in Washington. John Rozsa’s autobiography calls them by the name of Williams, not Wilson.

37. Captain Jesse A. Gove was a commander in Company I of the Tenth Infantry. He was one of the original appointments to the Tenth Infantry, and was later commissioned as Captain of Dragoons at Camp Floyd. His letters to his wife have been published and provide interesting firsthand history of the military’s Utah experience. In 1861 he was commissioned as colonel of the Twenty-second Massachusetts Volunteers, who joined the Army of the Potomac. Gove was killed at Gaines Mill, Virginia on June 27, 1862. Seaborn, *History*, 37; “Likenesses,” 1.

38. “A delicate condition” was a common euphemism for pregnancy. Mrs. Wilson’s heroic efforts to save two of her children, struggling through the deep and swift water and up the slippery grass bank, are even more remarkable in view of the pregnancy.

39. Patience is referring here to the previous accident, the one that had delayed the wives from traveling. The terrible incident was described in the *1881 History of Buchanan County*, pages 277–278:

Upon a certain day . . . it was known that a passenger train from Hannibal would arrive at St. Joseph during the next night, at the hour of 11 o’clock. Late in the evening, before the arrival of the cars, the bridge was saturated with turpentine, then set on fire, and completely destroyed. . . . The night was intensely dark, and the conductor, not dreaming of danger, quickened the speed of the train as he neared the city. Onward rushed the cars. . . .

Few escaped without receiving such severe injuries, as made it impossible for them to assist their fellow-sufferers. The night was
chilly and cold, and from near eleven to three o’clock in the morn-
ing, the wounded screamed for aid, and struggled for relief. Some
attempted to free themselves from their dead companions, and from
the debris of the crushed cars. Others with broken legs or arms, were
endeavoring [sic] to creep from the deep mud and stagnant waters of
the stream.

40. County histories say about 150 people were aboard.
41. On October 12 Charles C. Scott wrote in his diary that the company had
left Easton about noon. “[W]hen near Breckenridge six or seven shots were
fired into the cars by some cowardly rebels in the grass . . . .”
42. John Rozsa’s autobiography says he was in Company C at Camp Floyd
(the roster of enlisted men says Company F), and Patience refers here to
Company C. Later she will mention that he is in Company E. Curtis Allen
concludes, after extensive research into regimental returns, that John was
actually in Company E from the first day, since in May of 1855 John Rosa
is assigned to Company E with Dudley in command, and Company C at
that time is at Dayton, Ohio. Still, it is unlikely that both John and Patience
would write “Company C” incorrectly. Assignments to companies could be
altered because of a number of circumstances.
43. Edward or Edmond J. Brooks, rank indistinguishable, is listed among com-
missioned officers on the post returns for Camp Floyd in March of 1860 as
on leave for sixty days. Curtis Allen says he was a second lieutenant in the
Seventh Infantry at Camp Floyd and for a while was assistant adjutant of the
department. E-mail, October 26, 2004.
44. This part of the narrative is a flashback to an incident in St. Joseph, per-
haps recalled in conjunction with Patience’s recollections about her sense
of alienation from some of the women traveling with the army on the train
and her own sense of vulnerability in the recounted circumstances.
45. Perhaps this is the same trunk that is on display at the Daughters of Utah
Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City.

Washington, November 1861–April 1866

1. The American poet Walt Whitman was in Washington at this time. He
described the jammed city just after the first battle, at Bull Run, only thirty
miles from Washington, on July 21 before Patience arrived in November.
Conditions in Washington remained much the same throughout the war,
with constant traffic of incoming recruits and armies, exhausted soldiers
returning from battle, military hospitals jammed to overflowing with the
wounded and ill, makeshift accommodations such as hotels and private
homes being commandeered to accommodate officers, wounded, and sup-
port crews.

The men appear . . . in the streets of Washington—appear in
Pennsylvania avenue and on the steps and basement entrances.
They come along in disorderly mobs, some in squads, stragglers,
companies. Occasionally, a rare regiment, in perfect order, with its
officers . . . marching in silence . . . every man with his musket, and
stepping alive; . . . Sidewalks of Pennsylvania avenue, Fourteenth
street, &c., crowded, jamm’d with citizens, darkies, clerks, everybody,
lookers-on; women in the windows, curious expressions from faces, as those swarms of dirt-cover’d return’d soldiers there (will they never end?) move by . . . . (Whitman, Poetry and Prose, 708–709)

2. Patience is probably talking about something similar to bibs.

3. Quincy, Illinois, on the train route from Fort Leavenworth east. The people of Quincy had once, some years previously, provided haven for Mormon refugees from Missouri mob violence and Governor Lilburn W. Boggs’s infamous Extermination Order of 1838. However, by the time the Saints left Nauvoo in 1846, relationships between Mormons and other Illinois citizens had soured. No doubt the fresh sight of a “real Mormon” some twenty years after the exodus would excite some curiosity.

4. John Rozsa’s autobiography never mentions his having joined the Mormon church, but his letter of proposal to Patience, part of which is preserved in family records, seems to attest religious experience. He writes,

Miss! From the first sight of your lovely person I felt the sincerest affection toward you, buutt I never had encouragement enough to explain them: - a voice from last night awoke me from slumber, and I could hear plain the following words: “thou art right in rendering, thy honors to the lady thou hast selected, and the Lord’s blessing will reign over both of you” encouraged by this inspiration and with God’s assistance to Who I have to thank for his strength . . . . (Elroy Davis, Typescript, 21)

John’s autobiography primarily recounts his youthful bachelor days and gives considerable details about the events with which he was involved in the Civil War. But he mentions Patience with respect, and seems to be especially grateful that she is loyal to him and willing to be “alone with out any of both her relatives” during their time in Washington.

5. Again in this area of the manuscript Patience seems to assume to some degree the voice of the sentimental heroine—awareness of personal vulnerability combined with sensitivity, virtue, and brave attempt to manage difficult circumstances the best she can. But whatever the voice, she is vulnerable, and she is admirably determined to be loyal and remain with her husband in spite of her own fears.

6. Charles Scott’s company arrived in Washington at 4 p.m. on October 19, 1861.

7. In the original manuscript the recipe is marked with a wavy line running down either margin. Perhaps Patience or someone after her had highlighted the recipe. The words “botom of the ketle or pot used served” are also underlined with a series of lines.

8. The Tenth Infantry became part of the Army of the Potomac, with companies B, E, G, and I being sent to Fort Monroe, Virginia, on March 26, 1862. They were there until April 4, when they were sent to Yorktown. In May Company B was broken up and absorbed into Companies E, G, and I. In 1863 Company E became part of the Second Brigade, Second Division, Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and fought in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Manassas, among others. By the end of 1863, only 128 soldiers were left of the original number, and only Company D and the band were still in existence. Later Companies A and B would be reorganized to join the First Brigade, First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
after which they fought in the Battle of the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, and at Cold Harbor—all horrific battles with heavy casualties and intense suffering and deprivations. See Stephen Y. Seyburn, *History of the Tenth U.S. Infantry* for a complete and detailed discussion.

9. Patience was thirty-five years old when John left for the field, and pregnant with her second child.

10. This spirit of benevolence was an impressive contrast to the macabre scenes on the battlefield, and apparently continued unabated by civilians for all the years of the war. Walt Whitman, who visited hospitals regularly and did what he could for soldiers from both sides of the conflict, wrote

   I am regularly supplied with funds for this purpose by good women and men in Boston, Salem, Providence, Brooklyn, and New York . . . My supplies, altogether voluntary, mostly confidential, often seeming quite Providential, were numerous and varied. For instance, there were two wealthy ladies, sisters, who sent regularly, for two years, quite heavy sums, enjoining that their names should be kept secret. The same delicacy was indeed a frequent condition. From several I had carte blanche. Many were entire strangers. From these sources, during from two to three years, I bestowed, as almoner for others, many, many thousands of dollars. I learn’d one thing conclusively—that beneath all the ostensible greed and heartlessness of our times there is no end to the generous benevolence of men and women in the United States. . . . (Whitman, 749–50)

11. Patience apparently means that fuel for heating and cooking was provided for her by the army.

12. Since Patience had a similar experience at Camp Floyd, one wonders how extensive the danger to wives of soldiers may have been. I have not been able to locate any information to shed light on Patience’s fearful experiences with sly strangers waiting to prey upon unattended women whose husbands had departed for military duty. There are of course many such instances in the popular sentimental fiction of the time; woman’s virtue under assault by evil and manipulative men was the main theme of such fiction. It’s difficult to know how heavily Patience may have been influenced by fiction, or whether she read for pleasure at all. At any rate, her veracity is not in question.

13. Patience was pregnant with her second son, Frank Loader Rozsa, who was born September 19, 1862. She would have been in her seventh month.

14. The Seven Days’ Battles occurred June 25–July 1, 1862, and began near Richmond, Virginia. Characterized by heat, dust, lack of water, difficulty in fighting because of forested landscape, and heavy losses, the Seven Days’ Battles ended with a decisive victory for the South. An easily accessible, detailed, and very interesting discussion of the Peninsular Campaign, including the Seven Days’ Battles, can be found on the internet’s Civil War home page, listed in the bibliography under “The Seven Days’ Battles Before Richmond.” Reproduced there are actual letters of the generals from both sides reporting the events of each day’s battles.

15. Patience omits a good portion of John’s concluding military history—including charges of desertion and a drop in rank—and also the birth of
her second son. Apparently the charges against John were something of a misunderstanding. Here’s John’s own record of the situation:

On our arrival at Alexandria I found out from the Captain of our Boat that we would have to wait days and days for further orders and therefore I provided myself a pass from the Provost Marshall in Alexandria for Washington, which was granted to me, and I went again to visit to my family whom I found all cheerful and in good health. During my stay in Alexandria I obtained a Situation as clerk in the office of Head Quarters of the Army (Gen. Halleck) into which I enlisted accordingly Sept. 6th-1862 obtaining the above mentioned Situation.

I considered myself the happiest of man among my beings and this for three reasons. First I considered to have an end to my hardships for the remainder of my service. Second—for the greatly increased pay from 22 to 75 dollars per month. And thirdly—the most important reason, my wife being content and close to her confinement by herself alone with out any of both her relatives though among good and kind people, our friends Mr. and Mrs. Williams. [notice that Patience calls the people Wilson]

September 19th morning before 5 o'clock she was over her confinement having given birth to another son which she according to her own will named FrankMclellan Loader—but my happiness did not last long while and I was relieved and ordered to join my company this for the only reason that I have left the already mentioned boat and did not return to my Company.

During this long absence of mine from my Company, the army of the Potomac has been in two more great engagements, in which our Division of Regulars and from it which I was absent, Viz. the Battle of Bulls Run Aug. 30 and that of [Antietam] Sept. 17th, 1862. Many friends and comrades did I loose in these two battles.

Pursuant to an order from the adjutant Generals office I was relieved from my duty at Head quarters of the Army and ordered to join my company which I did October 13th near Sharpsborough Md. where they were encamped. Knowing myself that charges for neglect of duty or absence without leave were preferred against me, I was placed under arrest till October 21st, I was tried by a Gov. Court martial just in session at that time. . . .

[While in Camp near Warrenton I received my sentence, which was that I was reduced to Rank of Private and fined with 10 dollars per month for two months . . . Severe shock as it was for myself as my family to be reduced to the rank of a Private and to support my family consisting now of a wife and 2 children from my present and scanty pay of 13 dollars per month . . . I . . . concluded in thanking God for His almighty blessing not to mind my Rank which I held, but as I said to be thankful that I was with my family when my beloved wife’s life was in the struggle with death in her confinement, — and consoling myself with the hope and knowing to have a good wife and kind mother to her children will do me her efforts to content herself and to supportour dear little offsprings with the small
amount which I can spare from my miserable 13 dollars per month. And secondly I trusted in God that some change may turn up.

He continues, describing his ongoing illnesses and difficulties in trying to keep up with his duties as a private, until eventually, in December of 1862, he received an extra assignment to “assist in issuing rations.” He notes that “this small position” would bring him an additional 25–40 cents daily besides his regular pay, which he would be able to send to Patience. He continues,

I made up my mind firmly that I shall not take for the remainder of my time (9 months to complete ten years) in Uncle Sam’s Service for any rank or grade but whatever or wherever to make more money and that only for the more comfortable support of my dearest ones which I left in Washington, mind in the Capital too in winter and where every thing is so high, and to my idea if the war shall be kept up will raise still higher. (Elroy Davis, Typescript, 21–23)

Immediately following this entry, he mentions that “our small Battalion the 10th” struck tents” on December 21 and moved to assume duties in General Hooker’s headquarters near Talmouth.

John’s autobiography, like Patience’s, ends rather abruptly after an entry of January 10, 1863. Patience later mentions that he was discharged from the army on October 16, 1863. He and Patience elected to remain in Washington, running a lucrative boarding house, until the war ended.

16. Captain Homer L. Thayer appears on post returns for Fort Lyon, Colorado, in January, March, and September 1866, when he was relieved and mustered out. During that time he was listed as “attached to post,” and assistant quartermaster. A Homer L. Thayer appears in the Arapaho County, Colorado, census for 1870 and the Lake County one for 1880; the Leadville County/City Directory lists Homer L. Thayer as a map publisher in Leadville in 1882.

17. Patience’s third son, William Joseph Rozsa, had been born 3 November 1864 in Washington, D.C., and was nearly two years old. At this point in the manuscript, as John and Patience debate whether to continue in Kansas with the Thayers or to return to Utah, Patience was pregnant with Amy Rosalie, who would be born on September 20, 1866. John James Rozsa, born at Camp Floyd in 1860, was now five and a half; Frank Loader, born in Washington in 1862, was almost four.

Back to Utah, April–July 21, 1866

1. Captain John McClintock is listed as commander of Company G, Third Battalion of the United States troops at Camp Douglas, Utah Territory, on post returns of July and October, 1866, and was released from duty at that post on December 30 of 1867. Congressional record extracts indicate that he was born in Pennsylvania and enlisted there; he was promoted to captain on April 30, 1863, and then to brevet captain on July 2, 1863, for “gallant and meritorious service” at the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On March 13, 1865, he was promoted to major, again for gallant and meritorious service. Listed as unassigned on May 19, 1869, he was honorably mustered out on January 1, 1871. “Official Army Register,” 85. Patience would
have agreed with her congressmen that John McClintock did indeed give
gallant and meritorious service, obviously in battle, but also to a soon-to-be
struggling widow on the windswept plains of Nebraska.

2. Camp Douglas (renamed in 1878 to Fort Douglas) was founded in 1862,
following the closing of Camp Crittenden in 1861 when the army was sent
to Washington for the Civil War. The post’s primary purpose was to provide
protection for the stage and mail routes and to maintain open communica-
tion between the east and west coasts during the war. President Abraham
Lincoln named the fort in honor of his political opponent Stephen A.
Douglas, who died in 1861. The new fort was relocated to Salt Lake City’s
east bench where it still remains. Among other things, Camp Douglas,
through its first commanding officer Colonel (later Brigadier General)
Patrick Edward Connor, was responsible for the opening of the mining
industry in Utah as he sent soldiers on prospecting assignments. Charles G.

3. John Loader, oldest brother of Patience, had remained with his fam-
ily in Iowa in 1856 instead of finishing the handcart trek because John’s
wife Harriet (the sister-in-law mentioned here) was pregnant. They con-
tinued to live in Iowa until the war broke out, at which time John joined
the Twenty-second Regiment of Iowa Volunteers. He was wounded in the
arm at the Battle of Cedar Creek, Virginia, on October 19, 1864, and was
sent to the General Hospital at Winchester, Virginia. Patience went to visit
him there, and kept in close touch with him during the remainder of the
war. John was discharged July 25, 1865, at Savannah, Georgia, and his fam-
ily joined the Rozsas as they traveled back to Utah. Drusilla Smith, “Life
History of John Loader.” It was fortuitous for Patience to have John and
his family with her during this last lonely trek across the center of the con-
tinent. Later, in Pleasant Grove, Utah, where both families lived, John and
Patience remained close and were mutually supportive in business affairs.
Among other things, they jointly owned a pair of mules. Perhaps they were
the mules used for this journey.

4. Fort Kearney, Nebraska.

5. John had lung problems and heart palpitations, which plagued him
throughout the war. Davis, Typescript, 21 ff. He had also suffered a back
injury, which increased the pain of a soldier’s common privations—weather,
unsanitary conditions, heavy packs, long marches.

6. Patience was pregnant with her fourth child.

7. The health code of the Mormon faith denounces use of alcohol.

8. The original manuscript contains a hand-drawn bracket that begins to the
left of the word My. A closing bracket appears after the words nearly gone.
Perhaps Patience or some later reader wanted to highlight details of John’s
death.

9. Some family records say May 21, 1866.

10. Fort Kearney, Nebraska.

11. Young Frank died on October 20, 1866, in Pleasant Grove. Patience
describes the event later in the manuscript.

12. Family tradition has it that John Rozsa was buried at the roadside. His burial
place is listed in the Church Archives, Family Group Records Division, as
Nebraska, and his place of death as Ft. Kearney, Nebraska.

13. Patience, widowed and pregnant, was thirty-nine years old when she arrived
back in the valley.
Back in the Valley, July 21, 1866–1872

1. Patience’s older sister Ann, who was first married to John Dalling, had married Wilham Paul after Dalling’s death; Patience’s younger sisters Maria and Sarah had both married George Henry Abbott Harris.

2. John Rozsa’s autobiography makes clear a high degree of guilt over disappointments he had caused his parents back in Hungary during his brash youth. He wrote a long letter home apologizing and includes a copy of the letter in his memoirs. His willingness to care for Amy Britnell Loader is touching.

3. If her memory serves as to the date she arrived back in the valley, Patience had fifty-two more days’ journey in a military company, pregnant and with three small children, after John died. It’s hard to imagine how she might have made the trip had John and Harriet Loader and their family not been there to comfort and assist her.

4. July 24 is a Utah state holiday which commemorates the arrival of the first pioneer company into the Salt Lake Valley in 1846.

5. Patience is reunited with all her American siblings except her younger sister Jane, who had passed away on February 14, 1864, while Patience was in Washington. Jane was twenty-two at the time of her death.

6. Patience’s first house in Pleasant Grove, and the one her mother probably lived in during Patience’s years in Washington, was on the east line of the original Battle Grove (or Battle Creek) fort. The fort had been built in 1853 during the Walker Indian war; homes were of adobe and logs, surrounded by a four-foot wall made of “soft rock,” or limestone that hardened in the air. The home Patience owned had been built by Mary Ann Stearns and Parley P. Pratt, who was one of the twelve apostles. Howard R. Driggs, *Timpanogos Town*, 22; Beth Olsen, Tour and Interview, July 23, 2003.

7. Amy Rosalie Rozsa was born September 20, 1866, in Pleasant Grove.

8. In The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, infants are “blessed,” an ordinance somewhat similar to christening in other Christian religions. In this ceremony the child’s name is officially pronounced before the congregation and then recorded on the membership rolls of the church. Amy was born September 20, 1866, in Pleasant Grove, Utah.

9. If Patience wrote her manuscript in 1887, Amy would have been about twenty-one or twenty-two at the time of writing.

10. George Henry Abbot Harris records in his journal the death of his own son on April 28, 1865. A notation added sometime later indicates that James Henry Harris, son of George and Sarah Loader Harris, was buried “in the north Cemetery by the side of Frank McClenan Rosa and his dear Aunt Jane.” Some family records indicate that Frank’s middle name was Loader, omitting the McLellan. John Rozsa, however, clearly gives both middle names.

11. The home Patience built was at 34 North 200 South in Pleasant Grove. It is now on the list of historic landmarks, but is still a residence, though no longer owned by the Rozsa or Loader families.

12. Patience bought lots 9 and 11, and her brother Robert bought lot 10, which included the property her home was built on. If she owned land away from town, no records of it remain. Eventually Robert sold Patience lot 10, and she in turn sold all three lots to the church. Part of the land was used to build the Pleasant Grove Tabernacle. Beth Olsen, Interview, July 23, 2003.
13. Knud (Canute) Swensen, born in 1827 in Denmark, came to Utah in July of 1858 with the Horace Eldredge company. He and his wife Johannah, born in 1838 in Denmark, had eight children, one of whom was named Swen L. and is no doubt the Swiney (Sweney or Swenney) Patience mentions here. Knud served as city councilman and also treasurer in Pleasant Grove. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 1197. Patience, too, later served as treasurer, as did her daughter, Amy.

Some family records give this third son’s name as William Joseph rather than Joseph William as Patience indicates.

14. A considerable number of mines were operating in American Fork Canyon when Patience went there to cook in 1872. Mining had begun in about 1863 when soldiers from Fort Douglas began prospecting. The mine where Patience worked was on Miller Mountain, described as “one of the culminating ridges of the Wasatch Mts. between the head of American Fork and its North Branch” and it was “2 1/2 miles distant, where the North Branch joins the American Fork” from the smelter, which was itself “some ten miles up the canon of American Fork from its mouth.” J. P. Kimball, “Report of a Survey,” 7. Its primary ore was lead, with small amounts of silver and very slight traces of gold. Kimball, 15. Two small towns existed to support the mines—Forest City and Deer Creek. Some ruins of the smelter’s furnaces or kilns can still be seen near Forest City, but “[t]he kilns and buildings at Deer Creek were swallowed in the 1960’s by construction of Tibble Fork Reservoir.” Richard Crosland and Charmaine Thompson, “Heritage Resource Inventory,” 25.

15. Ezekial Holman, at age five, had started to Utah in 1846 with the initial Mormon migration from Nauvoo, Illinois. Both his parents died en route, and he lived after 1850 with his older brother John Greenleaf Holman of Pleasant Grove. In addition to his work as described here by Patience, Ezekial was also involved in negotiations between the settlers and the Indians, helped build the railroad in American Fork Canyon, and served as commissioner of Salt Lake County. Mrs. Artemus E. Holman, “Biography of Ezekial Holman,” 87–88.

16. The Driggs family was large and significant in Pleasant Grove history. I have not yet been able, however, to identify exactly who this Sarah Driggs may have been.

17. Patience’s concerns were justified. The Miller Hill, 10,266 feet high, is somewhat triangular, and “look[s] out over some of the wildest . . . scenery in the country.” Clare B. Christensen, “Canyon History,” 1; Alan C. Stauffer, “Histories of American Fork Canyon,” 24. The road even today is narrow and subject to wash and erosion; it “winds back and forth through dense forests of Aspen Groves and covers a distance of about four miles from the mine to the site of the former smelter,” Stephen F. Beck, “History of American Fork Canyon,” 3. The entire area is subject to heavy snowfall, avalanches, and accidents resultant from the sometimes swift streams and the narrow roads. From the Miller Mine boarding house to the base of the mountain is about fourteen miles, and the drive from Pleasant Grove today takes about an hour—except that the last section of the road is not open for public use because of safety concerns. Stephen Beck describes the road during the days of early settlement: “In places the sides of the canyon near the streams were so narrow that there was room for only a pony to travel along the banks of the creek, the rugged rock cliffs towering up thousands of feet.” “History,” 1.
18. Beck mentions a John Poole, a young man from Highland Bench, who was killed in an avalanche with another miner when his cabin, built under a rock ledge for safety, was destroyed in spite of efforts to protect it. Beck, “History,” 6. It isn’t possible to be certain this is the same Captain Pooley Patience mentions.

19. Parts of American Fork Canyon had been used as grazing ground ever since settlement in the valley. According to unsigned appendix E of Alan C. Stauffer’s compiled history of American Fork Canyon, a Mrs. Kitty Nash “was selling milk and butter to the miners and smelter workers at Forest City” in 1871. It’s difficult to imagine how such goods could be transported over the roads in the winter, but some of the perishables mentioned by Patience would be difficult to store over the winter months and must have been supplied in some fashion by local entrepreneurs. Perhaps Mr. Robison, whom Patience mentions later, brought them.

20. Stephen Beck wrote,

> Snow slides in the canyon were a great hazard, causing many deaths and much damage. The miners had to plan very carefully where they built their cabins in order that they might not be crushed with the numerous slides in the winter time. They placed them among large pine trees or under a rock ledge to shelter them. (“History,” 6)

Even those precautions were not always successful. Numerous accounts describe miners killed in avalanches even when they had placed their cabins in the safest possible positions.

21. Patience is, again, justified in her expression of marvel that she and her son survived the winter of 1872–73 at the Miller Mine campsite. In addition to the hazards of cold, primitive living conditions and snow-related accidents, in nearby Forest City an epidemic which may have been diphtheria or scarlet fever killed several children and some adults. Stauffer, “Histories,” 15.

22. Lewis Robison with his wife had a sawmill in American Fork Canyon and a hotel at Deer Creek. Olsen, July 23. He also left a journal that details some of his day-to-day activities in the canyon. Robison, “Journal.”

23. It’s interesting that Mr. Robison signalled his presence by firing a gun, considering the constant and imminent danger of avalanche.

24. John Pierce, born about 1835 in Cornwall, England, migrated to Utah in about 1868 in a wagon train funded by the PEF. After he arrived in the valley, he worked for a year and then sent for his family. John had an interesting life and was present at the completion of the transcontinental railroad; he witnessed the driving of the golden spike. Drusilla Smith says John, who was her great-grandfather, worked as a night watchman at the Miller Mine. Smith, June 10, 2005; Elroy Davis, Pedigree Chart.

Interestingly, John Pierce’s daughter, Annie, born February 15, 1860, in Wales, married Harry King Loader, son of John Loader, in 1876, and so Patience’s “old friend” John Pierce was a distant relative.

Several of the people Patience names in this part of the manuscript are as yet unidentifiable. Later she will mention Lizey Pearson, Mrs. Kerns, and a Mr. and Mrs. Anderson; unfortunately, so far, it’s not possible to identify any of them. Again we have the problem of Patience’s formal address: title and surname only.
25. This is C. Van Wambecke, who was killed in an avalanche while he was working as a mail carrier in the canyon. In the spring, when his body was found at a point where part of the mountain had been dug away to enable the road to go through, suspicion that he had been murdered caused a coroner’s inquest and resulted in the arrest of one Wiliam Burton, who was incarcerated for several months. “Body Found.” On May 2 the Provo Tri-Weekly Times reported that Burton had been released since the coroner’s inquest ruled that the death “was caused by a snow slide.” “Released.”

Upon initial discovery of the body, Van had been buried near the road cut, called a dugway. Thereafter that roadcut was named Van’s Dugway.

Alan Stauffer tells an alternative story about the man for whom Van’s Dugway was named—he says the person was one Frank Van Housen. Stauffer says that Van’s body was removed and buried in the little mining town of Deer Creek, and in 1964, when a small dam was built (to create Tibble Fork Reservoir) on the site of what had once been Deer Creek, workers found the remains of a body many believe to have been those of Frank VanHousen. The remains were once again reinterred, this time in Pleasant Grove. Stauffer, “Histories,” 7–9. Beth Olsen believes, however, after extensive research, that Van Wambecke is the correct Van, and notes that no one by the name of Van Housen is listed as buried in the Pleasant Grove City Cemetery.

26. This may not have been a permanent closing of the Miller Mine. Mines in the vicinity continued in operation for many years, although peak production lasted only about a decade. Newspaper reports of the status of the mining industry carry brief mentions of the Miller Hill Mine for several decades. For samples see “Mining News” in the bibliography. According to Crosland and Thompson, mines on Miller Hill were still being patented in 1911. “Heritage Resource Inventory,” 47.

27. Apparently Patience is talking about oat sacks—finely woven sacks made for carrying grain. Conceivably they would have provided some moisture resistance.

28. The Sultana smelter was situated at Forest City. All that remains of the little town now is a cemetery with the graves of the children killed in the epidemic of 1872, and a few miners and others lost to avalanches. See Note 19.

29. Beth Olsen explains that Patience’s chronology is exact, although confusing, and explains this part of the manuscript:

Captain Pooley projected that the journey to Deer Creek would be a long six miles. After traveling four to five miles of that six miles they stopped at the Gold Seeker Mine. There Patience rested while Captain Pooley went on one mile to Deer Creek. Later Patience traveled [on] to Deer Creek. (Correspondence, June 28, 2004)

30. Harris was the plural marriage husband of Patience’s sisters Maria and Sarah.

Afterword

1. Margaret Hayes, “Pioneer Woman Patience Loader Rosa [sic] Archer.” Lewis Robison’s journal records, on May 8, 1873, that he “went up to Deer
creek with Albert & came back to the [saw]mill with Riley. took Mrs. Rosey [Rozsa] and Louisa Piersen up to the smelter in a waggen in the afternoon.

4. So far, no official documentation of Patience’s marriage to John Archer has been located. Patience’s great-granddaughter Rhonda Hunter indicates that her family records say only “1877.” Patience’s daughter Amy states in an unpublished history of her mother: “In about 1876, Mother married John B. Archer. He lived to be quite old, 86.” Amy Rozsa, “Patience,” 8. Since no other known documentation exists, and since Patience bought shares in a road company in July of 1878 under the name Patience Rozsa, we assume her marriage to John Archer occurred sometime after July of 1878.

5. See Amy Rozsa, Biography of Sargent John Rozsa by His Daughter, 9.
6. Ibid.
9. Ruth married briefly (her married name was Johnson) and then was separated from her husband. Amy never married. Both are buried in Pleasant Grove Cemetery; Amy died in 1957 at age ninety-one and Ruth, born in 1901, died in 1974 at age seventy-three. Since Ruth was thirty-five years younger than Amy, Patience’s hope that Ruth would look after Amy, who suffered poor health, was apparently fulfilled.

11. Beth Olsen notes that women were granted the vote in 1896, and since Patience and Amy were both elected to positions as city treasurer, perhaps the women’s vote outnumbered the men’s!