

The Search

for

Jean Cardon

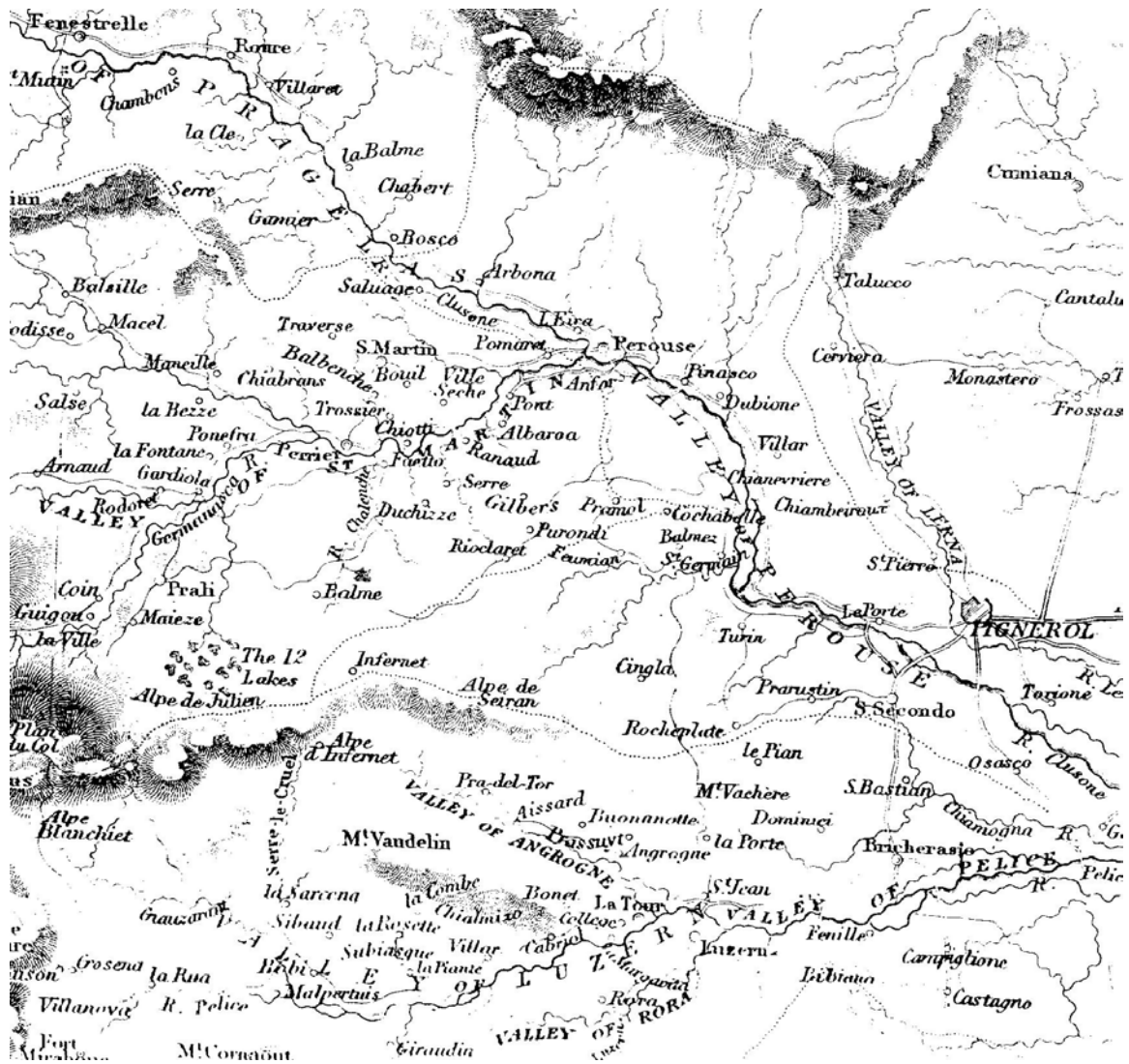
Together with appendices covering the experiences
of Cardon ancestors in the Jahier line;
raising various genealogical issues;
reprinting the journal of a Vaudois officer
in the "Glorious Return" of 1689;
and excerpting portions of the
Armand-Hugon Rivoire study
of Vaudois exiles,
1686-1690.

M a r r i n e r C a r d o n

Prescott, Arizona
2003

This web book is a revision and expansion of *The Search for Jean Cardon*, published privately at Phoenix, Arizona in 1987. The expanded edition, upon which these web pages are based, was privately published at Phoenix, Arizona in 1993.

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Portion of a Map of Piedmont and the Vaudois Valleys

Rocheplade (Roccapiatta) and Prarustin (Prarostino) are near the middle of the lower right quadrant. Les Cardon would be at or near the spot indicated for Rocheplade, which is probably the site of the Roccapiatta "temple." La Tour (Torre Pellice) is in the lower portion of the map at the confluence of the Luzern (Lucerna) and Angrogne (Angrogna) valleys. Rorá and the Rorá Valley are to the south of La Tour. Pignerol (Pinerolo) is near the middle of the right edge, and Turin (Torino) is well off the map to the north-east (the Turin just north of Rocheplade is not the major city of that name.) Balsille (Balsiglia) is near the left edge toward the top of the map.

THE SEARCH FOR JEAN CARDON

This is a summary of the author's researches relative to family history and genealogical information concerning ancestors who lived in the Piedmont area of northern Italy, primarily during the last half of the 1600s and the first few decades of the 1700s. My interest arose out of my movie-making hobby, and my desire to make a film to be shown at a family reunion about our earliest known ancestors in the valleys of Piedmont. Eventually, the quest involved seven trips to the area in question, and many hours in genealogical libraries in this country. The story and relationships which I uncovered are exciting, intricate and complex. To make my findings understandable will require numerous side excursions.

Let me begin by tracing a bit of the more recent history of those families in North America who share the heritage that is the subject of this study. In October, 1849, a thirty-five year old Mormon apostle, Lorenzo Snow, was called to establish a mission of the Latter-day Saints Church in Italy. Traveling by way of England, where he was joined by two companions, he arrived in Genoa in June, 1850.

Initially discouraged at the obviously difficult prospect of proselyting amidst what he saw as the spiritual darkness of Catholic Genoa, Elder Snow learned with great interest of the Waldensian* Valleys in northern Italy from an English traveler. He sent his companions, Elders Toronto and Stenhouse, to assess the opportunities for missionary work in the Valleys. On July 20, 1850, he wrote to Elder Franklin D. Richards:

"...I received a letter from Elders Stenhouse and Toronto. I have felt an intense desire to know the state of that province to which I had given them an appointment, as I felt assured it would be the field of my mission. Now, with a heart full of gratitude, I find an opening is presented in the Valleys of Piedmont when all other parts of Italy are closed against our efforts. I believe that the Lord has there hidden up a people amid the alpine mountains, and it is the voice of the Spirit that I shall commence something of importance in that part of this dark nation."¹

Elder Snow immediately set out to join his companions in the Piedmont area. While he found encouragement in the history and personal situation of the Vaudois people who were the object of his visit, the opportunities for proselyting did not come easily. Centuries of persecution had built strong barriers to any kind of change. He wrote, in a letter to Orson Hyde:

* Waldensian was the term used by the English to refer to the inhabitants of the Protestant valleys of Piedmont. In their own dialect of mixed French and Italian, they referred to themselves as "Vaudois" (voh'-dwah). In modern Italian they are referred to as "Valdesi" (val-day'-see). You will encounter all of these spellings in this paper, although generally the term Vaudois will be used.

"Every man holds a creed which has been transmitted from sire to son for a thousand years, whether he be Protestant or Catholic; and often he will lay his hand on his heart, and swear by the faith of his forefathers that he will live and die as they have lived and died."²

Nevertheless, Elder Snow felt confirmation that his initial impressions concerning the Vaudois people were correct. In a report to President Young he stated:

"I felt assured that the Lord had directed us to a branch of the house of Israel, and I rejoiced to behold many circumstances that reminded me of those with whom I had been associated in the valleys of the West."³

The demands of brevity compel but a brief summary of the history of those early LDS missionary labors: the healing of their landlady's child after a fervent mountainside prayer by the missionary trio for the power to accomplish this as an opening to the hearts of the people; the organization of the church in Italy on the "rock of prophecy" atop "Mount Brigham" and the slow but rewarding flow of conversions that followed.

The records of the Italian Mission indicate that between 1850 and 1856, 181 persons of Vaudois extraction were baptized into the LDS church and 27 infants were blessed. From 1854 to 1860, 54 members (with a small number of unbaptized infants) emigrated from the Valleys to Utah. These emigrants comprised individuals bearing the following family names: Bertoch, Beus, Bonnet, Brodero, Cardon, Chatelain, Gardiol, Gaydou, Gaudin, Justet, Lazald, Malan, Pons, Rivoire, Rochon, Roman, Rostan, and Stallé.⁴

The animosity of the Vaudois ministers and authorities resulted in large numbers of the early Mormon converts falling into inactivity or returning to the Vaudois faith when means were not readily available to emigrate them to the United States. The missionaries severely pruned out these unfaithful converts by excommunications, leaving the nucleus of faithful Mormon members that eventually emigrated to Utah. In 1854 the Italian Mission became a conference of the Swiss-Italian Mission, and in 1868, with emigration of the faithful members virtually complete, the word "Italian" was dropped from the mission name and separate records for Church activity in the area were discontinued.⁵

In the 1890's another, larger, wave of emigration from the Vaudois Valleys to Utah occurred. Relatives of the earlier emigrants chose the mountain valleys of Utah and the company of their countrymen as they relocated to escape the poverty of their native valleys. A number of these became members of the LDS church, including the Avondet, Combe and Long families. Others affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in the Ogden area.⁶

Other Vaudois emigrants settled in Valdese, North Carolina, Barry County, Missouri, and in other communities of the southeastern United States. Some families and individuals moved back and forth between these communities and the Vaudois groups in Utah.⁷

Anne, who had married prior to the date of the family's immigration to Utah, remained in Italy.

Philippe initially settled in Weber County, Utah, but within a few years moved on to the Logan area. Jean ("John") settled in Odgen, Jean Paul ("Paul") and Thomas Barthelemy ("Thomas") remained in Logan, Louis Philip moved to Arizona, and eventually to the Mormon colonies in Mexico, and Catherine (Byrne) and Mary Magdeleine (Guild) located in Piedmont, Wyoming.

The Vaudois

Before I started on my first trip to Italy I read everything I could find on the history of the Waldensians or Vaudois. Most of what was available to me turned out to be rather out of date and romanticized. In the nineteenth century it was popular for English Protestant writers to hold the Vaudois up as a pure branch of Christianity that had roots running back to the apostolic age, or at least to the time of Constantine and Pope Sylvester who lead the Roman Church at the time of the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. I found, when I finally obtained works of modern scholarship dealing with the Vaudois, that their history ran back rather far, but not that far -- only to the 12th Century, when the man now known as Peter Waldo began his "poor men of Lyons" movement.

Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyon, France, experienced a religious conversion after witnessing the sudden death of a close friend. He financed the translation of portions of the scriptures into the common tongue (Romaunce) and pledged his followers to a life of pious poverty and preaching of the scriptures. His reform movement worked, at first, within the Catholic church, but in 1184 Waldo and his "poor men of Lyon" were excommunicated as heretics, at the Council of Verona.

The "poor men of Lyon" and a northern Italian group with similar doctrines, the "poor men of Lombardy" (sometimes together called the "poor men of Christ") were but two of a number of "heretical" sects which arose in opposition to the excesses of medieval Catholicism. Some of these groups, like the "Cathari" or "Albigensians," were extreme and non-Christian in their beliefs.* But the "poor men" movements were founded upon an adherence to the simple Christian life their adherents found to be taught in the gospels and the epistles of the new testament. As the only one of these 12th century sects which survives in our day, the Vaudois Church is the oldest non-Catholic western Christian church in existence.

The followers of Waldo were fervent missionaries of their scriptural messages. In a

* The Albigensians lived on the French slopes of the Alps and in the province of Languedoc, and crusades against them (which resulted in their eventual extermination) often indiscriminately included their Waldensian neighbors. The former believed in a god of darkness, whose prophet was Moses, and a god of light who sent Christ to earth in an ethereal body. They believed in reincarnation for all except the elect of their members, who escaped a return to this earth by becoming "perfected."

period when the common man was almost universally illiterate, they copied sections of the scriptures and covertly distributed them throughout Europe. Their missionaries went out, two by two, often disguised as peddlers. They frequently memorized complete books of the New Testament and would recite the sacred passages to any who exhibited a willing interest. Converts to their faith sprang up in all of the countries of middle and southern Europe. Waldensian communities in Bohemia were later absorbed into the Hussite reform movement.⁹ Waldensians reached England where there is evidence they influenced and helped inspire the reform labors of John Wyclif.¹⁰ They spread into the low countries and into Germany, everywhere reciting or reading the scriptures which were prohibited for laymen by the Catholic authorities. In a very real sense, they were the seedbed of the reformation, preceding Luther and Calvin by more than 200 years.

Over time, Catholic efforts to suppress the Waldensians through inquisitions and anti-heretical crusades resulted in their being confined within a few Alpine valleys in the Piedmont region of Italy. In 1532 a joint synod was held at Chamforan in Angrogna Valley, attended by several Swiss reformers and the Vaudois leaders. There the Vaudois people accepted affiliation with the Protestant reformation. Ever conscious of their mission of making the scriptures available to the common man, one of their first acts was to finance the translation of the bible into vernacular French.

There were a number of notable religious wars that seem to have periodically afflicted the Vaudois valleys and, on each occasion, reduced the numbers of their faith nearly to extinction. One of these wars, which figures strongly in the lives of those covered by this account, began in 1686 and resulted in a reduction of the Vaudois population from approximately 15,000 to approximately 4,000 persons. These remnants of the Vaudois were exiled to Switzerland and Germany early in 1687, and returned to their homelands, in what was called the "Glorious Return" in 1689 and 1690. We will spend some time with this history, as it intimately involved our Vaudois ancestors of that period.

The "Piedmont Project"

To understand what we now know about Philippe Cardon's ancestors, and how we know it, we must make a side trip and examine the Piedmont Project. This was an extraction project, perhaps the first ever undertaken by the LDS Genealogical Society, which took place during the 1950's, and in which a systematic effort was made to extract all of the genealogical information available from microfilmed copies of the parish registers of the Vaudois parish churches in the Piedmont area. In 1948 President James L. Barker of the Swiss Mission (whose mother, Marguerite Stallé, was a Vaudois immigrant) persuaded the Genealogical Society to microfilm all of the available Vaudois parish registers. Some years later French speaking students and returned missionaries were recruited to systematically go through the microfilm copies to assemble the information into pedigree charts and family group sheets. Thus, all of us who are descendants of the Vaudois had this line of our genealogy "done for us."

Ordinarily, the Genealogical Society accepts only primary sources for genealogical entries. The most acceptable source is a birth or baptismal record. Next best would be a death

or burial record which gives the decedent's age, but since people sometimes fib about (or forget) their ages, these are not considered to be as reliable sources as the birth record. Sometimes marriage entries in the parish registers give names of parents or other relatives, but usually not ages. The earliest Vaudois parish records that were available for microfilming commenced around 1710, approximately twenty years after the Vaudois remnants returned from exile in the Glorious Return of 1689-90. Earlier records had been destroyed in the general destruction of the Vaudois parish churches (or "temples") in the religious war of 1686. Thus, for all those people who were living in the Vaudois valleys in 1710 when the parish records recommenced there are no primary source birth or other records. Nevertheless, there are numerous entries in the post-1710 records where these people were referred to because they or their children were married, or were buried, or acted as god-parents. These entries tie this earlier generation in with those born after the records recommenced and show relationships and family groupings.

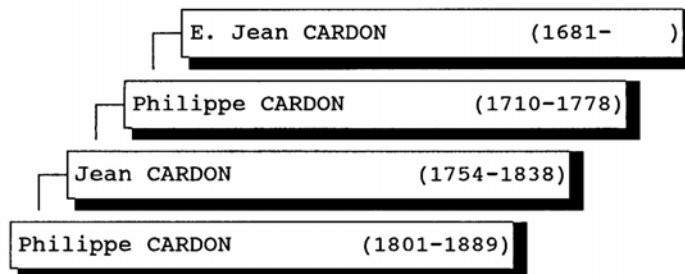
It was decided in the Piedmont Project to utilize these secondary sources which were all that was available for this group of people who were living in 1710, and for whom all earlier records had been destroyed. Some educated guesses had to be made in the course of the Piedmont Project to fill in the missing facts about these pre-1710 individuals. In most cases those guesses were made by Piedmont Project workers who had little, if any, familiarity with historical facts, or even customs, that made some guesses unlikely to be accurate.

The Piedmont Project workers used the rule of thumb that if actual ages are not known, a father would be assumed to be 25 years older than his first-born child. Thus, when the workers encountered a Jean Cardon, whose earliest known child was Paul, born "about" 1706, they made the presumption that Jean himself had been born "about" 1681. But note that even Paul's birth year was a guess, based on some similar rule of presumption. Thus, when one encounters a birth year indicated as "about" the date may be very soft. All of the other "abouts" on the Piedmont Project group sheets are subject to varying degrees of softness.

From the work of the Piedmont Project we have information relating to the families of our immigrant ancestor Philippe Cardon's father, Jean Cardon, his grandfather, Philippe Cardon, and his great grandfather, "Elder" Jean Cardon (I'll hereafter refer to Elder Jean as *E. Jean* to tag him among the numerous Jean Cardons we will encounter). With *E. Jean*, born, according to the Piedmont Project estimates, "about" 1681, the Cardon line ended.

As shown in the accompanying ancestor chart, *E. Jean* Cardon was the great grandfather of our immigrant ancestor, Philippe Cardon. The line goes through *E. Jean*'s son Philippe, Philippe's son Jean and then to our Philippe, who is buried in Logan, Utah. If you look

Ancestors of Philippe CARDON



at *E. Jean's* family group sheet produced by the Piedmont Project you will note that it lists three children, Paul, born about 1706, Philippe (our ancestor), born about 1710, and Jean, born about 1715. *E. Jean's* birth is given as about 1681 and his death given as "before 7 May, 1745".

There were numerous speculations as to where the ancestral lines might go behind *E. Jean*. A researcher employed by one of the family groups had reported no success in finding earlier Cardons in the Piedmont area, or indeed, among the Vaudois, and suggested that the family may have been converted to the Vaudois faith at about the time of *E. Jean* since the researcher had found some obscure reference to a Cardon who was a Catholic and who lived in the town of St. Jean in the Pellice Valley at about that time.

There were other speculations that the Cardons may have come to the Vaudois valleys from Lille, France, since there had been research that showed a line of Cardons in that city and one of the sons, named Jean, seemed to have disappeared from that locality. Some wondered if this Jean might have migrated to the Vaudois valleys. Still another suggestion was that the Cardons may have come from Lyons, France, since there were Cardons in that vicinity, and since the relationships between Peter Waldo of Lyon and the Vaudois of the Piedmont valleys were well established. This theory didn't have much to say about what happened to the family between Waldo in the twelfth century and Jean in the seventeenth century, nor did it help in explaining why the line seemed to end beyond *E. Jean*. Finally, there was the idea that the Cardons may have originated in the city of Cardonna, Spain, and somehow crossed the Pyrenees into France and then gone into Italy to escape religious persecution. I sensed a pronounced desire among some of the members of the family to find French ancestors, and a feeling of comfort from the fact that, although the family lived in what later became Italy, they "spoke French." I learned that all of these speculative theories of family origin were inaccurate.

An informative custom

Before returning to history, we should examine one very informative custom that prevailed among the Vaudois. Most Vaudois parents named their first male child for the husband's father, their first female child for the husband's mother, and likewise, the second of each sex for the wife's parents. (Remember the Philippe, Jean, Philippe, Jean cycle in our own family line?) This custom wasn't universally followed, but was generally, and when a family followed it, they did it tenaciously. If one of the namesake children died, the next child of that sex was given the obligatory name. Look at the family group sheet for Jean Cardon, the father of our immigrant ancestor Philippe and you will see that our Philippe was the fourth known (and very likely the fifth) child in the family to be given that name, the earlier Philippes all having died in infancy.

Following the decimations and imprisonments of the religious war of 1686, the surviving Vaudois were exiled into Switzerland and Germany in the first months of 1687 (I'm going to tell you more of the details when we talk about the events of Jean's life). In July of 1689, Henri Arnaud led a small army of 900, some Vaudois exiles, some sympathizers who were not Vaudois, across Lake Lemano (Lake Geneva) and into the Vaudois valleys. They defeated a French army of 2000 at Salbertrand, but with losses to their own number. They then engaged in guerrilla warfare tactics for several months until they were besieged in mountain top fortifications at Balsiglia over the winter of 1689-90. In the spring, several thousand troops of the French army and the Duke of Savoy's army came to eliminate the 300 or so survivors in the Vaudois encampment. Initially repulsed, the attackers brought up great cannons to pulverize the Vaudois fortifications, and on the eve of the "final" battle, the French commandant invited the inhabitants of surrounding villages to attend the hanging of any Vaudois who survived the battle in the square in Pinerolo the following day. That night, however, in a thick fog, the Vaudois slipped away over a virtually impassable mountainside trail and eluded capture. Shortly, they gained new political allies and a peaceful return to the valleys for the Vaudois remnant was negotiated. At the museum at the Balsiglia battlefield, I learned that only 128 names of the original 900 of Arnaud's band are known. You can imagine my thrill as I read, on this list, the names of four Cardons: Davide Cardone and Michele his son from Prarostino and Giovanni and Daniel Cardon, sons of deceased Giovanni, from Roccapiatta. Since Roccapiatta is the area that includes our ancestral village "Les Cardon" or "Borgata Cardon", I wondered whether this Giovanni could be the same as our *E. Jean*. I knew that the parish records were in French and the civil records in Italian and that Giovanni and Jean were equivalent names. (For reference purposes I will call the Jean Cardon who participated in the Glorious Return "*Jean G.R.*")

I won't belabor the steps in my search, but will simply describe the evidence which convinces me that *E. Jean* and *Jean G.R.* are indeed the same person, and which moves our line back one generation to *E. Jean's* father, Jean, and likely back two generations to his grandfather, Philippe. Then I will recount what I found out about the events of Jean's life, and those of the lives of a few other ancestral relatives who lived in the same area at that time.

Our ancestors lived in the Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish of the Vaudois valleys. The first church or "temple" for this parish was originally built on the Roccapiatta side of the parish in 1528 (Roccapiatta means "flat rock" -- a seemingly inapt name for a steep hillside, but there must be a large flat rock area around somewhere). This Roccapiatta temple is about one half mile downhill from our ancestral village, the Borgata Cardon (borgata means small village). This temple was the site of Vaudois worship for this large parish until 1828, when a new temple was built at San Bartalemeo in Prarostino, and the minister moved his residence to this village (Prarostino means "burnt meadow" -- a more apt name for an area so frequently a battleground). Since 1828 the Roccapiatta church, which still stands, has been used only occasionally, for special services. The two sides of the parish are the two slopes of a valley through which flows the "torrente Turinella" a creek sized stream. The first step in my search for earlier generations of Cardons turned out to be easy. I simply looked through the microfilmed parish register for Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish and discovered that the Piedmont Project extractors had overlooked the burial entry for *E. Jean*, an entry which gives us the name of his father.

On the Piedmont Project family group sheet for *E. Jean*, his death is given as "before 7 May 1745". That's because there was an entry for his son Paul's burial on that date which described *E. Jean* as "deceased". Because of the naming custom I've already described, a grandfather could have four or five grandsons running around in the same village with the same name as his. Add a couple more generations and you can see the confusion this would lead to. In a parish with a population of 300-800 persons you could have up to a dozen or so people with the same name. Therefore, in all their records, both church and civil, the Vaudois gave a bit of each person's genealogy to identify him more specifically. A person was "di" his father ("Paul di Jean") if the parent was still living or "fu" ("Jean fu Philippe") if the parent was deceased. Sometimes the grandfather's name was given in this same manner ("Paul di Jean fu Philippe") as a further aid.

I scanned through the Roccapiatta-Prarostino Parish registers on micro-film covering a period of about 100 years, and in the process found this entry for 18 June, 1743:

1.743.
 Marie, fille de fu Jean Avondet et Veuve de Francois.
 Bertalot a été enseveli le 5^e Juin 1743.
 Jean, fil. de fu Jean Cardon, Ancien de cette Eglise; a été
 enseveli le 18^e Juin 1743.
 Marie fille de Francois Rochetou Grand-Dublon dans la
 William Cavotain

Middle: The Death of *E. Jean Cardon*

Translated, this entry reads:

"Jean, son of deceased Jean Cardon, Elder of this Church, was buried the 18th June 1743."

Although this entry is mildly ambiguous, as it could be read to mean either that the deceased just buried was an Elder of the Church, or that his deceased father was an Elder of the Church, a death entry for *E. Jean*'s son Jean is recorded on 3 May 1769, thus making clear that this is the burial entry for *E. Jean* himself. Therefore, we know that *E. Jean*'s father was also named Jean. And so was the father of Jean *G.R.*

A note about the title "Elder": A Vaudois parish was presided over by a professional Pastor. (In 1630 all of the native pastors except three were killed by the plague and the replacements, who came from the reformed churches in Geneva, spoke French. Thereafter the Vaudois services were in French and the Vaudois developed a "patois" or dialect of mixed French and Italian.) Each parish was divided into eight "quarters" and a layman "Ancien" or

Elder was chosen from each quarter to look after the families in that quarter. The Elders sat in the front of the church, in seats just below the pulpit, during Vaudois worship services. *E. Jean* was given the title Ancien in all entries in the parish registers from 1728 through 1745.

Jean G.R. was born in 1670. His brother Daniel, who also served in Arnaud's band of soldiers, was a year older, having been born in 1669. They had an older brother, Jacques, born in 1662. We know these facts through the work of two modern Vaudois scholars, Auguste Armand-Hugon and E.A. Rivoire, who in 1974 published a book entitled *Gli Esule Valdesi in Svizzera 1686-1690* (Vaudois Exiles in Switzerland, 1686-1690). I will hereafter refer to this important work as "*AHR*").* Through a myriad of sources these historians traced the Vaudois exiles, including 27 Cardons, through the period of time encompassing the war of 1686 and the Glorious Return. From this work we learn that *Jean G.R.* and his two older brothers were in Morges, Switzerland, on 25 Feb. 1687, in Zurich during 1687, 1688 and 1689, departing (presumably for Geneva) in March 1689.

I've already indicated that *E. Jean's* birth year of 1681 in the Piedmont Project records is very suspect. Here's a summary of the reasons I believe *E. Jean* was older and therefore more likely to be the same person as *Jean G.R.*:

E. Jean's birthyear is based on the assumption that Paul was his first child. Since *E. Jean's* father was also Jean, it is likely that he named his first son "Jean" after his father. This earlier Jean probably lived until after *E. Jean's* son Philippe was born but then died, requiring that the last son be given the obligatory name Jean.

If born in 1681, *E. Jean* would have been in a fertile 34-47 age bracket from 1715-1728. However, no births of children of *E. Jean* were recorded in that period. Roccapiatto-Prarostino parish birth registers commenced in 1715 and *E. Jean* may well have been older (coinciding with *Jean G.R.'s* 1670 birth year) not to have had any children during that period.

In 1728 *E. Jean* married, in a second marriage, a widow, Beatrice Charrier (Roche). She bore him no children although her assumed age in the Piedmont Project Records (21 in 1728) would have made her in a fertile age bracket. Her prior marriage and the fact that she died in 1738 (at 31?!) and he died in 1743 indicate that both were very likely older than these estimates.

E. Jean was "Ancien" by his 1728 second marriage. This would be at age 47 if the Piedmont Project estimate is correct, which is perhaps young for this honor, or 58 if *E. Jean* was really *Jean G.R.* born in 1670.

The Piedmont Project generated a number of family group sheets for persons named Jean

* A translation of the portions of AHR that relate to Cardon ancestral names appears in Appendix Four to this article.

Cardon in the Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish for this period of time. However, this number is likely to be higher than the actual number of persons with that name living in the parish since the Piedmont Project workers generated a new family group sheet every time secondary information in the parish registers indicated a person of that name existed. Thus, for example, when an entry was found showing that Marie di Jean was married in 1720, a family group sheet would be made for Jean as the head of a family with an estimated birth year of 1699 for Marie (women were assumed to be 21 at marriage) and an estimated birth year of 1674 (25 years older than Marie) for Jean. Then when an entry showed that Paul di Jean was married in 1722, there being nothing in this entry to connect this Jean with Marie's father, a new family group sheet would be made out showing Paul's estimated birth year as 1698 (men were assumed to be 24 at marriage) and his father Jean's birth year as 1671. One might suspect that these two Jeans were the same person, but unless there was something (such as the title "Ancien" in our case) to connect them, the Piedmont Project would treat them as two separate individuals.

I made a chart of all the heads of families named Cardon who were identified in the Piedmont Project records for the Roccapiatta-Prarostino Parish, and who lived during the period 1630-1750, noting likely connections which would identify two or more separate entries as likely to be for the same person. By making assumptions consistent with all the records then available to me it was possible to bring a measure of order to what otherwise is a very confused picture. But, from these charts alone it is not possible to absolutely identify *E. Jean* with Jean *G.R.* All the known facts are consistent with their being one and the same individual, and by the process of analysis that follows, the probability is extremely high that they are. The honor of being chosen Ancien seems consistent with *E. Jean* being a veteran of the Glorious Return. *E. Jean*'s son Jean married Marie Odin and Odin was the surname of a captain from Prarostino who served in Arnaud's army of the G.R.

Auguste Jahier, a former Pastor of the Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish wrote a history of the parish in 1928. He indicates that the population of the parish before the war in 1686 was 754, that 374 died in 1686; 267 went into exile and 34 children were kidnapped and given to Catholic families to raise (some of these returned after the exile, some did not). Thus the parish population after the Return would have been, at most, only 200-300 persons. We don't know for sure that Jean *G.R.* survived the guerrilla warfare. However, from the *AHR* work, and from civil records of land transfers we can establish a high degree of probability that he did survive and is the same as our *E. Jean*.

AHR lists (and gives index numbers to) four Jean Cardons: #845 (*G.R.* born in 1670), #850 (born in 1678), #854 (born in 1644) and #857 (born in 1620) See Appendix Four pages 53-54. Where their sources indicated a person had died, such is noted, with the date and place. No such notation appears for any of the Jeans listed. Jean #857 would be too old for our *E. Jean*; Jean #854 is probably too old, but in any event is otherwise identifiable as not *E. Jean*. Jean #850 is, as *AHR* and the civil records show, the son of Jacques, leaving only Jean *G.R.* #845, (correctly, a Jean son of Jean) to become our *E. Jean*.

I spent most of one trip to Italy in the Archivio di Stato (State Archives) in Torino, looking through the notarial records of a notary named Daniel Forneron who was a Vaudois

living in Prarostino during the late 1600's. I found three or four records which were very helpful in constructing likely family trees and confirming that *AHR*'s list and identifications are quite accurate. A bit of background is desirable to understand these records.

The Vaudois peasants such as our ancestors lived on rather steep Alpine hillsides. Every yard of usable land was used, whether for garden, meadow or woods (fuel supply). Each family would own various little patches of meadow, scattered from the lowest valley to the tops of the hills to which they would move their cattle in sequence as the seasons progressed. When the Vaudois returned to their homeland in 1690, many families had been entirely wiped out; in all only a fraction of the members of each pre-war family returned.

For these reasons it was necessary to redistribute the former family lands among the survivors. The survivors often entered into legal agreements, made before a notary, in which they agreed upon a division of the former family properties among themselves. Since the land holdings were so irregular in shape, they were usually described by reference to who owned the adjacent parcels. Thus from a record of this kind one can get a feeling for who held what throughout the area of the village and its environs.

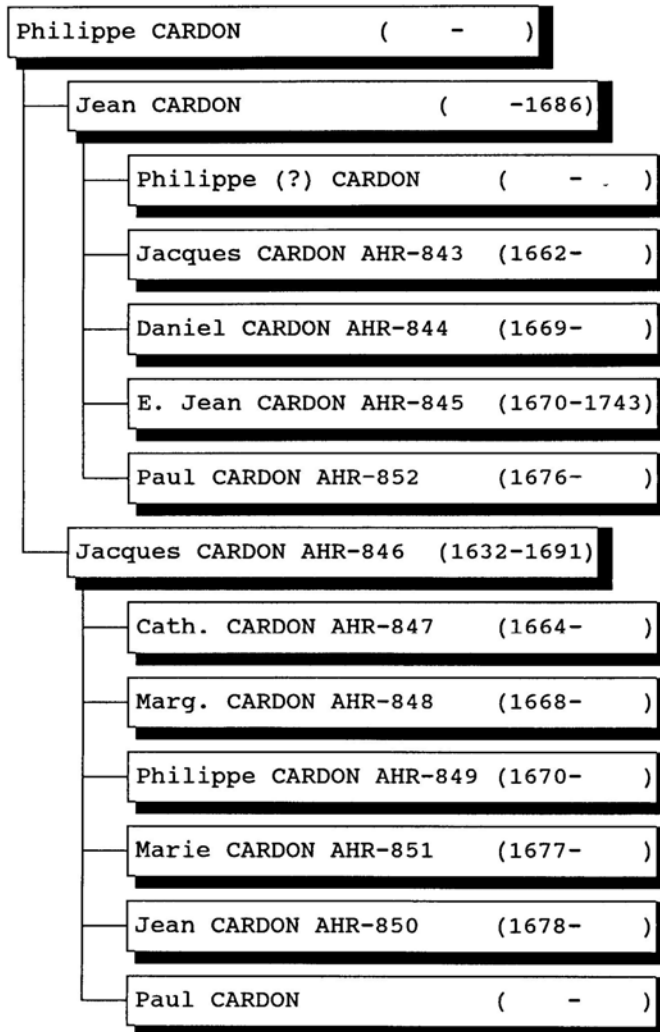
On the 5th of March, 1696¹¹, Philippe Cardon (*AHR* #849) Jean Cardon (*AHR* #850), and their sisters Catherine and Marie all of whom I believe were cousins of *E. Jean*, entered into such a division of property. The document shows that they are the children of Jacques (*AHR* #846) who "passed through war to another life already in the year 1691" (*AHR* says he died in exile in Bagnolo, Switzerland in 1691). There are two other children, Marguerite and Paul, who are not parties to this agreement but who are still living. Their father's father was Philippe, who is deceased. The land being divided consists of approximately 40 parcels scattered over both sides of the Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish. Ten of this total of 40 parcels are described as being adjacent to land owned by Jean Cardon, son of deceased Jean. In another three cases, toward the end of the document, the parcels are adjacent to land owned by Jean Cardon, with no parentage indicated. The notary may have been getting tired of writing, and these also may be references to Jean fu Jean, or they may be references to Jean Cardon (*AHR* #854.) In four instances Daniel Cardon is an adjacent land owner but no parentage notation is given for him, apparently because he is the only Daniel then living in the area. In two cases the adjacent land is owned by Jean Cardon the Old ("Gio~ Cardone il Vecchio") probably *AHR* #857. In two cases the parcels were adjacent to land owned by Paul Cardon without parentage indication, suggesting he was the only one around with that name. This would not have been the brother of the four siblings making the property division, as the notary was careful to indicate the brother or sister relationship when one of the family was mentioned. In three cases the adjacent land was owned by the "heirs of Jacques Cardon," and in one of these instances the additional indication "heirs of Jacques Cardon son of deceased Jean" was included. In five cases the adjoining land was owned by the "heirs of deceased Philippe Cardon." In two cases, Michel Cardon was the neighboring landowner.

From this interweaving of land holdings between those belonging to the children of deceased Jacques (*AHR* #846) and who were grandchildren of a Philippe, and Jean fu Jean (probably Jean *G.R.*), Daniel and Jacques fu Jean (a fit with Jean *G.R.*'S brothers Jacques and

Daniel) who were also grandsons of a Philippe (see below), one could suppose that Jacques (AHR #846) was the brother of Jean the father of Jean G.R., Daniel G.R. and their brother Jacques. There are other indications that support this. The group consisting of Jean G.R. (AHR #845), his brothers Daniel G.R. (AHR #844) and Jacques (AHR #843) as well as Jacques (AHR #846) and his five children (referred to in the notarial record just mentioned) apparently traveled together into exile early in 1687.¹² Part of the evidence carries a poignancy that helps one appreciate those troubled times. To help understand this evidence, I have outlined in the descent chart which appears below what I believe is the relationship of these two families.

According to AHR, this Jacques' family (#846-852) had with them a Paul, born in 1676, who would have been from ten to twelve years old during the war and the exile, and who is described, not as a son but as a "relative" (parenti). This seems strange because there was a son of this Jacques also named Paul, but he does not appear in the AHR records. The notarial records help to fill in some of the blanks. On June 6, 1695¹³, this Jacques' son Paul granted to his brother Philippe all of his interest in his father's estate. This Paul's home was stated to be in Racconogi, which is a nearby city outside of Vaudois territory (until 1848 the Vaudois were restricted by law from living below certain boundary lines in the mountains) indicating that this Paul was no longer a Vaudois. Evidently he was one of the children taken from his parents to be raised as a Catholic, and had elected to remain with

Descendants of Philippe CARDON



his foster family.

Who then was the "relative," Paul, who traveled with Jacques' family and the three sons of deceased Jean into exile? As mentioned, the property division between Jacques' children, Philippe, Jean, Catherine and Maria mentions, as an owner of adjacent land parcels, a Paul Cardon without giving any parentage notation, indicating that he was the only one of that name living in the vicinity. This couldn't be their brother who had already transferred all of his property rights to Philippe, but must be this same relative. The Piedmont Project records show three entries for a Paul of about the right age, and in one of these his oldest son is Jean, suggesting that Jean was the name of this Paul's father. For these reasons, I believe this Paul is likely a younger brother of Jacques, Daniel *G.R.* and Jean *G.R.*, who after his father Jean's and his mother's deaths in the war, traveled with his uncle Jacques while his older brothers joined Henri Arnaud's liberators.

The interweaving of land holdings as shown in the notarial record just discussed likely resulted from dividing, through successive generations of children and grand children, the land holdings of some earlier ancestor. The interwoven land holdings in this case, with adjoining parcels owned Jean fu Jean, by Daniel, by heirs of a deceased Jacques (in one case noted as the son of deceased Jean), by the heirs of deceased Philippe and by a living Paul all give support to the descent chart shown on the preceding page. Land which originally belonged to the grandfather Philippe shown on the chart would have been divided, first, among his sons Jean and Jacques, and then, following their deaths, among the children of Jean and the children of Jacques. All of the names in the notarial record fit this family grouping, with Michel and Jean Cardon the Old being more remote relatives whose land came down from earlier divisions of the same nature.

Now, to move back one generation further, and to provide some confirmation to the descent chart above. On 21 July 1698, Jean Cardon, fu Jean fu Philippe (*E. Jean*, you will remember, named one of his sons through whom we are descended Philippe) purchased from Jean Sarret (whom, it will be discovered by checking the Piedmont Project pedigree charts, was a great, great grandfather of our immigrant ancestor Philippe Cardon) a garden tract in Prarostino. The Vaudois were highly regulated, and it was necessary for the Intendente (a civil official) to determine the circumstances of the sale before it could be completed. The Intendente determined that Jean Sarret had been unable to pay the tax for 1697, and now, because of a damaging hailstorm, was unable to pay the tax for 1698. He therefore approved the sale which took place at the home of Philippe Cardon (I believe Jacques' son and Jean's cousin as indicated in the descent chart above, but no parentage is noted). Daniel Fornerone recorded the conveyance in *Atti Notarili -- D. Fornerone -- Vol. 1275, folio 47.*

The following is a copy of the opening lines of this document. The first three lines, translated from the Italian, state: "Purchase by Jean Cardon son of deceased Jean son of deceased Philippe of Roccapiatta from Jean Sarret son of deceased Jean of Prarostino."



Compro per Giovanni Cardone, fig. Giovanni
figlio di Roccapinchi da Giovanni Sarret
fig. Gio: Di Pramiano.
Al nome di Dio in l'anno del sig. 1798 mille seicento nonant'otta
setta. et alle vent'uno del mese di Luglio fatto nelle
P.

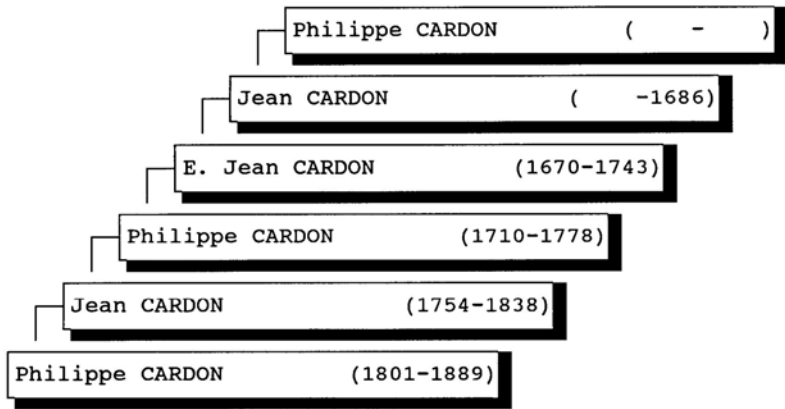
On the signature lines at the close of this document Jean Sarret printed his name in a laborious hand which suggests that may be all he had learned to write. Jean Cardon signed the document with his mark, a small circle, indicating he was probably not literate. Two of the witnesses, Philippe Sarret and Daniel Rivoire also wrote out the word "testimonio" meaning "witness." Daniel Rivoire is the name of a young Vaudois about Jean's age who was a member of the G.R., and who, after being captured by the Piedmontese, gave the names of the participants whom he could remember. It is from his deposition that we know the names of Jean and Daniel Cardon and many of the other participants in the Glorious Return. The third witness, Michael Paschet, made his sign, a wavy "M".

This record ties many things together. It verifies the relationship of Jean fu Jean as a cousin of Philippe and the other children of Jacques (AHR #846), implied in the settlement agreement referred to earlier and confirms the closeness indicated by the AHR records. It gives the name of Jean's grandfather as Philippe, which certainly accords with the Jean/Philippe chain of given names used in the family for the next 200 years.

.....
Giovanni Sarret
segno di Gio: Cardone
fili pro sarret testimonio
Danielle Rivoiro testimonio
segno di M Michele Paschet
Fornone

Signature of Jean Sarret; Mark of Jean Cardon

Ancestors of Philippe CARDON



Based on this research we can extend Philippe Cardon's ancestry chart back two more generations as shown in this chart.

While these are the specific facts we know of Jean's life -- and this may be more than many living today know of their own grandparents -- a detailed history of his times allows us to surmise a great deal more.

Fifteen years prior to Jean's birth, in 1655, the Easter-time massacre known as the Pasque Piedmontessi occurred. At least one, and probably many, of Jean's ancestral relatives were involved. The print shown here is a wood cut which appeared in Moreland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valley of Piedmont* (London, 1658), and was reprinted in Léger,



Daniel Cardon de Rocheplate, surpris au dessous du Temple du Chabas, et d'abord la tête coupée, & les cervelles arrachées par ses Cannibales qui les mangerent.

The Death of Daniel Cardon

Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piemont ou Vaudoises (Leida Le Carpentier, 1669) and depicts the death of a Daniel Cardon in that religious war. The caption of the picture, translated, reads: "Daniel Cardon of Roccapiatta was taken near the Temple of Chabas. His head was immediately cut off by the cannibals and the brains removed and eaten. In the same manner his heart was torn out and devoured." The Temple of Chabas is in the town of St. Jean (San Giovanni) in the Luserna Valley. While we cannot, at this point, connect this Daniel directly into our line, the small population of the Roccapiatta area, and the presence of Daniel as a family name (e.g. Daniel G.R.) indicates a close connection.

Undoubtedly Jean grew up hearing accounts of those events from his family and village history retold in his home and at church. From the land holdings he had after the war, we know that Jean's family lived in or near the village of "Les Cardon" on the Roccapiatta side of the Turinella valley. Just down the hill from Les Cardon, not more than half a mile, is the old parish church, built there in 1528. Scattered up and down the hillside would be the family's patches of woods, garden and meadows.

In 1685, when Jean was 15, Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nante, which assured Protestants of toleration in that country. Louis suggested to his nephew, Victor Amadeus II, the nineteen year old Duke of Savoy who ruled the Piedmont region, that he end toleration of Protestants in that area as well. Initially resistant, the Duke eventually yielded to Louis' pressure and, in January 1686, issued a decree requiring conformance to the Catholic faith or exile. Daniel Fornerone, the notary who recorded the transactions we have just reviewed, was sent to try to negotiate some more acceptable resolution, but was arrested and imprisoned. Swiss envoys finally procured his release and urged the Vaudois to accept exile. On April 14, 1686, the ministers and delegates from all of the Vaudois parishes met at the Roccapiatta church to reach a decision on a course of action. At the urging of Henri Arnaud, the minister of the Vaudois parish in La Tour, the majority voted to resist. Young 16-year-old Jean was undoubtedly a witness to those deliberations which took place only a half mile from his home. Five days later another solemn assembly was held at the Roccapiatta church, and the decision to resist was ratified. All present pledged, with their hands raised to heaven, to defend their homeland and their religion, even to death, according to the example of their forefathers. Henri Arnaud stood up in the midst of the assembly and prayed: "Lord Jesus, thou who hast suffered death for us, grant us the grace that we may bear suffering likewise and may sacrifice our lives for thee. Those who persevere to the end will be saved. May we each cry with the Apostle: 'I am totally for Christ, who strengthens me'." All responded "Amen". Again we can be sure Jean was there, perhaps peering into the church through an open window or door. Henri Arnaud must have made a powerful impression on him.

The following Sunday all of the Vaudois parishes held solemn communion services. For many, it was their last communion service. The same day, Duke Victor Amadeus reviewed his assembled troops on the plains near San Secondo, at the foot of the southern slope of the hill upon which Prarostino is located. Early Monday morning three cannon shots at Bricherasio signalled the commencement of Victor Amadeus's campaign against the Vaudois dissenters. Piedmontese troops, led by the Duke's great uncle, Don Gabriel de Savoy, marched through the

Luscerna (Pellice) valley and then toward Angrogna, separated only by a mountain ridge from Roccapiatta. French troops, led by Marshall Catinat, marched northward, into the Vaudois valley of San Martin.

A group of defenders from Roccapiatta-Prarostino engaged the Duke's troops at Piani, but were driven back through Colletta and across the ridge into the Angrogna valley at the Bric de Bule. They moved slowly toward the Pra del Tour, skirmishing with the Piedmontese at Rocca Ghiesa, and at several other points, including the Castelet. The defenders lost five of their number, but inflicted heavier casualties on the Duke's troops, including the deaths of three officers.

The Vaudois were hopelessly outnumbered. Don Gabriel de Savoy quickly occupied the Pra del Tor, historically the refuge of the embattled Vaudois in prior religious wars. The Vaudois defenses dissolved and the Vaudois pastors, accompanied by Swiss emissaries, sought peace terms, casting themselves at the mercy of the Duke.

Those who refused to accept conversion to Catholicism were rounded up. Prisons were established in most of the nearby larger cities of the Piedmont and the adults were conducted to these locations. Children of tender ages were taken from their parents and given to Catholic families to raise. Jean Cardon, aged 16, son of deceased Daniel, was sent to Torino to live with the Count of Rivoli, his brother Daniel, aged 13, to another family. Madelene Cardon, daughter of deceased Philippe of Roccapiatta was sent to the family of Sr. Belesprit at Savigliano, her sister Piacenza to Torino. Michael, son of Philippe and Susana Cardon of Prarostino, aged 12, went to Antonio Robbio at Cuneo. Francis, son of Jean Cardon and deceased Maria Cardon of Prarostino, aged 13, went to Gabriel Bertello at Airasca. Marie Cardon, daughter of deceased Michael, went to a convent, and Marguerite, daughter of Paul Cardon, was sent to an institution called the "hotel of virtue" in Torino. As earlier noted, Jean's cousin, Paul, son of Jacques, perhaps at this time, or perhaps at a later time I will mention, was taken to a family in Racconogi, and, after the war, elected to stay with his foster family, as undoubtedly did many of the others.¹⁴

I believe that *E. Jean*, his father Jean, his brothers Jacques and Daniel (and perhaps a brother, Paul, the "relative" who traveled with his uncle and cousins as mentioned earlier) and his uncle Jacques and cousins Catherine, Marguerite, Philippe, Jean and Marie all were taken to Fossano, a city some miles south on the Piedmont plains. This picture shows the castle there that served as a prison for the Vaudois and together with an account of the prison conditions, appears in the *Bollettino della Società de Studi Valdesi*, Vol. 72, p. 255.

A list of the Vaudois who died in Fossano prison during 1686¹⁵ includes the following:
Cardon, Jean of Roccapiatta
Cardon, Jean of Prarostino."

The first of these was likely our Jean's father.

Prior to the war there were approximately 15,000 Vaudois living in the valleys; of these, roughly 2000 perished in the battles and approximately 8500 were imprisoned. Most of the remainder accepted conversion to Catholicism as the price of retaining their homes. Many of these "cattolozati" were later imprisoned if they were found to be unfaithful in attending mass, or if they were found at work on one of the feast days of the Catholic calendar.



Castello di Fossano

A small group, called "the Invincibles" continued to resist in a guerrilla style war of attrition.

The property of the Vaudois was declared forfeited, and sold by the Duke's administrators. Repopulation of the nearly deserted valleys by transplanted Catholics was largely unsuccessful. Fugitive Vaudois would return to their homes, terrifying the new settlers. The converted Vaudois were notoriously unfaithful Catholics, and those from lower and leveler homelands did not adapt well to the Vaudois mountainside style of living.

The Vaudois in the Piedmontese prisons did not fare well. From April to the following January (1687) nearly two-thirds of the prisoners perished from the privations of their living conditions. At Trino, only 46 of nearly a thousand survived. The Swiss emissaries negotiated with the Duke and entreated him to allow the prisoners to go into exile and stem the death tolls in the prisons. Finally, in late December, 1687, the choice was offered: conversion or exile. Approximately 2700 (virtually all of those remaining alive) chose exile. Nearly one in ten of these would die on the winter journey across the Alps into Switzerland.

The Cardons left Fossano as part of a group of 320, probably in January, in the midst of a violent snowstorm. Over 80 of the group perished on the way to Switzerland. Several of the children including Marie Sarrett of Prarostino, Marie Cardon of Angrogna, and Paul and Jean Cardon were kidnapped and carried away from the group by the Piedmontese.¹⁶ After great privations, the group, reduced to 230, arrived in Morges, Switzerland, on February 25, 1687. It included all of those whom I earlier listed as going to Fossano. There they split up, Jacques

(AHR #846) and his family going to Brandenburg in Germany for three years, taking with them a "relative" who was possibly E. Jean's young brother Paul. Jacques' own son Paul may have been the Paul who was kidnapped on the journey from Fossano¹⁷. Jean and his older brothers Jacques and Daniel went to Zurich, and ultimately to Geneva, where they involved themselves in the intrigues that led to the Glorious Return.

These intrigues were international in scope. They involved William of Orange, Fredrick William of Brandenburg and other rulers including James II of England. Henri Arnaud, the Vaudois minister of La Tour (Torre Pellice) believed an advantageous moment had arrived to reclaim the Vaudois homelands in Piedmont. After two early abortive attempts, he succeeded in assembling a group of 900 volunteers, many of whom were Vaudois, but including a sizeable representation of French Protestant sympathizers and perhaps some who were simply adventurers. Among the Vaudois contingent were Jean and his brother Daniel. Fifty year old David Cardon of Prarostino and his son Michel, the same age as Jean, and others of our direct ancestors, such as Philippe Roman and perhaps Barthelemy Malan, were also included.

We know these names only because another young Vaudois from Prarostino, 22 year old Daniel Rivoir (likely the same Daniel Rivoir who signed as witness on the Jean Sarret - Jean Cardon conveyance), was captured by the Piedmontese and gave a deposition in which he identified those of the group whose names he remembered¹⁸.

Various accounts of the expedition were written by Arnaud and others of the participants. Probably one of the more accessible detailed histories taken from these sources appears in Muston's *The Israel of the Alps* cited earlier. The first English edition of Muston's work also contains, as an appendix, excerpts from the journal of Capt. Robert, a young Vaudois officer which is reproduced as Appendix Three to this article.

The Glorious Return was not a pretty little war. The Vaudois had to live off of the land, and so terrorized the inhabitants of the villages along the path of their march. Those who did not supply their needs were punished, and often hostages were taken to assure that they would not be ambushed or attacked as they moved forward. The numbers of the Vaudois army dwindled as they moved along, as a result of straggling, fatalities in skirmishes and from desertions. Arnaud's group met a much larger French force at a critical point, the bridge at Salbertrand, shortly after crossing into the domains of the Duke of Savoy. They defeated this larger force, but at the cost of severe losses on their own part.

They then moved into the valleys which were formerly their homelands, and scoured the Piedmontese and others who had resettled the area. On one occasion they questioned two Piedmontese women who were out gathering chestnuts and then let them go. The women raised an alarm that resulted in a series of skirmishes and the loss of several Vaudois. Thereafter they resolved to leave no witnesses and give no quarter, for the sake of their own survival.

The Vaudois had departed from Geneva in mid-August, 1689, and entered their valleys early in September. After viewing the condition of the valleys, garrisoned by French and

Piedmontese troops, large numbers of the French Protestant refugees in the expedition left to return to France, declaring the Vaudois cause hopeless. There are records of a number of these, along with some of the French Protestants who were captured by the French forces at Salbertrand, being sentenced to 20 years in the galleys when they were apprehended by the French authorities.

In October, 1689, David Cardon of Prarostino was killed in a skirmish. He left his wife, Jeanne, his son Michel, who was with the expedition, and younger children, Suzanne, Barthelemy and Marguerite. I have some evidence that, shortly after his death, his wife gave birth to another daughter, Marie. This family was from Prarostino, and I have not found any close ties (such as adjacent land holdings or uses of similar given names) to connect them with Jean's family. I suspect they were more distant cousins, but certainly Jean would have been touched by David's death, particularly since he and David's son Michel were the same age.

As winter drew on, Arnaud's group, now reduced to about 350 men, sought refuge at a natural mountain fortress, Balsiglia. There they built further fortifications, and spent the winter making sorties into the surrounding countryside and protecting their position in minor skirmishes with the French and Piedmontese. They subsisted on captured provisions, on chestnuts, until the supply was exhausted, and finally found themselves in desperate straits for food. The winter came early, and the snow was unusually deep. When starvation loomed, however, an uncommonly warm wind blew for several days, uncovering a large unharvested field of corn that had been buried in the snow, which enabled them to endure the rigors of that winter.



The Assault on Balsiglia

With spring came the French and Piedmontese troops, along with great cannon dragged up by Piedmontese farmers who expectantly awaited the final destruction of this band of Vaudois scavengers. After an unsuccessful attempt at dislodging the Vaudois by hand to hand combat, the French undertook a day-long bombardment with the cannon, pulverizing the Vaudois embattlements. The destruction was so complete that a dispatch was sent out, announcing the complete victory of the French over the Vaudois. But, during the foggy night, while the French planned their "mopping up" operations for the next day, the Vaudois escaped over a little known trail on the opposite side of the mountain, each clutching the coattail of the man in front as they silently passed within earshot of the French and Piedmontese sentries.

When Arnaud's men reached Pra del Tor in Angrogna valley, they were met by

emissaries of the Duke of Savoy, who had just made an alliance with England and Austria against his uncle, Louis XIV of France. One of the terms the English had insisted on was the Duke's permitting the Vaudois to return to their homelands. Arnaud had correctly sensed that the international political situation was ripe for the Glorious Return.

Jean, his brothers and cousins, undoubtedly returned to Roccapiatta to rebuild their family homes, ruined by war. Though the war and exile had ended, life was not easy. The Vaudois were impoverished, and had to rebuild anew, with only a quarter or less of their former population, all that they had achieved prior to 1686.

There are little vignettes into their lives over the ensuing years. Some spent years trying to recover their kidnapped children. Suzanne, wife of deceased Philippe Cardon (sometimes said to be of Roccapiatta, sometimes of Prarostino--perhaps they owned land on both sides of the valley) whose daughters Madeleine and Piacenze (and perhaps whose son, Michael) were listed as being taken to Catholic families, was persistent in trying to recover them. In 1695 she appeared before the Synod (the governing council) of the Vaudois Church and sought assistance in having one of the English emissaries speak to His Royal Highness, the Duke, on her behalf. She reported that she had commenced a journey with her daughter Madeleine back to the valleys from Savigliano where Madeleine had been sent in 1686, and, while in the company of Suzanne Sourdel, was accosted at Campiglione by four horsemen who beat and mistreated her, taking Madeleine away and back to her foster home in Savigliano¹⁹.

Since Jean's grandfather was named Philippe, Jean's father would have named his own first son Philippe. Although the number and age of Suzanne's children suggests she and her husband were older, there is some possibility that Suzanne's husband Philippe was this oldest brother of Jean's, and Madeleine was his niece (see the descent chart on page 14.)

The search for Jean produced a lot of other information not directly relating to him, but in many cases bearing on questions which Cardon family genealogists have been asking for years. For example, in his history of the Roccapiatta-Prarostino parish, Pastor Auguste Jahier states that the Cardons were originally from Cuneo. I tracked down this lead as well as I could, and believe that Jahier based this suggestion on a passage in Jean Jalla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte 1517-1580*²⁰, which reports that in Cuneo, at the time of the Edict of 28 December, 1561, there were listed the heads of Protestant families ("ugonotti") capable of bearing arms, which list included: "... Francesco Cardon". Jalla notes²¹ that the same family names ["...Cardon..."] are found in the Vaudois valleys, "... without being able to affirm that these constitute the same families."

Since my search in the State Archives in Torino turned up a number of licenses and privileges granted by the Duke to various high born, and certainly Catholic, Cardons, and since the phone books in Torino and other northern Italian cities have numerous entries for Cardons who are obviously not of Vaudois descent, I have concluded that Cardon was a fairly common name in that area and that there is no reason to believe that we are related to the folks in Cuneo, or in Lyons or Lille, France, or even in Cardonna, Spain. Osvaldo Coisson, a Vaudois historian

currently living in Torre Pellice, has done a study of Vaudois family names, published as: *I Nomi di Famiglia Delle Valli Valdesi*²², in which he indicates that the family name Cardon can be found among the Vaudois as early as 1387, and in Prarostino and Roccapiatta since the 1500's. He believes it is a derivative of the word for "thistle" and denotes one who lives where thistles flourish. In the movie "Children of the Valleys" there is a picture of me standing in a thistle patch in "Les Cardon", our ancestral village.

A reader of a book such as Barbara Tuchman's *A Distant Mirror*, which describes life in 13th century Europe, will note that most people of that time did not have last names, being identified only by their given names and the name of the village or city from whence they came. In fact, the Italians seem to be the only exception. Perhaps from their Roman roots (Septimus Severus, Appias Claudius, etc.) the Italians began using family names earlier than other Europeans. In any event, by the time family surnames came into wide usage, our ancestors were already living in Roccapiatta at Les Cardon, and I accept the view that it is a place name, like so many other surnames we encounter (e.g. Pons = bridge; Malan = half-way up (the hill), Gaudin = woods, etc.)

One result of my research is that I quit thinking of my ancestors as French Protestants who were somehow driven over the hill into Italy. I'm quite content now to consider myself the descendant of Vaudois peasants, native to Italy.

Marriner Cardon
Prescott, Arizona

Notes

1. Smith, Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (S.L.C., Utah: Deseret News Company, 1884) p. 120, 121.
2. Ibid., p. 169-170.
3. Ibid., p. 128.
4. An extract of the Italian Mission records appears in Richards, Dr. Daniel B., *The Scriptural Allegory* (S.L.C., Utah: Magazine Publishing Company, 1931) p. 297-312.
5. Cottrell, Ralph L., Jr., *History of the Discontinued Mediterranean Missions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Unpublished thesis B.Y.U., Provo, Utah, 1963) Ch. II., p. 29.
6. Watts, George B., *The Waldenses In The New World* (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1941) Ch.V. Watts lists the names of 67 individuals plus an undisclosed number of their

family members who settled in Utah. Some of these came directly from the Piedmont region and others indirectly through the Waldensian colony in Valdese, N. Carolina. Family names included are: Avondet, Balmas, Bertin, Beux, Bouchard, Clapier, Combe, Long, Martinat, Pons, Prochet, Reynaud, Reyneau, Richard, Rivoir, Roberts, Soulier and Vincon.

7. Ibid. The names of individuals and families who settled in the various areas are listed in the Appendix, beginning at p. 227.
8. Cottrell, *op. cit.* p. 31.
9. Jean Gonnet and Amedeo Molnar, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Age* (Claudiana, Torino, Italy 1974) Chap. IV.
10. Richards, Dr. Daniel B., *op. cit.* p. 145, 180; *Sketches of the Waldenses* (American Sunday-school Union, Phila. 1846) p. 58.
11. *Atti Notarili -- D. Fornerone -- Vol. 2581, f.31b* (Archivo di Stato, Torino, Italy, 1696)
12. Armand-Hugon, A., and Rivoire, E. A., *Gli Esuli Valdesi in Svizzera 1686-1690* (Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy, 1974) p.77.
13. *Atti Notarili -- D. Fornerone -- Volume 1275* (Archivo di Stato, Torino, Italy 1695)
14. Lists of these and other children so taken appear in Jahier, Auguste, *Prarustin et Rocheplate dans l'Histoire Vaudoise* (Imprimerie Alpine, Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy, 1928) p. 31-35. Published in Italian (Alma Avondet, tr.) as *Prarostino e Roccapiatta nella Storia Valdese* (Coop. Tipografica Subalpina, Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy, 1978). Lists also appear in various numbers of the *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* (Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy)
15. *Bollettino della Società de Studi Valdesi* (Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy 19--) Vol. 118, p. 69.
16. Muston, Alexis, *The Israel of the Alps* (Glasgow, 1858,) Vol. 1 p. 474, note 5.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Pascal, Arturo, *Le Valli Durante La Guerra di Rimpartio Dei Valdesi* (Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy, 1968) Vol. II, p.636.
19. Pons, Theophile J, *Actes des Synodes des Eglises Vaudoises 1692-1854* (Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Torino, Italy [undated]) p. 17.
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