

# Illegitimate in Lincolnshire, England: The Children of Thomas Bradley

ProGen 46 Family Narrative  
25 March 2021 - Nicole Dyer

From 1845 – 1901 5.3% of births in England were illegitimate children.<sup>1</sup> Although it was never common in England for children to be born out of wedlock, it seemed common for some poor families. Thomas Bradley of Swineshead, Lincolnshire was the bastard son of an illegitimate woman. Though he never married, Thomas fathered at least four of his own illegitimate children, with two women who were also of illegitimate birth. This microcosm of Lincolnshire illegitimacy points to a trend that poverty and illegitimacy in parents bred more of the same for children in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

BAPTISMS solemnized in the Parish of <u>Pinchbeck</u> in the County of <u>Lincoln</u> in the Year 18 <u>13</u>						
When Baptized.	Child's Christian Name.	Parents Name.		Abode.	Quality, Trade, or Profession.	By whom the Ceremony was performed.
		Christian.	Surname.			
1813, 4 <sup>th</sup> Nov. No. 65.	Thomas husband son of	Mary	Bradley	Pinchbeck	Servant	Sam. Clarke Curate

Figure 1. Pinchbeck Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1837, p. 9, no. 65, Thomas Bradley, 4 Nov 1813.

Thomas Bradley was baptized in Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire, England on 4 November 1813, the “bastard son of Mary Bradley,” a servant.<sup>3</sup> When Thomas was about seven years old, Mary gave birth to another son out of wedlock on 7 October 1821 named Pearce Sumpter Bradley. Pearce was born in the parish of Sutterton, eight miles north of Pinchbeck. He was baptized on 28 December 1821 in Swineshead, another five miles north.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Sumpter, a Swineshead farmer, was ordered to pay the parish of Sutterton for the upkeep of Mary Bradley’s child.<sup>5</sup> Presumably Thomas Sumpter was the father of Pearce Sumpter Bradley; and possibly the father of Thomas Bradley as well. No bastardy papers are extant for Mary Bradley’s first son, born about 1813.<sup>6</sup> Not all illegitimate children were supported by the parish, so bastardy documents were not created in every case; and not all bastardy documents survive to the present day.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peter Laslett and Karla Oosterveen, "Long-term Trends in Bastardy in England: A Study of the Illegitimacy Figures in the Parish Registers and in the Reports of the Registrar General, 1561-1960," *Population Studies* 27 (July 1973): 255; image copy, (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2173396> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>2</sup> Lastlet and Oosterveen, "Long-term Trends in Bastardy in England," 257.

<sup>3</sup> Pinchbeck Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1837, p. 9, no. 65, Thomas Bradley, 4 Nov 1813; database with images, Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1836, p. 71, no. 561, Pearce Sumpter Bradley, 28 Dec 1821; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 23 March 2021).

<sup>5</sup> Lincolnshire Family History Society, *Lincolnshire Parish Bastardy Documents* (Lincoln, England: Lincolnshire Family History Society, 2020), PDF file, p. 403 of 681, Sutterton Parish, Bastardy Order, Mary Bradley and Thomas Sumpter, 7 March 1825.

<sup>6</sup> Lincolnshire Family History Society, *Lincolnshire Parish Bastardy Documents* (Lincoln, England: Lincolnshire Family History Society, 2020), PDF file, negative search for Mary Bradley abt. 1813-1820.

<sup>7</sup> Lincolnshire Family History Society, *Lincolnshire Parish Bastardy Documents* (Lincoln, England: Lincolnshire Family History Society, 2020), PDF file, p. 2 of 681.

On 9 December 1829, Mary married William Tales, a bachelor, in the Swineshead parish church. The bride and groom resided in Swineshead at the time.<sup>8</sup> Mary and her sons probably began living with William Tales in Drayton, a neighborhood in Swineshead where William lived at the time of his death.<sup>9</sup>

One evening in 1837, Thomas Bradley and William Tales fought while at the Green Dragon Inn at Swineshead. William died from injuries received during the fight and was buried on 6 Oct 1837.<sup>10</sup> An investigation was held by the coroner on October 5 and the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter against Thomas, reportedly a “blind fiddler.”<sup>11</sup> Thomas had become blind sometime prior to 1837 after a bout of small pox.<sup>12</sup>

After the inquest into the body of William Tales found Thomas Bradley under suspicion of manslaughter, he was committed to Lincoln castle prison on 10 October 1837 to await his hearing in court.<sup>13</sup> He was twenty-four years old, 5 feet 2 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches tall, with a sallow complexion, dark brown hair, and blind in both eyes. His occupation was musician.<sup>14</sup> Lincoln Castle, built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by William the Conqueror, was used a “gaol” or prison beginning in 1787. Prisoners were isolated. Even in the prison chapel, prisoners were enclosed so they could only see the preacher.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas remained in prison about five months until March 1838 when the Lincolnshire assizes (court sessions) began. His trial began on 3 March 1838 and was heard by Sir John Littledale.<sup>16</sup> The Grand Jury found no true bill, meaning no probable cause to decide that a crime was committed. Thomas was acquitted and released from prison.<sup>17</sup>

Mary Tales, now widowed, applied for aid from the Friendly Society, a type of benevolent society. Mary asked for her widow’s payment, which she was entitled to as according to the society’s rules.<sup>18</sup> The Society did not pay, and Mary obtained a summons against Charles Redman, one of the stewards of the society. The case was heard at the petty sessions in Boston, Lincolnshire, before the Holland magistrates. Holland was a local government district that included Swineshead and other parishes in southeastern Lincolnshire. The magistrates decided in favor of Mary and the society was ordered to pay the owed sums of 4 and 5 pounds along with 10 shillings of costs.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas Bradley, his widowed mother, Mary Tales, and brother Pearce, continued to reside in Drayton during the 1841 census. As of June 6, 1841, Mary’s occupation was gardener, Thomas was a musician, and Pearce was an agricultural laborer. Also residing in their household was Benjamin Horn, a twelve-year-old servant.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Marriages 1813-1837, p. 87, William Tales to Mary Powderill Bradley, 9 Dec 1829; database with images, “Lincolnshire Marriages,” *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-marriages> : accessed 20 March 2021).

<sup>9</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-May 1851, p. 122, no. 972, William Tales, 6 October 1837; database with images, “Lincolnshire Burials,” *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 20 March 2021).

<sup>10</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-May 1851, p. 122, no. 972, William Tales, 6 October 1837; database with images, “Lincolnshire Burials,” *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 20 March 2021).

<sup>11</sup> “Stamford, Friday, Oct. 13” *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 13 October 1837, p. 3, col. 3, para. 16; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>12</sup> 1861 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 13, p. 2, no. 15, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9\\_2339\\_2343-0026](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9_2339_2343-0026) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, RG 9, Piece 2339. 1871 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 15, p. 3, no. 16, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LINRG10\\_3343\\_3346-0391](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LINRG10_3343_3346-0391) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, RG10, Piece 3345.

<sup>13</sup> “Lincoln, Friday, October 20,” *Lincolnshire (England) Chronicle*, 20 October 1837, p. 3, col. 5; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>14</sup> Lincolnshire Gaol [Jail], Register of Felons 1820-1847, p. 78, No. 1332, Thomas Bradley, admitted 10 Oct 1837; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810\\_pcom2\\_310-00078](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810_pcom2_310-00078) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing PCOM 2 1770-1951 Home Office and Prison Commission: Prisons Records, Series 1, National Archives at Kew, England.

<sup>15</sup> “Lincoln Castle,” rev. 18:34, 2 Feb 2021, *Wikipedia*, ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lincoln\\_Castle](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lincoln_Castle) : accessed 23 March 2021).

<sup>16</sup> Lincolnshire Gaol [Jail], Register of Felons 1820-1847, p. 78, No. 1332, Thomas Bradley, admitted 10 Oct 1837; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810\\_pcom2\\_310-00078](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810_pcom2_310-00078) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing PCOM 2 1770-1951 Home Office and Prison Commission: Prisons Records, Series 1, National Archives at Kew, England.

<sup>17</sup> “Lincolnshire Assizes,” *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 9 March 1838, p. 2, col. 3, para. 3; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>18</sup> “Stamford, Friday, April 20,” *Lincolnshire (England) Chronicle*, 20 April 1838, p. 3, col. 3; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 26, p. 21, line 15, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107\\_610\\_612-0624](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107_610_612-0624) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

## Thomas Bradley's Drinking and Debts

Thomas Bradley appeared in the newspaper several times for court cases regarding drinking and debts. On 5 July 1861, the *Stamford Mercury* reported a court case in which Thomas accused William Blackburn of stealing three sovereigns while they were drinking together at the Red Lion inn in Swineshead. They left about two in the morning and Thomas was induced by Blackburn to accompany him to a brothel, where Thomas fell asleep. On waking, he found he was robbed, and Blackburn was gone. After hearing the case, the Holland magistrates found Blackburn not guilty.<sup>21</sup> The next year, Thomas Bradley was brought to the county court by William Oliver, who claimed Bradley owed £2 16s 1d for ale and tobacco. The magistrates noted that Thomas Bradley was completely blind, and that Oliver was keeping the bill on a chalkboard which he copied into a book from time to time. Thomas denied owing anything and called a witness to prove that he was not in the house on the day he was charged for ale. The case was declared a nonsuit because the plaintiff was unable to make an adequate showing of evidence.<sup>22</sup> In April 1864, Thomas Bradley and James Blackburn of Swineshead were charged with being drunk and riotous. They were each fined 17s. 6d., including costs.<sup>23</sup>

In 1871, Thomas and his brother, Pearce Bradley, petitioned the court for £200 from the will of Joseph Powdrill, on the ground of being the sons of Mary Tales. Mary was apparently left the money in Joseph's will of 5 February 1834, and the money had been invested for her benefit. The petition was referred to the registrar to ascertain the next of kin and determine the merits of the claim.<sup>24</sup> The men's claim was rightful; Joseph Powdrill was listed as the father of Mary Powdrill Bradley on her parish baptism entry, although she was illegitimate.<sup>25</sup>

Thomas lived on a three-acre parcel of land on the turnpike from Donington to Swineshead and Drayton road, abutting the lands of Thomas B. Woods and William Brewster respectively on the southeast. The land included a cottage, out-buildings, yard, garden, and a large orchard well-stocked with fruit trees.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Bradley died at age 58 years on 16 March 1872 of heart disease.<sup>27</sup> His will, written 4 March 1872, provided furniture for his servant, Rebecca Reed, and left the remainder of his personal property to Tom Robert Maidens, son of Robert Maidens of London. The executors were to sell the freehold cottage and 3¾ acres in Drayton which he owned a half part in, left to him by William Powdrill, late of Swineshead. The proceeds were to go toward the payment of his debts, funeral, and the cost of apprenticing Tom Robert Maidens to an occupation of his choosing. Tom was to receive the remainder of the proceeds after reaching age twenty-one. In case Tom Maidens died before age twenty-one, Mary Ann Rippon, wife of Blacksmith Benjamin Rippon of Boston, was to inherit. Any relationship of Thomas to Mary Ann Rippon is unknown. Thomas' will was proved at Lincoln on 1 July 1872 by executors John Woods the Younger of Swineshead Fed, a farmer, and William Lister of Swineshead, a farmer.<sup>28</sup> After Thomas died, the land where he had been living was advertised to be sold by the trustees of his will, John Woods and William Lister, along with Pearce Bradley, who almost certainly owned the other half of the freehold cottage.<sup>29</sup>

## Thomas Bradley's Children

On 19 November 1841, it was reported in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* that Thomas Bradley of Swineshead was committed to prison for three months of hard labor for non-payment of £2, 6s from an order of bastardy made in

<sup>21</sup> "Holland Sessions," *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 5 July 1861, p. 6, col. 5; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>22</sup> "Local and District Intelligence," *Lincolnshire (England) Chronicle*, 12 December 1862, p. 8, col. 3, section titled "County Court," database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>23</sup> "Police Intelligence," *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 1 April 1864, p. 6, col. 4; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>24</sup> "Boston County Court, April 18," *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 21 April 1871, p. 8, col. 5; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>25</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1762-1792, 15 April 1789, Mary, illegitimate daughter of Joseph Powdrill by Jane Bradley; database with images, Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 24 March 2021).

<sup>26</sup> "Sales by Auction," *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 4 October 1872, p. 2, col. 2; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>27</sup> England, death certificate for Thomas Bradley, died 16 March 1872; registered March quarter 1872, Boston District 7a/273, Swineshead registrar's district, Lincolnshire; General Registry Office, Southport.

<sup>28</sup> Lincolnshire, England, Court of Probate, Thomas Bradley will, proved 1 July 1872; PDF copy downloaded 26 March 2021 from "Find a will," *Gon.UK* (<https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk/>).

<sup>29</sup> "Sales by Auction," *Stamford (Lincolnshire, England) Mercury*, 4 October 1872, p. 2, col. 2; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

1835.<sup>30</sup> Although the mother and child were not named in the news item, it could have been Robert Maidens, baptized as the illegitimate son of Elizabeth Maidens in 1833.<sup>31</sup> Another possibility was Elizabeth Miller, born to Ann Miller in 1834, and baptized in 1845.<sup>32</sup>

### Robert Maidens

Robert Maidens' mother, Elizabeth Maidens, died and was buried on 14 February 1841.<sup>33</sup> Seven-year-old Robert was an inmate of the Boston Workhouse in 1841, likely sent there after his mother died.<sup>34</sup> In 1851, Robert Maidens was a "visitor" in the household of Mary Tales and Thomas Bradley in Drayton. Mary was a sixty-year-old farmer of 7 acres, employing no laborers; Thomas was age thirty-six, musician; Robert Maidens, age 16, and servant Edward Favil, age 16, were agricultural laborers; and Harriet Basford, age 13, was a house servant.<sup>35</sup>

Robert Maidens married Letitia Thorpe on July 7, 1856, in Swineshead. On the marriage certificate, Thomas Bradley was listed as the father of Robert Maidens.<sup>36</sup> Robert and Letitia baptized a son on 13 December 1857 in Swineshead, Tom Robert Maidens.<sup>37</sup> Letitia died in 1860 and was buried 29 October 1860.<sup>38</sup> In 1861, Thomas Bradley's grandson, three-year-old Thomas R. Maidens was living with him in Drayton.<sup>39</sup> Thomas was the head of household and listed as a "cottager." A cottager was a tenant who leased land and grew their own produce, possibly keeping a small amount of livestock.<sup>40</sup> Thomas' widowed mother, age 72, resided with him, as did Sarah S. Wanty, a fifteen-year-old servant.<sup>41</sup> Thomas' mother Mary Tales died in 1865 and was buried 19 October 1865.<sup>42</sup> Thomas Robert Maidens continued to live with Thomas Bradley on Drayton Lane through 1871, and attended school.<sup>43</sup>

### Ann Miller's Daughters

Though he never married, Thomas Bradley was probably the father of Ann Miller's three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary Ann and Sarah Jane Miller. Direct evidence only ties Sarah Jane Miller to father Thomas Bradley, but it's possible he fathered Ann's other daughters.

<sup>30</sup> "Wednesday & Thursday's Posts," *Lincolnshire (England) Chronicle*, 19 November 1841, p. 2, col. 3; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>31</sup> Kirton in Holland Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1869, p. 125, no. 995, Robert Maidens, 5 May 1833; database with images, Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>32</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1836-1852, p. 53, no. 423, Elizabeth Miller, born June 1834, baptized 12 Jan 1845; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>33</sup> Kirton in Holland Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-1885, p. 118, no. 943, Elizabeth Maidens, 14 February 1841; database with images, "Lincolnshire Burials," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>34</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Boston, Boston Workhouse, folio 27, p. 27, line 7, Robert Maidens; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107\\_613\\_615-0025](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107_613_615-0025) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/613/9.

<sup>35</sup> 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 594, p. 10, household 39, Mary Tales household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0078](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0078) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>36</sup> England, Register of Marriages for Swineshead (Lincolnshire) Parish, 1837-1884, p. 132, no. 264, Robert Maidens – Letitia Thorpe, 7 July 1856; database with images, "Lincolnshire Marriages," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-records/lincolnshire-marriages> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>37</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1836-1852, p. 47, no. 324, Tom Robert Maidens, 13 December 1857; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>38</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1851-1901, p. 44, no. 352, Letitia Maidens, 29 October 1860; database with images, "Lincolnshire Burials," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>39</sup> 1861 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 13, p. 2, no. 15, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9\\_2339\\_2343-0026](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9_2339_2343-0026) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, RG 9, Piece 2339.

<sup>40</sup> "Obscure Old English Census Occupations," *World Through the Lens* (<http://www.worldthroughthelens.com/family-history/old-occupations.php> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>41</sup> 1861 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 13, p. 2, no. 15, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9\\_2339\\_2343-0026](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9_2339_2343-0026) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, RG 9, Piece 2339.

<sup>42</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1851-1901, 19 October 1865, p. 67, no. 533, Mary Tales; database with images, "Lincolnshire Burials," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>43</sup> 1871 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 15, p. 3, no. 16, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LINRG10\\_3343\\_3346-0391](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LINRG10_3343_3346-0391) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, RG10, Piece 3345.



Ann Miller was born 20 January 1805 and baptized 27 January 1805 in Gosberton, Lincolnshire, England, the illegitimate daughter of Mary Miller.<sup>44</sup> Ann's father was Edward Inkley.<sup>45</sup> After sixteen months of raising an infant on her own, Mary Miller married William Reed, a widower, on 26 May 1806 in St Botolph's parish church in Boston, Lincolnshire.<sup>46</sup> William Reed died sometime before 1817, when a widowed Mary remarried John Northern, a widower from Wigtoft.<sup>47</sup> Mary and her daughter, Ann Miller, then about twelve, probably moved to Wigtoft, where John lived. Ann would soon have two younger sisters. John and Mary baptized two children in Wigtoft: Elizabeth Northern in 1818, and Sarah Jane Northern in 1827.<sup>48</sup> John Northern died in 1828 and was buried 9 January 1828 in Wigtoft.<sup>49</sup>

After John's death, Mary Northern and her daughters relocated to Swineshead. Ann Miller must have met Thomas Bradley by 1833 because she gave birth to Elizabeth Miller in June 1834 in Swineshead.<sup>50</sup> Although no records are currently known that state Thomas Bradley was Elizabeth's father, Elizabeth's marriage record, two counties west of Lincolnshire, states her father was "Thomas Millar [sic]," a stonemason. Perhaps Elizabeth did not want to reveal her status as an illegitimate child and chose to give her father's surname as Miller instead of Bradley. No Thomas Miller, a stonemason, existed in Swineshead in 1841 or 1851.<sup>51</sup>

In 1838, Ann gave birth to another daughter in Swineshead, Mary Ann Miller.<sup>52</sup> The next year, Ann may have given birth to an infant named Sarah Jane Miller who died.<sup>53</sup> In 1841, Ann, agricultural laborer, lived on Baxter's Cross Lane with three-year-old Mary Miller.<sup>54</sup> Ann and Mary lived in the same house as Mary Kime, a seventy-one-year-old

<sup>44</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/24276177/ann-warner> : accessed 24 March 2021), Ann Miller Warner (20 Jan 1805–9 Oct 1865), memorial 24276177, Spanish Fork City Cemetery, Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah; headstone photo by Lorraine Gee. Gosberton Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1805-1812, p. 1, line 2, Ann Miller, 27 Jan 1805; database with images, *Lincolnshire Baptisms*," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>45</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Swineshead Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1849-1855, p. 67, baptisms, no. 6, 4 Aug 1850, Ann Miller; FHL microfilm 87035, item 39.

<sup>46</sup> St. Botolph's Parish (Boston, Lincolnshire, England), Marriages 1781-1809, p. 383, no. 1493, William Reed and Mary Miller, 26 May 1806; database with images, "Lincolnshire Marriages," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-marriages> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>47</sup> Gosberton Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Marriages 1813-1837, p. 18, no. 54, John Northen to Mary Read, 12 August 1817; database with images, "Lincolnshire Marriages," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-marriages> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>48</sup> For Elizabeth Northern, see Wigtoft Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1813-1848, p. 14, no. 110, Elizabeth Northern, 12 March 1818; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 23 March 2021). For Sarah Jane Northern, see Wigtoft Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1813-1848, p. 37, no. 296, Sarah Jane Northern, 3 February 1827; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 23 March 2021).

<sup>49</sup> Wigtoft Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-1842, p. 29, no. 229, John Northern, 8 Jan 1828; database with images, "Lincolnshire Burials," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 24 March 2021).

<sup>50</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1836-1852, p. 53, no. 423, Elizabeth Miller, born June 1834, baptized 12 Jan 1845; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021). For Elizabeth's birth in Swineshead, see 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Wigtoft, folio 694, p. 15, household no. 51, Elizabeth Miller in John Gibson household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0270](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0270) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives, PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>51</sup> "1841 England Census," negative search for Thomas Miller in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8978/> : accessed 25 March 2021). "1851 England Census," negative search for Thomas Miller in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8860/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>52</sup> No parish baptism or birth certificate was found for Mary Ann Miller. The 1851 and 1861 censuses report her birth in Swineshead in 1838-1839. See 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 608, p. 1, household 2, Mary Miller in John Miller household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0106](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0106) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing PRO HO 107/2099. 1861 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 15, p. 6, no. 41, Mary A. Miller in John Miller household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9\\_2339\\_2343-0030](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LINRG9_2339_2343-0030) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing RG 9, piece 2339. For Mary's status as Ann Miller's daughter, see *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998) 4:3262-3263. Descendants of Sarah Jane Miller remembered that she left two sisters in England. See Leland Hargrave Creer and Agness Ellen Creer Frame, *Creer History* (Spanish Fork, Utah: Spanish Fork Press, 1957), 10.

<sup>53</sup> No parents' names were given in the 1839 burial record for infant Sarah Jane Miller in Swineshead. See Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-1851, p. 129, no. 1031, Sarah Jane Miller, 26 April 1839; database with images, "Lincolnshire Burials," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-burials> : accessed 24 March 2021). No other Miller baptisms took place in Swineshead from 1830-1860 besides Ann's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1845. Ann Miller was likely the mother of the infant buried in 1839.

<sup>54</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 24, p. 17, line 13, Ann Miller; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107\\_610\\_612-0622](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107_610_612-0622) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

agricultural laborer, but a mark on the census indicated they were not part of the same family. Ann's older daughter, Elizabeth Miller, lived with her grandmother, Mary Northern, on Post Office Street in Swineshead. Mary Northern's occupation was dressmaker.<sup>55</sup> Also living in the Northern household were Mary's daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah Northern, and Mary's brother, shoemaker John Miller.<sup>56</sup> Later in 1841, Ann gave birth to her third daughter, Sarah Jane Miller on 1 July.<sup>57</sup>

Hard times fell upon Ann Miller soon after Sarah's birth. Ann lived in the Boston Workhouse in 1844. On 3 May 1844, the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* reported that "Ann Miller, an inmate of the Boston Union Workhouse, was committed to hard labour for 21 days, for misbehavior in the workhouse."<sup>58</sup> Mary was eight and Sarah was almost three years old at the time of Ann's sentence to 21 days of hard labor, and probably lived in the workhouse with her.

It's unclear whether Ann and her daughters lived consistently in the workhouse after 1844. The Boston workhouse was created for the Boston Poor Law union, which formed in 1836 and included twenty-seven parishes, including Boston, Kirton, Sutterton, Swineshead, and Wigtoft. The Boston workhouse included an east wing for males and a west wing for females, with an infirmary, laundry, workshops, and chapel.<sup>59</sup>

After the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, workhouses were built as a way for the parishes to save on their poor relief. Paupers could enter the workhouse to receive poor relief but would have to work without pay for room and board. The workhouses were made to be unpleasant so able-bodied paupers would be motivated to seek other work and avoid the workhouse.<sup>60</sup> This worked. By 1850, most who endured the degradation of the workhouse were orphans, unwed mothers, the elderly, and the infirm. In the workhouse, children were typically only allowed to see their parents for an hour or so on Sundays. Able-bodied workers were given back-breaking tasks, like breaking stones or picking oakum.<sup>61</sup> Oakum was fine fibers picked from old ropes and cables used on ships, mixed with grease and turned into caulking to fill gaps in wooden ship planks.<sup>62</sup> Workhouse inmates were not prisoners, and could leave when they wanted, especially if they found work elsewhere. Some came and went frequently, as needed.<sup>63</sup>

Twelve-year-old Elizabeth Miller was baptized in 1845 in Swineshead.<sup>64</sup> She was the only one of Ann Miller's daughters to be baptized in the parish church. Perhaps Ann Miller was dissatisfied with the Church of England. On 4 August 1850, she converted to a new religion, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and



Figure 2 - View near the Boston Union Workhouse. See note 58.

<sup>55</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 34, p. 1, line 16, Elizabeth Miller in Mary Northern household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107\\_610\\_612-0632](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107_610_612-0632) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

<sup>56</sup> Both John and Mary Miller were baptized in Morton by Bourne parish to William Miller. For Mary, see Morton by Bourne Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Register 1783-1812, Baptisms, 3 February 1786, Mary, dr of Wm and Ann Miller; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021). For John, see Morton by Bourne Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Register 1783-1812, Baptisms, 6 October 1799, John, son of William Miller; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021). The 1851 census also states Mary Northern was the sister of John Miller. See 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 608, p. 1, household 2, John Miller household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0106](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0106) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>57</sup> England, birth certificate (certified copy of an entry of birth) for Sarah Miller, born 1 July 1841; registered September quarter 1841, Boston District 14/252, Swineshead Sub-district, Lincoln; General Registry Office, Southport.

<sup>58</sup> "Police Reports," *Lincolnshire (England) Chronicle*, 3 May 1844, p. 2, col 7; database with images, *British Newspaper Archive* (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> : accessed 22 March 2021).

<sup>59</sup> Peter Higginbotham, "Boston, Lincolnshire," *The Workhouse: The story of an institution* (<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Boston/> : accessed 25 March 2021). For Figure 2, see Pishey Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (London: Longman and Co., 1856), 245; image copy, *HathiTrust* (<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009979470> : accessed 26 March 2021).

<sup>60</sup> Higginbotham, "Introduction," *The Workhouse: The story of an institution* (<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/intro/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> "Picking junk and oakum," *History House* ([https://historyhouse.co.uk/articles/junk\\_and\\_oakum.html](https://historyhouse.co.uk/articles/junk_and_oakum.html) : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>63</sup> Higginbotham, "Introduction," *The Workhouse: The story of an institution*.

<sup>64</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1836-1852, p. 53, no. 423, Elizabeth Miller, born June 1834, baptized 12 Jan 1845; database with images, "Lincolnshire Baptisms," *FindMyPast* (<https://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/lincolnshire-baptisms> : accessed 25 March 2021).

was baptized by immersion.<sup>65</sup> Ann may have influenced her mother to join the new religion as well. Mary (Miller) Northern was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ the following year.<sup>66</sup>

In 1851, Ann was once again living in the Boston Workhouse, a general servant, along with her youngest daughter, ten-year-old Sarah.<sup>67</sup> Her other two daughters did not live with her. Twelve-year-old Mary, a scholar, was living with her grandmother, Mary Northern in John Miller's household.<sup>68</sup> Ann's oldest daughter Elizabeth, age sixteen, had obtained work as a servant in Wigtoft with the family of John Gibson, a publican.<sup>69</sup>

Ann's new religion, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, preached that its members should gather in Salt Lake City to strengthen the stakes of Zion.<sup>70</sup> This doctrine must have sounded wonderful to Ann – a way to escape her difficult life. The cost for passage to the United States would have been out of her reach, had it not been for the Church's Perpetual Emigration Fund, a corporation established by the Church in 1849.<sup>71</sup> The purpose of the company was “to promote, facilitate, and accomplish the emigration of the poor” by seeking donations from members who had money to spare, and those who were helped, would be asked to reimburse the fund as their circumstances allowed.<sup>72</sup>

In 1856, Ann's youngest daughter Sarah Jane was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Surfleet Seas End branch.<sup>73</sup> Sarah donated 5 shillings to the church on 4 March 1856. The specific fund was not named, but other funds listed on the page included the temple fund, emigration fund, and missionary fund.<sup>74</sup> The Surfleet Seas End branch records state that Ann and Sarah Miller emigrated in April 1856.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps Ann encouraged her other daughters, Mary and Elizabeth to come; however they stayed behind, along with Ann's mother, Mary Northern. Mary Ann was a scholar attending school in her grandmother's household, and Elizabeth had been working as a servant for at least five years. They may not have wanted to leave their lives behind. But for Ann and Sarah Jane Miller, it may have been all too easy to leave behind their lives in and out of the workhouse.

Before embarking, Ann married a fellow church member, James Constable Warner. The date of their marriage was sometime after 20 Nov 1855, when James' previous wife died, and before 19 April 1856 when they were listed as husband and wife on the Perpetual Emigration Fund passenger list for their ship, the Samuel Curling.<sup>76</sup> Fourteen-year-old Sarah was listed with the couple and the three travelled together on their adventure to America. Their passage was arranged by the Church's Perpetual Emigration Fund and missionaries who had traveled from Utah to recruit converts. All 707 souls aboard the ship were members of the Church of Jesus Christ headed to Utah. They were to be part of the handcart scheme – a cheaper, faster way to travel from Iowa City to Salt Lake City than ox-drawn wagons thought up by

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<sup>65</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Swineshead Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1849-1855, p. 67, baptisms, no. 6, 4 August 1850, Ann Miller; FHL microfilm 87035, item 39.

<sup>66</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Swineshead Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1849-1855, p. 67, baptisms, no. 28, 18 March 1850, Mary Northern; FHL microfilm 87035, item 39.

<sup>67</sup> 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Boston, Boston Union Workhouse, folio 542, p. 9, lines 9-10, Ann and Sarah Miller; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2099-0656](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2099-0656) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives, PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>68</sup> 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 608, p. 1, household 2, Mary Miller in John Miller household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0106](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0106) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives, PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>69</sup> 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Wigtoft, folio 694, p. 15, household no. 51, Elizabeth Miller in John Gibson household; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107\\_2099\\_2100-0270](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/LINHO107_2099_2100-0270) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives, PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>70</sup> William G. Hartley, “How Shall I Gather?” *Ensign* (October 1997); online article, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/ensign/1997/10/how-shall-i-gather?lang=eng> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>71</sup> “Perpetual Emigration Fund,” rev. 3:53, 4 May 2020, *Wikipedia* ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perpetual\\_Emigration\\_Fund](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perpetual_Emigration_Fund) : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>72</sup> Hartley, “How Shall I Gather?” *Ensign* (October 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Surfleet Seas End Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1852-1857, baptisms, 22 February 1856, Sarah Jane Miller; FHL microfilm 87035, items 25-26.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Surfleet Seas End Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1852-1857, baptisms, 22 February 1856, Sarah Jane Miller and Ann Miller, notation about emigration on 14 April 1856; FHL microfilm 87035, items 25-26.

<sup>76</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Surfleet Seas End Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1852-1857, baptisms, 8 Apr 1854, Elisebeth Warner, died 20 Nov 1855; FHL microfilm 87035, items 25-26. Ann Miller and James Warner were listed as husband and wife on a 19 April 1856 emigration list. See Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “List of P.E. Fund emigrants shipped by F. D. Richards, Liverpool, on board ship S. Curling for Boston, April 19<sup>th</sup> 1856,” image 11, no. 166, James and Ann Warner, *Church History Catalog* (<https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=3036bb7f-b025-49f6-a66e-61b10b9d78a2&crate=0&index=10> : accessed 25 March 2021).



Brigham Young.<sup>77</sup> The church members were under the presidency of three missionaries - Elders Dan Jones, John Oakley, and David Grant, and were divided into wards who shared duties on the ship and worshipped at different times on the Sabbath.<sup>78</sup>

The clerk to the presidency of the saints on the ship, Patrick Twiss Birmingham, recorded in his journal, "Friday, April 25. The wind was still favorable, with the ship running 14 miles an hour. The passengers were still all sick. Between the decks was a horrid mess, as the ship was rolling perpetually."<sup>79</sup> John Kettle, a fellow member of the Surfleet Sea's-End Branch, also kept a journal during the journey. On the same day, he wrote: "April 25, 1856 – A fine breeze. All rolling about the decks & we saw 2 ships & a sea running high but we are not afraid for we know the Lord is with us. We have singing & music aboard."<sup>80</sup>

The Samuel Curling arrived in Boston on 23 May 1856, and the passengers all passed inspection and were allowed to exit the ship. Elder Dan Jones wrote: "strange as it may seem, [they] called the names of all and passed them in less than one hour and a half without any further complaint than that I was taking all the handsome ladies to Utah. The passengers were all remarkably clean, as well as the ship, which commanded the admiration of all. In proof of the latter I would say, that I had made a wager with Captain Curling, upon leaving Liverpool, that the Lower decks would be whiter than his cabin floors, and the quarantine doctor decided in my favor."<sup>81</sup> President Jones then booked rail passage to Iowa City for the passengers. One passenger wrote, "We traveled night and day by rail, buying our victuals at the stations, never undressing for more than a week. We stopped about two hours at the beautiful city of Chicago. I traversed its broad streets, buoyant and glad to think I could still further pursue my journey to Zion. We arrived in Iowa about the 1<sup>st</sup> of June. O what a sight met my gaze! Tents pitched, men working at the handcarts, women cooking outdoors, every person as busy as a bee. I thought I had got into the hive of Deseret sure."<sup>82</sup>

After arriving in Iowa City, Ann and Sarah Jane, along with the other travelers camped until the handcarts were finished, about eight days. On Saturday, June 7, the first handcart company was organized under Captain Edmund Ellsworth. They moved their tents to form a separate company.<sup>83</sup> James Warner, Ann and Sarah Jane were part of the Ellsworth Company. They departed Iowa City on June 9th with their handcarts and belongings. The journey ahead of them was 1,300 miles to Salt Lake City.

The handcarts used to transport the belongings of the Saints 1,300 miles were hastily constructed in Iowa City. Josiah Rogerson described the handcarts: "The open handcart was made of Iowa hickory or oak. ... In length the side pieces and shafts were about six or seven feet. ... The carts were the usual width of the wide track wagon ... [and] were often loaded with 400 or 500 pounds of flour, bedding, extra clothing, cooking utensils, and a tent. ... The covered or family cart was similar in size. ... It was made stronger, with an iron axle. ... Two persons were assigned to the pulling of each open cart. ... In many instances the father had to pull the covered cart alone."<sup>84</sup>

Mary Ann Jones, a member of the Ellsworth company, wrote: "We left Iowa City 9 June and traveled to Florence, leaving there 16 July. The handcarts were flimsy and were continually breaking down. ... We were allotted one tent and four handcarts to twenty persons. Our company [Edmund Ellsworth, captain] consisted of 274 members. We traveled from ten to twenty-eight miles each day. We always reached camp long before the three wagons which were attached to our company. We were allowed 17 pounds of baggage for each person. This included clothing, bedding, and cooking utensils. Some people who wanted to take more than allowed placed on their bodies more clothing than usual while being checked. Thus some thin people became stout all at once. After weighing in these same people placed their extra items on the carts. After a few days all members were checked again, unannounced. One old sister carried ... a colander on her

<sup>77</sup> "Mormon handcart pioneers," rev. 5:24, 24 March 2021, *Wikipedia* ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mormon\\_handcart\\_pioneers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mormon_handcart_pioneers) : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>78</sup> "Liverpool to Boston 19 Apr 1856 - 23 May 1856: A Compilation of General Voyage Notes," *Saints by Sea: Latter-day Saint Immigration to America* (<https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/account/1134> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>79</sup> "Liverpool to Boston 19 Apr 1856 - 23 May 1856: Journal of Patrick Twiss Birmingham," *Saints by Sea: Latter-day Saint Immigration to America* (<https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/account/1135> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>80</sup> John Kettle, Diary, in Jesse Lenard Warner, *The Protecting Warrior (Book 1)* (Murray, Utah: Jesse Lenard Warner, 1972) 54-56.

<sup>81</sup> "Liverpool to Boston 19 Apr 1856 - 23 May 1856: A Compilation of General Voyage Notes," *Saints by Sea: Latter-day Saint Immigration to America* (<https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/account/1134> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>82</sup> "Liverpool to Boston 19 Apr 1856 - 23 May 1856: Autobiography of a Noble Woman," *Saints by Sea: Latter-day Saint Immigration to America* (<https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/account/1136> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>83</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Edmund Ellsworth Emigrating Company papers, 1856," *Pioneer Database* (<https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/overlandtravel/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>84</sup> LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Spokane, Washington: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 53–55.



apron string all the way to the Salt Lake Valley. ... The Lord was with us and guided us by His spirit, for although tired and footsore, we could sing the songs of Zion as we traveled.”<sup>85</sup>

When the Warners and Sarah arrived in Salt Lake City, they must have been relieved to end their long journey. James and Ann Warner settled in Spanish Fork.<sup>86</sup> Ann (Miller) Warner died 9 October 1865 in Spanish Fork in Utah County.<sup>87</sup>

Before marriage, Sarah lived with friends she made on the journey - the Stephen Markham family, and also Mary Ann Jones, one of the first schoolteachers in Spanish Fork.<sup>88</sup> On 21 January 1858, Sarah Jane Miller married William Creer in Spanish Fork City. It was a double wedding, with William’s sister, Mary Creer, who married John Banks.<sup>89</sup>

Sarah Jane (Miller) Creer gave birth to eight sons and one daughter and lived to see twenty-three of her grandchildren.<sup>90</sup> Her husband, William Creer, was mayor of Spanish Fork 1883-1886 and member of the House of Representatives for the twenty-sixth session of the Utah Legislature in 1884.<sup>91</sup> Sarah died 23 November 1902, at age sixty-one.<sup>92</sup>

### Proof of Sarah Jane (Miller) Creer’s Parents

Sarah Jane Miller was the daughter of Ann Miller of Swineshead.<sup>93</sup> Her baptism record in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also names her father – Thomas Bradley. Although his identity was not further detailed in the baptism record, and he never married, Sarah’s father was almost certainly Thomas Bradley of Swineshead, who died in 1872. The following evidence summarizes the relationship:

- Sarah’s Church of Jesus Christ baptism names Thomas Bradley as her father.<sup>94</sup>
- Sarah was born in 1841 in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, England.<sup>95</sup>
- Ann Miller resided in Swineshead in 1841, and probably the previous October-November when Sarah was conceived.<sup>96</sup>
- Thomas Bradley resided in Swineshead in 1841 and probably the year previous.<sup>97</sup>



Figure 3. George Edward Anderson, “Sarah Jane Creer, Spanish Fork,” ca. 1880-1902; image online, BYU Library (<https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/GEA/id/1159/rec/1> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>85</sup> Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 59.

<sup>86</sup> 1860 U.S. census, Spanish Fork County, Utah Territory, population schedule, Spanish Fork, p. 968, dwelling 1969, family 1572, James Warner household; image online, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7667/images/4297342\\_00440](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/7667/images/4297342_00440) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing NARA microfilm publication M653, roll 1314.

<sup>87</sup> *Find a Grave*, Ann Miller Warner (20 Jan 1805–9 Oct 1865), memorial 24276177, headstone photo by Lorraine Gee.

<sup>88</sup> Frame, *Creer History*, 10-11. For Figure 3,

<sup>89</sup> “Married,” *The Deseret News (Salt Lake City, Utah)*, 17 February 1858, p. 400, col. 4; image online, *Newspapers* (<https://www.newspapers.com/image/286304618/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>90</sup> Matthew Hales, “Mrs. Sarah Jones [sic] Creer: Estimable Lady of Spanish Fork is Dead,” *The Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune*, 25 Nov 1902, p. 7, col. 3; image online, *Newspapers* (<https://www.newspapers.com/image/289342345/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>91</sup> Frame, *Creer History*, 9.

<sup>92</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 25 March 2021), memorial page for Sarah Jane Miller Creer (1 Jul 1841–23 Nov 1902), memorial 12184668, Spanish Fork City Cemetery, Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah, headstone photo by John Warnke.

<sup>93</sup> England, birth certificate (certified copy of an entry of birth) for Sarah Miller, born 1 July 1841; registered September quarter 1841, Boston District 14/252, Swineshead Sub-district, Lincoln; General Registry Office, Southport.

<sup>94</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Surfleet Seas End Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1852-1857, baptisms, 22 February 1856, Sarah Jane Miller; FHL microfilm 87035, items 25-26.

<sup>95</sup> England, birth certificate (certified copy of an entry of birth) for Sarah Miller, born 1 July 1841; registered September quarter 1841, Boston District 14/252, Swineshead Sub-district, Lincoln; General Registry Office, Southport.

<sup>96</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 24, p. 17, line 13, Ann Miller; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107\\_610\\_612-0622](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LINHO107_610_612-0622) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

- No other Thomas Bradley resided in Swineshead in 1841.<sup>98</sup>
- Sarah's father was recorded as Thomas Bradley in her 1876 patriarchal blessing.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> 1841 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 26, p. 21, line 15, Thomas Bradley; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LJNH0107\\_610\\_612-0624](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/LJNH0107_610_612-0624) : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

<sup>98</sup> "1841 England Census," search results for Thomas Bradley residing in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8978/> : accessed 25 March 2021); citing The National Archives of the UK, PRO HO 107/611/11.

<sup>99</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Patriarchal Blessings, 39:4, Sarah Jane Creer, 14 Nov 1876, Spanish Fork City, patriarch Levi W. Hancock; image copy, privately held by Nicole Dyer, Tucson, AZ.

## Genealogical Summary

### Generation One

**1. Thomas Bradley** was born about 1813 and baptized 4 November 1813 in Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire, England.<sup>100</sup> He died 16 March 1872 and was buried 19 March 1872 in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, England.<sup>101</sup> Thomas never married, but apparently fathered children with (1) **Elizabeth Maidens**, born 1802 and buried 14 February 1841 in Kirton in Holland, Lincolnshire, England;<sup>102</sup> and (2) **Ann Miller**, born 20 January 1805, and baptized 27 January 1805 in Gosberton, Lincolnshire, England, the illegitimate daughter of Mary Miller;<sup>103</sup> daughter of Edward Hinkly/Inkley;<sup>104</sup> married James Constable Warner after 20 Nov 1855 and before 19 April 1856;<sup>105</sup> died 9 October 1865 in Spanish Fork, Utah.<sup>106</sup>

Children of Thomas Bradley and Elizabeth Maidens were as follows:

2. i. ROBERT MAIDENS, baptized 5 May 1833;<sup>107</sup> married Letitia Thorpe 7 July 1856, in Swineshead;<sup>108</sup> death unknown.

Children of Thomas Bradley and Ann Miller were as follows:

3. i. ELIZABETH MILLER, born June 1834 in Swineshead;<sup>109</sup> married Charles Gregory 14 May 1857 in Tideswell, Derbyshire, England;<sup>110</sup> died 28 November 1921 in Tideswell.<sup>111</sup>
4. ii. MARY ANN MILLER, born 1838 in Swineshead;<sup>112</sup> died 1897 in Lincolnshire.<sup>113</sup>
5. iii. SARAH JANE MILLER, born 1 July 1841 in Swineshead;<sup>114</sup> married William Creer 22 January 1858 in Spanish Fork, Utah Territory;<sup>115</sup> died 23 November 1902 in Spanish Fork.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>100</sup> For birth in 1813, see Lincolnshire Gaol [Jail], Register of Felons 1820-1847, p. 78, No. 1332, Thomas Bradley, admitted 10 Oct 1837; database with images, *Ancestry* ([https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810\\_pcom2\\_310-00078](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61810/images/61810_pcom2_310-00078) : accessed 23 March 2021); citing PCOM 2 1770-1951 Home Office and Prison Commission: Prisons Records, Series 1, National Archives at Kew, England. For baptism, see Pinchbeck Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1837, p. 9, no. 65, Thomas Bradley, 4 Nov 1813.

<sup>101</sup> England, death certificate, Thomas Bradley, March quarter 1872, Boston District 7a/273. For burial, see Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1851-1901, p. 90, no. 719, Thomas Bradley, 19 March 1872.

<sup>102</sup> Kirton in Holland Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Burials 1813-1885, p. 118, no. 943, Elizabeth Maidens, 14 February 1841.

<sup>103</sup> For birthdate, *Find a Grave*, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/24276177/ann-warner> : accessed 24 March 2021), Ann Miller Warner (20 Jan 1805–9 Oct 1865), memorial 24276177, Spanish Fork City Cemetery, Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah; headstone photo by Lorraine Gee. For baptism, Gosberton Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1805-1812, p. 1, line 2, Ann Miller, 27 Jan 1805.

<sup>104</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Swineshead Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1849-1855, p. 67, baptisms, no. 6, 4 Aug 1850, Ann Miller; FHL microfilm 87035, item 39.

<sup>105</sup> 20 Nov 1855 is the date of James Warner's previous wife's death. See Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Surfleet Seas End Branch, Lincolnshire conference, England, British Mission, Record of Members 1852-1857, baptisms, 8 Apr 1854, Elisebeth Warner, died 20 Nov 1855; FHL microfilm 87035, items 25-26. Ann Miller and James Warner were listed as husband and wife on a 19 April 1856 emigration list. See Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "List of P.E. Fund emigrants shipped by F. D. Richards, Liverpool, on board ship S. Curling for Boston, April 19<sup>th</sup> 1856," image 11, no. 166, James and Ann Warner, *Church History Catalog* (<https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=3036bb7f-b025-49f6-a66e-61b10b9d78a2&crate=0&index=10> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>106</sup> *Find a Grave*, Ann Miller Warner (20 Jan 1805–9 Oct 1865), memorial 24276177, headstone photo by Lorraine Gee.

<sup>107</sup> Kirton in Holland Parish (Lincolnshire England), Baptisms 1813-1869, p. 125, no. 995, Robert Maidens, 5 May 1833.

<sup>108</sup> England, Register of Marriages for Swineshead (Lincolnshire) Parish, 1837-1884, p. 132, no. 264, Robert Maidens – Letitia Thorpe, 7 July 1856.

<sup>109</sup> Swineshead Parish (Lincolnshire, England), Baptisms 1836-1852, p. 53, no. 423, Elizabeth Miller, born June 1834, baptized 12 Jan 1845.

<sup>110</sup> England, marriage certificate (certified copy of an entry of marriage) for Elizabeth Millar and Charles Gregory, married 14 May 1857; registered June quarter 1857, Bakewell Union District 7b/891, Tideswell Church, Derbyshire; General Registry Office, Southport.

<sup>111</sup> England, death certificate for Elizabeth Gregory, died 28 November 1921; registered December quarter 1921, Bakewell District 7b/988, Tideswell sub-district, Derby; General Registry Office, Southport. See also Malcolm Gregory, gravestone photo, Elizabeth Gregory (1834-1921), Tideswell Church of St John the Baptist, Derbyshire, in possession of Nicole Dyer, Tucson Arizona.

<sup>112</sup> 1851 census of England, Lincolnshire, Swineshead, folio 608, p. 1, household 2, Mary Miller in John Miller household; citing PRO HO 107/2099.

<sup>113</sup> "England & Wales, FreeBMD Death Index, 1837-1915," database, Mary Miller, September quarter, 1897, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8914/> : accessed 25 March 2021). [Still waiting for original death certificate.]

<sup>114</sup> England, birth certificate for Sarah Miller, September quarter 1841, Boston District 14/252.

<sup>115</sup> "Married," *The Deseret News (Salt Lake City, Utah)*, 17 February 1858, p. 400, col. 4; image online, *Newspapers* (<https://www.newspapers.com/image/286304618/> : accessed 25 March 2021).

<sup>116</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 25 March 2021), memorial page for Sarah Jane Miller Creer (1 Jul 1841–23 Nov 1902), memorial 12184668, Spanish Fork City Cemetery, Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah, headstone photo by John Wanke.