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Appleton Milo Harmon - Builder in Zion

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APPLETON MILO HARMON—BUILDER IN ZION

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Guy E. Stringham
May 1970
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The rewards of a thesis are bestowed upon one person while the work of its development, in most cases, is the combined effort of many.

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A special thanks to the Brigham Young University library staff for their help in researching the materials herein. Especially is the writer indebted to Sterling Albrecht and Chad Flake who both secured needed information and made it available.

Finally, not as an afterthought but in the fullest heartfelt way the writer would single out the greatest helper of all--Nancy. Confidante, critic, typist, teacher and wife, may she now have a few moments for herself.
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When museing on Companions gone
We doubly feel our Selves alone
Something, dear friends we yet may gain.
Thare is a pleasure in this pain.

That Sooths the love of all the rest
Deep in each gentle hart imprest
But in a bosom thats prepared
Its Still small voice is often herd.

Whispering a mingled Sentament
Twixt resignation and Content
To Face the storm and share our fate
Till we return to Great Salt Lake.

Thare in the Bosom of our friends
Await the mesage Heavn may send
To call us out as done before
To Search the Earth for Isreal O're

Till every mountain vale and hill
Shall hear and know the Saveours will
Then gather up all Isreal take
Your children to the Great Salt Lake.

Appleton M. Harmon
INTRODUCTION

APPLETON MILO HARMON—BUILDER IN ZION

To follow the life of Appleton Milo Harmon and those most closely related to him is to follow the development of American Frontier History from the period of the War of 1812 through the beginning of the Twentieth Century. It is also the story of the unfolding of the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the impact which it had upon the world and which the world had upon it. From his mother's conversion by traveling missionaries in Pennsylvania in the early part of 1833 until his death in 1877 the Church was the motivating factor in Appleton's life. His dedication and zeal, sometimes even to the detriment of his family, became the pattern of his life.

Although Appleton was destined to move among the ranks of the unsung heroes of the Mormon story he embodied the attributes that made Mormonism unique among the religions of the fundamentalist movements of America and more than unique among the groups of colonists spreading americanism across the vast continent of North America. It also destined him for a far greater place in the history of that movement than he could even have envisioned himself. He was industrious and willing, never passing up an opportunity
to learn something new. From this came his ability as a builder and blacksmith, machinist and storekeeper. He was faithful to himself and his family, but above all, to his church. He was a man who displayed human failings, but who was able to face what had to be done and do it.

One finds among his achievements two missions for his church and service to his city and people as a member of the Nauvoo police force during the darkest days of Mormon-dom. Pioneer both in the exodus from Nauvoo and the entrance into the Great Salt Lake Valley, he became a builder of sawmills, a cotton factory, a roadometer, grist mills and ferries, and was an Indian fighter, wagontrain captain and colonizer.

But his personal story is also bound up with the stories of many others—his father, after whom he patterned his life in all save one thing; his wife, whose own story should go down in the annals of western history as an example of the stoic and steadfast pioneer mother and helpmate, able to meet all adversity in the most primitive of conditions and come out stronger from hardship; and finally his many companions who helped, each in his own way to build a church and a nation.

This thesis will trace the significant happenings in the life of Appleton Milo Harmon in order to add one more life story to the annals of America's western history.
CHAPTER II

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND PRE-NAUVOO DAYS

Appleton Milo Harmon was born May 29, 1820 in the township of Coneaught, Erie County, State of Pennsylvania to Jesse Perce and Anna Barnes Harmon.\(^1\) Little is known about the ancestry of Anna except that she was the daughter of Abijah and Aly Barnes who, in the year 1819, were living in Springfield, Erie County, Pennsylvania, where she became acquainted with and married Jesse Perce Harmon on April 29, 1819.\(^2\)

Of Jesse Perce we have considerably more information. He was born on August 11, 1795 in Rupert, Bennington County, Vermont, the fifth son of Martin and Tryphena Poole Harmon.\(^3\) At the age of six, because of an apparent illness of his mother, he was sent to live at the home of Mr. John Gibbs, where he remained until he was eighteen, when on October 7,


\(^3\)Harmon genealogy in the possession of Dr. Lawrence Harmon, Salt Lake City, Utah.
1813 he, with his brother Martin N., enlisted in the army.  

During his first enlistment he saw much action in the Lake Champlain area of Upper State New York under the command of Col. Clark. During the battle for La Calle Mills near Plattsburg on March 30, 1814, his brother Martin was mortally wounded and he, himself, was slightly wounded by an Indian tomahawk.

On the fifth of June Jesse re-enlisted and after a short period of recruiting duty in Vermont was sent with a detachment of men to participate in the Battle of Fort Erie. One incident that happened during these campaigns was of particular note.

A number of men who had sought refuge in a log cabin were sitting around a table when a canonball exploded in the midst, killing everyone but Jesse. Bodies were dismembered and arms, legs and heads went flying through the room.

On May 23, 1815 Jesse was discharged at Sackets Harbor, New York and after spending a year working in some of the small towns near there, moved to Springfield, Erie County, Pennsylvania, where he remained long enough to marry Anna before moving on in December, 1819 to Coneaught,

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4 Jesse History, p. 1.
5 Ibid., p. 2.
6 Ibid.
7 Arrowhead Report, p. 4. All quotes taken from diaries, journals, etc. are as they were originally written with all spelling, grammar and structure in their original form.
a small village in the same county, where he made his home until he moved west to join the Saints in 1837.\(^8\)

It was here on the farm in Coneaught that Jesse and Anna's four children were born—Appleton Milo, Sophronia Belinda, Amos Washington and Ansel Perce. Our only knowledge of life here on the farm in Coneaught is found in a reminiscence of Appleton's while on his way to England in 1850.

... went to the old farm (now owned by Mr. Dorman) where once I had a pleasant home. Here I had planted, and nourished the apple, the peach and currant trees. While their branches were yet tender I had loosened the soil that their tender roots could extend and gain strength. The Present occupants were from home. I entered the gate. It was not the one I once used to swing upon in my boyish days but it stood on the same place. I went into the garden and wandered about, unchecked by any one. I pulled the ripe, red currants, the half grown peaches, and the blooming rose and no one said, "why do ye so?" I went to the well that has afforded me many a cooling draught and again supped its beverage. The old log house that once sheltered me from the stormy blasts in winter, when the dry wood was heaped upon the hearth within, was removed and a stately frame was in itsstead. The old barn was gone, and a new one stood in its place. The fields were in their ancient form and it looked like home. A thought, a reflection, came forcibly over my mind; where, tell me where, are thy parents that once watched over thee, that failed not to bestow a fathers care, a mothers fond affection, a sisters kind love, a brothers social enjoyment? All these things and many more passed through my mind as I stood. I thought here is the spot of earth that has contributed of its luxuries to nourish this frame. How changed the scene: What strange train of circumstances has affected it? 'Twas in our humble cottage that a servant of God in his pilgrimage (on his holy errand) had called to refresh his weary limbs and get a cooling draught, who in turn imparted to us the word of the eternal life, that was like a well of living water springing up into everlasting

\(^8\)Jesse History, pp. 4-5.
life that never failed. It worked upon me. It would not let us linger here but Zionward it bent our way.  

Sometime during the year 1833 Apostle Orson Hyde stopped off at the Harmon farm and preached the restored gospel to the Harmon family. At first it would seem that the message only touched the heart of Appleton's mother for his journal recalls, "And my mother was baptised May 29th 1833."10 Apparently the next four years were a period in which Appleton's mother's testimony grew and the seeds of Mormonism were passed on gradually to her family. Of this Appleton says little. "My father and family moved to Kirtland, Ohio in the Autumn of 1837 where my Father, Sister and Brother Amos were Baptised in the Spring of 1838."11 Jesse also in remembering this time is almost as brief.

In the year 1837 I removed to Coneaught, Pennsylvania in the month of April and removed thence to Kirtland, Ohio in August following, and was baptised into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints on the 28th of April 1838, by Elder Elijah Cheney.12

It is interesting to note that although it was some five years between the conversion of Mother Harmon and the other members of her family—in particular, her husband—and because of the silence of both Jesse and Appleton concerning this period which may denote a time of tension and stress in

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10 Ibid., p. 24.
11 Ibid., p. 1.
12 Ibid.
the family as a result of the gospel, it would be characteristic of Jesse to join when he received a feeling of the truthfulness of the gospel no matter how he might find the circumstances within the church. With the financial panic of 1837, the Kirtland banking enterprise of Joseph Smith and members of the church was forced into bankruptcy, which caused many to apostatize from the movement; yet Jesse, at this time, joined the movement. Apparently all the family had not accepted the gospel even at this time for Appleton and Ancil, both well beyond the Mormon age of accountability, still refused to enter the waters of baptism.

Kirtland became only a temporary resting place for the Saints and the Harmons. Since the Book of Mormon first mentioned a "New Jerusalem" the membership of the Church had been desirous to know exactly where this "New Jerusalem" would lie so that they might begin to build it up. As early as 1831, while visiting a branch of the Church at Colèsville near Independence, Missouri it was reported that Joseph Smith had received a revelation in which it was announced that Missouri was the land which the Lord had promised, and that Independence was to be the center place. He went on

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13 Jesse History, p. 5. See also Book of Mormon. Translated by Joseph Smith, Jr. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, p. 503.

to say:

Wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the Saints; and also every tract lying westward even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile. . . Behold this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance. 15

Because of this promise the newly-baptised Jesse decided that this was undoubtedly the place for him and his family, even though at this time persecution of the Saints was at its height in Missouri and it was near the end of their sojourn in that state. Although Appleton and Jesse were both once again very brief in their reference to the family move from Kirtland they were probably well aware of the conditions then prevailing in the center stake of Zion.

Appleton merely points out, "We all moved to Springfield State of Illinois in November of the Same year (1838) and from thare to Nauvoo, Illinois in Oct. 1840 and remained thare through the winter." 16

Jesse's account gives little more than Appleton's.

On the 4th of November following (1838) I left there for Caldwell County, Missouri with the expectation of permanently settling there with the Saints. I came as far as Springfield, Illinois, December 12th, and there settled, the brethren being driven out of the state of Missouri under the


exterminating order of Governor Boggs. From thence I removed to Nauvoo where I arrived about the 4th of October 1840. 17

It is entirely possible that Jesse's decision to leave for Missouri at the time of greatest danger was his belief that his military experience could be put to use in defense of the Saints, although it is not mentioned at this time. In the near future he was to be called upon on many occasions to use it.

It would seem that during this time of trial for the Church Appleton received a testimony of the work the organization was engaged in and thus, under the hand of William Smith, brother of the Prophet, he was baptised on April 11, 1841. 18 The next year seemed to be a period of spiritual growth in the Harmon household, for on December 20, 1841 Jesse was ordained a priest by Wm. Markan, 19 and in April of 1842 both Appleton and Jesse were ordained Elders—the former under the hand of Willard Richards, 20 one of the Twelve, and the latter by Lyman Wight. 21 The family was also taking an active interest in the temporal affairs of the community, for on the second of April Jesse was elected Major of the Second Battalion, Fourth Regiment, Second Cohort of the

17 Jesse History, p. 5.
19 Jesse History, p. 5.
21 Jesse History, p. 5.
By October of 1842 Appleton had progressed in the Church to the point where he was called upon to fulfill the first of his many special assignments. "Started on a mission to the State of New York in Company with Joseph Mecham on the 10th of Oct. 1842 being Called by the Conference to do so assembled a short time previous." Prior to leaving on his mission Appleton received his Patriarchal Blessing under the hand of John Smith, in which he was promised:

... the Lord has given his Angels charge concerning thee therefore fear not for they will deliver thee out of all thy troubles no power on Earth shall stay my hand for thou shalt accomplish thy work and return to Zion bringing thy (unreadable) with and posses thine inheritance among thy Brethren.

Thus armed with what he felt to be a promise from the Lord for his protection he embarked down the Mississippi to fulfill the promise that he would spread the gospel and lead his charges to Zion. Past St. Louis to the mouth of the

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22 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), December 27, 1842. (Microfilmed). Hereafter referred to as Journal History.

23 Appleton's Journal, p. 1. A search of the Journal History for September and October, 1842 failed to reveal a conference at which these two men were called to a mission. Likewise, a search of the mission records at the Church Historian's Office failed to show a record for such a mission, but the secretary there told the writer that this was not at all unusual for this period of time in the Church's history.

24 Patriarchal Blessing File, Vol. 6, p. 19. The above was taken from the original document now in the possession of Mrs. Mildred Kesler Armstrong, Bountiful, Utah. For the complete Blessing see Appendix I.
Ohio River and then up the Ohio Appleton traveled by water to Louisville, Cincinnati and landed at Beaver, Pennsylvania. Here he left the large riverboats and traveled first by canal and then overland until he reached the place of his birth. Here he spent a few days visiting with several of his uncles and past acquaintances before continuing overland to Lake Erie where he took a steamer to Buffalo and railroad to Niagara Falls. From here he traveled by foot to Lewiston, British Steamer to Toronto and then by steamer, accompanied by snow, to Kingston where he changed boats for Prescott. He crossed the river to Ogdensburgh and proceeded by land to Canton and finally Dearstown, County of St. Lawrence, where they arrived the 13th of November, 1842 to begin their mission.25

After this extended resume of his travels in reaching his mission, he sums up the missionary labors in one sentence and returns home in another paragraph. "By the 16th of August 1843 we had succeeded in baptising 52 and got a Company of over forty organized and started by land for Nauvoo."26

After stopping on his return trip to call once again upon his relatives in Conenaught to preach the gospel and bear his testimony, the group proceeded overland via Ohio, Indiana and Illinois until he could recount:

Arrived with our company of forty at Nauvoo Hancock Co. Ill. on the 10th of Oct. one year


26Ibid., p. 2
from the time I started, and felt quite well satisfied with the manner in which I had spent the year. 27

Appleton had begun his service to the Church with a feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction that would help ease the future burdens undertaken in less favorable circumstances.

27 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

THE DARK DAYS OF NAUVOO

The remainder of the year 1843 and into the winter of 1844 Appleton experienced the last quiet period that he was to know in his lifetime. Of this time he wrote: "The winter of 43 and 4 I spent in Nauvoo enjoying the refreshing teachings from the lips of Prest. Joseph Smith and Hyrum." However, many forces were at work shaping events that would end this enjoyable tranquility—events with which Appleton would soon become directly involved. By late winter or early spring Appleton was sensing the change in conditions that were taking place in Nauvoo and the surrounding area that would soon rob him of his beloved prophet and bring a rending into the Church that would be stopped only after many had apostatised and the faithful were once again homeless wanderers on the American frontier.

In his journal he recorded:

In the Spring of 1844 the tide of emigration into Nauvoo had for a time been gradually increasing, and had caused a spirit of Jelousey to arise in the breast of our enemies feared that if they left us thus a lone all men would believe on us and the Mormons would take away their place and Nation, and hold the balance of power. Accordingly our old

Appleton's Journal, p. 3.
enemies renewed the attack and new ones joined in the persecution until it became quite warm.2

Perceptively, Appleton had put his finger upon two of the major causes that later historians would credit with helping to bring about the destruction of Mormonism in Nauvoo--political power and material success upon which a large influx of immigrants played a deciding role.

To this he added as a third cause, the apostacy of some of the leading brethren, although he seemed to be in the dark about the most important factor which lead many to choose this path--the oft-rumored practice of polygamy.3

"And then to assist Satan in his cours of persecution Several Appostatised and joined the mob in persecuting the Saints."4

Prior to this time Appleton and Jesse, along with forty others, had been chosen and sworn in by the City Council as policemen. In the Journal of History of the

2Ibid.

3The problem of Polygamy has long been held by historians, both Mormon and Gentile, as the key factor to the persecution of Joseph Smith and the Church during the period of time now under study. However, a recent book by Dr. Klaus J. Hanson has seriously questioned this problem as the key factor, and replaced it with a political problem--the Kingdom of God. In its temporal setting the Kingdom was to have replaced the constitutional governments then in the United States and each of the individual states as well. Polygamy, it would seem, was an emotional tool in the hands of those who had come into knowledge of the anointing of Joseph Smith to be King and was used primarily to arouse the mob to action against the Church's leadership. See Klaus J. Hanson, Quest for Empire. The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967), Chapter VIII. Hereafter referred to as Hansen.

4Appleton's Journal, p. 3.
Latter-day Saint Church under the date of December 29, 1843 Appleton is listed among those called to serve on the police force.

At 4 p.m. I (Joseph Smith) met with the city council. Having selected 40 men to act as city policemen they met with the council and were sworn into office, to support the Constitution of the United States, and the state of Illinois, and obey the ordinances of this city, and instructions of the mayor, according to the best of their ability. Names of the police were as follows: Jonathan Dunham high Policeman and Captain. . . Jesse P. Harmon orderly sergeant. . . Appleton M. Harmon. 5

There then followed a talk by the mayor who, in relating to them their duties, laid special emphasis on the need for vigilence against mobbers from Missouri, and the responsibilities that the Governor of Illinois should show to the people of Nauvoo. It would seem at this early date Joseph was already feeling the pressure of things to come.

During the winter the pressure began to mount, both from within the Church and from without. To the Mormon hierarchy it was expected by this time that leaders in the small towns situated near Nauvoo would be calling for repeal of the Nauvoo Charter and for the arrest of Joseph, Hyrum and other important leaders, on various and sundry charges from treason to disorderly conduct. To this the brethren had grown accustomed and had regulated their lives to meet any emergency as a result therefrom. The cancer against which they seemed unable to immune themselves was that of

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5 *Journal History*, 29 December 1843. For a complete list see Appendix II.
internal discord and apostacy of men both loyal to the cause, such as Wilson Law, and those doubtful of the Prophet and Mormonism, such as John C. Bennett and the Higbee brothers.

By early spring a group of dissident apostates had rallied around William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster, John C. Bennett and the Higbee brothers--Francis and Chauncey--and in June were ready to begin the publication of an anti-Joseph Smith newspaper to be called "The Nauvoo Expositor."

On June 7, 1844 the first and only issue of "The Expositor" was published, causing an immediate reaction in both the Gentile and Mormon communities.

There have been a number of theories brought forth as to why Mayor Joseph Smith and the city council acted so quickly and violently against the publishing of the paper. Some like Robert Newmann, claimed that it was the exposure of the practice of polygamy that, as he put it:

...rocked Nauvoo to the foundations of the temple for it... published a little parable about an innocent English girl who came to Nauvoo for her faith's sake and was instructed in the mysteries of spiritual marriage; and along with that story it printed affidavits by William Law, Jane Law, and Austin Cowles that they had personally seen a copy of Joseph's revelation allowing the faithful Saints ten virgins.6

More recently there have been those who have felt that Joseph's political leadership and new and unique

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6Robert Newmann, By the Waters of Babylon (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), pp. 27-8. Hereafter referred to as Newmann.
policies concerning government were the chief cause. These
government advocates also point to writing in the paper to
uphold their theory that this was the prime motivational
force in the destruction of the press. In the prospectus
the publishers proclaimed it.

Their sacred duty... to advocate unmitigated
disobedience to political revelations, and censure
and decry gross moral imperfections wherever found,
either in the plebian, patrician or self-constituted
monarch.  

In the paper itself they proclaimed: "We will not acknow-
ledge any man as king or lawgiver to the church."  

For this reason then, Hansen maintains that Joseph
was put in the position of destroying the press or being
destroyed by the information which the press could release.

The attempt to obtain an injunction against the
publishers on grounds of libel--difficult to get in
any case--might have backfired if Law and Foster had
endeavored to prove the ferocity of their charges in
court hearings.

If the Mormon prophet could not afford to toler-
ate an apostate newspaper dedicated to the exposure
of practices and principles which--at least for the
present--had to remain secret at all cost, he had no
recourse but to silence the press by force.  

For whatever the reason, the city council on June
10, 1844, after debate extending over two different days and

7 Hansen, p. 158. Also Smith, History of the Church,
Vol. VI, p. 443.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.
lasting for some fourteen total hours, passed the following resolve:

Resolved by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing-office from whence issue the Nauvoo Expositor is a public nuisance and also all of said Nauvoo Expositors which may be or exist in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said establishment and papers to be removed without delay in such a manner as he shall direct.

It was the issuance of the mayor's orders to City Marshall J. P. Greene, that directly involved Appleton and Jesse, in their official capacity as policemen, in the destruction of the "Expositor Press" and a subsequent trial over a year later. Of this experience Appleton leaves us little information except for a short passage from his journal.

Several apostatised and joined the Mob in pursueting the Saints and commenced publishing a Newspaper called the Nauvoo expositer and one No. was issued. The City Council pronounced it a nuisance and ordered it removed. At the time I was acting in the Police, who was called upon to remove and destroy the press, type and all libelous print etc. This caused quite a stir with our enemy.

Apparently the stir was not only felt in the hearts of the enemy. There was also a stir created by this

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10 Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," Utah Law Review, Vol. 9 (1965), p. 874. This is somewhat different than the charge made by Newmann that within hours Joseph had declared the paper libelous, and the Nauvoo Legion had wrecked the shop. Newmann, p. 28. Hereafter referred to as Oaks.


12 Appleton's Journal, p. 4.
incident in the heart and conscience of Appleton.

When returning home from carrying out the city council order to destroy the Expositer press Grampa stated, 'I have done something which is against my conscience, I have destroyed a piece of machinery. Never again will I ever do anything for anyone which I feel in my heart is not right.'

It is obvious that Appleton's feelings were directed at the destruction of the physical machine, for he was in full accord with the decision of the city council to silence the paper.

As a direct result of the destruction of the Expositor Press events moved rapidly to a climax for the Prophet. Appleton and Jesse, who were both detailed as bodyguards for Joseph, experienced an extended period of privation to the point where Appleton became physically exhausted and sick.

During this time I was serving as a policeman on almost constant duty night and day and in so

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13 Interview with Ardelle Harmon Ashworth, Provo, Utah. Later, in relating the story of the destruction to his wife, Appleton said that the press itself had been dumped into the Mississippi River.

14 Because of this statement the writer was interested to read Mr. Oaks' article in the Utah Law Review which, after pointing out all the possible law interpretations that might have been rendered during this period of Illinois history concerning the destruction of the press itself, he concludes by saying, "It's libelous, provocative, and perhaps obscene output may well have been a public and a private nuisance, but the evil article was not the press itself but the way in which it was being used. Consequently, those who caused or accomplished its destruction were liable for money damages in an action of trespass." Oaks, p. 891. See also Smith, History of the Church, Vol. VII, p. 91. Statement by B. H. Roberts.

15 Interview with Ardelle Harmon Ashworth.
doing exposed my self to wet and cold and soon after was taken sick with Chills Ague & fever and for 8 months was vary sick in fact the Sickest that ever I was in my life.16

All of this work and suffering however, was to no avail, for the tide of public opinion and action was running against the Saints to the point where no amount of protection by the police or legion could keep Joseph from falling into the hands of the mob.

... they soon found another endightment or charge against him and for his Safety for a fieve days he was placed in Carthage Gaol. When they saw no chance of Substaciating eney thing against him, they arose in mob and broke open the gaol and killed Joseph and Hyrum and severely wounded Elder John Taylor on the 27th day of June 1844.17

On that same day Jesse received the following order signed by Hosea Stout:

Col. Harmon By command of Major Genl Dunham you are hereby commanded to assemble your Regt. at the parade ground north east of the Temple by 11 o'clock in order to be reviewed at 12 o'clock with such arms and accoutrements as they can command, but no gun or musket must be loaded or discharged without further order. Each commandant must bring the role of his respective company.18

The Mormons were complying with the agreement made to Governor Ford by the Prophet, even though he would be dead

16Appleton's Journal, p. 4. Mg. of an unpublished roll call for the week of July 4, 1844 and the week preceding now in the possession of Ruth Jones, Manti, Utah. See Appendix III.

17Ibid.

18Unpublished document in the possession of Mrs. Ruth Jones.
less than six hours later by the non-compliant acts of the mob.

A final drama involving Appleton in connection with the Expositor Affair was acted out in the courtroom of a Judge Purple on October 22, 1845, and was most humorously decided in favor of acquittal because the guilty parties could not be identified by the chief witness, even though all four men in question had taken part in the carrying out of Joseph's order.

Jesse P. Harmon and John Lytle, who were charged with destroying the "Expositor" press, were tried before Judge Purple. The court decided in his charge to the jury that the defendants, acting under the municipal authorities of Nauvoo, were acting without authority, and if it could be proven that they had taken any part in the destruction of the press, they were to be found guilty. Rollison was the principal witness for the prosecution and gave a minute detail of the manner in which the nuisance was abated and stated that Mr. Harmon took the lead of the police on the occasion. On being asked if it was Appleton M. or Jesse P. Harmon, he replied it was the police man, and on being informed they were both police men, he became confused and said he could not tell which it was. The witness was asked whether it was John Lytle or Andrew Lytle. He replied it was the policeman Lytle: on being informed that they were both policemen, he answered it was the blacksmith Lytle, and on being told they were both blacksmiths, he declared that he could not identify the persons. The Jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty" and the defendants were acquitted accordingly. Thus were the words of the Prophet Joseph fulfilled, who told the police (when they reported to him that they had abated the nuisance) that not one of them should ever be harmed for what they had done, and that if there were any expenses consequent, he would foot the bill.19

Although the actions of the mob somewhat abated for a short time with the death of the Prophet and Hyrum, giving

19 *Journal History*, 22 October 1845.
the Church the chance to reorganize and the dissident and disillusioned to fall away, it was not long before Appleton could write:

in the fall of 1845 their persecution became much warmer even so they commenced burning houses, grain stacks, driving of cattle, catching and whipping the Breathing and some were killed.20

For the next few months, during the hectic activities that involved the struggle between the Saints and the mobs prior to the exodus from Nauvoo, the records are devoid of Appleton's name, although it is probable that he was involved in many of the numerous experiences with which his father is credited.21 Part of this time was undoubtedly given over to the sickness which he recorded earlier in connection with his police duty, and part was probably taken up with the courtship and marriage of Elmeda Stringham. For a writer who is able to describe in such detail his feelings and experiences with nature, machinery and past reminiscences he is uncharacteristically short and non-descriptive in describing his courtship, marriage and honeymoon.

During the Summer of 1845 I became acquainted with Miss Elmeda Stringham Daughter of George & Polly Stringham. Born December 29, 1829, Jamestown Shatockwa County State of New York and was Maried to her by George A. Smith at her fathers House Kimball Street City of Nauvoo Hancock County Illinois

20 Appleton's Journal, p. 5.

21 For some of the accounts involving Jesse see the Journal History under the following dates: 8 February 1845, 22 February 1845, 23 June 1845, and 26 September 1845. See also, Preston Nibley, Exodus to Greatness, The Story of the Mormon Migration, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947), pp. 37-8.
U. S. America on the first day of January at 6 o'clock P.M. 1846 and commenced Keeping House the next day.  

Elmeda's story is similarly short but gives a little more thought to the things that are important to a young girl in love, as remembered years later. It also gives one information as to where and by whom Appleton acquired the knowledge of carpentry that was to become his life's occupation.

I met a young man by the name of Appleton Harmon. He was learning the carpenters trade and worked in S. Rounday's shop. We were soon very much in love and were married at my fathers house in Kimball Street, Nauvoo, January 1, 1846. He was twenty-five years old and I was seventeen years old.

It was a wet and rainy day we were married by George A. Smith. We went to housekeeping with what little furniture Appleton made and a very few dishes.

The story of the Stringham family, like that of the Harmon's, is one of a typical frontier family making successive moves west.

While living in Coatsville, Broom County, New York, where their father, George, made a living as a cooper, the family was made acquainted with the Church in 1832. Of this event Elmeda recorded:

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22 Appleton's Journal, p. 5. For the genealogical background of Elmeda Stringham Harmon see George N. Stringham, Briant Stringham and His People (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis Press, 1947).

Father and Mother joined the Mormon Church, meetings were held at our house before a meeting house was built, and we often saw the Prophet Joseph Smith and the early members of the Church.  

During the winter of 1834 the family moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where they were able to help in the erection of the Kirtland Temple, and where her father was ordained an Elder during the Zion's Army march to relieve the Saints in Missouri.  

During the summer of 1838, in company with five hundred other Saints, they moved to Illinois, settling in the state capitol of Springfield.  

While here George reverted to his old trade of cooper, and opened up a shop where he also cut shingles. One of Elmeda's recollections of this shop was: "... seeing a tall quite man standing in the shop door watching father cut shingles and they say his name was Abraham Lincoln.  

The Stringhams remained in Springfield until the persecution-filled days of 1845, when they moved on to

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24 Elmeda's Story, pp. 1-2. Although she does not record it, the George Stringham's were probably made acquainted with the Church through his brother, William, who, with his wife and daughter, Julia, were baptised in early June, 1830. Smith, History of the Church, Vol. I, p. 88.  

25 Ibid., p. 2.  


27 Elmeda's Story, p. 2.  

28 Ibid.
Nauvoo. Shortly after, Elmeda met Appleton and was married. Within a month from the time of the ceremony they left Nauvoo with the first body of Saints in the great winter exodus of 1846.
CHAPTER IV

EXODUS AND WINTER QUARTERS

With increased pressure from the mobs during the summer and fall of 1845 the Mormons were placed in an ever greater position of jeopardy. Destruction, physical violence, and often times even death, seemed to be the price required if they were to stay on in the home that they had carved for themselves from the swamp bottoms that had once been Commerce. It would seem that the wisest path to take would be an immediate withdrawal just as they had in Ohio and Missouri, but now the brethren needed time. This they tried to buy with a promise to leave as soon as the weather permitted in the spring.¹

The time they hoped to gain was, in part, needed to complete the Temple, as they believed the Lord had commanded through his Prophet, Brigham Young. Time was also needed to gather the goods necessary to sustain them in the wilderness until they could reach the sanctuary they sought in the tops of the mountains and reap their first life-sustaining harvest. There would be no helping hand stretched forth by

a pitying people in the deserts of the Rocky Mountains like they had experienced just ten short years before in Illinois.

Unfortunately, time was not to be theirs. The time bought to build the Temple was the only time being used in such a fashion as could be seen by the mobocrats. It was impossible to convince men who were already coveting their property that they were spending a million dollars in time, effort, goods and money just because the Lord commanded it and then they planned to leave it all behind in a few short months to do it all again somewhere else. To the Mormons the Temple was a symbol of covenants and promises fulfilled, while to the mobs it was a symbol of plans for permanent occupancy. Thus, as the fall of 1845 lengthened into the bitter cold winter of 1846, the actions of the mobs in and around Nauvoo increased, forcing the Saints to begin their exodus under very trying conditions.

On the 13th of February 1846 with a company of the first pioneers of 12 or 15 hundred wagons we left our parents, brothers and sisters at Nauvoo and began our journey thru the unknown wilderness. We crossed the Mississippi river on the ice following indian trails and with a compass as our only guide.  

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2Elmeda's Story, p. 4. There is some question as to Elmeda's statement that she and Harmon crossed the ice on February 13. Smith's History of the Church makes mention of the ice condition of the Mississippi until the later part of the month of February. Under the date of February 22 it says: "the ice was running in the River so there was no possibility of crossing only with a skiff." (p. 594). It was not until the 25th that "Capt. Charles C. Rich arrived from Nauvoo and reported that he had walked over the ice." (p. 598). To this William E. Berrett adds: "On the 25th Charles C. Rich walked across the river near Montrose, on
Many stories have been told of the hardships and miracles which the Saints encountered on this trip through the wilds of the Iowa territory during the cold, wet, dreary spring of 1846. But only when one follows the single route of one family group does one receive the mixed feeling that came, not only from the suffering, but from the services rendered for those who would follow, the joy in small things that brought pleasure far out of proportion to their significance had they been experienced under less trying circumstances, and even out of the unknown future, a strengthening of character that allowed them to continue on no matter how trying the conditions. In following the future life of Appleton and Elmeda the writer has come to the conclusion that the forced exit from Nauvoo was, in reality, a blessing in disguise, for it tempered them while still young in the

the ice. The next few days witnessed the strangest sight of all, long caravans streaking out across the mighty river over a solid floor of ice... A few days later this unique roadway cracked up..." (p. 299). In a footnote he adds, "The facts for the above are taken from the Manuscript Journal of Brigham Young, which corrects the view that the Mississippi River in 1846 was frozen over before February 25th," (p. 300). These arguments would tend to prove that Elmeda and Appleton either crossed the river at a later date than she has recorded or did not cross on the ice. It has, however, been the recent experience of the writer to know that rivers do not freeze overnight to the desired level to carry a loaded wagon, and that if the temperatures were in the same state of flux near the zero level during the early part of the month as recorded for 10 days later, it would be possible to cross the river at one time while not at another. If Elmeda were mistaken it is more likely to have been on the date and not the method of crossing. William E. Berrett, The Restored Church: A History of the Growth and Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Comp., 1953).
fire of extreme adversity—a temper that made them tough enough in physical and mental capacities to overcome their future problems in helping to develop their church and home.

From Appleton we can follow the Saints and see the development of places which have since become monuments in Mormon history.

We experienced a great amount of cold hard weather, snow, and high water & mud having to lay by from time to time some 2 weeks at Sugar Creek Again Some 3 weeks at the Sharaton and at several other places a few days at a time remaining long enough at the crossing of Grand River to form a Settlement, fence a large farm and locate a permanent Settlement with Houses.

This settlement was established some time near the end of April, by which time Appleton's wife was pregnant. A letter written by him and his wife to their folks in Nauvoo shows the jaunty way with which these two young newlyweds were facing their somewhat dismal future as well as helping to build waystations for those who would follow.

"The camp stayed here one week and fenced in 2 fields one 3/4 of a mile Square & one a mile Square in the timber & build some 25 houses dig some wells and probably will plant & sow considerable grain this week. . ."4

Thus was Garden Grove established on the plains of Iowa.

It would also seem that the leaders of the church already had some idea of the final resting place of the

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3 Appleton's Journal, p. 5.
4 (Unpublished letter). In the possession of Dr. Lawrence Harmon.
Saints even at this early date, for in the same letter Appleton reported:

"The probability is that there will not every families cross the mountains this Season, there will be a company of men fitted out 5 men to each wagon & yokes of oxen & 15 months provisions."5

With the expectation of reaching their new home that season Appleton and Elmeda pressed on West with the Saints, establishing a route that their family and friends would find much easier when they passed that way.

In his journal Appleton recorded:

"Built a Bridge laid out a town fencet a quantity of land Built some houses & left a number of families to settle and cultivate the land we called the place Mount Pisgah."6

How wrong the mobs had been to think that this people could not build and leave a temple to someone else, when their whole history had been a succession of building and leaving for the benefit of someone who would follow.

The spring was spent in passing to the Missouri River. Appleton once again found himself in the vanguard of the movement building bridges, cutting roads, passing through Indian villages where friendship had to be gained for the safety of those following, always with an eye to the west, yearning for the place of final rest, a place that could be called home, a new Zion. Unfortunately, this was to be denied them the first year. Through a series of

5Ibid.

6Appleton's Journal, p. 6.
events Appleton, Elmeda and the Saints were destined to build once more, a city to be abandoned, save for their dead.

It was the middle of June when the vanguard reached the banks of the spring-swollen Missouri River, which forced them to spend time building a flatboat to use in crossing. Some men such as Appleton also tried to lighten their own burden by constructing new wagons and other necessities to replace the worn-out and abused implements that had served them from Nauvoo. During this time Elmeda was taken so sick that Appleton recorded, "My wife was taken sick an for Several days lay very low. but however recovered."7

Here also the Saints received word that the government wished them to provide men to participate in the Mexican War. Further research has revealed that this was a concession made to the Church by the government in order to aid the Mormons on their migration west, but to the small body of refugees huddled on the banks of the Missouri River or strung along the trail leading back to bloody Nauvoo, it seemed to be another instance of a benighted government testing them to the breaking point. Five hundred of the most able-bodied men taken from the necessary work if they were to survive; five hundred of their best fighting men who might at any time be needed to battle in protection of their families and friends, seemed more than the Saints could

7Ibid.
bear. But Brother Brigham said bear it, and bear it they did, although Appleton somewhat bitterly recorded in his journal:

The raising of the Battalion the building of a flat-boat the replenishing of our stocks Provishons etc preparatory to our start into the wilderness took us until the fore part of August before we crossed the Missouri. and by this time the Season had become so far advanced and meney sick and 500 of our affective men taken from emegrating families it was thought best to locate on the bank of the Missouri for the winter. . . the remainder of us camped at the Pevilion and called the place of our encampment Cuttars Park. while here our work was to cut hay and prepair for winter.8

While at Cuttars Park Appleton was once again struck down by a similar series of sicknesses to those experienced during the summer of 1845. Also, while living here, there came about one of the greatest happenings in Appleton's life—the birth of his first son. "On the 22nd Day of September was Born my son Named Appleton Milo Jr."9

Within a few days of the birth of his son the family moved from Cuttars Park about three miles up the river to the main camp of the Saints, that had been established and named Winter Quarters. Here they commenced to build temporary, and in some cases, permanent houses, as well as a mill (sawmill) that was to be the first of many that Appleton

8Ibid. According to Appleton, a small party of two hundred wagons under the command of George Miller did start for the Rockies but only went as far as the Loup Fork of the Platte River--about 200 miles from the Missouri--when they were forced to turn back by the advanced season. Apparently the Mormon Battalion conscription had changed the plans for the make-up of this group.

9Ibid.
would build. So passed the summer into fall and the fall into winter, and with the winter brought new privation and trials, mixed with joyful reunions.

In the Month of December my Father folks arrived from Nauvoo. They had remained until the Month of September... and on their slow march experiencing heavy rains they were reduced to sickness.10

Some time a little prior to this Elmeda's father, mother and brothers, Briant, George and Benjamin had also arrived and so the whole family, except for a few married brothers and sisters, were once again united, even if not under the best of circumstances.

I had just finished a Small House and took into it Sophronia my Sister and Brother Amos and made them as comfortable as posable. and then went to work and Built a house for my father and got them into it and made them as comfortable as my circumstances would allow.11

With the arrival of the family there came into Elmeda's life more problems than the sickness which the family brought with them. For the first time this eighteen-year-old daughter of Mormonism came face-to-face with what she termed "a strange new doctrine"--plural marriage--which she could never accept, but which would play a continuing role in her life and the lives of all whom she held dear.

Father, Jesse Harmon had married a plural wife while in Nauvoo. A women with several children, she had left her husband and married him, they came with the rest. Mother Harmon felt so bad about it, for

10Ibid., p. 7.

11Ibid., p. 8.
it was a strange new doctrine and terrible for first wives to endure.\(^{12}\)

Survival during this first full winter in the wilderness became the number-one priority in the camps of Zion. By this time food supplies were running low or out, clothing which had seen hard wear, had been patched and was now wearing thin again, making it completely inadequate to face the bitter winds and cold of a Nebraska winter. Even the cattle were beginning to die as a result of cold and starvation. Fortunately, Appleton had learned a trade in S. Rounday's carpenter shop that was in much demand on the frontier with which he was able to shelter his family, and then set off to the state of Missouri to trade the wagon he had made while waiting at the Missouri River for the much-needed supplies that would sustain them through the bleak winter.

In his matter-of-fact way Appleton records this trip in his journal.

I started in Company with Briant Stringham to Missouri with an ox team to sell a wagon to get money to replenish our Stock of eatables. In this trip I suffered greatly with coald my clothes were worn rather thin and the Howling blast of the bald prairies was pearcing as we had to go at the tardy ox pace. We went 150 miles into the State of Mo. Sold the waggon & got a load of Corn Pork Groceries

\(^{12}\)Elmeda's Story, p. 4. Jesse married Margaret Allen who was born January 11, 1798 in Chautaugua, Clinton Co., New York. They were sealed by Heber C. Kimball February 6, 1846. Witnesse were Elias Smith and Thomas Grover. (Microfilmed copy of Nauvoo Sealing Record), No. 30, p. 5. Genealogical Society Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. Two of Elmeda's brothers, Briant and Jeremiah, as well as her father would also enter into plural unions, bringing grief to Elmeda.
and the like and started for home.\textsuperscript{13}

Elmeda gives us a better picture of just how valuable a wooden wagon was in the lives of these Saints when she says of the same trip, "Appleton sold a wagon he had made himself and bought corn, bacon and groceries enough to last us a year."\textsuperscript{14}

Happiness, however, was never very far from grief in this time, which Appleton refers to as a "trying a Scene for the Saints as they ever had to pass through."\textsuperscript{15} And so it was with Appleton, returning to the supposedly happy reunion with his family, loaded with life-giving necessities, only to find he was already too late, for death had robbed him of one whom he held most dear--his mother--and was about to end the flickering life of his sister.

At Keg Crick in a Snow Storm I herd the death of my mother which hapened on the 16th of January 1847 and was intured before my arival home which was a few days after and found my Sister Sophronia laying vary low. She died about 8 o'clock A.M. the 26th of January 1847.\textsuperscript{16}

The Harmons were now, by death and burial, forever connected to the place in which they had been forced to tarry. This, however, would not be their last connection to the little cemetery on the hill on the west side of the Missouri River, where they had to dig through three feet of

\textsuperscript{13}Appleton's Journal, pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{14}Elmeda's Story, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{15}Appleton's Journal, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 9. Sophronia Melinda Harmon was married
frost to intere their dead during that cold January.

During the winter Appleton made another trip down to the settlements of Missouri. Although he does not give the reason for the trip nor record what he carried, it is only mentioned to show the extreme cold with which the Saints had to deal.

There is an interesting note in the journal of John D. Lee. "We tarried at Bro. J. P. Harmon's. After supper I was called upon to administer to his wife who had been confined most since September last. She was instantly restored and was the next morning up singing and prepared breakfast with her own hands. Rejoiced in the Lord and felt confident that she should survive her sickness, that she felt perfectly free and well. Charles Kelly, Journals of John D. Lee (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1938), p. 126.

During the winter some Indians of the Omahaw tribe was camped close by & with in Sight of my house was Supprised by a party of Iowa's in the night & fird at Several of them severly wounded the

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to Heber C. Kimball, February 6, 1846 by Brigham Young. Witnesses were John M. Bernhiesl and A. M. Seyamor. (Microfilmed copy of Nauvoo Sealing Record), Genealogical Society Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

There is an interesting note in the journal of John D. Lee. "We tarried at Bro. J. P. Harmon's. After supper I was called upon to administer to his wife who had been confined most since September last. She was instantly restored and was the next morning up singing and prepared breakfast with her own hands. Rejoiced in the Lord and felt confident that she should survive her sickness, that she felt perfectly free and well. Charles Kelly, Journals of John D. Lee (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1938), p. 126.

Ibid.
firing awakened me and the Cries of the wounded was
dreadfull While the assailents as soon as they had
discharged a volley of their rifles and poured in a
round of arows turned and fled. the sufferors was
kindly trated by our people their wounds dressed
and broken Bones set etc.18

Not long after this a village of Omahaws, some dis-
tance up the river, were attacked in the night by a war par-
ty of Sioux. Their losses were heavy, leaving them so vul-
nerable to future attacks that they abandoned their camp-
site and headed down river where Appleton described their
plight:

The Soux cut of the Noses of all the dead as a
token of Spite and Contempt which they held to wards
them and retreated.
The Surviving Omahaws geathered up their horses
Dogs and effects took up their march howling as they
went down the river they came to our settlement and
stoped a short time. At night they would set up a
howling and their cries would rend the air they soon
moved down to Belview the suffering of these poor
miserable beings was immence and excited the Sympathy
of our people who gave them several beef cattle and
a great amount of bread.19

This benevolent brotherly love towards a people
who were suffering came from a people apparently only one
step above them on the ladder of worldly goods. The pre-
vious summer it had been planned to send the Saints right
on through to their permanent home, but because of the late-
ness of the season they had been forced to remain. Now only
a small group would be able to make the first trip, due to
the condition of their resources and manpower.

18Ibid., p. 20.
19Ibid.
Meney of our cattle and our Stores of provision Groceries etc, were much exasted in so mutch that it was not wisdom for us to pursue as a boddy our Hazardish Journey in fact we could not consequently a body of 143 picked men with 73 wagons with the best teams remaining from the ravages of the winter, with 8 of the Quorum of the Twelve Started from Winter Quarters this for part of April 1847. . . by request of Br. Kimball (Heber C.) I left my wife child, father & Brothers, my wife with her fathers folks and I started on the 13th of April 1847 with the above mentioned pioneers and drove a team for Br. H.C.K. 20

20Ibid., p. 11.
CHAPTER V

ONWARD ALMOST TO A NEW HOME

Many accounts have been written about the Pioneer Company that left Winter Quarters in early April, 1847 and entered into the valley of the Great Salt Lake on the 24th of July of the same year. Counted among its numbers were many of the great leaders of the Mormon saga—the backbone of the Mormon movement.

Invested in this small handful of men and women was the future of the Church. They were to seek out and mark a trail across the wilderness, and locate and establish a permanent home, making it ready for the remnant at Winter Quarters and along the trails leading East. They were to prepare for the Battalion men who were even then somewhere to the south on their circuitous way to the home they had not yet seen. But even more important, they were to prepare a place for the immigrants who were being gathered by the missionaries in many parts of the world, and being directed to gather to Zion.

To this task was assigned men who had already proven themselves capable in the trying days of Nauvoo and Winter Quarters. Usually stalwarts in the Church, they would still
upon occasion display the human qualities of other men found in similar circumstances. Primarily one can follow the trip through Appleton's own journal, although on occasions others are used to fill in missing pages.

Planning for such a trip, under most circumstances, would be a time-consuming ordeal in the lives of most, but Appleton seems to have been spared that problem.

Brother Kimball said to me last evening that he wanted that I should get ready and go with the pioneers & drive an ox team for him. I consulted my Father; left my wife and child in as good circumstances as I could which was but poor as best got my clothes ready and started about 4 a.m.¹

After a brief trip from Winter Quarters on the Missouri, Appleton arrived at the main staging camp on the banks of the Platte River on Thursday the 11th day of April, 1847. Here the camp was divided into the traveling organization which had been said to be outlined in a revelation to Brigham Young.² Of this organization Edward Tullidge wrote:

As soon as they got fairly on the Journey, they were organized as a military body, into companies of hundreds, fifties and tens. The following order of officers will illustrate.

Brigham Young Lt. General, Stephen Markham Col.
Captains of Company 1 Wilford Woodruff... Captain of Company 10 Appleton Milo Harmon... Nothing

¹Appleton's Journal, p. 255.
²Joseph Smith, Jr., The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day-Saints, Section 136.
could better illustrate the perfection of Mormon organization than this example of the pioneers.  

Also on the 16th another circumstance was noted in William Clayton's diary which would have a bearing on later events leading to one of the interesting speculative problems of Mormon history. Clayton said:

Up to 12:00 p.m. I had no place to put my trunk and clothing, and did not know what to do with them. However, soon after Heber told me to put them in Appleton M. Harmons wagon, which was done.  

During this time of travel, and even in his later diaries, Appleton makes little mention of Clayton, so it would appear that a personal relationship did not develop between the English clerk and the Yankee carpenter and machinist.

It did not take the camp long to settle into the monotonous routine which they were to follow for the next three months, with only the diversion of a hunting trip, some fishing, a chance passerby or an encounter with the Indians to change the pace. On Monday the 19th of April Appleton recorded:

Arose in the morning at 5 o'clock at the sound of the Bugle, at 7 o'clock got of on our journey in a W of W direction and traveled 13 miles and stopped for dinner by the river Platte where O. P. Rockwell overtook us in company with Br. Little J. Redding & Thomas brown, the Flat here is from 12 to 15 miles


—Clayton's Journal, pp. 77-78.
wide interspersed with numerous small lakes or slous the river is full of Islands with several Chaniels in places, the water is only from 4 to 6 feet lower that the bottom, or flat, Started and traveled 17 miles & camped for the night making 20 miles this day.

Tuesday the 20th traveled 12 miles crosed shell crick halted for dinner at a pool of water 3 deer was seen & chased on the prairee by O.P.R. & T. Brown but did not suckseed in catching them ... Col. Markam & John Higbe & some others obtained a quantity of fish so that when we got camped each man had a fish.

Wensday the 21st Arose in the morning as usual at the blast of the winding horn ... we seen a lone indian approaching towards us from narrow skirt of timber which seemed to streach it self along the river at our left while on our right the bast plain on which we traveled seemed to streach it self of the Blue line of a distant Bluff which seemed to be 18 or 20 miles distant, at this place, soon after several more indians immerged from the same wood on coming up to us seemed to extend the hand of fellow­ship & say how de do. we traveled on 9 miles fur­ther and camped up the loup fork of the Piatt op­posite a vilage of Pawnees. Menny of the Pawnees waded the river & came to us amongst which was the Chiefs Chiefmoland & Sisketuk who was presented with some presents consisting of some Powder lead Salt tobaco & by our president, which was reluctantly re­ceived. Making sighns that the pile was not big enough but was more poassified before we left, trav­eled this afternoon 8 miles and camped on the link fork bank thinking ourselves not safe entirely, a strong guard was posted of 50 men at a time.

For the next few days the camp continued on up the Platte during which time the only interesting note was the death of Brigham Young's horse while Appleton was on guard duty. Somehow it was choked to death with its halter.

On the morning of the 24th it was necessary to ford the Platte, but due to the sandy bottom it was decided to build a raft and float over. Unfortunately the raft was to

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5Appleton's Journal, pp. 257-58
no avail because of the current and sandbars, but the seeming dilemma was solved when it was discovered:

... that the sand packed so that the last wagons by doubling teams... could go with all thare loads by razing the bos (box) to prevent water from running in & by 2 o'clock all the waggons were across.6

The following day, being Sunday, they all rested from their labors except eight men who were chosen to hunt buffalo on horseback, while eighteen or twenty hunted on foot. During the night the first Indian trouble was encountered. "Arose by an alarm just at day-break the alarm was that 6 indians was indeavoring to steal horses. But fortunately discovered & fired at by Guard, who allways keep a good lookout."7

It is unfortunate that from this date until the 6th of May some thirteen pages of Appleton's Journal are missing, for it was during this period that the designing and building of the famous roadometer, or odometer, took place.8

By May the company was coming into that part of the plains where Appleton was able to observe antelope in every direction, buffalo herds so immense that feed was hard to find and droves of elk which led him to observe in his dry humor, "I immaggine ourselves in a game country," and then

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6Ibid., p. 259.

7Ibid.

8From other journals we are able to learn the time sequence for the development of the roadometer. This will be presented in detail in the next chapter.
on a more somber note, "Prest Young lost his Spy glass."9

The loss of the spy glass was the culmination of Brigham Young's patience with what was a general laxity in camp. At 8 o'clock the camp was called together and President Young addressed them concerning the need for horses to pull the canon, the need for the capt. of tens to stay by their teams and then saying to the cowherders, "... the cows were neglected yesterday by Erastus Snow who drove or had charge of them a part of the day he justified himself & was reproved by Prest Young."10 Fortunately the spy glass was found by Orin Porter Rockwell and J. Matthews, and the camp returned to normal.

That the company had some idea of where it was going and was acquainted with the writings of earlier explorers of the region was best shown by an entry of Thursday, the 10th of May.

... oposite side the river from our noon camping place the oregon road comes to the river through a valley extending back some 4 ms... I understand that this is called ash hollow by Fremont, & those bluffs ceder bluffs... ash hollar is 140 ms from For Laramaie according to Fremont's account.11

The next day the camp came in contact with an Indian and squaw who had been proselyted and baptised into the Church. They were part of a larger group camped nearby.12

9Ibid., p. 260.
10Ibid.
11Ibid., pp. 162-63.
12Ibid., p. 163.
By the 23rd Appleton was noting a change in the land which indicated they were drawing near to the mountainous region.

this afternoon has brought to our view quite a change of cenery, the bluffs presenting a bold, Craggy, Rockey, borken appearance, on the oposite side of the river thare is a grove of ceder timber extending some 4 ms. down the river which is the heavest body of timber I have seen since we left Grand Island. . . . a great meney rattle snakes have been seen with a few days past of the large kind.  

On the 25th Appleton reported:

Chimney rock is in full view of us & is asser­tained to be 3 ms in an air line S.W. by Professor Pratt from the camp. he allso by his instruments found it to be 260 high.

He goes on to say:

. . . a sham trial came of this evening before Judge Whipple the people the plaintiff Col. Markham defendant the Col was aquitted.  

It is apparent by this time that the monotony of the trail was beginning to bring a looseness of action into the responsibilities assigned to the men. Brother Young and Brother Kimball had been privately counseling some of the brethren concerning the excesses of mirth, indulgence in dancing and sham trials, which had become increasing detri­ments to their sense of responsibility.  

Apparently this approach did not have the desired effect. If anything, the

13Ibid., p. 264.
14Ibid., p. 267.
15Ibid.
problem seemed to get worse, causing President Young to take stronger action. On Saturday morning he had the whole camp called together just as it was about to start. He called for the Captains of Ten to gather their respective companies around them, had Thomas Bullock call the role and then commenced speaking to them.

... that his text was that he should revolt at the idea of going any further with this camp while they were in possession of the spirit which they then possessed. ... that the excess dancing & frolicking playing cards dice dominoes chequers dice & some of which have been carried on excessively for the last few days was leading to worse evils to a neglect of duties to carelessness recklessness to quarrells divisions discontent to sin & death, he also added that evil recreation was no harm if not carried to excess if when they had danced enough they would quit & go into their waggons & not forget to thank the Lord. ... he said that we were pioneers to the whole Church of God called to a responsible station. ... he then called for a division of the camp, the Twelve by themselves their number being 8 the High Priest by themselves etc.\(^\text{16}\)

This time Brigham Young's word must have had the desired effect for nothing more is recorded by Appleton concerning any further need for chastisement. Unfortunately, some more pages of Appleton's diary are missing here, so we must turn to William Empey\(^\text{17}\) for a description of their


\(^{17}\text{One of the group who will be left at the Platt River to aid in the ferry project. His diary, along with Appleton's, are the two best-known sources for this period. We will quote Empey's Journal as found in the Wyoming Journal. See footnote 16 above.}\)
first contact with Fort Larmaie. Like Appleton, on some occasions he says little.

First day of June the weather pleasant and fair we traveled 12 miles and 1/2 (12) and came to the fort --Larramie and camped for the night in peace and found some of our Brethren from the missippie 3 families 9 men 5 women and children.\textsuperscript{18}

Fort Laramie was to play a far greater role in Appleton's life than he could have suspected on that bright spring morning when he first viewed it. These being the first buildings of any size that the party had seen since leaving Winter Quarters, they were naturally anxious to get inside and see what it was all about.

Early the next morning Appleton, in company with a number of others, went up to the fort where they were graciously received by Mister Bordeaux, the representative of the American Fur Company, who willingly showed them around and answered their many questions concerning trail conditions, food supplies between Laramie and the Salt Lake Valley, Indian situations and other information necessary to a safe passage. Of the fort itself Appleton wrote:

he (Borddaux) invited us in to a room upstairs which looks verry much like a bar room of an eastern hotel it was ornamented with severat drawings portraits & alone desk a settee & some chairs constituted the principle furniture of the room. ... I understood had been recently named Fort John. ... Mr. Bordeaux said that he had bought out fort Platt some years ago, thare ware 38 men imployed by the merican Furr company.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Empey's Journal, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{19}Appleton's Journal, p. 274.
After using the fort's ferry to cross the Platte, for which they paid $15.00--$14.00 in money and one peck of potatoes—and in turn received back seven dollars worth of flour at 10¢ a pound and meal at 60¢ a pound, the camp continued up the river toward South Pass and Fort Bridger. The only significant happening recorded by Appleton was the passage of some French trappers who, having left Pueblo only eighteen days previously, brought word of Capt. Brown and the Mormon Battalion members who had wintered there the previous year.

On Saturday the 12th of June Appleton made what was to be his final move with the pioneer company.

We got up our teams at about 2 P.M. and after confabulating for a half hour about whether to cross the river here or go about 4 ms. a head where our brethren that had gone to get possession of the ferry... we traveled 4 miles & camped in a 1/4 circle on the banks of the river 1/4 mile distant east of the place where they were afaring.

Appleton would spend the remainder of the summer helping to operate a ferry here on the Platte—postponing for a season, his arrival at the place he would finally call home.

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20 Ibid., p. 275.
21 Ibid., p. 279.
22 Ibid., p. 281.
CHAPTER VI

THE ROADOMETER

It is unfortunate that thirteen pages of Appleton's journal, covering from April 25 to May 6, are missing, for it was during this period that the designing and building of the roadometer took place.¹ Because of Appleton's involvement, both in the building of this instrument and the later controversy and questions that arose concerning it, a study of his life would be incomplete without an attempt to clarify the issues that have been raised concerning the roadometer. Basically, the questions seem to be these: (1) what were the real roles played by those associated with the design and building of the first instrument, (2) how and when was the first full measurement taken that gave the distance of the Pioneer road from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake City with such phenomenal accuracy, and (3) what became of the original instrument in light of the questions raised concerning the present instrument on display at the Church Museum on Temple Square in Salt Lake City?

Research has shown that all of these questions have,

¹ Appleton's Journal, p. 260.
in some measure, been touched on by past authors of books and theses, but no one, it would appear, has brought all the facts together in one place which would bring continuity to the questions. Thus it is not my intention to present some startling new material, but simply to gather together the old in an attempt to finally solve the riddle of the odometer.

It would appear that controversy was the beginning of the whole matter. William Clayton, who had been assigned to Appleton Harmon's wagon, was given the duty of assisting the chief clerk, Thomas Bullock, and thus he had the job of helping record the daily events of the company, and also to take, upon occasions, parts of Bullock's journal into his own. To this had been added the responsibility of assisting Orson Pratt in his road surveys and scientific work in the pursuit of which he had been asked to record the amount of miles traveled each day.²

Atwood, in his book, The Mountain of the Lord's House, wrote:

From the beginning of the trip William Clayton's clerkly nature had been offended by the discrepancies among their guesses of the day's mileage. He was one who liked precision—and also he wanted to prove that his own guesses were more accurate than those of some others.³


It would appear from Clayton's journal that the second premise was more important than the first, for on May 8 he recorded the following:

I have counted the revolutions of a wagon wheel to tell the exact distance we have traveled. The reason why I have taken this method which is somewhat tedious, is because there is generally a difference of two and sometimes four miles in a day's travel between myself and some others. This morning I determined to take pains to know for a certainty how far we travel today.4

Apparently these pains were the result of a suggestion made by Brigham Young that he measure a wagon wheel, then tie a red piece of flannel to it and count the number of times which the wheel went around.5 To his surprise, he found that one of the rear wheels on the wagon being driven by Philo Johnson was exactly 14 feet 8 inches, which meant that 360 revolutions of this wheel would equal one mile exactly. After counting the revolutions for the day and having made his calculations, he again inquired of the anonymous others and found "Some have past the day's travel at thirteen and some fourteen miles, which serves to convince more strongly that the distances are over-rated."6 Clayton had found the mileage to be eleven and a

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4Clayton's Journal, p. 136.


quarter miles plus 20 revolutions.\footnote{Ibid.}

Atwood points out that even though the next day was Sunday the camp moved on a short distance to find better grass, and so once again Clayton counted the revolutions, then having calculated the distance, he placed a signboard reading: "From Winter Quarters three Hundred miles, May 9, 1847, Pioneer Camp All Well. Distance according to the reconing of Wm. Clayton."\footnote{Atwood, p. 113. Also Clayton's Journal, p. 139.}

It would seem that at about this time the inner struggle of Clayton for the honor of being responsible for measuring the distance traveled had already begun before there was any real reason for dispute. Spending Sunday afternoon on the banks of the Platte in solitude and contemplation, Clayton wrote in his diary:

I shall not write my thoughts here, inasmuch as I expect this journal will have to pass through other hands besides my own or that of my family, but if I can carry my plans into operation, they will be written in a manner that my family will each get their portion, wheather before my death or after, it matters not.\footnote{Clayton's Journal, p. 138. Also Paul E. Dahl, William Clayton--Missionary, Pioneer, and Public Servant (unpublished manuscript), Cedar City, Utah, 1959, p. 99. See footnote 13. Hereafter referred to as Dahl.}

From this it would seem likely that Clayton was already aware of Brigham Young's plans to ask Orson Pratt, a man well known for his scientific abilities, especially in
the fields of math and astrology, to plan the workings of a machine to measure the mileage—a machine that Clayton had already suggested might be built.

As early as April 19 the Journal History record shows that Clayton, himself, was seeking advice from more learned men on the feasibility and practicality of installing some sort of measuring device.

At 3:20 P.M. the wagons began to move again in the same order as in the morning. In walking in the afternoon with Orson Pratt, William Clayton suggested to him the idea of attaching a set of wooden cog wheel to the hub of a wagon wheel, in such an order as to tell the exact number of miles traveled each day. Mr. Pratt agreed with Mr. Clayton that it could be easily done at a trifling expense.

It is obvious that Clayton had talked to a number of others as he had Pratt, and for this reason probably felt whatever credit was due should be his. However, an idea that is not rendered workable is nothing more than an idea, and so it is really to Orson Pratt where the plaudits of history should be laid as the father and inventor of a workable roadometer. In his journal under May 10 one finds the following entry:

For several days past, Mr. Clayton and several others have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles daily traveled. I was requested this afternoon, by Mr. B. Young, to give this

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10 Lyon, Chapter VI.

11 Journal History, 19 April 1847.

12 Clayton's Journal, p. 137.
subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon, I proposed the following method: Let a wagon wheel be of such a circumference, that 360 revolutions make one mile, (it happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp). Let this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of the wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which will evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs, be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs; it is evident that in the movement of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixty cog, of the first wheel be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional part of a mile or tenths, while if anyone should (be) desirous of ascertaining still smaller divisional fractions, each cog between this division, will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in travelling, will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveller, especially in a country, but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds.13

It did not take Appleton long to complete the machinery once Orson Pratt had designed it, for his

13"Orson Pratt Journal for 10 May 1847,"

Of later attempts to give full credit to William Clayton, T. Edgar Lyon wrote: "Although most Mormon writers have credited its invention to William Clayton, entry in Pratt's Journal indicates that he thought out the scheme, while the others actually made the apparatus. Had this not been the case, he would not have dared to publish the above account for the information of the members of the church in 1850, while Brigham Young, William Clayton and most of the pioneer company were still alive." Lyon, p. 40. See footnote 8 above.
background as a carpenter and machinist had prepared him well to undertake such a chore. The speed and accuracy with which he completed the job, when one considers the circumstances under which he labored, and the tools he had to use speaks well of his ability in his profession. Ardelle Harmon Ashworth some years ago wrote the following as part of a paper for a high school class from information passed on from her grandmother, Elmeda:

Appleton Milo Harmon, constructed the iron and wheel work and attached it to the wagon wheel. Since the pioneers had few tools and little material Appleton Milo Harmon took a wooden feed box and some scraps of iron and by using his pocket-knife, a hammer, and other simple tools fashioned the crude instrument which was the first speedometer to pass over the Great Plains and the Rockies.¹⁴

Appleton's own reference to the project was written apparently some time later and was simple.

I completed a roadometer and attached it to the wheel of a waggon by which we could tell each night the distance travelled through the day.¹⁵

There was probably a much better account in the missing thirteen pages, which might mean that Mrs. Ashworth was acquainted with them before they were lost.

By the 11th of May Clayton was able to report that Appleton was already at work on the machinery and by the 12th had it completed enough that he now only had to count

¹⁴Ardelle Harmon Ashworth, "Stories Found in Apple-Milo Harmon's Journal" (unpublished manuscript), in her possession, Provo, Utah.

¹⁵Appleton's Journal, p. 20.
the miles and not each revolution of the wheel. On the sixteenth, a Sunday, he recorded:

About noon today Brother Appleton Harmon completed the machinery on the wagon called a "roadometer" by adding a wheel to revolve once in ten miles, showing each mile and also each quarter mile we travel and then casing the whole over so as to secure it from the weather. We are now prepared to tell accurately the distance we travel from day to day which will supersede the idea of guessing, and be of satisfaction not only to this camp, but to all who hereafter travel this way.

It was not long, however, before the fear of losing credit for the machinery, and yet perhaps, a little fearful of taking on an eminent man like Orson Pratt, prompted Clayton to turn on the young mechanic, Appleton.

I discovered that Brother Appleton Harmon is trying to have it understood that he invented the machinery to tell the distance we travel, which makes me think less of him than I formerly did. He is not the inventor of it by a long way, but he has made the machinery after being told how to do it.

Here then, was a very serious charge by one of the three principle participants, as to the honesty and integrity of another member of the group, a charge which has


17 Clayton's Journal, p. 152. It might be interpreted from Clayton's statement here, and also his entry of May 9 (see footnotes 9 and 13), that he was already contemplating a travel guide some time in the future. See also Heber C. Kimball Diary, May 16, 1847; Kate B. Carter, Treasury of Pioneer History, Vol. II (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1953), p. 14.

18 Clayton's Journal, p. 149.
caused much debate among church historians as to who was the inventor—Clayton or Harmon—leaving out entirely the real person to whom credit should be given—Orson Pratt. Unfortunately, however, one feels that the real point to be considered is that of honesty and integrity, especially, who did and who did not have it at this time.

There appear to be numerous pieces of evidence in favor of Appleton. First of all is the very implication that Clayton, and not Appleton, was the true inventor, when we have already shown that it was, in reality, a third party, Orson Pratt. Second, it would seem that if Appleton were going about taking credit for the invention that it would have been written in other journals, since many people seemed to mention the new invention in connection with Clayton and Harmon together. Yet the claim is only mentioned in two places—Clayton's journal, under the date of May 14, 1847, and Howard Egan's journal under the same date. (This coincidence will be handled at greater length).

Third, both Clayton and Egan claim that Appleton could only proceed as directed. With this one finds two faults. First,

19 Howard Egan, Pioneering In The West, ed. by William M. Egan (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1917), p. 39. In his statement, Egan not only gives Clayton the credit for being the inventor, but also the machinist.

20 See footnote 16 above. Had Appleton been interested in stealing credit for a roadometer he certainly would not have reported a similar device on a Gentile's wagon that came across the trail while he was at the Platte Ferry. Appleton's Journal, p. 293.
Clayton makes no mention of such directions in any of his journal entries discussing the development of the roadometer. A man of Clayton's temperament and personality would not have let such instructions go unnoticed had they actually occurred. Secondly, it is obvious from Appleton's past training and experience that he would not need help or direction from the clerk when it came to the mechanics of constructing machinery. This had indeed, been his avocation in life since an apprenticeship in S. Rounday's carpenter shop in Nauvoo, and would continue to be so for the rest of his life. It was most probably his ability as a carpenter and machinist that led Clayton to secure his services in building the roadometer instead of one of the other 143 men on the train, if we are to believe his statement that he had already developed a dislike for Appleton even before they had begun this project. 21

It is also interesting that it was Egan's, and not Clayton's, statement that most historians turn to when discussing this problem. Even Dahl, in his thesis on Clayton, as late as 1961 used the following reference in convicting Appleton:

In support of the forementioned reference, the "Journal of History," under date of Friday, May 14, 1847, states the following: Howard Egan journalizes as follows: Brother Wm. Clayton has invented a machine, and attached it to the wagon that Brother Johnson drives, to tell the distance we travel. It is simple yet is ingenious. He got Brother Appleton Harmon to do the work. I have understood

21 See page 57 above.
that Brother Harmon claims to be the inventor too, which I know to be a positive falsehood. He Brother Harmon, knew nothing about the first principles of it, neither did he know how to do the work only as Brother Clayton told him from time to time. It shows the weakness of human nature.22

Two witnesses were enough to convict a man during biblical days23 and has continued to stand as a guide for ascertaining guilt in our own time. Here we have two witnesses with equally damaging, yet identical, testimony, so it is understandable that historical judges should accept the verdict of Clayton's testimony. It is equally understandable that they would lean more heavily upon Egan's witness since Clayton was a participant. Let us see how this testimony stands up under closer scrutiny.

What was the relationship between these three men, if any? Between Appleton and Egan there appears to be little more connection than that of two acquaintances thrown together on occasion by circumstances beyond their control. They had both been active in the Nauvoo police during the dark days of 1844-45, had spent the winter of 1846-47 in the Mormon camp on the banks of Missouri and were both now captains of tens in the Pioneer column wending its way to a new home in the mountains. But save for the insertions in Egan's journal concerning the roadometer both

23 Deuteronomy 20:15.
men's writings are devoid of the mention of the other, leading one to speculate, at least, that theirs was only an impersonal acquaintanceship. With Clayton, however, it is a different story.

Clayton and Egan had apparently developed a very close attachment over the years. In his thesis on Howard Egan, and in reference to an incident that was recorded on April 17, 1847 in Clayton's journal, J. Ramon Drake said:

William Clayton seemed to like to be with Howard whenever the opportunity afforded, for it was at this time that William Clayton recorded in his journal the incident which was mentioned in a previous chapter: 'at night I slept with Egan in Heber's wagon, Heber being gone to sleep with President Young.'

It is interesting to note that although Clayton's trunk and goods were carried in Appleton's wagon he was mustered into Egan's ten along with William A. King who would also play a role in this drama.

This relationship was not new, but apparently the continuation of a long-standing relationship that dated at least to their days in Nauvoo where Clayton's band entertained the guests at a birthday party for Egan's wife.

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25 Ibid., p. 59.

26 Drake, p. 46.
At Winter Quarters on Sunday, December 31, 1847, Clayton wrote:

Having heard that Egan was near I started out to meet him. The morning was fine but about 11 o'clock it began to thunder. I went about two miles and before I got back without seeing Egan it rained heavily. I was wet through.\textsuperscript{27}

Close friendship does not prove that Egan's testimony should be called into question; however, where he received his information might have bearing on its validity.

Our first clue as to where Egan received his information comes from an entry in Clayton's journal dated August 10, 1847:

I have no team to take care of. Howard Egan has done most of my washing until a month ago in consideration of the privilege of copying from my journal, using my desk, ink, etc.\textsuperscript{28}

It will be remembered that both diary entries carried a date of May 14, 1847, which indicates that Egan received his information from copying the Clayton diary, and thus Clayton becomes the second witness as well as the first. A quick check of the two entries tells us that, except for a few changed words, the entries are identical in thought and tone. Obviously Clayton is the spirit behind both entries and thus it would appear that the reason no one else entered Appleton's indiscretion into their diaries was because no one else ever heard Appleton make the claim.

Each journal carries another interesting entry for

\textsuperscript{27}Drake, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., p. 343.
May 16. From Egan's:

I have the pleasure this evening of writing by the light of a candle made by Brother Edson Whipple out of buffalo tallow, and it burns beautifully.29

And from Clayton's:

After supper Elder Whipple made me a present of a half a candle made from buffalo tallow, by the light of which I continue this Journal.30

One wonders if it was upon this occasion that Howard Egan copied the entry from William Clayton dated May 14--just two days earlier.

In order that we might answer the last two major questions concerning the roadometer without confusing the reader let us leave, for a moment, the chronological development of Appleton's story and pursue the roadometer's.

There is but one other entry in William Clayton's diary about the roadometer on the trip to the Valley, which is also characteristically mentioned under the same date in Howard Egan's. After a very rainy day on the 19th of May, which gave them the worst roads they had traveled over since leaving Winter Quarters as well as forcing them to abandon their travel for a spell,31 Clayton recorded for the next day:

29Egan's Journal, p. 47. See also Carter Eldredge Grant, The Kingdom of God Restored (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Comp., 1955), p. 401.


31Ibid., p. 163.
at 7:45 we started out again but had not traveled over a quarter of a mile before the roadometer gave way on account of the rain yesterday having caused the wood to swell and stick fast. One of the cogs in the small wheel broke. We stopped about a half an hour and Appleton Harmon took it to pieces and put it up again without the small wheel. I had to count each mile after this.32

From this point apparently the novelty of the new device wore off and it, like all else, became just a part of the monotonous routine. The story, under most circumstances, would have ended here if it had not been for two questions raised by B. H. Roberts in his work, The Comprehensive History of the Church concerning Clayton's description of the original roadometer and the one on display in the Deseret Museum on Temple Square.

According to the Deseret Museum Curator's report upon the machine in that institution and the above description by the principle inventor, there are material differences, both as to the size of the machine over all, and the number of cogs in wheels and in the levers for transmitting motion, etc. Which differences may be accounted for either by defectiveness in the description, or by the absence of parts of the machine, perhaps by both of these circumstances.33

The second question raised is one of timing and accuracy. Once again let us turn to Roberts to raise the

32 Ibid., p. 163. See also Egan's Journal, p. 45.

33 B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Century I, Vol. III (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), pp. 190-91. Hereafter referred to as Roberts, Comprehensive History. The writer could accept the arguments of missing parts but feels that a man like Clayton, who measured a wagon wheel to within 1/8 of an inch would not make a gross error in doing the same with the mile machine.
question.

It is said on the label of the machine in the museum that it 'was used by Brigham Young and his company to measure the distance from the Missouri River to Salt Lake Valley' and that the 'difference between the measurements made with this instrument and those made by the government surveyors who subsequently passed over the route, was less than 60 feet'. Of course this use of the odometer by Brigham Young and "his company" must refer to some journey made by the great leader subsequent to the pioneer journey, for as stated in the text of this History, the Odometer was not installed until about the 12 of May, when the Pioneer company was midway between Council Bluffs and Fort Laramie. It may have been used--the museum odometer--and this record made on President Young's journey the following year.34

Further research will tend to prove that the odometer on display did, in fact, make the survey, but it is not Appleton's original; secondly, that the survey was made in 1847, but from west to east not the reverse as has always been supposed; and, thirdly, that Brigham Young was not even involved with the trip when the record was made. It is the writer's guess, however, that for a period of time he had the original roadometer in his possession and then turned it over to Harmon only to repossess it subsequently at a later date.

It is necessary to turn to Clayton's journal, once again for the story of the second odometer, and the measuring of the road, as Appleton, himself, left the Pioneer company at the Platte River in order to help build and

maintain a ferry for the Mormon trains following the Pioneer company. Upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley it would appear that Clayton, in anticipation of completely re-surveying the entire route from the Great Salt Lake to Winter Quarters, engaged one of the members of his 10, William A. King, to reconstruct another odometer with certain refinements, which would explain the inconsistency of gear and wheel and especially, the difference in size.

The first mention of the new roadometer appears in the Journal History, 4 August 1847.

William A. King commenced making a new roadometer which he finished on the 7th. This new machine could tell the distance travelled for 1000 miles without keeping an account. It was used on the return trip to winter Quarters.35

Under the date of August 7 we find:

William King is still engaged in constructing a roadometer for Brother Clayton.36

In Clayton's journal for August 10 is found the first inkling as to the need for a second roadometer. Apparently he had been given an assignment by Brigham Young but would not have the original roadometer to complete it. "I am expected to keep a table of distances of the whole route returning from here to Winter Quarters and make a map when I get through, and this for public benefit."37

35 Journal History, 4 August 1847.
36 Ibid., 7 August 1847.
37 Clayton's Journal, August 10, 1847.
During the week following the above entry, Clayton and King spent most of the days testing and perfecting the roadometer. From his own journal of the 13th we find, "We fixed the roadometer the morning, then travelled to Dead Timber Creek, distance 15 miles."\(^{38}\)

While from the Journal History on the 14th and 16th respectively, we read:

This is a pleasant day. As it is the intention to start the ox teams on Monday night, all who are then going back started this morning on an excursion to the Salt Lake. Some others were also permitted to go along whom were Orson Whitney and Bro. Clayton with his wagon. When we returned this evening Bro. Clayton reported the distance to be twenty-two miles. The shaft screw of the roadometer was broken on his return.\(^{39}\)

For Monday the 16th:

Wm. King repaired the roadometer this afternoon, and Wm. Clayton, Jackson Redding and myself (Howard Egan) road in the former's wagon as far as the Warm Springs, 1-1/2 miles distance. This we did to see how the machinery would work.\(^{40}\)

By the middle of August Clayton was ready to join a group of ox teams returning to the east so as to carry out Brigham Young's instructions to measure the road carefully and gather such other information which might be of benefit to the companies that should cross the plains and mountains in the years to come.\(^{41}\)

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\(^{38}\)Ibid., p. 362.

\(^{39}\)Journal History, 14 August 1847.

\(^{40}\)Ibid., 16 August 1847.

\(^{41}\)Ibid., 17 August 1847.
Tunis Rappleye and Shadrack Roundy, Clayton returned with only one short stretch of the trail not being meticulously checked, due to the breakdown of the roadometer for a few days. Of the success of this trip Atwood wrote:

Moreover, on the return trip Clayton had remeasured the whole length of the trail except for a few miles between Horseshoe Creek and the La Bonte, where the roadometer had broken down. 'I find the whole distance to be 1,032 miles and am now preparing to make a complete traveler's guide from here to the Great Salt Lake, having been careful in taking the distances from creek to creek, over bluffs, mountains, etc. It has required much time and care and I have continually labored under the disadvantages in consequence of the companies feeling no interest in it.'

Clayton's reward for this labor came when he was able to put out the Latter-day Saint's Emigrants Guide without any acknowledgment of the contributions of Orson Pratt, Appleton Harmon or even William King. Thus he secured for himself a place in history.

As to the roadometer on Temple Square, it is undoubtedly the William King copy. All three present-living grandchildren of Appleton Milo Harmon have told the writer on separate occasions that the original roadometer was in the possession of their grandfather until it was borrowed

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42 Atwood, pp. 190-91. Also, Clayton's Journal, p. 362.

43 Ibid., p. 191. See also William Clayton, Latter Day Saint's emigrants' guide: being a table of distances, showing all springs, creeks, rivers, hills, mountains, camping places, and all other notable places from Council Bluff, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake (St. Louis, Missouri: Republican Steam Press, 1848). From the publishing date it would seem obvious that the mileage check was not made by Brigham Young's company of that summer.
by President Brigham Young with the thought of patenting it and was never returned. The one on display in the museum, as is indicated by the inscription, came from the Clayton family by a circuitous route. While talking with Mrs. Kate Carter at the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Museum the writer was told:

Some years ago the museum received from one of the grandchildren of William Clayton the original roadometer used by the pioneers in 1847. It was on display in the museum until the Church Historians Office borrowed it for a display during a "Days of '47" celebration. Some time later we received a letter from President Joseph Fielding Smith stating that the Church planned to display the roadometer in the Temple Square Museum and it has remained there ever since.

The writer finds only one thing wrong with this statement; the original is lost to history and a copy is located in the museum.

45 Interview with Kate Carter at the Daughter of the Utah Pioneers Museum, 1968.
CHAPTER VII

RIVERMAN AND BLACKSMITH

Springtime in the Rockies did not mean the same to the Pioneer caravan as it would to others when it was later set to the lilting lyrics and melody of a love song. To them spring meant snow in the passes, mud on the trail, little fodder for the animals, and most fearful of all, the run off of swollen streams that could, in a matter of seconds, sweep away a lifetime of dreams. This was especially true of the high-crested Platte River when the main body of the Saints reached it on the 12th of June.

The following day being Sunday, a meeting was called by Brigham Young after the regular church services, of the officers of the camp to decide upon the best way to cross the river. After a lengthy debate it was concluded to cross the goods in the leather boat and try to lash four wagons together with poles and haul them through the water by means of a rope. Although the decision was arrived at in a most democratic way it was far from being unanimous. One of the chief dissenters was Thomas Grover, who had spent almost his entire life working on, and around, water.

1Appleton's Journal, p. 282.
He had begun his sea life as a cabin boy on the Erie Canal at the age of twelve, and twelve years later had been elevated to captain. Of the meeting in question his son wrote:

President Young called a meeting for the purpose of devising means of crossing the river, in this meeting a plan was put forth which father did not think would work and he left the meeting and went to bed. At the close of the meeting Stephen Markham, father's bunk mate came to bed, and one of the brethren came with him to hear what father said of the plan. Father told Marcus he had forgotten more about water than President Young knew. This man who came to the wagon with Marcus went to President Young with what father said and the President called father to account. The next morning father told him he had forgotten more about water than he ever knew. . . President Young rigged their ferry and started it, when President Kimball standing with his hand on father's shoulders said, 'Brother Thomas, it runs nice.' 'Yes,' said father, 'but when it strikes the current it will go under.' He had hardly spoken when it went under. 'Now', said President Young, 'Brother Grover, my plan has failed, what is yours.'

Capt. Grover's plan to lash two trees which had been shaped like dugouts into a ferry was ready by the next morning and proved so successful the entire company, plus a number of emigrant trains, were put over by the 17th, but not without considerable work on the part of all. During the day of crossing Appleton spent most of his time

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3Ibid., p. 503. See also Journal History, 14 June 1847.
working in the water.\textsuperscript{4}

Brigham Young, never one to miss a good business opportunity and undoubtedly also thinking of the Pioneer companies that were following, decided to leave a party of men at the crossing to engage in ferrying the immigrants until the traveling Mormon groups should reach them. As was the usual manner of the Mormons, President Young held a council with the Twelve and called nine men on a mission to stay and operate the ferry, the profits to be divided equally among those nine.\textsuperscript{5} Also, as was characteristic of Young, the man left in charge was he who knew most about water, Thomas Grover, and the other eight were chosen for some special talent which would be necessary to the ferry's success. Of these Luke Johnson\textsuperscript{6} was a physician and dentist, Appleton Harmon was a machinist and carpenter, and James Davenport was a master blacksmith.

In his journal Appleton says of his appointment:

It was decided that I should be one that should stay here to run the ferry until the next company should come up to this date I have had the amount of 75 lbs of bread stuff of Heber C. Kimball... those that were appointed to stay with the ferry were called to gather by Prest. Young... and

\textsuperscript{4}Appleton's Journal, p. 282. See also Journal History, 15 June 1847.

\textsuperscript{5}Clayton's Journal, p. 243.

\textsuperscript{6}LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890 (Glendale, Calif: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938), p. 125. Hereafter referred to as Hafen & Young, Fort Laramie.
received some verbal instructions as all so an instrument of writing which contained the following which was read to us & we sanctioned and agreed to it.\(^7\)

The instructions carried some advice on their conduct towards each other and the captain left in charge, a rate of ferry charges "being $1.50 per waggon and family if payment is in flour or provisions or $3.00 in cash," to return to Laramie to await further instructions when the ferrying season was over, and "that the Saints were to be ferried across at a fair price with those that could not pay, the ability to be able to pay being decided upon by their own train, were to be carried across for free."\(^8\)

On this note began one of the interesting narratives of Mormon history, but more important to Appleton, it began two summers of employment that would bring in some hard cash and goods at a time when he, like most of the Saints, was hard pressed for both.

It was not long before the camp settled down into a routine almost as monotonous as that of the train. Ferrying, repairing, blacksmithing, hunting for the sustenance of life and then ferrying some more. One thing different, however, was the variety of people that passed their way, the reporting of which gives the historian a

\(^7\)Appleton's Journal, p. 283. For full text of the agreement and a list of those called to operate the ferry see Appendix IV.

\(^8\)Appleton's Journal, p. 285.
good look at the traffic on the Oregon-California trail during these years just prior to the California gold rush. Of course, the bulk of the traffic was provided by the Mormons themselves.\textsuperscript{9}

The dangers of ferrying were not to be underrated as attested by Appleton's entry for the 19th. "A young man got drowned 5 ms below here by the name of Wesley Tustin aged 18 years while swimming a horse he was not found."\textsuperscript{10}

The first thing the ferriers felt needed to be done was move their location to a more advantageous spot lower down the river in order to undercut another group that had set up below them and who were not willing to negotiate terms advantageous to both.\textsuperscript{11} Two men were sent to reconnoiter their rivals; for exactly what purpose

\textsuperscript{9}Hafen & Young, Fort Laramie, pp. 126, 130. It is estimated that in 1847 between 4000 and 5000 immigrants made their way to Oregon, 1000 went to California and about 2000 Mormons came into the Salt Lake Valley. During the migration season of 1848, however, the tide was definitely turned to Salt Lake with 4000 Mormons making the transcontinental trip, compared to 1,700 destined for Oregon and another 150 for California.

\textsuperscript{10}Appleton's Journal, p. 285. On the 25th Appleton reported: "about 5 o'clock P.M. Brother Higby discovered the body of Wesley J. Tustin floating down the River that was drowned June the 19th... he was interred by Capt. Vaughn there was found in his possession a pocket knife & a dollar and 60¢." Appleton's Journal, p. 287.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 286.
Appleton leaves one to speculate.

Luke Johnson with Edmund Elsworth, went down on the north side to make a more close examination but returned about day light having found it well-guarded & a faithful watchdog.\textsuperscript{12}

The camp was moved. The Saints offered to work in conjunction with the other group but being turned down, they journeyed two miles further down river and set up at another point. Here the competitive spirit of the Yankee, using what was probably the first scenic highway billboard advertisement in western America: "Notice To the Ferry 28 ms. The ferry good & safe maned by experienced men black Smithing horse & ox shoing done all so a wheel right. Thomas Grover."\textsuperscript{13}--placed on Deer Creek Crossing--, was manifest. With this "one-stop convenience" approach the Mormons had soon run their rivals out of business, though not without a price-war fight.\textsuperscript{14}

The wisdom of Brigham Young in having the men sign articles that bound them to follow their assigned leader was manifest from beginning to end. On at least two recorded occasions some of the company came close to refusing to obey orders, while personal feelings were manifest on a number of occasions.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 287.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 288. Appleton reported that Capt. Vaughn's train was met some 8 miles below the Mormon ferry by one of their rivals and was offered their ferry free gratis.
The first problem arose over the need for coal. On the trip between Fort Laramie and their present site on the Platte River, the brethren had noted large outcroppings of coal in one area some 30 miles back. Because of the need of this item for blacksmithing and other purposes, it was decided to send Wm Empey and Steward to bring a wagon load, of which Empey wrote: "Capt. Grover chose to men to go to Deer creek the Distance of 30 miles which was Disagreeable on account of Indians but we went."  

By Saturday the 25th, the advance scouts of the first Mormon group to reach the ferry arrived, and the next day the main party of the sick detachment from the Mormon Battalion, under command of Captain Brown, entered camp. This group remained five days and then departed on the morning of the 30th.

During this period a humorous incident occurred which shows the value of a monopoly in business. On the same day that Capt. Brown's Battalion members arrived a group of immigrants, under a Capt. Saunders, also came, but some of his group, feeling that 75¢ was too much to pay for ferry services, decided to help themselves at the now abandoned ferry upriver. Five days later on the 30th

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15 Ibid., p. 280.
16 Empey's Journal, p. 135. See also Appleton's Journal, p. 286.
17 Ibid., p. 289.
Appleton recorded:

Capt. Saunders Co. or the remainder of it who had refused to give us 75 cts a waggon they have in worked 2 days & got 2 waggons a crost only, & then returned to us & wated until we ferryed 90 waggons that ware a head of them & they paid us $1.00 a waggon for the 12 waggons remaining. 18

It was obvious that experience, as the sign read, was a real advantage if one contrasts the two wagons in two days of the Saunders' Party with the output of the Mormon ferry crew on the first day of July.

We ferryed Capt. F. A. Collards Co. of 18 waggons, Capt. Turpens Co mulkey Pilot of 23 wagons Capt. Elisha Bilwells Co. of 15 wagons & done 12.85 worth of blacksmithing making 56 waggons this day & we ware all very tiard & wanted rest. 19

On the 3rd of July Appleton met the man who was to become one of the great folk heroes of American lore--Jim Bridger--when he arrived at the ferry bearing the following letter from Brigham Young:

"June 29, 1847 Little Sandy
"Mr. Thomas Grover and Company
"We introduce to your notice Mr. James Bridger
who we expected to have seen at his fort he is now
on his way to Fort Laramie we wish you to cross
his & his 2 men on our a count. B. Y." 20

It was his intention at this time to make the trip to Fort Laramie and return in time to lead the Mormons into the

18 Ibid., p. 290.
19 Ibid., p. 291.
20 Ibid.
Salt Lake Valley; however, this never materialized.  

On the same day the Oregon mail arrived in the form of eight men and several pack horses. They had come by way of California and had been on the trail since May 1. Appleton took advantage of the mail to write to his wife and also, at the request of Bro. Grover, wrote a letter to the following Mormon companies informing them of the ferry service that awaited them.

It was quite probable that Appleton's journal was the most accurate being kept, for on the 7th we learn, "I furnished Capt. Magone with the names of the Captains of all the companies & the number of wagons, which he said would be published." To this he added, "there was a catholick Bishop & 7 priest in Capt. Magones Co. 2 of their names were Balchets the other I did not learn."

Ferrying was only one of the ways in which the men at the Platte made money for the common pot to be divided by all. Brother Davenport was kept so busy at the forge with his blacksmithing that it would appear he seldom, if ever, actually worked at taking people across. Luke Johnson was naturally able, this far from civilization, to do some business as a physician and dentist. Most of

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21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., pp. 291-92.
23 Ibid., p. 292. See the introduction to Empey's Journal.
24 Ibid., pp. 287-89, 291-93, 297.
the time he was called upon to clean teeth, which I would attribute to the fear of the immigrants moving west that there would not be a dentist in their area.  

Appleton's entry for July 9 might serve best to show how the camp was divided up for their daily tasks.

T. Grover, Wm Empey John Higbee & Jonathan Pugmyer worked at Black Smithing setting tyer & I A. M. Harmon put in a exaltree for E. Elsworth, & a hown for l of the emigrants & assisted in putting on tyer & L. Johnson Doctoring & cleaning teeth B. F. Stuart at hearding cattle F M Pumeroy hunting his horse Elsworth & Davenport sick--Done the day a bout $30.00 worth of black-smithing #2-1/2 worth of waggon work $3.00 Doctoring.  

On the 10th Appleton makes a notation that shows clearly that necessity is often the mother of invention and that when necessity if found similarly in the same place one will find inventors independently duplicating each other at about the same time. "The Company all togeather bought about $100.00 worth of goods of Mr. H. Quelling a Quaker.--he had a Rhoadometer on 1 of his Waggons." The next day the men ferried what was probably their most unusual load across the Platte.

We ferryed a nucery of 700 fruit trees they were apple, peach, plump, pair curant graps Raspberry & Cherrys all growing nicely in a clover patch and ware owned by Mr. H. Lieuelling a Quaker from Salem, Iowa.

25 Ibid., p. 293.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
# TABLE I

## LIST OF THE FERRY CROSSINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Captain</th>
<th>No. of Wagons</th>
<th>Pay</th>
<th>Blacksmith</th>
<th>Doctor</th>
<th>Total Wagons</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
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<td>June 23</td>
<td>4 French Trappers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Captain William Vaughn</td>
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<td>Capt. Hodges</td>
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<td>$ 5.50</td>
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<td>June 27</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>5.25</td>
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<td>Pay</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Total Wagons</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 3</td>
<td>James Bridger &amp; Company</td>
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<td>credit Brigham Young 11 + 1.00 for extra load 1.00</td>
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<td>8 men + pack horses</td>
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<td></td>
<td>to ford. .2 Catholic Bishops</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Capt. White &amp; 50 wagons passed above</td>
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<td>7.50</td>
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By the 11th of July it was obvious that the bulk of the year's traffic had already passed them, and what stragglers there were left could now by-pass them and use the stream's various fords to the north. For this reason Capt. Grover, who with four of the other men had decided to return to their families, called the group together and divided the money they had made between them. The amount came to $60.50 apiece.\(^{29}\) By the 13th Grover was ready to leave, and William Empey was designated as Captain over the remaining men who were Luke Johnson, James Davenport, Herick Glines, John Higbee (who, at the time, was very sick), and Appleton.\(^{30}\)

It was also decided that the camp should be moved upstream a few miles to where there would be better feed for the animals. It would appear that Bro. Davenport felt his obligation under the instrument signed with Brigham Young was no longer in force with the departure of Bro. Grover, for Appleton said:

Brother davenport refused to work and said that if we moved his tools he would not sett them up again to work he told Brother glines that if he went to work he would hire a man.\(^{31}\)

This phase of Appleton's journal ends on the 16th with the notation that since the move he had become an

\(^{29}\)Appleton's Journal, p. 294.

\(^{30}\)Ibid.

\(^{31}\)Ibid.
apprentice to Bro. Davenport so that he might learn the blacksmith trade. For the remaining few weeks while the men awaited the last company of Saints to pass so they could leave, having successfully completed their mission, one must look to Empey's record for information.

For Appleton the time was spent in hunting and learning the blacksmith trade from Davenport, until he left under strained circumstances. It appears the rift between Davenport and Empey had widened to the point where Davenport had decided to join a group of immigrants returning East, which necessitated a division of the money and brought on a final ugly row between the two. Appleton, as clerk, was called upon to read the amount earned since Grover left, it being $29.85 not including $4.00 that had been earned that day, and it was agreed that Davenport should keep. "Bro. Davenport was not willing to Do so saying that was robing him of his earnings & he would not stay with such people." To make it more palatable, Higbee bought his cow, Appleton some salt that he did not need and Luke Johnson his trunk, but he still went off the next day dissatisfied, refusing to take 50¢ that would have made the division equal.

By this time idleness and homesickness had combined

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33 Ibid., p. 142.
34 Ibid.
to bring the men into melancholy watchfulness, knowing each day that the long-awaited wagontrain had to arrive and relieve them of their exile in the wilderness. On Sunday, July 25, 1847, unbeknown to them, one day after the Pioneer company entered the Salt Lake Valley, Empey expressed the feeling in the camp as:

this day passed of verry Lonesome as we can get no news of or from the Long expected co of our Breathing & the matter for journalism is rather scarce of this Day unless I sould record the expresshions of anxiety now & then dropped from the breathering of the Long looked for appearence of our comp from Winter Quarters. 35

By August 1 he recorded:

we begin to think that Some acident has happened our Brethren that they Do not Come for when we stopped here we Supposed 3 or 4 weeks at the outside would bring them here... Like the fall of the cold nights and cold high winds we feel verry Lonesome today in a barren wilderness several hundred miles from any in habitance but the wild men of the forest and all kinds of wild Animals roaring at Knight time. 36

One is left to wonder from this point as to the feeling, conflicts and problems that faced these men until the arrival of the pioneer train on August 18, more than two months after they had expected them. 37

Under the circumstances most young men who had been away from their wives and newborn for almost half a

36 Ibid., p. 145.
year would have been expected to take the shortest and fastest route back to them, but this was not to be the case with Appleton. It would be almost another half-year before he would once again hold his Elmeda and shake his father's hand at their temporary home on the banks of the Missouri.

There are two stories as to why Appleton decided to sign on as blacksmith at Fort Laramie during the winter of 1847-48—either one, or both, of which could be true. The first was that he saw it as a golden opportunity to make some much-needed cash for next year's migration to the new mountain home of the Saints with his newly-acquired skill.\(^{38}\) The second reason was that Brigham Young, intending to try and make Fort Laramie a half-way stop for the Saints by buying it, wanted an able man at the Fort to ascertain the possibilities as well as aid any couriers or other Saints that may pass by during the winter, and had thus ordered Appleton to tarry at the Fort during the winter.\(^{39}\)

For whatever the reason, Appleton, after having been offered $300.00 per year for his work, could write in

\(^{38}\)Appleton's Journal, p. 15.

\(^{39}\)Journal History, 28 August 1848, and Hafen & Young, Fort Laramie, p. 131. Knowing the way in which Brigham Young usually tried to gain as many facts about a situation before he made a move to put it into action, it would not at all be unbelievable for him to have directed Appleton to remain at Fort Laramie during the winter of 1847-48.
his journal:

Having during our impatient wait at the ferry used the tools coals and Iron that would have other wise laid idle. And by so doing acquired a practical knowledge Sufficient to enable me to take Charge of the work at the fort and on the 8th of Sept Commenced and worked until the first of March 1848.40

Unbeknown to Appleton, a tragedy in his life was also taking place at about this same time, for on the 20th of September, 1847, his son, Appleton Milo, Jr. died. 

". . . and now there were three of our people buried in the little hill on the west side of the Missouri river back of Winter Quarters."41

Of the winter spent by Appleton at Fort Laramie almost nothing is known, for he did not keep a journal, and in later years he seemed only to recall some instances on the trip back to Winter Quarters in March. In the Journal History there is one reference made during Brigham Young's return trip to Winter Quarters where Appleton is mentioned.

At the Fort we found Appleton M. Harmon who had hired out there for the winter to work at blacksmithing for $25.00 per month. He informed us that the ox teams had left here on Monday last, (referring undoubtedly to the trouble-wrecked troup of which William Clayton was a member) and that they had been somewhat detained at the ferry on the North Fork owing to the fact that eighteen of their horses had been stolen by the indians; thirteen of them, however, were recovered.42

40 Appleton's Journal, p. 15.
41 Elmeda's Story, p. 5.
42 Journal History, 24 September 1847.
On the first day of March, 1848, Appleton left Fort Laramie in the company of C. Ligoness and C. Jackson. Traveling on fast Indian ponies and carrying only a small amount of coffee to go with whatever game they could bring down along the route, they crossed the prairie in record time. They crossed the Platte, sometimes on ice and sometimes in the water up to their armpits dodging ice, and stopped briefly at the Ogalallah Indian village where Appleton traded his pony for a stronger one and were here joined by a mountain man headed East.

Their only problem developed when, as Appleton put it:

At the head of Grand Island we fell in with a band of Pawne Indians who after begging of us all that our generosity would allow forced from us every thing that we could git along with out (as they thought) and then it was with the skin of our teeth that we got off with our horses.  

After parting with his companions who were heading for Belview, he recorded of his homecoming on March 28:

...found my people all well and my wife at her fathers as soon as she saw me began to weep looked for the cause I could not see the little boy and on enquirey was told that he was dead.

This was undoubtedly one of those occasions when a faith in the Lord was of great comfort to both Elmeda and Appleton.

43 Appleton's Journal, p. 16.
44 Ibid., p. 17.
CHAPTER VIII

A HOME AT LAST

The time of personal grief, like all other things in the lives of a frontier immigrant, was short so as to accommodate the necessities of preparation for the trip west. Harmon's work of the previous summer and winter had left him in fair financial condition to prepare for the ordeal which lay ahead. He wrote:

I went into Missouri as far as the town of Oregon and purchased a load of wheat and got it ground at Mr. Holister's Mill on the road. I got some groceries, tea. In fact I procured a fit out for one year of groceries, clothing etc.¹

When this was added to the livestock and other personal possessions that he had already accumulated at Winter Quarters, he was in a better position to undertake the journey that lay ahead than were most of the Saints. As always, however, Appleton felt it was his responsibility to aid his father and his family, as well as his in-laws, so much of his time during the month and half he was at Winter Quarters was spent in securing provisions, wagons and stock with which they could make the journey.

Although the Mormons were obviously only temporary

¹Appleton's Journal, p. 17.
residents in the State of Iowa their vote in the election of 1848 was sought by both the Whigs and Democrats. As Jesse and Appleton were both interested in politics they took time out from their busy schedule to cross over the river on the 27th of March to attend a political rally with the other leading citizens, including Brigham Young, where some local Whig committeemen decrying the treatment of the Saints in Illinois vowed to make amends once they were in office.  

By election time, however, Appleton, with many of his brethren, were well on their way to the Great Salt Lake Valley. He wrote: "got a good team 2 oxen 3 cows 2 heifers 2 chickens 1 pig 1 horse; my wife and Self started from Winter Quarters June 4th 1848."  

With somewhat of a note of relief, Elmeda reported:

Father Jesse Harmon had quarreled with his plural wife and she her family were left at Winter Quarters. The last time I saw her she was wearing Mother Harmon's dress and shawl.

Thus ended her first encounter with polygamy.

Appleton soon joined the camp under the leadership of

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1 \textit{Journal History}, 27 March 1848. Whether for this reason or because he liked the war hero, Zachary Taylor, Brigham Young threw the Mormon vote to the Whigs helping to elect the national ticket, but as the Democrats won on the state level the Mormons once again found themselves in political trouble. Nels Anderson, \textit{Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier of Utah} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 78.

2 \textit{Appleton's Journal}, p. 17. A margin note in Elmeda's handwriting tells that the pig had come as a small thing with them from Nauvoo and was by this time big enough to be harnessed and used to help pull.

3 \textit{Elmeda's Story}, p. 5. See footnote 12, Chapter IV.
of Apostle Heber C. Kimball and was placed in the company of sixty wagons under Isaac Higbee. His brothers, Amos and Ancil, were hired to drive a team for Brother Kimball and Appleton was assigned the task of chief hunter, which meant he must also divide the game brought into camp. All, however, was not perfect, for upon occasions setbacks were bound to occur in a trip such as this. Within a week of departing Winter Quarters Appleton wrote: "My fathers cow died one week out from winter quarters and this weakened our team some." In line with his duties of chief hunter Appleton had some interesting encounters with the animals that were supposed to be hunted but which, upon occasion, became the hunters.

One day while in a chase had wounded a large buffalo and on approaching to near to the animal he charged with great velocity at my companion while I stood trying to shoot, my companion at the quickness of thought jumped behind a tree, and then the dodging to keep the pine sapling between them; after 2 or 3 desperate but fruitless attempts to come in contact with my companion, he ran off and when on an extensive plain turned round and shook his head at us, as much as to say come on where there is a plenty of space room, but this we were not anxious for and came of and left him.

On another occasion near the Sweetwater Mountains Appleton faced another difficult time while supplying the

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5 Appleton's Journal, p. 18.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 19.
camp's meat.

I went with 5 or 6 others after tramping until the sun began to approach toward the Western Horizon we discovered the object of our Search namely a band of buffalo, we then cast lots which 2 of us should go and commence an assault. It fell to myself and Ira Spalding. . . Succeeded in getting with in rifle shot we then commenced our attack rifle shots took affect the wounded animal ran a few yards and stopped and we had to wait for him to die. . . We then dressed the buffalo took each of us a back load and Started for our Camp and the Sun went behind one of the grey granate range of the Sweet Water Mts. . . the little starts grew bright and twinkled in the distance, the moon cold and pale was watched as it began to sink behind those rugged peaks that a short time previous had concealed the King of day. . . time we were taking what proved to be a circuitous route. as we passed a long the Hard beaten trails of the Buffalo the Smell of the fresh meat caused the wolves to howl and follow on our tract. We after clambering over one or two raged cliffs and long! long! walk at last came in Sight of our Camp fires and after 2 hours smart walking came tired to our camp about 2 o'clock in the morning and I had 40 lbs of good beef for my day and nights work.8

Elmeda was with child again and having a rough time on the road because of the fare. She wrote: "food, cooked over fires made of buffalo chips would be seasoned with the manure I would vomit it up and try and try again to enjoy the rough fare."9 Even in this condition with the road long and her physical feelings almost unbearable she still could look with interest and amusement on some of the Indians encountered along the way. While traveling near the Platte River she recorded:

8Ibid., p. 20.

9Elmeda's Story, p. 5.
A band of Indians came to our camp they were always begging for food and watching a chance to steal a horse or ox. They were given as much as we could spare for it was wisdom to keep on friendly terms with them. I noticed a fine looking indian evidently the chief talking to my husband counting on his fingers as tho offering something in a swap or trade, my husband kept shaking his head no--no. Afterwards he told me the Chief wanted to buy me offering him twenty ponies for me.10

In describing the Indian's dress Elmeda recalled:

What little clothing they wore was buckskin. Some were entirely naked excepting a breek clout or loin cloth. I noticed a little black eyed indian boy about three years old entirely naked excepting a bright red ribbon tied around his pee pee.11

By now the trail was well-known and almost as well traveled. The camp moved without any unusual happenings until they encountered a severe snowstorm near Pacific Springs on the 3rd of September, which caused their cattle to wander about 12 miles away. Luckily they were retrieved without any loss.12

Because of fatigue many of the teams had been reduced by this time, and the oxen and cattle were dying in increasing numbers, including one of Elmeda's father's, which rendered it impossible for him to continue on. Fortunately Brigham Young's farsightedness caused teams to be sent out from the Valley and all were safely brought in.13

10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Appleton's Journal, p. 22.
13 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
Seventeen months from the time he had first left Winter Quarters to help the Pioneer company seek out a new home in the wilderness, Appleton finally saw what was to become that home.

After a Journey of one hundred and twelve days we about 11 o'clock A.M. on Sunday the 24th of September 1848 emerged from Emigration Canion into the open valley, which opened to the right and left in the Bright Sunshine. . . The breathing that ware thare bade us welcome to our home. all looked beautiful God like handsome & cheerfull. 14

Sunday or not, the women reacted to their new home as women often do. Elmeda wrote: "Camped on Pioneer Square. As soon as we were camped we women of the company got our kettles of water hot and went to washing our dirty clothes." 15

Elmeda's brother, Briant, had been in the Valley since July 24, 1847 and by the time of their arrival had completed a small home on the corner lot of East Temple and Second South Street where he was able to house his parents and their family and materially help his sister's family. 16 Since the season was so far advanced, and a supply of food to last through the winter was carried into the valley in the wagons. Appleton turned his immediate attentions to the building of a shelter to protect them from the cold winter.

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14Ibid., p. 24.

15Elmeda’s Story, p. 5.

16Briant Stringham, p. 33. Eventually the entire block 57 Plot A was taken up with the homes of the Stringhams' and Harmons'. Although Appleton's name does not show in the County Records Office he died owning part of this property.
local hills his small home was ready for occupancy by the 1st of December. This was none too soon for on January 16, 1849 Elmeda gave birth to her second son, Briant Harmon.17

The winter turned into a long, bitter affair, and the year's supply for the Harmons soon dwindled, as did everyone else's. Of this time Appleton wrote:

The number of emigrants that came into the valley the fall before was greater than the amount of provisions brought or raised, consequently a great Scarcity prevailed through all the settlements at one time an inventory of all the Bread stuffs was taken which amounted to about 10 oz. per fed per day until the harvest.18

During this time Appleton spent his time making furniture for his own use and the needs of his neighbors.19

The previous September Appleton had drawn out on a ten-acre lot outside the city, in the area now called Sugarhouse, that was to be used for farming purposes.20 Thus in March when winter broke and the first signs of spring began to appear, Appleton, with other hard-pressed Mormons immediately began to plow and sow. Of this he recorded:

I sowed a small piece of wheat planted a garden and commenced the opening of a ten acre lot for a future farm.21

17Appleton's Journal, p. 24. See also Elmeda's Story, p. 5.
18Ibid.
19Elmeda's Story, p. 5.
20Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, Vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1943), p. 305. This lot is shown in the Salt Lake County Records Office in the Pioneer Plot Book, Plot B. 23-24 as ten acre Plot 29 Block 3 lot.
21Appleton's Journal, p. 25.
With the coming of a new immigrant season the brethren thought it would be wise for the Mormons to again operate a ferry on the Upper Platte River where one had been established in 1847. As a result Appleton and nine others were called to re-open the ferry, and so on May 3rd he started the 380-mile trip back to the Platte River crossing.\footnote{Ibid.}

While on this trip from Great Salt Lake City to the ferry site the group fell in with a party of Crows and traveled together some distance. While passing from Independence Rock to Willow Springs they came upon some buffalo and needing meat, they set out from camp to re-supply their larder. Here Appleton, the hunter, learned an Indian trick that could have saved him many hard miles previously.\footnote{See footnote 8 above.}

One of the expert ones seemed to take the lead charged upon a herd and run them until the fattest ones began to lag behind then selected his choice, & prohibited everyone to fire at it until he gave the signal. They chased the cow to the road and to the very place where we were to camp then gave the signal when a shower of arrows & musketry was poured into the fatigued animal.\footnote{Appleton's Journal, p. 26.}

Before separating, Appleton and the other men engaged in some trading with the Indians, which was as usual, to the white man's advantage. When all but Bro. D. M. Hambleton had started on and rounded a hill out of sight, the Indians pulled him from his horse, gave him an old quiver
with a bow and arrows saying in broken English, "swap, swap." By the time he had caught up with the rest on foot, the Indians were too far gone to give chase, and so on at least one occasion, the Indian got the best deal in a trade with a Yankee.  

Little is recorded by Appleton about the summer's work, but apparently the migration must have been heavy, for by the last of July when the river had been lowered to a fordable depth, he recorded: "we having earned and divided $646.50 cts. to each of us (total then was $5818.50) we bought each of us a waggon and oxen to draw it and Started to the valley."  

While returning home Appleton was taken so sick that even after being administered to by the brethren he was still unable to drive his team for four days. He arrived back in the valley August 15 with eight oxen, four cows, a new wagon and a good amount of money to show for his summer's work.

For the fall and early winter Appleton made himself busy by:

... cutting some hay... harvesting then went to the Canion got some lumber... butchering with Briant Stringham... I layed the foundations of a house hired some masons and set them to work while I kept Butchering and doing the Joiner work for the House.

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 27.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
The house was built in the 13th Ward on Second South just north of where the Wilson Hotel now stands. The butcher shop, which was supposedly the first in Salt Lake City, was located on the corner of Second South and Main Street.

In February of 1850 the long-brewing storm between the settlers, who had been sent to the Utah Valley to establish a community and fort on the banks of the Provo River, and the Timpanogos Utes, who had traditionally owned the land erupted. Like so many wars before and after, this one was caused by a mounting of tensions over a long period of time, and was ignited by an insignificant happening—the theft of a shirt.

About the first of August, 1849, three of the settlers, Richard A. Ivie, Y. Rufus Stoddard, and Jerone Zabriskie met an Indian in the field near the fort, called "Old Bishop". . . Ivie claimed the hickory shirt the Indian was wearing was his; stated that it be given up. "Old Bishop" refused to give it up saying that he bought it. They tried to take it from him by force. He drew his bow and in defense Stoddard shot him through the head, killing him instantly. Deciding to keep it a secret and fearing the results, the body was dragged to the river, weighted with rocks and sunk to the bottom.

It was not long before the body was discovered and the guilty parties uncovered by the Indians, whereupon they demanded that they be turned over to them for justice. When

28 Ibid.
29 Briant Stringham, p. 33.
30 Elmeda's Story, p. 6.
the colonists refused both this and, in lieu of payment, cows, the Indians commenced to kill the colonists' livestock whenever possible.\textsuperscript{32}

Although President Young tried to preserve peace, tension mounted with each new incident until by December the colonists could not leave the fort even for wood and water without being fired upon by the Utes.\textsuperscript{33} By February, 1850 it was obvious that war could not be averted and so on the 2nd Brigham Young called together a meeting of the militia officers and leading citizens at the Bowery in Salt Lake, to discuss the matter of how best to pursue the war. By the 6th a body of one hundred men including Appleton were on their way to Fort Utah.\textsuperscript{34}

Of this Appleton wrote:

In February 1850 the Utah Indians commited some depredations stole some cattle in Utah Valley and became so troublesome that it was thought best to Chastise them. accordingly a company of one Hundred men was selected to go to Utah for that purpose.\textsuperscript{35}

The battle itself lasted only about five days and resulted in the loss of one man, Joseph Higbee, eleven

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{32}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 110.
\textsuperscript{35}Appleton's Journal, pp. 27-28. In the typed copy by Hamilton Gardner, the militia raised at this time, shows an A.M. Harmon among those who received pay from February 4-19. Hamilton Hardner, Utah Territorial Militia (typed manuscript in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City). (Microfilmed, Brigham Young University, 1959), 979 #27, pp. 161-62.
\end{flushright}
wounded and the loss of seven horses. The Indians, on the other hand, lost about forty lives, including all their chiefs but one, and the rest of their tribal warriors scattered. The women and children were taken into protective custody by the militia and many were taken into local homes and raised. 36

It often appears in war that women suffer to a greater extent emotionally than do men. Adversity had, however, trained Elmeda to accept the fear of the unknown with an outward appearance, at least of calm and resignation.

When we learned of one of the men being killed by the Indians, Joe Higbee by name. We women who had husbands with the expedition washed and ironed our husbands clothes to be ready for a burial in case they too should loose their lives in the conflict. 37

Appleton and the rest returned after sixteen days.

With the Indian menace stopped, and his house now ready for occupancy Appleton was able to take life easy for a few days and prepare for the spring planting. As was true the year before, supplies were meager with the Saints subsisting on meat from their cattle and milk from the cows. 38 This did not seem to trouble the Harmons much.

I felt happy. I had a good affectionate wife, a promising young son. A Comfortable House. A little farm. A good Stock of cattle. in the Church of Christ, Settled in the Garden of the World. A

36Ibid., pp. 28-9. For a complete report by Appleton of the war see Appendix V.

37Elmeda's Story, p. 6.

38Ibid.
Seculded retreat in the Mountains of Ephrim, was one of the Seventies, chosen as a Special witness to the Nations, to preach the gospel of Christ to the meek and lowly.

Before us ley the prospect of growing up with the Settlement and to share with the prosperity of the new Colony, the Country bounding with all the Natural advantages, necessary for the Building of a city and extensive Settlement. 39

So with such a bright prospect ahead and seeing opportunities on every hand to build up his estate in the mountains of Zion, Appleton looked forward to the spring conference in April, little dreaming that he was destined to build up the Kingdom of God instead, on a faraway isle in the sea.

CHAPTER IX

HELPING TO BUILD ZION ABROAD

Springtime in the mountain stronghold of the Saints was traditionally heralded by a general conference of the Church to which all, including Appleton and Elmeda, looked forward with great anticipation. The words of counsel and advice were succor to the soul, and it was always interesting to see what new positions and assignments were to be filled, especially who might be called to carry the gospel to foreign lands. Interesting that is, unless you might happen to be one of those called.

For a second time Elmeda recorded in her story:

When much to our surprise and regret Appleton was called to go to England on a mission. He made me and our baby as comfortable as possible which was poor at best, and left us in my mothers care and departed April 19th.¹

In the time between the conference on the 8th of April when Appleton had the "first intimation" of his assignment, and his departure date on the 19th of April, he had to attend meetings in the home of Brigham Young where he was set apart by Pres. Young, Heber C. Kimball, Ezra T. Benson and

¹Elmeda's Story, p. 6. See also Journal History, 8 April 1850.
Newell K. Whitney and received a blessing under the hand of his father, Jesse,² sow some wheat and plant a garden for the well-being of his family, and prepare his own goods for the trip.³

It is apparent that Appleton and the other missionaries chosen to accompany him to England were not the only ones who felt the need for words of encouragement at this sudden change that had come into their lives, for on the 12th Elmeda received her patriarchal blessing under the hands of John Smith, which said in part, "Thy name is written in the Lambs book of Life if is thy privilege to have the ministering of angels to comfort thine heart in the absence of thy companion and others."⁴

Appleton was now participating in his fourth trip across the continent and so with the exception of the deep snow, which lay in the canyons of the Wasatch Mountains and had to be shoveled for some miles in order to move the teams,⁵ the trip should have been uneventful.⁶

²Appleton's Journal, pp. 31-2. See also Journal History, 13 April 1850.
³Ibid., p. 33.
⁴From the unpublished original in the possession of Mildred K. Armstrong. Recorded in the Patriarchal Record Book, p. 89, no. 190.
⁵Appleton's Journal, p. 40.
⁶See Appendix VI for those making the trip with Appleton. See also Journal History, 19 April 1850.
however, was not to be the case. There were rivers to be crossed at high flood.

Hams fork of green river which was full banks and dashed past its fierce current, which looked fearful... we swam our oxen & I waded the stream with a line by means of which I pulled our chains a crost one end being attached to the Waggon tongue.\(^7\)

There were snakes to be dealt with,\(^8\) and even more, and offtime unusual immigrants to be met due to the gold rush.\(^9\)

By the 10th of June they arrived at Ft. Laramie, restocked their provisions, traded their horses and learned that already this early in the immigration season 4,672 waggon with some 2,272 men, women and children had passed.\(^10\) They also began to pursue a little money-making venture when they received $25.00 to carry mail East.\(^11\)

Two days later they encountered the first case of disease that was to ravage the trains of immigrants all along the

\(^7\)Appleton's Journal, p. 41. See also pp. 44 and 55.

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 46.

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 45. Another entry read, "This day we met a hardy Scotch man with his all upon a wheel barrow going to the gold mines, he had travelled this way one thousand miles and felt encouraged with the prospects before him." Ibid., p. 46. See also Journal History, 20 April 1850. Here Brother Campbell refers to the barrel-pusher as a "Paddy", or Irishman.

\(^10\)Ibid., p. 52. Also listed were 14,974 horses, 4,641 mules, 7,471 oxen and 1,953 cows.

\(^11\)Ibid.
trail during the bleak summer of 1850—cholera.\textsuperscript{12} By the 15th he recorded, "We passed many new graves, and several camps, where they were waiting for some of their company that was sick to dy."\textsuperscript{13} And by the 17th the scourge had settled on their company. "I have felt very unwell today Brother Angus also was quite unwell."\textsuperscript{14}

The scourge was met with mixed emotions by the Brethren. In some cases they found in it the providential workings of the Lord reaping his vengence.

A young man came to our camp and on being asked from what state the people came who had most deaths in their companies he replied, "From Missouri and Illinois." These states have murdered and driven the Saints and the Lord is sweeping them off with the cholera.\textsuperscript{15}

On other occasions they found only sorrow and lack of understanding when the indiscriminate reaper is found also cutting down the elect of the Lord.

Met 9 wagons from William Snow's company of one hundred wagons; they reported considerable sickness in their company and seven deaths... camped with L. Whipples company of 26 wagons; three of their number had died. Leonard Hardy's company was close behind 4 dead.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 54.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid. See also Journal History, 20 April 1850.
\textsuperscript{15}Journal History, 29 April 1850.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid. See also Appleton's Journal, p. 58. He reported that there were 62 deaths in the camps of the Saints. See Appendix VII for the names recorded.
Fortunately the hand of death passed the missionary camps with only mild touches of the malady to witness their close contact with the disease. The need for survival seeming always to be the most important thing to man, Appleton could report:

We passed a great number of fresh graves. The occupants of one had come to an untimely resurrection by a gang of Ravishing wolves. They had dug up the corps which was not buryed more than about 2 feet deep, and were feating upon it. the Scent thareof was horid. We passed on and 'left the dead to bury the dead.'

After so many days of death and heartbreak it was with a great feeling of relief that the weary travelers came within the settlements that marked the edge of the civilized states, and here stopped at the first ginger beer shop to celebrate. In a most unmissionary entry (at least by present standards) in his journal, Appleton expressed the feeling of all.

We came to Doctor a. Youngs ginger Beer Shop, as this was the first of the kind that we had come to for the distance of 1040 miles, being the first drinking shop we had seen for two years, we thought we would patronise it, accordingly we walked in, and as he could not wait on us fast anough we helped ourselves to sutch as we liked best, and nearly drinked him dry, while he was trying to keep count but this he was not able to do. thare was too meney of us. when we got readey to Start a purce was handed to him to pay him self out of he did not know how mutch to take but we wated while his conscience streached (for he wanted all that he could see) but we huried him so that he had to choak off at about

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17 Appleton's Journal, p. 56.
$1.50 (which would more than twice pay him.) this was with us alpha and omega. the first and our last Spree.\textsuperscript{18}

After selling their teams and trail equipment the brethren bought new clothes, and after spending several days at Kanesville, Appleton departed for New York where he arrived on the eighth of August, having visited many relatives along the way.\textsuperscript{19}

Here he remained until the 15th, when he sailed on the Lady Franklin for Liverpool, England\textsuperscript{20} where he could reflect:

\ldots the motive that had called us togeather up and leave our homes and brave the dangers of the Sea was different from eny other aboard. \ldots we were the Ambasadors of the Kingdom of God to carry the glad tidings of Great Joy to the ailians of that Kingdom.\textsuperscript{21}

The monotony of routine on the ship was far greater than it had ever been while accompanying the trains across the Plains. Here there was no place to go when in need of solitude, only a limited few people to converse with and worst of all, no duties to keep the hands and minds occupied during the long hours between getting up and going to bed.

\hfill

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., pp. 60-61. See also Journal History, 5 July 1850. This gives a list of names of the men arriving at Kanesville, Iowa Territory.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 70. See also British Mission Journal, 14 August 1850. Typed copy in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City. Hereafter referred to as B.M.J.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 72. See also B.M.J., August 15, 1850.

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., pp. 73-74.
With few exceptions, Appleton's journal runs to a recount of the weather, his seasickness and the few creatures of nature around them. One notable exception was the death of a passenger and his burial at sea.

18 Su. Mr. R. Roach an Irishman died at 1 P.M. with consumption he had come to Sea by the advise of his friends to cure him & it proved a kill. the corps was sewed up in a piece of Canvass, with a weight at the feet, at 4 o'clock the doctor red a creemony and the corps was concind to a watery grave over the lee Bull work.22

On the 24th they were off the Newfoundland Banks.23 "The following day being Sunday some of the passengers request the Elders to hold a meeting as this was accomplished with Bro. William Bruton speaking on the quarter deck."24

Of this occasion Issac Haight wrote:

We had a meeting today. . . it was broken up by a shower of rain. We have a motly crowd of passengers; all but ourselves Irish and English. The Priest are all catholic. We have but little conversation with them, they are poor ignorant beings. There are some representatives of other sects on board and some infidels.25

By the 7th of September they could see the "craggy peaks of the Irish coast,"26 and by the 14th of the month he could say:

22Ibid., p. 77. See also B.M.J., August 18, 1850.

23Ibid.

24Ibid., p. 78.

25B.M.J., August 25, 1850. For other references to the sea voyage in the B.M.J. see September 7, 1850; September 9, 1950; September 11, 1850; September 14, 1850.

26Appleton's Journal, p. 79.
at daylight we weighed anchor and hauled in to
water loo dock And at Sunrise I set my feet on John
Bulls Teryfirmig in Liverpool. . . to 15 walton
Street where we found Br. Pratt and F. D. Richards.27

On the next evening he preached his first sermon and true
to the heritage of most missionaries, it was a "short
short speech: that caused Bro. Pratt to say:

they have commenced in their weekness,
Bretheren you will now go fourth and the Spirit
of your mission will increase with you. . . that
when they shall here you again they will know and
be led to acclaim that the Lord has been with you.28

By the morning of the 19th of September, Appleton,
having been assigned to the Newcastle-on-Tyne Conference,29
was happy to begin the last leg of the journey that would
bring him to the field of labor to which he had been
called almost a half-year before. With only a brief stop­
over in the city of Newcastle he proceeded on to Manchester
where he wanted to attend the semi-annual conference to be
held there during the first week of October. Much to the

27 Ibid., p. 81.

28 Ibid., pp. 82-83. Apparently Appleton learned
well for in his later life he was known to be a strong
public speaker. His son related an experience that will
illustrate this. "A man by the name of Johnson was trying
to get possession of the water to irrigate with, that be­
longed to the people of Holden. The people opposed him and
held a mass meeting in the old school house. I was sitting
in the room near Johnson and father was making a speech
against him. . . Johnson started to arise to answer him
and then sat down and I heard him say, 'thare is no use
bucking that man" and so the people won the case." From
the unpublished paper by Hosea Frank Harmon in the Harmon
Family possession.

29 B.M.J., September 14, 1850. See also Appleton's
Journal, p. 83.
newly-arrived Elder's surprise, the Conference of Newcastle was divided, with the Branches of Carlisle, Dalston, Alston, Brampton and Annon formed into the new Conference of Newcastle over which he was called to preside.\(^{30}\)

The thrill and excitement generated by the mission conference, and the thought of presiding over a newly-organized conference was soon replaced by the realities of mission life in the field without a companion, and in an area much worked-over by previous missionaries that left only inactive branches.

I now find my Self here alone to take charge of a Small Conference. to face a Supersticious world. . . . I found about 60 members or names upon the books of the Carlisle branch. all the people that I could find was about 30 out of the above number. and not all of them had faith enough to bring them to meeting. they ware also poor working people. I soon found that they had little or no influence in Carlisle.\(^{31}\)

This pattern was to be repeated in branch after branch. "I visited Dalston containing 24 members who had been at a dead Stand for 2 years, and no prospects of an increase."\(^{32}\)

And at Brampton: "I found a branch of 23 members in a worse than dying state. . . . all that had aney faith had Emigrated and of the remainder. . . . no enough

\(^{30}\)Ibid., October 5, 1850. See also Appleton's Journal, p. 88.

\(^{31}\)Appleton's Journal, pp. 88-89.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 89.
Spirit to have a meeting once a week." It would seem that the wisdom of the brethren in strengthening the Land of Zion through emigration was having a reverse effect in the mission of England.

The negative prospects of his conference had not dulled Appleton's humor, even if it had dampened his spirit, because of the small group at Annon he could write: "I found them quite similar to the Sectarian god. Without body parts or passions at any rate they are without meetings." 34

By Christmas the prospects to Appleton looked "dark and gloomy", so with a heavy heart he left the district to spend the holiday season with Bro. Higbee at Sutherland. 35 His melancholy feeling caused him to reflect on the last day of the year:

It also closes the fifth year of my married life. During which time I have travelled more than 15,000 miles, for the gospel sake. I was accompanied by my wife 1300 of it only and have been absent from her about 2 years and 4 months ... but with all I find there is a comfort and a consolation in the discharge of my duties. 36

Although there was some little success among the frustration of this time, Appleton came to feel that his time and the Lord's was being wasted in this part of the

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 91.
35 Ibid., p. 93.
36 Ibid., pp. 94-95.
Kingdom; so much so, in fact, that some time during the forepart of March he wrote President Franklin D. Richards:

having done my best to get the work Started and could see no fruit of my labours... the prospects of which I consider to be very discouraging. hoping to get an answer that would tell me how to do.\textsuperscript{37}

Although he does not say so at this time, the answer he hoped for was a transfer to another district which was more productive.

On the 22nd he received another blow to his already-sinking spirits. "Whare I herd of the death of Brother William Burton."\textsuperscript{38} With this and the continued lack of success weighing upon his mind, Appleton ended the month's entry with "a heavey hart as I got no answer from Prest. Richards."\textsuperscript{39}

To Appleton the bleak months of early spring must have been reminiscent of that late summer in 1847 as he and his companions waited on the banks of the Platte River for the slow-moving wagon train some six weeks overdue.\textsuperscript{40} Unlike the feeling he must have experienced when the train

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Ibid.} Because of his strong feeling for Burton, Appleton penned a poem in his memory which can be found in an unpublished booklet in the possession of Ardelle Harmon Ashworth.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{40}See Chapter VII, p. 85.
finally hove into view, he was undoubtedly filled with mixed emotions when the postman arrived on the 20th of April bearing a letter from Brother G. B. Wallace informing him that his plight was to be lifted, not by release, but by the appointment of a group of Elders to aid in the rejuvenation of the area. 41 On the 25th the first Elder, William Budge, 42 arrived, soon to be followed by five others. 43

Early in May, having placed the Brethren in various towns and villages within the district to pursue their labors, Appleton left to attend the mission conference to be held in London. Unfortunately, by this time Brother Harmon's clothes were so threadbare, they being all he could afford since arriving in England, that it was necessary for the congregations along the way to take up collections for him. His needs were helped considerably when the officers of the Council voted to give him a new coat, and a Bro. Godsall, who apparently owned a shoe factory, presented him with new boots. 44 On the 23rd of May he wrote: "got my coat, pants and boots... I write this ginerous act that it never be forgotten." 45

41 Appleton's Journal, p. 103.
42 Ibid., p. 104.
43 Ibid., p. 105. The others assigned were Thomas Wallace, Angus Mc Mellon, John Futon, Thomas Cornwall and David Wilson.
44 Ibid., p. 113.
Appleton arrived in London on the 27th and spent the next ten days filling his almost insatiable curiosity concerning the world around him, as well as filling his spiritual self with the words of counsel and advice from the leaders of the Church from throughout Europe. His visits included the great Exhibition, Crystal Palace, London Bridge and Tower, Thames Tunnel, British Museum and the White Tower. With each he has given a good description as well as a historical background. What was probably the exhibit of most interest to Appleton was the one he saw on his last day just before leaving. "I had a fine walk to Buckingham Palace and thence to a Panarema of an over-land to Great Salt Lake, Oregon and California."\(^{46}\) The reaction of one who had made the actual trip four times must have been amusing.

The conference itself was spiritually uplifting to one who had felt so adversely disposed in his own missionary labors, and his attitude and bearing were much changed when he left London to return to Carlisle. Unfortunately things had not improved during his absence and thus it was not long before he again felt the need of a change if he were to feel his time was being well spent in the service of the Lord. Again he sought advice from President Richards even while continuing his efforts.

Sometimes the preaching of the Gospel not only left

\(^{46}\) Ibid., pp. 116-125.
the crowd hot or cold, but on occasion, fighting.

As the time came (for meeting) a congregation assembled, and with them a number of Irish, Catholic Rowdies who disturbed the meeting, broke some forms, and became so boisterous that Br. Robins could not be herd . . . I was determined not to be broken off.

As soon as they saw my determination they commenced their pow wow, their hub bub, their hooting and holloring. I raised my voice and continued to be herd amid the hub bub of 50 or more voices of this tumultuous rabble. They soon cooled down. I came up victorious. . . dismissed the meeting, the Saints went away. The Irish continued the row, then came the tearing of coats, the knocking out of teeth, the breaking of Forms, etc. 47

Although the branches were growing and baptisms were increasing the old feeling of an unproductive mission again settled on Appleton, and he again petitioned President Richards for a change of assignment. Much to his happiness and surprise, he received from Bro. Richards the following communication during the first week of September. "He gave me permission to return to any conference in the Kingdom that I desired to recruit myself until he should give me another field of labor." 48 He quickly chose to work with his old companion from the trip across the Plains, Robert Campbell, who was then laboring in Glasgow, Scotland, and immediately began his preparations to leave the conference for good, or at least so he thought.

It was on the 28th of October, 1851 that one gets

47 Ibid., p. 130.
48 Ibid., p. 136.
the first inkling of an event that happened almost a year previously—"January 21, 1851, our third son Willis Milton Harmon was born,"—when Appleton wrote in his journal, "Got a letter from home with a lock of hair from each of the boys and my wife."^49

Glasgow seemed a good remedy for the doldrums into which Appleton had slipped during the first two-thirds of his mission. Here he seemed to catch the spark of the work that had been dimmed by his first encounter with the ebbing spirit of the old weak members of the Carlisle Conference. Although his speaking had been powerful, the baptisms numerous under the circumstances, and the branches strengthened and put under strong leadership, it was not until his move to Glasgow, however, that the feeling grew within himself that he was a good missionary. By the middle of November the period of shoring up was brought to an end when he received his new assignment from President Richards. "You are hereby appointed to take the pastoral charge of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Hull and the Carlisle Conferences."^51 Although the battleground was to be the same the fighter was entirely renewed.

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^49 Elmeda's Story, p. 6.


During this period of the building of what he believed to be the Lord's Kingdom, the two most important statistics in a missionary's life were the baptism and emigrations they were responsible for. As a measure of Appleton's success it would be well at this point to trace these records as shown in the Millennial Star for most of the time that Appleton was in England.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Emigrated</th>
<th>Baptised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1-Dec. 1, 1850</td>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1, 1850-June 1, 1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1, 1851-Dec. 31, 1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1, 1852-June 1, 1852</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2, 1852-Dec. 31, 1852</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1851-June 1852</td>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1852-Dec. 1852</td>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1851-June 1852</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1852-Dec. 1852</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An interesting point to one who recalls Appleton's feeling of despair during the early part of his mission is the continued increase of baptisms in the Carlisle District. When comparing his districts with others in England during the same period one would have to conclude that he was very successful for one laboring in a previously well-worked area.

Appleton concluded his journal for the year still located in the Carlisle area and wishing farewell to an old friend who was emigrating that year, as well as reflecting back upon his own accomplishments.

I went with Br. Higbee to purchase a suit of clothes and thus ended the year 1851. My rambling

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52 B.M.J. See under dates listed for each figure. This does not include the people he baptised during his labors in Scotland.
has been great for the past year, yet my labours greatly scattered, yet I can look back and see that they have been effectual in strengthening the Saints and bringing a good number into the church. 53

The year 1852 was taken up with much traveling in the three districts over which he had been called to serve. By March at the District Conference held in Newcastle, the following report was read with much pleasure to all.

... that 46 had been baptised during the Quarter, and that the whole were in good standing but a few... during the quarter thare had been paid to the different funds acording to the following for conference purposes; for the P. E. Fund (Perpetual Emigration), for the Temple, for Elder Wallace, for Elder Carn L 4.5.0. 54

It is obvious that Appleton was pleased with the progress of the work being carried on in this part of the Kingdom.

It was with a much lighter heart and brighter outlook that he received word from President Richards that he and Brother Curtis were to attend the special council meeting to be held in London on the 6th of April. 55

Appleton arrived in London on April 4 and spent the days prior to the opening of conference seeing those sights that he had missed before. It was well that he did, for the conference hours were so long that he did not

53 Appleton's Journal, p. 159.
54 Ibid., p. 168.
55 Ibid., p. 170.
have time to do much more in his journal than record their length.

April 6th Tuesday—Met at 23 Radcliffe Tarace. . . . at 10 o'clock. . . . and continued with only one hour's intermission until 8 P.M. April 7 W. Council opened at 10 A.M. one hour's intermission and closed at 9 P.M. April 8th. Council opened at 10 su. one hour intermission. Closed at 9-1/2 P.M. April 9. F. Council opened at 10 A.M. one hour intermission. Closed between 3 and 4 o'clock Saterday morning. . . .

During this conference President F. D. Richards was re-

leased. Of the conference Appleton stated:

We had much valuable instructions, which will long be remembered as the minutes are to be printed. I shall not write any more at present than to say that before breaking up we had bread and wine until our hearts were glad and rejoiced exceedingly.

On his 32nd birthday on the 29th of May his spirit in the work and his place in life seem to radiate, when he wrote: "This day I am 32 years old. My weight is 250 lbs my height 6 feet 2 inches, location Sunderland England. My occupation a preacher of the Gospel." And then, as if for an added birthday gift, the following day he received a letter from his wife letting him know all are well including his father who had passed a bad winter.

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56 Ibid., pp. 172-73.
57 B.M.J., April 6, 1862.
59 Ibid., p. 179.
60 Ibid.
The summer passed as had the winter, with Appleton traveling much, exhorting the Elders, counseling the members, arbitrating differences, collecting monies for the various funds of the Church, and in general, acting as the good shepherd should over his flock so far away from his mountain home. But like all shepherds, he yearned down inside to return to the loved ones from whence he came. On the 13th of July he wrote to President S. W. Richards requesting permission to return home during the coming emigration season. Like all dedicated missionaries, he continued on with the task at hand, while he waited for a reply to his inquiry. That it was on his mind is evident from a letter written to his wife late in September.

I could not give her a definite answer about my returning this winter and that in case she did not get another communication from me this winter she must write two letters in the spring, one to England the other one to St. Louis.

By November the uncertainty had become almost more than Appleton could bear. At this point a direct no would have been as well received as the complete lack of communication that seemed to surround the subject of his requested release.

I have felt deprest in spirits all day. One thing which has weighed upon my mind is the

\[61\text{Ibid., p. 191.} \]
\[62\text{Ibid., p. 207.} \]
Suspence which I am in about returning... my letter to Prest. S.W.R. not answered at all. 63

On the 19th of November the long-awaited word finally arrived. "Dear Bro. Yours of the 4th inst is before me & I have to say after considering the propriety of your emigrating the coming Season that you will have my approbation and blessing." 64 The only two tasks that now lay before him was to prepare his District so as to have it financially and spiritually ready for whomever was to relieve him and, secondly, to prepare himself for the long journey back to his home.

The hardest part of these last days was the farewell visits to the many branches where there were so many people that had been baptised into the Church, or been reactivated by Appleton's direct efforts. These were often tearfilled and emotionally moving experiences, but in Carlisle where his first memories were bitter ones the leave-taking was on a more somber note.

bid farewell forever to the City of Carlisle and as I believe the larger part of the people for it is hardly probable that they will meeny of them ever follow to the home of the Saints. 65

Upon returning from his farewell round of the branches on January 5, Appleton found a letter from

63 Ibid., p. 221.
64 Ibid., p. 223.
65 Ibid., p. 229.
President Richards informing him of his scheduled sailing for New Orleans on the 11th. With much regret the time would not allow him to make the sailing, and so it was not until the 22nd of January that he boarded the ship, Golconda, for his return to the United States.

As the Golconda was still in the river on the 24th Appleton went ashore to obtain some last-minute items he felt were going to be needed.

Went on shore and got my wife a new dress, a bag full of bread, and a jog of ale, returned to the ship and had to pay a shilling to get on board, then had to climb up the side of the ship by a rope and broke the jug and spilt the ale, but then I had a bottle of porter left, so there is no bad luck but there is some small gain.

As they sailed with the next tide this was Appleton's last farewell to his land of labor—England.

As was usual with the large numbers of Saints emigrating during this period, an official organization was established to aid them in cleanliness and spirituality. Jacob Gates was appointed President with C. V. Spencer and Appleton as his councilors. The group was then divided into seven divisions with a captain over each. John Carmichael was appointed Sergeant of the guard and 4 men under his command stood watch at all times during the night. Commissaries were William Speakman and William

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66 Ibid., p. 235.


68 Ibid., p. 238.
Nostrom whose job it was to dole out the weekly rations to the various divisions.\(^69\)

This trip from England to New Orleans was slightly more eventful than the trip had been while coming across. On the 24th, while still in the harbor, Appleton had sealed in marriage John Petrie to Margaret Yorston. Babies were born to Sister Anthony, Sister Morley, Sister Sarah Webb, and Sister Kennish, but Sister Anthony's died soon after, as did the infant daughter of Bro. Spriggs, whose wife had died at Liverpool the day of embarkation. On the 5th Elder Gates married Francis Peay to Eliza Jane Baker.\(^70\) It seemed to be a typical Mormon migration with the mixture of a little sorrow to a large portion of happiness.

One thing that did not change were the problems Appleton encountered with the Irish. On one occasion Appleton recorded:

One of the Irish emigrants was detected this morning as the thief who stole 14 lbs. of ship beef. . . captain sentenced him to be lashed to the rigging of the ship. . . where he remained from 10 o'clock until after dark.\(^71\)

By March 2 the ship was in sight of the Island of Jamaica and on the 7th they entered the Gulf of Mexico where, after four days more, they dropped anchor at the

\(^{69}\) Ibid.

\(^{70}\) Ibid., p. 241.

\(^{71}\) Ibid., p. 242.
mouth of the Mississippi River, and much to the unhappiness of all, this was as close as they would come to the shore of America for twelve days, waiting for the fog to lift and a tug to take them into the harbor.\textsuperscript{72}

In December, when first learning of his release, Appleton's attention had immediately turned to the needs of his family. In a letter he wrote to Elmeda it was quite evident that the missionary had reverted in spirit to the family man.

I shall want you to write to me at St. Louis as I told you before and mention all the little things that you want I should bring you and if I can't get them there is no harm done, and if I can I shall have the necessary information to enable me to get what will please you. . . . I feel as if I had been away from home about 10 years. . . . and two little boys, tell them I shall bring them some new shoes and a shiny cap each, and what's more a whistle each what next, please write and tell me.\textsuperscript{73}

Like most men, he could not help joking a bit about a matter that had become very serious in the mind of Elmeda since the Church had officially espoused polygamy, and many of the brethren were returning with wives obtained on their missions.

That Scotch girl has not offered to comb my head with a three leg stool yet, so I suppose I will not have offended the girl I left behind me, but the worst of it all is none of these nice

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., pp. 250-51.

\textsuperscript{73}Letter in the possession of Mildred K. Armstrong. For full text see Appendix X.
Ganes that I have got acquainted with are going to emigrate, aint that too bad. I know you will be sorry but there is time enough yet. I am coming home a free man without besearching my heels.74

Just before boarding the Golconda in Liverpool he had bought "a set of china, a vest, a carpet, some linen etc,"75 and to this he hoped to add nails, glass, a stove, another carpet and clock76 before me made the trek across the Plains. Truly, Appleton was expecting to return home with something for everyone.

But now, sitting on the fog-bound ship in the mouth of the Mississippi River, so close and yet so far away from the land that he had left some three years before, his thoughts turned to those members of the family who had not yet seen fit to migrate to the Mormon home in the Rocky Mountains. He knew that above all the gifts he could bring, Elmeda would most appreciate her brother Jerry, and sister Sabra. To Sabra and her husband, Appleton wrote:

I received a letter from Briant just before I left England. he enformed me that you talked of coming this season. now excuse me for Saying to you that I hope it won't be all talk but that you will actually go. I want you to write... that I may know what time you start. What good you take, how much team you have got and all particulars let nothing stop you on any account.77

74 Ibid.
76 Letter in the possession of Mildred K. Armstrong.
77 Letter in the possession of Mildred K. Armstrong.
This migration for Jerry was not destined to take place this year, and for Sabra it would never be undertaken.

On the 24th of March he wrote:

About 7 o'clock p.m. we hauled up to Post No. 15 at the lower end of the City of New Orleans, where I set my feet on my own native land again after an absence of about 2 years and 8 months.  

Passage up the Mississippi was made on the riversteamer, Illinois, which took the emigrants to St. Louis, Missouri from whence they formed into the companies with which they would cross the plains.

Almost as an epilogue to the whole mission was the final baptism which Appleton participated in during his foreign sojourn.

I went with Elder Spencer to a Publick bath where he baptised Erick Post, one of the Golconda's Crew a Swede by birth who resolved to bear us company to our Mountain home and live the life of a Saint.

Thus his journal and mission drew to a close with one more convert and one more emigrant.

Unfortunately Appleton's journal ends in New Orleans and so one is left without a description of his last trip across the Great Plains. From others we learn that he was made the captain over 50 wagons in a train that also included 100 wagons under Capt. John Brown and 10

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79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., p. 254.
independent wagons under Capt. Borne. 81 This group left Kanesville, Iowa, July 4, 1853, 82 crossed the Missouri on the 17th 83 and were passed by Elder Isaac C. Haight on the 29th of August, well on their way to Utah. 84

The company arrived at Great Salt Lake City the 16th of October, 1853, 85 and Appleton, back in the familiar surrounding of family and friends prepared to take up the strands of his life where he had laid them down on that morning of April Conference so long ago.

82 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
83 Journal History, 17 July 1853.
84 Ibid., 31 August 1853. See also the Utah Geneological and Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII, 1917, p. 3.
85 Elmeda's Story, p. 6.
CHAPTER X

HELPING TO BUILD ZION AT HOME

Appleton returned to a valley and a people much changed from the year in which he left them. The influx of population from the foreign missions and the East had caused Great Salt Lake to grow considerably. His own father had been elected to the first city council when the city had incorporated during January of 1851, and was re-elected again in March of 1853.¹ His family had increased by one while his father, overcoming the grief of his first wife's death and the desertion of her polygamous counterpart at Winter Quarters, had met and married Nancy Tibbets.² His father-in-law had returned from his gold-seeking in California, but his brother, Amos, was still there where he would remain for sixteen years more. The Church had expanded into many of the surrounding areas, and new communities were being formed as rapidly as people could be found to organize them. Utah itself was now a territory, with some strain already beginning to show between the Mormon and Gentile federal appointees. For Appleton, however, in many ways it was like September,

¹Journal History, 9 January 1851; 7 March 1853.
²Arrowhead Report, p. 4. See Chapter IV, p. 36.
1848 all over again.

Although he now had a house of sorts to live in and his herds had grown somewhat during his absence, he was still faced with the problem of carving a place out of the land for himself and his family. Being fall, it was too late to think of his farm, and so he characteristically turned to his vocations—carpentry and machinist. In her story Elmeda reflected: "When he was at home again we began to be more comfortable he was a good workman at both wood and iron." ³ A year previously Heber C. Kimball had begun construction of a flour mill in the North Canyon ward which is now called Bountiful. By April of 1853 the cornerstone was laid for the foundation and three months later the structure was complete, with the adobes for the grist mill in place. ⁴ When the mill was entirely finished is not certain, but it is apparent that it was after Appleton's return, for he is credited with being assistant machinist to Bishop Fredrick Kesler, who designed and supervised the construction. ⁵ This was probably Appleton's first job upon returning to the Valley, but because the building was so far advanced, the job probably lasted only

³ Elmeda's Story, p. 6.

⁴ Pioneer Mills and Millers (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, p. 3.

a short time. He next turned to his other occupation—sawmill-builder and operator. Elmeda wrote: "he built a saw mill at the foot of Big Mountain in Emigration Canyon and made all the parts of the mill himself excepting the saw, this he operated several years." To this his son Hosea added:

So he went up Emigration Canyon at the foot of Big Mountain and built a sawmill called an up and down saw mill. It was run by water power an over shot water wheel. (the saw blade and up and down saw, was fixed on a frame and worked with a crank attached to a crank of the wheel.) He could saw from 1000 to 1500 board feet a day. He made all the parts for the mill but the saw himself, using raw hide for belts and pegs for nails. He provided much of the lumber used in the building up Salt Lake City.

On July 25, 1854, a fourth son was born to the Harmons, and they named him Appleton for his father, Stringham for his mother, and Harmon for the law. He was a strong and sturdy boy who, in later life, would grow to such proportions that he would be named the "giant of Utah."

In 1855 Jesse was again elected to the Commission as Alderman from the First Municipal Ward, and was named Chairman of the Standing Committee on Improvements, as well as the Committee on Public Grounds.

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6Elmeda's Story, p. 6.

7Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 15. See also Pioneer Mills and Millers, p. 3.

8Elmeda's Story, p. 6.

9From a certificate of election in the possession of Ruth Jones.

10From a certificate in the possession of Ruth Jones.
During this period Appleton continued to progress as did his family. Their first daughter, Elmeda, was born August 14, 1856,\textsuperscript{11} but of this event Elmeda wrote: "... but lived only one short year. She died September 18, 1857 and was buried in the city cemetery, Great Salt Lake."\textsuperscript{12} Thus a thread was established tying them to Salt Lake City, like the one that bound them in memory to Winter Quarters.\textsuperscript{13}

For the first time in their history, the Mormon people seemed to have found that long sought-after refuge where they were isolated from the antagonisms of their neighbors. Unfortunately, they were soon to find that antagonism does not need mobs to bring what appears to be persecution. Sometimes it takes only a few individuals to loose the avalanche. Although the people were smoothly transforming the desert into a bustling city with a web of outlying farm and industrial villages, the territorial government was proving a powder keg that might just blow the whole to pieces. From its very inception the combination of Mormon and Gentile appointees,\textsuperscript{14} including

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Elmeda's Story, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{13}See Chapter VII, p. 88.
\item \textsuperscript{14}For a good account of the problems between the Mormons and Gentiles see Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 115.
\end{itemize}
apostate Mormons, caused an unworkable situation. With Governor Young's stronghold on the lives of the local people, and his unusual philosophy in dealing with the Indians it was almost a certainty that he would come to cross-purposes with the judges, marshalls and Indian agents who were not of the Mormon Faith. Before long the gulf that divided the interests and philosophy of the federal appointees became too great to bridge, and a division was precipitated by the flight of some of the Gentiles. In his diary Appleton noted these problems from information received in a packet of letters which included a number of issues of the Deseret News.

got a letter from. . . Evan M. Green U.S.A. from these I learn something about the movements of things in the U.S.A. and that the 2 Judges that left Utah had not quite so much influence now as at first In fact their statements are not believed by many.15

Unfortunately, by early 1857, with other adverse reports from federal appointees, President James Buchanan, through executive orders issued by his Secretary of War, dispatched General W. S. Harney with 2,600 men and officers to quell a supposed Mormon rebellion, and in the words of Abraham Lincoln, to "somehow be called into obedience."16

15Appleton's Journal, p. 177. Appleton is probably referring to the departure of Secretary of State, Broughton D. Harris, Chief Justice of the Court, Lemuel G. Brandebury, Associate Justice, Perry C. Brocchus and Indian Agent, Henry R. Day on September 28, 1851.

16Desert Saints, p. 167.
Although the first confirmed word of this action reached Salt Lake City on July 24, 1857, it was not until early the following spring that the Mormons were compelled to abandon their homes, for the army had been forced into a winter encampment on the open plains. As seemed usual during times of crisis, Elmeda was again pregnant.

Because of the approaching army Appleton evacuated his family, his father's family and his inlaws to the lot of his cousin, Levi Harmon, in Spanish Fork early in the spring of 1858. Returning to Salt Lake to make sure everything was all right, Appleton was once again absent during the arrival of an offspring. Elmeda wrote of the occasion:

June 24, 1858, I was very tired but happy that day, for about 10 a.m. a sweet little brown-eyed boy came to us. He weighed 10-1/2 pounds and was the prettiest baby I ever had. A cold canyon wind blew until noon, the baby cried and I cried with the cold. Ma Harmon was the midwife. Annie Quamby did my work.17

Apparently the circumstances they now found themselves in were reminiscent of those days between Nauvoo and Winter Quarters when goods and necessities were scarce and appreciation abundant. A used petticoat and a homemade pie could bring her to write:

Aunt Haddy, my brother Bryant's second wife, sent me a little half-worn yellow flannel petticoat for the baby. I was never so thankful to get anything in my life, for all the clothes I had for him was two little calico dresses. We were all pleased when Eunice gave us a rare treat. She gathered all the pie-plant she had,

all there was in town, and made three pies. So we each had a piece of pie in honor of the baby. . . We named our baby Hosea Frank Harmon, Hosea for his uncle Hosea Barnes and Frank for Leslie's magazine.¹⁸

The year 1858 seemed to be one of continual trial for Elmeda, for along with the suffering and inconvenience associated with the exodus due to Johnson's Army, she was plunged into a spiritually trying experience with polygamy, this time involving her own father. To most Mormons polygamy was a law of God to be lived as any other law. Many women participated willingly and joyfully; others more reluctantly and only because it was a law of God. To an unfortunate few, such as Elmeda, neither man nor prophet would ever convince them that this law was justified or that any good would result from it. Her first experience with the new doctrine when her father-in-law arrived in Winter Quarters with a polygamous wife in 1848¹⁹ had been negative. Now with the problem so much closer to her she hardened in her attitude against the practice. Besides the personal feeling it also became a time of religious trial.

About this time a great trial in a religious way came to our family. My father married a plural wife (Ellen, 1858) a small English woman to fond of her cups. We always called her "shorty" she and father moved to them selves down in Sugar House Ward taking all of the furniture and leaving mother with nothing to keep

¹⁸Ibid.
¹⁹See Chapter IV, p. 36.
Although little has come to light concerning the feelings of her family over this unfortunate turn of events, one can pretty well surmise how each felt, at least towards the doctrine. Briant, in his lifetime, had four wives, the marriage ceremony in the first three being performed by Brigham Young. Jeremiah Stringham had two wives and Benjamin Joseph Stringham also had the same. These three were in concurrence with the doctrine, although undoubtedly unhappy with the way their father was practicing it. George Ammon Stringham, Elmeda's younger brother, was strongly opposed, even though his wife Mary Jane (Elizabeth) Ashby was the sister of Briant's first three wives. The most outspoken opponent was Elmeda's sister, Sabra, who had remained in the East. In a letter to her mother dated June 10, 1860 she said:

I don't know how you can believe it is right for an old man to put away an old woman after they have raised a great family of children for them, and get a young one, and I tell you I don't believe there is any God in it. It is got up by carnal develish minded men to satisfy themselves. I would like to know what poor miserable women was made for. If that is right they are no better off than beasts.

Her father remained with his second wife at their home in

20Elmeda's Story, p. 8. The small English woman was Ellen Healey Tofield. 3rd Generation File 56206 pt. 208. Microfilm copy at Brigham Young University.

21Ibid. For the complete text of the letter see Appendix X.
Sugarhouse until 1869, when, as Elmeda reported:

Father lived with Shorty for 14 years then they disagreed and he came back to us and mother. He was always a good father to us until he went into polygamy. I have never disliked my father but blamed the principle of plural marriage, for his wrong doing.\textsuperscript{22}

In 1860 Appleton, apparently in conjunction with H. Branch, took a contract with the Federal Government to build a road through Emigration Canyon. According to both Elmeda and Hosea, his son, the road was to be a mail road used by the Pony Express.\textsuperscript{23} It is unlikely that this is the reason for the road, for in the Journal History it is found under the date of January 21, 1860, that Appleton and Branch had been granted Emigration Canyon\textsuperscript{24} for the purpose of building a toll road.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid. This attitude on the part of Elmeda may partially explain the reason why Appleton was not later called to Church offices even though his background and training prepared him for it.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid. See also Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{24}Journal History, 21 January 1860.

\textsuperscript{25}A search of the Territorial Journal for 1860 shows that a petition was presented by Mr. Rockwood on January 6 and was assigned the number of H.F. 10. On the 7th it was titled "An Act granting a toll road in Emigration Kanyon to Messars, Wm. H. Branch and Appleton M. Harmon," and passed its first reading. On the 10th it passed second reading and was sent to the Committee on Roads, Bridges, Ferries and Canyons which reported it out unfavorable on the 17th.

The bill was then substituted with H.F. 22 which called for an appropriation of funds to build a road from the mouth of Emigration Canyon to the Mouth of Echo Canyon. On the last day of the session this bill was laid on the table. Thus no bill concerning a road in Emigration Canyon was passed during the session. It is interesting to note that the session ended one day before the notation in the Journal History.
During the construction of the road Elmeda, who was the camp cook, had another encounter with the Indians which was not as humorous as the previous ones.\textsuperscript{26} She wrote:

I went with him to cook for the men, he had hired to help build the road. One day while I was at the camp with only my little children several Indians came up and begged for food. I had just baked some biscuits and had them on the table. The Indians were ugly and threatening, insisting that I give them some but I stood with my back to the table my apron spread out shaking my head, no, no. I would not give them any, and after awhile they left. Later when I told the folks about it one remarked, 'My! they might have killed you.' but I replied, 'I might as well have been dead to have had no bread for the men's dinner.'\textsuperscript{27}

The ten years following Appleton's return from his mission were to be the best years of their lives. Save for the loss of their daughter and the brief period of scarcity during 'Johnson's Army' movement into the valley, the time during the 1850's and early 60's was spent in building and developing their new home in the valley. Here Appleton and Elmeda had found a security and peace that could have lasted them the rest of their lives--had it not been for the needs of the Church.

\textsuperscript{26}See Chapter VIII, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{27}Elmeda's Story, pp. 8-9.
CHAPTER XI

HELPING TO BUILD ZION IN DIXIE

Life for Appleton and his family had improved remarkably since his return in 1853 from his mission. His home was now complete on the city plot allotted him, and his ten-acre farm was providing the necessary food for the family’s maintenance. His lumber mill was producing a much-needed commodity for the building of the city and surrounding areas, and during slack periods he took contracts such as the Emigration Canyon Road. To Appleton and Elmeda who had seen many days of privation and separation, it must have seemed as though the Lord was now rewarding them for their patience and steadfast loyalty through the days of trial. Actually, it was more like the calm before the storm for the needs of the Church were about to uproot them once again from their comfortable circumstances and send them off into the wilderness to help establish another part of the "kingdom." For the first time Appleton balked at a call from the Church. His wife wrote:

Early in the Spring of 1862 we were called by the Church to go to Dixie. . . . It was a terrible hardship to go so far away in a new part of the territory to make new roads and build new towns so far from any supplies and in dangers of
indian raid and deprivations. Sunday after Sunday Appleton's name with others was called in meetings and it was sometime before he would consent to go.¹

When he finally consented it was with a heavy heart, but as always, once his mind was made up he put himself into the project wholeheartedly. The Church too, was preparing the missionaries in every way it could by holding preparatory meetings in President Young's schoolhouse where President Young gave them instructions of a practical nature.²

The three-hundred mile trip from Great Salt Lake City to their temporary location on the Rio Virgin was long—taking three weeks—and was hot and hard due to the lack of water. Once again Elmeda was pregnant causing her to suffer more than she would have under other conditions. The family camped upon a big bend in the river and immediately set about to build a log cabin for shelter, but alas, for Elmeda it was too late. "Before we were able to

¹Elmeda's Story, p. 9. It was the usual practice of the Church during this period of the Great Basin Colonization to call colonists on much the same basis as those sent to preach the gospel in foreign lands. Within these groups the First Presidency included divergent occupations needed to make the colony grow. Appleton seems to have been selected for his experience in the saw-mill business. In a letter from George A. Smith to Jacob Hamblin one notes the following: "Bro. William H. Branch and Appleton M. Harmon, it is expected, will put up a saw mill, somewhere on the Rio Virgin." Journal History, 16 October 1861.

²Records of the St. George Stake. Microfilmed copy in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, p. 73. Hereafter referred to as St. George Stake.
get a log house built another baby was born to us in a covered wagon. A poor little scrawny baby weighing only five pounds. We named him Hyrum Harmon, March 15, 1862."

The old pattern of happiness followed by sadness very nearly continued again, as Hosea, who had been born on the lot in Spanish Fork during the invasion of Johnson's Army, nearly drowned in a flood that drove the family from their camp.

One night there came a big flood and over flowed the banks and run into our tent. The folks were busy taking the things out and forgot me for awhile. Some one came into the tent for some more things and found me floating around in a wooden cradle that father had made for me sometime before. It was lucky for me the cradle was water tight.

Hosea also recorded the first commercial enterprise in the newly-established community: "A distillery, a man made for making very bad whisky, to sell to very poor people. They paid for it with carrots, potatoes and corn in the ear."5

As Appleton was by trade and training, a sawmill operator and builder, it was soon evident that the Duncans area of the Rio Virgin was not the place for him, so he moved on to the town of Toquerville where prospects were much brighter. Here he staked out a piece of land upon

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3 Elmeda's Story, p. 9.
4 Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 15.
5 Ibid.
which to build a home for his family in town\textsuperscript{6} and looked for the best place nearby to establish a sawmill. This he located in the Pine Valley Mountains\textsuperscript{7} where he once again supplied lumber for the building of homes and businesses in the area.

The mill necessitated a road to town so Appleton constructed one along a hogback ridge that was formed from two deep canyons which came so close together there was just room for a road on the ridge.\textsuperscript{8} The mill was built in the bottom of one of the canyons with a mill pond above the ridge which filled at night, giving waterpower for the next day's sawing. Of the time that Appleton and his two sons were building the mill Hosea wrote:

I think they had the old round tent and some ragged quilts. Now what do you think they had to eat while doing all this work? Most of the time they lived on corn bread made in flap Jack style and molasses for meat they had Grey squirrels killed with a muzzle loading rifle.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{6}Toquerville Plot Record Book, p. 174 Line 4 Block 9. Located in the Washington County Clerk's Office, St. George, Utah. Duncan was located in an area where access to timber for a sawmill operation was rather difficult. The Kolob Plateau to the north, although having some timber, was hard to get at while the plateau country to the south showed limited timber and difficult haulage problems. Toquerville, with its easy access to Pine Valley and the cotton mission's major communities was a far superior location.

\textsuperscript{7}Kate B. Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, Vol VI (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1963), p. 274.

\textsuperscript{8}Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{9}Ibid.
As usual Appleton was not satisfied to run only the sawmill, but looked for other ways in which he could put his carpentry and mechanic skills to use. Utilizing the water power provided by a large spring on a hill overlooking his house, he first tried a flour mill, but found that there was not enough power. The power from the flume which he built to the spring was, however, sufficient to run the machinery necessary to construct a furniture shop. He received $18.00 for a bedstead, $4.00 for chairs, $8.00 for a cradle and $4.00 for stands. He provided most of the furniture for the local area.\textsuperscript{10}

Since the main reason for the establishment of the mission to the South was to produce tropical fruits and vegetables, as well as cotton, to help make the Kingdom self-sufficient, it was not long before the local people were producing both. Of the first Elmeda wrote:

Fruit trees grew rapidly in the warm climate for we seldom had any snow. In a few years we had peaches, plums, figs, pomegranites and grapes. The grape cuttings were brought from California. We did not raise enough wheat for our own bread so the people went to the counties farther north and traded molasses, dried peaches, wine and raisins for flour.\textsuperscript{11}

In order to make cotton-growing more profitable,

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid. The flume built by Appleton to operate his machinery was still in use by the people of Toquerville when Ardelle Harmon Ashworth visited the town in the late 1930's. The account books kept by Appleton during this period were donated to the Utah Historical Society by Ardelle Harmon Ashworth. \textit{Utah Historical Society}, A286–2a & b.

\textsuperscript{11}Elmeda's Story, p. 9.
Appleton constructed a cotton gin to remove the seeds from the cotton.

This machine had a mandrel or shaft running across the front on bearings that had small circular saws set about an inch apart with hooked teeth that shredded the cotton in fine bits and the seeds dropped down beneath the machine... There was a revolving fan that went in an opposite direction that blew the cleaned cotton thru a shute into a tight room. It was taken from the room and put into a press and bailed... (they) did not have rope or wire of any kind to put in the growers to bind or tie the cotton together so he went and gathered oose (California bayonet) a plant that grew 4-6 feet high with long blades like leaves and stripped it up into strings to bind the cotton with.¹²

The cotton was then taken north to trade for wheat.

In this way Appleton became more prosperous than his neighbors. This, however, was not an indication that times in Dixie were not hard, for Appleton, like the others, was struggling to keep himself financially solvent in a system where trade and barter replaced money, and where there was little to trade. Although he had a large family, it was soon increased by Susie Theobald, whose parents were too poor to feed her,¹³ and Appleton's brother, Amos, who had returned from California and the islands of the

¹²Hosea Frank Harmon, pp. 16-17.

¹³Elmeda's Story, p. 10. Of this event Elmeda recalled: "One of our neighbors Mrs. Theobald who had a large family came to our house one day and with her was her small daughter Susie about 11 years old. Says she to me 'Sister Harmon we haven't enough to eat and you will have to take Susie and raise her.' We had a large family of children but I could not refuse her for we had more to live on than many others."
It was so necessary that we pioneers help each other for we were all struggling for a livelihood in a strange new country. On one occasion two of Appleton's cousins Nate and Albert Stevens, came to visit us from another poor Dixie town, Nate says 'Aunt Meda I'm so hungry my backbone and belly has grown together,' I was not feelin well and his remark frightened me. I soon gave the boys some dinner and later Nate came to live with us for several years, a member of our big family.  

No matter how trying the conditions, it always seemed like there was room for one more at the Harmon house.

With the coming of the Civil War, textile industries of the North began looking elsewhere for the raw products necessary to keep them in business since their Southern supply had been cut off. Although Brigham Young had intended that the cotton mission would supply local needs it soon became obvious to the missionaries that they could receive a better price by shipping their cotton south to buyers in California, who in turn could still make a profit shipping it around the tip of South America to eastern markets. In 1863, 11,000 pounds of Dixie cotton was sent south to California, and this so offended Brigham that he sent word to the Southern Utah cities that he would pay cash for cotton rather than see it leave the territory, and that he also intended to build a cottonmill.
somewhere in the Dixie Mission area for which Appleton’s reputation as a builder and machinist soon brought him into consideration for the job of supervisor.\textsuperscript{15}

During this same summer Brigham Young had already sent H. S. Eldridge east to purchase machinery to establish a cotton factory. From an editorial in the Omaha, Nebraskan one learns;

The amount of freight leaving here this season for S.L.C. has been immense, far surpassing that of any previous year. Several cotton mills have been freighted out. The last one up, taken out by Gen. H. S. Eldridge will cost, when delivered in S.L.C., $25,000. The freight on the same to this point amounted to $1,500.00. The mill is complete in every particular, having three sets of cards.\textsuperscript{16}

The first cotton factories in Utah were established west of Salt Lake City on Big Canyon Creek, at Springville and at Parowan,\textsuperscript{17} but these were inaccessible to the actual cotton-growing areas located 70 to 300 miles away. Recognizing both the haulage disadvantage, as well as the previously-mentioned problem of cotton being sold outside the territory, Brigham Young wrote to President Erastus Snow asking him to locate a suitable site for a

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\textsuperscript{16}Journal History, 14 August 1863.
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\textsuperscript{17}Hazel Bradshaw, Under Dixie Sun (Garfield County News Press, Panguitch, Utah, 1950), p. 7. Hereafter referred to as Bradshaw.
\end{flushright}
cotton factory that he might make a selection in the fall.\textsuperscript{18} The letter was read at the May, 1865 Conference of the Stake in St. George, and its contents created (as was to be expected) an immediate stir in the southern communities. In an editorial in \textit{The Vepričula}, a St. George weekly, under the date of June 1, 1865, one finds the following:

These facts render the news of President Young's intentions to remove his cotton factory to Dixie most welcome intelligence. We know of no enterprise of the same magnitude that would be so beneficial to our country.\textsuperscript{19}

During the fall of 1865 President Young did visit the southern communities and before his departure visited and selected a site on the west side of the town of Washington for his cotton factory.\textsuperscript{20} Larson, in his book, \textit{I Was Called To Dixie}, feels that Brigham had selected the site in advance of his visit and gives the following reasons why he could do so:

First the place was centrally located. . . second factor was the location of Washington adjacent to the largest body of cotton land in the Virgin Basin. . . third and probably

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} James G. Bleak, \textit{Annals of Southern Utah Mission}, Vol. I. Microfilmed copy in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, p. 187. Hereafter referred to as \textit{Bleak Annals}.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Larson, pp. 184-85.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Bleak Annals, Vol. I, p. 201. Bleak states that Pres. Young made arrangements for its construction to begin at once is probably somewhat premature as later evidence has proven. It is probable, however, that Pres. Young did confer with Appleton and others at the time.
\end{itemize}
the major factor was the water power available at Washington. Mill Creek was fed by a multitude of Springs that come to the surface through the fractures in the chinle sandstone. . . . The use of the water for powering the factory machinery meant no loss of use of the farm lands.\textsuperscript{21}

The land for the millsite was secured from J. M. and J. P. Andester, which also included water rights for the sum of \$1,960.00, and some adjoining lots were purchased from President Erastus Snow for \$1,150.00.\textsuperscript{22}

Exactly when Appleton was first approached to oversee the building of the factory is not known, but as has been stated, it is likely that Brigham Young conferred with him while in the south during September of 1865. The following month a letter dated October 11 was sent from Brigham to Appleton.

"Elder Appleton M. Harmon.
"I have sent you the plans for the construction of my Cotton Factory by Bro. Elisha Averett, and would like you to send me the bills of what you will do the work for as soon as you possibly can, that I may know what to calculate on. I want the men who are employed to understand that I do not want to pay men for their idling but for their work.

\textsuperscript{21}Andrew Karl Larson, \textit{I Was Called To Dixie} (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), pp. 192-93. Hereafter referred to as Larson, \textit{I Was Called To Dixie}.

\textsuperscript{22}Brigham Young Cash Account Book, Vol. II, 1864-1867. Original located in Special Collections Vault, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Microfilmed copy also there, p. 746. Hereafter referred to as Cash Account Book. This seems to vary with Albert Miller, who maintains that the site had changed owners. Albert E. Miller, \textit{Immortal Pioneers: Founders of the City of St. George, Utah} (St. George, Utah: By the Author, 1946), p. 152.
"I wish you to take pains to break joints in laying the double floor, and I also wish you to make arches under the floor, so as to admit of a circulation of air there.

"With Love
"I remain
"Your Brother
"Brigham Young."23

By the end of the month Appleton had the construction underway so that James G. Bleak could record:
"Late December. This fall the erection of President Young's Cotton Factory, at Washington has commenced as a one story building."24

True to his word, President Young sent letters to the various bishops authorizing Appleton and the men working on the factory the right to draw from their storehouses. He then sent a letter of authorization to Appleton on January 13, 1866.

"Brother Appleton M. Harmon,
"You are hereby authorized to draw on Bishop Willis of Toquerville, or any other Bishop for such articles as you may need, only there must be a strict account kept of all that you get and the same be forwarded here.

"Your Brother
"Brigham Young."25

23 Original unpublished letter in the possession of Mrs. Mildred K. Armstrong.


25 Original unpublished letter in the possession of Mildred K. Armstrong. Besides the numerous entries in the Cash Account Book for goods and materials drawn on the various bishops storehouses, the following list was shown in Vol. II, p. 687, where direct donations were made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishop</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bp. F. B. Wooley</td>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>$376.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bp. Covington</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>$528.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bp. Winson</td>
<td>Grafton</td>
<td>$14.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the winter the work progressed rapidly on the framework. Apparently Appleton followed Brigham's advice and only hired men who would "be paid for working not idling" for when President Erastus Snow and Apostle George A. Smith visited the site in February they found "the building rising rapidly and Appleton Harmon, the contractor well satisfied with the work being accomplished."  

By May 26 Appleton could report to President Young:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bp. B. Stringham</td>
<td>315.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bp. Willis</td>
<td>236.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bp. Lunt</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toquerville</td>
<td>271.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceder</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>719.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>207.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Clara</td>
<td>271.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This did not include other donated monies and labor such as that recorded on January 13, 1867 and February 3, 1867 in the St. George Stake. Under date of January 13 the following is found: "A meeting was called by President Erastus Snow to take steps to make a mill race for the Cotton Factory. Eighty-five men were present and voluntary subscriptions were called for. Response was made as follows: $495.00 in means to pay for labor, 135 days of labor, 2 days team labor, the making of 21 rods of race and 1 load of wood." St. George Stake, January 13, 1867. See also Bleak Annals, Vol. I, p. 257.

On February 3: "A call was made at St. George for a further subscription towards the making of a race for President Young's Factory at Washington and subscriptions were made for 9 days labor and $64.00 in sundries." St. George Stake, February 3, 1867. Similar requests and subscriptions were undoubtedly made at other times and in other wards of the Cotton Mission.

26 Barrett, p. 240, footnote 13. An interview with William Palmer of Cedar City who was a worker on the factory. For a further list of those working on the factory see Appendix XI.
"... I write to inform you of our progress with the cotton factory. The Brothers Avertze have completed the mason work of the building today. The wheel pit is built as high as the bearings of the Center Shaft where it will have to wait until the shafts are in before they can do any more.

"I have delivered over 27 thousand feet of lumber and timber. The balance of it is nearly all sawed at the mills, but the hawling is yet to be done and the following list of casualties to wagons makes it look like there was quite a job to do yet.

"I pair hound (hand) brake but so chained up as to bring the load safe to port.

"1 wheel 14 spokes brecks
"1 wheel 12 spokes brecks
"1 wheel 5 spokes brecks
"2 axeltrees
"1 sheel 14 spokes broke but took the logging cart to mend it with and brought a load of rafters 12 X 12 X 24 ft long safe to the factory.

"Would you be offended if I should ask for a new waggon? All the door and window frames are in. The doors all made nearly. All the floor & Roof lumbers are framed 12 of the columns are here and dressed up.

"About 2/3 of the floor is framed and some work done on the gearing.

"I can get all the helpers I want to do the mechanical work but I have to wait for material.

"I shall send the teams next week for the shafts and hope the gadging will be here that I can let them and can employ more help.

"I wish to Enquire a little about the pay which we are receiving of W. B. Wooley. I did expect to get the goods for about Salt Lake retail price and carriage. I think the prices are pretty high. Blankets 28.00, sattlewall $3.50 coffee $1.25 tea 5.00. If this is really above the retail price and the carriage Please send the goods direct to me or I will wait until the work is done and come after them. We want some Tobbacco very much.

"Respectfully yours.

"A. M. Harmon.

Washington
May 26, 1866."
By the 24th of July William Poulter had finished
the whitewashing of the roof for which he received
$75.00 and the building was ready to be dedicated and
used for the usual Mormon celebration. In his diary
Lorenzo Snow recorded the following:

Quite a lively time in celebration.
President Snow and company of 60 or more
gone to Washington to dedicate Pres. B.
Youngs new Factory and have a dance in it
commencing at 4 P.M.29

Another participant of the occasion, Charles L.
Walker, who was a member of the St. George band, described
the occasion in the following manner:

... P.M. went over to Washington. The
citizens met us before we got there and welcomed
us to town. We all went to the President's

Under the date of March 2, 1867 the following receipt was
given: "Received of Prest. B. Young pres. A. M. Harmon
Two-thousand Eight Hundred Seventy-nine and 75/100 Dollars
Being the Amt. in full for mason work on Cotton Factory
and wheelhouse up to date. Bishop Averett, Elijah
Averett." Original unpublished copy in the possession of
Mildred K. Armstrong.

Concerning the shaft, Hosea recorded: "I
remember of hearing them say that the long log that they
hauled from our saw mill to make the shaft to build the
over shot wheel on it took eight yoke of cattle to pull it
up the hill out of the canyon, out of the steep dugway.
Then when they got it to the factory at Washington they
had to bore a hole endwise thru it and fill it with salt
to keep it from checking. It had to be a long shaft to
extend back into the building to put the cog work gearing
on to give sufficient speed for the spindles. Hosea Frank
Harmon, p. 17.

28 Cash Account Book, p. 713.

29 Lorenzo Snow, Journal, Vols. I and II. Typed
copy in Special Collections, Brigham Young University,
Provo, Utah, p. 97.
Factory which Br. Snow dedicated, after which the remainder of the time until near midnight was spent in dancing, singing, etc. . . Got home a little before daylight.  

By late fall the shaft had been placed, the waterwheel was completed by Nathan Davis and it was time to install the machinery. The machinery itself was taken from the Deseret Mills in Salt Lake City and a value of $20,061.48-1/2 was placed upon it. Along with this was sent a large cog wheel valued at $153.00, two boxes of bobbins, cotton utensils at $91.38, auxiliary machinery $5976.15, two looms $400.00 and cotton reels made by T. O. Angeles valued at $373.62, for a total cost of $26,155.63. Haulage fees which amounted to $13,556.46 were also an addition to the cost of the equipment when it was moved from the eastern United States to Salt Lake City and then to Washington.  

On New Years' Eve another party was held in the factory which had the first story completed with much of the machinery in place. Walker, with the St. George Band, 

30Larson, I Was Called To Dixie, p. 199. See also Larson, pp. 187-88.  
31Cash Account Book, p. 147.  
32Cash Account Book. The amount here differs somewhat from both Nels Anderson, who places the figure at $44,000, and Caroline S. Addy who put the figure of both the factory and machinery at $66,000.00. Anderson, Deseret Saints, p. 368; Caroline S. Addy, James Gadson Bleak (unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953), p. 137.  
was in attendance and recorded not only the festivities, but a difference that arose between the band and its director. Of this event he wrote:

Rather cold and a little cloudy. Went with the Band over to Washington and played for the citizens. At night went to the concert at Brighams Factory. Played and sang at the concert. Capt. Thomas got Mad because we played a tune without him, as the people were retiring, and for the life of me I could not see wherein we had done wrong, in playing a tune for the amusement of the audience.34

During the winter the crew put the finishing touches on the building, completed the installation of the machinery and constructed the mill race35 to supply power to operate the factory. On March 4, 1867 R. T. Covington signed a receipt for $2,437.41 for rock delivered to the factory and digging and hauling sand.36

By May the factory was completed and Bro. Brigham was making a final accounting with Appleton.

Credit
May 25, 1867--Your bill of materials and labor, paid for in erecting the cotton factory. 25,613.77

May 18, 1867--Bill of blksmithing & erecting shafting. 680.16
Overseeing construction 1000.00
Overcharge on goods by F. B. Wooley. 500.00

$38,086.44

August 1, 1868 owed-- 91.91

34 Larson, I Was Called To Dixie, p. 194. See also Larson, p. 188.
35 See page 147, footnote 26.
Draw
To amount from other side 37,424.49
May 25, 1867 Bp. Dame Parawan 606.95
May 25, 1867 Bp. Murdock Bever 55.00
$38,086.44

August 18, 1868 To amount drawn at
Beaver in excess of your rept.
agreed balance with T. W. Ellerbeck. 71.20
August 18, 1868--266 with Trust Dept. 19.71
90.91

37Cash Account Book, p. 678.
### TABLE II

**LIST OF ITEMS IN BUILDING OF THE FACTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lumber</td>
<td>114,858 ft.</td>
<td>$ 7,376.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmithing</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,433.38-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shingles</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>270.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheeting</td>
<td>2,950 ft.</td>
<td>206.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, Bolts &amp; Screws</td>
<td></td>
<td>623.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>15 tubs</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49-1/2 lbs.</td>
<td>12.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime</td>
<td></td>
<td>83.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (Olive, machine, coal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>468.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron &amp; Lead</td>
<td></td>
<td>234.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass, Putty &amp; Paint</td>
<td></td>
<td>135.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery and Hauling</td>
<td></td>
<td>39,712.09-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous*</td>
<td></td>
<td>282.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Straphinges, buckskin, files, posts, brooms, brushes, belt rivets, chalk, bed caster, tar, wire, logs, glue, punches, scales, lye acid, door lock, thumb latch, lamps, account books, survey instructions, postage.*
Although it would appear that after some eighteen months of work Appleton came out with only $90.91 to the good, the pages in Brigham Young's account book which list Appleton's draws on his store and the other outlets for merchandise show that he did quite well while working on the factory. Some of the items besides groceries, supplies and animals are plates, cups and saucers, knives and forks, furniture, stoves, and fabrics for making clothes, as well as whiskey, tobacco and cash.

Unfortunately the swampy area in and around Washington was a breeding ground for malaria—carrying mosquitoes, and before the work was complete Appleton and Willis had both contacted the disease and suffered with chills and fever from time to time.38

By June 23, 1867, the factory was in operation as shown by an entry in Lorenzo Snow's journal. "John Chidester came yesterday an brought me about $100. in cloths from B. Youngs factory."39

That the cotton factory was a blessing to the area can best be attested to by one of those sent in 1861 to help establish a cotton mission. Wandle Mace wrote:

The factory proved a great blessing to the people of South Utah, or Dixie as it was called. Up to this time the women had carded, spun and

38 Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 17.
39 Snow's Journal, p. 566.
woven all of the family clothing and also with which it was made.\textsuperscript{40}

Although the factory served the people of the Dixie area as the central point of their economic life for many years, Appleton's direct association with it ended when the building was completed.

Returning to Toquerville, Appleton took up where he had left off, building furniture and cutting timber for his sawmill. By now the local Indians of Pidea\textsuperscript{41} tribes were friendly enough that they were often hired to help with the work, but this presented one drawback. "They were covered with vermin and it was almost impossible to keep out childrens hair free from lice."\textsuperscript{42} The Navajos further south were still a problem, however, and on one occasion Appleton lost a span of mules to them.

A year after his return from building the mill Appleton and Elmeda suffered another of the tragedies that seemed to be a natural part of their lives. While breaking a wild horse their son, Briant, was struck in the abdomen by the horn of the saddle and died August 30, 1868.\textsuperscript{43} They were now bound to Toquerville by the same thread that held them to Winter Quarters and Salt Lake City.

\textsuperscript{40} Larson, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{41} Elmeda's Story, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 9. Briant was 19 years old.
Fearing the steady movement of Gentiles into the merchandising business of the territory after the Civil War, it was deemed wise during the 1860's for the Mormons to band together into cooperative stores and associations for protection. This procedure was followed in the communities of the cotton mission as in other parts of the Church. The Deseret News on April 22, 1869, reported the following:

On the 10th inst., a delegation from Rockville, Virgin City, Harrisburg and Tokerville Wards met at Tokerville and organized a Mercantile Co-operative Association, to be located at Tokerville. A. M. Harmon was elected President, J. Nebeker, J. Parker, J. C. Naile, A. P. Winsor and E. K. Fuller Directors; M. Slack, Secretary, and Wm. Brinthurst, Treasure. 44

The store was kept in one room of the Harmon home until Appleton could complete a building in which to run it. 45

Of the store Elmeda wrote to her sister, Sabra, in March of 1871:

Appleton has gone to the city for goods for the store. . . He buys and freights from the city. The store belongs to the people. So you see we get enough store to pay to make us comfortable. There is only about fifty families here and they are all poor; they have to put in shares to get a store that way. 46

Although their surroundings, at best, could only be termed bare, Elmeda never ceased trying to make their

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44 Journal History, 12 April 1869.
45 Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 17. See also Elmeda's Story, p. 16.
46 Elmeda's Story, p. 11.
home liveable and to develop in her children an appreciation for the finer, cultural things of life.

We had rag carpets with straw under them for our floors. I made curtains of bleached muslin trimmed with lace or ruffled edges. . . we had straw or corn hust ticks and a feather bed on top of that. . . our walls were plastered and white washed for we had not heard of wall paper. I was a good seamstress and dress maker. I made all my own and children's underwear and dresses besides my husband's and boys suits of cloths. . . Myself and the children were all fond of music, the first instruments they learned to play were a Jarvis Harp and accordon and triangle then came a flute picollo, organ, violin and piano. I love to sing and taught the children many songs I learned earlier in life.47

Although it was not proper for Appleton to leave the area to which he had been assigned by the brethren, his large weight and the hot summers forced him to decide to move from Dixie in 1872.48 He chose for his new home the village of Cedar Springs, later called Holden, where a number of relatives were now located. His son, Willis,49 remained on the old homesite in Toquerville for another two years and then the place was sold for $2000.00 to a man named Dykes.50 Thus ended his last mission for the

47Ibid.
48Hosea Frank Harmon, pp. 17-18. A story was later told that following Appleton's move, Brigham Young came to Toquerville to install a new bishop upon the death of the man presiding. Looking over the audience he called for Appleton only to find that he had left. Thus he first found out that Appleton had left his mission without an official release.
49Willis Harmon had married Katie Spilsbury.
50Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 18.
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
CHAPTER XII

A FINAL HOME AND RESTING PLACE

Appleton and Elmeda's move to Holden must have seemed much more like a homecoming than a trek into a new and unknown area. Appleton's brother, Ancil, had been sent there some years before to herd the Church's cattle, and in 1866 his father had left Toquerville to make his home there also. On Elmeda's side were her brothers, Jerry and Benjamin, also employed by the Church, and her father and mother who had been reconciled in 1869, and then moved to Holden to be near their sons following her brother Briant's death.

It did not take Appleton long to establish himself in the new community. He secured five lots upon which to build a home and a carpentry shop.¹

His first thought was naturally to build a home for shelter. "Appleton and the boys built a large rock room with a cellar under it and a frame kitchen and small bedroom adjoining it."²

²Elmeda's Story, p. 12.
Because of the need for larger accommodations Appleton decided to build a seven-room house, but with the lack of good lumber he first constructed a sawmill in Pioneer Canyon. Here he also established a shingle mill and a machine for making lath. This became a family endeavor with his brother Ancil and Jerry Stringham helping. They bought a new circular saw and built a road with seven bridges to haul the balsam and red pine out. Here they also built a blacksmith shop and a milk house of lumber, which "set across the stream so the water could run across the floor and keep the milk and butter cool." 

In the summer they used oxen and horses to move the large logs, but in winter:

... the men put in the logs for lumber on the snow as it was easier than hauling them down the mountain in the summer time. They dressed as warm as possible wrapping their feet in burlap tied with heavy strings over their boots as they had no over shoes. I made heavy mittens of wollen cloth for them to wear.

In town Appleton bought 30 acres of land near Sheffield to farm, and continued to improve the family's lot. First he built a large barn and then built a large rock grainery to which was added a large lean-to on the

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3Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 18.
4Ibid.
5Ibid.
6Elmeda's Story, p. 12.
south side for bedrooms. During the summer and fall of 1867 Appleton built the framework for a new carpenter shop and began to build the new seven-room frame home. By February the home was to the point where the roof could be put on and the family could move in, providing them with much better quarters. Unaware of his weakened condition from so much exertion through the years, Appleton worked far harder on the house than he should have done. Thus, as Hosea told the story:

Father and I were on the roof shingling. It was quite a cold and damp day in February and we felt in a hurry to get the shingles on and we stayed working longer than we should have done. Father took a bad cold which in a few days developed into a case of typhoid fever on February 26, 1877 he died and was buried in the graveyard at Holden.

Perhaps his passage through this life was best summed up in a Resolve of Respect by the Board of Directors of the Toquerville Co-operative Mercantile Association on the occasion of his death.

Resolve, that recognizing to its fullest extent his untiring devotion to the development of the institutions of Zion, we are profoundly impressed with the loss we sustain by his death.

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7Hosea Frank Harmon, p. 18.
8Ibid.
9Journal History, 26 February 1877. For the complete resolution of respect see Appendix XII.
APPENDIX I

PATRIARCHAL BLESSING OF APPLETON HARMON

Brother Appleton in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth I lay my hand upon thy head and seal a fathers Blessing upon thee because thy father desire it and (unreadable) to speak of thy leanage and as thou art yet young I pray my hevenly father to give you strength and faith to endure every affliction and privation that you will be called to pas through with patience that you may over come because thou art of the blood of Ephrem and a lawful are (heir) to the holy priesthood allso to all the blesing which god promised to Ephrium by the mouth of his servent Jacob with blessing shall be perpetuated to thy posterity to the latest generation for god shall give thee a companion and a numerous posterity and thy name shalt be handed down from generation to generation and had in honor rememberance become of thy great faith for thou shalt have power to open the eyes of the blind, cause the deaf to heare the lame to walk, and the dumb to speak and even to raise the dead in as much as more shalt seak after it you shalt give the all this power thou art called to do a great work in the horn (?) of Ephrum to bring the people together from the end of the earth nevertheless thy calling is more the lamonites for the Spirit of the Lord doth already work amongst them preparing them to recieve the gospel and not many years shall pass away before many of the Elders of Israel shall be sent among them mayest labor so it (unreadable) the good untill thou are called to go among them the Lord has given his Angles charge concerning thee therefore fear not for they will deliver thee out of all thy troubles no power on Earth shalt stay myne hand for thou shalt accomplish thy work and return to Zine inheritance among thy Breatherine.

Given under the hand of John Smith

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APPENDIX II

LIST OF POLICE CALLED BY JOSEPH SMITH

29 DECEMBER 1843, NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

Jonathan Dunham, high policeman
Charles C. Rich, 1st lieutenant
Hosea Stout, 2nd do.
Shadrack Roundy, 3rd do.
John Pack, ensign
Jesse P. Harmon, orderly sergeant
John D. Lee, 2nd do.
Daniel Carn, 3rd do.
Josiah Arnold, 4th do.
Stephen H. Goddard, 3rd do.
William Pace, 4th do.
Abram C. Hodge, pioneer
Levi W. Hancock, fifer
Daniel M. Repsher, do.
Richard D. Sprague, drummer
Samuel Billings, do.
Abraham O. Smoot Dwight Harding
John Lytle Simeon A. Dunn
Andrew Lytle Appleton M. Harmon
Howard Egan James Pace
Benjamin Boyce Francis M. Edwards
Lorenzo Clark William H. Edwards
Davis Mc Olney Moses M. Sanders
Abram Palmer Warren A. Smith
Isaac C. Haight George W. Clyde
John L. Butler Vernon H. Bruce
Elbridge Tafts Armsted Moffet
Truman R. Barlow Arza Adams
APPENDIX III

ROLL CALL OF NAUVOO POLICE

JULY 4, 1844

Hosea Stout Capt.
Shadrack Roundy
Levi W. Hancock
Daniel M. Repsher
Daniel Carns
James Emmett
Abram C. Hodge
Abram Palmer
Josiah Arnold
Moses M. Sanders
Vernon H. Bruce
Davis Mc Olney
Lorenzo Clark
Isaac C. Haight
Stephen H. Goddard
John Lytle
Andrew Lytle

Truman R. Barlow
Jesse P. Harmon
Warren Smith
William H. Edwards
George W. Clyde
Dwight Harding
Samuel Billings
Elijah J. Sabin
Francis M. Edwards
Appleton M. Harmon
Allen J. Stout
George W. Langley
Gardner G. Porter
Benjamin Jones
Hiram Clark
Milo Andrews
Rich

John MacKley
APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM APPLETON AND ELMEDA

DURING EXODUS FROM NAUVOO

"Camp of the Saints headwaters of Grand River
Newpurchase Iowa Ty. April the 27th 1846

"Dear Father I improve this Rainey morning to
in form you that we are well we are in the handsomeist
Country that I ever saw, & the best Land the Camp
is going to stay here one week and fence in 2 fields
one 3/4 of a mile Square & one a mile Square in the
timber & build some 25 houses dig Some wells & and
probably plant & sow considerable grain this week, I am
going to stocking ploughs as soon as it Stops Raining,
there will Some of the Breathering Stay here this
Season. The calculation is to make a nother Settlement
(or Tavern) beyond the Missouri river, we Shall cross
the Missouri at Bankses, ferry I in tend to go on for
every thing that I know of at present I have got a good
yoke of oxen I traded one of them & gave my watch to
boot So that I have got a bunk-ham team I traded the
Harness for a chunk of a cow & glines traded his harness
for one allso the probability is that thare wil not every
families cross the mountains this Season, thare will be
a company of men fitted out 5 men to each wagon & 2
yokes of oxen & 15 months provisions tea grains etc.
the calculation is to make Settlements all the way through
thick anough for Taverns we are making a bridge across
the river herd Lytles folks are all well.

"N. B. The Guard is broken up or disorganized &
have gone into different companies Hosea Stout & Unter
have gone in to the 1st Company in Joshua Holmans ten,
Rockwood is Capt of the Guard of that company (the above
puts me in mind of a Sink hole full of Buck Horns). I
want you should write often thare will lots of chances
to send letters

"I have not herd eney thing particullar from
you for a month or more Porter Rockwell Sed he Saw you
& you was well & that was all I want to know how you get
along in Fixing to come a way when you write to Yele
Bob or Hosea give m respects & prospects which good, So
no more

"to J. P. Harmon A. M. Harmon

166
"Appleton has gon to work and I am a going to Say a word to my ma ma, i went to See aunt mima yes­terday and she was quite Sick She has got the bloody flux, Nathan has been Sick but has got well again, tell Sabra when she cums that I want to See her and John and the Children. and i dont want her to kiss mary and martha for mee as Eliesabeth Ses for i want to kiss them my Self, tell mee Something about Harritte and Julia and both Elisas, tell Bub when he comes to write about Lara. Tell George Remne i want to see them and their Lots of whistle Stuf heir i hasnt heard a thing from home in a great while and i feel quite lonSome times tell papa their is lots of leaks and onions here I have been quite well on the rode, and have knit one Stocking and am agoing to finish the other Some day We had greens for super last night tell mee about Elisebeth and Bovues folks if you cant read this you may i dropt my pen and bloted my paper but never mind that

"From Elmeda

"Mama you must git Elisbeth to come and rite to mee for you and rite the next chance you git to Send a letter."
APPENDIX V

FULL TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY THE MEN LEFT AT THE PLATTE RIVER FERRY

Instructions to Thomas Grover John S. Higbee Wm Empey Appleton M. Harmon Edmund Elsworth Luke Johnson Francis M. Pumeroy James Devenport and Benjamin P. Stewart Breathering as you are about to stop at this place for a little season for the purpose of passing Emigrants over the river and assisting the Saints, we have thought fit to appoint Thomas Grover in Superintendent of the ferry and of your company which if you approve of, we want you to agree that you will follow his council implicitily and with out gain saying, and we desire that you should be a greed in all your operations acting in concrt keeping to gether continually and not scatter to hunt & and at your leasure moments put you up a comfortable room that will afford yourselves & horses protection a gainst the Indians should a war party pass this way, but first of all See that your boats is properly secured by fastining raw hides over the tops of the canoes or some better proces compleete the landings, and be care fol of the lives & property of all your labor for remembering that you are responsible for all
accidents through your carelessness or negligence and that you retain not that which belongeth to the Travelor.

For one waggon family &c you will charge $1.50 cts payment in flour & provisions at State Prices or $3.00 in cash but you had better take young stock at a fair valuation in stead of cash & a team if you shall want the same to remove.

Should general Emigration cease before our breathing arrive Cash your effects & return to Larmie and wait their arrival, and come on with them to the place of location, and we promise you that the Superintendent of the ferry shall never lack wisdom or knowledge to devise & council you in righteousness and for your best good, if you will all ways bee a greed and in all humility watch & pray without ceasing.

When our Emigration Companies arrive if the river is not foradble ferry them and let them who are able pay a reasonable sum the council of their camp will decide who are able to pay.

Let a strict account be kept of every man's labor also of all wagons & teams ferried and of all receipts & expenditures allowing each man according to his labour and justice, and if eney one feels a grieved let him not murmer but be patient until you come up and let the council decide, and the way not to bee a grieved is for every man to love his brother as him self.
By order and in behalf of the council we remain your Brothering in Christ.

Brigham Young President
In February 1850 the Utah Indians committed some depredations stole some cattle in Utah Valley and became so troublesome that it was thought best to Chastise them. Accordingly a company of one hundred men was selected to go to Utah for that purpose. The Indians perceived our purpose and gathered themselves to gather in a conspicuous place on the Provo and resisted our people they fought desperate for two days keeping up a constant fire which was sent back as warm by our people. A reinforcement was sent from the City to join our people. The attack was resumed again the 3d day and moving batteries erected under the cover of which Companies of our men moved up with in close rifle distance of their enemies and poured in a deadly fire. At the same time another detachment charged up and took possession of a vacant house with in close rifle shot of our enemies ground. While they were at the same time assailed from 2 or 3 other quarters. In this desperate effort 7 of our horses were killed 11 of our men wounded some severly and other but slight and one killed by the name of Joseph Higbee. On the other hand the
Indians sufferd the loss of a bout 12 killed Several wounded and the rest drove in to holes that they had excavated in the deep Snow drifts that lay in a bend of the river Provo where they ware Situated. whare it was both difficult and Dangerous to follow and as night came on our men retird to the fort a bout 3 miles distant. and left the field of Battle, and the Utahs in the Snow dens.

The next day our men being joind by the reenforcement from the City repaird early to the field of Battle but on ariveing at the Spot found it vacated by our enemies, who had from one of the horses killed the day before taken 2 Quarters of Beef and taken their flight to the mountains. they ware followed to whare they assended Rockey Canion, one of the Chiefs by the name of Elk was found dead in the trail and the other Chief by the name of Sticknehead had his arm broke by a rifle ball.

They had came to a halt in the Cavety of some rocks, a short distance up the mountain and Sticknehead (the only remaining Chief) and two or 3 others of the principal waroiors escaped off over the mountains. while the others maintaind their Strong hold for a few days. mean while a guard was set to prevent their escape in to the valley they seeing all prospects of escape guarded, they gave them selves up as prisoners. during this time other bands ware Chastised in all a bout 40 of them killed who would not enter in to a treaty of peace, and agree to Seace taking our Cattle and Horses. during a portion of
this war which lasted for a bout 2 weeks I filled a
Sation allotted me to guard the frontiers of our Settle-
ments. and prevent eney depredations that our enemies
might in their enraged state attempt to make. at the close
of the war the figgerent detachments returned to the city
after having either killed put to flight or taken prisoners
the whole of the bands of Utah valley whoware our enemies
the other bands of the Utah tribe being on friendly terms
with us. the prisoners taken who ware mostly weomin and
children ware set at Liberty or taken care of by some of
the Breathing.
APPENDIX VII

LIST OF THOSE CROSSING THE STATES

WITH APPLETON IN 1850

Isaac C. Haight, missionary
Claudious V. Spencer, missionary
Moses Clawson, missionary
Jesse W. Crosby, missionary
Robert Campbell, missionary
John Ol Angus, missionary
William Burton, missionary
James M. Works, missionary
Alonson Eldridge, missionary
Jesse Molen, missionary
Mr. Livingston, a merchant
Captain Andrew Lytles Company
Thomas Grover and family
Capt Davis and family
Mr. Elder and family
APPENDIX VIII

LIST OF SAINTS WHO DIED FROM THE PLAGUE

... Sixty two deaths were reported to me to have been in these camps. I only learn the names of the following persons:

Aaron Johnson's wife and Son,
Miss Evans
Amanda Herick
John Smith
Perry Keys
John Carns
Elisebeth Malery
Mary Dany
Zenos Kyes
T. Laney
Mrs. Dilly
Luther Warner
five of the Spafford family
Mrs. Griffith
Mrs. Lameraux
Mr. Russ
John Campbell
Wm. Fox
Joseph King
Elmeda Catlin
Mr. Brown's two children
John Sweat
Doctor Braley
Mrs. Chamberlin
Mary Noris
Mary Campbell
Rosanah Bragg
Mary Mc Double

and Several children whose names I did not learn.
APPENDIX IX

LETTER TO ELMEDA

December, 1852, England

The last letter that I got from you was mailed the first of September. I expect that I should get another if I were to wait two or three days longer, but I fear that I should delay this another mail by so doing and I feel that you would be glad to hear from me, especially as the last that I wrote I expressed some doubt about my getting out of this country the coming emigration season. I have not much news to write. I shall want you to write to me to St. Louis, as I told you before, and mention all the little things that you want I should bring you, and if I can’t get them there is no harm done, and if I can I shall have the necessary information to enable me to get what will please you. I like to have you talk of the things you want. I shall try to get what will make us comfortable if it is within my reach.

I feel as if I had been away from home about ten years. I shall be glad to get where I can get something besides a bread and butter breakfast and bread and butter supper. The dinners here are the only good meal we get, and that is none of the best, while I was in the weaving district but I am now amongst the miners and they live better. But I am sure I ought not to complain as long as I am growing fat. If you see Brother Higbee you can tell him his memory still lives with the Saints. He is often spoken of as a good man the Saints love.

Sister Carr, the woman that went with him, wrote a letter back and it has been nearly worn out by the Saints reading it. She spoke of you in the letter and said that you were the noblest looking woman she had seen in the Valley and you may think that I have had some joking about it. That Scotch girl has not offered to comb my head with a three-leg stool yet, so I suppose I will not have offended the girl I left behind me. But the worst of it all is, none of these nice ones that I have gotten acquainted with are going to emigrate. Ain’t that too bad? I know you will be sorry, but there is time enough yet, I am coming home a free man without besmearing my heels.

No doubt you will be wanting to know what arrange­ments to make for the coming summer, but my long absence
will prevent me from giving any instructions, but you must do the best you can. If you can manage to get some grain growing it will be well. And any arrangements you can make about building us a good snug house, and I shall try to take some nails, glass, a stove, a carpet, and clock, and if I can't get half of them I will be satisfied. It will be time enough for all such cancellations when I get to them. As I have lengthened this letter out pretty well and shall bring it to a close by saying that my very love is sent to all your folks. Tell your mother, father, George, and Ben that they are not forgotten, and the two little boys (Briant and Willis). Tell them I shall bring them some new shoes and a shiny cap each, and what's more a whistle each. What next, please write and tell me. May the God of heaven bless you that you may enjoy peace forever.

From your husband,
Appleton M. Harmon

To Elmeda Harmon
APPENDIX X

LETTER TO POLLY STRINGHAM


Dear Mother: Sister and Brother: I sit down to write to inform you that we are all well that is here, John and Martha and George are gone to Missouri to Jerry's I got a letter from them the day I sent your letter to them the next day after I got it. I am so lonesome John calculated to stay till fall if he got plenty of work but if he don't they will come right back, they say it is terrible dry there and there has been nice rain here and the crops are splendid now. I hope there won't be any famine this year. Mama, you was telling me of your trials Oh! how sorry it makes me feel for you to think you have to live alone, but I am glad you are as well satisfied with your lot but I don't know how you can believe it is right for an old man to put away an old woman after they have raised a great family of children for them, and get a young one, and I tell you I don't believe there is any God in it. It is just got up by carnal developish minded men to satisfy them selves. I would like to know what poor miserable woman was made for. If that is right they are no better off than the beasts, I tell you mama I can't believe that it is a just God to require such as that of women, for when he created them he made the woman his helpmate. He didn't say for a while or till they was old and tired of them and then put them away for a younger one or another and leave the old one in sorrow and trouble. I tell you mama, the man that does it will have it to answer for. How many times I heard you say that you believed that a man would have to answer for the trouble he made the woman. I don't know how you can believe it for a way I look at it its against the Bible and strongly against the Book of Mormon. I know I shall always believe it, you know it says that was the downfall of the Nephites, they getting wives and concubines. The God was angry with them and destroyed them of from the earth, because it was not right. If it had been right why didn't he make more than one for old Adam I tell you mama because it is not right nor never was or never will be for God has not changed. It is as I told you before it is carnal minded man that has changed, but mama,
if it is so how miserable is poor woman after she has lived with a man thirty or forty years till they are broken down and need man's help then to take care of them, they have to be put away and live alone and they have another to live with, as you say it must be a great trial, if that is the way a woman has to be saved it is a hard way. I think I would first as soon have my hell in the next world as this and mama you say the Lord will have a tried people, I would like to know how the men are tried, I don't expect it tries them to put away their old wife and have half a dozen more, you know that's no trial to them so the old woman is to be saved, and the man saved without any trials at all. I think it is a hard curse for a woman to bear children and then have to be tried enough to save herself and man too, but I think mama, you was good enough to be saved without any such trial as that, it is a good thing you believe as you do for it lightens your troubles some. If I was in your place I would be the most miserable creature living if it did not take my reason from me. I hope Briant will come to see us, I would like to see him, see what sort of a conscience a man has that has four wives. I want you to come, but for I want to tell you the last words you spoke to me, Appleton, I want you and Elmeda and children to come, you can as well as not, if ever I get a chance to go with some one and back I will go and see you. Mama you must write often, I hope you will live till I see you. Appleton you have not wrote to
APPENDIX XI

LIST OF MEN WORKING ON
THE COTTON FACTORY

Bishop Robert D. Covington
Bishop Edwin G. Wolley
Adolphus Rennie Whitehead
Richard Bentley
Miles Romney
Robert Gardner
T. O. Angels
H. Hollingsbach
John Peck Ehidester
Elijah Averett
Elisha Averett
Appleton M. Harmon
Willes
Bunker
Godbe
Hasilum
Hooper
Eldridge
Jennings
Cummings
Mc Masters
Murdock

Jos. H. Ridges
Nathan Davis
F. Derricks
J. A. West
William Poulter
H. Walsh
M. Davidson
George Whitehead
E. Harris
L. Polland
J. Harris
James Davidson
J. Mc Kay
E. Ellsworth
S. Forsyth
C. Whitehead
C. Clawson
S. L. Adams
R. Ramsay
George Crosby
M. S. Polland
APPENDIX XII

RESOLUTION FROM TOQUERVILLE CO-OP

Toquerville, Kane Co.
February 27, 1877

To Mrs. Almeda Harmon and Family

The Board of Directors of the Toquerville Co-operative Mercantile Association met at two o'clock p.m. this day, and adopted the following resolutions. The store being closed during the day--

Whereas, We, the members of the Board of Directors of the above named institution, have met to pay our last tribute of respect to the memory of our late associate and brother, Appleton M. Harmon, who has been suddenly called by the decree of a wise Providence to his final rest. Therefore be it

Resolved, That recognizing to its fullest extent his untiring devotion to the development of the institutions of Zion, we are profoundly impressed with the loss we sustain by his death.

Resolved, That we do hereby extend to the family of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy in this their hour of sore trial and sad bereavement.

Wm. A. Bringhamst, Pres.,
George Spilsbury, Director,
Ashton Nebeker, Director,
Martin Slack, Secretary.
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ABSTRACT

As a builder, policeman, missionary, wagonmaster and militiaman Appleton Milo Harmon, during his eventful life, took part in many of the important events of early Mormondom. Through him one is able to relive the events of Nauvoo and the exodus to Winter Quarters. He participated in the destruction of the Expositor Press, and in the building of Mt. Pisgah, Winter Quarters, the famous roadometer and the Platte River Ferry.

After a mission to England, Appleton returned to Salt Lake to build sawmills in Emigration Canyon and to help in the erection of many buildings in the Salt Lake area. During this period he also participated in the Provo War. In 1863 he was called to the Cotton Mission of Dixie where he established a sawmill and furniture factory and was overseer in the construction of the cotton mill at Washington.

Appleton, for health reasons, moved to Holden, Utah, where he died on February 26, 1877.