1963

Abraham Alonzo Kimball: A Nineteenth Century Mormon Bishop

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Brigham Young University - Provo

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ABRAHAM ALONZO KIMBALL:
A NINETEENTH CENTURY
MORMON BISHOP

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

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

by
Jerry C. Higginson

July, 1963
PREFACE

It has been said that history can be studied through the lives of a few great men. This approach has been taken many times in the study of the origin and growth of Mormonism. The concept of the priesthood, with its attendant rule of obedience to authority, gave the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints a few great leaders, with extraordinary spiritual and temporal powers. Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells were some of the greatest of these.

Since ecclesiastical and temporal authority was delegated down through the offices of the priesthood, we find quite typical expressions of it in the lives of a number of strong Nineteenth Century Mormon bishops. While not great leaders in the eyes of the world, they were virtual kings in the small Mormon communities over which they presided. Few men have ever enjoyed the power which was given them over the lives of their flocks. The many and varied accomplishments of this priesthood-power system, as it determined success after success in Mormon colonization, remains a favorite subject for study among Twentieth Century Latter-day Saints.

A prime example of a strong Mormon bishop was Abraham Alonzo Kimball, a son of the great Mormon leader, Heber C. Kimball. He inherited qualities of leadership from both sides of his family. His maternal grandfather, Alpheus Cutler, led
a small group of Mormons from their Nebraska camp into Iowa to form an apostate group called the "True Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" or the "Cutlerites." The accomplishments of Heber C. Kimball as counselor and friend of Brigham Young are well known among Mormons.

The subject of this thesis is the life of Abraham Alonzo Kimball, taken as an example of a typical Mormon bishop of the nineteenth century. In tracing his life from his apostate surroundings as a lad in Iowa to his funeral as the beloved bishop of Kanosh, Millard County, Utah, we survey a wide range of Mormon-Utah history. Abraham's life (1846-62 in Iowa, 1862-89 in Utah) was connected either directly or indirectly with the following major events in Mormon history:

1. The exodus of the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois (1846).
2. The strengthening of the Cotton Mission on the Muddy River in Northeastern Nevada. (1867)
3. The building of the Union Pacific to Salt Lake City. (1868)
4. The re-settlement of Long Valley in Kane County. (1871)
5. The practice of polygamy in the 1870's and 1880's.
6. The practice of the United Order in the 1870's.
7. The building of the D. & R. G. W. Railroad toward the Colorado border. (1881)
8. The Jubilee year of 1880.
9. The Edmunds Law (1882) and the Edmunds-Tucker Law. (1887)

10. The Utah Territorial election of 1882.

His life further points up the hardships of early Utah colonizers, the workings of a nineteenth century Mormon ward, the duties of a tithing officer in a Mormon economy, the importance of water in an agricultural community, the willingness of groups to cooperate with each other, the fierce loyalty most settlers showed to presiding officials, the running battle with the Federal marshals, the frontier behavior of many Latter-day Saints before the Word of Wisdom was stressed, and the experience of Mormons sentenced to the penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation.

Mormons are generally conscious of their historical heritage and for this reason, examples of early writing are considered valuable and carefully preserved. Kimball's journals are a very important addition to the literature of Utah.

Abraham was given a small journal or diary as a going away gift by L. C. Brown, his brother-in-law, when he left for the British Mission in 1877. Prior to that time he had not kept a diary, but from that date forward he never failed to record his daily or weekly activities.

Then, after finishing a reminiscence of his life to 1877, he proceeded to re-do his journals to make them a more running narrative. Hence, most of his journals are re-worked. They continue up to a fortnight before his death on September 24, 1889.
These writings were again transcribed into one long, running journal, the work of his sister-in-law, Orilla Brown Sheffield, and his daughter, Clara Kimball Christensen. Although acknowledgement is given to both ladies, a beginning investigation of the handwriting style throughout the volume indicates that it was written by only one hand. It could be that a detailed search would reveal occasional insertions by a second person, but suffice to say it is largely the work of one person.¹

This large journal came into the possession of Abraham's son, Charles A. Kimball, who allowed it to be typed by the Utah State Historical Society before he had it placed permanently on the shelves of the Church Historian's Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Salt Lake City. Comments at the end of the journal, written approximately in the 1920's by one of his daughters, suppose that the original source material from which Orilla and Clara made their copy are no longer in existence.

Undoubtedly, some of the supposed "missing" journals are the ones in the possession of Dr. Stanley B. Kimball. He has the originals, written in Abraham's own hand, for the following dates:

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¹In my opinion Orilla did the journal. She was very close to Abe and his family and wrote voluminously to him.
He also has the condensed journals that Abraham did himself dated:

December 4, 1879 - September 1, 1882
August 6, 1882 - February 4, 1884

In addition to these there is a short, sketchy journal which covers from May 31, 1888 - November 5, 1888 and February, 1889 - June 1, 1889.

All of these journals in the possession of Dr. Stanley Kimball have been made available by him to the Brigham Young University Library for copying. As of this writing they have been copied by electric typewriter, double-spaced, and indexed both by name and subject by the staff in the Special Collections Section of J. Reuben Clark Library, Brigham Young University.

As has been mentioned before, Orilla Brown Sheffield and Clara Kimball Christensen's transcribed copy was typed by the Utah State Historical Society, and the five hundred page manuscript is on file in their library.

A few years ago the Brigham Young University had the bulk of this manuscript microprinted and bound for use in the library. The parts microprinted were:

1. From the beginning reminiscences to February 4, 1878.
2. June 4, 1881 to April 4, 1884.
3. April 4, 1887 to September 24, 1889.

Journals containing information about the two interim periods had previously been copied and shelved by the Brigham
Young University. They are the ones dated July 2, 1878 to June 12, 1881, and April 4, 1884 to April 13, 1887.

The three microprint sections of Orilla's and Clara's copied journal and the two original day-by-day copies of Abraham's own writings have been the basis for this study. The other journals mentioned above which Dr. Kimball allowed to be copied have been typewritten and bound during the academic year 1962-63 so have been unavailable to the writer until the middle of June, 1963.

Some spot checks made after this thesis had been prepared reveal the following changes in Orilla's and Clara's transcriptions: when Orilla and Clara went through his original journals they smoothed out the style considerably, combining sentences, inserting articles and easing transitions. Spelling errors and awkward sentences were also corrected.

Some subject changes which indicate the weakness in using this work as the final word can be seen by the entry made on April 4, 1884 when Abraham reported 12,000 - 13,000 at a Salt Lake Conference which was re-recorded 1,200 - 1,300. In combining and shortening his entry of April 30, 1881 they left out the fact that he was selling machines and canvassing on his return trip from Salt Lake. Possibilities of such deletions are easily understood considering that the material on his life had largely been copied three times!

A shocking discovery was made when the writer went through the original of Orilla's transcription. In several instances two or three pages had been cut out entirely and in many other places
a paragraph or two had been thoroughly inked out or covered with glue and black paper. Of course, these passages cannot be read so would be missing from the manuscript that the Utah Historical Society prepared. 2

A xerox copy of two pages of Abraham's handwriting and writing style is included as Appendix A of this thesis. It can be seen that he wrote with a decided left hand slant, filling the pages fully. When he used a steel pen and ink his writing is quite easily read. However, occasionally he wrote in pencil on inexpensive paper. These books are more difficult to peruse.

When quoting from Abraham's original diary, the writer has taken the liberty to occasionally put in punctuation and rearrange a few words to aid readability. This has been done in only one or two instances so that most of the quotes are as they were found in the documents.

So that the reader can be oriented to the major places of residence in the life of Abraham A. Kimball the following summary should be helpful:

2. Winter Quarters, Nebraska, 1846-47.

2In the opinion of the writer, these missing or blacked out sections contained references to very personal items or references to his health.
5. Heber C. Kimball Ranch, Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah Territory, 1866-67.
7. Berryville (Glendale), Kane County, Utah Territory, 1871.
8. Petersburg (Hatton) and Kanosh, Millard County, Utah Territory, 1871-89.

Grateful acknowledgements are given to Mrs. Vontella B. Kimball, granddaughter of Abraham Alonzo Kimball, who has given encouraging help, inspiration and timely advice in the preparation of this manuscript; to Stanley B. Kimball who possesses many of the originals of Abraham Alonzo Kimball's diaries and who gave permission for this study; to the Raymond A. Kimball family of Denver, Colorado, for their friendship; to Elmo Higginson and George Higginson, who have given support, advice, and never-ending encouragement for the completion of this thesis; to Dianne Higginson, Susan Ream, and Marilyn McMeen, who have helped with the editing; to Lelia Higginson and Fern M. Nixon for the typing of the manuscript; to the efficient staff of the Special Collections Section of the Brigham Young University Library who cheerfully serviced my every request; and to Dr. Richard D. Poll and Gustive O. Larson for their advice, instruction, and participation on my committee. I am most appreciative.
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CHAPTER I

LIFE IN IOWA

Abraham Alonzo Kimball was born April 16, 1846 in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois. His father was Heber Chase Kimball, the great Mormon leader. His mother was Clarissa Cutler Kimball, a daughter of Alpheus and Lois Cutler. Alpheus was a member of the first high council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹

The first exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo in February, 1846, had already taken place when Abraham was born. This was a very turbulent period in Mormon history as mob actions were forcing them to seek refuge in the uninhabited parts of the Western United States. While very small Abraham was taken with his mother to Winter Quarters (near Florence, Nebraska) where the main body of the Saints were camped. Departure of the first group of Mormons on the long trek across the plains to the Great Basin was imminent.

Feeling impressed that Clarissa² would never come to the

¹Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1956), section 124, verse 132.

²Heber C. married two of Alpheus' daughters, Clarissa and Emily, presumably during the Nauvoo period of the Church. Emily had a son about the same time Abraham Alonzo was born to Clarissa. Emily's infant son was named Isaac A.
mountains, Heber, on leaving them to go west with the Pioneers, blessed his little sons, and while his hands were upon Abraham's head, prophesied that he would some day come to the home of his people and would afterwards return for his brother Isaac.3

Heber was correct in his doubts about his Cutler wives joining him in Utah. Alpheus Cutler was called to go on a mission to the Indians on the Grasshopper River in Indiana and took with him his wife, two daughters, and his two grandsons by Heber C. Kimball. Here he apostatised from the Church, took his family to Manti, Fremont County, Iowa, and established what they called the "True Church of Latter-day Saints." This new church officiated in the ordinances---baptism, endowments, baptism for the dead---of the original Mormon Church.

Two years later the two Cutler daughters died leaving young Abraham and Isaac as orphans in Iowa. Thus, in an environment made up of people bitterly opposed to the Utah Mormons, Heber's sons were raised.

From 1847 to 1862 Heber often mentioned his long unseen sons, Abraham and Isaac, in his family prayers with his Utah family. He would pray that "the Lord would bless them and rule over all things for their good and would lead them to their father's house."4 The story of the fulfilment of Heber's pro-

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3Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City: The Kimball Family, 1888), p. 432. This blessing was given on February 9, 1847, when Abraham was ten months old.

phesy when Abraham and Isaac came to Utah was to become a faith promoting incident in the literature of Mormonism.  

Abraham and Isaac lived for a time with their grandparents, but at the age of nine were bound over to their Uncle Thadeus who was in charge of their maintenance until they reached their majority. By this arrangement, Thadeus was to provide for the old age of Alpheus and his wife, Lois, in return for his inheritance of Cutler's property at their demise. But within a year or two Thadeus became neglectful of the needs of Abraham, Isaac, and also of the elderly Cutlers, to the extent that the local Cutlerite Church had to come in and take care of them as a charity case. The young boys went back to the home of their grandfather.

In the 1850's the grandfather—"Prophet," Alpheus, was afflicted with rheumatism and "phthisic" so badly that he could not work. Even moving for him became difficult. Abraham and Isaac took care of the farm, working hard for their mutual support and the support of their grandparents.

When Abraham was about sixteen years old, he was sent on an errand to another town where he stayed for a week with his

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5Abraham A. Kimball, Gems for Young Folk (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Printing Office, 1881). This article made Abraham quite well known in the Mormon Church. It is a word for word copy of the opening pages of Orilla Brown's copy of Abraham's journals. The account tells of Abe's birth, life in Iowa, and the circumstances surrounding his coming to Utah and consequent conversion to Mormonism. Heavy reliance has been made on the information contained in this small article for the composition of this chapter.

6Ibid.
Uncle Edwin Cutler. Edwin asked him if he would like to go to California. To this he quickly agreed, claiming that he had a desire to roam and had caught "gold fever."

When he returned home the following Sunday evening, he had great difficulty convincing his grandparents of his determination to leave with his uncle for California. While she objected to his going, Grandmother Cutler agreed to get his clothes in order, ready for his departure. Very early the next morning he went to his uncle's home, ready to start west.

With the security of a mature age and the stature of a community leader in Utah, he was able later to prepare the dramatic remembrances of his ill-treatment in Iowa for publication in Gems for Young Folk. This account gives the reader reason for sympathizing with his desire to leave Iowa. He remembered the lack of social acceptance both he and Isaac had suffered. They were called "bastards," Brighams," and "Hebers" all through their teen lives and were often threatened with exile to Utah where they were told the Mormons would soon discipline them through violence. Later Abraham reminisced:

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7Abe was thirty-five years old when this publication came out and had been in Utah for nineteen years.

8Abraham A. Kimball, "Life History," Clara Kimball Christensen and Orilla Brown Sheffield, ed., p. 4. Microprint copy of the typewritten manuscript prepared by the Utah Historical Society in the Special Collections Section of the Brigham Young University Library. The beginning pages of this source became the manuscript from which Gems for Young Folk was printed.
No nervous children were worse frightened by stories of hobgoblins than were my brother and I, with what they told us about the Mormons. We were also taught that if we stayed in the woods picking fruit, etc., the Mormons would be sure to catch us and carry us off.\(^9\)

More than once while out picking berries the boys jumped and ran at a slight noise. Abraham recorded that his worst dreams and nightmares contained images of himself being captured by the Mormons and living forever after a life of captivity, caged among them like a wild beast in a menagerie. He further said that the name Mormon, in fact, "became to us synonomous with that of an ugly and dangerous monster, and we grew up with the most bitter prejudice and intense hatred in our hearts towards all who bore that name."\(^{10}\) Abraham and Isaac were never told for sure who their father was. They thought it was either Brigham or Heber, but Abraham said he thought it was Brigham Young. While in Iowa they always went by the surname of Cutler.

So, in 1862 Abraham started for the golden west and California in order to escape the persecution he had endured in Iowa. He took with him only a small bundle of clothing, principally made up of an old-fashioned suit of clothes and a fiddle. Although he enjoyed a feeling of independence and power as he left home,

\(^9\)Ibid.

\(^{10}\)Ibid., p. 5.
it was rudely canceled when he arrived at his Uncle Edwin's residence. Edwin saw in Abraham a lad who could become his servant as well as companion. Other designs upon his labors were made obvious to Abraham later as they journeyed west. But he began to enjoy privileges heretofore unknown to him. Some of these were an occasional taste of whiskey, hunting cattle, attending dances, and riding mules. He records his first business deal in the sale of his fiddle for a gallon of whiskey and one dollar. Amusingly enough, he stated, "from the effects of drinking the whiskey I felt that I could easily reach California and, after obtaining a pipe and a pound of tobacco, I felt fully equipped for my trip." It is true that he was probably equipped as well as any comparable pioneer youth of the 1860's.

They joined a larger group of western moving settlers and at the start his uncle shared camp and driving duties with Abraham. Soon, however, Abe was doing all of the work. A master-slave situation developed which caused a separation between his uncle Edwin and aunt over his treatment. His aunt informed him secretly that Edwin had designs to take him to his father in Utah. This, of course, aroused many fears in the mind of Abraham. He immediately challenged his uncle with this information and inquired about his intentions. Edwin must have assured him otherwise before they reached Fort Laramie because he continued to travel with them. His behavior before they reached Fort Laramie is indicated by his comment that, "the thought of gold had now completely left me and
I became reckless, having neither respect for God nor man.\textsuperscript{11}

Again, just before Laramie, Abraham met a man by the name of James Spicer who was from his uncle's hometown in Iowa. Spicer was also on his way to California. He went to Abraham and said, "you don't want to go to Utah, do you?" Abraham replied that he did not. Spicer then said that he, Spicer, had no intentions of going there and as a humanitarian gesture, proposed to exchange his hired man for Abraham. The lad quickly agreed with this arrangement and told his Uncle Edwin that he would accompany him no further. He was going to go to California with his new friend, Spicer! Uncle Edwin was very upset but did finally accept Spicer's hired man as a substitute.

While still in Wyoming Spicer was informed that several wagon trains had been robbed and some persons killed on the old Fort Hall route to California. "Damn the odds, Spicer, we will die brave," Abraham replied when he heard the news, for he naturally supposed that if they went the Utah route the Mormons would kill him or mark him for recognition as an apostate. However, because of the Indian scare the caravan decided to go on the Mormon route to Los Angeles. Abraham braced himself for the worst.

As they neared Utah, he heard more and more about the Mormons, and was identified with them by members of the caravan and by the pioneers he met. By this time he knew that Heber C. Kimball was his father.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 8.
When they got to Parley's Park at the head of Parley's Canyon in Utah Territory, Abraham heard that a half-brother, William H. Kimball, was living there. He decided that things would go better for him if he faced the Kimballs first instead of last. Armed with a revolver, a tough friend, and a "grid" of tobacco, he paid a visit to William. The civilized greeting and treatment he received from the Kimball family impressed him and he had a very congenial visit. Of course, the family made "great inducement" for him to call on his father when passing through Salt Lake City. He must have been softening to his Mormon surroundings because he promised Spicer that he would quickly join him at their winter camp at Camp Floyd if he was not suited to Utah or to his new family. Spicer offered a home to Abraham for as long as he wanted, because the two of them had become close friends in the few weeks they had been together. Abe claimed that, "If I had been called upon to mount the gallows I should not have done so with greater reluctance than I then manifested as I went forth to meet my father."12 But, dressed in some very funny clothes, and with a few staple provisions over his shoulder, he set off to find his father in Salt Lake City.

12Ibid., p. 13.
CHAPTER II

LIFE IN UTAH

To introduce Abraham A. Kimball to the Utah phase of his life, a summary of the events discussed in this chapter covering the years 1862 to 1867 would be helpful. Heber C. Kimball quickly endeared himself to Abe, convinced him to stay in Utah, provided him accommodations in his house, saw that he was baptised into the Mormon Church, sent him to school during the next four winters, provided him with a job in the carding factory, married him to one of his step-sisters in the Endowment House, sent him to tend a family ranch in Grantsville, and finally called him to be a cotton missionary in the Muddy Mission in Nevada.

Abe made a comment on the rough, funny spectacle he must have been as he walked up East South Temple Street inquiring after the residence of Heber C. Kimball. As he walked into the yard his half-brother, William, was just hitching up the horse to again search for him on the Parley's Park Road. William greeted him enthusiastically, and made the introduction to his father with these words, "here's your boy!" This reuniting of father and son according to promise caused Adelia Wilcox Kimball to write, "and thus we see the over ruling hand of providence manifested in his behalf."¹

¹Wilcox, op. cit., p. 24.
Abe had still been full of suspicion and distrust when he was first introduced to his father. He declined his father's embrace but Heber's joy in seeing him soon put him at ease. Heber's kind, fatherly manner softened him more. Adelia was asked to prepare a bath and a new suit of clothes for Abe, and after he had bathed and dressed, "he looked like another boy."² Five or six of his father's wives and about twenty of his children were called in which really astonished Abel. During the first evening he spent with his new found family, he reviewed his life with the Cutlers in Iowa.³

In the evening he was invited to sleep with the boys in a new room that had just been added to the big house. The children soon began making sport of their "country brother" which gave Abe a chance for battle.⁴ Their father soon appeared in night clothes to quickly settle down all the boys. Abe said that they soon learned to love and respect each other and he began participating in a family life which meant a great deal to him. He worked the rest of the summer of 1862 "baulsing" wood, and in the winter he attended school.

Early the next spring Abe was asked if he wanted to be baptized into the Church, as he had not joined his grandfather's

²Ibid.

³This account is given in Abraham A. Kimball's "Life History," pp. 1-17.

⁴In Adelia's "Memoirs" she refers to Abraham as Abe. Because he was known as Abe in Utah, this abbreviation of his name will be used in this paper.
or any other church in Iowa. He concluded that he would, so his father immediately sent for Enoch Reese, who baptized him in City Creek, Salt Lake City, on April 10, 1863. It was a day not to be forgotten by Abe, for after his baptism Heber confirmed him a member of the Church, ordained him an elder, and set him apart as a missionary to go to Iowa to bring his brother Isaac to Utah, thus confirming the blessing pronounced upon him in his infancy. His mission also included the seeking out of Orin Rockwell (Porter Rockwell's oldest son) and as many other sons as he could induce to join their fathers in Zion.

He left on his mission in the middle of April 1863 in company with a large train of wagons and mules heading for the Missouri River, a trip that took twenty-one days. From the Missouri River to his old home in Iowa he went by horseback and on foot. His homecoming was a joyous occasion to his grandparents and brother Isaac. The first few days were spent visiting his friends and old resorts. According to his written report they were all glad to see him.

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5 From the files of the Temple Index Bureau, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

6 Kimball, Gems.

7 This was probably one of the "Church Trains" which were sent back to the Missouri River to pick up immigrants and provisions bound for Utah.
An important conversation that Abraham had privately with his grandfather, Alpheus Cutler, took place at this time.\textsuperscript{8} Alpheus quizzed him extensively about his old friends in Utah and about his own experiences in particular. Cutler was pleased that Abe had participated in all of the ordinances of the Mormon Church in Utah\textsuperscript{9} and bore his testimony that he knew that Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball and the other brethren held the keys to exalt mankind; he further advised Abe never to yield on the point of his testimony of "Mormonism." His one request of Abe was that he not divulge this confession to "those whom I lead while I live." This was not to be very long because he died in the year following.

Abe was thankful for this interview and experience with his grandfather for he later claimed that it was a great lesson to him. He had learned what a mischievous and dangerous quality ambition could be if it were not properly controlled. The seeking for worldly honors had caused his grandfather to "outrage his conscience." By such actions, "he had led a false life and bartered away his claim to eternal riches for a mess of pottage."\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{8}See Appendix B. This confession was known widely throughout Utah after 1881 when Gems For Young Folk was published.

\textsuperscript{9}Abe received his endowments on April 11, 1863, the day after his baptism. Temple Index Bureau, \textit{op. cit.} The endowment is a special ceremony performed in the temples of the Mormon Church.

\textsuperscript{10}Kimball, "History," p. 21.
Abe received this lesson in the value of obedience at the age of seventeen while most of his Mormon contemporaries had learned it as they grew to adolescence. However late he learned it, Bishop Abraham A. Kimball, as he became in later life, nearly always gave obedience and loyalty to superior council, and tolerated no challenges to his authority by subordinates in his ward. This will be illustrated later, but it is important to say here that the typical Nineteenth Century Mormon believed in, and generally practiced, subordination to the Priesthood authority of the Church. Abe's dedication to that way of life, even during the period 1863-75 when he was semi-active in the Church, indicated that he learned his lessons well.

Isaac was happy to accompany Abe to Utah, and both boys left Iowa with the blessings of their grandparents. Isaac was received in Salt Lake City just as warmly as Abe had been. He joined the Church and went on a mission to England soon after.

After returning from Iowa Abe's father gave him the opportunity to work in his carding machine factory to learn the trade. After performing these duties for two months the cold weather closed down the operation which gave Abe the opportunity to attend school again during the winter.

He claimed to have little inclination toward "book learning" because he was always mischievous and full of fun—he liked machinery and farming much better. Abe later regreted taking his schooling so lightly but did not realize the value of education at that time. When he became bishop he showed great
enthusiasm for the study of the scriptures, the histories of
Josephus, and other scholarly works. He pleaded with the young
people of his ward to take every advantage to learn and to speak
before the public. The fact that he had passed up so many of his
opportunities to learn these things gave missionary zeal to his
crusade. A theme he used often when speaking to the young people
was the profitable use of leisure time.

While working for his father and living in the "big
house" Abe was quite a "cut-up." It was second nature for him
to have fun and to rough-house with his brothers, Brigham and
Solomon. Their adopted sister, Mary Eliza, locked herself in
her bedroom to get out of their way. Heber's wife, Adelia, la-
mented that the chaos caused by the many children at home was the
worst part of living in plural marriage. When they went to school
in the Fall, it was a relief to her.\footnote{Wilcox, "Memoirs," p. 24.}

When April came in 1864, Abe went back to work on the
carding machine, a job which proved injurious to his health.
This was the beginning of trouble with his lungs which eventually
snuffed out his life at the age of forty-three. From this time
forward many of his activities were oriented to his health.\footnote{It is sobering to imagine a boy nineteen having a chronic
health problem, but this was common in the nineteenth century.
We must remember that "wonder" drugs and many cures are the suc-
cesses of the twentieth century. In discussing the health of
pioneers with employees of the Utah State Historical Society, the
writer heard of other instances of illness in early journals.
Some of the pioneers "enjoyed" poor health, but others, like Bishop
Kimball, fought with every scheme possible to delay death.
His father, seeing his condition, took him away from the carding machine and sent him on a freighting trip to the great mining center of Virginia City, Montana. 13 He drove a team of mules in a small caravan and had two learning experiences on the trip which were to cause him serious reflection. The first was a swimming incident while camped along the Snake River. A cramp caused him to nearly drown and made Abe dislike swimming in the years to come.

The second was his exposure to a wild western gold mining town. Virginia City had a very efficient vigilante committee in the making which was becoming effective in subduing the lawlessness of the town. The Plummer Gang and others were being stopped by the swift punishments of a people's court. 14 Abe was surprised to note that hanging was the punishment for gold thieves and other felons. The lax morality was another revelation to him. He went to a public dancing house "for curiosity's sake," and saw two Mormon girls leading reckless lives. This caused him to wonder, "how I should manage to keep my children at home if I had any." 15 The two month trip to Virginia City ended successfully in August with a great improvement in his health.

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15 Kimball, "History," p. 29. His reminiscences on this period makes no reference to the fact that the Civil War was being fought at this time.
Abe went back to his carding trade for a couple of months when his lungs flared up again, aggravated by the close confinement while working on the machine. He then attended school for the third winter since his arrival in Utah. Also, during the winter of 1864-65 he decided he would like to marry Mary Eliza Hatton, his adopted sister, if he could win her. His father was quite a match maker, and some of his encouragement embarrassed Abe. He made his father promise to stay out of the romance until he had won her and was ready for marriage.

In March, Abe was nearly nineteen years old, foreman of his father's carding business, and ready to marry Mary Eliza. Heber wasted no time in making an appointment for them in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City for May 27th, 1865, and the ceremony was performed at the appointed hour. Abe commented about the youth and bashfulness of his sixteen year old bride, but added, "I guess I was plagued the most of the two on that day." He claimed to have received his first fair and square kiss from her at that time which caused his heart to leap within him. He went on to qualify his comment with, "I hope no one will think that I never stole a kiss or two during our sparking days." 17

Abe and his new bride returned to live in the east wing of Heber's big house under the hill for the next eleven months. Soon

16 Adelia Elvira Wilcox Hatton Kimball was her mother, who married Heber C. Kimball after her husband, William Hatton, was killed in Fillmore City during the Walker War of 1855.

17 Kimball, "History," p. 32.
after his marriage, Vilate Kimball, Heber's first wife, came to Abe and told him that because Adelia had been a good, faithful and obedient plural wife, Heber thought she should have the privilege of living with her daughter and son-in-law. Abe agreed to this arrangement, as did Adelia who never dreamed that Abe would ever leave Salt Lake City.

Heber had employed Abe to be foreman-manager of his carding machine because of his competent work. As a result, during the first weeks of his marriage he worked eighteen hours per day, from three a.m. to nine p.m. By fall his lungs had been spent from the close confinement of the factory and possibly from the harmful effects of tobacco.\footnote{Abe did not give up this tobacco habit until 1881, two and one-half years after he was made bishop.} By winter he could do no work, not even the chopping of his own wood.\footnote{Kimball, "Life History," p. 33.} The doctor in consultation with his father decided that he should go to California or some other climate in the coming spring, 1866.

But in early April, 1866, his father requested that he move his family, now consisting of his wife (who was expecting a baby in May), and his mother-in-law, to a neglected ranch Kimball owned in Grantsville, Tooele County. His father promised him that his health would be okay and that he would live long if he lived right. When the family moved to the ranch, it found that "neglected" did not adequately describe its run-down condition. The house had been opened to shelter cattle during the winter, leaving
six inches of manure on the floor. Many cattle had died in the
courtyard of the farm complex so that the resulting stench is
better imagined than described. After Abe had shoveled a path
around the stove so that the women could cook, two of his brothers
helped him haul away the dead cattle. His brothers had been sent
to help him get settled on his father's ranch. This was the begin-
ning of fifteen months in Grantsville.

Ranching was hard work for Abe as he had so few of the
skills required. He learned fast, however, and seemed to thrive
on the open air which was reflected in the dramatic improvement
of his health. He herded cattle, mules, and horses all that winter,
his father letting him have the stock on "shares."\(^{20}\) After del-
ivering the animals to market the next spring, he made a trip to
Salt Lake City to receive $1.25 per head for herding them.

While there Heber asked Abe to come back to the city as
the manager of his expanded carding machine works. Abe refused,
even if his father were to give him ownership of the whole affair,
knowing that it would damage his health. Heber then inquired,
"will you do it if I tell you to?" Abe's reply was yes if his
father required him to, but not for hire. Evidently Heber wanted
him badly enough to require his obedience so Abe moved his family
back to Salt Lake City. His family, at least, was happy about
the prospect of moving back to the headquarters city of the Church.
They effected the move to a new home in the Nineteenth Ward in

\(^{20}\)Kimball, "History," p. 36.
June, 1867. Abe turned over the ranch to his brother Charles after settling all of the accounts.

His health failed progressively in Salt Lake City, and he was practically an invalid by fall. Abe attributed this to the Salt Lake climate, but it was probably more influenced by his confinement in the carding works during the summer. Whatever it was, by fall Abe thought it was his time to leave this life as he could not work but only shuffle over to the Endowment House to do work for the dead. Here he spent quite a bit of time with his father who recognized that a solution to his health problem had to be found. Heber's first suggestion was that he be sent to England on a mission. A local doctor, however, warned that the sea air would kill him in short order. The doctor further advised that a warmer climate would be Abe's only chance for a long life.21

Acting on this Heber C. Kimball, as first counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, told Abe that he wanted to call him on a mission to Dixie. Specifically, his missionary efforts were needed to help strengthen a struggling cotton growing community on the Muddy River. This community was located near the mouth of the Muddy River as it flowed into the Virgin River in what is now Clark County, Nevada. At the time Abe was called, the

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21Abe was unable to go to Church meetings during this summer because of his health. He also had a terrible fear of speaking or praying in Church. A few times he would go into his orchard in Salt Lake and pray when he was absolutely sure that he could not be seen. Even with these precautions he would jump up and break out in an immediate sweat if he should hear a rustling of the undergrowth or strange noises of any kind. He says, "In fact I would at that time just about as soon have been caught stealing, as praying for some reason." Kimball, "History," p. 40.
Muddy Mission area was thought to be in Utah, or perhaps Arizona, as it lay just eighty miles south of the headquarters of the Cotton Mission at St. George.

Abe's father assured him that he had no hard feelings towards him in the least but thought that it would be beneficial to his health. Abe enthusiastically agreed to go and reassured his father several times during the next few days that he would not back out of a Dixie assignment to the Muddy Mission after his name was announced in the newly dedicated Tabernacle on Temple Square in October, 1867. This event was very significant to Abe and his family because it meant a relocation for them and their posterity to Mormon communities far removed from Salt Lake City.

At this time colonizing missions were being filled by many Latter-day Saints. Utah was receiving a large amount of immigration arising from the "gathering" doctrine of the Mormons. Many miners and army personnel were also coming into Utah during the 1860's. Church teams and wagons were transporting large numbers of newly converted immigrants and supplies from the Missouri River across the plains to Utah.

Before Abe's departure to the Muddy Mission his father very

22From the lament sung by most of the Dixie missionaries, they seemed to feel that such an assignment was for their spiritual chastening. Note the first verse of the song in Appendix C.

23Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1893), II, 181. The list of Muddy missionaries called in this conference is in Appendix D.
ceremoniously called him into his office to settle all accounts, debts, and financial matters. Heber and his son David witnessed the proceedings, explaining that if anything happened to either Heber or Abe then no one could say that "you owe this or I owe that!" He then proceeded to show Abe his indebtedness to him of several hundred dollars. Heber arrived at the figure by charging him for every item of clothing and for personal effects given him since his arrival in Salt Lake City some five years before. Seeing this sum of money startled Abe, but Heber was quick to add that he was making a present to him of all these debts saying that he only brought them up to show him "how much I have done for you since you came to me." This mightily relieved Abe because to pay the debt would have taken all of his net worth, including the house in the Nineteenth Ward that his father had given him. After squaring up his tithing, he made preparations to leave.

Two of his father's wives gave him a wall tent for which he was thankful. He loaded a scalded pig and all his earthly

24Kimball, "History," p. 41.

25Abe was one of forty-one heirs to share in the $85,646.53 estate left by Heber C. Kimball after all debts had been settled. The books of complete settlement are on microfilm in the library of the Brigham Young University and are written in a beautiful cursive style. The entry on December 31, 1875 shows Abe receiving $2,089.66 along with the forty other heirs.

The house mentioned above in Salt Lake City was not sold. Abe's father told him to keep it in the event that he might want to live in it again sometime. While Abe never did return to the house there is nothing said in his later diaries about the final disposition of the property.
possessions in a wagon and was ready to start on his mission to
the Muddy River by the first of November. On his way out of town
to begin his trip he stopped to say goodbye to his father and his
family. It was the last time he saw his father alive.  

Heber called them in and said that he wanted to bless them
before they began their journey. In the traditional manner of
the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since its beginning,
his father placed his hands on his son's head and promised his
family many good things. Heber then gave the missionaries an
opportunity to exhibit faith in their own behalf by directing Abe
and Adelia to lay hands on his head saying, "whatever you pronounce
upon my head shall be fulfilled upon your own." Abe did so,
but later lamented that he said little if anything because of his
great fear and shyness in praying. Adelia, too, in reporting the
event in her "Memoirs" tells of saying but little when she had the
opportunity to pronounce the blessing. Abe went on to say, "I
know I felt fearful cheap for one, realizing my weakness once more
in neglecting to improve the chances afforded me."  

Abraham, Adelia, Mary Eliza, and seventeen month old baby,
Clara, who had been born in Grantsville all sadly left Salt Lake
City. Abe expressed a fear at that time that he would never see

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26He died the following June.
27Abe says he was not able to relate them at the time of
his writing.
28Kimball, "History," p. 44.
29Ibid.
his father again. A more immediate fear, however, was his going into a strange land with but seventy-five cents in his pocket! Henry E. Hatton, Mary Eliza's unmarried brother, had also been called to the Muddy Mission to help Abe get established. When Henry joined them on the road just a few miles out of Salt Lake, Abe was considerably cheered. This meant that two of his in-laws were now living with him an arrangement which continued all through his life. Henry never married and is mentioned often in Abe's journals during the eighties.

The exodus which began in the late autumn met the usual Utah weather conditions of cold and snow characteristic of the season. This was the first of many such trips that Abe would take which meant sleeping on the ground. They got stuck in the mud and suffered the usual hardships of a four hundred mile trip over dirt and sandy roads to get to their destination, St. Thomas, headquarters of the Muddy Mission. They had the harrowing experience of crossing the Virgin River some twenty-eight times after leaving the town of St. George.
CHAPTER III

LIFE ON THE MUDDY MISSION

The story of Abe's participation in the Muddy Mission from late 1867 to early 1871 is one of the most interesting phases of his life. During this period he had a daughter born to him in 1868 who was named Lois Catherine and he and his family went through hardships that were rarely duplicated by any other pioneers. Abe's experiences on the Muddy Mission were interesting because the background, operation, and finish of this part of the Cotton Mission was one of the few colonization mistakes in early Utah history.

As was mentioned earlier, Abe's family and one hundred fifty-seven other families were called in the October Conference of 1867 to "strengthen" the Muddy Mission. The desperate need for strengthening the Muddyites came about in the following manner.

Consistent with Brigham Young's plan for autonomy and selfsufficiency of the people in the Great Basin, he organized the Dixie Cotton Mission early in the year 1861. Headquarters for this mission, which took in the Virgin River Valley, was St. George, Washington County, in the extreme southwestern corner of Utah. Because of the warm climate and favorable growing season

1See map, Appendix D.
of Southern Utah, the Dixie missionaries were assigned to grow the cotton, tobacco, grape, and hopefully the citrus needs of the basin. While cotton culture met with some success, resulting from earlier experimentation in the valley, the Dixie Mission had one of the hardest struggles of any of the early settlement missions of the Mormons.

The fact that the Muddy Valley in 1864 could play a part in the development of a new transportation experiment also made its colonization important. Brigham Young's idea was to transport freight and immigrants from the west coast, up the Colorado River to Call's Landing, and then overland to the Muddy colonies, St. George, and up the Mormon Trail to Salt Lake City. To fulfill this need the first cotton missionaries called specifically to colonize the Muddy Valley came in October Conference, 1864. Under the leadership of Thomas S. Smith the first colonizers arrived on the Muddy in the early part of 1865 and established the town of Thomas. Joseph Warner Foote began a new town of St. Joseph about six months later when the new colony numbered nearly fifty families. Bishop James Leithead was appointed head of the

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2At this time there was an outflow of $60,000 per year in gold to eastern markets for tobacco supplies of Utah. Leonard J. Arrington, "An Economic Interpretation of the Word of Wisdom," B.Y.U. Studies (Winter, 1959), p. 46.

settlements on the Muddy in 1866 and in the next two and a half years directed the establishment of West Point, Junction City (Rioville), Simonsville, and Overton. 4

Food, clothing, water, timber, and money were scarce but the Muddyites had an abundance of mesquite brush, wind, dust, insects, snakes, heat, Indians, tax assessors, and colonists who either went north for the summer or went straight on to California after seeing the Muddy Valley. 5 Bad crops, Indians, starvation, and general misery caused the desperate Muddyites to call for help in 1867. In response to the requests of the stake officials in St. George Brigham Young and the First Presidency called Abraham A. Kimball and others in October Conference to help strengthen the Muddy colonies.

The pathetic condition of the people is reported by Abe soon after he and his family arrived at St. Thomas in January, 1868. He says:

The bishop, Alma Bennett, was a young man some 35 years of age and a stranger to me, and was poor enough as well as the old settlers. I learned from them that they were and had been so destitute that they are compelled to cut up the


5Many of the Muddy missionaries "called" by the Church officials in Salt Lake City showed a weakness of the faith by either bribing or hiring substitutes to take their place as colonizers. These substitutes were noticeably reluctant to cooperate in community projects and it was said that it took twenty substitutes to be worth one regular. This had serious implications in the feelings between settlers. Larson, Dixie, p. 144.
last bed tick and sheet they owned to make clothing enough to cover their nakedness, and at one time, were compelled to discontinue their meetings for want of clothing to cover themselves. I also learned of many privations they endured, which I consider far ahead of pioneers or battalion for hardships which they have received very little credit for and sympathy but are left for God to reward.  

The Kimballs were soon taken on a tour of the community of farms around St. Thomas. Abe was not very enthusiastic about the farms because they were covered with mesquite brush, each bush taking over one hour of hard work to remove. The water to the fort came through a four mile ditch which made it as muddy as its name. 

He decided not to try to live there but to go on to St. Joseph eight miles up the Muddy River. Here he pitched a tent where his family lived for two months without even gaining an acquaintance with the bishop. Because the new settlers had new clothes and were relatively well equipped there was friction and jealousy between the old and new groups. Some of the new settlers in Abe's group, after exploring on up the canyon another fifteen miles, left St. Joseph designing to defy the bishop and to establish their own town. Abraham, while very reluctant to

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6Kimball, "History," p. 54.

7The Muddy River was a clean, clear running stream. The name "Muddy" was given it from the silt that was stirred up by the wagons crossing it on the Spanish Trail.

desert the present bishop, remembering his father's advice to always uphold the Priesthood in their positions of authority, decided to join the new group anyway. All of his friends and former trail mates had virtually left him. In starting a new town and appointing new leaders, Abe commented that it reminded him more of the Cutler apostate church in which he was raised, "than any place I had seen since leaving."9

The strong influence of Brigham Young, the "Lion of the Lord," in Utah colonization was made manifest when he decreed that these "runaway" missionaries were to either go back to St. Joseph where they were assigned or to come home! Abe accepted this counsel as did the whole runaway community and returned to St. Joseph. Here he put in a small crop immediately and made preparations for a home. Adelia, Abe's mother-in-law, was a strong pioneer woman on the Muddy. Because most of the Muddy settlers were young couples like Abe and Mary Eliza they all flocked around Adelia for advice and mature friendship.

By the time Abe and his family got settled they were out of food and other provisions. In company with three men, Abe took a load of salt blasted from a nearby mountain down to a place called Pahranagat Valley where it was to be used for smelting purposes. He successfully exchanged the salt for cash to purchase flour, bacon and similar staples.10 This was the beginning of a

9Ibid., p. 56.

10On arriving home the men divided the meat by cutting it up as evenly as possible. They had the three recipients turn their backs and "call" for the piece that a boy was touching. This way there were not "feelings" among the three men over the division of the meat. Kimball, "History," p. 64.
freighting business which Abe developed into a major activity after he settled in Kanosh.

Abe made another trip in the late summer of 1868. His father, Heber, had died on June 28th. This was a great shock to the whole family as they had not heard of his illness. A spell of gloom was cast over them as he related, "I never had anything affect me to such an extent in my life. Tears seemed to add no relief to my sorrow. The days of my youth and hardships all rushed before me."\(^{11}\)

Abe was an orphan again, but now he had his own family for comfort and solace. He was without money, in a strange land, on an experimental mission but lamented the loss of his father as the greatest of his trials. He finished building one room of his adobe house and then traveled alone to Salt Lake City. He found on arrival that his brothers had gone out toward Bear Lake in Northern Utah to work on the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad then approaching completion to link California and Utah with the east. He was informed that there was a span of mules for him from his father's estate\(^{12}\) so he decided to join his brothers on the railroad to earn needed money for more provisions. The job paid $5.00 per day with mules so he stayed until the winter snows began. He returned to the Muddy with six mules,

\(^{11}\)Kimball, "History," p. 65.

\(^{12}\)This was entered on the Estate Settlement books of Heber C. Kimball in 1869. The mules were valued at $350. A microfilm of the entire Kimball Estate Settlement is on microfilm in the J. Reuben Clark Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
a new large wagon, foodstuffs and furniture that had been stored in Fillmore. Of course, his family was delighted to see him as they were still living in a tent and looking forward to moving into the one finished room of the adobe house that Abe had built before his trip to Salt Lake City.

After a hard winter and summer of harsh climatic conditions which brought crop disappointments Abe took his family to Salt Lake City in the fall of 1869. His family now consisted of a wife, two children, Clara and Lois, and his mother-in-law, Adelia. Henry, his brother-in-law, remained in St. Joseph to take care of the farm. The family stayed in Salt Lake City for several weeks where they bought a few things and enjoyed visiting friends and relatives.

On the return trip to St. Joseph Abe became very ill and was confined to his bed through the fall and winter. To make things worse when the family returned to St. Joseph, they found that the town had shifted some three miles upstream, "as the indians were bad." This meant that the family would have to spend more time housed in a shed and a tent while another adobe house was being built. Henry did most of the work on the new house as Abe was still very ill. In fact, the towns people were considerably worried about his health.

An experience typical of pioneer life was the near loss of Abe's three-year-old daughter, Clara, from an unknown disease. She recovered and went on to live a full life. All medicines and cures were tried by these pioneers--some relieved pain but could
have even speeded death. Abe was to continue trying cures and spending great sums of money for medicines throughout his life—especially in the 1880's.13

The spring and summer of 1870 saw his health much improved and his two-room adobe house finished. The family was pleased to move into it but had to sleep on the roof during the warm weather to keep away from scorpions, tarantulas and rattlesnakes, with never an escape from mosquitos.14 Many of these discomforts were aggravated because of clay-dirt floors. Trees for lumber were many miles away and it is doubtful that one Muddy missionary could boast of a lumber floor.15

It is amazing that the people could endure such living conditions. There is no record of Abe's wife or mother-in-law ever complaining or nagging. In fact, Adelia in her memoirs, claims that they were "quite comfortable" in their tent.16 Her

13One of the common remedies for pain and illness in pioneer days was morphine. In 1886 Abe mentions that he received immediate relief from its effects. He took other medicine later on, however, so that he would not get dependent on it. Abraham A. Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," pp. 68, 73 (Typewritten copy of his original diary, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).

Mary Eliza was given an overdose of morphine during an illness in May 1888, and was only saved by drinking a pint of strong coffee. This drug seems to have been dispensed in those days quite freely. Kimball, "History," p. 412.

14Kimball, "History," p. 70.


16Adelia Wilcox, Memoirs, p. 28.
sympathies went to Abe who had to work out in the hot sun making adobes to build the house. Also, Mary Eliza shed tears on seeing him set out in the morning to work with only a piece of bread and a small can of molasses. Each seemed sympathetic but cooperative and happy in the hardships they were facing.

The heat seemed to be the worst thing they had to endure. Abe claimed that an egg would fry in a short time lying in the sand. Carrots watered in the morning would be so well cooked by noon that when pulled out of the ground the skins would all slip off. Onions would also cook in the ground. To make coffee they put water and coffee in a canteen and hung it on a bush. By noon it was well steeped. The children, without shoes, came home from school at noon by placing brush, aprons or anything down on the sand until their feet cooled and then pick it up and run as far as they could before they would have to repeat the process. It was a fearful place for fever and ague. Abe claimed that "no one can tell how the poor Dixie people suffered from heat until they go through the same." 18

In August 1870, President Brigham Young visited the Muddy Mission on a tour of the Rio Virgin settlements. He was noticeably disappointed in the valley but said nothing about it in public. He was just not enthusiastic about it. In fact, Abe

17Kimball, "History," p. 57.
was counseled that the colony would be permanent. He then proceeded to buy up property with vigor and reported:

On his return (Brigham Young) from there his counsel was to make permanent homes like we were going to remain forever, which we soon commenced, supposing that settled the matter with us poor Muddy-ites...As soon as the party set out for home, I commenced following out the counsel of Pres. Young in making a home. I commenced selling my mules for land, and paying as high as $100 an acre for land close by. Also turned one span toward the Washington Factory for $400 capital stock. I also made every exertion to put in grain, which I accomplished, having a fair prospect for a good crop, the only one in Dixie. My farm now consisted of some 40 acres of land, some 10 acres of good hay land, besides some lucern, and quite a nice vineyard; and vines enough paid for to finish setting out two acres.19

The thing that finally made it impossible for Abe and the other saints to remain on the Muddy, which meant the eventual break-up of the mission, was the oppressive taxes levied from Nevada. When the Mormon began their colonization, they thought that they were in the territory of Arizona. Royal James Cutler even represented the valley in the Arizona Territorial Legislature for one term.20

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19Ibid., p. 72. The Washington Factory was a community-owned cotton mill which was started in 1866 but didn't operate until 1869. Stock for the company was paid in by kind (or commodity) for the most part, as there was very little gold or circulating money. Cotton farmers were paid for the raw materials in kind, at fixed prices. The Muddyites were largely dependent on this Zion Cooperative Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company (Washington Factory) for their staples. Indications were in 1870 that the factory gave low prices for the cotton which added to the distress of the Muddy settlers.

20Morton Brigham Cutler, "Diary," (Typewritten copy in the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).
But the survey in 1869 showed that the mission had actually been in Nevada since the boundary change in 1866. The tax assessors from Pioche were quick to levy five times the taxes that the colony had been paying to Washington County (Utah) and further demanded that the taxes be paid in gold. All of this was to be retroactive to the time the Saints made their first settlements in the Valley in 1865. Up to this time the Muddyites had faithfully paid their small tax sums to Washington County in kind, because money was practically non-existent in this primitive agricultural economy. As had been mentioned, cotton was the only possible crop for exchange that was raised.

A petition for concessions sent to the Governor and Legislative Assembly of Nevada was delivered on the 21st of December, 1870. The petition, signed by one hundred eleven citizens of the Muddy Valley, appealed as follows:

We are an agricultural, not a mining people; and we have had to contend with great difficulties in trying to subdue these alkaline deserts, having expended at least fifty thousand dollars in labor on water sects alone.

We have been compelled also to feed an Indian population outnumbering our own and that too, without the aid of a single dollar from the government.

21The writer could not discover if Abe had signed this petition. In the Moapa Stake History at the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City Abe's name was not on an incomplete, hurried list of recorded signers. The original document is presumed to be housed in the Nevada State Archives. A similar plea was sent to Congress.
We are far remote from any market, and it is impossible for us to convert our produce into cash.

We therefore, respectfully ask your honorable body to abate all taxes assessed against us by the authorities of Lincoln County.22

They further asked for the creation of a new "Las Vegas" County which was to include all of the Mormon colonies within its boundaries. The Saints, skeptical of the success of the petition, simultaneously prepared to vacate the mission. A letter from Brigham Young had arrived the day before the petition was drawn advising them that the mission was officially finished; that they were all honorably released and free to go back to their homes or to re-occupy a new geographical valley.23

When the letter of counsel arrived from Brigham Young regarding the finish of the mission, all agreed to follow his advice with the exception of one couple.24 When the Saints left their homes they generally did so in an orderly manner being promised that they would receive their reward in heaven if they would not burn their houses and farms. There were no houses burned in St. Joseph but a few were destroyed in other communities. Abe recorded the property he left and it is assumed that many others


23Ibid., p. 73.

24Daniel Bonelli and his wife were the only negative voters. Ibid., p. 77.
left as much:

My wheat and barley looked nice and green, being in the boot eight to ten inches high. Also leaving my lucerne, vineyard, with a fine stack of hay, with the promise we should be paid our seed back by the outsiders coming in and taking possession. The end of my house was soon covered with notices from the assessment collectors from Lincoln County, Nevada, Pioche.25

It is interesting to note that of the one hundred and fifty-eight missionaries called in Abe's group to bolster the Muddy Mission in 1867, only half of them had arrived ten months later. Of those that ventured only twenty-five to thirty of them remained. The others either went home or continued going to California. At the evacuation of the colony in 1871 Abe was one of ten "strengthening" families who were still members of the mission.26

Soon after the evacuation by the Saints a number of miners flocked into the valley and appropriated the land and improvements, gratis. The Muddy Valley stayed, to a large extent, in "gentile" or non-Mormon hands until the early 1880's when many Mormons came in and purchased the farmland. When Hoover Dam was built, it created Lake Mead which covered many of the farms of the Muddy Valley.

Brigham Young advised the homeless Muddyites27 to go on

25Kimball, "History," p. 75.
27The United States Census Records in 1870 show that there were 590 people in the Muddy Valley. Bleak, "Annals," Book B, p. about 78.
to Long Valley. Abe was in an exploring party which brought back a generally favorable report about the proposed new valley. He was negative, however, because the valley was too small. Still he supported the rest of the Saints and followed Brigham Young's advice. When passing through St. George on their way to Long Valley, Abe and a few men stopped to talk with Brigham Young who lived there at that time. He recorded his interview with Brigham Young, the Mormon Prophet:28

In consoling us in our losses he said if we would not complain, nor find too much fault, he would promise us that in five years we should be worth three times as much as we would have been if we had remained on the Muddy. Then he said he would reverse it, in three years we would be worth five times as much, which claim I clung to.

To give the reader an idea of the background of this move that the Muddy Saints were making, a few words of explanation about Long Valley would be helpful.

Long Valley is located some eighty miles northeast of St. George, in Kane County, at the headwaters of the East Fork of the Virgin River.29 It was somewhat of an outpost on the Cotton Mission as the short growing season prohibited a cotton crop to mature. Hence, the settlers coming into Long Valley followed livestock and other agricultural pursuits.

28Kimball, "History," p. 76.

29Some early settlers called it Meadow Valley Wash. Delaun Mills Cox, "Diary," p. 11. (Typewritten copy in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).
At the present site of Glendale the four Berry brothers first began the habitation of "the valley" with their families. Immediately behind them in the spring of 1864, another five families came to settle in a community they called Berryville. Further colonization in the valley continued for a short while and by June, 1865, a new town of Windsor (now Mt. Carmel) rivaled Berryville in the production of food.

The Indian war in Utah from 1865-69 had its effect on the Long Valley settlers. The farmers fortified themselves successfully during the winter of 1865-66, but the coming of spring marked tragedy. Robert Berry, his wife, another local farmer, and his hired hand became the victims of the vengeance of the Indians. The slayings of these colonists convinced President Erastus Snow and the First Presidency of the Church that abandonment of all the weak settlements in Southern Utah was necessary. In accordance with the direction of the presiding brethren, Long Valley was evacuated by the middle of June, 1866.

Abe and the Muddyites left their old home on the Muddy in January and February to occupy this evacuated valley in March, 1871. One group went to the old townsite of Windsor and the Other group, which included Abe and his family, resettled Berryville. The Stake officials made Bishop James Leithead the spiritual and temporal leader over the new valley colony.

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30The population of the valley rose from about a dozen families in the winter of 1864-65 to twenty-eight in May 1865. Larson, "Dixie," p. 138.
The two hundred mile trip had been strenuous for the pioneers, who had to cross the Virgin some twenty-eight times on their way to St. George. From there to Long Valley the pioneers reported that they had to make "considerable new road as they went." Many got measles along the way which added to their miseries as deaths occurred among the children. Abe's family luckily escaped this disease but he mourned the loss of his young friends who were buried in a "nice little graveyard" in Berryville (Glendale). The thin and worn condition of their teams gave them cause for further concern because they were anxious to put in crops as quickly as possible.

President Erastus Snow is known to have taken a hand in preparing a favorable situation for the Muddyites in Long Valley. He quickly circulated a form among all of the known former occupants of Berryville and Windsor and asked them to sign the following pledge dated January 19, 1871:

That we the undersigned, do, for and in consideration of the good will which we have for our brethren—who are broken up on the Muddy, and are seeking homes elsewhere, relinquish all our claims in said Long, or Berry, Valley; the same to be set off to individuals, as their bishops may deem best.

And we do further covenant and agree, that we will never demand pay of these brethren for our claims and improvements in the aforesaid valley. As witness our hands this ___ day of

1871.32

31 Thomas Chamberlain, "Diary." (Typewritten copy, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.)

The fact that many did turn in the signed form gave the brethren hope that there would be no trouble between the old and new settlers during the reoccupation.

A letter dated April 21st, 1871, from President Erastus Snow to Bishop Stark indicates that the previous form had not been successful and that the relocation of the Muddyites had not gone as smoothly as planned. President Snow wrote:

St. George, Utah

To Bishop Stark and Brethren in Long Valley, as well the former occupants as those newly arrived from the Muddy:

Dear Brethren:

In reply to Bishop Stark's letter of March 30th, making sundry inquiries and requesting instructions concerning the division of the land and the claims of its former occupants, I would here set forth the view I have upon the subject, and first, I will say to the former occupants who were compelled to vacate that valley on account of Indian hostilities; though it seemed quite a sacrifice to them at the time, yet most of them have since then made other homes for themselves and do not care to go back, and as the floods, with the lapse of years, have nearly destroyed their water-sects and their improvements lost much of their former value, ...we have thought it, that it were only an act of brotherly kindness, for those who had since got comfortable homes and were able to relinquish their old claims in favor of the brethren on the Muddy, who are advised by the First Presidency to locate in that valley, and we so advised the old settlers, as far as we were able to find them; extending, however, the privilege to any of them, who desire it, to join the Muddy brethren in reoccupying the country and their former improvements. And if any of them felt that they must have pay for their old claims, we required them to sell only to the Muddy brethren, and on terms that will be within their reach; and I think a decent respect to the feelings and counsels of the Presidency,
and due consideration of the present necessities of the Muddy brethren, will prompt every saint to do this, who are trying to be Latter-day Saints. And I think that the bishops, presiding in Long Valley, will be justified in treating, as null and void any sales made to other parties since the Muddy brethren decided to go there.

Any of the former settlers who return there and desire to occupy their former claims, and bring suitable evidence, either Surveyor's Certificate, or otherwise, that they were the owners and entitled to the occupancy of them should be permitted to occupy them, though, even in their case, I would recommend them to submit their lands to a re-survey, with the balance; and, of course, they should bear their proportion of opening up the water ditches, and making roads, etc., and all other public improvements, including the Fort,—but in the adjustment of all these matters let brotherly love and gentleness prevail, and due regard to the conscientious feeling and just rights of all, and in a little while, all these questions will be satisfactorily adjusted.

You will cause this letter to be made public and its contents made known to any parties interested, that may not have been made acquainted with our views and wishes on the subject.

Praying for the Spirit of God to guide you in all your labors, I remain your Brother in the Gospel,

(Signed) Erastus Snow

Thomas Chamberlain, the man who later became an administrator of the United Order at Orderville, records that the "Muddy settlers had to buy all the land they got in the valley." Further, Morton Brigham Cutler tells of borrowing some money from

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33Ibid.
34Chamberlain, "Diary," p. 5.
Church people soon after his arrival for the purpose of buying sheep. He reported that not only did the Church men drive a close bargain, but they charged him 40% interest. All was not roses for Abe and the other new settlers.

When the Kimball family got to Berryville, Abe bought a spring and a thirty-acre tract of land from a former settler, Allen Stout. He used $100 worth of stock certificates he had acquired in the Washington Cotton Factory for payment. His family moved into a small log house which had already been built. When things settled down in Glendale, some twenty-five families were neighbors. The land was divided with approximately fifteen acres for each settler. Although Abe had just bought his thirty acre tract, in the spirit of early Mormon cooperation, he allowed ten acres of his land to be given to another settler under the direction of Joseph W. Young. Abe always thought a lot of Brother Young in spite of this order. This again emphasizes the subjection to Priesthood authority under which some of the Mormon pioneers were willing to live. There was no class consciousness as each realized the somewhat desperate poverty of each individual in the group. Abe says that they felt more

35Cutler, "Diary."
like one family than individuals.\textsuperscript{36}

As a result of Abe's struggles, five to six acres of wheat, three-quarters acre of potatoes and corn were planted on his new farm. The new settlers were excited with the addition of potatoes to their diet because it had been too hot on the Muddy to grow them. They could now talk about their lush gardens and prospects for a good crop.\textsuperscript{37}

It seems that the trials of Job were to test these poor people because no sooner were the crops growing nicely than grasshoppers came in and stripped the land clean of its food-bearing potential. Abe took a flaming brush to them and was amazed that they defied the flame until it was about two and one-half inches away. All of the people were discouraged after this experience and Bishop Leithead came to Abe and told him frankly that if he were in Abe's shoes he would move his family to a place where bread could be won from the land. Abe agreed and soon prepared to look for farm lands farther north.

\textsuperscript{36}This was a meaningful observation of Abe's because Wallace Stegner gives an interesting background of the settlers that evacuated the Muddy Mission and were now in Long Valley. Except for less than ten families, the evacuees were the same group that had started the Muddy Mission in 1865. These people had been together since the Missouri and Nauvoo period of the Church and had hung together through a great amount of persecution. They settled, en masse, in the Glendale area of Long Valley with a few of the other settlers. When the United Order began in Glendale in 1874, this small group avoided the bickering between themselves and the other residents by starting their own United Order community three miles upstream. They called the new colony Orderville. The success and experience of this colony is well known to all people interested in Utah history. Wallace Stegner, \textit{Mormon Country} (New York: Duall, Sloan & Pearce, 1942), pp. 108-127.

\textsuperscript{37}Chamberlain, "Diary," p. 5.
His investigation took him to the headwaters of the Rio Virgin and the Sevier Rivers, Panguitch, Beaver City, Fillmore and Kanosh. Coming back to Berryville (Glendale) he was visited by Joseph W. Young and President Erastus Snow, who advised him to take his family either to Kanosh or Fillmore where the climate was mild. Abe decided that Kanosh would be the better because he had previously associated with an undesirable set of friends in Fillmore.

Soon they were moving north. Events of the past eleven months had moved swiftly since the visit of Brigham Young to the Muddy. Abe was now farther behind financially than he had been at the time of his marriage. He had no father to fall back on, and was without a cent of money or a pound of flour. He borrowed one hundred pounds of flour, traded a small horse for fourteen and one-half acres of land and started working on a home in an area which was truly to be his home for the rest of his life. The land was in Petersburg (now Hatton) just outside of Kanosh. 38

He had been officially released from his mission and was now truly north of the waning cotton growing activities and the unbearable desert climate. Bishop Leithead was reluctant

38 It was then called Corn Creek settlement.
to lose him and his family from the Long Valley settlement but with praise advised him to go where he could make a living.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{39}\)The segment of history covering his removal from Salt Lake and his experiences in St. Joseph and Glendale are found in Kimball, "Life History," pp. 42-81.

The reader may sense the emphasis that has been placed on this short three and one-half year segment of Abe's life. In the opinion of the writer this was the most interesting project in which Abe participated. True, he had crossed the plains before the railroad came west and had many of the romantic but difficult experiences as a pioneer. Still, this Muddy Mission, within the general organization of the Cotton Mission, was one of the most heroic colonization efforts that the Mormons were to make in Utah. A. Karl Larson says that it was the most difficult of all the cotton missions to pioneer. Abe and his family were there---and suffered the extreme hardships of an experiment and gamble which had only momentary success.
CHAPTER IV

LIFE IN KANOSH

The new home that Abe was making for himself and his family in Millard County was to be permanent. After living in Petersburg for two years he moved some two to three miles into the main settlement of Kanosh which was just being pioneered.

In Kanosh he built two homes because he married Adell Brown and entered into plural marriage in the fall of 1874. Less than ten years later he married for the third time. His third wife was Laura Moody from Deseret in Millard County. Laura lived only eighteen months after their marriage and bore no children. Other than Clara and Lois, all of his fourteen children were born in the Kanosh-Petersburg-Fillmore area in Millard County and spaced from 1873 to 1888.

Abe got busy developing farm land and even proved up on a homestead in Kanosh in 1887. His activities centered more in freighting and business than in farming during the 1880's. After his mission to England in 1877 and 1878 he was chosen bishop of Kanosh which caused him to take a very active part in the civic and spiritual needs of the community. These activities, along with his mission, business ventures, church experiences, prison experiences, and his service to the local Pahvant Indians will be discussed in some detail later on in the story. Needless to say, the Abraham A. Kimball who became famous throughout Utah
as an outstanding Church and civic leader, had his development from 1871-89 while living in Kanosh. It is a heart warming success story.

To understand Abe's circumstances when he moved to PETERSburg and then to Kanosh, it would be helpful to make a few comments about the early history of Corn Creek running through the Pahvant Valley on which Kanosh is situated. The area had been known by the Mormons ever since their arrival in Utah because it was the last watering place for travelers going south in the Pahvant Valley. The surrounding area along Corn Creek was inhabited by the Pahvant Indians who were friendly, progressive and cooperative with the white man. The name of their chief was Kanosh, which was taken as the name of the main town when the Mormons came to settle.¹

In 1853 the Mormons had helped Kanosh and his people plant about ten acres of wheat, corn and potatoes but had made no effort to remain in the valley. However, in 1859 the Mormons came to settle Corn Creek and were very well received by Kanosh and his people. The Peter Robison family, along with a few others, was the first to settle the area permanently. The town of Petersburg was named in his honor and is situated three miles below the mouth of Corn Creek Canyon in the southeast corner of the main Pahvant Valley. This is in Millard County some fourteen miles southwest of Fillmore and one hundred sixty-one miles southwest

¹ Jenson, Encyclopedic History, p. 390.
of Salt Lake City. During the next few years other families came into the valley. In 1862 G. A. Smith visited Petersburg and organized the Corn Creek Branch of the Church with Peter Robison its first president.

The year 1865 is significant in that when the Indians began their depredations in what was called the Black Hawk War, Long Valley spoken of earlier had to be evacuated along with other Mormon settlements because of this war. Kanosh and his people, however, remained friendly to their white brothers throughout the war. In that year also Cuthbert King replaced Peter Robison as branch president.

Most of the people in Petersburg moved to higher ground in 1867. William C. Penney was the first to establish what is now Kanosh. There were nearly one hundred families in Kanosh when the Millard Stake was organized in 1869. Cuthbert King became the first bishop of Kanosh Ward and served without counselors for a few years. Abraham Alonzo Kimball served as the second bishop of Kanosh from 1878-89. By that time the town had been well established with a meeting house built and three day-schools. Many

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2Ibid. Kanosh became a baptized member of the Church and was ordained an elder.

3Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History of Millard Stake," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

4Ibid.

5Evidently the ward and stake went back to a branch and mission status after this because Jenson gives the date of 1877 for the organization of the stake and ward. Jenson, Encyclopedic History, p. 390.
of the Indians had been baptized and the town was settling down to practically the same population in 1889 that it had in 1930.  

Abe's beginnings in Petersburg in 1871 were simple and in harmony with his past way of life. Discovering soon that he would starve if he concentrated on farming, during the last sixteen years of his life he rented much of his farm and became an entrepreneur. From this time forward he recorded the following occupations or business enterprises:

1. Farm laborer: corn shucking and hauling wood.
2. Freight hauler on various contracts.
3. Partner in A. Naudald & Company as freighter.
4. Partner with Lyman Leavitt in a threshing machine for contract purposes.
6. Owner and freight hauler of a rock quarry.
7. Contractor for road grading on the Southern branch of the Fillmore-Deseret Railway.
8. Surveyor of county lines.

All of these activities put Abe and his family on a par,

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6Ibid.

7References to the above are found in Kimball, "History," pp. 83, 82, 228, 84, 260, 382, 184ff, 240ff, and 263. Page references are in the order of the list above.
economically speaking, with anyone in town. Additional information on these jobs will be given later. He was able to buy a small reed pump organ, to have a few pieces of expensive furniture, and to dress his family as well as anyone in Kanosh. The homes he built one-half block apart for his wives, Mary Eliza and Adell, are still standing. He did not leave much of an estate when he died, but seemed to have the average fortune of an early Mormon pioneer. This, plus three wives and fourteen children was quite an accomplishment considering he was ill during much of his adult life. His family did have quite a struggle after his death, however.

The year after Abe settled in Millard County he became discouraged and thought he might take his family to Salt Lake or Bear Lake where some of his brothers and sisters were living. Brigham Young visited him in the spring of 1872 and gave him the following advice which Abe regarded as scripture: "You need not go anywhere but remain where you are. You have sacrificed all God requires of you, and all I require of you for once. Now go to work and God will prosper you in so doing." Brigham left his personal blessings with Abe plus a prophesy to the effect that if he bought a certain piece of land, it would yield bounteously. With this assurance from the "Prophet of the Lord,"

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8Interview with Maude Crane Melville, March 15, 1963.
9Interview with Charles A. Kimball, May 2, 1963.
10Kimball, "History," p. 83.
Abe set about to establish roots in that area. He felt like a new man.

Soon a move was made from Petersburg to the next town called Kanosh. Nine acres were purchased from a mean old Scotsman plus another twelve choice acres on another site. The productive orchard on the nine acres that the Scotsman sold to Abe were nearly ruined when the old man peeled some of the roots of the fruit trees. Abe soon discovered what had been done, repaired them as best he could, and "prayed to the Lord to let them live." He believed his prayers were answered because the trees did live and another tragedy was averted.

Abe prospered better in Kanosh. Of course, his comments on how well he was doing were oftimes relative to the marginal existence he had lived on the Muddy. He recorded in passing that he spent a summer in the United Order, presumably in Kanosh. This was probably in 1874 when much of the Church practiced the order following difficulties caused by the depression in the United States beginning in 1873. He recorded his positive attitude towards this experience. His attitude was apparently a typical one for devoted Mormons in the 1870's. He says of the United Order, "gaining a grand experience in that respect, which I never was sorry for, believing I had done all the Lord required of me in that respect, breaking up satisfied."11 He defended the Order

11Ibid., p. 88. This approach to problems was common in the early Mormon experience and is encouraged among its members today.

12Kimball, "History," p. 95.
even though many people laughed at the group for their folly. He claimed that if he had NOT embraced it, he would have "always felt guilty not having a clear conscience." He served as treasurer of the institution while he was living it.¹³

Abe's agricultural efforts after the United Order was broken up were usually discouraging. Other than the potential crop in St. Joseph, Nevada, when he had to abandon the Muddy Mission, Abe never tells us of a bountiful season for agriculture. In 1880 while living in Kanosh, he said that he lived in hopes of someday living in a place where it rained and where there was a good chance for a crop.¹⁴ Grasshoppers, early frosts, or a marginal rainfall, meant ruin for some seasons.¹⁵ Reminiscing in 1884 he wrote this long entry:

¹³Evidently Abe was not baptized into the United Order which was the custom of the day. He reported that baptism into the Order was required of the Kanosh Ward while he was on a mission in England, probably during the summer of 1878. In July 1882, this question of baptism was again brought up and Kimball asked Apostle F. M. Lyman if he and the forty other unbaptized members in his ward should comply with this requirement. He was answered that he and his unbaptized ward members would be considered "weak in the faith" until they complied. On a Sunday afternoon Abe and his friends made the outward showing of their willingness to live in the United Order some eight years after it had been broken up in Kanosh.

A sample of the baptism prayer read as follows: "(Name) having authority given me of Jesus Christ, I baptize you for the remission of your sins, the renewal of your covenants and for the observance of the rules of the Holy United Order, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Caroline Addy, "James Gadson Bleak, Pioneer Historian of Southern Utah," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1953), p. 42. Abe's old friends from the Muddy Mission were still practicing the order, however, in their arcadia in Orderville, Long Valley in 1882.


Jan 26th, 1881

Would not take much to give me the blues. Holes in my boots and no stockings, besides being in debt. Have farmed hard for three years and have hardly raised my seed from this season. Had nineteen acres of small grain and when it is thrashed will not have one hundred bushel, all told, and have to pay all expenses for thrashing out of it. One consolation, my Patriarchal Blessing says my bread shall not be wanting. I calculate to make it come to pass, if rustling will do it. I remember hearing my father say that it was our duty as Saints to help to bring the renditions of the servants of God to pass.

Pres. Young said once, (while riding across the flat west of Kanosh) that the flat would yet be a prolific farm. On hearing this I took it up and commenced farming it. Now have in some one hundred acres of small grain and lucern. Last season, (1883), I raised 17 bushels per acre on it without water. I am determined to bring that prophecy to pass if possible. I am a firm believer that the predictions of the servants of God will not fall to the ground, unfulfilled, as I have proven them both for and against, myself. And my blessing says I shall always be able to gather around me a sufficiency for the support of my family. I understand that all blessings are conditional; for that reason, I am endeavoring to live so as to be worthy of them.¹⁶

The first summer after his mission to England (1879) he had to take his threshing machine to Deseret in Millard County to earn his bread as he had not raised it. After working a little while, his machine broke down so badly that he had to abandon it and go to work on the railway. Earlier that year just after he had been made bishop, he writes of hauling manure for a few days for A. Nadauld to get some garden seeds as he was too poor to buy them.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 201.
Things evidently improved for him financially in the 1880's. Although times were tough he still made a living and "felt to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in all things." His bishopric duties plus numerous civic responsibilities mounted in that decade; also did his wealth. By 1884 he had filed on a homestead and put in eighty-five acres of wheat and fifteen acres of barley largely by himself.

After a major sickness in 1885 he wrote a will and distributed his property in case of his demise. He was able to do little farming after this. His brother-in-law, Henry Hatton, worked on the one farm and many other acres were hired out for the rest of his life.

In 1886 Jesse Hopkinson and his wife, converts of Heber C. Kimball, emigrated from England to Kanosh by arrangement of Bishop Kimball. Temporarily they were to live and farm on the homestead Abe had filed on. Things worked out so satisfactorily, however, that Hopkinson stayed in Kanosh and became a permanent settler. The exact contract between the two men was not revealed in Abe's journals. He says of the initial arrangement, however, that:

I feel to rejoice and thank God from whom all blessings flow I have all I can attend to as

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19Jesse Hopkinson later became Abe's counselor in the bishopric.
the Lord provides labour for my teams (freighting) so I am able to provide for my family and have no reason to complain.20

His daughter, Lois, went to live on the farm with the English couple, for the purpose to mature his land claim as he was unable to remain there himself. Some of his other children also went to the "homestead" to help with the work in true farm style.

In 1887 he announced that he had "proven-up" on the homestead, an act which had become an important American institution since 1862. He claimed it was, "a day I feared I would never live to do. That is, to prove up on my homestead as I had made deed in case of death."21

When Abe's threshing machine broke down in Deseret during the summer of 1879,22 he could take no more contracts. The Utah Southern Railroad Company had just completed a line from Salt Lake City to Juab and the Utah Southern Extension Railroad was continuing the line to Frisco near the Nevada border.23 Abe went from his broken down threshing machine to a job on the Utah Southern Extension Railroad.24 Thus began about two and

20Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 62.
21Ibid., p. 116.
22cf p. 53.
23Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Milestones of Millard (Published by the authors, 1951), p. 461. In 1905 this line was continued on to Los Angeles and is now a mainline track of the Union Pacific.
24Abe does not give the name of this railroad specifically in his journal. A note, however, presumably written by a member of his family, was inserted into Abe's journal written by Orilla Brown Sheffield stating that the railroad mentioned above was the one he worked on at this time.
one-half years of sporadic railroad activity wherein he contracted to grade sections of railroad line. His railroad career began as a worker, but he soon was made a foreman. Later, he became a private capitalist, bidding grading jobs for certain railway sections on the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, hiring men, and then fighting with the D. & R. G. Agents for reimbursement.  

The railroad crew was comprised of a pretty rough lot of men many of whom were Mormons. One of the interesting rules established in camp was that whoever swore during the day had to say the prayer at night. Kimball lived in tents, dugouts, and sometimes had to sleep in the open air while he was on railroad jobs.

After spending parts of the fall, winter, and spring from 1879 to 1882 on grading contracts he got tired of fighting for his money. He claimed that the railroad companies made a sham of fair dealing and advised his ward members in April of 1882 to put in all of the grain they could and quit railroading as there was nothing to be made in it.

One experience he had, however, while working on the railroad was his opportunity to tour a silver mine in Frisco. He was taken all around the workings and through the smelters of the mine which he said was a "great treat."

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26 Ibid., p. 214.
27 Ibid., pp. 184-5, 202-21, 214.
28 Ibid., p. 185.
During the winter of 1882-83 there was a major dispute among various counties over the railroad's right-of-way. The civic leaders called for a county line survey to firm up the boundaries. Bishop Kimball (as he was by this time) was out on this survey from November to March with only a fortnight home in January, plus a few other short visits. In his absence the Kanosh townsmen elected him Road Supervisor, so during one of his short visits home in December he had to organize road building crews. At this time he also served on the Millard County Board of Trade and other civic positions which will be mentioned later.

January 1883, was a very cold month in Millard County. The temperature went to twenty-eight degrees below zero for a few days while the men on the survey were out in the weather. To illustrate the severe cold they suffered, Abe told of heating bread by the fire wherein one side would freeze while the other side burned.

While working on the railroad and on the survey Bishop Kimball was able to get to many Church conferences and meetings in the Millard County area—but not in Kanosh. Evidently his counselors were able to handle the affairs of his ward. About the only thing of note that he missed when he was away on these work trips was the death and funeral of Chief Kanosh in 1881.

29A Church sponsored civic group endeavoring to regulate the flow and price of goods.

The small beginnings of a freight business mentioned previously took on new dimensions during the 1880's. Freighting brought in a good part of the family income during that decade.31

In 1882 Abe became a partner with A. Nadauld and others in the Nadauld & Company General Store.32 With William Mills, Abe did most of the mason work for the store building which was finished and ready for business in 1884.33 His function in the partnership was to haul the freight and the merchandise from the railhead at Juab to the store. Abe was only allowed to sell his interest in the store to Nadauld which he did in 1886 after he agreed to a continued hauling arrangement.34 He had to put on a hired man to haul the freight to satisfy the demand.

A very careful explanation was given by Abe about the background of this new store which had been built in direct competition with the cooperative store. The "Coop" had fallen into the hands of only a few persons who had been charging high prices. A. Nadauld and Company Store was built in an effort to bring prices back down, so Abe entered into the partnership "with a clear conscience."35

Some entries in Abe's journals in 1887 indicate that he owned a rock quarry and was quarrying and hauling rock. This was in addition to his usual services as a freight hauler. By this time Abe Jr. was old enough to drive a few trips, but the services of other men were also needed.

33Ibid.
34Abe sold his interest for $1,000.
35Kimball, "History," p. 228.
CHAPTER V

LIFE ON A MISSION
TO ENGLAND

While on a freighting trip back in 1876 Abe met and visited with Brigham Young, Jr., John W. Young, and John Nuttall on the road. They merely discussed things in general, especially the cussedness of their mules. After each party had gone his own way Abe said that he felt impressed that he would soon be going on a mission. So strong were his feelings that when he got home to Kanosh, he made preparations to leave. At the next conference his name was read as one of the "fortunate" ones to go on a mission, so he was not disappointed. His call was first to the United States and then changed to England. He received the following letter from President Young and George Q. Cannon:

Salt Lake City, May 9, 1877

Dear Bro. Abram:

Since my return I have mentioned your case to the president, and my feelings respecting your going to England. He and his counselors think you had better go to England, but the president says you must be very careful of your health; that is his only fear concerning you, as you have been troubled with weakness of the lungs. He says you may be able to stop sometime by taking proper care of yourself. You should have with you sufficient means to return and obtain change of climate. There is a party going on the fifth of June. Brother McDonald of St. George is coming to go at the same time; and I have no doubt but what you will meet brethren of your acquaintances.
With love and prayers for your success and prosperity I am

Your Brother,

George Q. Cannon

Abe sold things at a sacrifice to get all the money he could for his mission. President Cannon advised him to collect all debts owing him as no one would pay his family anything during his absence. Writing of this letter later Abe was able to put in parenthesis that this advice proved to be correct. He was given the usual send-off, said a sad goodbye to his family, but was thrilled to be off on a mission. He left Kanosh on June 2, 1877, caught the train at Fillmore and got one-half fare for clergy on his trip to Salt Lake City. President D. H. Wells set Elder Kimball apart as a missionary on June 4th, when he also received a certificate as a Seventy in the Melchizedec Priesthood. The next day he went to see Brigham Young to say goodbye, but the Prophet’s health was failing; he was too ill to see him. At 3:40 that afternoon he took the train to Woods Cross, where he stayed the night with his mother-in-law, Lucinda Brown. At this time L. C. Brown, his brother-in-law, gave him the journal with which he began his daily record keeping.

On June 6, 1877, Elder Abraham Alonzo Kimball boarded the train at Woods Cross and left the Territory of Utah to begin his six thousand mile journey to the mission field in England.

\[1\text{Ibid.},\ p.\ 98.\]
He crossed the United States to New York City via Chicago and Niagara Falls in six days—quite a change from the covered wagon and ox team crossings of his boyhood! Sailing on the ship "Montana" on the thirteenth of June, he did an Atlantic crossing to Liverpool in nine days. He traveled by intermediate class aboard ship, which made for a comfortable trip. The crossing was without incident, except for his sighting a whale, and he didn't even get seasick!!

With his arrival in Liverpool on June 23, 1877, Elder Kimball began a whole new set of experiences which were to continue for the next eighteen months. He commented about the startling transition he had just made from the quiet, peaceful, clean mountains and prairies to "a world of towns and smoke, and one continual uproar of all descriptions that make a business life." He described very dramatically "all kinds of conveyances, horses, donkeys, dogs, men and women, beggars and rich, drunk and sober, old and young, bond and free." The reader can imagine some of the major adjustments that he must have had to make.

Kimball's first assignment in the mission field was to serve in Manchester Conference with Elder D. D. McArthur. A

\[2\] Ibid., p. 105.

\[3\] Millenial Star, June 25, 1877, p. 5. Clipping in the Journal History of the Church in the Church Historian's Office. A conference is now called a district within a mission.
thirty-six mile train trip into Manchester completed his journey. He reported in a very droll manner that Manchester did not have the honor of being a city although it had a population of six or seven hundred thousand. Abe was to be the Mormon president of this Manchester town and conference before very many months passed.

He was quick to discover the worth of the Kimball name when he visited Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson in Manchester. Abe's father had baptized Mrs. Parkinson some forty years before when Heber was in England on a mission. She was glad to see Abe and received him like her own son.4 Her husband never did see the necessity of joining the Church but was very kind to the elders.

But other members in England were not so kind to Elder Kimball when he dropped in to spend the night. On a few occasions he spent the night sitting up reading after the Saints had gone to bed without preparing a place for him to sleep. On one occasion he caught a cold from not being provided with adequate blankets.5

He landed in England with a real desire to "preach" and looked forward to speaking on Sundays to the Saints. His talks acted as a tonic for his homesickness6 and picked up his spirits

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4 Kimball, "History," p. 105. Elder Kimball spent many nights in the homes of members such as this couple while on his mission and took many meals with them. Evidently he traveled most of his mission with little money.


6 Ibid., p. 111.
considerably. He claimed that he emerged from the Sunday meetings a new man in spirit. A usual comment in his journal for that morning was that he "shaped up" for setting off in search of "the honest." 7

He wrote often to his two wives and received mail from them every fortnight to three weeks. A sad letter came from home while he was still new in the mission field stating that the mule he had left in Kanosh to cover his remaining debts had died. 8 How Mary Eliza, Adell and families, and Elder Kimball in England supported themselves is not revealed in his journals. We do know that after arriving in Liverpool and buying a suit of clothes, an overcoat and umbrella, he had but thirteen shillings left for his eighteen-month mission. 9 The reminder that his father, Heber C. Kimball, had been over in England and traveled without purse or scrip, gave him courage to believe that he could do it too!

He wrote of an incident early in his mission when he had but three pence left in his pocket. Engaging a man in a gospel conversation at a bus stop, 10 he decided not to spend his remaining threepence for bus fare when the bus came along. His excuse to the gentleman was that he had to visit a friend on the way while planning to use his last three pennies for a meal that


8Kimball, "History," p. 110.

9Ibid., p. 103.

10This is what Abe wrote. The writer has no idea what a bus in England looked like in 1877.
evening. He later lamented his decision when he was fed a fine dinner, gratis, by a member after his long hard walk to the town. Because he had missed his opportunity to bear his testimony to that interested man he met at the bus stop, he resolved: "never to cover my poverty by telling that I had friends on the road, that I would ride whenever my feet were sore, and eat when hungry if I had any money."\(^{11}\) He claimed that he was never that low in funds again.

Shortly after Elder Kimball's arrival in the mission field he heard the incredible news that "our beloved president," Brigham Young, was dead. He would hardly credit it at first until it had been very reliably reported as true. A few days later as he was traveling incognito with a Catholic Priest he asked the priest's opinion of the future of the Mormons now that Brigham Young was dead. The priest replied that they would soon dwindle to extinction.\(^{12}\) It seemed to please Abe to record this interview in his diary.

The previously shy, backward Abe Kimball had no difficulty in speaking to strangers on the streets of Manchester. Three months after his arrival in the mission field he noticed that there was considerable outdoor preaching going on in the town. In fact, he saw a woman preaching on the town square, and it caused him to think if a woman could preach he surely could:\(^{13}\)

\(^{11}\)Kimball, "History," p. 111.

\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 112.

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 105.
His long orations are recorded in his journals throughout his later life.

Toward the end of his mission he had a desire to attend a revival or a Methodist Ranters' meeting as he called it. He took a companion, Brother Emery, with him and reported that they were very cordially received because the people were anxious to save all souls from hell.

After they were all through bearing testimony we were kindly invited to bear ours which we excepted (sic) with pleasure. I arose and bore a faithful testimony to the restoration of the gospel and that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God. Also warned them to flee from the judgements to come and be baptized for the remission of their sins.\textsuperscript{14}

Several of them replied, "Will do, brother," so he closed his testimony by inviting them to come to church on Sunday. Not only did no one show up to the Mormon meeting on Sunday but he heard that they had caused quite a sensation at the "ranters" meeting. The Methodist minister had been holding indignation meetings wherein he prayed to the Lord to protect them from the "Mormons!"

It is tiring to read Elder Kimball's daily entries of missionary activities because he recorded all of his walking trips. He rode the suburban and regional trains, but most times there was also a long walk to the train (six miles) and another one and a half miles after the ride.\textsuperscript{15} Much of his job was to visit old

\textsuperscript{14}Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 1.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.
members who had apostatised, reconverting and baptizing them.  

Accounts of his tracting or "door preaching" are found in his journals but that does not seem to be the emphasized method of proselyting. From his accounts of his mission the plan seemed to be to speak in public at every opportunity. This meant street meetings and conversations with strangers on buses, trains or in the public market place. These included a "gospel" message plus an invitation to attend the meetings held on Sunday. They were glad to see strangers at their meetings and had the pleasure of seeing them respond quite regularly.

Conversing with strangers was not always easy. He mentioned in his entry of July 18, 1878 that he got into a religious discussion with a man on the road. "He called me a liar. I did not like to take it, but did being so far from home and remembering the advice in the good old Book: if they smite one cheek, turn the other." Also, towards the end of his mission he very amusingly reported, "Came in contact with a Methodist Preacher on the road. He informed me how to be saved and I done the same by him as one good turn deserves another."

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16Ibid.

17Kimball, "History," pp. 107, 117. One man they called on offered him $5 if some of the elders would come in and bless his children who had the measles.

18He was keeping a daily journal now and not a reminiscence.

19Ibid., p. 130 and Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 46.

20Ibid., p. 6, and this was from a man who had previously rarely refused a fight.

21Ibid., p. 14.
There were three things that seemed to annoy him greatly in England: the incessant rain, the difficulty in securing public halls for church and baptism ceremonies, and a toothache. He was amazed that Englishmen called it fair weather any time it was not raining. Elder Kimball had not forgotten his Muddy Mission experience where it only rained a total of four inches per year! He added that very little attention was paid to the sun in England as it was so seldom seen, and voted Manchester the worst place for rain in the whole wide world.

The hostility of the people towards the Church was reflected in his mission by the constant refusal of the townspeople to rent him public halls for church meetings. He says, "it was almost impossible for us to get a room or a hall if we informed them who we were." A few of his converts were baptized in cold running streams as the use of public baths was denied him.

Elder Kimball took advantage of his surroundings by visiting and sightseeing the points of interest wherever he traveled in England. He visited zoos, aquariums, steel plants, and cloth printing works.

Early in his mission he had the opportunity to take a

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22 Kimball, "History," p. 106.
23 Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 35.
24 Kimball, "History," p. 121.
tour of the Manchester Conference with his companion, D. D. Mc
Arthur. They traveled to portions of Lancashire, Derbyshire,
and Chester. But one of the best experiences he had while in
England was a one-week trip to Scotland to attend mission meet-
ings. When the meetings were finished, the missionaries had a
chance for sightseeing in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the
latter city he saw the Botanic Gardens, some old cathedrals and
cemeteries, a boat trip down the Clyde for sixty miles, Walter
Scott's monuments, Edinburgh's Museum of Science and Art, Edin-
burgh Castle, Holyrood Palace and Abbey, Highland Society Mu-
seum and Picture Gallery. In the picture gallery he saw a
graphic presentation of Christ's crucifixion which caused him
serious reflection. The party then took the train for Glasgow
where he saw the wax works, Dubarton Castle, the University, and
a boat race. In all of his mission travels, however, there is
no record of his ever going to London.

Elder Kimball wrote of these activities in a sophisticated
manner. The entries are matter-of-fact with very few superla-
tives and only a few sweeping statements. It would be interesting
to compare and contrast the many letters that he wrote home to
his wives with information he recorded in his journal.

Some days of his mission were spent almost entirely in
writing letters, district reports and immigration reports. This
was especially true after February 23rd, 1878, when he was cal-

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26 Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 16.
led to preside over the Manchester Conference (District). This assignment came after he had been in the mission field for eight months when S. L. Richards, his predecessor, had been released to return to Utah.

At the quarterly conferences President Kimball said that he suffered "considerable uneasiness for fear I should not be able to perform my part." Part of this fear came from his discouragement in trying to learn scriptures. At the beginning of his mission he wrote that it took him nearly three months to commit two verses of scripture to memory. He could not feel free in the presence of a "good" elder who could retain things to memory, but he did see improvement in his own memory and was quick to give God praise. In his diary entry he would write about his reservations and inadequacies at conference time, but was able to finish with, "but it all ended nicely."30

On October 15th, 1878, Elder Kimball received word that

27Kimball, "History," p. 128.
28Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 11.
29Kimball, "History," p. 117.
30In Appendix F of this paper are copies of two letters that Elder Kimball wrote to President Budge who had them printed in the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star (Liverpool: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1840...) April 1, July 15, November 11, 1878. At the time, Kimball was President of the Manchester Conference. Included is another letter which was written and published by that weekly newspaper just prior to his departure for America following his honorable release. These letters will give the reader an indication of Kimball's spirit and dedication toward missionary work.
he was about to be released. A letter from the mission president asked him to prepare his affairs for a successor and added:

I congratulate you on your speedy return to Zion, and I pray your arrival home to your family in the enjoyment of good health, and of the good spirit. We regret the loss to the mission of the faithful but, the Lord directs and we respond to the call of His servants. Looking for you here in good time, I am

Your Brother in the Gospel,

William Budge

Four days later President Budge received a telegram from President John Taylor in Salt Lake City stating: "Release A. A. Kimball." That morning Kimball heard a knock on the door and was surprised to see George Emery. Emery asked him if he had received his mail yet, to which his answer was negative. Emery then informed him that his release was in that mail plus instructions to sail that very day from Liverpool! Because he did not know the reason for his sudden release and because he could not get to Liverpool by noon, Elder Kimball says that he then decided to stay another year. But that was not to be because President Taylor's cablegram meant just what it said and his departure was fixed for October 26th on the "S. S. Nevada." Note President Budge's letter to Abe dated October 19th with his instructions:

31 Kimball, "History," p. 146.
32 Ibid., p. 145.
33 The Millenial Star, October 21, 1878, announced Kimball's departure for his home in Utah.
Dear Brother:

Yours of this date, to hand and in reply will say that, I think you had better respond to the call to return home. We are loathe to lose the services of any of the brethren who are efficient in the ministry, but considering the fact that your release came from home, it is supposed that there are sufficient reasons for your going and I think you had better arrange to return as soon as possible. The Nevada leaves Saturday next, but if you desire to go before that date, we can secure a passage on some of the other boats, but of course the price would be higher....

Please notify us of your intentions that you may arrange for your passage.

Your brother,

William Budge

Elder Kimball continued work in the interim and visited many of the members who had become his good friends. He even baptized three men just three days before he left. On the twentieth and twenty-first he talked to many strangers at investigator meetings.

Some shed tears which gives me to understand they respect me. The Lord has blessed me with friends and many hard ties to break which gives me pleasure realizing my labours have been appreciated while labouring among them.34

At four p.m. on the twenty-fifth he bid goodbye to quite a number of the Manchester Saints who came to the train station

34Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 44.
to see him off to Liverpool. The next morning he embarked on the "Nevada" as the only Latter-day Saint on the ship. He was introduced at the beginning of the voyage as a Mormon elder and claimed to have been able to leave "a faithful testimony with them all. All acknowledge me to be honest in my defense or profession." He even had the opportunity for a two hour discussion with the captain and his friends about the Bible at the captain's request. Elder Kimball reported that at the end of the interview the captain "withdrew not being able to hold his own any longer although he did nicely." He continued his discussion with the captain's friends until midnight!

He took great delight in reporting his discussions with the various passengers. Imagine the power he felt when he had a "discussion on religion and science with a man of considerable consequence. Soon put him to silence by resorting to the good old Bible." Evidently the full force of Darwinism in religious thought had not yet colored this man's thinking.

During the twelve-day Atlantic crossing to New York the sea was very rough, which kept Elder Kimball up some nights but did not affect his appetite. He did admit, however, that there were times when he did feel a little squeamish. Some days were

35Ibid., p. 47.
36Ibid.
37Ibid.
so rough that the passengers could not go out on deck but had to stay in their staterooms or in the public lounges.

After docking in New York City on November 6th he went straight to Sweney's Hotel where he secured lodging for $1.50 per night. The next day was spent sightseeing; he was especially thrilled to see the Brooklyn Bridge which was just being built. During the day he bought a railroad ticket to Chicago for $11.00 and left New York that night. Two days later he strolled around Chicago before he got his half-fare train ticket to Salt Lake City. After five days and five nights on the train from Chicago he arrived in Ogden City and Woods Cross the evening of November 12th. His wife, Adell, was at Woods Cross with her mother. After the happy reunion with part of his family he took them to Salt Lake City to report his mission to the General Authorities of the Church on the following day.

President John Taylor, D. H. Wells, and George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency were in attendance. Of the Council of the Twelve, Joseph F. Smith, F. D. Richards, and Albert Carring-
ton were also at the interview. All were glad to see him in good health. Abe says that in the course of conversation there was some talk of continuing his mission to the United States, but such talk was only mentioned as it came to nothing.39

38The Brooklyn Bridge was not completed until 1883.

39Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 50.
He did call on the General Authorities again the next day, visited some relatives and friends in the Salt Lake City and Woods Cross area for a few days, wrote a letter to Mary Eliza in Kanosh, and prepared for his trip home. He was reminded, no doubt, of the primitive mode of travel with which he crossed the great plains back in '62 when he started for Kanosh. He had just crossed the Atlantic in only a few days, with his own state-room, and then a comparatively swift and comfortable crossing of the United States by rail. The last one hundred and sixty-one miles to Kanosh took him three days by wagon.\footnote{A usual "tote of the ship's run" during his recent Atlantic crossing was from 169-280 miles in 24 hours.}

It was with much glee that he walked into his home without even knocking to give them a father's greeting after an eighteen month absence. His family had been able to read of some of his activities for the past few weeks in the Deseret News. On the day of his sailing from Liverpool, October 26, 1878, the following announcement was made in Utah: "Homeward Bound: - By letter from Liverpool we learn that A. A. Kimball sailed from that port October 26th, on board the S. S. Nevada to his mountain home. He was in good health and spirits."\footnote{Deseret News (Salt Lake City), October 26, 1878.}

Preceding his arrival in Kanosh by six days was another story on Abe's return which said:

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1. Homeward Bound: - By letter from Liverpool we learn that A. A. Kimball sailed from that port October 26th, on board the S. S. Nevada to his mountain home. He was in good health and spirits.

2. Deseret News (Salt Lake City), October 26, 1878.
RETURNED MISSIONARY: - Today, we received a call from Elder A. A. Kimball, son of the late H. C. Kimball, who returned, yesterday, from a mission to Europe, where he was called to labor over eighteen months ago. During his absence, his efforts were principally exerted in the Manchester Conference, of which he was president at the time of his release. He personally baptized thirty-five persons, and enjoyed his mission both for the satisfaction attendant upon the performance of duty, and the valuable experience gained in mingling with the people of the world. Elder Kimball returns in good health and spirits, glad to be at home once more among his friends and relatives, but willing at any time to do his duty in the missionary field when it again becomes his lot to preach the gospel to a benighted world. 42

With that kind of a report and an honorable release in his hand Elder Kimball was entitled to all of the plaudits that are customarily given by the Mormon community to a returning missionary. What he didn't know at the time was that he would soon be asking these same well-wishers for their sustaining vote as bishop of the Kanosh Ward! He faced the last ten and a half years of his life with one pair of mules, one wagon, one cow, thirty acres of land in Kanosh, the love of two wives and six children.

42Ibid., November 14, 1878.
CHAPTER VI

LIFE AS A MORMON BISHOP

Three and a half weeks after his arrival in Kanosh the reason behind the urgency of his release from the mission field became known. On December 4, 1878, Abraham Alonzo Kimball was sustained as the bishop of the Kanosh Ward in a Millard Stake Quarterly Conference held in Fillmore. His reaction was expressed in the very restless night he spent pondering over his "condition." He went back to Kanosh the next day, Sunday, and was ordained a High Priest and a Bishop by Apostle Erastus Snow. After the ordination of Bishop Kimball the ordination of his first counselor, Hans Christensen, and second counselor, George Crane, followed also under the hands of Erastus Snow. The ordination of George Crane brought out an interesting practice which was exercised occasionally in the nineteenth century. While Erastus Snow was setting apart Brother Crane as second counselor, he also set him apart as a missionary to England! This surprised the recipient to such an extent that he opened his eyes as he had not heard of this matter before. To illustrate the timing of such practices, on January 21st, only seven weeks later, Bishop Kimball received a letter from his second counselor post-marked New York City on his way to England.¹

¹Kimball, "Diary, 1878-81," p. 66.
The Kanosh Relief Society had been formed in 1875 with Abe's mother-in-law, Adelia Kimball, as president, and from his writings of 1879 we find that Bishop Kimball was active in a going Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association organization.

The activities of Bishop Kimball as a bishop will be discussed later on. It is important, however, to mention an added responsibility that was given to Bishop Kimball some eighteen months later. In a usual trip to Salt Lake City for the semi-annual conference of the Church in April, 1881, the First Presidency gave Bishop Kimball an additional title and a new job. They made him what was called "Bishop's Agent" of Kanosh. This made him an agent for the Presiding Bishop's Office as well as the spiritual and temporal leader of his ward in Kanosh. In the economy of a small Mormon town in the 1880's, a bishop's agent was comparable to the town banker. Orders of the tithing office were circulated as money, and Bishop Kimball was authorized to extend credit when the need was warranted. This double appointment seems to be somewhat irregular because Bishop Kimball makes note in his diary that the presiding brethren expressed confidence in him to the extent that they felt that he could handle two offices. At the time someone had mentioned putting in a bishop in Kimball's place to relieve him of the ward's activities, but President Taylor assured all concerned that there was no need.

2D.U.P., Milestones, p. 373.
of it. Bishop Kimball could fill the two offices.³

A few weeks later Bishop Edward Hunter, Presiding Bishop of the Church, told him in confidence that Abe was the only bishop set apart under the hands of the Presiding Bishopric and was the only bishop and agent combined in the Church.⁴

Perhaps the most interesting part of a study of a nineteenth century Mormon bishop is the many and varied duties he performed. He was unofficial mayor of the town, director of water activities, fence and road builder, and the head of any other needed community improvement project. As spiritual leader of the community he was in charge of the ward activities. These included all of the progressive institutions of the Church along with such necessary temporal responsibilities as caring for the sick and conducting funerals and burials. In his role as spiritual leader of the ward, a great demand on his time was for the visiting and comforting of the sick and being with those who had cause to mourn—in addition to acting as the temporal judge of his ward members.

In all of these activities Bishop Kimball was able to perform very energetically until the winter of 1884-85. During this earlier period he became endeared to most of the members of


⁴The name of Abraham Alonzo Kimball gained further prominence when Abraham Alonzo Kimball, Jr. served as Bishop of the Kanosh Ward from 1901 until 1922. Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church (Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1941), p. 390.
his ward so that when he became ill in the latter part of his administra-
tion, he was kept on as bishop even though he could not be as active. It seemed to be in the tradition of early Mormon philosophy that the office of a bishop should be a patriarchal as well as a temporal office. Abe was only released by death from his office as Bishop of Kanosh.

His duties also included active participation in county politics during the early eighties and he made frequent trips to Fillmore as delegate to the county convention of the People's (Mormon) Party. Illustrative of the Mormon political experience in the 1880's is a comment that Bishop Kimball made concerning party candidates. He states that there was so little material to choose from for county and state offices because their best men were being disfranchised for polygamy. The Mormons met this problem in a traditional pragmatic way when they consolidated several of their government positions into one office.5

In August, 1880 he had voted a straight ticket in the party of the Church. His feelings were indicative of almost all of the Mormons of the time in their blanket support of the People's Party. In Bishop Kimball's words he says, "To vote straight ticket is the duty of all Saints in defending their cause."6 The Mormons had a very pressing cause for which to fight in the 1880's because the Federal officers became more active in pressing them

5Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 12.
to abandon polygamy. The political implication of this action will be dealt with later.

In conjunction with the other eight bishops, stake presidency, and high council, Bishop Kimball participated as one of the directors of the Millard County Manufacturers Department. In reporting one of these meetings Bishop Kimball says:

We spend the afternoon in planning what would be for the public benefit of the people. The general topic was a tannery as the use for one had already been built here. I proposed putting up a carding machine for the benefit of the poor.7

He went on to report that no final conclusion had been made on the tannery as the brethren wanted to ascertain the possible profit of such a program. But it was agreed that Bishop Kimball, in connection with the Kanosh settlement, should put up the carding machine. The carding machine was never again mentioned in his diaries, so we can assume that either the project was not big enough to merit comment or that it was not built at all.8

Water and irrigation control was another important function of any bishop in Millard County. Bishop Kimball was very active in studying water surveys, protecting Indian water rights, making plans for water use, and electing officers of the irrigation company.9 One of the big fears of the people living in Deseret,

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7Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 119.
8The Daughters of the Utah Pioneers History makes no mention of it. D.U.P., Milestones, pp. 341-83.
9Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 103.
Millard County, was the possibility of the dam's breaking and spoiling their crops. He was involved in relief work in Deseret when the dam across the Sevier River broke in 1883.10

As bishop of the community he was also a prime power in the education of the children of his ward. His feud with the school will be mentioned later. In 1886 he recorded a trip to Deseret, Millard County, to a meeting of the Millard County Academy. There Bishop Kimball spoke for thirty-five minutes. He was involved in the major facets of civic life.

Of all of the difficult things that a Mormon bishop had to perform, visiting the sick and administering to people in time of need was perhaps the most demanding. The people had a communal feeling for one another which gave them opportunity to serve each other in times of need. The Relief Society of the Church was an organization on which Bishop Kimball could rely to help with the needs of the sick. However, the bishop was in charge of the religious ritual of making anointings for the healing of the sick. Bishop Kimball was out until three in the morning on many occasions sitting up and watching over the sick members of his ward.

It is very sad to read in his journals from 1879 through the eighties of devastating diphtheria epidemics (1879-80, 1883-85, 1887-9) which swept through Kanosh and earned the name of

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10 A fascinating history of the efforts to dam the Sevier River by the citizens of Deseret has been written. Leonard J. Arrington, "Taming the Turbulent Sevier," Western Humanities Review, Autumn, 1951, pp. 393-406. Abe was involved in one of the dam failures.
"the dreaded disease." During this period many children and young people died. It was practically impossible to stop. Most of the writings during the weeks of the epidemics tell of Bishop Kimball's visiting the sick, arranging and preaching at funerals and burials. Of course, he also performed many priesthood administrations in an effort to save the lives of his ward children who were ill.

The early diphtheria epidemic caused a stimulus to righteous living of his ward members, which was reflected in the closer harmony between members and an increase in the payment of tithes. The latter commandment had been marginally lived by many in the community before the epidemic.

During the last year of his administration, 1889, he had to again contend with the horror of a diphtheria epidemic. This time it started slowly and subtly. The people did not think it was diphtheria until the first children died. Other deaths soon after demonstrated that it truly was the "dreaded (sic) disease." The Kanosh Saints panicked but were cooperative with the county officials who came in to check its spread. The health officials immediately quarantined the town and advised everyone to stay at home and off of the streets except for emergencies. This order was difficult for the people to live, which caused Bishop Kimball to comment that "obedience was a hard thing for the human family to learn."

Again a tragic toll in children and young people was exacted from the membership. George Crane lost two of his three
boys. The third caught the disease but it was not recorded in Abe's journal whether or not he died. Bishop Kimball was ill at this time and was unable to sit up with the sick as he had done in the early eighties or do many of the administrations and preaching at funeral services. His two good counselors, C. W. Hopkins, and son-in-law, C. F. Christensen, took care of these responsibilities. Bishop Kimball recorded that this epidemic, which lasted from winter to summer, caused the people to become "the worst frightened that I ever knew them to be, seeming to have lost all faith." He went on to say that they had this plague come upon them knowing that they had not been keeping God's commandments. These commandments were stated specifically to be the Word of Wisdom, setting their families in order and attending their prayers.\(^1\)

The townspeople were so frightened that the victims were buried the same afternoon of the morning they died. This stark fear of the reality of diphtheria only began to subside in June, 1889, when it is recorded that the Kanosh Ward was able to hold meetings again after a three month adjournment.\(^2\) Many families were to always remember this epidemic because they lost two, three, or more of their children within a few weeks.

In between the two diphtheria epidemics at the extremities of the 1880's, an entry of August 17th, 1884, indicated that

\(^{1}\text{Kimball, "History," p. 459.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Ibid., p. 463.}\)
visiting and taking care of the sick, while it had been an ac-
tivity of Abe's right along, became acute for he says, "It seems
like to me that I spend more time among the sick than any other
bishop in the county; seeing they are cared for, but I do more
than my duty as a bishop for a brother among mankind." This
time it was the older people who were dying from causes not men-
tioned. Again he had the usual activities of arranging for
funerals, having graves dug, clothes prepared, calling on men
making the coffin, and dressing the body.

Bishop Kimball, father of his ward, complained many times
during his administration of the lack of cooperation given by
certain sections of the ward population. At one time he got so
discouraged with the disunity of the people that he dropped the
proposed plans of a ward meeting house promptly after it was
mentioned. He could foresee that many of his ward members would
never work together to bring about its erection. In January
1889, just after his return from the Utah State Penitentiary, he
took the opportunity to bear his testimony and tell the people
of his privilege of being among them again, and then gave them
encouragement for unity among themselves. Unity was a thing that

13Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 18.

14In October 1884, a Bishop Black was taken ill in a nei-
gboring community and they sent for a Dr. Pike in Provo. The
doctor pronounced the disease to be pneumonia and Kimball's
statement gives us perhaps a clue to the upsurge of deaths when
he says, "Pneumonia seems to be a common name for diseases at
this time." Ibid., p. 23.
he felt they sorely needed because positive plans were being made for a ward meeting house which would require everyone's cooperation. Settling differences between members of the Church without lawyers or bad feelings was a strong feature of Mormonism in the nineteenth century.

The bishop was the man through whom most civil and spiritual aspects of community relationships were settled. In the last five years of his life Bishop Kimball spent many evenings at his home with people who wanted to iron out problems and individual differences between themselves. These sessions, most of the time, ended in success with a handshaking and an expression of forgiveness all around. 15

In the Mormon ward organization the half-dozen missionary teachers, as they were called, had a great amount of power when they made their visits among the members of the ward. They would bring to the attention of the bishop the lack of performance of any ward member who was not living his religion and would help him make judgements. An interesting entry in Bishop Kimball's diary of Monday, June 10th, 1887, reads as follows:

> In the evening held our monthly teachers meeting at my place. Had a good time and teachers feeling well and determined to do better and reported the people feeling better but considerable malice and fault finding concerning the bishop by those who were weak in the faith. About their tithing and how tithing was used, etc. Such things worry me but little

15Ibid., p. 22.
knowing that as soon as men and women fail in
keeping the commandments of God they commence on
the bishop and all in authority. The Lord have
mercy on all such.\textsuperscript{16}

In the year preceding there were two examples of feelings
exhibited towards Bishop Kimball by his ward members. In the first
instance a couple came to him and confessed that they had had nega-
tive feelings towards him. They wanted to acknowledge that they
were wrong in harboring these feelings and asked the bishop to
forgive them. This Bishop Kimball freely gave and then took the
opportunity to give them some good counsel which seemed to end
the matter.\textsuperscript{17} Others harbored ill feelings toward him which were
not so easily resolved. Because of his demands for strict obe-
dience to the Mormon religion, many around him felt rebellious.
Strict behaviour was also demanded of his children.

The second was during the July 24th celebration when ward
members came to Bishop Kimball's home to serenade him. They then
took him to the town square for the day's entertainment. A rock-
ing chair and a cushion were provided for him to watch the tradi-
tional pioneer program. At the celebration they presented to him
a beautiful autograph album which made him feel very good and said
that he was well pleased with the day's events.\textsuperscript{18}

But a difficult problem developed in the autumn of 1886,

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 113-14.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 67.
which gave cause for the longest running entry of any one event in his diary. Bishop Kimball had a real grievance with the school trustees in connection with the teacher they had selected to teach his children and others. George Crane, his first counselor, had hired a non-Mormon school teacher who was the son of one of the Liberal Party apostate leaders in Millard County, John Kelley. The son was never given the dignity of being mentioned by his Christian name in any of Abe's diaries. 19

When Bishop Kimball found out indirectly that the son of this apostate had been chosen as the teacher, he exploded:

My indignation was complete. I then wrote a letter to Brother Crane as he was at Joseph at Severe Co. to come home. But he came before receiving the letter. Sunday he tried to plaster it over but to no effect with me as I had made up my mind to make no compromise only the teacher would go or I would turn Mormon Trustee and hire another as we had another house. 20

The next day Abe had a meeting with the school trustees. When the general business was finished, he informed the trustees that he

19 In an interview with Mrs. Maude Crane Melville on March 15, 1963, the writer was told that his name was Quincy B., but he was called Q. B.

20 Incidentally, this letter never was opened by George Crane. Bishop Kimball told him that if he read the letter that he would apostatize. With great strength of character Brother Crane carried the unopened letter around with him for thirty years! Nothing was going to make him apostatize.

Later, Abraham Alonzo Kimball's son, A. A. Junior, asked Brother Crane if together they could destroy the letter. Cere-moniously they both watched a small fire put eternal silence to the words written during a very trying time.
would prefer a charge against them to the high council of Millard Stake. With this threat he began to interview and screen alternate teachers for Kanosh. 21

On November 2nd Bishop Kimball made good his charge to the trustees and wrote to the high council of Millard Stake in the following letter:

I hereby prefer a charge to your honorable body, George Crane, A. Nadauld, and Anthony Paxton, all of the Kanosh Ward for employing an apostate or gentile school teacher, a graduate, so they tell me, of St. Marks School, Salt Lake City, which is worse than all is he is a son of John Kelley of Fillmore, the Liberal Leader and founder or father of the sectarian school in Fillmore. Mormon schools are not good enough for John Kelley to educate his children but our trustees think his son good enough to teach our children. But I their bishop do not think so nor propose to be imposed upon in any such a way...

But I claim that this is not enough besides I claim that they had no right as saints and counselors to bishops to hire gentiles and apostates, etc. and as such I prefer the charge against them for unchristian like conduct for going against general church council and ignoring their bishop entirely. I have asked them to dispose of him by paying him a months wages as he is payed by the month. They declined saying this would be such a disgrace. I don't consider their disgrace can be added upon by discharging him and I am only willing to let Mr. Kelley or any outsider know that I am opposed to them or their sons teaching my children and as far as the trustees hiring Lucifer to teach our children in order to secure the appropriation money, I say damn such policy. If such policy was good, why did not God let Lucifer (?) in order to save him and the spirits that went with him.

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21 This running battle is recorded in Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," pp. 90-102.
Gentlemen, I feel righteously indignant over this affair and claim that I have just reasons for complaint and redress before your honorable body which I claim and hold you will not fail to give it your immediate attention. While we await your decision we will hold another school and meet the fight. Same when we are opposed upon by our brethren as we expect to do when these things are forced upon us by the outside world. Which we are looking for in the near future and may we ever be able to win in fighting for right. I subscribe myself as ever the representative of the Saints in the Kanosh Ward and may the Holy Ghost attend you in your deliberation in this matter is my humble prayer.

AA Kimball
Kanosh Ward
Nov 3, 1886

The controversy between Kimball and his first counselor, George Crane, is reflected in an action some ten days later when he announced that he had dropped Crane from the bishopric for the way in which he had been treated. The dismissal was over "schools and other things...besides being naturally opposed to me and my ideas." Kimball decided that he could not and would not work with him as a counselor any longer. This incident points up another interesting part of Church organization in the time of Bishop Kimball. In connection with this incident with Crane he stated that he had taken him as his "policy counselor." Commenting very sarcastically about this title he went on to say that he had "paid dearly" for his policy and that this experience had taught him that "too much policy will not do for Latter-day Saints."

In response to his earlier message to the high council, I. N. Hinckley, Stake President, and his counselors arrived in
Kanosh and asked for a meeting with the school trustees that evening. The trustees were to render an accounting of themselves for standing off and continuing the sectarian school. George Crane was out of town but Paxton and Nadauld represented the school board and after a long siege agreed to dispose of Q. B. Kelley by the next Friday. The stake presidency upheld Kimball in the other actions he had taken.

This action brought prompt response from the father of the school teacher. John Kelley wrote to Bishop Kimball concerning his son's teaching school and alleged that Kanosh was considering him unfairly dealt with by the bishop. The bitterness between the Mormons and the gentiles over the anti-polygamy legislation of the day is reflected in Kimball's reply:

I sat down and answered it reminding him who and what he was (a leader in the Liberal Party) and how unfairly he and his friends were dealing with us in disfranchising us. Besides wresting from us every right which should be enjoyed by American citizens.

Before he could send the letter, however, John Kelley and his son visited him in Kanosh to seek clemency. They not only received little satisfaction for their visit but were treated with extreme coolness. Each side dedicated himself to a cause and further prepared for an administrative fight. Abe claimed that he could "scorch apostates as far as accusations are concerned, and extend but little charity...as such has ceased to be a virtue with me."

The battle continued on into the middle of December when Bishop Kimball records that on one Sunday morning he was visited
by the school trustees in the persons of George Crane and Anthony Paxton. They asked him to sanction the decision to let the "infidel teacher" return and finish the quarter or term.

I informed them that I would abide it the same as if I would if I was sentenced to the pen. I would go because I could not help myself. I also agreed that I would look over the school trouble and call it an unthoughted blunder (underlining mine) on part of the trustees and would hold no feelings on the matter, which Crane said was all that he would ask of me, feigning to feel well satisfied. I also informed him why I had dropped him as a counselor. He claimed the drop was a great relief to him.

But the school teacher was not dropped and Q. B. Kelley did teach school in Kanosh and was well received and liked by the children.22

By 1888, Bishop Kimball seemed to have been on good relations with the school trustees again. They agreed to let his children go to school without charge.23 This was in consideration of his health and the resulting financial condition which he was forced to accept.

Bishop Kimball's anti-apostate sentiments in 1886 were further expressed in his decision to oust an apostate by the name of E. Penney from the irrigation company and elect his counselor, C. W. Hopkins, in his place.24 The townspeople evidently

22Interview with Maude Crane Melville.

23Common schools did not become free in Utah Territory until the Comprehensive Law of 1890. Only then did the territory take full responsibility.

backed the bishop in most of his policies, because all of the attempts of the apostates to arouse mass protests were reported to be unsuccessful.

During the last few months of his life he reported a weekly teachers' meeting at his house. Ending the meeting, he announced that the teachers and himself had a session wherein they were asking the forgiveness of one another in case there was any feelings between any of them. This part of public and private confession, asking for the forgiveness of one another, was a characteristic of the Mormon culture in the nineteenth century, and is an encouraged practice of Latter-day Saints today.

Early in 1888 Bishop Kimball received a visit from his first counselor "who called to tell me that the opposition in our ward objected to a meeting house being built on the public square and others who should assist in building it if such and such things were not done." Bishop Kimball further commented that in response to this report Brother Hopkins called the committee together and told them flatly to just forget about building the meeting house, knowing that the opposition would be too great to accomplish much, "having had considerable experience in the past and am about discouraged in accomplishing much in a public way in Kanosh." This indicates some of the problems he had after working with his people for ten years!

A few days later, however, Kimball negotiated with the stake presidency on the dimensions on the new ward Relief Society House which had been proposed. The Relief Society had $300 and 300 bushels of wheat which were worth 85¢ per bushel. He promised them the building even if he didn't get paid for hauling the rock which was his business contribution at the time. He says, "as usual there were still some feelings of opposition, but still the work went on." With Bishop Kimball's help the project for the Relief Society House was successfully completed.26

In the nineteenth century the living of one's religion was oftentimes a project for the whole community, and something in which everyone was interested. On one occasion in 1888 Bishop Kimball had called a special meeting of the bishopric to discuss the fellowship of one James H. Barlow. Before the meeting took place Barlow came separately to Bishop Kimball and promised to comply with what was required of him so that he could dismiss the case. The bishop commented that, "I was pleased to do so as I dread dealing with my brethren and sisters for their membership."27 With this statement we know that his experiences with apostasy in all of its forms had been hard on him, but he recognized his responsibility as a judge in Israel and carried it our fearlessly.28

28Ibid.
In the previous year he made known his desire to go to the meeting on Sunday as there were several public confessions scheduled. In this tradition it was expected that James Paxton would stand before the meeting to express sorrow for having kicked a woman. Further, that Sam and Marion Dorrity would appear and apologize to the congregation for getting into a fight. On this particular Sunday the Dorritys came and confessed their bit, but Paxton did not make an appearance. As a result, Bishop Kimball had to refer his case to the high council for deliberation. He was rather upset because Paxton was unwilling to confess before the Saints. Bishop Kimball's comment about this is interesting because it indicates his feelings toward "non-conformers." He says, "I fear that he (Paxton) was one of Lucifer's playmates in eternity." 29

Bishop Kimball's relationship with his brethren is further illuminated by a diary entry in October 1886. He reported that many of the Kanosh Saints were getting ready to go to the temple:

...which makes more or less work for me because being in a responsible position for acting as their temporal judge. My judgement

29Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," pp. 114, 116. It is interesting to note that after Abe's death a daughter of his married a Paxton. This is quite understandable in early Mormon communities where the population is small and the actions of a few are harshly judged, only to be forgiven when the person repents and comes back into full fellowship. The Paxton family today is one of the most substantial in Kanosh.
suits some and some it don't. A bishop is placed in a critical place today and needs nerve and the Spirit of God to accompany him. 30

During this time Abe was very active in the politics of the day. The Edmunds Law had been passed by Congress in 1882, which disfranchised polygamists and otherwise provoked his white-hot anger against apostates and non-Mormons. He rightly sensed that they were trying to take his rights away as a citizen and change his way of life by legislation. On September 16th, 1882, he wrote:

Attended a Primary meeting to elect delegates for County convention. I also called at the place where the precinct registration business was going on. I was angry before I hardly knew it, as an apostate and the son of an apostate was swearing them in. He was as ignorant as an Ass, and could hardly read the oath, say nothing about committing and rehearsing it. While there one Linda Miller, an old harlot and whom I had assisted to bury two of her dead bastard children, came in, was sworn and passed as a genuine citizen voter and I, being a polygamist by birth, and marriage and a lawful citizen, was disfranchised. This was a little too much for me, so I retired before getting into a row, but I did not fail to say a little, and would have been glad to send Senator Edmunds and his click to hell. 31

When he saw transients and vagabonds from all occupations come through Kanosh and who were allowed to register and vote for the Liberal Party, 32 his disfranchisement became increasingly

30 Ibid. p. 81.
31 Kimball, "History," p. 231.
32 The Gentile, non-Mormon Party.
bitter. He was very pleased when the Liberals unsuccessfully tried to conduct a rally in the Kanosh School House. Two party leaders came in from Salt Lake City to run the show but it amounted to "a grand fizzle." 33

Two days before the election of 1882 Abe was one of five speakers at a People's Party political meeting in Kanosh. He admitted that, "politics was a new business to us all, but we had a good time creating quite a sensation among the speakers if no one else." 34

The Mormons realized that the anti-polygamy feelings of Gentiles throughout America were becoming more hostile. Federal legislation was demonstrated to be effective in disfranchising polygamists and causing many of them to go to jail. For the rest of the decade Bishop Kimball and his polygamous counterparts throughout the state began to preach and take steps to protect their cause. Early the next year Abe preached a sermon in his ward on political matters, "showing the necessity of helping to keep up the Territorial Campaign Fund." 35 This financial support of a political party was just the beginning. On his way to April Conference, 1883, in Salt Lake City he stopped off at Scipio to speak in sacrament meeting. His subject? "The necessity

33 Kimball, "History," p. 238.

34 Ibid., p. 239. In the resulting election the Liberals only polled seven votes!

of our keeping the influence of sectarian teachers and ministers from among us, not to invite them to visit us at our homes!" \(^{36}\)

The financial report of the Mormon Church which was usually read openly at a session of the general conference was withheld and given secretly at a special meeting in the Social Hall. After a screening was made to see if any traitors or imposters were present, the financial business of the conference was transacted. The enemies of the Church were not given the opportunity to take advantage of the Mormons because of a knowledge of their financial position. \(^{37}\)

In August of 1883 Bishop Kimball was still preaching on a political theme. In Deseret he spoke to the Saints for one hour on, "our position, politically, showing the necessity of our being true to the cause and our party." \(^{38}\)

During the late 1870's and 1880's Bishop Kimball was involved in Indian negotiations as Bishop of Kanosh Ward. There were many whites who sought to reduce the Indian lands and waters to insignificance, but the Indians found a champion, confidant and protector in Bishop Kimball. They came to him for help and advice and he visited them and fought for their rights. He was

\(^{36}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 260.}\)
\(^{37}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 262.}\)
\(^{38}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 277.}\)
\(^{39}\text{Deseret News}, \text{30:755.}\)
even "called" in the April Conference of 1883 to labor among the Pahvant Indians in a missionary and protective capacity.  

When the Mormons first came to Corn Creek in 1854, they found a friendly and fairly progressive group of Pahvant Indians farming the area. Their chief, Kanosh, was baptized into the Church and ordained an elder in 1874. Others of them were baptized and lived very peacefully next to the white man even during the Indian troubles in Utah during the latter 1860's. The Mormons then began to move the Indians up Corn Creek and claimed their water. The dispute between Mormons and Indians, and among the Mormons themselves, as to what to do with the Indians continued on through Bishop Kimball's lifetime. The official maps of Utah today show a definite Kanosh Indian Reservation which roughly parallels Highway 91 from Kanosh to Meadow. Only a small portion of the south end comes onto Corn Creek while the entire eastern boundary connects with the Fishlake National Forest area.

Abe's approach to the Indian situation was for the whites to offer them friendship and help without living among them. Many white men thought that by living with the Indians they could teach and transfer their way of life to include the Mormon farming culture. Abe thought that this approach would be "hard to do" judging from his previous experiences with them. But

40Kimball, "History," p. 262.
41Ibid., p. 251.
the struggle continued with most of the Mormons trying to move the Indians farther up the ditch. The stake presidency, bishops and high councilmen were called together many times to work out a settlement. An appeal was even sent to the General Authorities for a solution. President Taylor referred the problem back to the Millard County authorities but assigned Apostle F. M. Lyman to work with them for a solution. Bishop Kimball won a few water battles for the Indians before his death, but today's map shows the Indians on a reservation away from Corn Creek.

When Chief Kanosh died in 1881, his people waited until the bishop returned from his railroad job to counsel them in the selection of a new chief. He negotiated three names with them before they finally decided to have Moshaguap the new chief. Bishop Kimball was to be their "civil chief."  

The Deseret News gave an interesting report of the funeral of Kanosh containing the feelings and superstitions of the Indians as to where the spirit of Kanosh had gone. Because he was an elder in the Church, they felt that he had gone to the "Mormon happy hunting ground" and most of them expressed their desire to go there too. Hence they were very receptive to the counsel of Bishop Kimball when he returned. At Kanosh's funeral the Indians and the whites sang the favorite Mormon hymn, "O, Stop

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42Ibid., p. 207.
and Tell Me, Red Man." It is included here to illustrate the nineteenth century Mormon philosophy toward the Indians.

1. O, stop and tell me, Red Man,
   Who are you, why you roam,
   and how you get your living;
   Have you no God—no home?

2. With stature straight and portly,
   And decked in native pride,
   With feathers, paints and brooches,
   He willingly replied,—

3. I once was pleasant Ephraim,
   When Jacob for me prayed;
   But lo, how blessings vanish,
   When man from God has strayed!

4. Before your nation knew us,
   Some thousand moons ago,
   Our fathers fell in darkness,
   And wandered to-and-fro.

5. And long they've lived by hunting
   Instead of work and arts,
   And so our race has dwindled
   To idle Indian hearts.

6. Yet hope within us lingers,
   As if the Spirit spoke—
   He'll come for your redemption,
   And break your Gentile yoke.

7. And all your captive brothers
   From every clime shall come,
   And quit their savage customs,
   To live with God at home.

8. Then joy will fill our bosoms,
   And blessings crown our days,
   To live in pure religion,
   And sing our Maker's praise. 44

44The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1869), p. 341. A copy in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
CHAPTER VII

FAMILY AND PERSONAL LIFE

Abe was a firm believer in celestial marriage, polygamy, and the raising of a righteous family as evidenced by his three wives and fourteen children.¹ The background of his first wife, Mary Eliza, and their marriage has been mentioned in connection with Abe's early life and his coming to Utah.² To this union was given eight children. His second marriage took place eight years later, in 1874, again in the Endowment House at Salt Lake City. He had previously decided to enter into plural marriage and evidently made a few unsuccessful approaches, the failure of which he claimed to have been a blessing.³

In the fall of 1874 Lucy Adell Brown, daughter of Benjamin Franklin Brown and Lucinda Leavitt, became his bride.⁴ She continued to live with her parents in Fillmore until her house was completed in Kanosh. Abe refers to her as "L. A." in his diary which indicates that she went by both names, but there are also entries in which she is referred to as Adell. To them were born six children.

¹Letter of Spencer W. Kimball to the writer, April 16, 1963.
²Interview with Spencer W. Kimball March 25, 1963. He says that from the 44 wives (18 of them bore him children) and 68 children, there have been over 8000 descendents.
³Kimball, "History," p. 94.
⁴Ibid.
Reference to his actual marriage to his third wife, Laura Moody, is not specifically made in the diaries. Snatches of the background of his courtship are referred to, however. He met Laura at her home in Deseret on Christmas Day, 1882. Abe was away from home during the holidays on a survey job. W. C. Moody had invited him home for dinner and to meet his family. The Moodys were strangers in town, having just moved to Deseret from Nevada. He had a very restrained courtship as Moody was particular about bringing men around his girls.

Although he doesn't mention his marriage to Laura he must have married her before January, 1884. In August of 1883 Abe took Mary Eliza to visit Deseret where she met Laura for the first time. On January 31st, 1884, he announced that he made a visit to Laura in Salt Lake City whom he now called wife. She was visiting her grandmother in that city. Again on March 29th he went by train to Salt Lake City to visit her and to witness the marriage and sealing of Laura's brother and his wife in the Endowment House. They must have married prior to this time.

Laura continued to live in Deseret with her folks after she had become Bishop Kimball's bride. He visited her there

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5 The Temple Index Bureau of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has no record of Abraham A. Kimball's marriages to either Adell or Laura. They did not record the marriages of plural wives at this time.

6 Kimball, "History," p. 245.

7 Ibid., p. 277.
often; most notably in June of that year. When the Deseret Dam on the Sevier River went out, Abe was able to be of assistance to the whole Moody family.8

In February, 1885, Laura came to visit in Kanosh. After a month's stay she became ill, lingered for three weeks, and died at Mary Eliza's home on April 6, 1885. Her parents had come to Kanosh and were at her bedside when she died. She had been Abe's wife less than two years.

Abe was very upset about Laura's untimely death but did acknowledge the hand of the Lord, determining "not to give way to my feelings and bear up under my trials like a man."9 He named Adell's small daughter Laura in her memory and further eulogized her by saying that he hoped his small daughter would grow up into as fine a woman as her namesake. Laura died without becoming a mother. Baby Laura was the twelfth of the fourteen children that were born to Abe and his two wives. Mary Eliza had had four children (three living) before Abe married Lucy Adell in 1874. After that Mary Eliza had four more children and Adell six.

Clarissa Adelia, Abe's first child, was born in 1866 in Grantsville, where Abe and Mary Eliza were taking care of Heber C. Kimball's ranch.10 In 1869 his second daughter, Lois Cather-

8Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 10.
9Ibid., p. 24.
10Clara was the only child who was able to marry and give Abe a grandchild before he died. She married C. F. Christensen in 1886, and was given a large reception in Mary Eliza's home in Kanosh. Ibid., p. 107.
Abe, was born in St. Joseph, Nevada, while the family was serving on the Muddy Mission. All of the other children were born after Abe and his family had moved to Millard County either in Petersburg (Hatton), Fillmore, or Kanosh. The following list of the family, complete with the name of the mother, date and place of birth will give an account of Abe as a family man. Mary Eliza and Lucy Adell have been abbreviated M. E. and L. A. to conserve space on the list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTHER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Clarissa Adelia</td>
<td>May 13, 1866</td>
<td>Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Lois Catherine</td>
<td>Jan. 9, 1869</td>
<td>St. Joseph, Lincoln County, Nevada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Abraham Alonzo, Jr.</td>
<td>Feb. 24, 1872</td>
<td>Petersburg, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Mary Vilate</td>
<td>Sept. 8, 1874</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Florence Evaline</td>
<td>Sept. 1, 1875</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Pearl Adell</td>
<td>Dec. 6, 1876</td>
<td>Fillmore City, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Heber Chase</td>
<td>Nov. 12, 1879</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Flora Lucinda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Parley Pratt</td>
<td>Feb. 2, 1882</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Benjamin Franklin</td>
<td>May 6, 1882</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Charles Albert</td>
<td>Jan. 5, 1884</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
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</table>

The family was from St. Joseph, Nevada, and moved to Millard County in Utah, where they settled in Kanosh. All the children were born in this area, with the exception of Abe, who was born in Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah, while his family was serving on the Muddy Mission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTHER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Laura</td>
<td>Feb. 2, 1885</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Brigham Young</td>
<td>Nov. 29, 1887</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>Alvira May</td>
<td>April 26, 1888</td>
<td>Kanosh, Millard County, Utah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Little Mary Vilate was the only one of his children to die in infancy. She was born in 1874 and died two and one-half weeks later. Another of Mary Eliza's children, Heber Chase, died when he was ten years old. All of the other children lived to maturity. This was a remarkable thing considering the devastations that most suffered in Kanosh during the late 70's and 80's from diphtheria. Bishop Kimball was very busy administering to the sick, but none of his children caught the "dreaded disease."

It can be noted that the first two children were girls and that Abraham Alonzo, Jr. was not born until 1872. This was to cause a hardship on both families when Abe died in 1889, as there was no grown male to assume the full responsibilities for the farm. This was especially true with Adell's family as her

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11Letter from Spencer W. Kimball to Jerry Higginson, April 16, 1963. This is information from his files that has been given to him through the years. Sporadic information is given throughout Abe's journals about the birth of his children. Scattered registration of births are also found on microfilm in the Kanosh early Church records collected by the Genealogical Society of the Church. At the time of this writing (1963) there are four children still alive: Parley Pratt (born 1882), Elvira May (born 1888) from the first wife, and Charles A. Kimball (born 1884) and Laura Kimball Cummings (born 1885) from the second wife.
first son was not born until 1882.

Father Abe Kimball was very concerned about the rearing of his children and their remaining faithful to the Church. He read to his family often from the Doctrine and Covenants and sermonized to the Kanosh Ward from the same book when he was bishop. He taught that in rearing children if the parents didn't teach them to pray, the sin should rest upon the heads of the parents. Bishop Kimball chastised the people in his ward about the disgrace of many illegitimate children being born in Kanosh and compared them to range cattle. He told the parents to supervise their children at night.

In quoting one of Brigham Young's talks on child rearing, Bishop Kimball told the women in his ward that it was their duty to teach the child correct ways. Indeed, he followed the same logic as did Brigham Young when the latter said:

If your children do not receive impressions of love, piety, virtue, tenderness, and every principle of the Holy Gospel, you may be assured that their sins will not be required of the father, but of the mother.

The entire discourse mentioned above spells out clearly the philosophy of the father's position as head of the house,

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12 Kimball, "Diary, 1878-80," p. 124.


14 Ibid., p. 67.
wife, children, and the Church, during early Mormonism. The mother's position as the real teacher of the child was carefully outlined. To the mother went the responsibility for raising a child! The father only had responsibility for the child after he was old enough to join him in labor out in the field.

Lest it be thought that Abe was always the embodiment of the ideal nineteenth century Mormon man, a quick look at his earlier life would be in order. He arrived in Salt Lake City in 1862 as a wild, fun loving lad of sixteen. Many of the habits he brought to Utah were to stay with him on into adulthood.

Along with many Latter-day Saints in the early Church, he regarded absolute temperance as a virtue only for bishops and the most pious. He told of many amusing incidents wherein he forgot his troubles with the help of a bottle of whiskey, or "eye-opener," as he called it. A part of his recreation was an occasional "spree," most often with some of Mary Eliza's relatives down in Fillmore, Millard County. These relatives were referred to by Heber and also by Abe as the "Fillmore Ring of Rogues." They seemed to be quite a temptation to Abe.

Abe's joy and ability in wrestling with men got him in trouble one summer afternoon in 1872. He had been "over persuaded" to go into a saloon in Fillmore on a rainy afternoon where a lively fight broke out. Three and a half weeks of extreme sickness came as the result of a blow on the head from a

15Kimball, "History," pp. 73, 85.
three foot club. His near death at this time caused him to resolve to repent and to go back to work as soon as possible.

It was not very long after this that Abe's whole approach to life, church service, and friends changed. The account of his growth from inactivity in the Church to his appointment as a missionary and then bishop is one of the interesting stories of his life.

Although nothing was said in his journals it can be assumed that Abe went to Church regularly while living in Heber C. Kimball's house in Salt Lake City. He did not record any special feelings he had for the Church as a young adult.

With all his failings he was quite strict in his reverence and obedience to the counsel and direction of the Priesthood of the Church—especially to his father and Brigham Young. Much of this came as a result of a private conversation he had with his father on the eve of his departure to the Muddy Mission. He was praised for the fine way in which he had obeyed his father and was admonished to obey the bishops, presidents, and teachers under whom he would be placed. The advice given was that he should "sustain and uphold them even if you know they are wrong and you will come out all right...if you take a stand against them, it will be the cause of your downfall and overthrow and you will not prosper in so doing."\(^{17}\)

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 75.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 43.
This was advice that Abe never forgot and pointed to it in his diary when he did things in obedience to the Priesthood. He had a good foundation in the rigors and practices of Mormonism. Hence, his early backwardness in church participation and leadership until the middle 1870's is an anomaly.

During Abe's first summer in Grantsville Heber came to visit him and to give the local ward a "preach." While there he quizzed Abe concerning his attendance at meetings and inquired further into his negative reply. Abe's justification was that he was sick of hearing long sermons from old men about the days of Joseph Smith which were repetitious to him to the point of distraction. Heber also asked him if he had yet been asked to speak. The answer was, no, and Abe committed himself to accept every speaking opportunity the church in Grantsville would give him.

Heber used Abe's dissatisfaction with the meetings as the subject of his sermon to the Grantsville Ward, and, referring to Abe by name, announced to the bishopric and congregation that Abe was to speak to them every time he came. This shocked and petrified young Abe to the extent that he met the situation by staying away from church for the next two months. He was finally tricked by a ward member into going to church on the pretext of a supposed emergency which brought him to the meeting house without a coat or his hair combed. Immediately he was called to the stand18 and asked to speak. He declined with a "dozen

18The podium where lay-leaders sit in a Mormon service.
or more excuses" but finally consented to give the closing prayer. After announcing to the congregation, "if you will arise we will be dismissed," he claimed that he said the prayer so fast that his ending "Amen" beat many of the Saints to their feet. Abe never again attended church in Grantsville.19

While Abe was on the Muddy Mission, Apostle Erastus Snow stayed one night with him and his family in St. Joseph. It was natural in Mormon culture for the head of the house to call on the visitor to offer family prayers in the evening. A crisis arose, however, when the next day Snow decided to stay another night. This meant that it would be Abe's turn to offer the evening prayer. Frantically he searched for another visitor to stay the night but was unsuccessful in finding one. He decided not to be a hypocrite, but to try and pray for himself. He commenced the ritual as if nothing were wrong, and his "Amen" was followed by a loud and hearty "Amen" from Snow that could have been heard some distance. This experience broke him of asking men to do what he would not do himself, and gave him a determination to continue family prayer throughout his life.20

The late fall of 1872 seemed to be a turning point in Abe's career as a lay-leader in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. When he made the move from Petersburg to Kanosh, at this time he decided to cultivate the friendship of

20Ibid., p. 72.
the bishop to replace his rowdy "spreeing" friends.

Soon after the bishop had become acquainted with Abe, he called him to be a teacher in the Kanosh Ward. His first companions in this assignment were Samuel McLatchie and M. W. Black.

This experience proved to be a very difficult one for Abe as he was assigned to visit the very persons with whom he had been drinking. His old friends gave him a rough time about his change in way of life but he told them that he had reformed and asked them to do the same. A few of them came back with the statement that they believed in "Mormonism as Joseph taught it but not as it was taught nowadays." Abe went right ahead and asked them the questions or catechism that had been outlined by church leaders. The negative responses to the questions asked resulted in the excommunication of ten of them from the Church.21

Perhaps the biggest step Abe was to take in his church activities came soon after he was called to be a home missionary. Evidently this was a traveling-speaking job in the stake. This caused him to open his eyes, "as I was no preacher and had avoided all opportunities to speak,"...but now there was no other way, only to face the music. His first attempt in his home ward of Kanosh was reported by him to be a failure. This sincerely bothered him because he knew that the people had come to listen and to get something from his talk.

His second attempt was approached with extreme timidity but was to be the turning point in his church career. His as-

21Kimball, "History," p. 90.
signment was to the town of Fillmore where he knew that his "spreeing buddies" from the dreaded ring would be there to hear him speak. Praying to the Lord to give him utterance for just ten minutes, he stood up and used the example of his own life as a text and was surprised that he spoke for a half hour.

He apparently succeeded because all the people seemed to be satisfied with his talk—-even his old cronies. With this new confidence he acknowledged the hand of the Lord and vowed never to shirk his responsibilities again. Compare this to the backward boy of twenty who refused to go to church in Grantsville for fear of having to speak in church. It was a difficult and long struggle but it ended very successfully for Abraham A. Kimball.

And indeed he did not shrink from his responsibilities. From the time of this oratory he went on to be the president of the Elders Quorum, a missionary in England and bishop of the Kanosh Ward. In the last named position he gave many sermons lasting one to two hours. He never shirked an opportunity to speak; conversely he seemed to enjoy all of his opportunities to address the Saints. One of his constant pleas to the young people of his ward as their bishop was to utilize their leisure time to improve themselves and to take every opportunity given them to speak in church. He was a popular speaker wherever he traveled in the Church during the last ten years of his life.

An interesting thing about the Mormon culture and the personality of the nineteenth century Mormon man is the sincere
expression of love, devotion, cooperation, and support which men of the Church gave to the priesthood leaders placed over them. This is especially true in regards to the hierarchy of the Church, or the General Authorities.

His comments about other men would give additional insight into his strong feelings for his friends. In 1886 Bishop Kimball was visited by David Cannon who had been a fellow missionary during his Muddy Mission experience. His feelings toward Cannon was shown when he said: "May God bless him as he is one good man which seems to follow all the Cannons I know. A nice family and an honorable one. I hope the same may follow my posterity and every good man in Isreal."22 Abe's association with George Q. Cannon will be discussed later.

In 1887, Bishop Kimball received a personal letter from Joseph F. Smith which encouraged him greatly. Included in the letter were personal greetings of love and encouragement from Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon to let him know that they had not forgotten him in his illness. Abe's health had been poor for the past two years. He reacted to these rememberances with this comment: "I consider it a great privilege to be in communication with my exalted brethren especially the presidency and the apostles which has been my privilege so far."23

22Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 58.
Another letter of encouragement during this period of sickness came from President John Taylor:

...blessing me to have the courage to live long upon the earth; that God would bless my family and my posterity forever. I felt proud to know that I was remembered while alone and sick by God's mouthpiece, the President of God's Church.24

So it was with sadness one year later that Bishop Kimball announced in his diary that on July 29, 1887, Kanosh Ward, along with all the other wards of the Church, would hold funeral services for President John Taylor. He instructed that the school house be draped in mourning for noonday services in respect for their Prophet and President of the Church.

The following year he eulogized Apostle Erastus Snow when he heard of his death. Snow lived in St. George and had been closely associated with Abe and the rest in Southern Utah. Many of the other General Authorities of the Church seem to have been acquainted with Abe and interested in him throughout his life in Utah. But then, most of them knew his father, Heber, and would be looking for leadership potential in Abe. When taking leadership positions, Abe carried them with dignity and great dedication.

One other great man touched the life of Abraham Kimball with lasting impression. During the Pioneer Day celebration of

24Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 58.
1885 in Kanosh, Abe stayed at home while the rest of his family went to the festivities. In the morning Karl G. Maeser, the educator from Provo, called to see him, had lunch and a long talk with him lasting into the afternoon. Towards the end of the conversation, Maeser made a comment in regards to the conversation they had when they talked of the different presidents of the Church. He said that it was curious to him that when Abe talked about one of these brethren, his face would change to look like the president he was talking about. Brother Maeser asked him if anyone had ever told him that before. Bishop Kimball said that this conversation made him feel better than he had for a long time.25

The supernatural was always a part of Abe's life, and he strongly believed that the General Authorities or leaders of the Church received revelation. The circumstances surrounding his call to be the family heir and representative to act in the stead of his father in regards to temple work are quite interesting. The year was 1882, just before April Conference, and Abe was in Salt Lake for the meetings. President Wilford Woodruff, a man whom he hardly knew, found Abe on one of the streets in downtown Salt Lake and called him into his office. After the usual pleasantries were exchanged, President Woodruff gave him a blessing,

...setting me apart as heir to my father's house, saying I was called from before the foundation of this earth to come down in this dispensation and take up the work where my father left it, that it was my place and that I should have power to accomplish it, and that the devil should not overcome me; that my father's house should be represented through me and my posterity, through time and through all eternity; the patriarchs, prophets, angels and my father had watched over me and would continue to do so through my faithfulness, sealing me up into eternal life, adding that I would be called into other positions. 26

President Woodruff told Abe to say nothing about the blessing for awhile. A few days later Abe, in company with his brothers, J. Golden and Elias, proposed to go up to the office of the President of the Church, John Taylor. He reported that the boys were willing to go but "were young and bashful and did not feel like calling along, although we are always made welcome among the leading men of Zion for the sake of our father if nothing more." 27 In chatting with President Taylor, the prophet brought up the business of appointing a family heir for Heber C. Kimball as there had been many applications of people requesting adoption into his house. Taylor asked Abe and the boys to bring all of Heber's sons to meet with him. They did so, at which time the position of heir was offered to William, the eldest son, in true patriarchal fashion. William at once refused the honor saying that Abe had the right to the calling. All of the sons endorsed Abe as the choice and echoed William's words that it "belongs to Abraham" 26

as he was the only one among them that was practicing polygamy. Abe reported that J. F. Smith and Wilford Woodruff, who were there also, were delighted and gave him counsel to be faithful and all would be well.28

It was common practice to have additional wives sealed to deceased ancestors to increase the family on the other side. Abe, as heir and family representative, gave approval to those women or families of deceased women who wanted to be sealed to Heber C. Kimball.29 He even tried to make arrangements to have deceased women of his acquaintance sealed to himself as wives.30

28Ibid., pp. 214-20.

29Ibid., p. 236. To accomplish this work he took a trip in 1882 with his wife, Mary Eliza, his mother-in-law, Adelia, and his counselors, G. Crane and Hans Christensen, to the St. George Temple. They stayed a week doing sealings and general temple work. President D. H. Wells advised him to be baptized for his grandfather, Alpheus Cutler and wife. This was done and Abe had the satisfaction of knowing that they had a second chance for eternal glory.

Evidently Adelia Wilcox Hatton Kimball had not been sealed as a plural wife to Heber C. Kimball while he was alive. While in St. George, Abe stood in as proxy for Heber C. Kimball while Adelia was sealed to him in matrimony for eternity. Letter, Spencer W. Kimball to Jerry Higginson, April 16, 1963.

He also went to the Logan Temple in 1885 for further temple work and to set up the Heber C. Kimball family temple organization.

30Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 83.
CHAPTER VIII

LIFE AS A CONVICT

Abe was the only son of Heber C. Kimball to live the law of celestial marriage. This honor was not enjoyed without sacrifice for both him and his family. The cooperation of Abe's wives along with most of the plural wives in pioneer Mormondom can be attributed to the doctrine that their eternal happiness would depend on their compliance with polygamy and that any earthly inconvenience was not important.¹

Abe was adamant in his views on the practice of polygamy. He felt very confident and qualified to speak in public on the subject and took many opportunities to do so during the 1880's. A quote on polygamy in 1881 from his journal:

claiming I had as good a right to defend and advocate the principle as any man living, as I was a polygamist by birth, practice and belief.²

Although he had been born under the covenant³ from a celestial marriage, he often remembered how he had been called a bastard by his Iowa acquaintances. He thoroughly understood the plural marriage commandment of the Church and was admired by

²Kimball, "History," p. 212.
³Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 38. Born under the covenant refers to children born after a couple has been married in a Mormon Temple.
his Utah friends for his sometimes brutal background as a poly-gamous child in Iowa. Abe lived with this plural marriage concept all of his life, first in a monogamous culture and then in Utah where polygamy was stoutly defended by most of the inhabitants.

He became quite enthusiastic in his advocation of this "celestial law" and two of his concepts were quite radical to the general belief of plural marriage. They were:

1. Any man who could take more wives than one, who had been through the temple, but didn't take wives, the one he had been sealed to would be taken away and he would live singly throughout eternity—even though he had been promised thrones, powers, dominions and principalities...all were on condition that he obey the law of celestial marriage and on no other conditions could he attain them.4

2. A man has not obeyed the celestial law in full who has only taken two wives and no more because:

   a. All things should be established by two witnesses, and what evidence did God have of a man's sincerity if he only married the second woman and no more. The evidence would show on the face of it that he was sick of it and only sorry he had gone so far, as Mormonism is progression.

   b. A man must have a quorum and be president to make his kingdom complete, and in running order.5

4Kimball, "History," p. 28; also, Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 37. Abe reported that J. F. Smith in conference clarified the rumored doctrine "that if a man marry a woman in the temple and she died, and he then married another, it would be living the celestial law," by saying it was a "damned lie." Ibid., p. 1.

With reference to this latter concept Apostle F. M. Lyman asked him where he got that doctrine to which Abe answered, "In my father's house, my father teaching or talking." The former point seemed to be quite generally believed by all Mormons at the time, but the second was more exclusive to Abe. He left a living testimony to his children in regards to their living this celestial law. He tells them to pay tithing and that:

They cannot be known only by their works as Jesus, our elder brother, said. A man may imagine and try to convince others that he believes a principle in the Church but he cannot prove it only by complying with it and living it... showing by his works his belief and then he will receive his reward due him for living each principle. My sons and daughters never will receive a celestial glory--worlds without end, unless they live plural marriage here on earth the same as their grandfather and father has done before them. They will be deprived of their society in eternity forever. This is the living testimony of your father, A. A. Kimball, to his sons and daughters and wives. Above all things, live your religion if it takes all earthly things to accomplish it.

He was delighted, as were other Mormons of his period and even some today, in the increase of his family, "realizing my posterity will constitute my kingdom in heaven, as well as on earth." While Mormons believed in plural marriage, less than a

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6Ibid.
7Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," pp. 55-56.
8Kimball, "History," p. 222.
fifth of them ever practiced it.\(^9\)

Anti-polygamy legislation passed by the congress between 1882-87 was hard for Abe to condone. In fact, he could hardly believe it. But on February 23, 1887, he wrote:

I had to believe that the infamous bill (Edmunds-Tucker) passed the Senate but hated to do so. I said to parties two months ago that if the bill became law that two thirds of the Saints could take the Test Oath with a clear conscience, and believed they would do so. The Loyal League fears it now.\(^{10}\)

This entry indicates that many of the Saints were weakening on polygamy early in 1887. In any case, it points up the strong feelings that the polygamists had in their minority cause in Mormondom, and how the liberal element of the Church was moving from polygamy—-even with hundreds of "Bishop Kimballs" preaching their fiery sermons promising them damnation if they did

\(^{9}\)Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review*, Summer, 1956, p. 2. Abe was given leadership of the Heber C. Kimball family in a meeting in 1885 partly because he was the only son of Heber C. Kimball living the celestial order. Newell W. Kimball signed his name to the minutes of that meeting which appeared in Abe's diary. Kimball, *Diary, 1884-87,"* p. 37.

\(^{10}\)Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 127. The Loyal League sprang into existence in the autumn of 1886 and was probably the "inner circle" of the Liberal Party. It was founded for the purpose of combating the movement for Utah statehood and was active during the time the Edmunds-Tucker Law was being drafted by congress. Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes To Utah* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941), p. 150; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1898), III, 517-18. The Test Oath disfranchised all Mormons who could or would not affirm that they were not living or ever had lived in polygamous relations. Gustive O. Larson, *Outline History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961), p. 212.
not comply. Abe, perhaps, sums up the attitude of nineteenth century Mormon polygamists in 1887 when he concludes a sermon by encouraging all to support the Territorial Constitution of 1887:

At the same time, I do not admire the clause prohibiting bigamy and polygamy, but bow my head in obedience, believing all will come out right, but do not want my monogamist brethren to sit in judgment on me.11

In that same year he was quite upset by property adjustments made necessary when the Edmunds-Tucker Law required the attorney general to enforce the law of 1862 relative to escheatment of Church property. His wrath in not being able to vote or exercise his rights as a United States citizen has been mentioned before. As bishop he required a public confession of Ezra Penney before the congregation of the Kanosh Saints for meddling with the Edmunds Anti-polygamy investigation of 1879 when the bill was only in the drafting stage.

The year the Edmunds Bill (1882) was passed by Congress Abe preached vehemently against the bill. He remembered his youth, labeled as a bastard, and was able to give very fiery speeches on the subject. After delivering a blistering speech against the bill to his Sunday School audience, J. D. Smith got up and tried to smooth over some of Abe's remarks, supposing that some apostates might be offended. Abe responded that the

apostates are "a class I hardly take into consideration," and went on to say that he felt like St. Paul in the Bible when he preached. He did not care to please men but to speak the truth when addressing the Saints, "letting it cut those who need it."

The severity of the Edmunds Law proved serious to the Mormon way of life. In 1886, Abe told of being visited by many of his old neighborhood friends with their wives and children as they fled their homes and went "underground." A. Nadauld negotiated with Bishop Kimball in that same year for a divorce from his second wife to avoid the persecutions of the Edmunds Law. Abe advised him to drop the proceedings and to face the law. This was Bishop Kimball's attitude towards the anti-polygamy law and was the approach he took to his arrest, conviction and time spent in the state penitentiary late in 1888.

Abe's battle with the Federal marshals began early in 1886, when a raid was being made throughout Southern Utah towns to round up and arrest all known polygamists. The deputy marshals only kept things stirred up, however, and drove some men and their families underground for the next twelve months. Bishop Kimball notified and warned all polygamists in his ward of their danger but decided that he would just take things as they came.

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12 Ibid., p. 212. This was consistent with his attitude towards the apostate Q. B. Kelley when he wanted to teach school in Kanosh.

13 Ibid., p. 213.

14 Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 103.
and would not run from the law.15

On January 22nd of the next year George Crane announced to Bishop Kimball that the marshals were heading for Kanosh again and that arrest was imminent. A combination of disbelief and reconciliation dominated Abe's thoughts. Seven days later, at 6:30 a.m., the deputy marshals knocked on his door with a warrant for his arrest.16 They also surrounded Adell's house and subpoenaed his wife, Mary Eliza and daughter, Lois. Orders were given for them not to leave the house until after breakfast. By that time the house was filled with curious friends and neighbors all of whom wished him well.

Because of his delicate health, the Federal marshals left him alone for another eighteen months and pleaded with him to divorce Adell and conform to the law so they wouldn't have to prosecute him. Of course, Abe was adamant in his loyalty to Adell and to plural marriage so was still resolved to face whatever came.

The consequence of this philosophy came, this time at 4:30 a.m. on the morning of July 5th, 1888. Federal marshals again entered his house and arrested him while he was still in bed. He was immediately taken to Beaver to appear before the

15Kimball, "Diary, 1884-87," p. 48. Abe did entertain the idea of going to Mexico for his safety---this was a solution to many of the problems faced by the polygamists. Of course, he decided not to go but to face a prison term if it came. Abe was still weak from his illness of 1884-85 and said that he could keep up all day only by taking morphine.

16Ibid., pp. 117-122. The story of his first arrest is told in the section of the journal just mentioned.
court at 2:00 p.m. Freedom came only after some of his friends posted a $1,500 bond.  

The trip to Beaver exhausted him but he was free to continue his pursuits in Kanosh for a few more months. In August he made arrangements to go to the newly dedicated Manti Temple to do ordinance work for the dead. While there he was baptized in the font for his health and received other ordinances which are most sacred to Latter-day Saints. Many of his friends were at the temple so he had an eventful visit.

Events on his trip to and from the Manti Temple disclose the chaos and disruption in the lives of the polygamists of that period. Most of his polygamous friends were living on the "underground" or hiding out from the marshals. As Abe would call to visit his old friends along the way, he found only a daughter or a son of a family living at the home place and the rest of the family gone.

On August 21st, the U.S. Marshals came from Provo and subpoenaed Abe's witnesses, Adell and Lois, to appear in the First District Court in Provo on September 20th. He received a letter

17Kimball, "History," pp. 414-5; Deseret News (Salt Lake City), February 1, 1887. Baldwin H. Watts, John T. Prows, and Albert Nadauld were arrested and arraigned at the same time. Watts skipped out on the way to Beaver which Kimball commented was a cowardly thing to do.

18During this time a few of the men from Kanosh were returning from prison sentences they had just served and gave their reports in sacrament meeting of their "missions." Kimball, "History," p. 421.

19Ibid., pp. 416-19.

20Ibid., p. 422.
from his Aunt Mary Ellen Kimball assuring him of the respect and
good feeling that all of the Kimball family had towards him. Mary
Ellen told him that he would not be forgotten in his time of trou-
ble should he be imprisoned for cohabitation.21

The five day trip to Provo was accomplished between Sep-
tember 13-18, 1888. With him were his witnesses, Adell and Lois,
plus Alonzo and babies, Laura and Brigham. In the tradition of
the day they stayed with friends all along the way.

On the road Abe met a fellow bishop of the Millard Stake
who gave him a twenty dollar gold piece to help him pay for ex-
penses. This gift actually covered his family's living expenses
while they were in Provo.22

Abe and his witnesses were in court on September 20th, but
he could not enter his plea of "not guilty" until the next day.
Reed and William Smoot of Provo came to his aid with a $1,500 bond
so that he was released until his trial on the following Saturday.23
Adell decided to go to Woods Cross to visit relatives, but Abe
stayed in Provo to consult with his lawyers, Thurmon and Suther-
land.24 He later met Adell in Salt Lake City to bring her to his
trial on Saturday.

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21 Ibid., p. 424.
22 Ibid., p. 425.
23 Ibid., p. 426. Reed Smoot was later U. S. Senator from
Utah and an L. D. S. Apostle.
24 George Sutherland was later an associate justice of
the U. S. Supreme Court.
Complications arose in the interim, however. He learned from Adell that she was only free from the courts herself by virtue of a $500 bond posted by her relatives. She had been arrested for fornication in Woods Cross and would have to stand trial for her position as the second wife to Abe. Further difficulties were added when Abe's lawyers told him he could not stand trial at that time so advised him to take his family home. Adell appeared before the court on September 26th and pleaded "not guilty" to her charge.

With disappointment and disgust for the fruitlessness of his Provo trip, Abe and his family made arrangements for their return trip to Kanosh. Abe took with him certificates from two Provo physicians who knew his health problem. He claimed that they were quite sad to read.

They were home in Kanosh but three weeks when Abe, Adell, and Lois were ordered back to Provo for Abe's trial scheduled for October 26th. After another hard four day trip, Abe and party were in court at the appointed time.

The short trial produced a verdict of guilty. Adell and Lois said a sad good-bye on the 29th, and on the next day Abraham Alonzo Kimball was sentenced to eight months imprisonment for

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25Ibid., p. 427. Abe made many appeals in the months following by letters to drop the case but had no success. His Provo lawyers were also unsuccessful in obtaining her acquittal. She did not have to stand trial, however, because Abe died before her case came to court. Interview with Charles A. Kimball.

26Ibid.
breaking the Edmunds Law. His lawyers did not appear when he was sentenced. This infuriated him and made him feel that he had been ill-represented at his trial. He was somewhat rudely taken to the old jail house in Salt Lake City to begin serving his term on October 31, 1888.

In a five by seven foot cell with a bare canvas cot and a little tin bucket in the corner, Abe began his prison experience. With a sense of humor he "thought of my pigs in the pen and laughed." A fellow polygamist lent him a couple of blankets and Abe got some feathers for his mattress so that he said his bed was made quite comfortable.

Cell mates further lent him soap, towels, and other amenities for the first ten days before his brother, Dan Kimball, and his wife brought him these items plus sugar, a spittoon, writing utensils and some food. The prison food was plain but "good enough for anyone."

Abe repeatedly declined an offer by the warden to go into the hospital part of the prison for the first two and one-half weeks of his term. He claimed that the hospital was full of "rough characters, murderers, bigamists, rapers, and demented folk." The warden did offer him every possible comfort of the

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27Ibid., p. 435; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1914), November 3, 1888.


29Ibid., pp. 440-41.

30Ibid., p. 442.
prison because of his health. Judge Judd, the man who had sentenced him, came to Abe on November 11th and offered him his freedom if he promised to keep the rules of a monogamous society. Again Abe refused, so continued to stay in prison. The next day he refused again to go into the prison hospital so that Judge Judd would more forcibly have him on his conscience. But a few days later Abe gave in and went into the prison hospital. It had a good bathroom and the inmates were required to take a bath every two weeks.

In the hospital he had a good influence among the men, proposing that they have family prayer in the evening. Surprisingly enough, these hardened criminals agreed to the suggestion, stating that they wanted to reform and return to evening prayers which had been a part of their background. Abe also read aloud to them which they seemed to enjoy.

But in the course of time, Abe's health deteriorated and those about him became increasingly concerned. John T. Caine, the Mormon representative to Congress from Utah, visited him and promised to do what he could for him in the way of a pardon from the President in Washington.

Abe had many friends and relatives visit him while in the

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31Ibid., p. 441.
32Ibid., p. 444.
33Ibid., p. 438. Harrison had just beaten Grover Cleveland in the bid by the latter for a second term as President of the United States. Abe and the rest of the prisoners participated in a mock election where Cleveland won over Harrison 101 to 95.
prison. He was called outside to talk with Zina D. Young, Emeline B. Wells and another lady he referred to only as Sister Richards. He had a long friendly visit with these great women of the Church.

A good friend that Abe had on the inside was none other than the great Mormon leader, George Q. Cannon. Cannon expressed pleasure in seeing him when he first arrived in prison. They met and talked frequently to each other and Abe had the privilege of standing with Cannon in a photograph taken of prisoners.34

Abe had developed a taste for figs some years before he went to prison. Cannon discovered his love for figs which Abe claimed was his "physic,"35 and arranged for a frequent supply of this fruit to his friend.36 Cannon also made Abe presents of grapes and introduced him to the taste of oysters. Continued gifts of oysters by Cannon and Abe's relatives gave him a real taste for them in just a short while.

Just after a quiet Christmas in the penitentiary, the wheels of bureaucracy turning in Washington had finally brought results. On December 27, 1888, his friend, George Q. Cannon, came into the hospital and announced to him that President Grover Cleveland had just telegraphed a pardon and that Abe was free

34Ibid., p. 441. (November 15, 1888) This is an interesting status symbol among Mormons for descendents of prisoners living today. Cannon had a spectacular polygamy trial and was serving a longer sentence than was Abe.

35Archaic usage for medicine or cure.

to go home. The next day Mayor Armstrong of Salt Lake City and Abe's brother, Solomon P. Kimball, met the prisoner to take him to freedom. The mayor shook his hand and claimed to have worked up the pardon via telegram which he said he did out of respect to Heber C. Kimball. Abe was then taken around visiting friends and relatives in the Salt Lake and Woods Cross area before he was given a railway pass to Burnt Corral, twenty-five miles from Kanosh. He arrived home after the first of the year.

Bishop Kimball made the most of his semi-invalid condition and got out of the house as often as he could. He spoke in church occasionally but usually took care of ward business in his own home. Visits to the store and the homes of a few friends were his recreation. His pastime of reading was a comfort to him during this time of relative inactivity.

After his prison release it was only a matter of time before his old illness snuffed out his life. Tragically, this occurred at 6:30 p.m. on Tuesday, September 24, 1889 while Abraham

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37 *Deseret News*, December 26, 1888.

38 Kimball, "History," p. 452.

39 *Deseret News*, December 27, 1888.

40 Kimball, "History," p. 452. An article in the *Deseret News*, January 4, 1889, stated the release was brought about by the kindly intervention of Judge Judd, First District Court, Provo, who passed sentence on him. For the role that Marshal Dyer, Delegate Caine, Attorney General Garland and President Cleveland all played in the pardon, see Appendix G.
Alonzo Kimball was in his forty-fourth year.41

Abe died just at the sun was setting. In later years his daughter, Pearl A. K. Black, remembered:

It was a most perfect sunset. The whole western sky was like a fire of red and gold. I was a child of 13 years but I well remember the circumstances and the beauty of the extraordinary sunset. Many of the townspeople were gathered there at the home to be near at his passing. Also, a group of Indians, natives of the town of Kanosh after whose chief it was named, gathered round with bowed heads and sad hearts. Father had been their agent and administrator to their necessities for many years. They loved him like a father. His wives and all his children were at home when he passed away.42

So passed a strong and sometimes fiery Mormon bishop. Raised roughly but tempered by twenty-seven years in the Mormon culture, Abe Kimball became a leader in his church and a leader among men. His life is a reminder of Mormonism as it was practiced during its early history and gives to his posterity the testimony and religious feelings of a noble convert.

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41 His obituary in the Deseret News is given as Appendix H of this paper.

42 Pearl A. Kimball Black. Lines penned at the end of the journal prepared by Orilla Brown Sheffield. In 1936 James Damron, Jr. told Maude Crane Melville that he sat up with Abraham Alonzo Kimball the last night that he lived and sang during the night the song entitled, "I'll Soon Be At Home Over There." He repeated parts of the song several times during the night.
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Interview with Vontella Kimball, February 1, 1963, and following.

Interview with Maude Crane Melville, March 15, 1963.
writing the officers. Sunday I was called out with Pro Eammon and my Pro Solomon C. Wilkin to ride Solomon had brought me a good miscellaneous apples, bananas, etc. a small jar of standing mixture in a very good brandy which was my favorite friendly man. Pro Eammon went home I also at 700 which is my schedule. while they C. Killiney came away and would have been one of I had not got out of the way. I endeavored catching telling them not thinking who I was. my Pro bought the new horse by the name had been fully trained and when they went coming back from training only a small white horse bought. I did not learn the tactics of campaign. I had turned my attention to getting me a harrow now which I was quite successful in. They had just had one filled for a woman who was supposed to be coming but did not come. They had it brought right in. I don't think my bed in good shape again which was an improvement on former having accidents on Eps. Not quite a change in the morning rained partly Dr came after Dr. Donnelly happened to be in which seemed to disagree them being against this the result was the two brought more and into the room which caused them quite serious Donnelly was placed in less than an hour and thirty minutes.
APPENDIX B

CONFESSION OF ALPHEUS CUTLER

Recorded here is the interview that young Abe Kimball had with his grandfather, Alpheus Cutler, after the former returned to Iowa from Utah in 1863. Cutler was the founder of the True Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a different group from the "Utah" Mormons.

When alone, he (Cutler) commenced questioning me (Kimball) concerning Utah, asking me also about Brother Schofield and some others of his acquaintances, but I was unable to give much information concerning them. He asked me if I had seen my father, Heber C. Kimball. I told him I had. He replied that he was glad of it. He also asked me if I had been baptized, and I told him I had. He again replied that he was glad of it. He next asked me if I had received my endowments, and I informed him that I had. He seemed pleased. He then said: "I have suffered you to be prejudiced to the extent that you were, and it is now my duty to remove the same. You went off without asking my consent, which was all right. I knew that Heber C. Kimball was your father, and always did know it; but did not calculate that it should be known by you. I intended that you and Isaac should be the means of my support while I live. You have been to your father, and that is all right.

"I know that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God, and I know that Brigham Young was his legal successor, and I always did know it. But the trouble with me was I wanted to lead, and could not be led. I have run my race and sealed my doom, and I know what I have to meet. I died once, and was dead for some length of time. My spirit left my body and went to the land of spirits. I saw the crown that I should wear if I remained faithful, and the condemnation I should receive if I did not. I begged to remain, but was informed that I must return and warn the people to repent, as my work on earth was not yet done. After my spirit returned to my body, those around discovered the appearance of life. The first words I spoke were to Sidney Rigdon, who was stooping over me. I called upon him to repent of his sins, or he would be damned."

My grandfather paused here, but continued saying: "I want you to go back to your father, taking your brother Isaac, with you, as I know he is a good man, and remain steadfast to "Mormonism." Let what may turn up, never yield the point; for it will save and exalt you in the Kingdom of God." He wept like a child after saying this. He then said to me: "One favor I wish to ask of you, namely, that you will not divulge this con-
fession to those whom I lead while I live." With this he released me and I continued my visiting. My brother was perfectly willing to accompany me, so in a few days we started out for Florence, accompanied by one cousin, Jedediah Anderson, and Charles Cox and two live raccoons which we brought along as curiosities. After arriving at Florence, we remained a few weeks, preparing to return to Salt Lake and drive teams for our brother, Heber. We arrived in the valley safely, and father was much pleased at our return, and gladly welcomed brother Isaac to his home.

APPENDIX C

POEM ABOUT DIXIE

First verse of "Once I Lived in Cottonwood"

Once I lived in Cottonwood,
    and owned a little farm,
But I was called to Dixie
    which did me much alarm.

To raise the cane and cotton
    I right away must go
But the reason why they called on me
    I'm sure I did not know.

---George A. Hicks, 1864

A. Karl Larson, I Was Called to Dixie, title page.
APPENDIX D

LIST OF MUDDY MISSIONARIES 1867

List of those called in October Conference, October 8th, 1867, to go to the Muddy to strengthen the colony there already established:

William H. Seegmiller
Adam F. Seegmiller
Thurston Simpson
Isaac Young
Oliver Free
William Gibson
Orson P. Miles
John Whitney
Robert N. Russel
Joseph H. Felt
Guilelmo G. R. San Giovanni
Clements R. Horsley
Daniel McRae
Joseph A. Peck
Cas Crismon, Jr.
Revilo Fuller
Joseph U. Eldredge
Edmund Ellsworth, Jr.
Matthew Lyon
Wood
William M. Cahoon
Franklin Merrill
Robert Smithies
Samuel H. Woolley
Nathaniel Ashby
William Calder
Joseph S. Murdock
John Paul
John G. Clark
Peter Beckstrom
John Eardley
George Tribe
Richard Morris
John Heiner
Edwin Asay
Elijah Fuller
Henry George
William H. Streeper
James Hansen
William H. Staker

Abinadi Pratt
Walter Conrad
James L. Bess
James L. Tibbetts
Albert Keats
Samuel Riter
E. M. Weiler
Geo. B. Spencer
John C. Young
George Milan
David Gibson
E. H. Harrington
E. G. Wooley
Edwin Frost
Moroni Reese
Wilford Woodruff, Jr.
John Sharp, Jr.
Israel Barlow, Jr.
W. J. F. McAllister
Charles E. Taylor
Edward A. Stevenson
Helaman Pratt
David R. Lewis
Richard S. Horne
William T. Cromar
Albert Merrill, Jr.
Joseph Kesler
Emerson D. Shurtliff
George Stringham
Richard H. Asby
Joseph Hyde
Andrew Taysum
John S. Haslam
Aaron Nelson
Charles J. Lambert
Scipio A. Kenner
Manly Barrows
Smith Thurston
Joseph Asay, Sr.
Joseph H. King
Edward Pugh
Mark Burgess
Abraham A. Kimball
John T. Lamb
Thomas G. Lewis
Edgelbert Olsen
William Casto
Ludwig Suhrke
W. M. Rydalch
William Heber Clayton
Duncan Spear Casper
W. D. Parks
Ephraim T. Williams
Edward Cox, Jr.
Jasper Conrad
William H. Bess
Preston A. Blair
Charles M. Johnson
Oscar B. Young
Alma Cunningham
George W. Grant
Charles Alley
Miles P. Romney
George D. Watt, Jr.
Zabriskie Young
Edwin D. Woolley, Jr.
Morris Wilkinson
Ashton Nebeker
Charles J. Toone
Ward E. Pack
Milton H. Davis
Hyrum P. Folsom
Willis Darwin Fuller
Levi Stewart, Jr.
George J. Taylor
Robert Watson, Jr.
John Wood
John F. Cahoon
Clarence Merrill

Joseph Assy, Jr.
Milton O. Turnbow
McConnel
David O. Rideout
Amasa Mikesell
James Hague, Jr.
Warren Hardie
Ethan Burrows
Ephraim Scott
Harrison T. Shurtliff
Benjamin J. Stringham
John Reese
Albert P. Dewey
Samuel Hamer
Joseph E. S. Russel
Samuel Malin
Pleasant S. Bradford
Samuel F. Atwood
Alfred Randall, Jr.
David Milne
Walter C. Brown
Isaac Assy
Homer Roberts
Christopher Hurlbert
James Fogg
Christian Christensen
Richard Carlisle
John Gregory
William Miller
Henry Houtz
Erastus F. Hall
Arthur Vickey
William W. Casper
William J. Spencer
Daniel Daniels
John S. Gressman
James K. Baldwin
William Wood
Henry Horsley

APPENDIX F

LETTERS FROM MISSION FIELD

Manchester
Oct. 24th, 1878

President William Budge

Dear Brother,

As my release has come, I feel it my duty to thank you, the brethren at the office and the Saints of Manchester Conference for the many favors rendered me since I was assigned this portion of the vineyard to labor in, which I feel reluctant to leave; not but what I am anxious to see my family, but I have formed many ties here, through friendship, which are quite hard to break off.

I have taken as much pleasure in my missionary labors as any portion of my life, and realize that God has blessed me in my labors and I am satisfied I should be able to reap the harvest if I had the privilege to remain a sufficient time for it to mature. Some sow and others reap, and as long as we are all engaged in our Father's work it matters not. I had the pleasure last evening of baptizing two gentlemen and re-baptizing one, and several of the ladies belonging to the families are quite ready for the water.

The Saints in the Manchester Conference feel the necessity of emancipating themselves from Babylon and have found the only way to accomplish it is to live a good work here, as they are heart and hand in the labor. Some of our Saints are becoming efficient in spreading the gospel among their neighbors, which is producing much good in opening up the way for the elders.

While Brother Emery and myself were at Leek, we attended a Ranters' meeting in a spacious chapel, where we were much interested, being the first meeting of the kind we ever witnessed. Before the services closed we were invited to bear our testimony, they being anxious to make converts. I bore a faithful testimony to the restoration of the gospel through Joseph Smith, the Prophet. About that time one cried out, "that will do brother." I continued by warning them to repent of their sins and be baptized for the remission of the same by one having authority. After the close we distributed tracts. The next day being Sunday, an indignation meeting was held, and we were handled as usually Saints are. The priest prayed the flock might be protected from the "Mormons." The consequence was we had a good attendance of strangers.
on the Sabbath, and it has caused a spirit of inquiry among them.

The Conference is free from indebtedness.

I will close praying God to bless all the interests of the mission. Regards to all at the office.

Your brother in the gospel,

A. A. Kimball

*Millenial Star*, October 24, 1878, p. 716.
President Abraham Alonzo Kimball writes this from the Manchester Conference:

We are yet alive and endeavoring to perform the labours for which we are sent, that is, preaching the gospel as laid down by our Savior and His Apostles, in which we are successful to a tolerable fair extent considering the disagreeable weather we have to contend with; brothers D. D. McArthur and John Steele are traveling together at present. I traveled with Brother Steele last week; while at Bury we baptized two new members and re-baptized four; the same night brother Eli Panacoe, President of the Oldham Branch, baptized four new members and re-baptized six; several more are waiting for the water to get a little warmer. We have some hopes ahead and feel like pressing on; we anticipate accomplishing a good work this coming summer, in sowing the seed, and we pray the Lord to give the increase. We shall commence holding outdoor meetings as soon as the weather will permit. Brothers McArthur and Steele are good speakers and workers, firm in the faith, and are doing all the good in their power.

"Abstract of Correspondence," *Millennial Star*, April 1, 1878, p. 203.
Elder Abraham Alonzo Kimball, President of the Manchester Conference, characteristically writes as follows:

The elders in this conference are yet in the land of the living and feeling alive to their duties, yet making very little noise about it, deeming it prudent to keep quiet while hunting the field—there are many keepers in the form of priests, although once in awhile we find one strayed from their care, but as soon as they know we have found them they come and claim the booty; as a natural consequence we contend for our rights, but all the juries being Gentiles and the judge leaving it to them, we stank a poor show, but we are satisfied when the judge does say he will decide in our favor. Brother McArthur and I have just returned from a three weeks' tour in the conference, while gone we held quite a number of open-air meetings, having very good hearing and some opposition; as to the results we are not able to say further than that we baptized two and re-baptized three; three others (ladies) promised to come to Manchester to join us by being baptized; since my return I went to engage the baths for the purpose, but received no decided answer. They seemed to hesitate on account of the religion, saying they know none only the Baptists, who immersed. I informed the manager that the Latter-day Saints did so. Then he could not answer me without seeing the committee. Brother Steele baptized one and re-baptized one last week, and reports good prospects ahead. Brother Walsh is doing nicely, and Brother Steele and he are traveling in company at present. The Saints desire to press forward. Some few anticipate being ready to sail on next ship. (I don't mean the missionaries) We are reconciled to our fate, but if any of us should be released this fall, please let us know in time, so as not to miss the ship; we feel "like clay in the hands of the potter" after it is finished, ready to be shipped anywhere, especially to America. As far as I am concerned, individually, I am perfectly contented, and feel at home, and I believe the brethren all feel the same—of course we take the liberty of strolling off now and then, but we always come back and are ready for business as if nothing had happened.

Millennial Star, July 15, 1878, p. 440.
APPENDIX G

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ABOUT PRISON PARDON

Deseret Evening News,  
26 December, 1888.

BISHOP KIMBALL PARDONED.

Washington, Dec. 25.--The President has granted a pardon to Bishop Abraham Alonzo Kimball, convicted in the First District Court of Utah of adultery, and sentenced to eight month's imprisonment. The President's action is based upon representations that the prisoner is in an advanced stage of consumption and would not survive the imprisonment and surroundings.

Deseret Evening News,  
27 December, 1888.

Today Bishop Abraham Alonzo Kimball of Kanosh, Millard County, who was pardoned yesterday by the President, was set at liberty. He was sentenced by Judge Judd to eight months in the penitentiary for living with a plural wife. He was an invalid at the time, and in consequence of his poor health a pardon was granted him. His brother, Solomon P. Kimball, went out to the penitentiary and met him when he was released.

Deseret Evening News,  
4 Jan., 1889.

Comment about the pardon of prisoners - papers in Washington held up, etc. - heartless, etc. Then it says:

By the by, it should be understood that the release of Bishop Abraham Alonzo Kimball was brought about by the kindly intervention of Judge Judd, who passed sentence on him. He imposed a light penalty considering the charge, cause he saw that the defendant was in bad health; and learning by a dispatch from Marshal Dyer that Mr. Kimball was in a dangerous condition, the judge promptly wrote a personal petition for his pardon, which he forwarded to Delegate Caine, who at once endorsed it, obtained the signature of Attorney General Garland, waived further formalities, and presented it to the President, who acted upon it without delay. The Department of Justice telegraphed news of
the pardon, and as the marshal and warden in Utah have more humanity than devotion to dry formalities, he was liberated without waiting for papers that might have detained through official lethargy here. Of course, the dispatch from the Department of Justice was reliable authority. Judge Judd is entitled to credit for this act of kindness to a suffering prisoner, and Marshal Dyer also for his share in the proceedings.
APPENDIX G

OBITUARY

Deseret Evening News,
25 Sept., 1889.

DEATH OF BISHOP A. A. KIMBALL. — An Interesting Sketch of His Career.

A private dispatch from Kanosh, Millard County, received here at an early hour this morning, announces the death at that place of Bishop Abram A. Kimball, who expired at 6:30 o'clock last evening. No further particulars are given except the statement that the funeral would be held on Thursday, the 26th inst., and requesting that all related desirous of attending be notified, but it may safely be presumed that the cause of his death was his old complaint, consumption, from which he had been a sufferer many years. In fact it was for this reason that he was pardoned by President Cleveland last December, and released from the penitentiary, where he was serving a term for unlawful cohabitation, at a time when his death seemed imminent.

Abram A. Kimball was the son of the late President Heber C. Kimball and his wife, Clarissa Cutler. He was born at Winter Quarters (now Florence, Nebraska) in the year 1846, soon after the exodus of the Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo. The following interesting passage from the "Life of Heber C. Kimball," tells in brief a portion of the story of his life:

"Among his (Heber's) wives when he came out of Nauvoo, were Clarissa and Emily Cutler, sisters, both the daughters of Alpheus Cutler, who left the Church while at Winter Quarters. When the Saints removed to the Rocky Mountains, Clarissa and Emily remained with their father, each with an infant son in arms. Clarissa's child was named Abram A. and Emily's Isaac A. Feeling impressed that their mothers would never come to the mountains, Heber, on leaving them to go west with the Pioneers, blessed his little sons, and while his hands were upon Abram's head, prophesied that he would some day come to the home of his people, and would afterwards return for his brother Isaac. There was a fatality in his father's words, as usual. Fifteen years later, the mothers of both boys being dead, Abram came to Utah and joined the Church. He was baptized by Enoch Reese, under his father's direction. On returning to the house after his baptism, his father confirmed him, ordained him an Elder and set him apart for a mission to the States, to go and bring his brother to Utah, thus re-sealing the blessing bestowed upon him in his childhood.
Abram fulfilled his mission and returned, bringing his brother with him. Isaac also was baptized, and he and Abram afterwards went upon missions to Great Britain. "The latter is now (November, 1888) Bishop of Kanosh, Millard County, Utah."

Prior to his mission to Europe, or his appointment as Bishop of Kanosh, he took part in what is known as the "Muddy Mission" in southern Utah. During its hardships, of which he was a patient and faithful sharer, his health declined, and the ailment developed which finally terminated his life.

Like his father before him, many of whose noble qualities he inherited, he obeyed the celestial law of marriage, before interdicted by the Edmunds Act of 1882. He was tried and convicted of unlawful cohabitation, that is, for living with his plural wife, and, being sentenced by Judge Judd, in the First District Court at Provo, to six months' imprisonment in the Utah Penitentiary, was incarcerated there on November 3rd, 1888. His health failed so rapidly while in prison, where, however, he was treated with every consideration that circumstances would allow, that efforts were made by his relatives in this city to procure his release. A petition embodying a statement of facts relating to his case and condition, endorsed by influential parties, including several prominent Federal officials, was forwarded to Washington, and upon the showing made, President Cleveland granted the pardon asked for. Bishop Kimball was liberated from the Penitentiary on the 27th of December, 1888. Since then he has done little more than to settle his affairs and wind up his work preparatory to the event which he saw was approaching—his summons to join the host of departed ones, including his father, mother and many more who were near and dear to him on earth, in the happy home of the spirit in the peaceful life beyond.

Brother Abram was of a jovial nature; his disposition in that respect much resembling that of his sire; and possessed a fund of humor and drollery that made him a pleasant and welcome companion wherever he went. As a missionary he displayed remarkable tact in gaining, first the hearing and then the hearts of those to whom it was his duty to preach the Gospel. As a Bishop he had the love of his flock, and the respect and esteem of all good people who know him. He was full of the courage characteristic of his family, and, when in good health, equally noted for his energy. He died as he had lived, faithful and true to his covenants with God, rooted and grounded in "Mormonism," and fully assured of its divine origin and ultimate triumph. Peace to his mortal remains, and may God comfort the bereaved family of Brother Abram A. Kimball.
ABRAHAM ALONZO KIMBALL:
A NINETEENTH CENTURY
MORMON BISHOP

An Abstract
Submitted to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

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

by
Jerry C. Higginson
July, 1963
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Abraham Alonzo Kimball was born of Heber C. Kimball and his plural wife, Clarissa Cutler Kimball, in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, on April 16, 1846. At this time the Mormons were being expelled from Nauvoo so young Abe was taken to Winter Quarters with the major portion of the Mormon refugees. Clarissa Cutler Kimball refused to come West with the Mormons. Instead, she took her young son to Iowa to join a break-off church founded by her father, Alpheus Cutler, called the True Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Abe's mother died about three years later and he was brought up in Iowa by his grandparents, Alpheus and Lois Cutler.

In 1862, after sixteen years in Iowa, Abe decided to seek his fortune in the gold fields of California. His journey took him through Salt Lake City, where he was reunited with his father, Heber C. Kimball. The warm family welcome led Abe to stay in Utah, and his destiny changed. He was to become a missionary, bishop, polygamist, and leader in the Mormon culture.

He married Mary Eliza Hatton in 1865, Lucy Adell Brown in 1874, and Laura Moody in 1884. He had fourteen children by his first two wives. All but two of his children reached maturity. Abe was a rancher, farmer, laborer, salesman, freight hauler, railroad worker and contractor, bishop's tithing agent, and Indian agent for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon).
He served in Clark County, Nevada, on the Muddy River colonizing mission with his family from 1867-71, and helped pioneer the town of Kanosh, Millard County, Utah Territory. From Kanosh he was called to go on a mission to Manchester, England in 1877. Upon his return in 1878 he accepted many civic and church duties as bishop of the Kanosh Ward, in which capacity he served until his death.

Kimball's belief in the Mormon practice of polygamy gave him a real interest in the troubled politics of Utah during the 1880's. He served two months of an eight month term in the Utah Penitentiary late in 1888 for unlawful cohabitation. This prison term was thought to have speeded his death on September 24, 1889, at the young age of forty-three.

The life of Abraham Alonzo Kimball is recorded in his journals. His early life to 1877 was reviewed in an extended reminiscence; thereafter a day to day record was kept until his death.