Brigham and Heber

Stanley B. Kimball

I love brother Brigham Young better than I do any woman upon this earth, because my will has run into is, and his into mine. . . .
Heber C. Kimball, *Journal of Discourses*
January 25, 1857

For over thirty-nine years Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were as close and dedicated to a common cause as any two men could be. This friendship was so enduring and intense that it may be unique. One is drawn to the classics or the Old Testament for such parallels as Damon and Pythias, Castor and Pollux, or David and Jonathan. But even these friendships are not comparable for they were of much shorter duration. World history offers few, if any, good analogues. Certainly the friendship of Brigham and Heber was unique in Mormondom. The closest equivalent would be the love between the brothers Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

The companionship of Heber and Brigham began early in 1829 when they were both struggling young twenty-seven-year-old artisans, husbands, and fathers in Mendon, Monroe County, twelve miles south of Rochester, in western New York. It was strengthened by their discovery and acceptance of the Restoration together and sealed by all they experienced for decades while building and bettering the Kingdom. The two intimates shared religious experiences, homes, wagons, trails, trials, triumphs, missions, persecution, disappointments, responsibilities, and leadership. Their union brings to mind the Hebrew proverb about "a friend that sticketh closer than a brother" (Proverbs 18:24).

By 1829 Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball were living, unknown to each other, within a ten-mile radius—the Smiths in Palmyra, the Kimballs and Youngs in Mendon. By 1833 their lives had been inextricably intertwined in furthering the Restoration. The trio worked together until Joseph's martyrdom in 1844; then the two carried on until Heber's death in 1868; Brigham finally died in 1877.

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The two men met either through Brigham's sister, Fanny Young Carr, who had lived with the Kimball family since 1827 to help Vilate, who was at times sickly, or they met as a result of Heber's compassion. The Youngs "were in lowly circumstances" he said, "and seemed to be an afflicted people and of course were looked down upon by the flourishing church where we lived . . . to them, my heart was united. . . ."[1]

In the beginning Heber seems to have been the dominant personality; then there was a transition period extending to August 1844 (after the death of Joseph), during which Brigham became preeminent, somewhat in the mannner of the reversal of positions between Barnabas and Paul in Acts. After Brigham became president in December 1847, there was, of course, no question who took precedence.

While in Mendon the two friends heard tales of Mormonism and read stories in the nearby Rochester *Daily Advertizer and Telegraph* about a "Golden Bible." Then one day in April 1830, Joseph Smith's brother Samuel, the first Mormon missionary, came into the area. He happened to visit Tomlinson's Inn in Lima, eight miles southwest of Mendon, and proceeded to interrupt the lunch of the first person he saw who, providentially or otherwise, was Phineas Young, an itinerant preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Reformed Church and Brigham's brother. Samuel talked him into buying a copy of the Book of Mormon–perhaps the single most important copy ever sold. Phineas read the book and in quick succession so did his father, his sister Fanny, his brother Brigham, and "many others," most of whom accepted it. According to tradition, Heber read the same copy.[2]

Shortly afterwards a lone missionary, Alpheus Gifford, from Rutland, Tioga County, Pennsylvania, was traveling with his brother Levi and four friends–Elial Strong, Eleazar Miller, Enos Curtis, and Abraham Brown–who were investigating the new faith. They were enroute to Kirtland, Ohio, to visit with Joseph Smith. Gifford, who had previously been an independent preacher, was preaching along the way and in the course of this "mission" came to the house of Phineas Young in Victor.[3] Gifford might have learned from Samuel Smith that Phineas had a copy of the Book of Mormon and the visit was a follow-up, or it may be that

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[1]Journal of Heber C. Kimball, 94b, p. 4, Archives of The Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (cited hereafter as Church Archives).

[2]Some writers claim that the critical copy of the Book of Mormon was the one Samuel placed with Mrs. John P. Greene–Brigham's sister Rhoda–also of Mendon.

[3]The line separating the townships of Mendon and Victor ran between Phineas' and Heber's homes, so that although Phineas lived in Victor, he was still close to the other Youngs and Kimballs.

simply because Phineas had read the book, he invited Gifford and companions into his home to preach to his relatives and neighbors.

Learning of this and prompted by curiosity, Heber and Brigham went to their friend's white clapboard home to hear the Mormon. There, in a lamplit parlor, they heard the characteristically simple, short, and direct message of early Mormon missionaries. Gifford rose and told with earnest, simple conviction of the new prophet, the new faith. He related "that a holy angel had been commissioned from the heavens, who had committed the Everlasting Gospel and restored the Holy Priesthood unto men as at the beginning."

How much Gifford knew or told of Joseph Smith's 1820 vision and Joseph's calling to be the new prophet is not known, but he surely related how Joseph received and translated the Book of Mormon and organized the Church of Jesus Christ in New York in 1830. Heber noted that he also

> called upon all men everywhere to repent and be baptized for the remission of sins, and receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; and these things should follow those that believe, viz., they should cast out devils in the name of Jesus, they would speak in tongues, etc. and the reasons why the Lord had restored these things was because the people had transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, and broken the Everlasting Covenant.[4]

The accent was on new revelation from God and the reopening of the heavens.

One sermon was enough for Brigham and Heber. "As soon as I heard them," Heber said,

> I was convinced that they taught the truth, and I was constrained to believe their testimony. I saw that I had only received a part of the ordinances under the Baptist Church. I also saw and heard the gifts of the spirit manifested in them, for I heard them speak and interpret and also sing in tongues which tended to strengthen my faith more and more. Brigham Young and myself were constrained, by the Spirit, to bear testimony of the truth, and when we did this, the power of God rested on us.[5]

They soon had another spiritual experience in which the "glory of God shone upon us, and we saw the gathering of the Saints to Zion, and the glory that would rest upon them; and many more things connected with that great event, such as the sufferings and persecutions. . . ."[6]

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[4]Journal of Heber C. Kimball, 94, p. 3, Church Archives.
[5]"Synopsis of the History of Heber C. Kimball," *Deseret News,* 31 March 1858.
[6]Ibid.

Heber was so spiritually excited that during January 1832 he took his horse and sleigh and, accompanied by Brigham and Phineas and their wives, traveled to the nearest branch of the Church to learn more about it. This was at Columbia (now Columbia Crossroads), Bradford County, Pennsylvania, about 130 miles south of Mendon, near where Gifford and friends had come from. (Vilate, perhaps for health reasons or from lack of interest, did not go.) They stayed in Pennsylvania about six days, attended the Mormons' meetings, heard them speak in tongues, interpret, and prophesy. Heber was fully converted. For some reason, however, none of them was baptized in Columbia. Perhaps they wished to let Gifford perform the ordinance. Heber may also have wanted to wait until Vilate had sufficient faith to join him.

When Gifford and his newly baptized friends returned to Mendon the following April, he baptized Heber and Brigham. Soon the Mendon Branch numbered about thirty, including ten Youngs, two Kimballs, and the John P. Greene family, and seems to have been led by Brigham's brother, Joseph.

Shortly after baptism, Heber and Brigham were called as missionaries by Joseph Young. It was common in the early Church to ordain new male converts as elders and send them on short missions to preach what little they had learned. That summer of 1832 Heber, Brigham, and Joseph labored in nearby Genesee, Avon, and Lyonstown, where they built up small congregations.

That fall Heber and Brigham decided they must travel the 300 miles to Kirtland to see the new prophet personally. Before they could do so, however, Miriam Young died in September and Brigham and his two young daughters, seven-year-old Elizabeth, and two-year-old Vilate (named after Heber's wife), moved in with the Kimballs. A month later they set out in Heber's wagon. So impressed were they with Joseph and Kirtland that they decided to move themselves and their families there. Twelve months later they did so. Brigham, out of gratitude for all Heber had done for him, built them all a home. Several months later Brigham remarried and established his own household.

In Kirtland the two did all they could to aid the new prophet and the struggling Church by contributing time, money, and muscle. When the call to join Zion's Camp came in 1834, both volunteered and marched nearly 2,000 miles to Western Missouri and back in a futile attempt to reinstate the Saints who had been driven from Jackson County by the mob and the militia.

After Zion's Camp both were named as original members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. On 18 February 1835, the first three apostles were chosen and ordained: Lyman E. Johnson,

Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball. On subsequent days, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, William E. M'Lellin, John F. Boynton, William Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and Thomas B. Marsh were likewise chosen and ordained. All these men had participated in Zion's Camp and had therefore proven themselves, to that point, strong in the faith. Not many years would pass, however, before most of these men would suffer complete or temporary relapse. Only Heber and Brigham never, under any circumstances, lifted their hands or voices against the Prophet.

As fellow apostles they went on four missions together, but not always as companions. From May 1835 through August 1844 they journeyed twice to the eastern states, once to southern Illinois, and once to England. While they were on these missions their families drew close for mutual comfort. At the time of Heber's second and Brigham's first mission to England in 1839, for example, not only were the two missionaries sick, but so were their wives–Vilate and Mary Ann, and their children–all huddled together in Heber's fourteen by sixteen foot log cabin in Nauvoo. Only four year old little Heber Parley Kimball was well enough to carry a cup of water around to the others. This was the sad setting of Heber and Brigham's well-known incident of standing up in their wagon, calling to their wives, and waving their hats over their heads, shouting "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!" as they drove off.[7]

Enroute to New York the pair experienced a minor miracle. In Indiana Heber determined they had but $13.50 between them. By the time they reached Kirtland, Brigham, who kept the money, had paid out over $87.00 for food, lodging, and transportation and suspected Heber had secretly added money to the purse. Heber declared he had not and concluded only divine intervention could account for the circumstances.

Between these missions they continued to strengthen the kingdom. While Joseph was in the Liberty Jail in Missouri in 1838 and 1839, for instance, they were in charge of Church affairs and, after Brigham had to flee to Illinois, Heber assumed leadership.

By April 1839, the Missouri period was over and the two apostles devoted their energies to building up Nauvoo and expanding the kingdom. There they received phrenological readings, became active in Masonry, received their temple ordinances, and

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[7] *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal,* Faith-promoting Series #7 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), pp. 84–85.

entered plural marriage. In 1844 in Massachusetts, while on their last mission, they read newspaper accounts of the murder of their Prophet and sorrowfully turned homeward.

Back in Nauvoo Brigham was sustained as president of the Quorum of the Twelve and as leader of the Church. Heber, partly because he was next in seniority and partly because of his closeness to Brigham, became and remained until his death, twenty-four years later, de facto and de jure, a counselor to Brigham, and the second-ranking leader in the Church. Although they did not know it, they had been on their last mission. Thereafter, they became administrators and a new phase of their life began. Up to Joseph's death all of the apostles had been generally equal; seniority had not had much importance. Later it became increasingly significant.

Throughout the life of Joseph Smith, Heber had been a mild, independent, easygoing missionary-apostle with little flair for leadership or feel for authority. After the death of Joseph, he voluntarily subordinated himself to Brigham and became a dynamic, authoritarian lieutenant. His sermons of this period show how quickly he began to assume the role of authority, how soon he began to change from a follower to a strong leader. These early sermons were as commanding, hortatory, vigorous, and straightforward (though not quite as salty) as any from the Utah period.

With the all-important question of succession settled, Nauvoo turned from its grief to effecting the plans of its martyred prophet—completing the temple, building a better Nauvoo, and expanding the proselyting program. To accomplish this, Wilford Woodruff was sent to England to preside over European affairs, and a special committee of three—Brigham, Heber, and another apostle, Willard Richards—was organized to preside in North America.

In Nauvoo, Brigham and Heber were especially busy preaching, administering, building homes, reading and writing history, tending to family affairs, looking after the sick, finishing the temple, negotiating with anti-Mormon forces, preparing for an uncertain future, and hiding occasionally to avoid writs and summonses on various charges against them—in short, building up Nauvoo as they prepared to leave it.

To fully understand Brigham's and Heber's actions after January 1845, it is necessary to know that by then the Council of the Twelve had decided to abandon Nauvoo and move west. This decision, however, was not made public until the following September when anti-Mormon activities recommenced in earnest. They were, therefore, for the most of 1845 in the awkward position of

encouraging the people to labor mightily to build a city which was soon to be abandoned.

In January 1845 the Council of the Twelve issued a general epistle exhorting the Saints to do all in their power to build the temple and assuring them that "our city is progressing, and the work of the Lord is rolling forth with unprecedented rapidity." At the same time the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* and later the *Times and Seasons,* commenced a series of articles about Indians and Oregon which were most likely designed to prepare the Saints, psychologically at least, for a westward move.

In spite of the pressures and responsibilities placed on them, they took time to worry over piano lessons for their daughters. Helen Kimball had no piano at home to practice on, but

> President Brigham Young had a small piano and invited me [Helen] to come to his house and practice with his daughter Vilate, who though younger than myself, had had previous advantages, but was rather indifferent, and he thought if I practiced with her, she would take a greater interest. Their piano stood in Sister Young's room, and her health being very poor, he proposed to have it brought to our house when the upper part was done. This pleased us both immensely.[8]

In spite of their successes—in fact, largely because of them—the Saints were forced to abandon Nauvoo. In February 1846, Brigham and Heber entered into a three-year pioneering venture. Theirs was the main responsibility of transplanting a whole people successfully into the Great Basin.

Despite the heavy responsibility they shared in this undertaking, they managed to make a grand adventure of it. They went hunting, riding, fishing, exploring. They investigated caves, climbed mountains, rolled stones down steep inclines, stood guard, broke trail, scouted, treated with Indians, struggled through quicksand and fought prairie fire, ate all kinds of game, and were chased by a mother bear—the most dangerous animal in the West. And, what's more, at the end of each day's excitement they could share these experiences with young wives. (Other than Brigham's brother, Lorenzo, only Heber and Brigham were accompanied by spouses.) Later, Heber's wife, Ellen Sanders (née Aagaata Ystensdatter Sondrason) gave him a son on 13 February 1848.

In December 1847, after the pioneers had established a viable colony in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, and were back in Winter Quarters, the First Presidency was formally organized.

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[8]Helen Mar Whitney, "Life Incidents," *Woman's Exponent* 11 (15 March 1883):154.

Since the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham had led the Church in the capacity of president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. This had worked well; few had questioned his authority. Indeed, some considered the Quorum of the Twelve enough leadership. There seems to have been neither revelation nor pressing need for this move and the sources do not make it clear why the reorganization took place when it did. One main reason, perhaps, was that for the first time since the death of the Prophet, the Saints were enjoying relative peace and security. No one was threatening them, and they had found and colonized a new home.

Brigham first suggested forming a separate First Presidency in October and the proposal was formally discussed in a November meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Several were against it. They believed that a First Presidency could not be appointed without revelation. There was also the supposition that the creation of a separate First Presidency might diminish the role of the Quorum of the Twelve. Orson Pratt, one of the main dissenters, complained that the subject "has been thrown in incidently in conversation."[9] After several more discussions, a final meeting was held on 5 December at the home of Orson Hyde, leader of the Iowa Saints, located at his own small settlement, Hyde Park, a few miles south of Kanesville on Pony Creek. At this meeting Brigham again presented the question of reorganization to the nine apostles present. During this deliberation, when the question of power and authority came up, Heber commented, "I don't consider it would give [them] any more power than they have now," and ingenuously added, "I have all the power I can handle."[10] After thorough discussion, the proposal passed unanimously. Hyde, who would succeed Brigham as President of the Quorum of the Twelve, then moved that Brigham be sustained as President of the Church. Brigham promptly selected Heber as his first and Willard Richards as his second counselor. On the following December 27 this reorganization was sustained by the general membership of the Church in that area during a general conference held in Kanesville. After three and one-half years the Saints again had a First Presidency, and Brigham, the dynamic, pragmatic "Lion of the Lord," led out as chief executive.

There were certainly more capable and better-educated administrators Brigham could have chosen for a first counselor than Heber–Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor, for example, who eventually did head the Church. If one accepts, however, the imperative in Heber's 1842 patriarchal blessing–"Thou shalt attain

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[9]Brigham Young, Council Minutes, November 1846, Church Archives.
[10]Ibid., 5 December 1846.

to the honor of the three"–and the principle of revelation, then his selection can be considered providential. One could argue, however, that it was more a reward for years of totally dependable friendship, proven loyalty, well-tried faith, compatibility, spiritual affirmation, and support. Perhaps it was both. (As already noted, Brigham, Heber, and Willard had already been functioning as a sort of executive committee since 1844.) In any event, never, except perhaps near the very end, did Brigham seem to have regretted his choice. Heber remained loyal until death.

The following year of 1848 found Brigham and Heber in the valley to stay. From Heber's baptism in 1832, he had generally been an independent agent, building the kingdom as a missionary and as an apostle. After he became first counselor to Brigham in 1847, he went on no more missions. All of his zeal and energy gradually turned into devoted service to and support of Brigham Young, Joseph Smith's successor and President of the Church.

Heber was Brigham's constant supporter, defender, and champion. He continually held him up as Joseph's successor–a prophet, leader, revelator, priest, governor, head, seer, and holder of the keys to life and salvation–and insisted that the rest of the Saints do the same. "If I should tell you what the will of the Lord is," he once said, "it would be: do as my servant Brigham Young tells you to."[11]

While he became a devoted counselor, he instinctively realized that friendship in the fullest sense can exist only between peers, and, furthermore, he had no intention of becoming lost in Brigham's shadow. He succeeded in maintaining his independent spirit, rugged individuality, and parity through his increasingly powerful and outspoken preaching style and his ability and penchant to prophesy–two character traits which made Heber nearly as well-known as Brigham, who on occasion declared that Heber was his prophet and that he loved to hear him prophesy.

In Utah Heber became as important and influential as it is possible in the Mormon Church for anyone, other than the prophet, to become. It could be argued that of all the thirty men who have ever served as counselors to the various presidents of the Mormon Church, Heber was the most important. In reality, he was Brigham's only real counselor until 1857 when Daniel H. Wells succeeded Willard Richards and Jedediah M. Grant as Brigham's third second counselor.

In Utah Brigham stamped his personality and will on everything–all political, social, economic, and cultural life. As chief ex-

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[11]Scrapbook of John Pulsipher, 2 April 1854, Church Archives.

ecutive he delegated little decision-making to others. The power of the ancient formula, "Verily, verily, thus saith the Lord" was stated or implied by him in most of his public utterances. Willard, probably due to lingering palsy and dropsy, did much clerk and recorder work, and remained a man behind the scenes, inconspicuous, retiring, but powerful with the pen, the drafter of most of Brigham's Church and state papers. Heber, a modern Jonathan, who was without exaggeration as loyal a friend, follower, and supporter as any man ever was, remained clearly second in command.

A close reading of the sources for the first years in Utah leaves the distinct impression that Heber and Brigham were paternalistic, authoritarian, and not only tried to do everything all at once, but succeeded rather well. They addressed themselves to cultural and social problems as well as to the more pressing and immediate economic and administrative necessities. Authority was concentrated in a few hands.

For twenty years after 1848 the president and his first counselor continued to be inseparable and acted in accord in all major doings and decisions concerning the Great Basin Kingdom. Even in the course of Heber's sad last years he never turned from his dogged devotion to Brigham. Together they concerned themselves with all manner of economic, political, social, religious, and cultural affairs. They apportioned lots and land; organized scores of colonies; treated with Indians; developed "home manufacture"; organized wards, stakes and missions; called and sent missionaries to the world; petitioned for statehood; defended the kingdom; fostered education, theater, music, dance, and libraries; alternately scalded and praised the saints; entertained prominent visitors; and preached endlessly.

During Heber's last four years some things apparently happened to mar this almost too perfect union. Exactly what took place is obscure for there are few documents. We do know, however, that Heber construed some acts by several Church leaders to be an attempt to ease him out of the First Presidency and his position as successor to President Young. This situation seems to have been one final trial of his Job-like trust. He had suffered much and long in the cause of his faith, and had every right to expect that his last years would be of consummation and harvest. For some reason this was denied him. He lived long enough to endure what he considered to be a maneuvering to reduce his influence and to realize a sense of inadequacy. After more than thirty years of total devotion and dedication to the Restoration, he felt himself bypassed, a champion of an outdated manner of Kingdom-building. Heber and the rough, impetuous Galilean Pe-

ter were somewhat alike. Both had been essential in the beginning of the movements to which they devoted their lives, but both lived to be overshadowed by better-educated Pauline types. It was not for Heber to stand before Agrippa nor to preach on Mars' Hill.

What offended Heber may have been simply carelessness or thoughtlessness. It is also possible that, given the realities of the all-out crusade against the Mormons during the 1860s, especially the anti-polygamy bills which were introduced into Congress, and the delimiting of the size of the territory, some Church leaders actually were trying to neutralize Heber's outspokenness and bring into his place someone more diplomatic and adept at negotiating with gentiles. In any event, as is often the case, what a person thinks is true is as painful as if it were true. These several acts helped break his heart.

With all of his humor and saltiness, Heber was an unusually sensitive man—it was part of his sincere nature. He was almost always kind, even-tempered, and humble, and ordinarily did not respond externally to slights. By the mid-1850s he was becoming defensive and cantankerous—defensive because of his lack of education and sophistication; cantankerous because of age, illness, and disappointment. He had been at his best as a missionary and pioneer. As the Kingdom grew and matured, he must have realized that he was becoming increasingly anachronistic and incapable of making the significant contributions he had made in its early days.

In 1854 he announced in the Territorial Legislature: "I want to speak and not be here like a Dumb Dog. I am ignorant of many technicalities, but when you come to the truth I know that as well as Professor [Albert] Carrington, Professor [Orson] Pratt, Professor [George A.] Smith, or Professor [Wilford] Woodruff."[12] This statement suggests that he took political life seriously; it is, however, possible to read more into it. Carrington, Pratt, Smith, and Woodruff were all much better educated than Heber and it is entirely possible that his unnecessary use of the title "professor" before each of their names was sarcastic, reflecting his surmise that they looked down on his lack of education.

In 1860 Heber publicly said, "You need not try to step in between me and my President, for you cannot do it without hurting yourselves. . . . My name is Faithful—my name is Integrity!"[13] A surprisingly defensive statement from one who had been a member of the First Presidency since 1847. In 1861 in a public meeting at

[12]Historian's Office Journal, 20 December 1854, Church Archives.

[13]*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–86), 8:276 (cited hereafter as *JD*).

which Heber was present, Joseph A. Young admonished the people not to use "low vulgar or obscene expressions," and Albert Carrington "made a few remarks on the same strain. . . ."[14] Since Heber had long been criticized by the gentiles for his coarseness, it is likely that he deeply resented these sentiments expressed publicly and considered that they were aimed directly at him. An analysis of his subsequent public discourses reveals that he modified his platform manner. He gave fewer talks, and those he did make were mild, short, bland, full of scriptural quotations (which he had hardly ever used before), containing none of his habitual spice and ginger.

During 1864 events took place which caused Heber to seek assurance from the Lord that his position would not be undercut and that he would not be removed as first counselor. In February of that year Brigham ordained three of his sons–John Willard, Joseph Angell, and Brigham, Jr.–as apostles. Later that year, in August, Young conferred upon Brigham, Jr., "all the power I hold as one of my counselors."[15] This seemed to suggest that Brigham, Jr., was becoming the heir apparent to the Presidency. Heber was not told of these ordinations for four months, and was terribly offended when he did learn of them. He told a son that "the power of the Priesthood" placed on the head of John W. Young "would not stick" and that apostle "George Q. Cannon was among those who were trying to get between him [Heber] and President Young. . . ."[16]

Whatever Brigham meant by these acts of 1864, the shadow of dynastic pretensions which they cast mortally offended his First Counselor, his most loyal of all followers, and his friend of more than thirty years.

Again, in September 1864, the *Deseret News,* edited by the same Albert Carrington, who had already indirectly criticized Heber's language, printed an editorial rebuking members of the community who "resorted to swearing and obscenity in language." It is doubtful that this was in any way directed at Heber, but the Fort Douglas *Vedette* of September 28 gleefully insisted that it was, and labeled it an official rebuke of Heber by his own people. In anguish, Heber appealed to his God. "In the evening of January 12, 1865," he confided in a private memorandum book,

> I was told by the Lord that I should not be removed from my place as first counselor to Pres. Young and those who had oppressed me when it was in their power to do me good, shall be removed from

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[14]Diary of Charles L. Walker, 18 August 1861, Church Archives.
[15]Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 24 April 1864, Church Archives.
[16]Solomon F. Kimball, "Sacred History," typescript, p. 2, Church Archives.

their places. That Daniel H. Wells, Albert Carrington, Jos. A. Young and others were among that number.[17]

In 1866 Brigham again bypassed his first counselor. He ordained Joseph F. Smith an apostle and set him apart as a counselor in the First Presidency. Heber was not consulted, present at the ordination, or officially told of it for some time afterwards.[18] Although he was never supplanted as First Counselor, Heber must have felt insecure in his position in the Kingdom. "Those were days of sorrow for father," a son wrote, "and he became so heart broken towards the last that he prayed to the Lord to shorten his days."[19]

Whatever the reality of Heber's fear and suppositions, he remained loyal to the last. There is no recorded word of his in criticism of Brigham; Heber chose to place the blame for his sorrow on others. How much longer Heber might have lived is unknown. He did, however, become less active, and little is known of his last few years. His death on 22 June 1868 was caused by paralysis stemming from his being thrown from his wagon in Provo by a lunging horse sometime the preceding May.

Toward the end Heber could not speak. On that hot Monday in June he lay in his upstairs west bedroom and Brigham sat by his side fanning him with his right hand. The two old warriors in the kingdom were together to and at the end. Whatever differences might have existed between them were dissolved by glances of mutual trust and love, and with clasped hands. Heber died peacefully.

In the minds of the Saints, Heber and Brigham's love and companionship was such that George Q. Cannon deemed it appropriate in the invocation at Heber's funeral to ask God to comfort Brigham in his loss before he thought to invoke the Lord's peace on the family. It may even be that the full realization of Heber's death affected Brigham so much that Cannon was moved to remember Brigham first and more fully in his prayer. "We pray thee, our Father," he said, "this day to pour the consolations of thy Holy Spirit upon thy servant Brigham. May his heart be comforted. May he be cheered and May he be strengthened and sustained by thee." Then, remembering the family, he added, "Let thy Spirit rest down upon the family of thy servant who has gone from us, upon his wives, his children and his connections. . . ."[20] Such was one of the great friendships of all time.

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[17]Private Memorandum Book, 12 January 1865, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

[18]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), p. 227.

[19]Kimball, "Sacred History," p. 2, Church Archives.

[20]Heber C. Kimball obituary, *Deseret News,* 1 July 1868.

Research to date has failed to turn up any comment by Brigham Young regarding the matters which so perplexed and hurt his longtime friend and counselor. All we have in writing is Brigham's pride in Heber's faithfulness as a member of the First Presidency as he expressed it at the time in his eulogy at Heber's funeral:

> He was a man of as much integrity I presume as any man who ever lived on earth. . . . I am happy to state, it is a matter of great joy to me; this is the third counselor that has fallen asleep since I have stood to counsel this people—and they have died in the faith full of hope; their lives were filled up with good works, full of faith, comfort, peace and joy to their brethren. . . . The Lord selected him and he has been faithful and this had made him a great man; just as you and I can become if we will live faithful to our God and our religion.[21]

We also have one touching reference to Heber made a year after his death. On 19 June 1869 Brigham Young was in Paris (present-day Idaho), and said he seldom alluded to his friends who were gone for it called up a flood of emotions. He said that "when he thought of Bro. Heber the recollections of the past througed [thronged?] upon his mind and over came him. The brethren must pardon him for being a child when he alluded to his old friend and companion."[22]

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[21]*JD* 12:186, 187.

[22]Bear Lake School of the Prophets Minutes, 19 June 1869, Church Archives. I wish to thank Charles Peterson for drawing this item to my attention.