

Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse: Space and Power in 19th Century Agricultural Utah

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On July 24, 1847, the Mormon Pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley led by their Prophet, Brigham Young. At the mouth of what would later be called Emigration Canyon, sick in a wagon and tired from the long journey, Brigham Young looked out over the desert valley before him and said "It is enough. This is the right place. Drive on."³⁵⁰ From this moment, Brigham Young and those who followed him commenced to build a city and society in the Great Basin that would become a hub to those traveling west. Streets were laid in perfect order, crops were planted, and homes were built. Indeed, Brigham Young and early Mormons in Salt Lake City and the Territory of Utah would become known for their architectural accomplishments as well as taming the harsh environment of the inter-mountain west. Though the majestic Gothic Salt Lake Temple cannot be ignored as a 40-year architectural accomplishment, the architecture and layout of domestic structures in the early Mormon settlements, including those built by Brigham Young, document the social, cultural, political, religious, and family structure of these pioneers. Built in 1863, Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse is a complex and unique piece of vernacular architecture that holds underutilized evidence into the early years of settlement in the Great Basin, as well as the social, cultural, and religious undercurrents and tenants of Mormonism.

Situated at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, This is the Place Heritage Park is home to historical buildings and structures from all over Utah. The first structure to be moved to this location was the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse. This Gothic Revival h-plan cross-gabled house was the first balloon-framed house in Utah.³⁵¹ Moved from its original location in 1975,³⁵² it sits in prominence at the entrance to the Park. Completed in 1863, this aesthetically pleasing home was originally located on a plat of land known as Brigham Young's Forest Farm.³⁵³ The physical context of the house, the interior layout of rooms within it, and its function as a farmhouse raise the question: is the use of space as well as the function of Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse evidence of the social-cultural perceptions of power and gender in nineteenth-century agricultural Utah? Examination of first-hand accounts written by members of Brigham Young's family, scholarly work on Mormon Architecture, and the structure, layout, and architecture of the house itself, affirms complex social and cultural values of work, self-sufficiency, and family, as well as the centrality of family and community in the religious beliefs of Brigham Young and Mormons in territorial Utah and the power-relationships between men and women of polygamous households.

³⁵⁰ James E. Faust, "Brigham Young: A Bold Prophet," Speeches, Brigham Young University, (August 21, 2001) <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=255> (accessed October 31, 2014)-Attributed to the recollections of Wilford Woodruff, the first Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Wilford Woodruff, in *The Utah Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1880), 23; quoted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 3:224.

³⁵¹ Mark C. Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114.

³⁵² Elinor G. Hyde, "The Brigham Young FarmHouse," in Colleen Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 171.

³⁵³ Mark C. Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114.

Scholarship on the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in studying this particular subject is finding sources on a house that is strangely absent from scholarly discussion, yet was designed, owned, and operated under the direction of a well-known figure like Brigham Young. The house currently belongs to the State of Utah and is operated as a historic home at This is the Place Heritage Park in Salt Lake City. A site packet used for historical interpretation obtained courtesy of This is the Place Heritage Park Foundation titled "*Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse - built in 1863 and relocated at This Is the Place in 1976*," contains a summary of Brigham Young's life, lists of his wives and children, and some information about the farmhouse. What it lacks however is a description of the architecture and furnishings of the home itself. Unfortunately, the undated curatorial notes for the site state that "Very little documentation exists regarding the interior of Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse. The two major primary sources are Susa Young Gates and Ann Eliza Young."³⁵⁴ The remaining pages of the document attempt to synthesize information using these two sources and a great deal of necessary speculation as a basis for the interior design of the home.

Colleen Whitley's compilation of scholarly work, *Brigham Young's Homes*, contains a chapter entirely devoted to the Farm House by Elinor G. Hyde of Salt Lake City.³⁵⁵ The site packet from This is the Place Heritage Park relies on the overview, photographs, and cited sources provided by this book, which draws on the memoirs and biographical work of Susa Young Gates and Ann Eliza Young, both of whom were personally familiar with the house. The chapter by Hyde entitled, "The Brigham Young Farm House," offers a brief architectural description as well as a reference to the potential architects of the home.³⁵⁶ However, the descriptions of pioneer life and social practices reference what appear to be older curatorial and site documents at This is the Place Heritage Park that have either been altered, lost or destroyed. Indeed, while *Brigham Young's Homes* offers a very straightforward compilation of dates, facts, and historical events surrounding the Farmhouse, it still lacks substantive analysis and inquiry into the complexities of the social-cultural use of space in the home.

The closest analysis of the architecture of the home from an art historical perspective is found in *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* written by C. Mark Hamilton, a professor of Art and Architecture at Brigham Young University.³⁵⁷ In the chapter titled "Domestic Architecture" Hamilton briefly discusses the artistic style of the house and places it in an art-historical context by comparing it to similar Gothic Revival homes of the late nineteenth century. The value of Hamilton's work is in the overarching art-historical context of the book taken as whole and the placement of the Farmhouse within that context. Still, for the purpose of this essay, a deeper analysis of the socio-cultural use of space in the home needs to be addressed.

Thomas Carter, a professor of architectural history at the University of Utah has written extensively on Mormon vernacular architecture using a socio-cultural and anthropological approach. Carter's essay "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah" specifically discusses the use of space and its relationship to power in nineteenth century Mormon houses designed to accommodate the familial and social structures of polygamous families.³⁵⁸ While Brigham Young's Forest Farm is not specifically represented,

³⁵⁴ Historical and Curatorial Notes, Brigham Young Forest Farm File, (Salt Lake City: This is the Place Heritage Park, n.d.), 1.

³⁵⁵ Colleen Whitley, ed, *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 147-172.

³⁵⁶ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House" in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 147-172.

³⁵⁷ Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 113-114.

³⁵⁸ Thomas Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 223-251.

Carter's methodology and analysis of Mormon architecture using the relationship between space and power provides an excellent model to follow.

Other works in which the home is mentioned are Leonard Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses*,³⁵⁹ and Stanley P. Hirshson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*.³⁶⁰ Both of these biographical works mention it briefly, but only in passing as it pertains to other subjects under discussion.

Not enough can be said about the work of Susa Young Gates³⁶¹ and Clarissa Young Spencer³⁶², two of Brigham Young's daughters who have included memories and information about the house in their writings. The one downside to using their writings, is that most of their recollections are the positive memories of childhood. In order to examine the house from a different perspective, Anne Eliza Webb Young,³⁶³ a disenchanting wife of Brigham Young gives great insight into the purpose, layout, and function of the home, having lived there for almost four years.³⁶⁴ The commonalities in these accounts supplement the information inherent in the home itself.

The Farm in City

From its beginnings, the leaders of the Mormon Church, more properly referred to as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or LDS Church, have taught members the principles of a unified community. This is evident in the organizational structure of the Church into wards (congregations), and stakes (groupings of wards). Nineteenth century Mormon settlements modeled this structure in city planning. Beginning with Kirtland Ohio, Joseph Smith Jun, president and founder of the church, received a revelation stating "...verily I say unto you, my friends, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall commence a work of laying out and preparing a beginning and foundation of the city of the stake of Zion, here in the land of Kirtland, beginning at my house."³⁶⁵ Similarly he also made plans for the City of Zion in Independence Missouri: "...the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse. Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints. And also every tract lying westward...Behold, this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance."³⁶⁶

Architectural historian Dell Upton describes this Mormon model of city planning further, stating that:

Colonial towns, courthouse squares] appear also in unexpected settings, particularly those created by religious organizations. In June 1833 the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith sent a 'Plat of the city of Zion' to the new settlement at

³⁵⁹ Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985)

³⁶⁰ Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1969)

³⁶¹ Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young: Mormon Leader, Founder of Salt Lake City, And Builder of an Empire in the Uncharted Wastes of Western America*, (London: Jarrolds Limited, 1930)

³⁶² Clarissa Young Spencer and Mabel Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1940)

³⁶³ Anne Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19: Or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy*, (Hartford: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876)

³⁶⁴ Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse Site Packet, "Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse - built in 1863 and relocated at This Is the Place in 1976," (Salt Lake City Utah: This is the Place Heritage Park, n. d.) 5.

³⁶⁵ The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Section 94:1

³⁶⁶ Doctrine and Covenants, 57:3-5.

Independence, Missouri, to be used in laying out a new town there. The mile-square grid was to be aligned to the cardinal directions and laid out in half-acre lots. There would be three squares at the centre, two with twelve temples each, distributed according to the Mormon hierarchy of priesthoods, and one built up with communal storehouses.³⁶⁷

This idea of a city surrounding a central sacred building or "temple" continued with Mormon leaders in the planning and layout of Salt Lake City.

Indeed, the setting and physical context in which Brigham Young's Farmhouse was built is very reminiscent of a colonial village or township. "The Mormons revived the idea of the village in the West"³⁶⁸ says architectural historian and material culture scholar Henry Glassie. He writes:

Fine small farmhouses, Midwestern in form, stand on a foursquare grid like that of a Midwestern town, but the farmer's holdings are cast through the fields that spread beyond the village. The vast, mountainous backdrop does little to disturb the comparison. Viewed across the fields, the village of Utah or southern Idaho, with its tall temple and low gathering of houses, offers an image out of old England. In medieval England and nineteenth-century Utah, villages were asserted into space by people who made clear-headed decisions. They chose to build as they did in order to exploit the environment efficiently through agriculture, and in order to shape a social order that brought the familial and the communal together on the base of the sacred.³⁶⁹

So it was with the Forest Farm. The land on which the house would later be built was set aside shortly after the saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. "Forest Farm initially bordered the five-acre Lots of the Big Field, and the boundaries of the Forest Farm were set as a plat from Ninth South (now Twenty-first South) on the north to what is now Twenty-seventh South on the south, from Third East on the west to about Thirteenth East."³⁷⁰ Here, just four miles south of downtown Salt Lake City, farmhands and members of Brigham Young's family, began to experiment with various seeds to see what would grow in the valley.

Initially, "[a] pioneer farmhouse of adobe was built, with a milk and cheese house a few feet away, the two connected by a closed porch way."³⁷¹ There is some debate as to whether or not these buildings were log cabins or adobe structures, but regardless, for several years this "adobe" farmhouse was the main structure on the farm.³⁷² In 1863, this earlier structure would be "replaced by a modern cottage of generous proportions and was known as "The Farmhouse."³⁷³

³⁶⁷ Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61

³⁶⁸ Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 113

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁷⁰ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 147

³⁷¹ Susa Young Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House." *The Juvenile Instructor* 54 (August, 1919): 405.

³⁷² Susa Young Gates is quoted in *Brigham Young's Homes*, as first stating in a typescript "Lucy Bigelow Young, " from the Utah State Historical Department, Salt Lake City, pg 59 that "The farm had two log houses, one the cook house and dining room, separated by a roofed-in passage way from the milk and cheese house, and there was a chamber above which was Mother's Bedroom..." This makes us question what the original structures were made of. However, one of the early uses of the Forest Farm was the manufacture of adobe bricks. The initial scarcity of hardwood in Utah, and the readily available clay on sight suggests that the home was originally adobe.

³⁷³ Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257

The Gothic Revival Farmhouse

Construction on the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse commenced in 1861 and was completed in 1863.³⁷⁴ According to C. Mark Hamilton, former professor of Art and Architecture at Brigham Young University, "[t]he building of Brigham Young's Lion House (1854-56) and Forest Farmhouse (1861-63) did much to awaken the territory to Gothic Revival architecture."³⁷⁵ Hamilton credits the design to Truman Angell, architect of the Salt Lake Temple, also a Gothic revival structure, but states that William Paul, the architect of the Devereaux House, was more familiar with the style. One of Brigham's wives who lived there, Anne Eliza Webb Young, who was notorious for divorcing him and subsequently writing a book about the horrors of life in Utah and the Mormon Church, states that "[the Farmhouse] was built after one of the Prophet's own plans, and he says that it cost twenty-five thousand dollars."³⁷⁶ Trained as a carpenter, Brigham very well could have had a say in the design of the house. Either way, as with the Salt Lake Temple, Brigham Young and his architect chose and designed a Gothic Revival style home that was completed in 1863.

Prior to the completion of the Farmhouse, other structures occupied the landscape of the farm. "One of the first buildings at the Forest Farm was a sixty-nine by eighteen foot log cabin with a red pine foundation built in 1857."³⁷⁷ Without giving exact dates, Susa Young Gates mentions a farmhouse of adobe being built in which "...Aunt Susan Snively, lived,...[and]...Others of [Brigham Young's] wives were here at times for a year or more."³⁷⁸ Susa's own mother, Lucy Bigelow Young lived in the adobe structure for about a year, and then in the new farmhouse when it was replaced in 1863.³⁷⁹

The central portion of the structure that encompasses the dining room and upper half-story displays traits characteristic of a previous structure around which the "balloon-framed house" was built. The walls in this central portion of the home are unnaturally thick for a balloon-framed structure, measuring between 13.5" and 17.5" deep. In direct contrast with the 6"-7" walls throughout the remaining structure, the walls are closer to the thickness of early western adobe houses and structures. Four small, sash, windows look out from the upper half-story awkwardly under the gabled roof and awning over the veranda. When examined together, these structural elements make, this central portion look like a small, single-pile 19th century farmhouse.

The possibility that the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse is a composite of an original adobe structure and two balloon-framed additions is even more probable after examining the writing of Susa Young Gates:

A few years after settling in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, Brigham Young decided that a farm in the outskirts of Salt Lake City was necessary for his large family and their various needs. *A pioneer farmhouse of adobe was built*, with a milk and cheese house a few feet away, the two connected by a closed porchway. Here one of his wives, "Aunt" Susan Snively, lived, cooking for the men who attended to the farm, and directing the making of the cheese and butter...³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 155; Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

³⁷⁵ Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 113.

³⁷⁶ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533

³⁷⁷ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 155.

³⁷⁸ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

Susa's verification of the existence of an earlier adobe farmhouse increases the possibility that the thick dining room walls are remnants of an earlier structure. Indeed, one of earliest uses of the land on which the farmhouse was located was to make adobe bricks.³⁸¹ So why would Brigham Young replace this house with another?

Susa, without giving a specific reason, states that Brigham Young decided to build a "modern cottage of generous proportions..."³⁸² Leland Roth addresses this American gothic revival in architecture, stating that:

While the Greek Revival was the prevalent style for residences during the 1820s and 1830s, by the mid-1840s Gothic had begun to challenge it, largely due to the influential publications of Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852)...he viewed the house as a function of the landscape in which it was placed. The plan of the house he argued, should be arranged so as to take advantage of the views of the landscape, making it as irregular as need be. The grounds themselves should be enhanced and modified so as to augment their inherent picturesque qualities.³⁸³

Whether or not Brigham Young was influenced by Andrew Jackson Downing, he seems to have taken his approach to architecture. Though the new Farmhouse would be very symmetrical in external appearance, the door placement and layout of the rooms within the house are quite irregular by today's standards.

Anne Eliza Young describes the house as "[o]utwardly...[having] a lovely appearance...And, indeed, with its somewhat irregular architecture, its wide verandas, vine-draped and shaded, its broad, low windows, and beautiful surroundings, it is one of the pleasantest looking places that one would care to see."³⁸⁴ With the "front" entrance facing west, the house is an H-plan, cross-gabled, balloon-frame house. According to Hamilton, it is the first balloon-framed house in Utah.³⁸⁵ The external symmetry of the house is aesthetically pleasing, with steep-pitched cross-gabled roof, latticework, peripheral veranda and extensive double-hung sash windows that allow for natural light to enter the home through most of the day. Each window is crowned with serpentine molding. Seven separate entry points occur on the bottom floor leading to the peripheral veranda. The "pink" painted stucco of the outer walls is reminiscent of the sandstone rock of southern Utah.

Within the home is a "double-parlor and kitchen pantry area on either side of a central area for reception and formal dining on the ground floor."³⁸⁶ Some uncertainty exists as to the mirrored end-gable staircases located in the kitchen to the south, and the large parlor to the north, which lead to the upper story of the home. The north staircase is substantiated by both Brigham's wife Anne Eliza and his daughter, Susa Young Gates. Suffice it to say, within the north and south end-gables of the current restored house both staircases are present.

³⁸¹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 148-149.-

³⁸² Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

³⁸³ Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 177

³⁸⁴ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533- Later, she also says that "...with the same amount of money, I could build a house that should vastly exceed that in external beauty and interior appointments."

³⁸⁵ Hamilton, *19th century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

³⁸⁶ Hamilton, *19th century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

The staircases in the restored Farmhouse as it stands today lead to the second story at each gabled end of the house with the half-story room between them directly above the dining room.³⁸⁷ The landing area at the top of each staircase is large enough to be used for storage, a small sitting area, or even small sleeping area. On the south, directly above the kitchen is a large room that functioned as a ballroom (Figures 8 and 9) as described by Susa Young Gates in her recollections of New Year's Day and other holiday celebrations at the FarmHouse. She states that

For a number of years, New Year's Day was celebrated by [Brigham Young] and his numerous family with a few of his closest associates in house parties at the farm house...[the children] crowded through the dining-room into the great central sitting-room and then raced upstairs to remove neck comforters and cloaks...that they might race the faster back into the long dancing hall which spread across the south end of the house.³⁸⁸

This places the ballroom directly over the kitchen, meaning that in order to access the ballroom, one had to pass through sleeping areas of the second story.

Opposite the ballroom to the south, the north side of the second story is divided into a large bedroom on the west, and a more open area which may have been used as a bedroom on the east.³⁸⁹ Immediately down the stairs below this room is the smaller of two parlors with a large double-hung doorway opening into a larger parlor just off of the central dining room. Connected to this parlor through another doorway is an office with a large window facing north that can be closed off from the rest of the house and still remain accessible through a door leading in from the outside veranda.

The kitchen area is large, with a doorway leading to the veranda and four double-hung sash windows that allow for extensive natural light. The sky-blue painted moldings add an additional brightness to the room which remains very well lit for most of the day. Just to the west of the large kitchen is a smaller, also well-lit room that might have served as a workroom.³⁹⁰ Off of the kitchen to the south is a little room much like a mudroom that is also connected to a large pantry accessible from both the mudroom and a doorway in the southeast corner of the workroom. The mudroom area is L-shaped, with a double-hung doorway hiding a staircase leading to the cellar, and another door leading outside.

Today the Farmhouse cellar is used for modern facilities such as restrooms and dressing rooms. However, historically the house "was built next to a spring, with a door leading down to the cellar where a well tapped into that spring. The cellar was divided into two parts, one for the well and the other part serving as a storage place for dairy products and other foods. Later the water from the spring was pumped into the kitchen."³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Jen Young, a historical interpreter at This is the Place Heritage Park shared a personal conversation she had with one of engineers who helped move the home from South Salt Lake to its current location. He claimed to have found evidence of a staircase leading up from the central dining room to the second, half-story room above. If this is true, then it becomes additional evidence that the "balloon-framed" Farm House was built around the old, adobe one as two additions.

³⁸⁸ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 343-344.

³⁸⁹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 157-158. The source cited for this are the Interpretive Documents at this is the Place, which, for all intents and purposes are also a secondary source and though it is clear that there was at least one bedroom upstairs, it remains a little confusing as to how this area was really used.

³⁹⁰ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," 157.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 156-157.

Also of note are the grounds on which the Farmhouse stood. Located in south Salt Lake, the farm encompassed eight hundred fifty acres of land where farmhands planted a variety of seeds to see what would grow in the valley. Susa Young Gates recalls: "[The Farmhouse] was the centre(sic) of a generous tract of land with meadows, great waving fields of grain, potato and corn-fields and in two sections of it were growing forests of mulberry and black locust trees."³⁹² Clarissa Young Spencer also writes of family excursions to the Farm when she was a child. She remembers "[a] long lane with shade trees on either side led up to the house, which was a homey place with a gabled roof and a great porch that ran all the way around. Hollyhocks and roses bordered the porch and a great profusion of other flowers grew in odd nooks and corners of the lawns."³⁹³ The house itself was part of a larger landscape, serving not only as a central hub of activity on the farm, but also as an aesthetically pleasing, modern edifice representative of Mormon industry in the larger American cultural landscape.

The Farm and Farmhouse: Self-Sufficiency, Work, and Family

In the early 1860s, Samuel Clemmons, a young man from Hannibal, Missouri, stopped in Salt Lake City on his way to California. Clemmons, who became well known as American author Mark Twain, published a satirical account of his experiences in Salt Lake City in his book *Roughing It*. Of the city he said "Salt Lake City was healthy-an extremely healthy city. They declared there was only one physician in the place and he was arrested every week regularly and held to answer under the vagrant act for having 'no visible means of support.'"³⁹⁴ Looking through the satire of his writing it is clear that his experience was an informative one. One of the best ways to help describe the function of the Forest Farm might come from Twain's description of what he calls the 'Mormon Crest' that is still depicted on the Utah State flag today. "...the Mormon crest was easy. And it was simple, unostentatious, and fitted like a glove. It was a representations of a GOLDEN BEEHIVE, with the bees all at work!"³⁹⁵ Indeed, this representation of industry and work is no better displayed than on the Forest Farm.

In a way, placed at a central location within the Forest Farm, the Farmhouse might be seen as a sort of "beehive". Not unfamiliar with hard work, Brigham Young was a carpenter by trade, had lived through the turbulent days of the early Church in Nauvoo, and was then in the process of building a city and establishing a community in the west. One of the more difficult challenges for the Mormon immigrants in the valley was seeing what would grow in a harsh, dry climate. According to rumor, upon meeting Brigham Young and the Mormon Pioneers and learning of their plans to settle the great basin, explorer and mountain man Jim Bridger offered one thousand dollars for the first bushel of corn grown in the valley, believing it impossible to grow a viable crop in such conditions.³⁹⁶ Brigham Young sought to remedy this perception with the Forest Farm.

Clarissa Young Spencer recalls that one of her father's favorite "hobbies" was "home manufacture for home consumption" and that "his own words on the subject were, 'Let home industry produce every article of home consumption'."³⁹⁷ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, in her book, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, also mentions how "Brigham Young preached a gospel of manufactures worthy of his native Vermont. He urged mothers to teach their daughters 'to spin, color, weave and knit, as well as work embroidery.' In

³⁹² Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257

³⁹³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 79-80.

³⁹⁴ Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 111.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

³⁹⁶ Gates, and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 94.

³⁹⁷ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 247.

doing so they would prove ‘helpmeets in every deed, not only in domestic relations but in building up the kingdom’.”³⁹⁸

Likewise, the function of the Forest Farm demonstrates Brigham Young's philosophy by "supply[ing] the Salt Lake City family with milk, butter, cheese, and vegetables..."³⁹⁹

The farm and Farmhouse functioned as an experiment, in which Brigham hoped to discover what would grow in the valley. Beginning in 1852, adobe bricks were made on the farm. In a way, this might be considered one of the first "crops" from the farm because enough bricks were made to build several structures in Salt Lake City.⁴⁰⁰ In later years, based on the writings of Clarissa Young Spencer and Susa Young Gates, many different crops were grown on the farm with varying success.⁴⁰¹ Alfalfa was a successful crop and is still planted extensively in Utah and Idaho today.⁴⁰² But most pertinent to the Farmhouse itself were the production of dairy and silk.

In every account from the women who attended the farmhouse, milk, cheese, and butter production are mentioned. This responsibility fell largely to the women who were responsible for the farm. Lucy Bigelow Young, Susan Snively, and Anne Eliza were each involved in cheese and butter production, though by 1862, the milking was done by the men.⁴⁰³ The women produced butter and cheese, but were also required to provide meals for the workmen. These daily responsibilities taxed the women, and according to Anne Eliza “[e]very one of the wives who had been compelled to live there had become confirmed invalids before they left the place, broken down by overwork.”⁴⁰⁴ Though this may be an exaggeration as similar recollections are absent from the other women, perhaps this is in part one of the reasons Brigham chose to build the new, larger farmhouse.

Lucy Bigelow Young lived on the farm with her six-year-old daughter Susa for eighteen-months from 1862-1863. During this time the new farmhouse was being constructed. As her mother worked to produce butter, cheese, and provide for the farmhands, the new house was taking shape. Susa does not say whether or not the house was being built around them as they lived in the original adobe structure; however, she does explain that she and her mother lived in the house while the workmen stayed in tents and wagon boxes.⁴⁰⁵

This contrast in living conditions of the women and the workmen at the farm illustrates the underlying cultural expectations of the nineteenth century society, but goes even further to reveal a part of Mormon social structure. In Brigham's large family women were expected to work and be industrious but were also given accommodations where possible to make those responsibilities bearable, even if it meant that the workers-not members of his family- were required to make due with less. Still, not ignoring the contributions of the layman, having himself been in similar situations in his past life, the Mormon Prophet provided a meal for the farmhands through the work of his wife living on the farm.

³⁹⁸ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).

³⁹⁹ Young, *Wife No. 19.*, 532

⁴⁰⁰ Hyde, “The Brigham Young Farm House,” in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 148-149.

⁴⁰¹ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 256-257, and Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 247-257.

⁴⁰² Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 247-248

⁴⁰³ Susa Young Gates, "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife: Lucy Bigelow Young" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1977), 280.

⁴⁰⁴ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 532

⁴⁰⁵ Gates, “From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife,” 280-281.

The central location of the dining room, demonstrates the role of the farmhouse in providing a place where the farmhands could have their meals with little disturbance to the operation of the household. Free to enter or exit the dining room directly from the outside veranda on both the east and west, farmhands and workmen could be fed without entering the other areas of the home. This also allowed for the women of the home to be separate from and not required to take their meals at the same time or place as the farmhands, as well as to work away from the commotion of the dining room. In the previous adobe farmhouse, the kitchen and dining room were in the same location.⁴⁰⁶

In context as a source of provision and sustenance, a newly constructed, spacious, Gothic-style structure with multiple entrances, central dining area, and expanded interior space seemed to be a continuation of Brigham's attempt to satisfy the physical needs of all parties who worked on the farm. With workrooms, a large kitchen, cooled cellar, and the wide range of accessibility provided by seven different entrances to the main level, the farmhouse allowed for efficient home and agricultural production. It provided greater accommodations not only for his wife who worked and lived there, but also those who visited.

The role of providing for workmen on the farm expanded in the mid-1860s when Brigham Young became "deeply interested" in silk production. In 1866, he had 11,340 mulberry seedlings imported and planted at the Forest Farm.⁴⁰⁷ In 1868 a cocoonery was built and thus began the experiment with silk production in the Utah Territory. Clarissa Young Spencer recalls her father's devoted interest in this new domestic manufacturing project:

He sent to France for the first mulberry seed, and when the precious package arrived it contained two or three pounds of what looked very much like mustard seed. It was first planted at Forest Farm, and he had the gardeners prepare the ground with the greatest of care, plowing and harrowing the acre about five or six times. He personally supervised the planting and had them put the seed in so thick that, as one gardener said, 'the young trees came up like the hair on a dog's back.'⁴⁰⁸

This vast 'forest' of trees is what gave the farm and thus farmhouse, the name Forest Farm. Zina D. Huntington Young, known as "Doctor" among Brigham's wives, was charged with overseeing this new industry.⁴⁰⁹ Though never really expanding beyond the experimental phase, this industry was quite successful, and dresses were made using the silk produced on the Farm.⁴¹⁰ What is interesting about this experiment is that the Farm stepped into the realm of manufacturing and industry in an effort on the part of Brigham Young to enhance the economic prospects of the territory and communal society he was building as a whole. As the farm shifted focus, the Farmhouse also became a symbol of this industry and purpose.

A type of the Sacred: Religion, Family Values, and Community

In the late 18th century, "while Roman classic was appropriate for seats of government, Gothic was seen as more properly evocative for places with strong religious associations, or even interment."⁴¹¹ As a patriarch to his large family, as well as in his role as President and Prophet of a church and leader in the community, it is fitting that Brigham Young chose to build or rebuild his farmhouse in the Gothic style. Although only a *Farmhouse*, the religious parameters and

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 150

⁴⁰⁸ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 249-250.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 75-76.

⁴¹⁰ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 248-252.

⁴¹¹ Roth, *American Architecture: A History*, 171.

expectations of membership in the Mormon Church that shaped even the most basic aspects of everyday life in the family and larger community are evident in its function and architecture.

Families and family life have been an integral part of Mormon theology since its beginnings. In 1843, Joseph Smith, Jr., received a revelation regarding a "new and everlasting covenant" binding families together not only for mortality but for the eternities as well.⁴¹² Husbands and wives who entered into this covenant with God were promised life together in the eternities as long as they remained faithful to each other and the commandments of God. This fundamental doctrine had an effect on family life by giving members a different perspective on the purpose of daily life and family relationships. The Forest Farmhouse was a place where Brigham could take his family away from the busy life of downtown Salt Lake City to spend time with and teach them.

Clarissa Young Spencer especially remembers enjoying meals as a family at the Forest Farm.⁴¹³ Likewise, Susa Young Gates recalls "The [1863] farmhouse, which was four miles out of the city, became a favourite (sic) place for entertainments and picnics. Sometimes father would have a party for us all when we stayed the night, making beds on the floor, girls sleeping with mothers and the boys up in the hay loft."⁴¹⁴ The Farmhouse, with its large rooms away from the busy environment of the city, became an escape where Brigham Young could take his family and build eternal unity. In many ways it served as a Temple or religious edifice and sanctuary where, though they lived *in* the world, they might be protected from outside influences *of* the world.

Just as the Farmhouse served to welcome, protect, and provide sanctuary for Brigham's personal family, it also was a place where he could take care of his flock, the family of the Church. On various occasions, the Farmhouse played host to members of church leadership, visitors from the east, and other associates of the Prophet. Susa Young Gates recollects the special New Year's parties that were hosted at the Farmhouse which included dancing in the upstairs ballroom. She recalls the great pride with which Brigham twice hosted the famous actress Julia Dean Hayne⁴¹⁵ at these soirees. According to Susa:

The farmhouse served an even greater purpose than the special one for which it was designed, for it embodied the realisation (sic) of a domestic ideal which carried its message, through example, into every hamlet and house in the Church...The old farm house was a beacon light and shining example to all Israel and to the world itself during the years of its active existence.⁴¹⁶

With the large parlors, dining area, kitchen and ballroom, the Farmhouse was the perfect place to entertain. Once again, the Farmhouse served a purpose similar to that of the Salt Lake Temple in later years: A refuge from the 'world', a sanctuary in this life where family and community relations

⁴¹² Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132, see heading.

⁴¹³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 79.

⁴¹⁴ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257. Today, a large reproduction barn sits to the south of the Farmhouse at This is the Place Heritage Park. Though never given an exact location in the writings and memoirs of farm occupants, Clarissa and Susa mention a barn in passing while discussing other aspects of farm life. Clarissa mentions the barn when discussing the alfalfa crop on the farm. Susa is most likely referring to the barn by referencing the hayloft in the above passage.

⁴¹⁵ There has been in the past some misrepresentation of other dignitaries visiting the farm such as Mark Twain and Ulysses S. Grant. The Beehive House in Salt Lake City is the most likely place where these men visited with Brigham Young. While unsure exactly who he took to the farm over the years, we know from Susa Young Gates and Anne Eliza Young that Brigham was very proud of his Farm House and Forest Farm.

⁴¹⁶ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 258.

might be fostered and religious principles taught in preparation for eternal associations in the next. Here, the literal, physical aspects of familial and communal living transformed into a stronger social and culturally religious community.

Physical Space, Mobility, and Power at the Forest Farm.

"Salt Lake City is a curious place. It's the only town I know where a man can get off the streetcar, head in any direction he chooses, and end up at home."⁴¹⁷ This quote, attributed to John Taylor, an early leader in the Mormon Church and successor to Brigham Young, illustrates in a humorous way the physical distribution and social structure of polygamous households. Indeed, the practice of polygamy in the early days of the LDS Church helped to shape the built environment of Salt Lake City and Mormon settlements throughout the west. Dr. Thomas Carter argues in his article "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah," that a distinct Mormon architecture emerged from the practice of polygamy, becoming a "genuine source of wonder to contemporary travelers but that has, with rare exceptions, been overlooked by historians."⁴¹⁸ He argues that Mormon polygamous housing had limited functional diversity with various interpretations of the ideas of "equal treatment for wives in plural households...," and what he calls the *gendered* aspects of these homes. In other words, they functioned differently for men and women. Though the Forest Farmhouse was not constructed to accommodate multiple wives in a polygamous society per se, it still offers many of the same attributes of space and power relationships by its unique accessibility, physical location at the center of a Farm, and interior layout.

The principle of plural marriage was included in an 1843 revelation received by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, Illinois, regarding "the new and everlasting covenant."⁴¹⁹ The practice continued in the Mormon Church until 1890 when a Manifesto, issued by President Wilford Woodruff "[lead] to the end of the practice of plural marriage in the Church".⁴²⁰

During the relatively brief time polygamy was practiced, many homes were built to fulfill the needs of individual polygamous households. In some homes, as in the case of Charles C. Rich's Centerville home, these structures consisted of sleeping quarters divided from each other but accessible through common rooms such as a kitchen or parlor or through separate outside entrances to each private room.⁴²¹ Some polygamous houses were "large, communally run houses designed expressly for polygamy. This kind of housing arrangement was never common and belonged only to the wealthiest Mormons—a group generally confined to the church leadership and their large families."⁴²² Heber C. Kimball's home and Brigham Young's Gothic Revival Lion House are examples of this type of structure. In both cases, the function of the home was to accommodate privacy while still fostering communal family living. This was made even more complex by the fact that some Church leaders, as referenced in the quote by John Taylor, built multi-family *and* single family homes as needed. Such was the case with Brigham Young.

Though Brigham Young himself lived in a classical revival home, he also owned and built houses for his wives as his family grew.⁴²³ The Forest Farmhouse was home to several of his wives, though they rarely ever lived there at the same time. The home was not designed as a multi-

⁴¹⁷ Quoted in Thomas Carter's *Living the Principle*, 1.

⁴¹⁸ Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in the Nineteenth-Century Utah" Winterthur Portfolio 35, no.4 (Winter, 2000): 224.

⁴¹⁹ Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132, see heading.

⁴²⁰ Doctrine and Covenants, Official Declaration 1.

⁴²¹ Now located at This is the Place Heritage Park in Salt Lake City.

⁴²² Carter, "Living the Principle," 228.

⁴²³ Known as the "Beehive" House for its decorative cupola topped with a rope beehive.

family home but rather a functional, center-cog in a great agricultural machine. Still, the Farmhouse was significant as a polygamous house due to its almost over-accessibility.

The importance of accessibility in understanding polygamous housing as it relates to power is best described by Thomas Carter:

Most polygamist husbands devised, together with their wives, some system for dividing their time among households or bedrooms. Some visited every other day; some visited once a week, once a month, or randomly; and while there was always the possibility of a locked door or a divorce...men still had the advantage---the prerogative of being able, as John Taylor's story reveals, to head in any direction and wind up at home. Women had privacy, but they had no such choices; their movements were limited by the arithmetic (they had only one husband and therefore no legal choice of partner), social convention (their role was to stay put, take care of the household, and raise the children), and the law (they usually lacked legal title to even a single property). Movement is a factor of power, and access to it in polygamous situations was socially determined by gender.⁴²⁴

This description has merit by the fact that men were more mobile than women in nineteenth century households overall, though some would argue in many ways more so within polygamous societies and families. Anne Eliza Young, in reference to her experience at the Forest Farmhouse, seems to support this point:

...the prospect was not a pleasant one to me, never strong, and unused to hard, continuous labor, such as I knew I should be obliged to perform as mistress of the farm-house. But, as it was my husband's will, I went, without a word of protest...We had occasional visits from Brigham. He was very fond of coming unexpectedly, and at all sorts of irregular hours, hoping, evidently, that some time he might catch us napping. He was so addicted to fault-finding, and so easily displeased, that we took no pleasure in his visits, and I grew to be positively unhappy every time his approach was heralded.⁴²⁵

Although we must take into consideration that Anne Eliza later divorced Brigham and "earned her living by lecturing against Mormonism...",⁴²⁶ this statement supports part of Carter's argument as it pertains to the Farmhouse.

The location of the house, 4 miles away from the buzz of a developing city and hub of commercial activity, and the daily agricultural responsibilities of life on the Farm, limited Anne Eliza's mobility and her preferred daily social life. With its seven separate entrances, the Farmhouse gave little control to the woman of the home in regards to who entered and from where. In the genteel society of the 1860s, the need to control which, and under what circumstances, visitors entered a home was important in keeping with social status and image. Another sore point for Anne Eliza regarding the function of the house was the end-gable staircase leading from the parlor to the bedrooms above:

⁴²⁴ Carter, "Living the Principle," 248-249.

⁴²⁵ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 532, 534. Anne Eliza gives no specific dates for when she stayed at the Farm.

⁴²⁶ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 168.

Housekeepers will understand something of its inconvenience, when I tell them that the stairs leading to the second story went directly from the parlor; that all the sleeping rooms were up stairs, and that, in order to reach them, we had to pass through a dining-room thirty feet, and a parlor forty feet in length; that hired men, family, and visitors were all compelled to use the same staircase.⁴²⁷

When Brigham later commenced building a personal home for her, referred to simply as Anne Eliza's House, she insisted on having the placement of the stairs arranged differently from the Farmhouse.⁴²⁸ Supposedly, these wishes were ultimately ignored.⁴²⁹ Though she expressed her deep dislike for the placement of the stairs, they offered some semblance of limited access to the private chambers of the home.

In a strange contradiction, this limited access point was also used by guests when hosting soirees or social events at the home as the way to the ballroom upstairs.⁴³⁰ While the layout and design of the Farmhouse might have been for functional reasons, the transparency and placement of access points makes it seem like such openness would offer more freedom to whichever wife might be present at the time. However, the distance away from the rest of the city and situated in the middle of a farm, the Forest Farmhouse supports Carter's argument that, "In the architecture of polygamy, the woman's space was relatively fixed and closed and the man's more flexible and open. While the husband is with one wife, the others go about their business, working, cleaning, socializing with other women, and caring for their children, but all the while remaining available to him."⁴³¹

While this issue of accessibility and limited mobility may be true, the Farmhouse is also evidence of the trust, leadership, independence, and empowerment given to women in Mormon society and culture as a whole. Susa Young Gates, a feminist in her own right, wrote, "[t]he equal life values of men and women and the importance of woman's contribution to human progress, was recognised(sic) by Brigham Young who knew that a measure of public activity would deepen woman's life courses and broaden her social vision."⁴³² This is evident in how the Farmhouse functioned under three women, Lucy Bigelow, Susan Snively, and Zina D. Huntington, all wives of Brigham Young.

Lucy Bigelow was born in 1830 in Coles County, Illinois to Nahum and Mary Gibbs Bigelow. In 1839, Nahum and his family converted to Mormonism.⁴³³ At age seventeen, she and her sister Mary Jane were married to Brigham Young shortly before he departed with the vanguard company to settle the Salt Lake Valley.⁴³⁴ Perhaps because she was raised on a farm, and according to her daughter, loved milking cows, she and six-year-old Susa were sent to Forest Farm in 1862. As stated previously, she lived in the adobe farmhouse where she made cheese and butter and cooked for the farmhands.⁴³⁵ Susa recalls that on one occasion, a man named Charlie, "one of the men engaged at work down there ... whose iron will could master anything...was whipping a horse with brutal ferocity. The horse screamed and pawed the air in vicious protest. Mother [Lucy

⁴²⁷ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533-534.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 536-537.

⁴²⁹ In *Wife No. 19*, Anne Eliza refers to herself as "unused to hard labor..."

⁴³⁰ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257.

⁴³¹ Carter, "Living the Principle," 250.

⁴³² Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 222.

⁴³³ Susa Young Gates, "A Sketch of Nahum Bigelow," *The Juvenile Instructor* 26, no. 8 (April 15, 1891), 252.

⁴³⁴ Gates, "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife," 271-274.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 277, 280.

Bigelow] was wretchedly upset over the whole affair, and she must have said something to father for Charlie left the Farm and he certainly never handled horses for father again."⁴³⁶ This brief account is an example of the power that women retained within Mormon society. Lucy's position within the Farmhouse allowed her to act as head of household and even as manager of the Farm. Regardless of its adobe or framed construction, the Farmhouse was a symbol of power and status. By living at the Farmhouse, Lucy had a higher social status than the men employed by her husband who were required to live in tents and wagon beds, and who relied on her for their meals.⁴³⁷

Catharine V. Waite, a contemporary of Brigham Young who wrote an exposé about him titled *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* in 1866, described Susan Snively, the wife who lived and worked longest on the Farm from 1863 to about 1869⁴³⁸ as "[a] middle-aged woman, of medium size, dark hair, light eyes, dark complexion, and expressionless face; the plainest of all the women. She is good and kind in her nature, quiet and retiring..."⁴³⁹ Aunt Susan, as she was referred to by Brigham Young's children, had no children of her own but was "associated...with all the delicious things to eat that a visit to the farm invariably brought forth."⁴⁴⁰ Though work on the farm was difficult, Susan Snively seems to have adapted to her role as caretaker of the Farmhouse(s) quite well.⁴⁴¹ According to Susa Young Gates, "Aunt Susan was an excellent Yankee cook and a thrifty home-maker, and she invested this farmhouse with an air of comfort and peace."⁴⁴² In stark contrast to Ann Eliza, Susan seems to have thrived as a manager of the farm, taking seriously her responsibilities and running the Farmhouse effectively and efficiently.

Zina Diantha Huntington, also one of Brigham's wives, likewise remains forever associated with the Forest Farmhouse. Previously a wife of Joseph Smith, she and Brigham Young were married in 1846 in Nauvoo, Illinois. She is known for her involvement in the women's suffrage movement and later as president of the Relief Society. Though she never actually lived in the Farmhouse, she frequently visited and played an influential role in the silk experiment on the farm.⁴⁴³ While other women may have been stationary, Zina Huntington was quite influential and traveled extensively:

[Aunt Zina] had direct charge of a large cocoonery and mulberry orchard belonging to Father and raised the cocoons very carefully, attending to them with her own hands. A very good grade of silk was manufactured at this time, of which many pieces are still in existence...She took a very active part in directing the women's organizations of the Church and traveled many times to southern Utah and other distant parts when such travel meant a journey of several days' duration....She was an eloquent speaker, and at one time when she delivered an impromptu speech at a mass meeting, a woman reporter wrote of the occasion, 'I raised my eyes to her standing just before the table we were using. Suddenly, as though her words struck home like an electric shock, several gentlemen sitting at my right hand, clutching

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 281.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Date approximate based on Gates' "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife," 282, Anne Eliza's *Wife No. 19*, 532, and Colleen Whitley's *Brigham Young's Homes*, Appendix B, 224.

⁴³⁹ Catharine V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem: or, An Authentic History of Brigham Young, His Numerous Wives and Children*, 5th ed. (Chicago: J. S. Goodman and Company, 1867), 219.

⁴⁴⁰ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 79.

⁴⁴¹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 168.

⁴⁴² Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

⁴⁴³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 75-76, and 249-252.

the arms of the chairs, started as though they would rise to her feet, their faces burning with the truths they heard, their eyes fixed upon her fearless and uplifted hands. I can never forget that moment. It was more than eloquence, it was inspiration.⁴⁴⁴

Part of Zina Huntington's work was to travel and teach other women "how to feed and care for the silkworms as well as to try and promote the industry."⁴⁴⁵ She was able, like her husband Brigham, to travel to the Farmhouse as *she* needed, and given authority to direct the affairs there as they pertained to the silk industry. In this way the Farmhouse, serving as the headquarters of an industry organized and run by women, became a symbol of enterprise, freedom, growth, and empowerment among women in Territorial Utah.

While on the one hand "...the architecture of polygamy shows dramatically the boundaries and limitations of female power in nineteenth-century Mormon society," Thomas Carter also acknowledges the nineteenth-century rise of the cult of domesticity that began to solidify gender roles into male and female spheres of domestic life."⁴⁴⁶ About the time, then, that Mormons were inventing their architecture of polygamy, American men were generally becoming more mobile (going off to work every day) and women less mobile (staying home and waiting for the man to return at night) in a polarized world...⁴⁴⁷ What Carter does not address are the ways in which the Mormon built environment and architecture of polygamy also provided a measure of freedom from the cult of domesticity. As evident by their roles at the Forest Farmhouse, women such as Lucy Bigelow, Zina Huntington, and Susan Snively were given opportunities to lead, manage, build, and exercise their own version of domestic power and public visibility in ways not available to many of their contemporaries.

The Rest of the Story

Following the death of Brigham Young in 1877, the Forest Farm was occupied and used by various members of his family and for various purposes. Brigham Young's brother Phineas Young lived in the house, and as befitting of a Gothic structure, church meetings and Sunday School were held in the home for a year in 1878. In 1954, a couple by the name of Gwen and Frank Wilcox purchased the house and lived in it for fifteen years. In 1969, it was turned over to the State for restoration, which was completed in 1970. Finally, in an amazing engineering feat, the house was severed from the foundation and moved in one piece to This is the Place Heritage Park at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, close to the spot where its designer and owner said to a rugged band of pioneers that their journey had come to an end.⁴⁴⁸

It is quite clear that Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse, its architectural layout, style, aesthetics, function, and history are evidence of the complexities of Mormon social life, structure, culture, and industry. Further research is absolutely necessary to continue to unravel the stories the house might tell. More information needs to be gathered about the women that lived in and operated the house. Brigham Young's own writings would prove valuable to develop greater insight into its design and layout. Newspapers and periodicals should be searched to yield further information surrounding the farm and the events held at the Farmhouse. Detailed examination of

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. 76.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. 250.

⁴⁴⁶ Carter, "Living the Principle," 250.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House" in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 170-171.

the House and its structural elements, composition, and materials will also shed greater light on its significance to local and national history.

As of this writing, it is not known whether there are any architectural or structural drawings of the house in existence. These need to be located or created. There is some indication in the thickness of the inner walls of the dining room area that the new Gothic Farmhouse was built onto at least a portion of the old adobe farmhouse. There needs to be more information gathered about remodeling and changes made to the house between its completion and restoration. Gwen and Frank Wilcox, the couple that lived in the home in the 1960s and eventually turned it over to the State of Utah for restoration may provide insight into some of the remodeling of the house and its history in their writings, journals, or personal interviews. Preservation and restoration documents might be located, archaeological records acquired, and further examination of Brigham Young's personal craftsmanship as a carpenter might give insight into the layout, structure and design of the house. Finally, the overall economic impact of the agricultural endeavors and experiments in silk production might be better understood through agricultural records and census information.

This incredible and complex example of Mormon Architecture continues to provide insight on the building of the American West. The functional use of space alone is evidence of complex social and cultural values. Self-sufficiency, the centrality of family and community in the religious beliefs of Brigham Young and Mormons in the nineteenth-century, and power-relationships between men and women in polygamous households all surround the home and its history. Though largely overlooked in the past, perhaps it is time to more closely examine this important piece of Western American history and peel back the layers that shroud the insight and information it holds.