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PURSUING “THE THINGS OF THIS WORLD”:

MORMON RESISTANCE AND ASSIMILATION AS SEEN IN

THE FURNITURE OF THE BRIGHAM CITY COOPERATIVE (1874 - 1888)

by

Kari Michele Main

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Spring 1997

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ABSTRACT

In response to the arrival of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, Mormon leaders in Utah began a campaign of resistance rhetoric promoting self-sufficiency to maintain cultural isolation from the eastern United States. The response included a drive for cooperative economic schemes and an emphasis on the consumption of locally made products to assert religious loyalty. Within this atmosphere, the Brigham City Cooperative (founded in 1864) established a Cabinet Making Shop in 1874 as a response to the increasing availability of eastern furniture transported by the railroad. This paper examines the documents and furniture of the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop as evidence of the consumption patterns of Brigham City Mormons.

Despite the initial enthusiasm to resist eastern encroachment, my research reveals that cooperative craftsmen and customers were influenced by popular fashions in the East. An examination of the account books reveals that the shop was selling homemade versions of fashionable forms, and an examination of the extant furniture attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative suggests the craftsmen were taking visual cues from furniture available in trade catalogs from Chicago and St. Louis. In addition, evidence proves that the cooperative was actually purchasing and distributing eastern furniture at a lower price than the homemade products.

The historical myth of a unified and loyal cooperative is revisited in light of these revelations to show a reality in which religious affirmations behind homemade products were not motivation enough to keep the residents from buying imported goods. With their home product cooperative, Brigham City resisted outside influence by trying to create local furniture, but failed in their efforts to convince people to demonstrate loyalty to their church in consumption habits. Instead, Brigham City consumers desired national fashions, perhaps attempting to promote a prosperous image using the visual vocabulary of the East. With the shrinking of the continent, the attempts to survive by the Brigham City Cabinet Making shop are discussed as a microcosm for the absorption of Mormon ideology into the national consciousness.

In addition to a number of photographs of Brigham City Cooperative furniture, the paper also includes an catalog (appendix) that provides detailed examinations of individual pieces included in the study.

The evolution of the Mormon theology and rhetoric has been a historiographical point of contention between historians who consider Mormon history as very “American” in motivation (driven by republican ideas of freedom) and those who stress the very un-American elements of Mormonism (anti-individualistic, communal economics and the ultimate treasonous idea that the communal State of Deseret deserved to be independent).¹ A strong case can be made for both positions in Mormon history, as leaders appropriated republican rhetoric to encourage both separatism and patriotism. After relocation to Utah, however, it is clear that with the arrival of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, a transformation of Mormon ideology began to take place. Mormon initial usage of republican rhetoric stressing the primacy of individual rights to support their Western relocation clashed dramatically with their call for the suppression of individual interests in an effort to create an independent, utopian cooperative society in Utah. Mormon leaders fought desperately against the encroachment of mainstream America, but the gradual assimilation of Utah into the nation as a whole reflected the development of an American national consciousness as well as the reluctant reversal of Mormon thinking on isolation (which culminated in the annulment of polygamist theology to gain statehood in 1896). It was in this tense, dichotomous context that the events at Brigham City unfolded.

The experience of the Brigham City Cooperative provides an interesting case study of this movement from isolation to assimilation. The Brigham City Cooperative, which existed from 1865 to 1895, has been called the most sincere effort toward the communal ideals suggested by Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism.² Community members actively and enthusiastically worked together to stop the “host of thieves [non-Mormon merchants] which threatened to demoralize and overthrow [their] city” by creating a self-sustaining system to produce a variety of *homemade* (their term for Mormon manufactured) products.³ The rise and fall of the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop, in particular, illustrates both the initial idealistic expectations of material resistance with the production of utilitarian furniture and the eventual capitulation to eastern culture symbolized by the triumph of cheap, imported goods. The Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop and its surviving furniture exemplify the softening of the resolve of Mormon separationists, and the story of the shop demonstrates the initial efforts of economic resistance followed by the eventual absorption of Mormon consumers into a national market.

Although documentary evidence strongly suggests that the Mormons were actively working to avoid assimilation into mainstream American culture, their material world reflected a desire to share in the emerging national consumer consciousness. The story of the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop dramatically demonstrates two significant tensions in Utah’s development. First, the prior usage of republican ideology promoting the right of individuals to self-determination clashed with Brigham

City leaders' call for the suppression of individual interests for the good of the cooperative. Second, the imperative to maintain isolation from the East suffered as improved communication increased the availability of cheap and fashionable material goods that could communicate to the world the prosperity of Utah. Mormons attempted to preserve their unique religious identity through the home production of furniture while resisting assimilation on a shrinking American continent.

The history and historiography of Mormon culture is filled with an institutionalized, paradoxical desire to be at once both anti-American and typically American. An examination of Smith's early doctrine reveals clearly his original vision was both spiritually and temporally separatist. The confusion arises from the fact that initial sentiments within Mormonism were in support of American ideals, but critical of their execution.⁴ Yet, the Mormons as a subculture experienced the American Dream as they rose from a disreputable sect to a political and social force with which to be reckoned.⁵ The idea of "the grand destiny of America" was central to nineteenth-century Mormon theology; the Mormons believed North America to be the promised land, the New Jerusalem. For Mormons, the concept of American manifest destiny had sacred dimensions and implications.⁶ Mormons became "more 'American' than American mainstream religion" by sacralizing the Native Americans as lost tribes of Israel.⁷ If the Protestant work ethic is used as a measure of American-ness, "then Mormons were the super Americans of that century," linking work and religious duty in ways reminiscent of Puritan New England.⁸ Mormon theology and ecclesiastical structure was also highly

egalitarian (in respect to male members), with leaders emerging from the ranks and all male members gaining priesthood with the potential to become gods themselves. Mormons did not hesitate to express their patriotism and faith in American ideals, with enthusiastic celebrations of the Fourth of July that set themselves up as the perfect Americans. A tension arises, however, between the Mormon patriotic desire to be considered typical Americans and their need to set themselves apart from the mainstream. R. Laurence Moore convincingly argues that in order to become a cohesive group with a strong internal identity, Mormons repeatedly declared themselves as different from their neighbors. This insistence on their own uniqueness convinced others of their peculiarity and led to mistreatment because of their otherness. This path to persecution provided the basis for cohesion, self-definition as “the other” and a group identification as “God’s chosen people [who] always suffered persecution.”⁹ The ability to stand firm under external oppression became a sign of membership to the Church and a distinctive test of faith, strengthening Mormon identity and reinforcing exclusion from the mainstream. In other words, the emphasis on their continuity of American values was at direct odds with their desire not to belong.

The complexity of Mormon rhetoric has been discussed and interpreted by generations of historians. Intentions for relocation to the Rocky Mountains, while derived from republican rhetoric of freedom and equal rights, were basically motivated by a drive for isolation in search of a place to enact their perfect expression of American ideals. After years of persecution and three major relocations (from Kirtland, Ohio, to

Independence, Missouri, to Nauvoo, Illinois), the followers of Smith were clearly weary of unsuccessful attempts to coexist with Gentile (non-Mormon) society. Unlike the Shakers who established cooperative villages that worked harmoniously with outside merchants, the Latter-day Saints were determined from the beginning to survive independent of corrupt mainstream society. This isolationism fueled their neighbors' suspicions, led to greater persecution, and eventually culminated in Brigham Young's decision to lead his flock into the solitude of the Rocky Mountains.

With idealistic hopes of prosperity and independence, the migration of the Saints began in 1847. A participant in this exodus, Parley Pratt, used republican rhetoric to support Mormon isolationist objectives:

The Lord designs to lead us to a wider field of action, where there will be more room for the saints to grow and increase, and where there will be no one to say we crowd them, and where we can enjoy the pure principles of liberty and equal rights . . . when . . . the people [are] free from unjust and vexatious lawsuits, mobocracy, and oppression of every kind, we can become vastly more wealthy, have better possessions and improvements.¹⁰

Hoping for material prosperity and the most perfect expression of America's founding principles, the settlers streamed into the Great Basin, establishing themselves as strongly as possible to defend against any future imposition from the East. As we shall see, the indoctrination of republican rhetoric clashed with the attempts to encourage a system of utopian communalism.

From its initial settlement, Brigham City was a deliberate and planned Mormon establishment. Although a few pioneers began to reside in the area as early as 1850, Lorenzo Snow, an Apostle of the Church and future Prophet, was given official orders

from Brigham Young at the 1854 General Conference to establish a community to the north. Planned settlements were strategically located to gain control of possible transportation routes and important natural resources. It is entirely possible that Young had foreseen the proximity of the Brigham City site to a possible future thoroughfare from the East.¹¹ Snow was instructed to select a group of fifty families to relocate approximately seventy miles north of Great Salt Lake City to work communally to create a Mormon stronghold further up the Wasatch Front. Many of the families chosen by Snow had converted to the religion in northwestern Europe and were headed by craftsmen skilled in a variety of trades essential for a successful settlement.¹² Snow immediately appointed two counselors to aide in the new settlement, J.C. Wright and Samuel Smith. Snow also chose a slightly different site for the town, locating closer to Box Elder Creek in anticipation of utilizing the water for power. Alvin Nichols, a major figure in the future cooperative, built a saw mill and shingle factory on Box Elder Creek in 1856 and owned the first circular saw in the newly organized Box Elder County.

Although Brigham City was not incorporated until 1867, the small community proved diverse and prosperous. In addition to a saw and grist mill, early citizens were making musical instruments, guns, candy, molasses, and practicing tanning. Although in 1854 the population of Box Elder was only 200, by 1868 there were 400 families living comfortably in Brigham City. The town was developing into a prosperous settlement and a strong foothold for the Church in the north.¹³ In 1863, a *Deseret News* writer stated “I regard it [Brigham City] as a model town. The air one breathes there is freighted with a

peaceful assurance of prevailing brotherhood, order, unanimity and interwoven good fortune.”¹⁴ Even before the cooperative was formed, therefore, there was an air of significance given to the settlement at Brigham City.

This significance was threatened by the late 1860s, however, with the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Isolation had already been compromised by the increasing interaction with gold diggers, development of the mining industry in the Great Basin, and the arrival of the U.S. army to Camp Floyd (southwest of Salt Lake City) in 1858. While the most public reaction promoted organized resistance, the ambivalence surrounding the arrival of the railroad can be seen in the mixed reception by Utah residents. On one hand, the railroad meant reduced transportation charges for the heavy equipment needed to produce home manufactures. The new ease in relocating converts to Utah via the railroad would also increase the strength and appeal of the Mormon settlement. While large numbers of Brigham City (and Utah) men were enthusiastically employed in the construction of the railroad, inspired church leaders warned that “the isolation which had made Zion a peculiar people would soon be destroyed.”¹⁵ In anticipation of the significant social and economical changes, an 1869 *Deseret News* writer assured residents that “the church was still in control of the situation under the bustling activity engendered by the coming of the railroad.”¹⁶ Others, such as Anders Christian, expressed a belief that the Church was strong enough to withstand what was coming: “we are surrounded by many indications to suddenly become a railroad town, the spirit of the gospel is nowise restrained . . . we have excellent meetings, the schools are

doing good work and the best order prevails in town.”¹⁷

With the railroad on the horizon, however, Mormon leaders remembered past eastern experiences of persecution and struggled with how to maintain isolation. It is not surprising that when founding patriarch Lorenzo Snow suggested a cooperative enterprise for Brigham City in 1865, his idea was met with great enthusiasm.¹⁸ Using the stock of William Thomas’s mercantile store, Lorenzo Snow, Samuel Smith, Alvin Nichols and Thomas each invested \$5,000 (paid \$3,000 down in cash with the balance on call) to form L. Snow and Company, the initial incarnation of the Brigham City Cooperative.¹⁹ Although the original Articles of Agreement mention only business details, not theological motivations, an 1875 letter written by Lorenzo Snow reveals that the establishment of the firm was more than just economically motivated; the larger intention was to “unite the Saints together in their temporal interests.”²⁰ Other articulations of the motivations of the initial establishment reveal that a level of anxiety regarding economic dependence had settled on the Mormons in the West.

Throughout the territory, Mormon reaction to increased encroachment from the East was to pursue “economic self-sufficiency and independence through a number of cooperative endeavors.”²¹ Zion’s Cooperative Mercantile Institution, the most long-term, successful Mormon cooperative mercantile store, was founded in 1869 after Young announced “that the people of Utah should become their own merchants [to] insure the social unity of the Saints.”²² So strong was this drive for self-sufficiency, it brought Mormon leaders, such as Orson Pratt, to hyperbole: “I would rather go and kill wolves in

the forests and mountains, and skin them and tan their skins and wear wolf pantaloons, and wolfskin coats and vests, and have everything I wear the skin of beasts, than spend one dime with one outsider in the Territory of Utah.”²³ This rhetoric was not without precedent in their lifetimes. American politicians in the 1830s and 1840s were increasingly nervous about dependency created by economic ties to England. Many of the same themes of independence from greedy outsiders can be found in the tariff debates of those decades. Like the Mormons, the 1840s politicians made basic survival the issue at stake, claiming that “the union, the happiness, the peace, and the power of our beloved country depends on its domestic industry.”²⁴

Led decisively by Snow, Brigham City became the initial and most thorough expression of Mormon community cooperation as a weapon of resistance, and it is no coincidence that the place chosen to attempt such a comprehensive cooperative establishment was also the closest Mormon settlement to Promontory Point, the site where the Golden Spike was placed in 1869. Previous to the establishment of the cooperative, Snow expressed his distaste at Gentile mercantile ventures in Brigham City “by speculators who possessed no interest in common with the people.”²⁵ In a letter to Young, Snow claims that “the objective of this co-operation is not so much for the purpose of creating large dividends, as it is that the people may obtain easily what their necessities demand, and in this respect become self-sustaining and rendered independent of foreign importations . . .”²⁶ Cooperation was necessary in a general sense for initial settlement, but clearly a structured cooperative would be absolutely vital to maintain

isolation from the influx of non-Mormon eastern settlers.

Rhetoric stressing independence from the tyranny in the East echoes through the numerous sources referring to Brigham City and its achievements. Snow stated that the primary objective of his program of cooperation was “to establish a financial system in which everybody can secure necessities and conveniences of life through their labor and be preserved from the evils and corruption of outside influence.”²⁷ Brigham City was hailed by contemporary commentators as a model cooperative with “no idlers, all seem to follow the same industrial pursuit” who frequently noted the “prosperous condition and spiritual advancements” of its citizens.²⁸ The town was praised for its pioneering efforts to halt the “suicidal policy of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured articles . . . [to be] far more independent.”²⁹ An 1875 article in the *Deseret News* reported that Brigham City’s arrangement “seems a God-like system, calculated to annihilate selfishness, and benefit temporally and spiritually all who embrace it with a desire to do right in all things before God and their fellow mortals.”³⁰

The importance of cooperative union emphasized by Snow in Brigham City became widely expressed by Brigham Young’s 1868 revival of Joseph Smith’s idea of the United Order. The United Order was a system of communal ownership outlined in a revelation by Joseph Smith that called for equal distribution of material prosperity among the Saints. First implemented in Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri, in 1831, the chaotic atmosphere proved unsuitable for this revolutionary economic system. The first United Order was dissolved in 1837, and a more simplistic system of 10 percent

tithing was introduced.³¹ In the late 1860s, Young used Brigham City's initial success as a cooperative to revive Smith's United Order philosophy of communalism. Although Brigham City was not formally organized as a branch of the United Order until 1875, work cooperatives like Brigham City were to be seen as "stepping stones" to the formal United Order, in which all private property would be turned over to the Church.³² Smith's original ideas of joint public interests were expressed in the *Doctrine and Covenants* (an additional book of scripture considered by Mormons to be Smith's revelations as Prophet): "... you may be equal in the bonds of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also, for the obtaining of heavenly things. For if ye are not equal in earthly things, ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things."³³

While Smith's original words focus on the goal that no Mormon should go without, the rhetoric of the United Order in the late 1860s and early 1870s centered on independence and resistance to Gentile enemies. The *Journal of Discourses* says: "Let every one of the Latter-day Saints . . . decree in their hearts that they will buy of nobody else but their own brethren."³⁴ It is, however, instructive to examine Young's motivations for reviving this idea with such fervor almost twenty years after initial settlement in the Great Basin. To rejuvenate "a faltering faith" and attempt to stabilize economic situation, Young preached to a new generation of "youths [that] were influenced by gentile conduct and teaching."³⁵ Considering the popularized success of Lorenzo Snow's operation, the United Order rhetoric of the late 1860s was based on the success of Brigham City and became the answer as to how the Saints were going to resist the arrival of Gentiles.

Eventually, United Order branches were organized in the early 1870s in Orderville, Parawon, and elsewhere, until approximately two hundred separate cooperative enterprises were established.³⁶ This unification of temporal and spiritual interests was integral to Latter-day theology that called upon the Saints to establish the Kingdom of God on earth in preparation for the second coming of their messiah. Mormons assigned to humans a primary role in the coming of the messianic kingdom; preparation of earthly affairs was necessary to create the proper conditions for the coming of the Millennium.³⁷ Smith's prophecy and instructions encouraged members to focus on "building up my church and kingdom on the earth, and to prepare my people for the time when I [God] shall dwell with them, which is nigh at hand."³⁸ The status of the material world, therefore, played a central role in Mormon cosmology.

In addition to the broad theme of cooperation, the Mormon leaders began to expound a rhetoric of pious obedience which called for the subordination of individual economic interests to the interests of the Church. This rhetoric of consumer loyalty extended specifically to luxury goods from the East that may have been more attractive than locally produced items. Young outlined a series of rules for those participating in the United Order, revealing his intentions went beyond equality of ownership: "In our apparel and deportment we will not pattern after nor encourage foolish and extravagant fashions; and cease to import or buy from abroad any article which can be reasonably dispensed with or produced by combination of home labor."³⁹ Conformity of the individual to the group expectations, to the commandments, gospel, priesthood authority,

and church leadership became the foundation for rhetoric. “Subordination of personal gratification to the welfare of the group” became the objective to create an essential commitment to the collective identity threatened by the end of isolation.⁴⁰ While physical boundaries with the nation were being diminished, obedience to authority in all matters would distinguish Church members.

The story of the Brigham City Cooperative is set against a backdrop of this volatile atmosphere of religious obedience and increasing anxiety. After a number of changes in structure, by June of 1869 the cooperative was offering shares at five dollars apiece to encourage a wider public participation. The mercantile enterprise was thriving, and the success of the store gave the stockholders the economic confidence to branch out into manufactures. With the railroad approaching, the stockholders elected to “to build a tannery and go into home manufacturing” beginning in 1869.⁴¹ An associated shoe and boot department was quickly established to utilize the products of the tannery. In September of 1870, the company ratified an incorporating twenty-five-year charter, dedicating itself “as far as possible use every exertion to establish home industries” and adopting the official name of the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association. Soon after a woolen mill, a dairy, a blacksmith shop, a hat shop, and a variety of other departments were established.⁴² Department supervisors were instructed to be inspired by their obligation to the people and to work in “harmony on principles of justice.” Following these sacred obligations, Snow promised the Lord would recognize their endeavors and “bestow blessings of prosperity” on Brigham City.⁴³ The expansion

had begun, and Snow's foresight in choosing to locate the city on the banks of Box Elder Creek paid off, as residents were encouraged by the ideal conditions for water-powered manufacturing. Ironically, the arrival of the railroad provided a necessary element for expansion, making the importation of larger machinery possible.⁴⁴

This enthusiastic expansion of the Brigham City Cooperative in the 1870s included the establishment of the Cabinet Making Shop in March of 1874.⁴⁵ Although only a small branch of the larger institution, the Cabinet Making Shop was a key element in the initial resistance to the encroachment of eastern products. The decision to establish a cabinetmaking enterprise was directly influenced by the increasing availability of eastern furniture easily transported to Brigham City via the new railroad connection.⁴⁶ Brigham City Mormons calculatingly resisted the arrival of the railroad by aggressively manufacturing products to compete with those arriving by rail. As discussed above, this emphasis on local or "homemade" production was intended to both stimulate and preserve loyalty to religious leaders and commitment to the future of God's Kingdom on Earth. However, although the surviving documents are full of courageous rhetoric encouraging separation from non-Mormon society, an examination of the written record in conjunction with material evidence of the Cabinet Making Shop provides a more complete picture of events. Scrutiny of the account books and comparison of Brigham City Cooperative furniture to similar eastern goods reveal that its furniture does not reflect a nonconformist goal, but rather suggests an interest in participating in the larger consumer society. The Cabinet Making Shop account books reflect an increasing taste

for eastern fashions and demonstrate the changing attitudes toward imports during the shop's twelve-year existence. Eventually, as consumers demanded more eastern-like goods, the Cabinet Making Shop resorted to selling more imported products than "homemade" items.

The Cabinet Making Shop has never been given much attention in the historical narrative, although significant primary sources -- detailed account books and furniture -- survive in greater numbers than do similar records from any other department of the cooperative. These records allow for a detailed examination of the fortunes of the shop, the evolution of its operations, and how its products fit into a larger material context. At the same time, however, these sources prove to be a unique and significant challenge for a historian.

The legend of the successful and pious cooperative is important to modern Mormons, and this historical myth has drastically affected previous interpretations of the events in Brigham City. As a cooperative pioneer town, Brigham City holds a pivotal position in Mormon history, giving generations of theologians proof that a communal enterprise can flourish. Eliza Snow (daughter of Lorenzo) prophetically summed up the important mythological role Brigham City would take in Latter-day Saint historiography:

Generations hence when its illustrious founder shall be sleeping with the fathers, Brigham City will be a unique interesting subject for the study of the sociologist and the review of the historian. It will stand as an example of a city that grew up on a pure co-operative plan; it will prove that socialistic commonwealths are possible and it will historically perpetuate to the Latter-day Saints themselves the social Gospel of the United Order that the prophet Joseph revealed as the basis of a Millennial society.⁴⁷

Nostalgic historians suggest that “the spirit of cooperation still carries over to our present time in our many communities . . . it fills one with humble gratitude to consider the great results of such a great enterprise and feel the inspiration one may draw from those who took part in it . . .”⁴⁸ The history of the Brigham City Cooperative, therefore, has become a religious lesson in obedience for Mormons today, which makes interpretation of the Cabinet Making Shop decisively tricky.

The furniture itself represents a physical manifestation of the economic ideals of the Latter Days. Although we cannot be sure what the furniture meant to the original consumers, one hundred years later, furniture with a Brigham City provenance is considered highly desirable for historical and religious reasons. Associated with the town that has been considered the most successful implementation of the theological ideals of cooperation, the objects have come to represent the harvest of spiritual teachings. With a chair as a tangible expression of cooperation, one can understand why modern collectors and museums take such pride in claiming to own a piece of Brigham City furniture. The rhapsodic words of a 1991 article in *Country Home* demonstrate how the furniture has become charged with significance for modern day Utahns: “Locked within the heart of each chair and bedstead, each Mormon couch and cupboard, is the story of a singular faith and the people who lived it: bold pioneers who sacrificed all to build a heavenly kingdom in the desert lands of the West.”⁴⁹

Considering the modern significance imposed upon a Brigham City piece, my research was complicated by nebulous and optimistic attributions of Utah furniture by

dealers and curators. After examining over thirty extant artifacts believed to be from the Cabinet Making Shop, I have been able to attribute without question only a small number of pieces to the cooperative. The rest of the furniture falls within categories ranging from “highly improbable” (which I have subsequently not included in my analysis) to “possibly” and finally “highly likely” to be from the cooperative (see Appendix A). In addition, attribution was complicated by the fact that traditional connoisseurship methods are not helpful in evaluating late nineteenth-century rural furniture. Construction techniques and wood usage were standardized in Utah -- the use of pine and wide dovetails, for example, was ubiquitous. The use of pine throughout an entire piece nullifies attribution based on secondary woods. Increasing mechanization removed the obvious signs of individual craftsman techniques, and the interchangeable parts of assembly-line construction meant that very few pieces were exactly alike. Furniture made at the Brigham City Cooperative was not marked or dated (except perhaps for shipping), which makes placing the extant pieces on a timeline impossible.

Despite these complications, a combination of other factors can lead to definitive attribution. One object that demonstrates a sound provenance, consistency with the documentary records, and similar stylistic elements of other similar forms believed to be Brigham City is a pie safe owned by Lorenzo and Elma Hansen of Logan, Utah (Figure 1). The elderly couple remembers taking the safe out of the basement of the old Cooperative Dairy (which documents show was purchased from the cooperative from Christian Hansen) in 1936.⁵⁰ Further strengthening the attribution, the Cabinet Making

Shop account books document a transaction with the dairy's Egg and Butter Department for a "Pie Safe" on December 21, 1875, for \$20.⁵¹ The Hansens' tall casepiece has two three-panel doors with punched tin sheets that measure 10" x 14" -- a size of tin sheet that appears in the Cabinet Making Shop inventory of 1880 as "44 sheets of tin 10 x 14 @ .05" (inventories for earlier years are not available).⁵² The decorative elements, including surface embellishment and turned feet, can be seen on other pieces thought to have been made at the cooperative. Two pie safes at the Brigham City Museum-Gallery, for example, demonstrate similarly shaped feet, drawer pulls (simple wooden knobs), and painted characteristics (Figures 2 and 3). The striking similarities among the three pieces strongly suggest they originated in the same shop. By combining documents, connoisseurship and oral history, we can solidify the attribution of one object, which, in turn, can aide in the establishment of other attributions (see below).

The account books and documents are voluminous and complex to untangle. Determining whether an object sold was actually made at the cooperative is difficult given the vague descriptions in the documents. The account books do not consistently designate items as "homemade" or imported. In fact, the majority of items are listed with no denotation. There are other clues, however, that can suggest which items were not made at the cooperative. Chairs, for example, were supplied by Heller and Hoffman of St. Louis after 1880, as revealed by the presence of receipts and account reconciliation. The Heller and Hoffman chairs were assigned particular stock numbers, such as "4" or "3 1/2." A corresponding number next to a chair entry, therefore, suggests the item was

imported. In addition, the designation “k.d.” (knock down) is found for entries of eastern products imported and reassembled in Brigham City.

To further complicate the records, the shop was crediting accounts of its customers for a variety of goods and services, which were redeemed for furniture. For example, the Cooper Department was credited for “churns,” while other customers, such as Charles Kelly, were subsequently debited for a churn.⁵³ This barter-like system exists throughout the accounts of all the cooperative departments. Goods such as flour, molasses, grain, hay, corn, honey, meat, and cheese were taken for credit towards furniture. These necessities were then usually given to employees of the Cabinet Making Shop as pay. In addition, finished goods were received, sometimes custom-made and designated for particular workers. For example, the account of the town shoemaker was credited repeatedly for shoes or slippers for particular workers (“Shoes for J.C. Nielsen; August 18, 1881”).⁵⁴ In some instances, customers appear to be charged for the general goods used as credit by other customers. In other words, the five ledgers that deal directly with the Cabinet Making Shop are only a fraction of the mass of volumes of interrelating accounts at the Church archives.

In an environment where there was a shortage of cash, utilizing barter for transactions proved an effective solution. Another option, which was taken up on a large scale by the cooperative, was the issuance of its own scrip. While previous historians have described the “Home D” scrip paid to workers, the Cabinet Making Shop Time and Wage books describe only payments in “Cash” and “Mdse” (Merchandise). The “Mdse”

checks basically served as credit at the Cooperative Store and other cooperative departments to buy “homemade” products. The account books show customers purchased furniture in varying percentages of cash and merchandise checks, sometimes paying each portion on different days. There are also many instances where cash alone was used to buy products; in these cases, the transaction was only recorded in the daybooks and not in the account books and no customer name was given. Snow called this barter arrangement “a great blessing to the people especially at the present time of scarcity of money.”⁵⁵ For a historian, the system creates difficulty in determining the exact value of a product as well as its precise origins.

Despite the complexities of the sources, the activities of the shop are extremely well documented. Although previously the Cabinet Making Shop had been thought to be in operation throughout the entire life span of the cooperative, the beginning of the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop actually can be traced to the March 30, 1874, Meeting of Directors: “it was moved by S. Smith and seconded by J.C. Wright that we organize a company and establish a furniture and carpenter shop in connection with our general business.”⁵⁶ The motion was carried unanimously, and Martin Luther Ensign, a resident of Brigham City since immigrating from Massachusetts in 1853, was designated to be the superintendent of the newly created department.⁵⁷ The shop was centrally located on Main Street between Forest and North Streets. The original deed for the property is dated May 8, 1874, and indicates the lot was purchased by the Brigham City Cooperative Mercantile and Manufacturing Association from Samuel Smith and

J.W. Walker for \$3,200.⁵⁸ Given the unusually high cost of the building, it is likely that tools, machinery and/or inventory were included in the sale.⁵⁹ In fact, the deed states that the sale included the rights of the buyer to “the said premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances.”⁶⁰ The previous owner, Samuel Smith, was known to have established his own cabinet shop in Brigham City in the 1850s.⁶¹ Considering Smith’s extensive involvement with the founding and operation of the cooperative, it is not unusual that his established shop formed the basis for the furniture department.

Subsequent localities of the shop are unclear, but the ambulatory history revealed by documents suggests instability. The early location given by the deed is confirmed in an 1875 “Bird’s-Eye View of Brigham City and Great Salt Lake” which shows the situation of the “Cabinet Shop” on Main Street.⁶² The deed records show that the building at 43 North Main was held by the cooperative until 1886 when it was sold to Frederick G. Nielsen and David P. Burt.⁶³ A Sanborn Map of March 1884 indicates that the North Main location was abandoned at least two years earlier. Local mythology suggests that the cabinetmakers were at some point working out of the Planing Mill at the end of Forest Street on the banks of Box Elder Creek, and references in the 1880 documents that mention an “Old Shop” indicate that a relocation had taken place before the turn of the decade.⁶⁴ Deeds indicate that the Planing Mill was constructed by James Pett for the cooperative in 1875, but it is unclear if furniture making operations moved into the new adobe building.⁶⁵ Maps indicate, however, that the Planing Mill co-existed with other possible locations of the Cabinet Making Shop. The insurance map notes that

the first and second floors of the Planing Mill were used for planing, while the third floor was used for storage. The lot where the Cabinet Shop is pictured on the 1875 map is listed as “Vacant (Old)” on the Sanborn Map, but two other buildings designated “cabinet shop” are shown. One of these locations is around the corner from the “old shop,” on Forest between Main and Pleasant. It is labeled “Cabinet Shop” and is adjacent to a “Furniture Store.” The other location is on Main Street, between Forest and South Streets. A third cabinet shop is also shown located on Main Street between South Wall and South Street, but this shop was independently operated by a previous cooperative employee, Elias Jensen, “Manufacturer and Dealer in Furniture.” While we cannot solve without question whether cabinetmaking activities occurred at the Planing Mill, the Sanborn Map provides crucial information that suggests the shop did not remain located at its original position and was faced with Jensen as a competitor by 1884.⁶⁶ Would a successful business have relocated within six years? The progressive movement of the shop suggests a change of objectives and perhaps a struggle to find a physical placement within the community as well as a niche within the market. In 1893, the Planing Mill was still owned by the cooperative when it was purchased by J.F. Merrell & Co. and “was the only establishment of its kind in the county, turning out excellent woodworking, turning, planing, moulding, brackets, etc.”⁶⁷

Account books of 1874 indicate that the Cabinet Making Shop started out slowly, and included a Carpenters Department that provided labor for local building projects. The earliest recorded transactions in 1874 were predominantly for labor and materials.

The workers were building houses, fences, barns, and roofs, in addition to painting, plastering, and glazing windows. Continuing a tradition of cabinetmakers, the craftsmen were also repairing customers' old furniture. Approximately 79 percent of the shop's 1874 income was generated from labor, suggesting it was taking advantage of the most plentiful resource available: many hands to work. The shop was also dealing in construction materials such as lumber (including shingles and lathe), glass, hardware (nails, screws), and paints. These materials were purchased from other branches of the cooperative, namely the mercantile store, and customers were usually charged for materials that were directly related to labor performed (such as paint for painting jobs or glass for glazing). The percentage of its earnings that came from materials in 1874 was 11 percent. The earliest piece of furniture recorded is a table charged to the U.N.R.R. Railroad account on April 14, 1874, costing four dollars.⁶⁸ For the remainder of the year, the shop charged accounts for bedsteads, chairs, stools, tables, a bureau, a coffin, a cupboard, and a washstand. The percentage of income generated by products in 1874 was a surprisingly low 10 percent. That charter year, however, saw a broad participation from Brigham City customers, as at least twenty-nine accounts were served, including individual customers like Lorenzo Snow, as well as other cooperative departments like the Tannery, the Cooperative Farm, and the Hat Department.

An examination of the first full year of operation, 1875, provides a better picture of the starting point of the Cabinet Making Shop. Lorenzo Snow claimed that the Cabinet Making Shop had produced about \$7,000 in the short time of operation in 1874.

and by 1875 was “producing at the rate of five hundred and sixty dollars per week.”⁶⁹ Labor still provided the majority of income at 65 percent and included work of the carpenters on houses, fences, sheds and barns. It is not surprising that the majority of the Cabinet Making Shop’s income for 1875 came from labor, an indisputably “homemade” resource. The number of workers employed at the shop for that year (up to twenty names are listed in the Wage Books at any one time) demonstrates the widespread participation in the cooperative endeavor. Also not surprisingly, the labor patterns fluctuated with the seasons, as the majority of workers being paid for labor in the fall. The disparity of wages paid to individual workers (ranging from \$2.00 to \$3.50 a day) suggests that there were unskilled hands employed. Some notations show that workers were being paid for basic tasks like hauling or erecting fences.⁷⁰ It is also clear, however, that there were skilled workers employed. In addition to the material evidence of the well-made furniture, the account books show entries for turning architectural elements on a lathe, such as newel posts and balusters (called “banisters”), suggesting that a trained turner was employed.⁷¹ While there were workers painting such general items as wagons or houses, there is also evidence of ornamental painting, including an entry for painting “mottoes,” a rocking chair, a decorative box, and a carriage.⁷² Notations from the wage books and *History of Box Elder County* indicate that the skilled painters were Moroni Faulkner, John L. Anderson and Asmus Jorgensen.⁷³ In 1875, furniture repair by the shop increased; customers spent at least \$90.00 that year to repair chairs, cribs, cupboards, and lounges.⁷⁴

In 1875, “homemade” products represented 32 percent of the income generated and included casepieces, seating furniture, and ornamental accouterments. These purchases reveal much about Brigham City customers and their perceived needs at the time. The majority of early accounts concern the most utilitarian furniture, such as bedsteads, tables, bureaus, and chairs. A variety of other functional items were purchased, including a privy, a chicken coop, bee hives, doors, windows and coat hangers.⁷⁵ Like many other cabinetmaking shops, the Brigham City shop also provided its community with coffins and headboards (grave markers).⁷⁶ Some items, however, were beginning to be denoted as special luxury goods, like “parlor chairs,” picture frames, and a toy rocking horse.⁷⁷ Like many other Americans in the 1870s, the customers at Brigham City were purchasing the fashionable “sideboard” form, two of which were recorded at the Wholesale Department in April 1875. One customer purchased the newly popular Victorian “whatnot,” a multi-tiered shelf used only for display purposes, indicating that Brigham City consumers were becoming interested in going beyond necessity in furnishing their homes.⁷⁸ In spite of these small luxuries, the character of the majority of goods being purchased in 1875 was simple and utilitarian. Customers needed labor, architectural elements (doors, sashes, windows), places to sleep, sit and eat.

It would be inaccurate, however, to give the impression that the products were plain, unattractive or unadorned. Church leaders urged pioneers to “attend to the business of beautifying the earth . . . beautify your gardens, your houses, your farms, beautify the

city. This will make us happy and plenty.”⁷⁹ In contradiction to Young’s warning not to appear too indulgent, Mormon leaders recognized the value of projecting an image of material prosperity. Surrounding oneself with aesthetically pleasing objects, therefore, was encouraged by authorities, and residents looked to the East for standards of beauty and fashion. With the railroad now linking the Brigham City to the culture in the East, consumers were concerned with popular tastes and the cooperative craftsmen provided their own interpretation of fashionable furniture styles and forms. Answering the desires of their consumers, the craftsman were creating furniture that “would grace some of our large fashionable houses in Salt Lake City,” according an 1876 letter in the *Deseret News*.⁸⁰ Although the early records show a small suggestion of the eastern influence in the available forms such as parlor chairs and whatnots, by 1880 the account books demonstrate that Brigham City consumers had an increasingly national taste. The next few years would see the Cabinet Making Shop sell a wider variety of products and rely more heavily on income from furniture than from labor (Table 1).

While the majority of customers appear to be members of the immediate community, there were also accounts for customers as far away as southern Idaho. Far and away the most loyal customer, however, was Lorenzo Snow himself, who spent literally thousands of dollars buying high-end products like a cupboard (for \$40.25 on December 4, 1875), a secretary (for \$32.00 on April 14, 1875), and a picture frame and whatnot with two chairs (for \$22.50 on August 20, 1875). Throughout the years, Snow provided committed patronage, showing his support for the cooperative was more than

just rhetoric by furnishing the homes of his many wives with beautiful “homemade” furniture. Other accounts reveal that customers spanned a broad geographic range, including John Roberts in Malad (a town approximately 70 miles north, now in Idaho), the Logan Temple (Logan is a town 40 miles to the east in Cache Valley), and John Taylor in Willard (a town 10 miles south). In addition, a branch store was established in Logan in 1876 for the distribution of their products, including furniture.⁸¹ An article in the *Salt Lake Herald* reported the success of the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop by claiming “their furniture factory is turning out a good, well-made substantial article of furniture, a large quantity of which is sold by them to the settlements north and in Ogden.”⁸²

The primary firm the shop dealt with in Ogden was Boyle & Company. The cooperative did extensive business with Boyle, purchasing from them a large number of bedsteads, high chairs, comb cases, perforated chairs, child’s rockers, cribs, and at least one sofa lounge for retail sale. Interestingly, the cooperative reciprocated by sending two kinds of its “homemade” furniture back to Boyle & Co. for credit -- flour bins and cupboards. In the Museum of Church History and Art (hereafter, the L.D.S. Church Museum) in Salt Lake City, there is a flour bin marked “Boyle & Co.” previously attributed to the Ogden firm (Figure 4). I would like to suggest, however, that through comparison with two other flour bins attributed to Brigham City (Figure 5 and Figure 6), the L.D.S. Church Museum piece may be considered one of the flour bins made by Brigham City. All three have similar construction, with the sides dovetailed into the front

and back and an elaborate trompe l'oeil panel graining pattern of horizontal walnut surrounding a burl center. The remarkable similarity of these three flour bins suggests that they were all made at the Brigham City Cooperative. Additionally, a cupboard found at Gary Thompson's Antiques Shop in Salt Lake City, marked Boyle & Co., may also be from the cooperative (Figure 7). With design elements and construction techniques that are similar to cupboards attributed to Brigham City, the Thompson piece may likely be one that was shipped to Ogden. The inscriptions on both objects, although dissimilar in character, may indicate that the pieces were marked for shipping. The distribution of Brigham City furniture to the larger city of Ogden suggests that the aesthetic appeal of their distinctive goods extended the demand for the products beyond the cooperative community.

In 1880, the shop began to operate under a different manager, J.C. Nielsen, and the affiliation with the cooperative became less substantial.⁸³ While other departments of the cooperative were failing after major financial problems of 1877, decentralization of control was seen as a way to save the remaining, successful shops.⁸⁴ Nielsen, it appears, was given more autonomous control of operations, and his astute business sense is demonstrated by his reactions to a keen sense of the market. By the turn of the decade, the percentage of income generated from labor had fallen to 14 percent. The number of products sold, however, had begun to increase dramatically, as represented by the at least 150 chairs sold in 1880 compared to at least 31 sold the year before. Indeed, the rising numbers of products in the early 1880s indicate that the larger portion of income from

furniture was directly related to the supply of a wider variety and larger amount of merchandise. Ironically, however, the number of workers employed by the shop had fallen to an average of six in 1881.

This disparity can be explained by the presence of receipts and invoices from eastern firms in the papers of the shop. In other words, by 1880, the Cabinet Making Shop had reversed its policy on selling exclusively “homemade” products, and was retailing large quantities of merchandise shipped from the East. There is no doubt that the shop was importing and selling parlor suites, chairs, bedsteads, and baby carriages from companies as far away as New York City, Chicago, and Saint Louis. This fact is significant, as historians had previously understood the shop to have sold only “homemade” products and had mistakenly claimed that the shop was producing many of the items it actually imported, such as baby carriages. The documents reveal, however, that this is simply not the case. The meager amount of workers as well as the relatively outdated tools shown in the inventories indicate that local production was becoming less important than retailing eastern goods.

Additionally, the character of goods being sold after 1880 indicates an increasing preference for the luxury items found in mainstream Victorian America. The records reveal that Brigham City consumers were anxious to participate in the latest fashions, and, like their eastern counterparts, purchased superfluous items like clock shelves, wall pockets, chamber suites, looking glasses, and whatnots. The existence of these objects in the Brigham City marketplace indicates that residents wanted to be as stylish and

comfortable as other Americans. Wall pockets, towel rollers, comb cases, and clock shelves were all relatively inexpensive products that clearly went beyond necessity in furnishing a home.⁸⁵ The appearance in the account book of “homemade” whatnots, listed in the 1880 inventory lists for \$3.25 each, is a significant example of cooperative craftsmen taking their cues in furniture production from popular eastern forms. A “homemade” whatnot combines the eastern fashion with local consumer loyalty, indicating that the two ideas were compatible on some level. For a Brigham City family to have a whatnot in its home meant that the days of pioneer scarcity were over. Chromolithographs (“chromos”), a new development in printmaking that brought color reproductions into Victorian homes, also enjoyed immense popularity in Brigham City. These items were purchased from eastern dealers and supplied by the Cabinet Making Shop along with picture frames and looking glasses. Inventories reveal the existence of gold paint to gild the frames and “picture cord” and “picture nails” with which to hang the framed prints. Finally, the shop was also supplying the town with stereoscopes and views. These items proved immensely popular, as sixty-seven transactions show customers buying \$60.55 worth of views in 1882 alone.⁸⁶ In 1882, the Cabinet Making Shop appears to have reached the zenith of its sales, exemplified in at least 720 chairs sold. The majority of these chairs, like other products that year, were imported from the East. Significantly, the increasing business reflected in the books rose in proportion to the apparent number of imported items being offered for sale.

An elaborate example of Brigham City consumers participating in current

Victorian trends is their consumption of baby carriages beginning 1880. Like other Americans in the 1880s, residents of Brigham City were embracing the new fashion of fancy carriages expressing a symbolic celebration of children and fertility through public presentation of the baby.⁸⁷ The trend in Brigham City was apparently started in 1877, when Brigham Young gave a baby carriage to his granddaughter Alice. "When Mrs. Armeda Snow Young would wheel her little daughter about in the carriage, people would run to get a better view for they had never before seen a buggy for a baby."⁸⁸ This glimpse into the social context for this new product demonstrates that the elite church leaders like Young were using an eastern material vocabulary to establish their social status with luxury items. Predictably, others then sought to emulate Alice Young, and baby carriages appear in the account books of the Cabinet Making Shop on January 17, 1880. Previous authors have mistakenly suggested that carriages were being made at the cooperative, most likely because of references in contemporary newspapers to the Cabinet Making Shop not being able to keep up with the desire for baby carriages.⁸⁹ However, the account book evidence shows that the baby carriages were being purchased from Schweitzer and Beer, a Chicago importing firm specializing in "German, English and French Fancy Goods, Toys, China and Glass Ware, Druggists' sundries, baskets, beads, musical instruments." Three receipts from 1881 show that Nielsen bought at least twenty-three carriages that year from Schweitzer at prices ranging from \$6.50 to \$11.50.⁹⁰ An 1882 inventory shows the existence of four baby carriages, each designated with a stock number, priced from \$8.00 to \$12.00.

In addition to the increase in the variety of fashionable luxury items, the account books designate some products as “homemade,” “plain” or “common” beginning in 1880, which suggests that the tastes of consumers often demanded more sophisticated merchandise. To meet this demand for variety and aesthetic refinement, it is apparent that Nielsen relaxed the prohibition against imported furniture. The appearance of imported furniture, however, does not preclude the fact that the craftsmen were still making sophisticated products, including a chamber suite sold to Lorenzo Snow on June 28, 1881, and designated “HM” (“homemade”) in the accounts.⁹¹ Other notations in the inventories provide evidence to trace the items that were certainly being made in Brigham City after 1879. As the shop made bi-yearly inventories for all the items in their possession, it frequently noted furniture as being “unfinished,” indicating exactly what items the craftsmen were producing themselves. The following is a list of items that appear with the designation “unfinished” in an inventory at some point after 1879: a bookcase, a wardrobe, tables, “turned stuff for cribs,” “turned stuff for lounges” (1879); bedsteads, desks, cupboards, lounges, flour bins, cribs, bureau, wardrobes, cradles (1880); bureaus, pie safes, cradles (1883); clock shelves (1887).

To further complicate the distinctions between “homemade” and imported products, it is clear that the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop was purchasing mass-produced ornamental elements from eastern companies to include on their “homemade” pieces. For example, the account books list transactions for “carved handles” and “cupboard ornaments.”⁹² Trade catalogs, such as *A. Roda’s Illustrated Catalog of Solid*

Wood Furniture Carvings of 1876, show that elaborate carved handles and moldings could be purchased for application on “homemade” furniture.⁹³ Bookcase tops were also available, which were basically crown elements also used for wardrobes and cupboards. Local dealers have, in at least two cases of extant Brigham City furniture, pointed to identical crowns as evidence for attribution and as argument that there was surely a craftsman at the cooperative who was skilled in carving. On the contrary, the shop clearly purchased the separate implements from eastern companies and applied the ornaments to “homemade” pieces (see below). The availability of these handles and crowns (the only two places carving is seen on pieces attributed to Brigham City) suggests that simple “homemade” furniture was embellished with mass-produced decorations, slightly blurring the line between imported and local products. Although this combination of eastern elements with locally produced items problematizes attribution, the initial consumers and craftsmen were not troubled by the combining of eastern elements on their products, suggesting “purity” of religious motivation in the creation of their furniture was unimportant to the original purchasers.

Although Utah did not yield the attractive hardwoods that were popular and plentiful in the East, Brigham City craftsmen, like their counterparts across the territory, adapted easily to the use of pine. For Utah furniture makers, the generic term *pine* (sometimes found in the inventories as red or white pine) actually denoted a number of different species, including lodge pole pine (*Pinus contorta*), Engelmann spruce (*Picea engelmanni*) and Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). Consistent with other Utah shops,

the early account book entries in Brigham City also mention two other kinds of wood: “quaken asp” or quaking aspen (*Populus tremloides*) and “cedar” which was actually Rocky Mountain juniper (*Juniperus scopulorum*).⁹⁴ By 1880, the Cabinet Making Shop inventory was not limited to the woods found in Utah as Nielsen began importing wood from the East. There are periodic entries for “Black walnut” (109 feet valued at \$16.35 in 1880) or “Walnut lumber” (15 feet valued at \$2.25 in 1883).⁹⁵ The appearance of this wood is evidence that the Victorian choice of walnut as the popular wood for high-end and middle-class furniture also affected Brigham City consumers and craftsmen. In addition, there are references to furniture (most certainly imported) made from walnut: “Secretarie (walnut)” for \$25.00 in the December 1882 inventory and a “Walnut desk” for \$23.00 in the December 1884 inventory. Trade catalogs of the period demonstrate a clear preference for woods other than pine, and even indicate a distaste for the soft wood.⁹⁶ This new appearance of walnut lumber and furniture not made out of pine suggests an increasing influence of external products and a movement away from the craftsmen’s reliance on or even loyalty to the local wood. The introduction of imported lumber and furniture in the early 1880s reveals the beginnings of the gradual victory of eastern goods over cooperative products.

Like their rural counterparts across the country, Utah and Brigham City craftsmen adapted to the use of pine as a second-class wood by graining their furniture, or painting the surface to simulate a wood grain such as walnut, mahogany or oak in an attempt to elevate the elegance of the wood. Far from relying on individual creativity, Brigham City

cabinetmakers drew upon a substantial tradition of grained and painted furniture when making choices on how to finish their pieces. A stylish and economic way to ornament soft woods, the tradition of painting furniture in imitative finishes (such as marbling and graining) can be traced back to seventeenth-century England, and the technique remained highly popular into the nineteenth century in Europe and America “out of a desire to imitate the grains and colors of expensive woods, and to imitate carved or inlaid decorative motifs.”⁹⁷ Colonial furniture with a grained or faux finish such as the eighteenth-century New England examples illustrated in Dean Fales’ *American Painted Furniture*, illustrate the rich tradition from which the Brigham City artisans were drawing.⁹⁸ Unlike their counterparts in the eighteenth century whose graining was done in an abstract manner, nineteenth-century grainers began to more faithfully imitate specific wood types.⁹⁹ In the second half of the nineteenth century, a variety of techniques were used to decorate one piece in contrasting surfaces, such as a painted burl panel surrounded by long grained walnut seen in Brigham City. After comparing the extant pieces attributed to Brigham City with surviving Victorian mass-produced Renaissance-style furniture and products available in trade catalogs, it is clear that craftsmen were simply following the styles that were popular elsewhere in America at the time. Marilyn Conover Barker writes, “the adaptations of designs from hardwood furniture to their innovative reinterpretations in softwood furniture created a style that can be identified as Mormon furniture.”¹⁰⁰ On the contrary, the furniture examined for this study was obviously made with clear knowledge of popular styles in the East in an

attempt to emulate the products that were coming across on the railroad.

In addition to the survival of original finishes on pieces attributed to Brigham City, paint and tools found in the inventories of the Cabinet Making Shop clearly suggest that the craftsmen were practicing the art of graining. Paint colors and varnish types consistent with graining are listed in the Cabinet Making Shop account books. The ground color was always a solid, lighter color which was covered in a darker, contrasting shade using a comb, feather or brush to match wood grain patterns with the brush strokes.¹⁰¹ Colors such as “seanna,” umber, chrome yellow, vermilion, and venetian red appear in the inventories and suggest the popular mahogany (red, vermilion, and umber), maple and maple burl (yellow and umber), walnut (yellow, umber, and shellac) and oak (yellow, white, and umber) graining recipes.¹⁰² In addition to paint, a total of twenty-nine different tools were required for a professional graining job, including cork, brushes, rollers, and combs. The cooperative inventories reveal the shop owned some of these tools: “combs for painter’s use” and “brushes and sponges.”¹⁰³ Surviving furniture illustrates that Utah and Brigham City craftsmen successfully participated in the fashion for faux surfaces by creating grained finishes on their furniture as well as on the woodwork in their homes and church buildings.¹⁰⁴

In addition, the detailed inventories provide a more complete picture of the variety of crafts being undertaken at the Cabinet Making Shop. The presence of books of gold leaf and bottles of gold paint indicate that the craftsmen were practicing gilding, most likely on picture frames and looking glasses.¹⁰⁵ Listings for wire cloth (or screen),

indicate that the craftsmen were fabricating their own “mosquito doors” and also using the screen for smaller pie safes. Starting in 1883, shop inventories include “furniture springs” and in 1885 two dozen “Springs for Solid Comfort” and “half springs” were listed.¹⁰⁶ These and other listings for fabric and horse hair indicate that the craftsmen were practicing upholstery, although no upholstered furniture has ever been suggested as Brigham City Cooperative. In addition to furniture, the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop was also supplying the town with coffins. Traditionally a function of the furniture maker, undertaking and coffin production was continued by the craftsmen at Brigham City. Inventories show the presence of coffin escutcheons, coffin trimmings, coffin handles, and coffin plates in the inventories.

The variety of surviving forms that have been attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative reflects the great range of products found in the account books. Bedsteads (Figures 8 and 9), washstands (Figure 10), pie safes, desks (Figure 11), flour bins, and tables (Figures 12-14) are a few of the items made and sold in significant quantity at the cooperative (Table 2). Chairs were clearly the most popular item, and evidence suggests that they were both “homemade” and imported.¹⁰⁷ At the Brigham City Museum-Gallery alone, there are nine chairs believed to have originated at the cooperative, ranging from a “Congress” chair (Figure 15) to a child’s rocking chair (Figure 16). Entries in the account books suggest the cooperative was selling a variety of chair forms, such as high chairs, parlor chairs, sewing chairs, baby chairs, common chairs, office chairs, perforated chairs, Boston rockers (Figure 17), and nurse chairs (Figure 18). Not surprisingly, the

variety of chairs being sold in Brigham City is again reflective of the types of chairs being sold through eastern trade catalogs, with similar styles and denotations.¹⁰⁸

Stylistically, the furniture at Brigham City most closely relates to what has been called the Renaissance style, which was popular in the United States after 1850 up to the 1870s. Based on elaborate French influences, Renaissance style furniture is characterized by “ornate and massive headboards of bedsteads crowned with heavy arched pediments, liberal use of roundels and turned wooden ornaments such as urns and finials and drops [to produce] extravagant contours [with] burl veneer panels with beveled edges or incised geometric patterns,” and applied machine-carved moldings and ornaments.¹⁰⁹ Although the Brigham City interpretations of this style were not nearly as elaborate as their eastern (often Chicago or Grand Rapids) counterparts, Renaissance elements were being used in Brigham City. For example, oval moldings on drawer fronts, arched moldings or panels on sides and doors, canted corners with drop spindles, machine-carved drawer handles, carved ornamental crowns, and a variety of surface texture are all interpretations of this eastern mass-produced style.¹¹⁰ Previous attribution of Brigham City Cooperative furniture was based on a few decorative elements, such as drop spindles, canted corners, oval molding, and fine graining for surface decoration. All of these elements, however, can be seen on furniture advertised in trade catalogs from midwestern companies that were distributed for buyers on the railroad lines for knock down delivery. A comparison with eastern furniture suggests that the craftsmen of Brigham City were not looking to create a unique identity with their furniture. Instead, it appears they were emulating

national fashions and attempting to promote the image of prosperity using the visual vocabulary of the East.

An examination of trade catalogs for the years that the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop was operating shows objects of similar form, decoration and design elements. This is so much the case, that some pieces previously attributed to Brigham City are surely eastern produced objects that had been imported.¹¹¹ The objects that were made in Brigham City, however, are similar to many advertisements in trade catalogs. A bureau advertised in a 1876 *Coogan Brothers Illustrated Catalog*, for example, shows stylistic features that are associated with the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Figure 19). The canted corners, drop spindles, oval molding and carved handles seen on this bureau are also found on bureaus (Figure 20), cupboards (Figure 21), and wardrobes (Figure 22) from the Brigham City Cooperative.¹¹² Although some elements have been simplified, correlations between eastern furniture and Brigham City furniture are apparent. M. & H. Schrenkeisen of New York advertised center tables in 1869 with profiles very similar to those attributed to Brigham City.¹¹³ F.M. Holmes & Co. of Boston published photographs of its furniture in 1870, showing chamber suites with oval molding embellishments and bureaus with canted corners similar to those made in Brigham City. Additionally, the surface decoration of trade catalog items was similar to the graining done by the painters at the cooperative; imitation walnut panels with a center of burl graining was a popular feature in the Victorian Renaissance style.¹¹⁴ Although we cannot be sure which catalogs were reaching Brigham City, the numerous examples that

resemble the cooperative furniture make it clear that the styles popular in the East were being re-interpreted in Brigham City.

Among the many objects that have been previously assigned to the Cabinet Making Shop of the Brigham City Cooperative, there are none with definitive markings, signatures, or rock-solid provenances to establish attribution beyond a doubt. Proceeding without a touchstone object with which to base subsequent attributions is a tricky endeavor. Thus, in attempting the connoisseurship portion of this paper, I have taken the approach that documentation of the objects suggested to be Brigham City must be accompanied with an informed supposition as to the probability of the attribution. I have eliminated from consideration a number of pieces I examined that were obviously not made in Utah, such as a washstand owned by the L.D.S. Church Museum that incorporates dowel joints in the drawers distinctive to mass-produced furniture. The remaining furniture examined for my study falls along a broad spectrum of probability, taking into consideration a variety of clues dealing with construction methods, stylistic elements, documentary evidence, and object history.

There are, however, approaches that can assist in the evaluation of the likelihood of this group of objects coming from the same shop tradition. In discussing rural craftsmanship in an industry of increasing mass-production, historian Sharon Darling said that using “urban models, country cabinetmakers tended to give individual interpretations to the turnings, carvings and details found on the more sophisticated and expensive pieces.”¹¹⁵ Replication of shape, ornament, and technique, for example, would indicate a

high probability that the objects were made by the same craftsmen. Although production techniques of furniture were becoming increasingly standardized, one should still expect repetition in detailed construction methods and design elements to indicate common origin. As in the case of the pie safes discussed above, comparison of similar features such as feet shape, organization of drawers and doors, and construction details can suggest likelihood of similar origin. Within the products I have suggested as Brigham City in Appendix A, there exists a wide range of technical and artistic evidence with consistencies that may provide proof of same shop production. Sharply tapered feet can be seen on many chairs in this study, and this same foot profile is found on the desk, a table and the pie safes examined. A similarity of the turnings on the chairs suggest they are related, and the desk and kitchen table have almost identical leg turnings. The appearance of scroll sawn elements (like skirts and backsplashes), the similarity of dovetail characteristics, and the consistency of production marking, for example, also increase the likelihood that these objects have similar origins. The wide range of forms examined for this study are catalogued in Appendix A. A representative discussion of two forms found in multiple numbers -- wardrobes and bureaus -- and the evidence suggesting their provenance follows.

There are four examples of wardrobes that should be considered as potential cooperative products. The account books demonstrate that a number of wardrobes were sold each year, with a total of forty-five being counted in the records. Evidence that suggests these items were actually being made in Brigham City can be found in the

inventories. The December 31, 1879, inventory, for example, lists two “unfinished wardrobes” valued at \$11.75 each.¹¹⁶ The significant consumption of this clearly luxurious item demonstrates a desire within the community not only to obtain storage for textiles, but do so in a fashionable Victorian form of a momentous size that would impart status upon the owner. The impaired mobility of these enormous architectural-type wardrobes increases the likelihood that they would remain in the geographical vicinity of Brigham City.

Generally, the wardrobes from Brigham City are simple two-door cabinets with one large bottom drawer below the frame-and-panel doors (Figure 22). Stylistically, the simplicity of the wardrobes is augmented with thin (1/2”) black molding on the doors, drawer and sides, an architectural molded cornice, a fashionable ornamental crown, and distinctive walnut and burl graining as a surface finish. Additionally, the sides of all four wardrobes are canted into a 1 1/2” diagonal surface, ornamented with half spindles on each side below the cornice and above the skirt board.

These similarities in style have led to the common attribution of the wardrobes as being from the Brigham City Cooperative, although it is distinctly important to note that each of the above stylistic features can be found on mass-produced Victorian furniture. In fact, the detachable ornamental crowns on the Brigham City pieces, which had been previously considered proof of common origin because of their similarity, were actually available for order through many furniture ornament trade catalogs of the period. One such catalog, *Roda's Illustrated Catalog of Wood Furniture Carvings of 1876* advertised

“Book Case Tops” ranging from \$1.50 to \$2.00 that look remarkably similar to those found on Brigham City wardrobes and cupboards (Figure 23). The dimensions of these pre-made crowns from Roda were 38” to 48” wide and 11” to 14” tall. The crowns attributed to Brigham City fall neatly within these dimensions at 38” wide and 11 1/4” tall. There is, in fact, one particular crown advertised from Roda, No. 111, which bears these dimensions exactly and cost \$1.50.¹¹⁷ Further evidence that the cooperative was ordering the crowns rather than making them can be found in the account books and inventories. The 1879 inventory of the shop, taken on December 31, lists eight carved handles (which were also available from Roda; Figure 24) and two carved tops priced at \$3.00 and \$2.50.¹¹⁸ There are numerous other references in the inventories to ornaments or wardrobe fixtures, which indicate the presence of these pre-made elements. Also, an account book entry for September 8, 1882, demonstrates at least once a “cupboard ornament” was sold separately to a customer, in this case for \$1.00. Therefore, although it is significant to note the incorporation of similar ornamental crowns in the wardrobes, it is important when considering attribution not to rely heavily on the occurrence of matching crowns available through eastern trade catalogs.

The first wardrobe I examined (W-1) demonstrates all of the above characteristics and is located at the L.D.S. Church Museum (Figure 22).¹¹⁹ Measuring 7 3/4’ high and 4’ wide, the wardrobe illustrates the tremendous size of this form. This wardrobe also includes the basic scalloped skirt shape that is found on many so-called Brigham City pieces. The simple lines of the skirt reflect a common design shape in Victorian skirts.

and, although it is repeated in many of the pieces attributed to the cooperative, the ubiquitous nature of the shape on many Utah and eastern pieces does not make the repetitive skirt conclusive by any means. The repeated occurrence of the shape, however, when coupled with other repetitions in technique and style, does provide mounting evidence that the objects came from the same shop.

The drawer of W-1, which was constructed by dovetailing the sides into the back using three dovetails and into the front using five dovetails, has a bottom made of one piece of board that has been chamfered and slid into a groove on the front and sides. This board, however, has unique characteristics which may indicate it is part of a recycled crate. The bottom of the drawer shows a different character of weathered wood which is marked with the word "Holst" in blue (Figure 25). Interestingly, the name Neils Christensen Holst shows up in Brigham City as a fifty-five year-old carpenter in the 1870 census, although he is never associated with the cooperative either as an employee or customer. No further record of Holst's working as a carpenter in Brigham City has been found, no pieces of furniture exist that are attributed to him, and it seems unlikely that the name is his signature. Although placed in the center of the drawer, the name looks as though it had been planed over in at least one place, which may indicate that the mark was on the raw lumber used for the drawer bottom. The use of fragmentary lumber from discarded crates or leftovers was an established practice in timber-impooverished environments, including Utah.¹²⁰ Often this recycled wood would be used in the most hidden places, frequently found at the bottom of drawers. It would not be unusual if

Holst had contributed a crate for furniture, although he was not associated directly with the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop.

Two other wardrobes examined at Gary Thompson's Antiques Shop (W-2 and W-3) have stylistic features very similar to the wardrobe at the L.D.S. Church Museum, including canted corners with drop spindles with similar dimensions and characteristics, similar graining patterns, related skirt profiles, and applied black molding. Construction techniques among all three pieces are remarkably similar. The backs of all three wardrobes are constructed with five circular sawn vertical elements joined with tongue-and-groove sliding joints. W-2 also has a central bottom drawer with similar construction methods to W-1. W-3, however, has three lower drawers--two small drawers above a larger central bottom drawer. The characteristics of the dovetails on all drawers are similarly wide in the back and slightly narrower in the front. The third wardrobe (W-3) has interesting inscription on the back, in black ink similar to the inscription on the Boyle & Co. cupboard, saying "E.J. Showell/Kelton, Utah/From N Co__ Brigham." Although no accounts for Showell are found in the cooperative records, the clear word Brigham increases the likelihood of this piece originating at the cooperative.

A fourth wardrobe (W-4) has similar stylistic elements to those listed above, including drop spindles, scroll sawn skirt, and the oval molding (Figure 26). This piece, at the Brigham City Museum-Gallery, however, is unique in its construction, being obviously custom-made to fit an architectural space. Strikingly narrow in width (36 1/2') in comparison to the other wardrobes, this armoire also has a unique cornice feature. The

wardrobe was clearly designed to fit into a corner, as the cornice on the left side does not overhang the edge, allowing the piece to be placed flush against the wall. With a strong provenance from a Brigham City family (William L. Gardner), this wardrobe suggests that stylistic preferences could be altered to fit individual customer's specifications.

Finally, a fifth wardrobe with an inscription tying it to Brigham City was examined (Figure 27). In the private collection of Kenyon Kennard, this mahogany grained wardrobe contains an inscription on the inside of the drawer that reads "Brigham City, 1873." The believable inscription locates the piece outside of the working dates of the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop, but its existence provides a significant context within which the other wardrobes must be placed. Clearly, there was at least one craftsman producing these large casepieces before the cooperative shop was established. The wardrobe has a large cornice, two main doors over a central, locking bottom drawer, but no canted corners or applied elements. The form and dimensions of this wardrobe are similar to the previous four examined, and the skirt profile is identical to others attributed to Brigham City. Unlike construction on the cooperative pieces, however, the frame-and-panel doors were assembled with three vertical central elements and the back was fabricated with eight-and-a-half vertical circular sawn vertical panels. Although this wardrobe construction does not relate directly to the cooperative pieces, its firm Brigham City provenance provides a touchstone for the material context within which the other wardrobes existed. The graining is an elaborate embellishment of this wardrobe, but the stylistic features are significantly less complicated than the cooperative pieces. Perhaps

the combination of many hands within the Cabinet Making Shop allowed for more complex production of the wardrobe form, or perhaps tastes were becoming increasingly more sophisticated. Clearly, however, prior to the cooperative, there were craftsmen in Brigham City capable of fabricating such a complex piece and there were consumers willing to purchase these wardrobes.

Related to the wardrobes, four bureaus examined for this study emerge as likely candidates to be cooperative products (C1, Figure 20; C-2, Figure 28; C-6, Figure 29; C-9, Figure 30). The account books demonstrate that a large number of bureaus were sold each year, with a total of fifty-one being counted in the records. In 1875, for example, six bureaus were purchased by Brigham City consumers for prices ranging from \$11.00 to \$36.00.¹²¹ Clear evidence from the documents suggests bureaus were being made in Brigham City, but imported bureaus were also being offered. Interestingly, a price comparison between imported and “homemade” bureaus offers a hint to the higher costs of locally produced products. In 1885, the December inventory lists one “homemade bureau (best)” for \$22.00 with a bureau from Saint Louis for \$17.00, proving that local products were not the cheaper option for consumers.¹²²

Stylistically, the four bureaus with Brigham City histories have similar elements, many of which are related to the wardrobes. All four have two small locking glove drawers with similar dimensions attached to the top of the bureau. Additionally, they all have four drawers that diminish in height from the uppermost drawer to the bottom drawer. In three cases (C-1, C-2 and C-6), the central drawers are inset and flanked with

vertical spindles in a late-empire style. The fourth bureau (C-9) has flush drawers and drop half spindles such as those seen on the wardrobes and cupboards (but without canted corners). The drawers on C-1 have black oval molding, similar to that found on the wardrobes (especially W-1). The drawers on C-6 and C-9 are outlined with the vertical molding like that seen on wardrobes (see W-2 and W-3).

Of the four bureaus detailed in Appendix A, certain construction elements also emerge as consistent similar characteristics. The backs of the bureaus, for example, were consistently constructed with three or four circular sawn, horizontal boards, chamfered at the edges and slid into a groove in the sides of the case (Figure 31). In one case (C-6), the horizontal boards are joined to the sides with blind dovetails. The drawers consistently demonstrate similar construction elements, including wide dovetails in the back and more narrow dovetails in the front. Additionally, the drawer bottoms are all constructed from one piece of wood with the graining running from side to side. Other Utah furniture examined (non-Brigham City) occasionally had drawer bottoms with the grain running front to back.

Additionally, production marks of similar character and placement can be found all on the bureaus. Drawers were consistently numbered from one to four, from top to bottom. The drawers were numbered on the bottom and back, with a corresponding number placed on the upper edge of the drawer blade. On all pieces, the glove boxes were also numbered in consistent ways, on the bottom of the drawers and always on the underside of the top of the drawer case. The similar character of these numbers,

especially the distinctive “3”s and “4”s, provide additional evidence that similar origin is likely.

How, then, does Brigham City furniture differ from eastern products? First, the furniture manufactured in the East was produced with the advantage of significantly more advanced technology. For example, scalloped dovetails were becoming common joints in the East, and they were not made in Brigham City. Cooperative craftsmen made furniture with wide dovetails, and utilized a system of numbering drawers and parts for assembly. The furniture attributed to the cooperative shows a simpler representation of the lines of the eastern furniture. It is important to note, however, that this simplicity of design does not stem from naiveté or inferiority of quality, but is indicative of a “less labor and material intensive” approach -- an economic necessity typical of a rural cabinet shop.¹²³ Inventories of the early 1880s demonstrate that the Cabinet Making Shop was equipped with a decent number of tools and other implements, including a mortising machine, a miter machine, a scroll saw, a circular saw, a boring machine, a lathe, and a variety of molding planes. All the tools listed in the inventory would have been sufficient to create the basic furniture forms that have been attributed to Brigham City. Although the shop was equipped with some water-powered tools, it was operating with minimal technology and was therefore limited in its capacity to duplicate eastern designs. For example, a washstand seen in the 1878 catalog of Sugg & Beiersdorf Furniture Manufactory of Chicago has a profile that is similar to that of a Brigham City piece, but the curved molding on the Sugg & Beiersdorf washstand shows an additional bead of molding

(Figure 32). The washstand made in Brigham City has a simple, scroll sawn back profile with no molding (Figure 10). The character of the turning on the legs of eastern washstand is also more elaborate than the one from Brigham City. In addition, the Sugg & Beiersdorf product was available in both maple and walnut, while the cooperative was making its out of pine.¹²⁴ Interestingly, Sugg & Beiersdorf was one Chicago firm that by 1876 “could claim [a] well-established market in . . . Salt Lake City.”¹²⁵

As revealed in the bureau example above, a cost comparison within the account books reveals that in the majority of cases, surprisingly, customers paid more for “homemade” furniture than imported. This discrepancy can be seen again and again within the account books, extending even to products like hats offered at the store. Considering this disparity in prices, it is no surprise that consumer’s initial wave of enthusiasm for “homemade” furniture eventually dissolved due to the availability of a wide variety of cheap eastern goods. Consumers were inundated with rhetoric from the Church leaders to remain loyal in their consumption: “that which is manufactured here, though it cost ten times the amount it would cost in the east, is the cheaper for that it is the commencement of independence.”¹²⁶ Amidst the flurry of hyperbolic rhetoric encouraging them to buy “homemade” goods, however, consumers in Brigham City were choosing imported products. An informal history written anonymously and found among the papers of the cooperative claims that “it was difficult in finding a market for our Home Productions during the period and a very large proportion had to be sold at a great sacrifice as to price” and “to compete with imported goods in manufacturing departments.

we found that the necessary patronage was lacking.”¹²⁷ While the rhetoric of the leaders promoted “homemade” products and cabinetmakers advertised “homemade” furniture, consumers made choices based factors that outweighed religious obedience -- economic and aesthetic -- and found themselves with more and more eastern manufactured furniture in their homes. As seen in the history of the Cabinet Making Shop, Brigham City Mormon customers were choosing to purchase items based on economic, aesthetic and fashion decisions rather than deferring to obedience to church authority that was becoming so important to establish identity.

Regardless, the mood surrounding the cooperative was publicly one of idealism, and the promotion of its “success” was rampant.¹²⁸ Church leaders claimed that imported products were decreasing, employment was high and “cooperation has produced satisfaction and good feelings generally.”¹²⁹ The reality of the cooperative, however, shows a board of directors struggling with a number of issues, not the least of which was subjugating individual interests to loyalty and obedience to religious authority. After building a cultural heritage based on republican ideas of individual freedoms, the cooperative leaders found that their citizens had significant trouble subordinating individual interests to the community. Minutes from an 1877 meeting note that “the reason the Elders do not heal the sick by their administration is because they are after the things of this world” and the honor of men, rather than pursuing the honor of God.¹³⁰

This resistance to authority in Brigham City can also be seen outside the Cabinet Making Shop as well. During the years of cooperative operation, “several parties”

established competing stores in direct violation of ecclesiastical authority. Although the non-cooperative enterprises did not succeed, their appearance indicates that the unified vision of Brigham City must be revised.¹³¹ One striking example can be seen in the case of M.D. Rosenbaum, whose individual initiative caused trouble in the cooperative. The 1872 minutes of meetings of the directors of the cooperative in tell the story of how the merchant Rosenbaum was not acting with deference to the Church authorities by operating his own mercantile business, presumably out of his home. Rosenbaum was branded “as great an enemy to cooperation as there was in the settlement” and charged with having “a very bitter and wicked spirit, opposing the authority and counsel here.” However, Rosenbaum was finding a considerable market for his non-cooperative goods, as the Elders made repeated visits to his home to determine who was purchasing his merchandise. The discussions of Rosenbaum’s insubordination and its effect on local consumers reveal the leaders as hostile towards dissension and struggling to keep members loyal. In 1873, the minutes state that people were complaining that the prices of locally produced goods were already too high, and the rhetoric used at the meetings continued to call for unification in purpose and devotion to the institution. Considering the speakers in these meetings felt compelled to convince their listeners of the advantages of the cooperative year after year, one wonders about how obediently the message was being followed, if repeated insistence and assurance of the spiritual blessings to follow was necessary.¹³²

Unlike the impression projected to the public (either intentionally or

unintentionally), the members of the cooperative (both as workers and as consumers) were not living up to the strict ideals of the Church and were proving how difficult Joseph Smith's plan of perfect communalism was to implement with imperfect humans. An 1876 letter to the *Deseret News* reveals that the exaggeration of success was not going unnoticed: "writers . . . had the gift of writing which made Brigham City appear a perfect paradise, though every once in a while [they] let slip an item which assures us that the place is not ready to be translated to heaven."¹³³ The historical myth is that the town was unified, and that through the success of the cooperative, residents found ways to assert their Mormon identity and separation from eastern influence. The reality, as seen in the furniture consumption patterns, is that the cooperative was struggling from the beginning against economic individualism. Despite the inundation of rhetoric emphasizing obedience to spiritual rather than temporal interests, leaders noted a "lack confidence in the Lord" which resulted in citizens "running after the dimes too much."¹³⁴ Individual consumer motivations, both aesthetic and economic, prevailed.

Clearly, religious affirmations behind home products were not motivation enough to keep the residents from buying imported goods and especially furniture. In her examination of Cache Valley (Utah) furniture, Elaine Thatcher expected to find a local style, but instead found evidence that the residence were "moving from a pioneer way of life to involvement in the greater culture of the United States."¹³⁵ In their furniture choice, at least, Brigham City residents sought not to distinguish themselves but to emulate their eastern "enemies." The tensions between individual desires (the eastern-

type luxury items at cheap prices) and loyalty to the community are revealed in the struggle of the Cabinet Making Shop to produce a competitive product. The locally produced furniture exhibits nothing close to a unique “Mormon style,” and, in fact, many of the extant pieces are evident copies of low-end Victorian mass-produced furniture. The craftsmen were making items that would satisfy the consumers’ tastes, as affected by eastern influences and aesthetic choices. Perhaps the lack of a unique and recognizable style made price the primary issue over appearance in the decision whether to purchase an import or a Brigham City piece.

The delicate success of the Brigham City Cooperative began to unravel in 1877. With a fire at the Woolen Mill, a decision by the Internal Revenue Department to tax cooperative scrip, and a fiasco with its saw mill in Idaho, the so-called enterprise of independence was brought down by a variety of external factors. By 1880, many departments were sold or transferred to private ownership. The Cabinet Making Shop eventually became referred to as “The Furniture Store” in the later account books, indicating the change in perception of the purpose of the enterprise. The shop struggled on until 1888, at which time the accounts show few transactions, mainly for “old” and “broken” items.¹³⁶ By 1890, the only surviving department was the mercantile store which employed six to ten clerks. A listing in the *Brigham City Bugler* of 1890 advertised two private furniture makers in town, both of which were previous employees of the cooperative -- J.C. Nielsen and Elias Jensen.¹³⁷ In its final years (the store existed until the Articles of Incorporation expired in 1895), enthusiasm for the unique good

fortune of Brigham City still persisted, yet some residents blamed the cooperative for holding back the progress and prosperity of the community by eliminating competition.¹³⁸ My purpose, however, is not to undermine the high points of the cooperative endeavor. Despite its inevitable closure, the cooperative did serve a unifying function at a transitional time in Utah history. As Moore states in his discussion of the creation of Mormon identity, “opposition gives value to struggle and inculcates self-confidence.”¹³⁹ The organized opposition to the railroad in the form of the cooperative provided residents with a temporary unique identity. As stated by a contemporary, “the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association was an institution which had for thirty two years labored to cement the bonds of union among the Latter-day Saints by laying a foundation for mutual self support through a combination of temporal and spiritual interests.”¹⁴⁰ Although the success of Brigham City and other United Order experiments were relatively short-lived, it did postpone dependence in the Mormon economy, and their limited success stands as testimony to the triumph of ‘religious zeal’ over prudent business skills.¹⁴¹

The Brigham City Cooperative (1865-1895) provides an interesting case study that illuminates the Mormon struggle between individual interests and communal cohesion at a time when Mormon identity was most threatened. The history of the Brigham City Cooperative illustrates in microcosm the larger trends in Mormon economic strategy, so intricately tied into religious objectives. In the increasingly pluralistic society of nineteenth-century America, Mormon isolationist anti-pluralism

became outdated, and members “found the perceived benefits of joining the larger American economy too attractive to resist.”¹⁴² In spite of their extreme efforts to isolate themselves geographically and economically, the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop could not compete with the growing strength of the national consciousness and the eastern economy. Although the rhetoric promotes separatism, the material world in Brigham City reflects a desire to share in the emerging national consumer consciousness.

With the shrinking of the continent, the attempts to adjust by the Brigham City Cabinet Making Shop can be examined as an example of the initial resistance but eventual absorption of the Mormon material world into a larger identity. With their home product cooperative, Brigham City Mormons initially resisted external influence by manufacturing and promoting local furniture, but failed in their efforts to convince people to demonstrate loyalty to their church in consumption habits. Shepherd claims that “in a pluralistic environment, religion which is no longer a monopoly cannot take for granted the allegiance of its client population.”¹⁴³ From the 1880s onward, Brigham City and other Utah Mormons were forced to recognize their position in relation to the United States, reconcile their extreme views and economic habits, and eventually find somewhere to fit within mainstream America. The gradual acceptance of imported furniture in the cooperative environment of Brigham City symbolizes that change in Mormon attitudes toward their participation in the wider national pluralist culture. Admitting failure in their efforts to remain autonomous, Mormons were resigned to give

up their un-American elements -- polygamy, theocracy, and communal economics -- in order to obtain statehood and broad national acceptance in the 1890s.¹⁴⁴ The tension between Mormon sovereignty and the expanding influence of American society were forced into a resolution; “at a certain point, Mormonism had to be broken.”¹⁴⁵ Brigham City shows the moment in time where the break occurred -- where the Kingdom of God gave way to the modern Mormon Church.

ENDNOTES

¹ For a pithy discussion on the American/anti-American tensions within Mormonism, see Richard Kyle, *The Religious Fringe* (Downers Grove, Illinois, InterVarsity Press, 1993), pp. 86-7.

² Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830 - 1900* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), p. 324.

³ Lorenzo Snow letter of 1873, quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May. *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), p. 127.

⁴ Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. 190.

⁵ Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: the Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 22.

⁶ Klaus J. Hansen, *The Quest for Empire: the Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1970), p. 47.

⁷ Kyle, *Religious Fringe*, pp. 86-7.

⁸ R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 31.

⁹ Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*, p. 32.

¹⁰ Parley Pratt, *History of the Church* 7:463, quoted in Winn, *Exiles in the Land of Liberty*, p. 237.

¹¹ Steven L. Olsen, "The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830-1846" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1985), p. 290.

¹² Mark Riddle, "Lorenzo Snow and the Brigham City Cooperative" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970), p. 1.

¹³ For a discussion on the early history of Brigham City, see Olive H. Kotter, *Through the Years* (Brigham City: Brigham City Eighth Ward, 1953).

¹⁴ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), vol. 12 #277, quoted in Vaughn J. Nielsen. *The History of Box Elder Stake* (Brigham City: Pats Print Shop, 1977), p. 19.

¹⁵ E. H. Anderson, *Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints* (Chicago, n.d.), p. 116.

¹⁶ Edward J. Allen, *The Second United Order Among the Mormons* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), p. 33; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), February 1, 1869, quoted in Nielsen, *History of Box Elder Stake*, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), February 1, 1869, quoted in Nielsen, *History of Box Elder Stake*, p. 21.

¹⁸ A comprehensive, general examination of the Brigham City Cooperative can be found in a variety of sources on Mormon economic history. See Arrington, *Building the City of God* (Chapter 6); Arrington, *The Great Basin Kingdom*; Leonard J. Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North: Brigham City, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (Summer 1965): 212.

¹⁹ "Articles of Agreement Signed by Lorenzo Snow, Samuel Smith, Alvin Nichols and W.C. Thomas, Dec. 7, 1865, Co-Partners in Mdse, Styled L. Snow and Co." (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter HDCJCLDS); Lydia Walker Forsgren, *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Box Elder County History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City, 1937), p. 105.

²⁰ Letter from Lorenzo Snow to Edward Hunter, February 17, 1875, (MS F 564; MS 302), HDCJCLDS.

²¹ Gordon Eric Wagner, "Consecration and Stewardship: A Socially Efficient System of Justice" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1977), p. 45.

²² Anderson, *Brief History of the Church*, pp. 116-17.

²³ Orson Pratt, October Conference 1868, quoted in Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), p. 82.

²⁴ *Address of the Friends of Domestic Industry* (Baltimore: Friends of Domestic Industry, 1831), p. 39; see also *The American Laborer Devoted to the Cause of Protection of Home Industry* (New York: Greely & McElrath, 1843).

²⁵ Letter from Lorenzo Snow to Brigham Young (1873), quoted in Riddle, “Lorenzo Snow and the Brigham City Cooperative,” p. 4.

²⁶ Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, p. 108.

²⁷ Snow quoted in Kathleen Bradford, *Brigham City Historic Tour* (Brigham City, Utah: Brigham City Museum-Gallery, 1995), p. 4.

²⁸ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), September 20, 1876.

²⁹ “Successful Cooperation,” *Salt Lake Herald*, October 25, 1876.

³⁰ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), August 31, 1875.

³¹ Allen, *Second United Order*, p. 10.

³² Allen, *Second United Order*, p. 33.

³³ *Doctrine and Covenants* 78: 5-6.

³⁴ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 2, p. 139, quoted in Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience* (Francetown, NH: Marshall Jones Co., 1947), p. 255.

³⁵ Allen, *Second United Order*, p. 48.

³⁶ Wagner, “Consecration and Stewardship,” p. 53.

³⁷ Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, p. 18.

³⁸ *Doctrine and Covenants* 104: 59. Other verses with similar themes include 104:11, 40, 42, 67-70.

- ³⁹ “Rules that Should be Observed by Members of the United Order,” as quoted in Kate B. Carker (ed.), *Heart Throbs of the West Vol. 1* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939), p. 70.
- ⁴⁰ Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, pp. 99 and 103.
- ⁴¹ Anonymous History (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS.
- ⁴² Anonymous History (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS.
- ⁴³ Letter from Snow to Young, quoted in Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, p. 109.
- ⁴⁴ Kenneth Bickmore, “The Cooperative Movement in Brigham City, Utah,” unpublished Joel E. Ricks Seminar Paper #15 (1957), p. 2; Ephraim Edward Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975), p. 50; for a local interpretation and discussion of the history of the Cooperative, see Kotter, *Through the Years*.
- ⁴⁵ “Minutes of the Meeting of Directors of the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association, March 30, 1874” (LR 933 34; Reel 44, Box 50, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.
- ⁴⁶ Henry Dinwoodey, a Salt Lake City cabinetmaker, was in the East arranging the first imported shipments of furniture when the Golden Spike was placed. See Olive Wooley Burt, “Founder of Tradition,” *The Utah Magazine* (July 1946): 46.
- ⁴⁷ Eliza Roxy Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884), p. 290.
- ⁴⁸ Adolph M. Reeder, “The Brigham [City] Manufacturing and Mercantile Association,” unpublished typescript, Utah State Historical Society, pp. 4-5.
- ⁴⁹ “Latter-day Legacy,” *Country Home* (August 1991): 82-84.
- ⁵⁰ Anonymous History (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS.
- ⁵¹ Ledger A, 1874-1876 (LR 933 34; Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.
- ⁵² Inventory of Goods of Cabinet Department, 1880-1884 (LR 933 34; Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

⁵³ See accounts of Cooper Department and Charles Kelly, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁵⁴ Ledger A, 1880-1882, (LR 933 34, Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 3), HDCJCLDS.

⁵⁵ *Journal of Discourses*, October 7, 1873, quoted in Allen, *Second United Order*, p. 47.

⁵⁶ "Minutes of Meeting of Directors of the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association, March 30, 1874" (LR 933 34; Reel 44, Box 50, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

⁵⁷ Martin Luther Ensign, *Diary/Autobiography* (MS 5372 and MS 4220), HDCJCLDS; Kotter, *Through the Years*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ "Deed of Sale of Cabinet Shop of Samuel Smith and J.W. Walker to Brigham City Co-op Mercantile and Manufacturing Association," Book D of Deeds (pp. 20-21), Box Elder County Records, Brigham City, Utah.

⁵⁹ Comparison of local land prices courtesy of the expertise of Larry Douglas, Director of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

⁶⁰ Book D of Deeds (p. 20), Box Elder County Records.

⁶¹ Riddle, "Lorenzo Snow and the Brigham City Cooperative," p. 3.

⁶² "Bird's-Eye View of Brigham City and Great Salt Lake" (Salt Lake City, Utah: E.S. Glover, 1875).

⁶³ Book J of Deeds (p. 343), Box Elder County Records.

⁶⁴ Sarah Yates, "Planing Mill Survives after Century of Use," *Box Elder Journal* (Utah), March 11, 1981; Inventory of Cabinet Making Shop, December 1880 (LR 933 34; Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

⁶⁵ The building is still standing in Brigham City and, although abandoned for years, contains many tools and scraps left over from operation. In 1990, the Planing Mill was added to the National Historic Register; Bradford, *Brigham City Historic Tour*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ "Brigham City, March 1884," (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Co., Ltd., 1884).

⁶⁷ Kotter, *Through the Years*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁶⁹ Letter from Lorenzo Snow to Edward Hunter, February 17, 1875 (MS F 564; MS 302), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁰ See accounts of the Social Hall, the Saw Mill, and Lorenzo Snow, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷¹ See accounts of B.L. Nichols and Lorenzo Snow, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS; Daughters of the Utah Pioneers histories mention James Ingram working “at his trade as a wood turner” in Brigham City and Severin N. Lee “turning of chair legs and spindles and all matter of things that could be turned on a wood turning lathe.” Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, pp. 1 and 4.

⁷² See accounts of the Public Hall, James May, and J.D. Reese, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷³ Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, p. 119.

⁷⁴ See accounts of M.D. Rosenbaum, P. Starke and J.C. Dewey, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁵ See accounts of the North Farm, the Egg and Butter Department, Lorenzo Snow and the Tailor Department, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁶ See accounts of E. Wight and A. Hillam, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁷ See, for examples, accounts of H.P. Jensen and M.L. Ensign, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁸ See accounts of Lorenzo Snow, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁷⁹ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 15, p. 20, quoted in Wagner, “Consecration and Stewardship,” p. 215.

⁸⁰ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), September 20, 1876.

⁸¹ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), October 20, 1876.

⁸² By 1880, the Cooperative had established affiliated stores in Three Mile Creek, Willard and Bear River City, which also helped disperse furniture throughout the area. *Salt Lake Herald* (Utah), October 25, 1876; Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, p. 92.

⁸³ Anonymous History (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS.

⁸⁴ Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North," p. 212.

⁸⁵ See Eileen and Richard Dubrow, *Furniture Made in America 1875-1905* (West Chester, PA: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 1982), p. 294 for examples of wall pockets and pp. 184 and 304 for examples of towel rollers.

⁸⁶ Ledger A (1880-1882), HDCJCLDS; notations of "Views" with rarely any accompanying figures makes it difficult to determine exactly how many views were sold that year.

⁸⁷ Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Childhood, 1600-1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), pp. 143-6.

⁸⁸ Kotter, *Through the Years*, p. 21.

⁸⁹ See Arrington, "Cooperative Community in the North," p. 205; the evidence regarding the exact year of the appearance of baby carriages in Brigham City is confusing. An 1876 *Deseret News* article makes reference to the fact that the Cabinet Making Shop could not keep up with the demand for baby carriages. Yet the account books do not reflect any transactions for baby carriages until 1880.

⁹⁰ Various loose receipts (LR 933 34; Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 3), HDCJCLDS.

⁹¹ Ledger A (1880-1882), HDCJCLDS.

⁹² See September 8, 1882, daybook entry in Ledger A (1880-1882) for "Cupboard Ornament" sold for \$1.00 (LR 933 34, Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 3), HDCJCLDS.

⁹³ A. Roda's *Illustrated Catalog of Solid Wood Furniture Carvings, Carved Heads, Carved Drawer Handles, Mirror and Frame Carvings* (Rochester, New York: Union and Adv. Co. Print., 1876).

⁹⁴ Elaine Thatcher, "Some Chairs for my Family: Furniture in Nineteenth Century Cache Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (1988): 333.

⁹⁵ 1880 Inventory of Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association Cabinet Making Shop (LR 933 34; Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS

⁹⁶ “We use no Pine Lumber in the Manufacture of our Furniture,” claims a label inside the cover of the trade catalog of Kent Furniture Mfg. Co., *Illustrated Catalogue of the Kent Furniture Mfg. Co. Grand Rapids, Mich.* (Grand Rapids: Cornell and Dean, 1881).

⁹⁷ Reinhild K. Janzen and John M. Janzen, *Mennonite Furniture: A Migrant Tradition (1766-1910)* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1991), p. 183.

⁹⁸ Dean A. Fales, Jr. *American Painted Furniture 1660-1880* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1972), pp. 72 and 79.

⁹⁹ Fales, *American Painted Furniture*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁰ Marilyn Conover Barker, *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1995), p. 137.

¹⁰¹ Fales, *American Painted Furniture*, p. 198.

¹⁰² December 31, 1879, Inventory of Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association Cabinet Making Shop (LR 933 34, Reel 52, Box 56 Fd 4), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁰³ See for example inventory of May 15, 1885; for illustrations of graining tools and typical Utah graining patterns, see Barker, *Legacy of Mormon Furniture*, pp. 137-142.

¹⁰⁴ Janzen and Janzen, *Mennonite Furniture*, pp. 184-5; for examples of architectural painting, see the Bee Hive House, previously the home of Brigham Young, and the faux surfaces in the nineteenth-century buildings on Temple Square in Salt Lake City.

¹⁰⁵ 1883 Inventory of Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association Cabinet Making Shop (LR 933 34, Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁰⁶ 1883 Inventory of Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association Cabinet Making Shop (LR 933 34, Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁰⁷ Shop inventories show numerous disassembled and turned chair parts. See for example, the 1879 inventory (LR 933 34, Reel 52, Box 56, Fd 4). In addition to invoices for chairs from the St. Louis Chair Manufactory, notations for “k.d.” or knockdown chairs found in the account books, and inventories indicate the items were being shipped to Brigham City.

¹⁰⁸ A great source to examine the range of furniture available through catalogs is Dubrow and Dubrow, *Furniture Made in America*.

¹⁰⁹ Sharon Darling, *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft and Industry 1833-1983* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company in association with The Chicago Historical Society, 1984), p. 99; Celia Jackson Otto, *American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), p. 167.

¹¹⁰ Otto, *American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 170-73.

¹¹¹ See for example, the washstand at the L.D.S. Church Museum and the bureau owned by This is the Place State Park, illustrated in Barker, *Legacy of Mormon Furniture*, p. 134.

¹¹² *Coogan Brothers Illustrated Catalog* (New York: Martin B. Brown, 1876), p. 28.

¹¹³ *M. & H. Schrenkeisen Cabinet and Parlor Furniture Manufactures Catalog* (New York: Crichton & Co., 1869).

¹¹⁴ As seen in *Illustrated Catalog of Chairs and Furniture Manufactured by J.W. Mason & Co.* (New York: Corlies, Macy & Co., 1874).

¹¹⁵ Darling, *Chicago Furniture*, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ December 31, 1879, Inventory of Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Association Cabinet Making Shop (LR 933 34, Reel 52, Box 56 Fd 4), HDCJCLDS.

¹¹⁷ *A. Roda's Illustrated Catalog of Wood Furniture Carvings*, p. 30.

¹¹⁸ This is a small slip of paper in Box 56, Fd 4 (LR 933 34; Reel 52), HDCJCLDS.

¹¹⁹ This object is owned by the L.D.S. Church Museum, #LDS 96-32-1.

¹²⁰ Barker, *Legacy of Mormon Furniture*, p. 25.

¹²¹ See accounts of the "Suthern Mission," J.D. Reese, Lorenzo Snow and the Egg and Butter Department, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

¹²² Inventory of 1880 (LR 933 34; MS 2889; Reel 54, Box 60, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

¹²³ Michael J. Ettema, "Technological Innovation and Design Economics in American Furniture Manufacture of the Nineteenth Century" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1981), p. 5.

¹²⁴ *Sugg & Beiersdorf Furniture Manufacturing Co. Illustrated Catalog* (Chicago: Shober & Carqueville, 1878), p. 43.

¹²⁵ Darling, *Chicago Furniture*, p. 96.

¹²⁶ George Q. Cannon quoted in Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*, p. 251.

¹²⁷ Anonymous History (LR 933 34; Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS.

¹²⁸ In fact, historians have generally followed this example unquestioningly, and, in spite of the essential failure after only ten years in operation, have been kind to the Brigham City Cooperative, focusing mostly on achievements rather than mismanagement.

¹²⁹ 1874 letter from Nichols to Hunter, quoted in Riddle, "Lorenzo Snow and the Brigham City Cooperative," p.10.

¹³⁰ "Meeting of the Council of the United Order, April 8, 1877" (LR 933 34, Reel 44, Box 50, Fd 3), HDCJCLDS.

¹³¹ See letter from Young to Snow, quoted in Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County*, p. 107.

¹³² Minutes of Directors of Brigham City Cooperative, Nov. 4, 1872; Nov. 26, 1872; April 19, 1873; Nov. 7, 1874; Feb. 12, 1877; March 11, 1877; March 25, 1877 (LR 933 34, Reel 3, Box 4, Fd 7), HDCJCLDS. Rosenbaum was eventually placated by being appointed the supervisor of the Logan branch store in 1876; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), October 20, 1876.

¹³³ *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), September 20, 1876.

¹³⁴ "Meeting of the Council of the United Order, April 8, 1877" (LR 933 34, Reel 44, Box 50, Fd 3).

¹³⁵ Elaine Thatcher, "Nineteenth Century Cache Valley Folk Furniture: A Study of Form and Function" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1983), p. x.

¹³⁶ See Ledger B, 1883-1888 (LR 933 34; Reel 52, Box 56, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

¹³⁷ "We have four carpenter and cabinet-makers' shops, vis. the Co-op, which sells a large assortment of imported furniture." *Ogden Daily Herald*, January 26, 1882; Kotter, *Through the Years*, p. 16.

¹³⁸ *Brigham Bugler*, June 14, 1890, quoted in Kotter, *Through the Years*, pp. 16-7.

¹³⁹ Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Watkins to Gates, quoted in Riddle, "Lorenzo Snow and the Brigham City Cooperative," p. 5.

¹⁴¹ Wagner, "Consecration and Stewardship," pp. 54 and 62.

¹⁴² Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 128.

¹⁴³ Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, p. 183.

¹⁴⁴ Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, p. 202.

Table 1: Percentage of Income of the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop Generated By Labor, Materials and Products

<u>Year</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Materials</u>	<u>Products</u>
1874	79	11	10
1875	65	3	32
1876	52	8	40
1877	12		88
1878	33	3	64
1879	15	1	84
1880	14	1	85
1881	8	1	91
1882	37	1	62
1883	20	2	78
1884	13	7	80
1885	7	7	86
1887	5	3	92
1888	1	25	74

Table 2: Production of Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop by Number of Products

<u>Product</u>	<u>1874</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1876</u>	<u>1877</u>	<u>1878</u>	<u>1879</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Baby carriages							10	31	26	13	9	3			92
Bedsteads	2	11	8	1	18	8	33	66	81	63	35	9	7	1	343
Bee hives		4	17		6				1		1				29
Boxes		24	11		15	4	10	15	19	12	8	2	1	1	122
Bureaus	1	5	1		1	5	4	13	9	8	1	1	1	1	51
Chairs	7	86	48		56	31	150	503	729	394	231	54	37	9	2335
Chests		5	4		1		5	9	7	5	1			2	39
Clock shelves							31	46	35	32	9	4	5		162
Coffins	2	6	8		7	20	26	19	26	35	9	3			161
Comb cases								11	13	11	3	2	4		44
Cradles		1		1	1	2	8	19	13	12	8	3			68
Cribs		2	4		1										7
Cupboards	1	7	9		4	6	11	23	52	50	25	8	1	4	201
Desks			1							1	3	3			8
Doors	12	82	30		2		1	7	1	3	10				148
Flour bins		2	4		2	2	8	22	47	24	14	5		1	131
Hat racks							1	28	48	27	13	2	3		122
Lounges		5	1	1	3	4	21	39	17	29	9	7	1		137
Looking glasses					1		1	17	44	25	17	11	2	1	119
Picture frames	4	40	17		13	2	18	34	53	1			1	5	188
Potato mashers								5	11	3					19

Data is approximate; daybooks that detail cash transactions are unavailable before 1880; if entry said "chairs" this was counted as at least 2 chairs.

Lack of data for 1877 and 1886 may indicate separate books.

Table 2 (continued)

Product	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1887	1888	TOTAL
Rocking chairs		12	2		4	5	19	58	54	23	19	1	3		200
Rolling pins								8	23	8					39
Pie Safes		5			1	3	9	18	18	32	7	1	2	1	97
Secretaries		4	4			3	2	1	2	1					17
Sideboards		2													2
Sofas		1	1			1									3
Stands		7	3		3		15	16	27	14	3				88
Stools	2	11	1		4		1		1						20
Tables	3	12	11		7	3	24	44	42	30	20	6	7		209
Towel Rollers								4	5	6			1		16
Wall pockets								14	12	4	1				31
Wardrobes		3	3		1	6	4	7	10	6	4	1			45
Washstands	1	7			7	3	7	13	22	10	12	2	2		86
Whatnots		1	1		3		4	6	7	4	1				27
TOTALS:	35	345	189	3	161	108	423	1096	1455	886	473	128	78	26	5406

Data is approximate; daybooks that detail cash transactions are unavailable before 1880; if entry said "chairs" this was counted as at least 2 chairs.

Lack of data for 1877 and 1886 may indicate separate books.

APPENDIX A

Catalog of Furniture Suggested as Brigham City

The following is a catalog of artifacts examined for this study with provenances and physical evidence suggesting an origin in Brigham City. Because there is no one piece with a definitive cooperative origin, firm attributions are difficult. An examination of the following descriptions, however, reveals some significant similarities of construction and style. There are most likely a large number of extant objects from the Brigham City Cooperative that do not have stylistic characteristics that have come to be recognized as “cooperative” by local antiques specialists and have therefore not made it into the pool of consideration. No furniture owned by Lorenzo Snow, for example, could be located for this study. Some pieces I have selected to include have problematic histories, which I have discussed below. Further analysis of finish, glue composition, and construction techniques will help clarify the following attributions and suggest future pieces to add. For now, my purpose is to document my assessment of the state of Brigham City Cooperative furniture attribution with respect to information revealed by my research.

All of the following *types* of furniture were made by the Cabinet Making Shop, as documented in its account books. In the first entry of each section, I discuss the related

account book entries for the specific form, and I have selected 1875 as a touchstone year to compare prices and production quantities. The early date ensures that the products sold were most likely fabricated in the shop, as designations between “imported” and “homemade” do not begin in the account books until 1880. For more information on production quantities, see Table 1. I assigned each object I examined a tracking number, and have utilized this number in the catalog entries to make referencing specific pieces more efficient. (Note: Missing numbers indicate the piece was judged as having an improbable Brigham City origin).

Bureaus and Chests

Form:	Chest of drawers (Bureau)	Reference No:	C-1
Owner:	Museum of Church History and Art (hereafter the L.D.S. Church Museum)	Acc. No.:	LDS 96-32-3

Illustration(s): Figure 20

Dimensions: H: 46” W: 39 1/8” D: 18”

Inscription/marks: Production marks: Drawers are numbered “1” to “4” from top to bottom in pencil on drawer bottoms with corresponding numbers on the drawer blades. Glove drawers are labeled “3” and “4” on the bottom of the drawer, sides of the drawer, and also on the underside of the top of the drawer case.

Finish: Walnut and burl graining. Recent discoveries may indicate that, on the drawers at least, there are two layers of graining. Spindles are stippled.

Materials: Pine, drop handles

Description: This late empire-style chest-of-drawers has four main drawers -- one smaller drawer on top (33 3/4” x 4 7/8”), two inset drawers (33 3/4” x 6” and 33 3/4” x 7”) flanked by full, vertical turned elements, and a larger lower bottom drawer (33 3/4” x 8”). All drawers have two drop handles each (one missing). The drawers each have applied black molding in an oval shape that encompasses the two drawer pulls. Two locking dressing boxes (4” high; 13” wide; 10 7/8” deep each) are placed on top of the

bureau in front of a triangular backplash (7 1/2" high) with thumb-molded edge, and the dresser sits on four stocky, turned feet (4" high). The back of the bureau is composed of three horizontal, circular sawn boards chamfered at the outside edges and slid into grooves in the sides of the case. The sides of the bureau have the black molding applied in an arched shape, with burl graining inside the arch and straight vertical graining outside of the arch.

History: The museum purchased the bureau from dealer John Told (an antiques dealer from Midway, Utah), who purchased the piece from Gary Thompson of the Brass Key Antiques. Thompson acquired the bureau from the Holtsman family of Brigham City. This piece also a Scandinavian newspaper clipping in one of the glove drawers. The account books document that Brigham City customers purchased a significant number of bureaus, which may account for the high survival/attribution rate. In 1875, for example, six bureaus (or chests of drawers) were purchased for prices ranging from \$11.00 to \$36.00.¹

Form:	Chest of drawers (Bureau)	Reference No:	C-2
Owner:	Private collection of Scott Christensen, Salt Lake City, Utah		
Illustration(s):	Figure 28		
Dimensions:	H: 43 3/4"	W: 40 1/2"	D: 18"
Inscription/marks:	Production marks: Two slashing scribe marks like on W-1. Drawers are numbered "1" to "4" from top to bottom in pencil on all panels of the drawers with corresponding numbers on the upper edges of the drawer blades. Glove drawers are labeled "1" (left side) and "2" (right side) on the bottom of the drawer, sides of the drawer and also on the underside of the top of the drawer case.		
Finish:	Light and dark walnut burl graining		
Materials:	Pine with carved drawer handles		
Description:	This late Empire-style chest-of-drawers has four main drawers -- one smaller drawer on top (35" x 6"), two inset drawers (35" x 6" and 35" x 7 1/4") flanked by full turned spindles, and a larger lower bottom drawer (35" x 8"). All drawers have two carved handles each. Two locking dressing boxes (3 7/8" high; 14" wide; 12 1/2" deep each) are placed on top of the bureau in front of a rectangular backplash (4 1/2" high). The case sits on four stocky turned feet (4" high). The back of the bureau is composed of three horizontal, circular sawn boards chamfered at the edges and slid into grooves in the sides of the bureau. Two square patches can be seen on the back covering knotholes. The bottom drawer has a knothole that has been plugged with a cork.		

History: Family history tells that the bureau was made by the Brigham City Cooperative by Andrew and Chris Funk. These names are not associated with the Cooperative, either as customers or as workers for the Cabinet Making Department. The Funks are related by marriage, however, to Christiansens -- a name that *does* appear in the account books. The bureau remained in the Funk family home in Brigham City until the 1950s; the piece was eventually rescued from a barn by Scott Christensen.

Form:	Chest of drawers (Bureau)	Reference No:	C-6
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H90.8

Illustration(s): Figure 29

Dimensions: H: 50 1/2" W: 43" D: 19 3/4"

Inscription/marks: Scribe and production marks: Drawers are numbered "1" to "4" from top to bottom in pencil on the back of the drawer front and bottom with corresponding numbers on the inside edges of the drawer blades. Glove drawers are labeled "1" (left side) and "2" (right side) on the bottom of the drawer and underside of the top of the drawer case.

Finish: Burl graining with black molding

Materials: Pine with carved drawer handles (7 1/4" x 2 3/8")

Description: This bureau has four main drawers -- one smaller drawer on top (37 3/8" x 5"), two inset drawers (37" x 6 3/4" each) flanked by vertical, turned spindles, and a larger lower bottom drawer (37 3/8" x 8 1/4"). All drawers have two carved handles each. Two dressing boxes (4 1/2" high; 13 1/4" wide; 12 1/4" deep each) are placed on top of the bureau in front of a scroll-sawn backsplash (7" high). The case sits on four stocky turned feet (6" high). The drawers are outlined with black molding (1/2") and have burl grain surface finish inside of the molding. The back of the bureau is composed of four horizontal, circular sawn boards joined to the case sides with blind dovetails (4 on each side).

History: Purchased by Larry Douglas from Trudy Christensen (104 W. 400 S.) in Brigham City after a house fire. The furniture was in the house when purchased by the Christensens in 1929. The home was owned by the A.C. and Anne Jensen in the 1870s and was sold to Christian Larsen in 1883.² Although these names do not appear in the account records, there were a significant number of cash transactions in which the customer name was not recorded.

Form:	Chest	Reference No:	C-7
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H93.4
Illustration(s):	Figure 33		
Dimensions:	H: 17" W: 33" D: 16 1/8"		
Inscription/marks:	"Cash 80/Check 80" written in pencil on inside of lid		
Finish:	Walnut crotch graining on top and front		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This locking chest with lid is embellished with an applied fancy skirt and contains a till box inside. The front and back of the chest are dovetailed into the sides, in a method of construction similar to the flour bins. The skirt profile, imitating ogee feet with a scalloped central drop element, is similar to the scroll sawn pattern seen on larger forms.		
History:	Purchased by Douglas from a local antiques dealer (Fred & Kitty's Antiques). The chest was removed from a home at 420 S. Main Street in Brigham City. A related example (with an unembellished skirt) from Salt Lake County is published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> , p. 71. The account books differentiate between bureaus and chests, which were significantly cheaper. In 1875, for example, five chests were purchased at prices ranging from \$7.00 to \$12.00. ³

Form:	Chest (blanket)	Reference No:	C-8
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	None
Illustration(s):	Figure 34		
Dimensions:	H: 31" W: 37 5/8" D: 19 1/2"		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Walnut graining, very similar in design to flour bins. The front is painted in a trompe l'oeil effect simulating frame and panel construction with a burl center panel surrounded by a narrow painted black border separating the center from the straight-grain borders around the outside.		
Materials:	Pine with circular wooden drawer knobs (1 3/4" diam.), on castors		
Description:	This chest with lid sits on top of a bottom drawer. Like C-7, the front and back of the box are dovetailed into the sides, in a method of construction similar to the flour bins. The drawer measures 32 1/2" x 7 5/8". The back of the chest is made of three horizontal boards dovetailed into the sides. The chest has an applied straight skirt, like the flour bins. Related blanket chests can be seen in <i>Early Utah Furniture</i> , p. 77 (with a history of being from northern Utah), and in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> , p. 27.		
History:	This chest was donated by Blanche Bird, who said the piece was made by "Grandpa Larsen." The account books also differentiate between chests and "Draw" or "Drawer" chests. It is probably that these "drawer" chests,		

which cost \$13.00 in 1878 as compared to a "chest" for \$7.60, were similar to the above-described chest with drawer.⁴

Form: Chest of drawers (Bureau) Reference No: C-9
Owner: Private collection of Wallace Budd, Salt Lake City, Utah
Illustration(s): Figure 30 and Figure 31
Dimensions: H: 40 1/4" W: 41 1/8" D: 18 1/8"
Inscription/marks: Scribe and production marks: Glove drawers are marked "1" and "2" on the underside bottom of drawer and on the underside of the top of the drawer case. The main drawers are numbered "1" through "4" from top to bottom, marked in pencil on the back of the drawer front with corresponding numbers on the upper edges of the drawer blades.
Finish: Stripped; in the process of being re-grained.
Materials: Pine with an incomplete set of replaced drawer pulls
Description: This bureau has four drawers in diminishing size from top down (5" high, 7" high, 6 3/4" high, 9 1/2" high). Two locking rounded dressing boxes (3 1/4" high; 13" wide; 13" deep) are attached on top of the case in front of a squared backplash (3 1/4" high). The feet are missing. The top of the bureau has a series of molding levels similar to the cornice of wardrobes. The drawers are outlined with applied molding, and the sides have applied half spindles (5") below the bureau top and above the skirt with no canted corners. The bottom and the back of the dresser are roughly hand-planed, unlike other examples examined. The back is constructed of four horizontal boards, chamfered at the edges and slid into a groove in the sides of the bureau (Figure 31). The uppermost board of the bureau back is also chamfered at the top edge, and slid into a groove in the bureau top.
History: Budd purchased the bureau from a dealer in Ogden, who claimed the piece was acquired and made in Brigham City.

Chairs

Form: Congress Chair Reference No: Ch-1
Owner: Brigham City Museum-Gallery Acc. No.: SUP
Illustration(s): Figure 15
Dimensions: H: 31" W: 23" D: 22"
Inscription/marks: None
Finish: Layers of paint: blue, white and tannish brown
Materials: Pine
Description: This windsor-style armchair is often referred to as a "congress" or "captain's" chair in Utah. The chair has eight turned double-cone-and-ball

spindles supporting a combined armrest and crest rail (turnings are similar to Ch-3). The back legs are slightly raked legs, and all four legs taper sharply at the feet and are embellished with two flattened ball turnings. The front stretcher is decoratively turned (moderately swelled with a central ball element) with three plain side and back stretchers.

History: Acquired from local thrift store, this particular chair is said to have been used in the Box Elder Tabernacle. This type of chair was “made commonly by cabinetmakers in pioneer Utah,” and cost \$5.00 in 1864, according to the Cabinetmakers’ List of Prices printed in *Deseret News* (September 7). The Cooperative Cabinet Making shop sold at least nine of this type of chair in 1875 for \$6.00 each, and many more of the same form in years to come. This chair is very similar to an example illustrated in *Utah Folk Art* (p. 67), and related to a chair published in *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 3.32, p. 96).⁵

Form:	Chair	Reference No:	Ch-2
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP 506
Illustration(s):	Figure 35		
Dimensions:	H: 31” W: 18”	D: 18”	
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Reddish, oxblood finish		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This windsor-type, spindle-back (or fan-back) chair has a rounded plank seat and slightly raked back legs. The outermost spindles of the chair back are flattened on front while the three inner spindles are rounded with a moderately swelled shape and a central ball element. The chair incorporates four simple stretchers and the crest rail is slightly curved. All four legs taper at the feet, and the two front legs have blocky turned ball decorations. This chair is very similar to Ch-3. Related examples can be seen in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> , pp. 18, 28 and 85.		
History:	The chair was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Lew Breitenbaker, and was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 4.23, p. 133). The cooperative account books illustrate that by far more chairs were purchased by customers than any other form. “Parlor,” “common” or “Mormon” types were typical designations, but most entries simply listed “chair.”

Form:	Chair	Reference No:	Ch-3
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP 506
Illustration(s):	Figure 36		
Dimensions:	H: 31 1/2"	W: 19"	D: 19"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Reddish, oxblood finish		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This windsor-type, spindle-back (or fan-back) chair has a squared seat made of three joined planks and raked back legs. The outermost spindles are flattened on front and three inner spindles are rounded with double-cone-and-ball turnings. The chair incorporates four simple stretchers and the crest is slightly curved. The legs taper sharply at the feet and incorporate a ball turning near the seat. The chair is similar to Ch-2.		
History:	The chair was purchased from a local antiques dealer, and was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 4.23, p. 133). For a similar example, see <i>Utah Folk Art</i> , p. 66.

Form:	Chair	Reference No:	Ch-4
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H85.3.2
Illustration(s):	Figure 37		
Dimensions:	H: 30 3/4"	W: 18"	D: 19"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Reddish, mahogany-type finish		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This fiddle-back chair has a crest rail joined in a continuous curve with the posts. The front stretcher has a three-ball turned design, while the other three have no such embellishment. One stretcher is replaced. The vase-shaped splat has been broken and repaired. The legs taper sharply at the feet. The back left leg is repaired at the top with a splice.		
History:	The chair was purchased from a local antiques dealer (Fred and Kitty's) and was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 4.23, p. 133). A related example can be seen in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> , p. 44.

Form:	Rocking chair	Reference No:	Ch-5
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP 524
Illustration(s):	Figure 17		
Dimensions:	H: 37"	W: 25 3/4"	D: 33"

Inscription/marks: “__ Evans ch” in pencil on bottom of seat. Could be “W. Evans”
 Finish: Grained dark walnut
 Materials: Pine
 Description: This Boston-type rocker was common in early Utah. The back of the chair consists of five bowed and flattened vertical elements between the stiles and below the crest rail. The sloping and raked-out arms are supported by two double-cone-and-ball turned elements and end in a c-scroll at the hand rests. The front and back legs are thickly turned, gradually increasing in width near the rocker attachment. The front stretcher is moderately swelled with a central ball element, while the back stretchers are plain. The rockers are mortised into the leg bottoms, and become increasingly narrow as they slope upwards behind the chair. Selling for \$9.00 in 1864, the Cooperative sold at least six of these “Boston rockers” in 1875 for \$12.00 a piece.

History: This chair was published in *Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 4.23, p. 133). Similar examples can be seen in *Early Utah Furniture*, p. 49; *Utah Folk Art*, p. 67; and *Legacy of Mormon Furniture*, pp. 31, 43, 99, 101, 106, and 122.⁶

Form:	Rocking chair	Reference No:	Ch-6
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP 522
Illustration(s):	Figure 18		
Dimensions:	H: 41 3/4”	W: 22 1/4”	D: 29”
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Reddish, oxblood finish		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This ladder-back rocker has a rush seat and unusually low arms, which may indicate its function as a nurse chair. It has plain double stretchers on the front and sides, with a single stretcher in the back.		
History:	Although stylistic features suggest this chair dates before the Cooperative era, the Cabinet Making Shop was selling chairs designated as “nurse” chairs, starting in 1881. ⁷

Form:	Child’s rocking chair	Reference No:	Ch-8
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H85.11.1
Illustration(s):	Figure 16		
Dimensions:	H: 23 1/2”	W: 15”	D: 23 1/2”

Inscription/marks: None

Finish: Original mahogany finish

Materials: Pine

Description: This diminutive, spindle-back rocker has a similar design scheme to Ch-2 and Ch-3 but on a much smaller scale. This chair also differs by including arms. The back spindles are moderately swelled with a central ball, and the arm supports have the double-cone-and-ball design. As on the larger rocker (Ch-5), the legs taper outwards towards the attachment to the rockers and are attached with a mortise-type joint.

History: Purchased at an auction in 1985 from the Jensen home (3145 S. 400 W.) The original names on deeds for this property are J. J. Nielsen and Juliane Nielsen in 1884, which could very likely be a relation of J.C. Nielsen, who operated the Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop. The Cabinet Making Shop accounts show transactions for small rockers and also for child's rockers.⁸

Form:	Chair (1 of 2)	Reference No:	Ch-9
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H90.4.2
Dimensions:	H: 30 3/4" W: 18"	D: 18 1/2"	

Inscription/marks: None

Finish: Stripped, but evidence indicates original finish was reddish, ox blood

Materials: Pine

Description: This windsor-type, spindle-back (or fan-back) chair has a squared seat made of three joined planks and raked back legs very similar to Ch-3. The presence of ornamental turning embellishments on the front legs distinguish this example from Ch-3. The outermost spindles of the back are flattened on front and three inner spindles are totally rounded. The chair incorporates four simple stretchers and the crest rail is slightly curved.

History: These chairs were donated by Harold Madsen and were once owned by John G. Evans, an early resident of Brigham City. In the Cabinet Making Shop account books, there appears Jonah, Thomas and William Evans. There are, however, a significant number of cash transactions in which the customer was not recorded.

Cupboards

Form:	Cupboard	Reference No:	CB-1
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H89.6.1

Illustration(s): Figure 38

Dimensions: H: 96" W: 44 3/4" D: 17"
 Inscription/marks: None
 Finish: Walnut graining with burl
 Materials: Pine, glass, porcelain drawer pulls and a cupboard catch
 Description: This cupboard has an upper case with two upper glass doors and three interior shelves, and a bottom portion with a small counter with two drawers and two doors below. The glass doors have dropped spindle arched decoration. The dramatic cornice is topped with a mass-produced crown (identical to the crown on W-1). The back is constructed of six vertical panels, joined by tongue-and-groove and vertically beaded on interior surface similar to the secretary (S-1). The bottom has a simple pattern scroll-sawn skirt. This cupboard matches FB-1.
 History: This cupboard was taken out of the home of a local photographer, Alma Compton (1365 S. 100 E), which was purchased by Compton with accompanying furniture from the Jensen family in 1887. In 1875, the Cooperative produced seven cupboards which sold for between \$15.00 and \$45.00 per piece. As the years went by, the Cooperative increased the rate of cupboard production and were eventually exporting them to Boyle & Co. of Ogden (see CB-4). Published in *Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 4.23, p. 133).

Form:	Cupboard	Reference No:	CB-2
Owner:	This is the Place State Park	Acc. No.:	74.122
Dimensions:	H: 96" W: 45 1/2"	D:	20"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Graining in dark oak, with oak ribbons		
Materials:	Pine, glass, carved drawer pulls and a cupboard catch.		
Description:	This cupboard has an upper section with two glass doors and three interior shelves, and a bottom section with a small counter above two drawers and two doors below. Stylistically, this piece is very similar in general design to CB-1, except for different crown and the presence of finials on the cornice (see W-1). The more elaborate nature of this cupboard can be seen in the inset arches on the bottom doors, the inset ovals of the drawers, and the significantly more striking graining pattern. Like cooperative wardrobes, this cupboard has canted corners with applied drop half spindles, oval molding below the cornice, and arched molding on the sides. This cupboard also has mass-produced carved drawer handles. The glass doors have dropped spindle arched decoration similar to CB-1. The back is constructed of seven vertical panels, joined by tongue-and-groove		

and vertically beaded on interior surface. The skirt profile is similar to that on CB-1.

History: Attributed to Brigham City due to stylistic similarities. Wilcox Collection.
Published in *Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 4.26, p. 135).

Form:	Cupboard	Reference No:	CB-3
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP
Dimensions:	H: 87" W: 45 1/4"	D: 16"	
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Dark walnut graining with burl		
Materials:	Pine, glass, drawer pulls and a cupboard catch		
Description:	This cupboard has an upper section with two glass doors with three interior shelves, and a bottom portion below a small counter with two drawers above two doors. This cupboard is very similar in general design to CB-1, except for the applied arrow-like design below the cornice. The glass doors have dropped spindle arched decoration similar to CB-1. The back is constructed of nine vertical panels, joined by tongue-and-groove and vertically beaded on interior surface. The crown is missing.		
History:	The cupboard was donated to the museum by Ellen and Lewis Siggard.

Form:	Cupboard	Reference No:	CB-4
Owner:	Gary Thompson's Antiques		
Illustration(s):	Figure 7		
Dimensions:	H: 80" W: 48"	D: 16 1/2"	
Inscription/marks:	"Boyle & Co. Ogden" written in black on back		
Finish:	Not original		
Materials:	Pine, glass, carved drawer pulls and a cupboard catch		
Description:	This cupboard has an upper portion with two glass doors with three interior shelves, and a bottom section below a small counter with two drawers above two doors. This cupboard is very similar in general design to CB-1 and CB-3. This cupboard also has mass-produced carved drawer handles. The glass doors have drop spindle arched decoration similar to CB-1 and CB-3. The back is constructed of several vertical panels, joined by tongue-and-groove and vertically beaded on interior surface. The crown is missing.		
History:	The marking of "Boyle & Co." may be a destination mark made at the Cooperative shop. Accounts show that Boyle & Co. purchased at least		

thirteen cupboards from the Brigham City Cooperative between 1883 and 1885.⁹

Form:	Cupboard	Reference No:	CB-5
Owner:	L.D.S. Church Museum	Acc. No.:	96-3-51
Illustration(s):	Figure 21		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Walnut grained		
Materials:	Pine, glass, carved drawer pulls and a cupboard catch		
Description:	This cupboard has an upper portion with two glass doors and four interior shelves above a lower section with two drawers above two doors. This cupboard is very similar in general design to CB-2, with canted corners, applied drop half spindles, oval molding below the cornice, and a mass-produced, removable crown. This cupboard also has mass-produced carved drawer handles. The glass doors have dropped spindle arched decoration similar to CB-1. The bottom doors have outside beaded edges. The back is constructed of eight-and-a-half vertical panels, joined by tongue-and-groove joints and vertically beaded in narrow beads on interior surface. The skirt profile is similar to CB-1.		
History:	The museum purchased the cupboard from dealer John Told, who claimed it originated in Brigham City.		

Desk

Form:	Desk	Reference No:	D-1
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	None
Illustration(s):	Figure 11		
Dimensions:	H: 34 1/4" W: 31 1/8" D: 24"		
Inscription/marks:	"525" written on bottom of drawer		
Finish:	Walnut graining, severely damaged		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This locking lift-top desk for writing (top is no longer attached) has four turned legs that taper at the feet in a shape very similar to the feet on the pie safes (see below) The basic desk has splashboard with the same stencil profile quality similar to the washstand splashboard (WS-2).		
History:	The desk was acquired from local thrift store. The cooperative account books show a desk purchased in 1876 for \$5.00, which would indicate a simple and basic construction (as compared to the more expensive secretary form). ¹⁰		

Flour bins

Form:	Flour bin	Reference No:	FB-1
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	89.6.2
Illustration(s):	Figure 5		
Dimensions:	H: 38" W: 35 1/4" D: 19 3/4"		
Inscription/marks:	Some scribe marks		
Finish:	Original walnut graining in a trompe l'oeil effect to simulate panels of wood surrounding a burl center		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	<p>This utilitarian storage unit has been elaborately painted to match its cupboard mate (CB-2). Basically a rectangular chest with a lid and slanted, hinged top, flour bins were standard rural kitchen furniture that could contain up to 1,000 pounds of flour. These forms were usually undecorated, "except for the occasional scrolled skirt," and therefore it is unusual to find such ornately finished examples of the form.¹¹ The flour bin conforms to the expected construction method found in Utah, with the sides and front are dovetailed directly into each other (with 13 dovetails on each front side). The back is made of four horizontal planks dovetailed directly into the sides. The front is three horizontal boards, and the sides are three horizontal boards. The bin is finished with an applied squared skirt. The Cabinet Making Shop account books show that six flour bins were sold in 1875 and 1876 for \$14.00 each.¹²</p>		
History:	<p>Taken out of the Compton home (see CB-1), this piece was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 4.23, p. 133). A similar Utah flour bin, although stripped and with no provenance, was published in <i>Early Utah Furniture</i>, p. 51. This flour bin has a scroll-sawn skirt with a profile similar to other suggested Brigham City pieces.</p>

Form:	Flour bin	Reference No:	FB-2
Owner:	This is the Place State Park	Acc. No.:	76.2
Illustration(s):	Figure 6		
Dimensions:	H: 36 1/2"	W: 36"	D: 21"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Original walnut graining to simulate panels of wood surrounding a burl center		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This utilitarian storage unit has been elaborately painted like FB-1. The construction of this flour bin is identical to that of FB-1, except for a decorative molded edge along the front lid.		

History: This flour bin was owned by William and Mary Jordan Evans, who immigrated from Wales to Brigham City in 1865.¹³

Form: Flour bin
Owner: L.D.S. Church Museum
Reference No: FB-3
Acc. No.: 89.110
Illustration(s): Figure 4
Dimensions: H: 36 7/8" W: 35" D: 19 3/4"
Inscription/marks: "Boyle & Co." written on the back in pencil
Finish: Original walnut graining to simulate panels of wood surrounding a burl center
Materials: Pine
Description: This utilitarian storage unit has been elaborately painted like FB-1. The construction of this flour bin is identical to that of FB-1, but has 14 dovetails in the front rather than 13.
History: Accounts show that Boyle & Co. purchased at least ten flour boxes from the Brigham City Cooperative in 1883 and 1884. Most of these bins cost \$5.00 each, but on December 29, 1883, a flour bin was purchased for \$7.90. Could the extra charge have accounted for the decorative painting perhaps?¹⁴

Lounges

Form: Double Lounge
Owner: This is the Place State Park
Reference No: L-1
Acc. No.: L95.6
Inscription/marks: None
Finish: Reddish oxblood finish
Materials: Pine with castors
Description: Similar lounges were common in early Utah. With the back made up of 12 simple vertical spindles and an elaborately profiled crest rail, the lounge has arms composed of four vertical turned elements under a horizontal turned arm rest. The general profile of this couch suggests a simplified empire style. It is, however, too deep for comfortable sitting. The double set of front scrolled legs hides a false front with alternating slats that extends to form a double-wide sleeping area.
History: Object history says that this piece was purchased in Brigham City. Although the provenance of this object is extremely weak, the Brigham City Cooperative was producing such double lounges for their customers. This type of double lounge was listed for a price of \$16.00 in 1864, according to the Cabinetmakers' List of Prices printed in *Deseret News* (September 7). The account books show that the Brigham City

Cooperative was making such “double lounges,” which were priced at \$18.00 in 1878.¹⁵

Form:	Lounge (Single)	Reference No:	L-2
Owner:	This is the Place State Park	Acc. No.:	75.81
Dimensions:	H: 35 3/4" W: 87 3/4" D: 27 1/2"		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Butter nut yellow graining		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	With the back made up of 17 simple vertical spindles and an scrolled crest rail (similar to the headboard of B-1), the lounge also has arms composed of five vertical turned elements below horizontal turned arm rests. The general profile of this couch suggests a simplified empire style.		
History:	Object history says that it is from Brigham City, although there is no further evidence to substantiate this claim. The account books show that the Brigham City Cooperative was producing these popular lounges, at least five of which were sold to customers in 1875 for \$16.00 each. ¹⁶ This piece was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> , p. 117. For related example, see <i>Early Utah Furniture</i> , p. 45.		

Pie Safes

Form:	Pie Safe	Reference No:	PS-1
Owner:	Private collection of Lorenzo and Elma Hansen, Logan, Utah		
Illustration(s):	Figure 1 and Figure 39		
Dimensions:	H: 53" W: 40" D: 16 3/4"		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Original walnut graining on frame (mostly horizontal) with bold burl on drawers		
Materials:	Pine with twelve sheets of 10"x14" punched tin, cupboard catch has been removed from its original location in the vertical center of the two doors and reattached at the top center of the doors.		
Description:	Two drawers with wooden knob pulls (left knob is missing) sit above two three-panel doors, with three punched tin panels each. The tin is punched with a central, eight-pointed star design (Figure 39). The slender turned legs (6" high) are integral to the four corner stiles, and the back is composed three wide vertical panels grooved into three narrow vertical supports. The drawers are dovetailed with unplanned bottoms, and the drawer back has a central upper groove to guide it along a runner. The doors have a beaded outside edge. The three internal shelves (two plus		

History: one bottom) inside are 3/4" planks resting on the side panel frames. The back of the safe has the bottom of a tin can nailed on to cover a knot hole. Taken out of the basement of a building at the old Cooperative Dairy by the Hansens in 1936 after the family decided to homestead the land. The account books reflect a purchase by the "Egg and Butter Department" of a safe from the Cabinet Making Department. The account books show that the Brigham City Cooperative was producing this popular frontier form, at least five of which were sold to customers in 1875 for \$18.00 or \$20.00 each.¹⁷

Form: Pie Safe Reference No: PS-2
 Owner: Painted Lady Antiques, Ogden, Utah (as of August 1996)
 Dimensions: H: 32 3/4" W: 39 3/8" D: 17"
 Inscription/marks: None
 Finish: Early graining appears to have been at least partially removed, and is now covered in part by a blue/gray pain
 Materials: Pine with wire screen and cupboard catch
 Description: This short and unusual pie safe has one main interior shelf and two front doors, each divided into two sections for screen coverings. The doors are embellished with applied molding around the edge of the screened areas. The sides are also covered with screen, and the front doors have beaded outside edge.
 History: The dealer claims the piece came from a Brigham City family, who says the diminutive pie safe was made at the cooperative.

Form: Pie Safe Reference No: PS-3
 Owner: Brigham City Museum-Gallery Acc. No.: H93.2
 Illustration(s): Figure 2 and Figure 39
 Dimensions: H: 52 1/4" W: 41" D: 17 1/8"
 Inscription/marks: None
 Finish: Original walnut graining
 Materials: Pine with twelve sheets of 10"x14" punched tin, a porcelain cupboard catch
 Description: Two drawers with wooden knob pulls (1 1/2" diam.) sit above two three-panel doors, with three punched tin panels each. The tin sheets are punched in an diamond, diaper pattern (Figure 39). The slender turned legs (5 3/4" high) are integral to the four corner stiles, and the back is composed wide horizontal panels chamfered to fit into grooves in the back

stiles. The drawers are dovetailed. The doors have a beaded inside edge. The three internal shelves (two plus one bottom) inside are 3/4" planks resting on the side panel frames.

History: The museum purchased the piece from a house previously owned by Rick Huckle. Object history suggests the date of circa 1870.¹⁸

Form:	Pie Safe	Reference No:	PS-4
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H89.7
Illustration(s):	Figure 3 and Figure 39		
Dimensions:	H: 52 1/4"	W: 40 1/2"	D: 17"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Totally stripped of original finish, but evidence of previous walnut graining can be seen		
Materials:	Pine with twelve sheets of 10"x14" punched tin, porcelain cupboard catch		
Description:	Two drawers with wooden knob pulls (1 1/2" diam.) sit above two three-panel doors, with three punched tin panels each. The tin sheets are punched in a scrolled heart and diamond pattern (Figure 39). The slender turned legs (5 1/8" high) are integral to the four corner stiles, and the back is composed wide horizontal panels chamfered and set into a vertical groove on the back stile. The drawers are dovetailed. The three internal shelves (two plus one bottom) inside are 3/4" planks resting on the side panel frames. The back of the safe has the bottoms of three tin cans covering significant knot holes in the piece as in PS-1.		
History:	The museum acquired this piece from Nola N. Silva in 1989. Silva claimed the pie safe had been in her family for three generations and was previously owned by Ole Peter Nelson, an immigrant from Denmark.		

Secretary

Form:	Secretary	Reference No:	S-1
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	None
Illustration(s):	Figure 40		
Dimensions:	H: 75"	W: 40 3/4"	D: 20 5/8"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Mahogany graining has been re-touched; interior of secretary painted blue		
Materials:	Pine with glass		
Description:	This piece is a desk with bold turned legs topped with a secretary (could potentially be married). The secretary has a bottom section with pigeon-holes and a top section with two locking glazed doors and two interior shelves. The drop front of the desk portion is missing. The back of		

secretary made up of five vertical panels (circular sawn), tongue and grooved together and beaded on interior surface, similar to the construction seen on cooperative cupboards.

History: The secretary was taken out of the small log home of William L. Gardner (165 N 300 E.) in Brigham City and purchased from Thelma Brailsford. Object history dates it ca. 1870. Although there is only one known example of a secretary linked to the Brigham City Cooperative, the account books show the cabinetmakers were producing this form in relatively significant numbers. At least four were sold in 1875, with prices ranging from \$32.00 to \$55.00.¹⁹

Tables

Form:	Pedestal or Center Table	Reference No:	T-1
Owner:	L.D.S. Church Museum	Acc. No.:	LDS-96-3-34
Illustration(s):	Figure 12 and Figure 41		
Dimensions:	H: 31 "	W at bottom: 28"	Diam.: 36 1/4"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Walnut graining, with blended burls on top and stipple walnut on the pedestal with graining tracing the flow of legs (Figure 41)		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	This three-legged, baluster pedestal table has a round stationary top. Imitating the ornately turned legs seen on Eastern pieces, each leg is cut in an elaborate scrolled design that imitates the profile of more sophisticated pieces. Each flattened leg is 11 3/8" high, shaped with a scroll saw, and incorporates casters. A similar table base, although with four legs, is owned by the Brigham City Museum-Gallery (Figure 42). The top is affixed to the pedestal by means of a large horizontal brace. There is an upside-down acorn finial under the pedestal.		
History:	The museum purchased the table from John Told, who purchased the piece from Gary Thompson. Thompson acquired the table from the Holtsman family of Brigham City in 1982. Although most entries for tables in the cooperative account books are not accompanied with a special designation, occasionally an entry is denoted as a "center" table. In 1876, for example, H.P. Jensen purchased a "center table" for \$28.00 in August.

Form:	Table	Reference No:	T-2
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H89.63
Illustration(s):	Figure 13		
Dimensions:	H: 29 1/4"	W: 22 1/2"	D: 42"

Inscription/marks: None

Finish: Original reddish finish

Materials: Pine

Description: This rectangular table has two drop leaves on each of the long sides and four slender turned legs that taper sharply at the feet. These legs are remarkably similar to the legs on the desk (D-1). There is a drawer (3 7/8" high) on one end of the table with a small, round wooden pull, and both leaves extend the width of the table by 10" each.

History: Taken out of the Compton home (see CB-1), this piece was published in *Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 4.23, p. 133). Although most entries for tables in the account book are not accompanied with a special designation, occasionally an entry is denoted as a "kitchen" table. In 1882, for example, a most probably utilitarian "kitchen table" for \$4.00 cash in May. Also, starting in 1884, entries for "extension" tables, such as the one purchased by Charles N. David for \$11.00, may refer to such a drop leaf form.²⁰

Form:	Pedestal Table	Reference No:	T-3
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	H87.2

Illustration(s): Figure 14

Dimensions: H: 28 1/8" W: 30 1/2" D: 24 3/8"

Inscription/marks: None

Finish: Speckled red and cream paint - mahogany

Materials: Pine

Description: This oval table with octagonal frame base (skirt) and turned bulbous pedestal has four flat, scroll sawn decorative legs similar to T-1. The elaborate pattern of the legs show a decorative spur-like embellishment that can also be found on the table remnant (Figure 42). The pedestal is attached to the base with a cross beam bolted into the skirt. One leg has been broken and repaired. There is an acorn-type finial on bottom of pedestal.

History: The table was purchased from a local antiques store (Fred and Kitty's Antiques) in Brigham City, who claimed it was Brigham City Cooperative. The table was published in *Legacy of Mormon Furniture* (Figure 4.24, p. 133).

Washstand

Form:	Washstand	Reference No:	WS-2
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	None

Dimensions: H: 33 5/8" W: 27 7/8" D: 16 1/2"
 Inscription/marks: None
 Finish: Walnut grain with burl on drawer and stipple on legs
 Materials: Pine
 Description: One-drawer washstand with simple profile backsplash and lower shelf which rests on side stretchers. The drawer pull is a wooden knob (1 1/2" diam.), similar to those found on cooperative pie safes. The backsplash shows evidence of towel rods, now missing. Related washstands can be seen in *Early Utah Furniture*, p. 74 and 76, both with histories of production in northern Utah.
 History: The washstand was purchased locally by Larry Douglas. The account books reveal that at least seven washstands were purchased in 1875 for \$8.00 each. Two of these washstands were purchased in conjunction with a bureau.²¹

Shelf

Form: Small shelf Reference No: Sh-2
 Owner: Brigham City Museum-Gallery Acc. No.: None
 Dimensions: H: 16 1/2" W: 16 7/8" D: 5 3/4"
 Inscription/marks: None
 Finish: Walnut graining
 Materials: Pine
 Description: This small shelf has scroll sawn sides and two shelf levels. Considering the large amount of shelves sold by the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop and the unique original graining on this piece, this shelf could have been one of the numerous decorative items purchased by local consumers.
 History: The shelf was purchased locally by Larry Douglas. The account books reveal that at least two shelves were purchased in 1875 for \$1.50 each. Later years indicate an increasing desire for these simple, luxury items.²²

Wardrobes

Form: Wardrobe Reference No: W-1
 Owner: L.D.S. Church Museum Acc. No.: LDS 96-32-1
 Illustration(s): Figure 22 and Figure 25
 Dimensions: H: 93" W: 47 1/2" D: 19"
 Inscription/marks: "Holst" written in blue on underside of drawer bottom (Figure 25); slashing scribe marks on back interior; back of doors have production numbers "3" and "4"
 Finish: Walnut graining and burl graining

Materials: Pine, two drawer pulls, locking mechanism.

Description: This tall armoire has two locking front doors above a central bottom drawer. The front vertical edges of the wardrobe are canted (edges are 1 1/2" wide) with drop half spindles (5 1/2") applied below the cornice and above the skirt. The frame-and-panel doors have black 1/2" molding applied in an arch shape, and an oval panel applied under the cornice. The drawer (36 3/8" x 11 1/4"), which is constructed of wide dovetails (approx. 2 1/2" in back), also has oval black molding around the drawer pulls and similar straight molding that traces the outline of the drawer on its front face (similar to the style found on bureaus). The piece also has two finials above the cornice (like CB-2) and a mass-produced detachable crown. The shape of the skirt (5" high) is similar to those seen on cupboards and chests. The back of the piece is constructed of five circular sawn vertical panels joined with tongue-and-groove joints.

History: The museum purchased the wardrobe from John Told, who purchased the wardrobe from Gary Thompson, who acquired the piece from the Holtsman family in Brigham City. Three wardrobes are listed in the account book records as being sold in 1875. Two of these wardrobes sold for \$40.00 and one sold for \$37.00.²³ Over the years, the shop increased the number of wardrobes produced, until the peak year of 1882 when they sold at least 10.

Form:	Wardrobe	Reference No:	W-2
Owner:	Gary Thompson's Antiques Shop		
Dimensions:	H: 89" W: 41"	D:	16 3/4"
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Walnut graining and burl graining, with severe crackling		
Materials:	Pine with replaced drawer pulls.		
Description:	This tall armoire has two front doors above a central bottom drawer. The front vertical edges of the wardrobe are canted (edges are 1 1/2" wide) with drop half spindles (6 1/8") applied below the cornice and above the skirt. The frame-and-panel doors have black 1" molding applied around the interior and beaded edges (both sides). An 1/2" molding was applied under the cornice in an oval shape. The drawer is constructed of narrow dovetails (1 1/4") joining the side to the front and wide dovetails (approx. 2") joining the sides to the back. The drawer has straight molding that traces the outline of the drawer on its front face. The shape of the skirt is similar to those seen on cupboards. The back of the piece is constructed of five circular sawn vertical panels joined with tongue-and-groove joints and vertically beaded edge of interior surface.		

History: Local dealers suspect this piece is from the Brigham City Cooperative because of its stylistic similarity to other wardrobes and cupboards.

Form: Wardrobe Reference No: W-3
Owner: Gary Thompson's Antiques Shop
Dimensions: H: 85" W: 44" D: 15 3/4"
Inscription/marks: "E.J. Showell/Kelton, Utah/From N Co__ Brigham" written in black on the back; production numbers "3" (on underside bottom of small left drawer), "4" (on underside of bottom small right drawer), and corresponding numbers on ledge of drawer rest. A symbol "⌘" is written in pencil inside above right door.
Finish: Walnut graining and burl graining, regrained
Materials: Pine with missing drawer pulls; inside back is covered with paper
Description: This tall armoire has two front doors and three lower drawers - two small upper drawers above a central bottom drawer. The front vertical edges of the wardrobe are canted (edges are 1 1/2" wide) with drop half spindles (5") applied below the cornice and above the skirt. The frame-and-panel doors have black 3/4" molding applied around the interior. An oval stippled panel was applied under the cornice. The larger drawer (37 1/4" x 9 1/2") is constructed of narrow dovetails (1 1/2") joining the side to the front and wider dovetails joining the sides to the back. The drawer has straight molding that traces the outline of the drawer on its front face. The smaller drawers (17 1/4" x 5") have three dovetails in the front, approximately 1" wide, with two larger dovetails joining the side to the back. The shape of the skirt (5" high) is similar to those seen on cupboards and other wardrobes. The back of the piece is constructed of five circular sawn vertical panels joined with tongue-and-groove joints.
History: Kelton, Utah, is a town on the Central Pacific railroad. Although no listing for a Showell in Kelton can be found in the account books, stylistic similarities and the clear word "Brigham" on the back of this piece warrant the inclusion of this wardrobe in my study. The piece was purchased by Thompson at an auction in Ogden, and the owner said the piece came out of a home in northern Utah.

Form: Wardrobe Reference No: W-4
Owner: Brigham City Museum-Gallery Acc. No.: DUP
Illustration(s): Figure 26
Dimensions: H: 96" W: 36 1/2" D: 21"

the pre-Cooperative Shop era. The wardrobe was purchased at an Ogden antiques shop.

Beds

Form:	Bed	Reference No:	B-1
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	DUP 531
Illustration(s):	Figure 8		
Dimensions:	H: 42 1/2" W: 51 1/4" D: 79 1/2"		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Very dark brown, original finish that does not look grained		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	The headboard of the bed is similar to Utah lounge backs, with a scroll type central element flanked by simple swells in the backboard profile. The backboard has eight delicately turned, narrow spindles, and two large, boldly turned posts. The footboard consists of similarly turned posts connected by a scroll sawn board that reflects the headboard in profile.		
History:	This bed was taken out of the Compton home (see CB-1). A related example can be seen in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 1.21, p. 38). Another similar example can be seen at This is the Place State Park (B-3; 85.26.1.14a-d), although this bed has a history of purchase in Manti, Utah, in 1868.

Form:	Bed	Reference No:	B-2
Owner:	Brigham City Museum-Gallery	Acc. No.:	None
Illustration(s):	Figure 9		
Dimensions:	H: 56" W: 52" (headboard)		
Inscription/marks:	None		
Finish:	Reddish stain		
Materials:	Pine		
Description:	Rope bed with a headboard constructed of nine turned elements between the posts and below the crest rail. The headboard has a central design element flanked by two swells in the profile, like on B-1. The foot board is also similar to B-1.		
History:	Taken out of the Gardner home (see S-1), this bed was purchased from Thelma Brailsford and its object history dates it to circa 1870. The turned elements on this bed are related to a bed in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 3.40, p. 103). This bed was published in <i>Legacy of Mormon Furniture</i> (Figure 3.49, p. 111).		

ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX

¹ See accounts of the “Suthern Mission,” J.D. Reese, Lorenzo Snow and the Egg and Butter Department, Ledger A, 1874-1876 (LR 933 34; Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 1), Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter HDCJCLDS).

² See object folder at the Brigham City Museum-Gallery for deed information.

³ See accounts of James May and the Wholesale Department, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

⁴ See accounts of the dairy, J. Cole of Willard and O.G. Snow for examples, Ledger B, 1876-1878 (LR 933 34; Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 2), HDCJCLDS.

⁵ See accounts of U.N.R.R., C. Kelly and Wholesale Department for congress chair listings in 1875, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS; “Cabinetmakers’ List of Prices” is quoted in Hal Cannon (ed.), *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), p. 67.

⁶ See accounts of H.P. Jensen, U.N.R.R., S.N. Lee, and Wholesale Department for “Large rocking chair” listings in Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS; “Cabinetmakers’ List of Prices” is quoted in Cannon, *Utah Folk Art*, p. 67.

⁷ See accounts of H. Savage, August Valentine, Cutler, and P.F. Madsen for examples in Ledger A, 1880-1882 (LR 933 34; Reel 51, Box 55, Fd 3), HDCJCLDS.

⁸ See accounts of Wholesale Department which purchased 6 small rockers for \$21.00 and O.G. Snow who purchased a child’s rocking chair for \$3.25 in April 1875, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS; for deed information, see object folder at the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

⁹ See account for Boyle & Co., Ledger B, 1883-1888 (LR 933 34; Reel 52, Box 56, Fd 1), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁰ See account of the Tannery, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

¹¹ Connie Morningstar, *Early Utah Furniture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), p. 4.

¹² See accounts of L. Snow, J.D. Reese, U.N.R.R., and B.L. Nichols for “Flour box” listings in 1875 and 1876, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS

¹³ See object folder at This is the Place State Park.

¹⁴ See account for Boyle & Co., Ledger A (1883-1888), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁵ See account of Jerome Roberts, November 12, 1878, Ledger B (1876-1878), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁶ See accounts of N.H. Nelson, U.N.N.R., Christon Hansen, A. Baird, and George Davis, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁷ See accounts of H.P. Jensen, N.H. Nelson, Lorenzo Snow, the Wholesale Department, and the Egg and Butter Department, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

¹⁸ See object folder at the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

¹⁹ See accounts of Lorenzo Snow, Jonah Evans, the Shoe Department, and John C. Dewey, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

²⁰ See 1882 daybook in Ledger B (1883-1888), HDCJCLDS.

²¹ See accounts of James May, the Wholesale Department, and S. Smith, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

²² See accounts of Lorenzo Snow and W. Sharp, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

²³ See accounts of E.A. Box and the Wholesale Department, Ledger A (1874-1876), HDCJCLDS.

APPENDIX B

Figures

Pie Safe (PS-1), Private Collection of Lorenzo and Elma Hansen. Photo courtesy of Lorenzo and Elma Hansen.

Figure 1

Pie safe attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (PS-3). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 2

Pie Safe (PS-4), Brigham City Museum-Gallery H89.7.
Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 3

Flour bin marked "Boyle & Co." (FB-3). Photo courtesy of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 4

Flour bin attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (FB-1). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 5

Flour bin attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (FB-2). Photo courtesy of This is the Place State Park.

Figure 6

Detail of cupboard top (CB-4), Private Collection of Gary Thompson. Photo courtesy of Gary Thompson.

Figure 7

Bed attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (B-1). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 8

Bed attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (B-2). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 9

Washstand attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (WS-2). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 10

Lift-top desk attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (D-1). Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 11

Table (T-1), L.D.S. Church Museum LDS 96-3-34. Photo courtesy of L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 12

Kitchen table attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (T-2). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 13

Table attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (T-3). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 14

Congress chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-1). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 15

Child's rocking chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-8). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 16

“Boston rocker” attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-5). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 17

Rocking chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-6). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 18

Walnut bureau advertised for \$4.50 in *Coogan Brothers Illustrated Catalog* of 1876 (p. 28), showing stylistic features associated with the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop: canted corners, drop spindles and oval molding on the drawers. Photo courtesy of The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

Figure 19

Bureau (C-1), L.D.S. Church Museum LDS 96-32-3. Photo courtesy of L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 20

Cupboard attributed to the Brigham City
Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (CB-5).
Photo by R.T. Nielsen and Ron Reed, courtesy
of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 21

Wardrobe attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (W-1). Photo by R.T. Nielsen and Ron Reed, courtesy of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 22

Detail of removable crown from a wardrobe attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (W-1). Photo courtesy of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Illustration from *A. Roda's Illustrated Catalog of Wood Furniture Carvings* of 1876 showing type of book case top available for purchase (p. 30). Photo courtesy of The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

Comparison of crown found on cupboards and wardrobes from Brigham City with a product available through a contemporary trade catalog.

Figure 23

Advertisement from *A. Roda's Illustrated Catalog of Wood Furniture Carvings* of 1876 showing the variety of carved handles available for purchase (p. 2). Photo courtesy of The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

Detail showing carved handle found on a cupboard attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (CB-5). Photo courtesy of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Comparison of drawer pulls available through contemporary trade catalogs with an example from a Brigham City cupboard.

Figure 24

Detail showing underside of drawer bottom, wardrobe (W-1) from L.D.S. Church Museum (LDS 96-32-1). Photo courtesy of L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 25

Wardrobe attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (W-4). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 26

Wardrobe (W-5), Private Collection of Kenyon Kennard. Photo courtesy of Kenyon Kennard.

Figure 27

Bureau (C-2), Private Collection of Scott Christensen. Photo courtesy of Scott Christensen.

Figure 28

Bureau attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (C-6). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 29

Bureau (C-9), Private Collection of Wallace Budd. Photo courtesy of Wallace Budd.

Figure 30

Back of bureau (B-9), Private Collection of Wallace Budd.
Photo courtesy of Wallace Budd.

Figure 31

Washstand advertised in *Sugg and Beiersdorf Furniture Manufacturing Co. Illustrated Catalog* of 1878 (p. 43).
Photo courtesy of The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

Figure 32

Small chest attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (C-7).
Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 33

Blanket chest from Brigham City Cooperative (C-8). Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 34

Spindle-back chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-2). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 35

Spindle-back chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-3). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 36

Chair attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (Ch-4). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 37

Cupboard attributed to the Brigham City
Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (CB-1).
Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-
Gallery.

Figure 38

Detail of punched tin design (PS-1). Photo courtesy of Lorenzo and Elma Hansen.

Detail of punched tin design (PS-3). Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Detail of punched tin design (PS-4). Photo courtesy of Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Comparison of punched tin patterns on three pie safes.

Figure 39

Secretary attributed to the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop (S-1). Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 40

Detail of table leg showing graining pattern (T-1). Photo courtesy of the L.D.S. Church Museum.

Figure 41

Table remnant believed to be from the Brigham City Cooperative Cabinet Making Shop. Photo courtesy of the Brigham City Museum-Gallery.

Figure 42

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