



1994

The Early Life and Career of Joseph Don Carlos Young (1855-1938): A Study of Utah's First Institutionally Trained Architect to 1884

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THE EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF
JOSEPH DON CARLOS YOUNG (1855-1938)

A Study of Utah's
First Institutionally Trained Architect
to 1884

P. Bradford Westwood

A Thesis

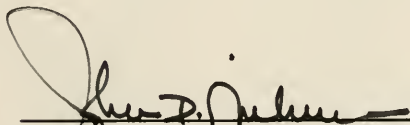
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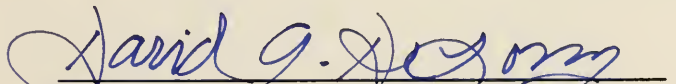
Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Masters of Science

1994



John Milner, Adjunct Associate Professor
of Architecture, Reader



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Graduate Group Chairman and Advisor

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Preface

When I began my thesis project, I had intended to produce a historic structure report (HSR) for the Brigham Young Academy Building located in Provo, Utah (designed 1884, completed 1892). The building is the oldest standing and the principal structure for what was the original campus, built and designed expressly, for the Brigham Young Academy (1875-1903), latter Brigham Young University (1903 - present). The Brigham Young Academy building is one of a number of school buildings on what is known as "the lower campus" of Brigham Young University.¹

Regretfully, this historic school building and most neighboring buildings, have been either under-utilized or abandoned for over fifteen years. Sold by Brigham Young University with a preservation covenant to shopping mall developers in 1975, the original development plan and all subsequent plans have proven not to be economically viable. Those who would like to use the campus for civic purposes have been, despite years of labor, unable to secure sufficient funding.

In 1989, when I left Utah to attend graduate school at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, a potentially viable use for the campus had surfaced. Sadly, now that I look back, one of the many. Having served as a founding member of the Brigham Young Academy Foundation (1984-1989), a group established to

¹ Besides the original academy building (1892), there are three other large school buildings on the property. They are: College Hall, dedicated in 1898; the Training School Building, dedicated in 1902; and the Missionary and Predatory Building, dedicated in 1904. All three were designed by Provo architect Richard C. Watkins. There is also a number of other school buildings around the perimeter, across streets, that are part of the old Brigham Young University campus.

preserve and to find a viable use for the campus, I intended to make my Master's thesis aid this undertaking, if at all possible.

My original idea was to produce a part-technical and part-historical document. The first half was to be a brief history of the building's architect, Joseph Don Carlos Young, with an assessment of his early career and architectural commissions, leading to and including the Brigham Young Academy which he designed in 1884. The second half was intended to be a technical treatise, a pedagogical exercise, if not also something that would have been useful in the rehabilitation of the building.²

From 1991 to 1992 (and for some years prior to this) I conducted much of the intensive surveying and research necessary to complete both segments of the project. While writing the first segment, it became evident to me and to my thesis advisor, Dr. David G. De Long, that I had more than a "brief" history of Young. I then redefined my project, focusing entirely on Young's early career, his major commissions during this time, and finally, his place in Utah's architectural history during the 1880s and beyond.

Another attractive reason for me to carry out this study was the availability of Young's (and his extended family's) records, including architectural drawings, which I was fortunate to help find and preserve. In 1987, as an employee of the LDS (Mormon) Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City, I was able to, by design and by serendipity, track-down with the assistance of the University of Utah Special

² This segment was to include a history of construction with subsequent alterations and additions, a survey of current conditions and problems, an analysis of building materials and systems, and a series of recommendations for the building's eventual rehabilitation. I do, in fact, have much of this in rough draft form.

Collections and Utah COPAR (Cooperative Preservation of Architectural Drawings), one of Young's descendants. Eventually, through this descendent, hundreds of linear feet of material, encompassing three generations of Utah architects, was institutionalized (see bibliography). Two years before this, retired Salt Lake City architect Richard W. Jackson had approached another architect-descendent of Joseph Don Carlos Young and urged him to donate his family archive. This descendent was delighted to do so and permitted Jackson to place all Mormon Church related materials in the LDS Church Archives, with all else being donated to the Special Collections Department, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Combined, these two Young family archives (jointly owned by the two mentioned repositories) represent one of Utah's most historically and graphically significant architectural collections. With this body of primary material available, a thorough study of Young's early career was possible.

As was my original intent, I hope this study will aid in the preservation of the Brigham Young Academy Building (and the surrounding buildings on this historic campus) and as many other buildings designed by Young. In a regional culture that has undeviatingly extolled the value of history in day to day living, generally through the predominate religion the Mormon Church, appreciation of history, particularly the built environment, is still very much wanting. I hope this study will engender or aid in the rise of a preservation ethic, a belief that much of historic built environment should "come along" with the rapid developments of the future.

This thesis has four chapters. The first chapter discusses Young's early life and the opportunities afforded him as a son of Mormon Church leader Brigham Young.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of Young's studies at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. The second chapter explores his early, fledgling career when the architect acquired a practicum of sorts, that finished his architectural education. Chapter three discusses his early commissions and the clients that engaged him. Chapter four offers a study of the Bear Lake Stake Tabernacle and the Brigham Young Academy, both designed in 1884. Although argued throughout the thesis, Young's place in Utah and the region's architectural history is also summarily discussed. In this effort I have attempted to: (1) write a biographical account of the early career of Utah's (and the Mormon's) first academically trained architect, (2) write an architectural history and (3), produce a social history dealing with late nineteenth century Utah architecture. Like no other Utah Mormon architect of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Young's work represents and exhibited the tenor of Mormon life for the centralized church and the higher administrative echelon of Mormon society.

Acknowledgements

I conducted research at the following institutions: the Fine Arts or Furness Library at the University of Pennsylvania (Phila, Pa.), The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City), the Special Collections Department at the University of Utah (Salt Lake City), the Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah), the Family History Library of the LDS Church (Salt Lake City) and Special Collections and Archives at Utah State University. I extend my thanks to each of these institution for the record access and assistance offered me.

At the University of Utah, Director of Special Collections Greg Thompson and supervisor of cataloging Nancy V. Young, made every effort to assist me in my study of the Young family manuscript and architectural collections. Mrs. Young also arranged for room and board for me when I travelled to Salt Lake City to study these materials in 1991. The public service offered by the staff of the University of Utah made the arduous work of research as trouble-free as they could possibly make it.

Senior archivist and Mormon architecture specialist W. Randall Dixon of the LDS Church Archives opened his extensive files to me, as well as read various drafts and portions of my thesis. As my previous immediate supervisor for part of my employment at the LDS Church Historical Department (1884-1989), Mr. Dixon has in a collegial manner shared and discussed many insights with me regarding Mormon and U.S. social and architectural history. Also William Slaughter, of the same institution, has constantly assisted me in my search for architectural and photographic materials

for this study. Vivian Duvall from the LDS Church Library also assisted me on numerous occasions. Brad Cole and Peter Schmidt at Utah State University found unprocessed Young material for me, and now retired archivist Melva Richey of the University Archives at Brigham Young University personally searched university records that were not opened to the public. University of Utah architectural historian Peter L. Goss, Ph.D., read the first two chapters and made a number of valuable suggestions. Brigham Young University art and architectural historian, C. Mark Hamilton, Ph.D., also read an earlier version of this thesis and offered comments and encouragement. Roger Moss, Ph.D., executive director of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia and adjunct professor in the Historic Preservation at the University of Pennsylvania, and Bruce Laverty, curator of architecture from the same institution, both offered valuable assistance regarding nineteenth century American architecture. The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, which is a regional center for the study of American architecture and decorative arts, was both a wonderful place to work and study. It was a most useful corollary to my studies at Penn. Mormon historian, archivist and editor, Gordon Irving, of the LDS Church Archives kindly and patiently copy-and-text-edited this thesis through the course of its production.

Over the course of what has become three years, my thesis advisor, David G. De Long, Ph.D., professor of architecture and graduate group chair for the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, offered direct advice and careful readings of this work from the beginning. I thank him for his direction.

There were also scores of fellow students, colleagues, friends and acquaintances that offered assistance to me, in one form or another, that are not mentioned here. Some I mention in the endnotes. Although I have been assisted by many individuals and institutions, I am only to blame for any errors of transmission, interpretation or analysis, if such problems exist. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Virlie Vincent Westwood, for her support and encouragement in my pursuit of the past and my study in historic preservation and architectural history.

The Education and Early Influences of Joseph Don Carlos Young (1855-1879)

I

Joseph Don Carlos Young was born in relatively modest yet privileged surroundings in Salt Lake City on May 6, 1855, eight years after the Mormon pioneers had established the Rocky Mountain city.¹ His mother was Emily Dow Partridge, daughter of Edward Partridge, the first Presiding Bishop of the Mormon Church. She was also an early polygamous wife of Mormon Church founder Joseph Smith.² In September 1844, three months after Smith's death, Partridge again entered into a polygamous marriage, this time with Brigham Young (fig.1.1). From this union seven children were born, five of whom reached adulthood.³ Joseph Don Carlos Young was one of Brigham Young's seventeen sons (fig. 1.2) and forty-six children who lived beyond childhood.⁴

Young's rather lengthy name was given to him by his mother, who was inspired first by Joseph Smith and secondly by Smith's infant son Don Carlos, who was named after a brother of Joseph Smith. As teenagers, Partridge and her sister were nannies to Joseph Smith's children. As she would later recall, Emily had a particular affection for Smith's youngest son, Don Carlos, who died in 1840. The child's death and Joseph Smith's death in 1844 were sorrowful memories to her. Besides Smith's death, Partridge specifically mentioned the life and death of baby Don Carlos in her published personal history.⁵ Joseph Don Carlos Young's name paid

tribute to the memory of the two people whom Partridge was most devoted as a young woman.

Emily's clandestine polygamist marriage or "sealing" to Joseph Smith remained a life-long source of pride to her, which she, and to a certain degree the Mormon society at-large, regarded as rare mark of distinction; a spiritual emblem that, in Mormon doctrine of the after-life, sealed her's and her children's eternal fate with that of the martyred leader and not to their earthly husband and father, Brigham Young. Emily instilled in her children a conviction that because they were "spiritual children" of Joseph Smith they possessed an ennobling status. A belief that was not always offered the deference Emily and, to a lesser degree, her children expected. This grand familial attitude, conveyed by Emily, would have a tremendous effect on Joseph Don Carlos Young own behavior and outlook, giving him a certain condescending social consciousness.⁶

Brigham Young's and Partridge's first child, a boy, was named after her father, Edward Partridge. At the age of seven, Edward Partridge Young died, some two years before J.D.C. Young was born. Of Brigham Young's and Emily Dow Partridge's five living children, J.D.C. Young was the couple's only living son.⁷

Joseph Don Carlos Young's education began in his father's private schoolhouse, located east of Brigham Young's Beehive House and next to the Eagle Gate.⁸ Carl (as he was called) and his many siblings received, in comparison to other children of the day and place, a superior early education. Several of Utah's most well-known pioneer educators at one time or another taught in Brigham Young's schoolhouse. One of

these was the German-born and trained academician Karl G. Maeser (**fig. 1.3**)⁹, who would later, as principal of the Brigham Young Academy, contribute significantly to Young's 1884 building design for that school.

Despite possibly the best elementary educational opportunity in Utah, Carl was not a serious student and, as he recounted later in life, often found himself on the wrong side of his teacher's attention.¹⁰ His oldest daughter, at the age of ninety-nine, remembered her father telling her that Maeser called him a "mule."¹¹

After a period of frequent truancy and stubborn disaffection from school, Carl was granted permission by his father to leave his studies. Alfales Young (1853-1920), Carl's fourteen-year-old half-brother, who had made a similar arrangement with his father (**fig. 1.2**)¹², teamed-up with twelve-year-old Carl for what can be characterized as a self-imposed rite of passage from adolescence towards adult life in a still very turbulent Utah. Years later Young recounted his father's words at the time:

"Now, my son, if you really want to go to work instead of going to school, I'll give you this opportunity, and Brother Hamilton G. Park [the foreman of LDS Church Public Works] will tell you what to do."

Carl and Alfales worked together hauling, among other materials, milled wood and lime from City Creek Canyon, used in the finish work of the great elliptical-roofed tabernacle located on Temple Square.¹³ Recalling that at first he was given a team of blind mules to drive, the architect proudly stated that, once he proved himself an able teamster and laborer, Mr. Park handed him the reins of the "Allen Greys," the best team of horses in the Public Works stable.¹⁴

Carl was not Brigham Young's only son granted permission to leave school. As mentioned previously, Carl's half-brother Alfales was given similar leave, apparently some time before Carl. Ernest Irving Young (1851-1879) and Willard Young (1853-1936), who were respectively four and three years older than Carl, had approached their father in 1865 to ask if they could leave school (fig. 1.2).¹⁵ It was Ernest and Willard who set the example, Alfales following sometime after, with young Carl following suit in 1867.

In each circumstance, it was the instruction of Karl G. Maeser that the boys wished to escape. Maeser's tenure as tutor to Brigham Young's children commenced in 1864 when Carl was nine years old. The German academician remained at his post until 1867, when Brigham Young sent him to Europe to preside over the Church's Swiss and German Mission.¹⁶ Willard remembered years later that he and Alfales had told their father that "Brother Maeser couldn't teach [them] very much" and Maeser's open displeasure and name calling suggests something of an impasse between tutor and adolescent pupils.¹⁷ Maeser's class discipline and demanding teaching methods may well have encouraged the boys to think of leaving school.

Brigham Young's experience with his older sons possibly convinced him that twelve-year-old Carl could also benefit from hard labor until the desire "to stay put" came to him. Or perhaps Brigham Young thought that Carl could leave his unpalatable book learning, as he himself had done as young man, and pursue work more suited to the boy's desires and temperament.¹⁸

In either case, based on the assorted professional paths taken by Brigham Young's children and the guidance he gave them, the Mormon leader ultimately left his children to pursue their own interests, although always within the bounds of the Mormon Kingdom.¹⁹

Carl's older brother Willard eventually returned to school, a precedent that both Alfales and Carl ultimately followed. The constant and strenuous work heaped on Carl eventually drove the adolescent back to his father's schoolhouse.²⁰ When Carl returned to class, Maeser had long since left for Europe. He continued to work part-time at various jobs but thereafter attended school with greater effect.

This sequence of events in his early life became a source of pride to J.D.C. Young, in that he was able to succeed both in his audacious interlude from education and to reverse his seemingly entrenched attitude and receive an honorable education.²¹ This heady self-confidence and tenacious desire to prove himself persisted throughout the architect's life and were both assets and obstructions to his career.

II

Brigham Young's expectation for his sons, above all else, was that they develop a firm devotion to the principles of Mormonism, as manifested through a sustained contribution to the building up of the Kingdom.²² With farm and labor skills, academic opportunity, and cultural and social adeptness (and in Carl's case the inclusion of musical instruction), the sons of Brigham Young were expected to

accomplish much in their chosen careers.²³ As the only living son of Emily Dow Partridge Young, Carl was also encouraged by his mother to pursue an education. Herself a child of a prominent early Mormon leader, Carl's mother had experienced an unsettled and nomadic family life, moving from Ohio to Missouri to Salt Lake City, with little opportunity for schooling.²⁴

Besides receiving his father's and mother's encouragement, young Carl was also influenced by various church leaders who surrounded his father. One of them was college-trained Albert Carrington, one of Brigham Young's closest advisers during the boy's youth. A graduate of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, Carrington followed a number of careers, including federal surveyor, teacher, lawyer, legislator, newspaper editor, horticulturist, and church leader. As Utah historian Brigham D. Madsen stated, "At least, for his day, [Carrington] was an educated man, which gave him prominence later during his career in Utah."²⁵

Many of the earliest volumes in J.D.C. Young's personal library were given to him by Carrington, whose autograph, along with J.D.C. Young's, are found in a number of these books.²⁶ Most of them are bound periodicals espousing modern farm management and horticultural techniques, frequently advocating the use of scientific learning on the farm and in the home.²⁷ As one of the few college-trained Mormons of his time,²⁸ Carrington may well have influenced Brigham Young and his sons to appreciate both modern scientific practices and the benefits of college training.²⁹

In addition in 1868, when Carl was thirteen years old, his oldest full sister, Emily Augusta Young (1849-1926), became the fourth wife of Hiram Bradley

Clawson (1826-1912). Clawson was a long-time friend and business associate of Brigham Young and was forty-two when he married nineteen-year-old Emily.³⁰ That same year Brigham Young appointed Clawson the first general superintendent of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), a commercial system intended to meet the Mormon people's mercantile needs in Utah's post-transcontinental railroad era.³¹ This new and accomplished brother-in-law would also have an influence on Carl adolescence.

Shortly after his sister's marriage to Clawson, Carl was given, as he later described, his first "paying job" driving a delivery wagon for ZCMI; a year later he was placed in the crockery department, then in the dry goods department, next in the ZCMI drug store fountain, where he made, among other preparations of the day, as he described it, "rot gut" whiskey. With each new assignment Carl's confidence and responsibilities grew, until in 1871 the teenager was given charge of the fountain's bookkeeping and cash box.³²

Earlier, in 1870, fifteen-year-old Carl, like many of his siblings before him, entered the University of Deseret.³³ Classes were held in the Council House, located south of Temple Square.³⁴ Despite the title "university," the school's curriculum during most of Carl's years there was more preparatory than it was university level.³⁵

By 1873, at the age of eighteen, Carl had demonstrated that he could work both hard and intelligently. During his years with ZCMI he garnered the respect of his influential brother-in-law, who perhaps saw in the boy an aptitude that exceeded his present labors. Aside from his father, whom Carl described as being most "liberal"

regarding his children's education³⁶, and his older siblings, Carl was most clearly influenced by Clawson, who began his career as a laborer, then worked as a mason, eventually becoming a successful businessman and financial adviser to Brigham Young. Clawson, who had been a builder and mechanic, had a keen appreciation for the technical and scientific.

Sometime in 1873 Carl and five of his brothers approached their father to ask permission to attend the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Brigham Young apparently granted their request.³⁷ The boys may be inspired by the experiences of their cousin Le Grand Young, who graduated from the University of Michigan in 1871, and their half-brother Willard, who had entered the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1871. Willard was the Academy's first Mormon cadet in the year that West Point also admitted its first Afro-American cadet.³⁸ Also in 1873 college-trained Albert Carrington was appointed to be an assistant counselor to Brigham Young, placing him daily in Brigham Young's office and amongst Young's children, including Carl.³⁹

Carl and his brothers' request was not the only educational issue on Brigham Young's mind at the time. Their request may well have been guided by his concern about the growing attendance of Mormon youth at Protestant-operated high schools and colleges in Utah.⁴⁰ This situation led Young to consider establishing several church-sponsored academies for Mormon youth. As a result, in 1871 Brigham Young called University of Deseret principal John Park on a church mission with the charge to examine educational institutions and systems in the eastern states and in Europe.⁴¹

Two years later, in 1873, in answer to Brigham Young's request for advice, long-time adviser Colonel Thomas L. Kane of Pennsylvania⁴² sent his views regarding the establishment of such institutions in Utah. In part he stated:

On two points I know your sentiments; that Utah should before this point have been educating her own teachers, and preparing if not publishing her own text books. The young fledglings who would resort to our Eastern seminaries of learning - to learn what you will hardly be able to unteach them all their days - should even now be training in the Brigham Young University, normal college of the highest grade, to officiate as "Zion" tutors and professors.⁴³

Such an institution would require qualified and, more importantly, as Kane described it (probably echoing Brigham Young's own feelings), Zion-oriented "tutors and professors." Young clearly hoped this need could in part be filled by his sons. Not only would Young endow academies and colleges for Mormon youth in the years preceding his death, but he also expected his eastern-schooled sons to offer their learning and leadership to these institutions established with a strictly Mormon point of view. Clearly Carl and his brothers' desire to study in the East became part of their father's long-term educational scheme for the territory.⁴⁴

Despite his youthful rebellion against Professor Maeser, Carl's prior education had given him the academic proficiency necessary to qualify for entrance to the University of Michigan. With arrangements for admission made and evidently, as J.D.C. Young recalled, with newly-tailored suits and traveling trunks ready, and with their departure date nearing, the boys' father reversed himself and told them they could not go. Brigham Young's change of heart was due to a sermon preached by George Albert Smith, his counselor in the church presidency. Smith publicly chided and warned church members against sending their children east to be educated.⁴⁵ If

Brigham Young was not convinced by his aide's argument, he was at least respectful of his friend's opinion and decided against letting his sons go to Ann Arbor.

After some talking, the boys eventually changed their father's mind, but with two demanding provisos attached, meant to address George A. Smith's reservations and still permit Brigham Young's sons to pursue their educational dreams, as well as fulfill his hopes. They were to first attend the University of Deseret for at least another two years and then promise to return to Utah and use their educations to teach others. The latter requirement was probably assumed but not openly discussed when the boys first made their request.⁴⁶

If these requirements were met, Brigham Young must have reasoned, it would demonstrate a genuine desire for such education and, perhaps more importantly, prevent the young men from being adversely affected by going "out into the world" too soon and possibly deciding to stay there.

III

By 1875 only Carl and Alfales had completed the two years of study prescribed by Brigham Young. Feramorz, the boys' younger half-brother, received an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis in 1874, requiring him to begin his studies before completing his two years of study at the University of Deseret (**fig. 1.2**). In all, only three of the six sons, who had made the request in 1873, attended school in the East.⁴⁷

During his two years of preparatory work in Utah, Young redefined his educational goals. In 1873 his aim was to pursue an academic education at Ann Arbor with his four siblings; by 1875 his interest had turned instead to technical education. This change of heart can be traced to a number of influences, the most obvious being his father, whose life-long interest in construction and mechanical enterprises influenced Carl and his brothers as well the entire Mormon society of his day.⁴⁸

Also, during Carl's last year of preparation at the University of Deseret, his older half-brother Willard, midway through his senior year at West Point, wrote his father seeking counsel as to what military specialty he should pursue. Willard's deliberations continued until his graduation in June 1875. Such an issue would have certainly been discussed at home by Brigham Young and by the cadet's siblings. After some discussion and effort by each party to discover the other's true desire, both Willard and his father stated a preference for the Corps of Engineers.⁴⁹

Brigham Young's influence on his sons' careers can hardly be overstated. As an unschooled laborer, carpenter, and joiner in his early years, and later as church leader and colonizer, Brigham Young developed and preached a very practical, almost mechanic-like, approach to both the sacred and the profane. For the church president, man's progression both on earth and in heaven included identifying and then marshaling "natural laws" and principles, a physical subduing of the elements at hand, and finally production for the benefit and building up of the Mormon Kingdom of God.⁵⁰ For Brigham Young and the nineteenth-century Mormon Church, individual

and communal acts of practical invention, construction, and physical improvement were seen as a means of hastening the Second Coming of Christ and the establishment of his millennial kingdom on earth.⁵¹ Such efforts also served as mirrors of godhood and godly creation, the ultimate values in Mormon theology.

Many of Brigham Young's sermons were formulated in terms of physical fabrication and enterprise, both as a rhetorical device and as practical advice. In the latter sense, Young offered counsel to his followers on nearly every aspect of colonization and industry. He advised them on community and city planning, farming techniques, animal husbandry, how to build homes, barns, outbuildings, and fences, construction materials to use, food preparation, the making of clothing, and more. Brigham Young took Thoreau, who extolled practical skills on the level of ideology, one step further, embracing practical skill and execution as a religious sacrament.⁵² In doing so Brigham Young attempted, and in varying degrees succeeded, in implementing an ambitious policy of community and territorial building and self-sufficiency that transformed, in an incredible communal act of self-fulfilling prophecy, the Utah "desert" into the biblical allusion of a "rose."

To further such ambitious and practical ends, Brigham Young and the Mormons mirrored the growing national faith in technology and science. This was especially the case because building the Mormon kingdom was so often compromised by the lack of mechanical and engineering expertise in Utah. As a result, Young was keenly interested in his people acquiring the needed skills for colonizing and economy building. He also urged missionaries in the East and in Europe to seek converts

among skilled tradesmen and artisans.⁵³ From Utah, Young also sent both men and women east and to Europe for the exposure, training, and even formal education needed to respond to his territory's technical, scientific, commercial, legal, and medical demands.⁵⁴

Carl's and his four brothers' studies in the East thus fit into their father's efforts to gain the knowledge necessary to build up his desert kingdom. Many of Carl's half-brothers were also influenced by their father's desire to apply the fruits of technology, engineering, and construction to the betterment of his religious commonwealth. Beside Carl's older half-brother Willard, who studied engineering at West Point, and his younger half-brother Feramorz, who anticipated pursuing the same course at Annapolis, there were other sons of Brigham Young who had previously labored as builders and engineers.⁵⁵

Joseph Angell Young (1834-1875) subcontracted under his father for the grading and tunneling for the transcontinental railroad (1868), oversaw the construction of the Utah Central Railroad (1869-1870), built roads in southern Utah, and, at the time of his death, was the supervising architect of the Church's Manti Temple (1874-1875).⁵⁶ Brigham Young jr., also acted as subcontracted under his father in the grading of the Union Pacific road through Utah. John W. Young (1844-1924) was a Utah railroad "magnate" who built or attempted to build numerous rail lines. Brigham Heber Young (1845-1928) had both the interest and the academic ability to be an engineer but did not pursue it. Along with other jobs he was employed as a railroad surveyor (**fig. 1.2**).⁵⁷

Young Carl may very well have observed the whirlwind of activity surrounding the building of the transcontinental railroad, beginning in 1864, when engineers and surveyors arrived in Utah, through the union of the roads in 1869 and the building of the Mormon railroads in the 1870s, of which Carl's brothers were directly involved. This prominent new technology, designed and managed by engineers, would have had a tremendous appeal to the intellectually engaged youth.⁵⁸

Given his family background and the ambient backdrop of new technologies, it would have been difficult for J.D.C. Young not to have wanted to pursue what his father considered the best earthly similitude of godhood; that of being an organizer of materials, whose creations in composite form transcend all mundane constituent parts. The ultimate earthly expression of anticipated godhood would be a craftsman, a scientist, an engineer. As the noted Mormon historian Leonard Arrington described

"God, for Brigham, was a craftsman, a scientist, who molded the material elements into various shapes and forms according to his design. But God did not make the world out of nothing [then quoting one of Brigham Young's sermons]: ...[God] speaks He is obeyed, and matter comes together and is organized. We take the rock, and the lime from the mountain and burn it and make mortar with lime and sand and lay the foundation of houses, and rear the superstructure with brick, stone, adobes or lumber. We bring these elements together and organize..."⁵⁹

For Brigham Young the newly emerging American engineer, who was both craftsman and scientist, and who could be governed by both spiritual laws and natural laws (which to Young were one in the same), could be in a sense an earthly god anticipating a similar but higher calling after death. Sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea first described this feature of early Mormon's belief system as expressive of the greater

American culture by stating Mormon's "elaborated an American theology of self-deification through effort, an active transcendentalism of achievement."⁶⁰

Later, when the engineering graduate chose to follow the more artistic profession of architecture, this well-rooted family tradition prompted one family member to express apprehension, if not temporary disdain, regarding J.D.C. Young's desire to veer towards a career in architecture.⁶¹

Notwithstanding immense familial encouragement, Young recounted late in life that it was his brother-in-law Hiram B. Clawson who "stimulated" his interest most "for a technical education." Sometime in early 1875 Clawson suggested to Carl that he ask his father to send him to a technical school instead of to the University of Michigan. Brigham Young readily agreed to the change of plans and suggested that Carl continue his studies at the University of Deseret and then enroll in the engineering program at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York the following school year.⁶²

IV

Just why Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute came to Brigham Young's mind so quickly is unclear. However, there is ample circumstantial evidence to account for his decision. Knowing that two of Carl's brothers had studied engineering at military academies and not expecting a third Congressional appointment (not to mention that Carl may have not wanted a military career), Brigham Young recommended the nation's oldest and best-known civilian technical school.⁶³

In addition, J.D.C. Young attended Rensselaer with another Mormon boy, William G. Sharp. William was the son of Mormon bishop John Sharp, who was a partner with Joseph A. Young in the Mormon subcontract on the transcontinental railroad line in 1868. Later, representing both his own and the Church's interests, Sharp held a seat on the board of directors of the Union Pacific Railroad. It is not clear whether Sharp arranged for his son to attend Rensselaer before or after Brigham Young and Carl made their decision.⁶⁴ Bishop Sharp, who was a strong supporter of education and intellectual pursuits, may well have been the one who suggested that Carl apply to the eastern school.⁶⁵ Sharp's influence and contacts extended far beyond the chain of Mormon settlements, to New England, New York, and California. He was often described as the "Mormon railroad bishop," who was considered by Mormon and non-Mormon alike as "the smartest man in the church."⁶⁶

Like many other Mormon leaders, Brigham Young and Hiram B. Clawson were natives of upstate New York and had on numerous occasions returned there.⁶⁷ Brigham Young was a missionary in New York in the 1840s, while Clawson, both as a private businessman and as superintendent of ZCMI, frequently traveled to New York City and other eastern cities to purchase dry goods and machinery.⁶⁸ Brigham Young also corresponded constantly with church leaders, business agents, Congressional delegates, and traveling commercial agents from the East.⁶⁹

Both Young and Clawson may well have heard of the fledgling polytechnical school while living in New York State in the 1830s and 1840s.⁷⁰ In the 1860s a professor at Rensselaer led a national collegiate and publishing campaign to promote

systematic institutionalized technical training, as apposed to the entrenched practice of training mechanics and engineers through apprenticeships.⁷¹ Brigham Young, Hiram B. Clawson, John Sharp, Albert Carrington (who, as mentioned earlier, was a subscriber to technical publications), and a number of other men of science amongst the Mormon hierarchy may well have been aware of Rensselaer and its innovative developments in technical education.

Following the Civil War, Rensselaer was the most well-known non-military engineering school in America. It was, as the school's first historian boldly stated, "the first school of science and the first school of Civil Engineering to be established in any English-speaking country."⁷² Willard Young, who had spent four years at West Point and would shortly be stationed at Willis Point, New York, could have also suggested nearby Rensselaer to his father, half-brother, and possibly to Bishop John Sharp.

However it was that Brigham Young learned of Rensselaer's advantages, he placed Carl, in the same way he had placed Willard and Feramorz earlier, in one of the nation's foremost technical institutions. Before Carl's departure, Brigham Young laid his hands on the boy's head and "set apart" his son, as he had the two previous east-bound sons, to be an official missionary for the Mormon Church, indicating that so far as Brigham Young was concerned, his sons' academic opportunities would benefit both the Kingdom and the individual.⁷³

Young spent his remaining months, prior to leaving for Rensselaer, employed as a Salt Lake City policeman. Young was sworn in and certified May 14, 1875.⁷⁴

In late August, John Sharp escorted his son William and J.D.C. Young east by train to Troy, New York. Sharp made twenty-year-old Carl the party's treasurer, giving him charge of \$50 and telling him to pay for their accommodations, meals, and tips. With Sharp as a director on the Union Pacific board, the businessman and his two young companions traveled in comfort. Enroute to Troy the party stopped over in Omaha, Nebraska and Chicago so Sharp could call on Union Pacific supervisors. They also stopped at Niagara Falls and spent two or three days in New York City before Sharp settled the two young men in Troy.⁷⁵

While in New York City, the threesome visited railroad magnate and financier Jay Gould in his office on Wall Street. Gould's smoked-filled offices made Young queasy, so much so that he excused himself and rushed off ill to his hotel room.⁷⁶ While in the city, Young also acquainted himself with his father's representatives, church missionaries, and the local Mormon congregation, among which were many Salt Lake people, including Spencer Clawson and his new wife, Nabbie Young Clawson. The latter was Young's half-sister, the former the son J.D.C. Young's mentor, Hiram B. Clawson.⁷⁷ As the occasion permitted, Young spent as much time as possible in America's burgeoning and pre-eminent metropolis.

Young did not expressly study architecture at Rensselaer, that was not the focus of his education, but he did circle around it, gathering many of the practical or technical skills required of an architect. In 1871, some four years before Young entered the school, Rensselaer revised its curriculum, abolishing all of its programs

except civil engineering. The intent was to pursue, with all of its available resources, the school's strongest suit and to provide an education that would "close the breach" between theory and practice. With an expressed admiration for the "German system of technical education"⁷⁸, the school's leaders intended that graduates have a general understanding of both the theoretical and practical application of all of the branches of engineering.⁷⁹

Because of this, Young's four years of study were a smorgasbord of technical and scientific training, intended only to lay a foundation for the engineering specialties of that era. The intent was not to create specialist but rather engineers with a thorough understanding of the laws and practices of the multifaceted field, including arithmetic/mathematics (in all the branches pertaining to engineering), physics, mechanics, chemistry, natural sciences, surveying, chemistry, metallurgy, machines, French (in order to translate engineering treatises), English, and plenty of drafting. In this last-mentioned area, Young was required to take a drafting course during each school term. This included topographical drawing (plan, profiles and sections), bridge drawing, machine drawing, stereotomy (shades and shadow, theory, and linear perspective), and finally free-hand drawing.⁸⁰

Besides Young's class notes, nearly all of his extant school materials consist of drawing exercises, a stressed skill for engineers that may have encouraged Young's artistic leanings to architecture.⁸¹ Young also acquired training in practical building and construction (walls, arches, bridges, roofs, etc.), stone cutting (theory and drawing), and an introduction to the new field of electricity and magnetism.⁸²

So far as performing as an architect, Young appears to have captured at Rensselaer, mostly in a theoretical form, the technical know-how of structure specification and fabrication. He also developed a relatively satisfactory proficiency in drafting that, at least in terms of artistic mannerisms, orderly execution, and quantity of information expressed, exceeded the skills of most of his architectural peers in Utah during the first and second decades of his career.⁸³

The curriculum at Rensselaer in the late 1870s was not entirely unlike the curriculum taught in the newly-established architectural program at Columbia College in New York City during the early 1880s. Originally based in Columbia's school of mining engineering, the program's founders were determinedly interested in the "technical matters of architecture" during these early years. Approximately three-quarters of the courses offered related to civil engineering.⁸⁴ The similarity between these two programs drastically ended there however, with the remaining one-third of Columbia's early curriculum focused on French Ecole inspired⁸⁵ courses in architectural history (given each year), history of ornamentation, decorative arts, art history, the theory of architecture, architectural design studio, and released time for practical training inside a architect's office, none of which Young encountered in Rensselaer's engineering curriculum.⁸⁶ Young would need to fill in these conspicuous deficiencies by other means.

Prior to attending Rensselaer, Young's early educational experiences both in his father's schoolhouse and at the University of Deseret, emphasized language (including literature), science, and mathematics, with artistic and visual communication in a

remote ancillary position.⁸⁷ However, outside of school, in the broader nineteenth-century Mormon society, Young encountered in his youth a culture rich in art and design that included formal and vernacular expressions, with all variations in between, both obvious and cryptic, that had been cultivated by the Mormons and, to a lesser extent, by non-Mormons who, with equal fervor, attempted distinctive, if not demarcating, aesthetic expressions. Nineteenth-century Mormon society had a strongly mediating material culture, a confluence comprised of common domestic fashions and conventions as well as influences from the various American cultural regions, foreign cultures (predominantly western), medieval folk, and ancient (predominately biblical) reference that produced a constant visual text and subtext of message-laden forms, symbols, and iconography in Utah. The Mormon's primary purpose in creating material culture was to build a Kingdom of God on earth, a millennial environment. This affected a didactic mission in all their expression. This was a visual heritage Young would later pay homage to, play with, amend, and re-convey in the course of his own architectural work in the inter-mountain west.

Notwithstanding this subtle aesthetic tradition, Young received very little, if any, systematic instruction, before or during his studies at Rensselaer, in fine art and informed architecture. Absent in Young's academic training, in regards to the practice of architecture, were: (1) systematic architectural planning and analysis, (2) an operative understanding of historical precedent, including the lessons gained by studying, memorizing, and drawing the five orders and by studying the growing canon of accepted ancient and modern landmarks, and (3) instruction in the prevailing

aesthetic and construction philosophies of the time. By no means did Young acquire the best architectural education available during the late 1870s in the United States -- indeed, far from it. However, he did acquire by his own devices, as was the case with many nineteenth-century American architects, a sufficient educational matrix, in Young's case inaugurated by his technical education at Rensselaer.

Through his many drafting courses at Rensselaer (including one free-hand sketching course) Young learned scale, unity, proportion, balance of parts, the so-called harmonic laws, but only in a very primitive and abstract form. Young's instruction in drawing and drafting, as evidenced by his extant class exercises and course outline, emphasized technical proficiency and consisted largely of small-scale exercises in drafting machinery, topography, and the like, as well as in shades and shadow and linear perspective (fig. 1.4).⁸⁸ This was hardly comparable, at least in subject, to the architectural exercises that would have been offered in one of the recently-established architectural programs.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, based on Young's prior interest in science and engineering, without any sign of other predilections, these exercises in visual communication at Rensselaer appear to have nurtured, if not produced in Young an interest in artistic expression. Carl's architectural education would at least be grounded in competent drafting and sketching skills.

Young's germinating interest in architecture could have also been nurtured by Rensselaer's library holdings, which were unequivocally biased towards science and technology and yet included many domestic and European books and periodicals that addressed, at least in a subordinate way, architecture and aesthetics. While at

Rensselaer, Young was exposed to the growing number of technical and professional journals, including the London-based Building News and Engineering Journal, to which he subscribed in 1879 and was more than likely exposed earlier.⁹⁰ Also many Rensselaer instructors, some of whom had emigrated from Europe, made their personal libraries available to their students for extracurricular study.⁹¹ While at Rensselaer, Young could have eked out by his own initiative at least an initial understanding of the more subtle locutions of architectural practice.

Besides an obvious domestic bias, Rensselaer's studies were influenced by British and French engineering, and during the decade prior to Young's attendance, by a growing admiration for German engineering and its technical education system.⁹² This composite of domestic and foreign influences gave Young a widened vista of investigation that at least in a contributing way, inspired his later designs. If Carl acquired anything useful from his engineering education, so far as his later designing was concerned, it was first a proficiency in drafting and secondly a knowledge of published sources and, at the very least, an appreciation of the ever-increasing domestic and foreign design precedents offered in these publications. This assertion is explained in the following chapter.

Perhaps Young's most significant architectural teacher while he was at Rensselaer was New York City, then other eastern cities visited in between 1875-1879. Young traveled to the American metropolis on numerous occasions during his four years he at Rensselaer, visiting extended family members, friends, and finding fellowship with other Mormons. Letters written to his sister Mamie and an unknown

friend named "Dick" during the first months away from home reveals the kind of activities in which Young engaged while visiting New York City. First telling his sister that he had encountered stiff competition from some "fifty or sixty smart young men" and that he was feeling homesick, he then informed her he had been to the Academy of Music to see the play "Around the World" and the Union Square Theater to see "The Gilded Age". He concluded by saying he had toured various sites in the city, including Central Park⁹³, Prospect Park, and Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn.⁹⁴ Two months later Young wrote home again, telling his Salt Lake friend that he had been in New York visiting Willard and their mutual friends. Carl then explained, "Went to see [the] "Messiah" with Willard and William Sharp in the Afternoon, then Spencer, Rud, Will and myself all went to Booth's to see "Humpty Dumpty".⁹⁵

With Carl Young and William Sharp in Troy, New York; Willard Young stationed at Willis Point, New York (twelve miles from New York City); with church representatives in New York City; and extended family members also in the city, there was a network of people who continuously shared their leisure time and their latest news from home with each other -- activities that were centered primarily in New York City.⁹⁶ In company with knowledgeable family members and friends, Young experienced what might be characterized as an extended tourist's view of New York City life and popular culture.

Sometime previous to October 1876, during the middle of his sophomore year, Young began to correspond with his father and younger half-brother Feramorz regarding the latter's interest in resigning from the Naval Academy in Annapolis,

where he had been since 1874, and joining Carl at Rensselaer.⁹⁷ Feramorz, feeling he was more qualified to be a civil engineer, told his father that he hadn't received the training he had anticipated at the Naval Academy and probably would not gain practical experience as an engineer unless he made a career of the Navy, something neither he or his father wanted him to do.⁹⁸ J.D.C. Young, recalling some fifty years later, remembered that Feramorz did have such feelings, quite strongly, but wasn't entirely sure of leaving the academy. Homesick for family, Carl encouraged Feramorz and together they pressed their father, who in October 1876 allowed the younger sibling to resign and join Carl at Rensselaer.⁹⁹ During the Christmas break in December 1876 Feramorz joined Young and William Sharp in Troy, graduating with them in 1879 (Fig. 1.5 - 1.7).¹⁰⁰

For their 1877 summer vacation, between their sophomore and junior years, Brigham Young requested that Carl and Feramorz remain in the East and take music lessons. Brigham Young wanted Carl to take organ lessons from the nationally-known organist Dudley Buck and Feramorz to take piano lessons wherever such instruction could be had. Young found Buck, who was a resident of Boston, temporarily living and teaching in Brooklyn. Carl's organ lessons were short lived however, coming to abrupt end a month later when Buck had to leave Brooklyn for an assignment in the Midwest. Besides some practicing, which he told his father he would do,¹⁰¹ the balance of summer break, aside from some church work, was spent touring New York and elsewhere in the East.¹⁰² A most engaging and chatty letter from one of Young's friends tells of the latest relationships in their large clique at home in Salt Lake City,

then states regarding the student's last letter in late summer 1877, "I can see through all your talk of Brooklyn Bridge and other subjects that 'girls' are the burden of your thoughts".¹⁰³ With Young's preceding letter unavailable, it is hard to tell if this was true, yet the comment suggests that Young as a engineering student nearing his junior year (and soon to be if not already architect aspirant) was studying and writing about the built environment around him.

Late that summer, on August 29, 1877, Young's father died in Salt Lake City.¹⁰⁴ When told of their father's death, Willard, Carl, and Feramorz were urged not to return home but to continue with their studies and work.¹⁰⁵

During the following school year, Young was appointed one of six editors for the junior class annual The Transit, a chatty proto-yearbook that included articles regarding student life, class members, fraternities, and extramural activities. Despite a decidedly prejudicial welcome offered by their classmates in 1875, all three Mormons had become well liked. The threesome played on the twenty-man institute-wide football team and were members of scientific fraternities in their later years at Rensselaer.¹⁰⁶

Besides his summer break in New York City in 1877, Young had the desire and the funds to travel to other eastern cities and at least one mid-western city during his four years in New York State, including Philadelphia during the summer of 1876, to attend the 1776-1876 Centennial Exhibition; Chicago while enroute to-and-from New York State; Boston to conduct his senior thesis during the summer of 1878; Montreal for reasons yet known during the same year; and possibly other points

around-and-between these four American metropolises and Canada's preeminent cultural center.¹⁰⁷

Young purchase published series of stereographs (double image photographs used in a stereo optician viewer) of the major civic, cultural, and architectural sites of each of the above mentioned cities (and many others, circa 1875-1879). Whilst in Philadelphia, Young purchased a set centennial exhibition stereocards (including scenes of Philadelphia); in New York City he purchased a series on architecture and municipal parks (including Central and Prospect Parks); the same in Montreal; in Washington, D.C., government buildings and memorials; Buffalo, Chicago, St. Paul, and Cleveland, each a series of (often newly designed) municipal parks. Young also purchased views of suspension (and other types of) bridges, including the suspension bridge at Niagara Falls and construction views of the Brooklyn Bridge. The student's photographic interests were not restricted to American scenes alone; Young, like so much of nineteenth-century America's advantaged and educated Youth, had an interest in the foreign (modern and ancient), that was both sublime and picturesque. Young's stereograph collecting of the late 1870s includes views, more than likely purchased in New York City, of European (including Germany, France and Italy), the British Isles (including Edinburgh), and Palestine (including Syria and the Holy Lands). His choice of subjects, noted American, European and Mid-east sites, for his photographic library offers contemporary viewers a glimpse into the modern, exotic, and romantic aesthetical inclinations Young acquired while in the East and will, as will be seen in the following years, offer further insights into his developing designing mien.¹⁰⁸ The

collection's scope and subject matter suggest Young's interest were as much in architectural and landscape design as in engineering, if not more. For an inspiring Young designer, the gathering and studying of stereoscopic views, particularly exotic and notable foreign precedents, would have been considered an essential part of an architecture student's instruction.¹⁰⁹

Young's final project or engineering thesis, produced during his final summer in the East, was entitled a "Review of the Stone Arch Aqueduct over the Charles River, Boston City Water Works - additional supply." William Sharp returned to Utah and reviewed a Pratt truss bridge in Utah (more than likely on his father's railroad), while Feramorz conducted a review of an Erie Canal aqueduct, over the Genesee River in Rochester, New York. J.D.C. Young's thesis, which examined the design and load-bearing qualities of a huge masonry structure, was the most architectural of the three. Along with brief visits to Philadelphia, Chicago, Montreal, and elsewhere, and his school years in Troy, Carl both stayed and studied in Boston and New York City for extended lengths of time.¹¹⁰ These extended visits to these two cities offered an instructive corollary to Young's studies at Rensselaer and would inevitably influence his later design work.

Beyond possible personal study and encouragement from unnamed instructors, what appears to have contributed most to Young's near-imperceptible turn to architecture, aside from his acquired drafting skills, is his eastern (and to a lesser degree mid-western) exposure. Young could not have visited and studied more vibrant, more eclectic, architecturally pregnant cities in the late 1870s than New York,

Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Montreal. Young's visits to Chicago (less than a decade after the 1871 fire) may have exposed him as well to innovation in engineering and design, particularly with large-scale commercial building.

Besides the extant letters to and from Young, the stereographs he purchased in his travels, and the other documentary evidences that places him in these cities, there is little said, particularly by Young, of his travels in the East. Yet these things and his later design work can suggest that he sought out and studied the modern cityscapes, the engineering marvels and note-worthy architecture, composed of abundant building types, designed under the spell of the latest architectural modes. Young may have observed many of the more recent and more well-noted buildings of Richard Morris Hunt and the myriad of other notable architects in New York City;¹¹¹ the work of the Boston firms of Richardson and Gambrill, Ware and Van Brunt, and Stearns and Peabody; and the seemingly enigmatic and eclectic work of Frank Furness and his partners in Philadelphia. Much of Young's work during the early 1880s suggests, if not a personal contact with these architect's works then at the very least a secondary or supplementary appreciation through publications of these most popular and published eastern architects and firms. Young's four years in the East, with his schooling, frequent travel, and his summer stops in America's and Canada's largest and most influential cities, gave the aspiring architect a certain taste, an indirect exposure, if not a passable understanding of major eastern and European influences in architectural fashion. Beyond any specific experiences or influences, Young most certainly drank up the very different, tremendously lively, and sometimes brash urban environments of

the East that collectively posed a powerful contrast to the relatively undeveloped and sometimes harsh life and landscapes of Utah.

VI

Young's cumulative educational experiences as a student in Utah and New York and as a eastern tourist place him, despite his need for more architectural training, in marked contrast with his later architectural peers in Utah. Prior to entering Rensselaer, Young was a teamster, a department store employee, and a student. Beyond this there is no evidence that before entering college, he worked in any of the building crafts. His scholastic efforts at the University of Deseret involved traditional preparatory subjects, including possibly drawing. Young's education as Rensselaer, with few exceptions, was entirely theoretical. After college, his professional work (as engineer and architect) was intended to be largely intellectual, comprehending technical operations and applications, combining materials towards a handsome appearance and a practical use and then ably expressing this on paper. This purely intellectual education and execution of his labors place J.D.C. Young in the distinctive position of being Utah's first "modern" and institutionally-trained architect with all his qualifications resting on his academic, drafting, and supervisorial credentials. Young's place as a "first", albeit only a passable first, in the history of Utah's built environment will be discussed in the following chapter.

Though Young had acquired considerable training at Rensselaer, his education was not complete. The same advantage that gave him his financial, social, and

educational opportunities -- his position as a son of Brigham Young -- would after his father's death and his own graduation, provide him with continued opportunities to finish his architectural training and to establish his career.

Infused with the emerging ideals and standards of his current (engineering) and future (architectural) professions, with academic preparations in Utah and in New York state that essentially severed him from Utah's building-craft tradition, Young returned home to embark on his career.

At the beginning of this period of "career building" and training, shortly before leaving New York State, Young posed for a portrait (**fig. 1.8**). Seated with legs crossed in European fashion, wearing a polkadot silk tie, a taylor made double-breasted suit and corduroy trousers, Young had placed beside him an assortment of books and records, an identifiable symbol of schooled and professional gentlemen. This photographic pose, routinely used for established gentlemen of wealth and standing in the nineteenth-century, dramatically symbolizes Young's professional position and outlook. Three years earlier Young's father had been photographed in a similar pose and setting (**fig. 1.9**). In spite of much the same iconographical messages, Brigham Young at the end of his life conveyed the image of a man well proven, assured of his status, venerable, while J.D.C. Young portrait in contrast is an aspiring pronouncement, a desirous and confident decree of anticipation for a young man just beginning professional life.

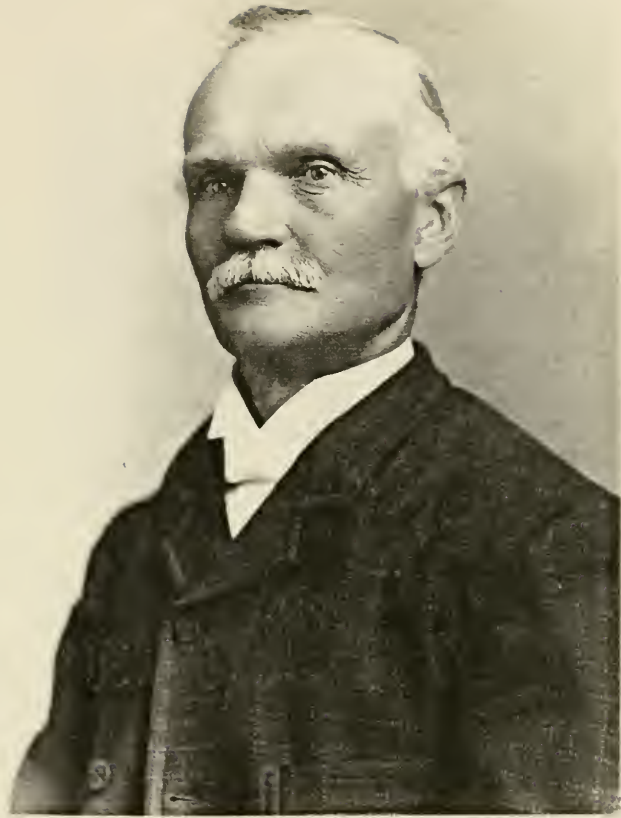


1.1 Emily Dow Partridge Young and children Edward and Emily Young, ca. 1852, taken approximately three years before Joseph Don Carlos Young's birth. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



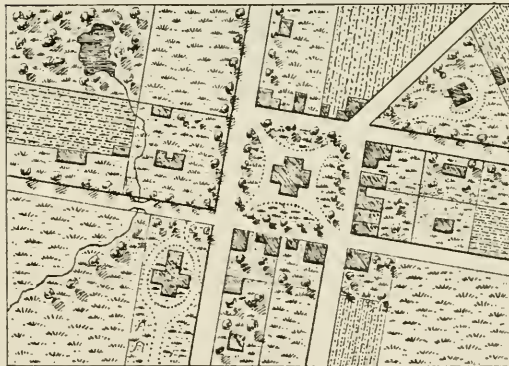
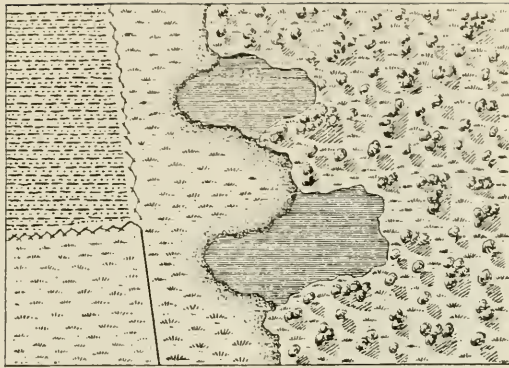
President BRIGHAM YOUNG
AND HIS 17 SONS

1.2 Brigham Young and his Sons (following page), photographic portrait montage, ca. 1895, Charles E. Johnson, photographer (Salt Lake City, Utah). Sons mentioned in this study, top row: Joseph A. Young, second from the left followed by Brigham Young Jr., John W. Young, and Willard Young; second row: J.D.C. Young, third from the left; third row: Brigham Heber Young, first left, Brigham Morris Young, Alfales Young, and Feramorz Young; fourth row: first from the left, Ernest I. Young. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



C.R. Savage.  Salt Lake City.

1.3 German academic and Mormon educator Karl G. Maeser, ca. 1880. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



1.4 A sample of J.D.C. Young's drafting exercises performed for his Division D, Topography course, Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute, 1879. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



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- 1.5 J.D.C. Young as a lower classmen at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, ca. 1875-1876, C. R. Clark, photographer (Troy, New York). (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



1.6 Three half-brothers, J.D.C. Young (left), Feramorz Young (right), both engineering students at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and Willard Young (center), West Point graduate and army engineer stationed at Willet's Point, New York, ca. 1877. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



1.7 J.D.C. Young as an upper classmen, ca. 1878-1879, C. R. Clark, photographer (Troy, New York). (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



1.8 Joseph Don Carlos Young, New York State, 1879. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)



1.9 Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, ca. 1876, Charles R. Savage, photographer. (Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.)

"Attending to his Private Business": The Self-training and Practicum of Joseph Don Carlos Young (1879-1884)

I

The Brigham Young Academy commission, which came to Young during the early months of 1884,¹¹² was one of a number of major commissions the fledgling architect secured that year. Collectively those commissions brought to an end Young's professionally formative period, which began at his graduation in 1879 and concluded in 1884 when he devoted himself almost entirely to architecture.¹¹³ Young's relatively ambitious design for the recently founded Brigham Young Academy aptly illustrates the skills and abilities he had cultivated during the preceding years (**plates 1-9**). To more clearly understand the design and the historical context of this commission and others before 1884, further background regarding Young's early career is necessary.

Late in life Young wrote and spoke fondly of his youth and work prior to attending school in the East. After 1881, when he was established in his profession, his work and civic activity became to a great extent part of the region's public record.¹¹⁴ What is conspicuously absent in both the architect's personal writings and in the various biographical sketches written about him is an account of his early professional years prior to his major design commissions including the Brigham Young Academy building.

Most of the published sketches regarding Young were written while the architect was alive and appear to have been composed with his assistance. In these

accounts Young's early career is addressed always in the vaguest of terms. Most state tersely that Young was following a career in engineering and/or building pursuits, with very little else said regarding this period.¹¹⁵ The architect's obituary, published in Salt Lake City's Deseret News, exemplifies this vague and, in this case, inaccurate treatment of these years:

"Mr. Young taught at the University of Deseret following his graduation and at the same time engaged in railroading and irrigation engineering from 1879 to 1883."¹¹⁶

Young did in fact teach at the University of Deseret part time but not until 1883, some four years after he returned from Rensselaer.¹¹⁷ He also worked in engineering full-time, but only for two relatively brief periods, as he would later describe to a representative from his college alma mater.¹¹⁸ Young also worked as a irrigation engineer but only on two brief occasions, for a time assisting his brother Feramorz, who engineered the Salt Lake & Jordan Canal in 1879, and for an unnamed client and canal in 1884.¹¹⁹ Written with the assistance of the family, the death notice follows the architect's own ambivalent treatment of these early professionally struggling years. In Rensselaer's 1884 addition to the school's Biographical Record, the writer, perhaps taking his cue from the hesitant graduate, declared regarding these years that after graduating Young performed two short engineering jobs and then returned to Salt Lake City "to attend to his private business."¹²⁰

That Young had only four known brief encounters with engineering at a time when Utah businesses were engaged in the design and construction of numerous factories, railroads, and irrigation systems, causes one to wonder how such a promising

and well-educated and connected engineer could remain so professionally idle. Young's family and associates wondered about that at the time as well.¹²¹ For instance, his older brother Willard questioned the new graduate's seemingly misdirected intentions and suggested that others might feel the same regarding him.¹²²

Despite a good deal of hesitation in Young's actions during his first year home, as will shortly be discussed, this year and the following emerge as a productive period of self-realization and professional development for the architect. During this time Young sifted through and came to terms with personal and family career expectations, garnered the needed supplementary education and training in his adopted profession, and established a client base from which he would seldom depart throughout his life.

II

After completing his civil engineering degree (C.E.) in the spring of 1879,¹²³ Young returned to Utah in July to accept a position with the recently-organized Utah Southern Railroad Extension.¹²⁴ With a college degree from one of America's most distinguished schools of engineering and with all the political promise and connections one might associate with a son of Brigham Young, twenty-four year old J.D.C. Young accepted his first engineering commission.

The railroad's organizer and superintendent was John Sharp, the father of William Sharp, Carl's Rensselaer schoolmate.¹²⁵ Sharp, who was also bishop of the Twelfth Ward congregation in Salt Lake City, had four years earlier arranged for his son's schooling at Rensselaer and then accompanied him and Carl to Troy.

It is not clear how this job was arranged. Perhaps the long-time friend and business associate of Brigham Young anticipated hiring one or all of the graduates upon their return to Utah. However such plans were made, ample local engineering work awaited the three native sons even if they obtained no other commissions than church-sponsored or church member's projects.¹²⁶

The new railroad was to advance from the Utah Southern Railroad terminus at Mills (in central Utah) to the rich mining areas of Beaver County (southwestern Utah), concluding at the Horn Silver Mine near Frisco.¹²⁷ Young's duties as a railroad engineer likely included topographical surveying, construction and materials calculations, and construction supervision. Presumably the new graduate was placed as a subordinate to one or more older and established engineers. The work was done during extremely hot summer conditions in an arid area of Utah considered bleak and generally uninhabitable.

After three months on the job, sometime in late September 1879 Young resigned his post and returned to Salt Lake City.¹²⁸ J.D.C. Young's half-brother Willard, who by this time had established himself as a respected Army engineer and assistant professor at West Point,¹²⁹ expressed dismay when he heard the news second hand. Long on indignation, the likes of which only an older sibling can muster, Willard's letter to his younger half-brother chastises him for his "unfortunate action" in resigning, especially doing so without another engineering job in sight. Appreciating the eastern educational opportunity he and his privileged siblings had, coupled with the

expectation that they show themselves worthy of it, and in the absence of their father who had died two years earlier, Willard felt obliged to be frank with Carl:

. . . . Learned from Doryall that you had given up the Utah Southern Job. I was very sorry to hear it for in my opinion, it would have been much more to your credit and advantage to have remained there. It is very necessary I think that you should get to work as soon as possible and keep to work. There are too many of the Young family who are inclined to loaf. Now the people at home don't like to see this, and those who have the power to help you along will not be so ready to give you work if they get the notion that you have not got energy and perseverance. Your leaving the RR would indicate that you are lacking in one or both of these. You must do something to remove the prejudice that your unfortunate action has given rise to. Get a job of some kind even if it is not the most agreeable kind and show people that you are willing to work. When this is known it will be much easier for you to command the kind of work you would engage in, than if you wait for something agreeable to turn up. The fact is Carl[,] these things do not turn up of themselves, we have to create opportunities to a great extent and it will be in vain to wait in expectation of the good things of the world coming to you.

Ben Cummings was here (NY) came from Troy. . . . he reports that folks there, the young people included, think you and Fer[amorz] as nearly perfection as is permitted mortals to get. In view of the fact that you don't make much headway with late[,] I would suggest that you keep up the good impression you have made there. Your not writing them[,] you would better send your excuses at once if you have any and write them a good letter. Write and tell me all the gossip of the town and above all assure me you are going back to work. Love to your mother.

Your brother, Willard Young.¹³⁰

Although Young had not personally informed his older brother of his actions, the letter implies that Willard was to some degree aware of his brother's dissatisfaction with railroad work. However, Willard still expected his brother to persevere.

Willard's comment that Carl should return to work as quickly as possible to prove himself to those who had the "power" to help him likely referred to John Sharp, who had just four months previously given the inexperienced engineer his first job,

and possibly to his past mentor, Hiram B. Clawson, as well as to various other Mormon businessmen and leaders who could help his engineering career in Utah and beyond.

As Willard mentioned only vaguely, his half-brother wanted to “engage in” work other than what he was doing. Unfortunately for future readers, given the young men’s shared understanding as to what that work was, or perhaps because the pragmatic brother did not completely understand, Willard did not specify what he had in mind. Whatever Carl’s professional goals were, so far as Willard was concerned, he wanted his half-brother only to reclaim employment (preferably in his trained profession), his own honor, and his family’s honor.

Young had to contend with more than his older brother’s disapproval. Willard’s attitude only reflected the expectations of others. Prior to leaving for engineering school in 1875, twenty-year-old Carl was told by his father that he expected him, Feramorz, and Willard to return home and do the necessary engineering to building up the Mormon territory, as well as teaching those skills to others. Some fifty years later Young recalled his father’s words:

I want you to go to the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and study engineering, so that you can be prepared to do the engineering work we want done here. We want to build a suspension bridge over the Colorado River and join Arizona and Utah together so that we can redeem all the waste lands in these valleys. Then, too, when you and your brothers get your educations, I want you and Willard and Fera to take a foreign mission which I consider the best means of education for the youth of Zion. Afterwards, I would like Willard and you and Fera[morz] to take positions in the Church schools here at home and teach the higher branches to those who are not able to leave home. This is the main reason why I want you to go away for your higher education.¹³¹

As a devoted son, who spoke often of his father's influence on him,¹³² Young must have struggled with his deceased father's and other living family member's expectations, which to a large degree were characteristic of Mormonism's utilitarian bias.¹³³ While the Church and all of Carl's extended polygamous family were in the throes of settling Brigham Young's entangled estate, which a number of heirs aggressively contested,¹³⁴ J.D.C. Young was in the process of coming to terms with the "bequest" given to him by his father.

With family pressure being brought to bear on him and with ample engineering work potentially available to him, Brigham Young's strong-minded son proceeded with his own amended plans. Carl was not waiting passively for something to "turn up", as Willard insinuated. Rather, as Willard advised, he was trying to "create his own opportunities."

Regarding his father's detailed request, Young eventually taught at the territorial funded University of Deseret (architecture and drafting, 1883-1888) and at the church-sponsored Brigham Young Academy (mathematics, 1897-1900). He also served a self-funded proselytizing mission for the Mormon church to the Southern states (1895-1897). These tasks were undertaken at a tremendous cost, both materially and personally -- to him, his family, and his architectural career.¹³⁵ Beyond these sacrificing acts of compliance with his father's wishes, the fact of the matter was that Young did not want to pursue a career in engineering. Headstrong and presumably influenced by his experiences in the East, Carl set out to be an architect. His professional contribution to the "building up" of his father's and his church's kingdom

would in fact be significant, but not because he designed spans to bridge the Colorado River or devised means by which Utah's could irrigate desert lands. Instead, through his architecture Young would usher in and symbolize all that Mormons (especially the higher echelon) so earnestly wanted to express in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both the security the church strived to obtain and the process of Americanization that it both wanted and resisted were dramatically portrayed in Young's work. Young's place in American architectural history is admittedly only regional, although strongly that. In the cultural context of Mormonism his designs are highly symbolic and expressive of the opposing currents and the disruptive changes that occurred in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mormonism.¹³⁶

III

There is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that when Young left the railroad he did not return to Salt Lake City empty-handed. While working in advance of the line's construction in the late summer of 1879, shortly before leaving the railroad Young must have spent time in the small town of Deseret.¹³⁷ First established in 1858 on the banks of the Sevier River in Millard County, the town was abandoned several times before 1875, when the river was finally successfully dammed and the land reclaimed by Mormon settlers.¹³⁸ A "branch" or dependent congregation of the church was formed there in 1877. Two years later the Utah Southern Railroad Extension with all a railroad's economic promise reached the town, less than a month after Young's resignation from the railroad.¹³⁹ Under such favorable circumstances the

small community's leaders might well contemplate civic improvements, including a new meetinghouse that Young appears to have been commissioned to design.¹⁴⁰

It is not known if the fledgling architect's services were solicited or offered, but in either case the commission appears to have hastened Young's decision to leave the railroad in order to embark on his preferred career. Unfortunately, for reasons yet known, the commission did not come to fruition until 1884 (fig. 2.5-6).¹⁴¹

There were two more convincing reason for Young's abrupt departure from the railroad. In his father's will, J.D.C. Young received both real estate and financial assets.¹⁴² Among the latter were sixty-six shares of Union Pacific Railroad stock that Carl sold to an uncle, Feramorz Little (1820-1887), on December 9, 1879 for \$3500.¹⁴³ And secondly, Young became manager of a family dairy farm (in the vicinity of Salt Lake City's Liberty Park), which was under the control of the executors of Brigham Young's embroiled estate. Young's financial ledger indicates he managed this farm until at least 1884 or 1885. Young ran the dairy and sold its products to members of his extended family and family friends.¹⁴⁴

Between the railroad stock, real estate, and the funds received from operating the this farm, Young appears to have built up a sizable personal worth which sustained or supplemented his own income until at least 1888.¹⁴⁵ Young supervised operations, sold farm produce, kept the books, and lived the life of a gentleman farmer while improving his architectural skills.¹⁴⁶

During the first year after he received his inheritance, Young purchased an expensive drawing table, drawing papers, sundry drawing equipment, and the

beginnings of a small professional library, including a complete set of the Encyclopedia Britannica.¹⁴⁷ Young also paid for the binding of what he described as his "Centennial Work," which may have been assorted architectural and engineering documents and illustrations plentifully published for the Centennial Exhibition or they may have been sketches Young made at the exposition.¹⁴⁸ In either case, they meant enough to him to have them bound for further use and study.

As part of building his library, Carl sent \$10 to A. J. Bicknell & Co. of New York City (formerly of Troy, New York and Springfield, Illinois), publishers of architectural pattern books.¹⁴⁹ For that amount Young could have chosen from nearly a dozen titles published by Bicknell and Co., including Bicknell's Village Builder (revised 1872) or the more recently-published Specimen Book of One Hundred Architectural Designs (1878, reissued 1881). The latter was reviewed in the July 6, 1878 issue of the American Architect and Building News.¹⁵⁰

In line with Young's gradually surfacing intentions to follow a career in architecture, he could find no better place to study this emerging American profession than the pages of the American Architect and Building News (hereafter AABN),¹⁵¹ which was the first sustained architectural periodical published specifically for U.S. architects.¹⁵² Not mentioned in Young's financial ledger, but included in his extant library, was volume two of George E. Woodward's Woodward's National Architect, published in 1877 with Young early signature in it.¹⁵³ With the financial means to sustain himself and the time to develop his skills, Young gathered around him the

needed instruments, numerous published sources, and trappings of a gentleman architect.

Young took one other railroad engineering job during a three-week period in June 1880, working on a narrow-gauge road that would eventually be owned by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.¹⁵⁴ Connecting in Nephi with the Utah Southern Railroad, the new road traveled through Nephi Canyon into the Sanpete Valley, terminating in Ephraim, Utah (fig. 2.1).¹⁵⁵ How Young was hired for this job and why he stayed only three weeks are matters still to be discovered. Possibly the mountainous canyon terrain required a complicated survey, calculations or designs, which Young may have been temporarily called in to assist or produce. After this last known major engineering job, Young once more returned to Salt Lake City, to his family farm, and to his career as an architect.¹⁵⁶

Despite the relative luxury of free time and financial security that Young enjoyed during these years, the inexperienced architect needed more than time and money. He needed practical training, some kind of apprenticeship in the principles of architecture and practical construction. During the 1870s and 1880s Salt Lake City had developed into a regional economic center. Spurred by the growth of mining, transportation, banking, and agriculture, the city's building needs were growing in size, complexity and sophistication.¹⁵⁷

With Salt Lake City no longer relatively isolated, with a growing number of affluent merchants and entrepreneurs, both Mormon and otherwise, her leading spirits were well aware of eastern business trends and fashions.¹⁵⁸ This heightened economic

development and the territory's gradual convergence with the nation's market economy stimulated demand for larger, more fashionable, and certainly more technically complex building stock and infrastructure.

As a result, where there were only five or six self-described architects in Salt Lake City in the 1860s and 1870s, in response to growing demand, there were dozens of architects in the early 1880s claiming all the expertise needed to meet the city's growing building needs. However, this increase in the number of practicing architects during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Salt Lake City (and other larger Utah communities) did not generally represent the abrupt emergence of a separately defined profession of "architect." Instead, the vast majority of Utah's architects were builders, carpenters, and masons, who pushed themselves up through the hazy continuum of a culturally mixed builder-craftsman tradition (British, Scandinavian, and West European). Responding to a changing architectural market, many builders became architects by acquiring some drafting skills and simply adding "architect" to any other previous title.¹⁵⁹ By the last years of the 1870s, precisely when Young returned to Utah, many of these builder-architects were shifting away from their builder-craft roots and tender themselves solely as architects,¹⁶⁰ arbiters of building taste (as designers and draftsmen), client representatives, and supervisors of construction.¹⁶¹

Against this backdrop, Young's training as an engineer and draftsman, at least in an academic sense, might have placed him ahead of his peers, but without further training, specifically in architectural design and construction management, his

professional preparation (particularly in light of what he had observed in the East) was still somewhat incomplete.

Just what architectural experience Young encountered between engineering stints (from September 1879 to June 1880 and after July 1880) and while managing his family's dairy (1879-1885), will be discussed next.

IV

In September 1880 Young deeded a parcel of land to Bishop Orson F. Whitney of the Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward congregation located in the northeast sector of the city. As a memorandum describing his gift of the land indicates, Young was,

"desirous of presenting to the members of said Church residing in said ward a piece of land for a meetinghouse in consideration whereof and that the same shall never be used for any other purpose....and for one dollar to him in hand paid....etc. signed Jos. Don Carlos Young.¹⁶²

The anticipated meetinghouse would later be designed by noted Salt Lake City master builder and architect Obed Taylor, who died tragically in July 1881, while the meetinghouse was still under construction.¹⁶³ Beginning with this memorandum, there is a tenuous but interesting string of circumstances suggesting that Young worked with Taylor before his death.

Taylor, a Mormon convert from Canada, was alleged to had spent nearly fifteen years practicing as an builder-architect in the San Francisco before relocating in Salt Lake City in 1871. In 1875 he established a partnership with William Folsom, a well-known Salt Lake City architect. Soon afterwards Folsom became (for the second time) assistant Mormon Church architect and was assigned to supervise the final

design and construction of the church's Manti Temple (1875-1888).¹⁶⁴ This assignment eventually required him to move to Manti, 120 miles south of Salt Lake City.¹⁶⁵ Two years later, in 1877, Taylor, like Folsom, was called to be an assistant church architect to work with the church's numerous building efforts. Unlike Folsom, though, Taylor's work for the church kept him in Salt Lake City.¹⁶⁶

During his brief tenure with the Mormon Church from 1877 until his premature death in 1881, Taylor assisted with the stone cutters' and masons' drawings for the Salt Lake Temple,¹⁶⁷ as well as with the design and construction of the Salt Lake Stake Assembly Hall on Temple Square (1877-1882) (fig. 2.2) and the Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse (1880-1882).¹⁶⁸

Besides his work for the church, Taylor also designed and supervised in 1880 and 1881 the building of a large three-story residence for Mark Croxall on fashionable Brigham Street (later South Temple) (fig. 2.3). Croxall was a merchant, bookkeeper for ZCMI, musical instrument dealer, and noted band leader. His house was located over and across the street from Brigham Young's Gardo House, which, like the Croxall house, was completed in 1881 (fig. 2.4). The house was two blocks from the Salt Lake Temple construction site.¹⁶⁹

Croxall was building the home for his wife Caroline, who was Joseph Don Carlos Young's sister.¹⁷⁰ The working drawings for this residence, signed by Obed Taylor, survive and are among the extant architectural drawings of Joseph Don Carlos Young.¹⁷¹ During the years Taylor was designing and supervising the construction of the Salt Lake Stake Assembly Hall, the Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse, and the

Croxall residence (late 1880 and the remaining months of Taylor's life in 1881), Young was in Salt Lake City attending to "his private business."

When this commission is compared with the other known Taylor drawings and residential designs of the late 1870s, the Croxall drawings, both in draftsmanship and design, are similar enough that one cannot suggest that Young contributed heavily to their production. However, there are some later annotations and recorded dimensions differing from Taylor's handwriting that suggests another person was involved, at least during the period while the building was actually being built.¹⁷²

Obed Taylor was working in the church architect's office on Temple Square during this time, and it can at least be suggested that a son of Brigham Young who sought a career in architecture would hone his drafting skills and seek the necessary practical knowledge required of an architect amongst the numerous design problems and works-in-progress handled by that office.

Moreover, who would be in a better position to assist the busy assistant church architect, Obed Taylor, in overseeing the construction of the Croxall residence than Caroline Croxall's younger brother Carl? In Young's financial ledger under the heading "Mark Croxall," entries for July 5, August 8, and November 26, 1881 show that Young received a total of \$70, with \$30.40 still due from Croxall. Completely separate from the dairy business accounting, these income entries, which match the time period that the house was being constructed, suggests that this money was received for supervising the construction of Taylor's design.¹⁷³ Young's possession of the Croxall house drawings also supports this conclusion.

In addition, Young was engaged by the Mormon Church in 1881 to do some undetermined architectural work relating to the lavish Gardo House (1873-1881) (fig. 2.4), a fashionable residence designed by architect William Folsom, that Brigham Young intended to use as an official residence for entertaining quests and dignitaries.¹⁷⁴ It is not clear whether Young acted as a draftsman on this project, making copy plans from original drawings, or whether he contributed something to the mansion's design. In any case, by 1881 the mansion was nearly completed. If Young produced any original designs for the Gardo House, they were more than likely limited to interior finish work or landscape plans.¹⁷⁵ Such work would have also placed Young in contact with the employees of the church architect's office.

It is also plausible that an novice architect would want to do more than donate the land for the new Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse. Presumably he would want at least to assist in its surveying and construction, if not in its design.¹⁷⁶ And finally, Young, along with others, may have been called upon to assist with the numerous projects left uncompleted at Taylor's death.¹⁷⁷ Thus there is probable cause and ample circumstantial evidence to implicate the experience-hungry son of Brigham Young in all of these projects.¹⁷⁸

If Young did work with Taylor and with the Mormon Church Architect's Office, and the circumstantial evidence suggests that he did, he could not have found, during this time a larger or more professionally operated architectural office in the territory. Considering his familial background, his access to the church architect's office and other Mormon architects, and the relative quality of his later design work, it

is more than likely Young spent at least part of his time working in this office or with one or more of the principal architects.

During the late 1870s and early 1880s this office encountered a demand for building plans that essentially severed its craft-rooted architects from the labor of building fabrication. With this division of labor between architect and builder, this office engaged solely in document production and developed varying amounts of task differentiation within design projects.

The latter included the office producing a general design scheme and building program, then assigning design development to an assistant architect who would then, under varying degrees of consultation with the Church Architect, be responsible for the production of the drawings and the construction of the building. This division of labor does not appear to have been accomplished under one roof, rather the respective architects took their work to their offices. In some cases, with the exception of the development of the initial program, the assigned architect had complete control over the building's design and execution. Within larger projects, the largest being the Salt Lake Temple, tasks were to a limited degree broken down into component parts.¹⁷⁹ Practices well established in larger architectural firms in post-Civil War America but not yet initiated in Utah, where architects still generally offered their services either as an architect-builders or as independent architects with little demand to break down design and office tasks.

The Mormon Church's Architect's Office was not necessarily progressive in its practices, when compared to large urban firms where division of labor and

specialization was even more pronounced, but it dealt with growing design demands and project complexities in a similar fashion.¹⁸⁰ Young's part-time work with this office, which appears to have been sporadic over a period of years, would serve him well both politically and practically. From this office Young learned valuable management skills, particularly for large commission, and he familiarized himself with an office he would later direct. Besides his work with this office and the management of the family farm, Young also pursued a private practice by advertising his services in the Salt Lake Herald as an engineer, surveyor, and architect.¹⁸¹

V

Young's technical education and experience at Rensselaer, his excursions to New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Montreal, and other eastern cities gave him an American architectural education and exposure unlike any other architect in Utah. This was supplemented by practical training gained during the first years home. After these experiences, the most significant influence on Young's architectural skills was his near life-long practice of subscribing, reading, and drawing inspiration from architectural periodicals and books.¹⁸²

The first architectural periodical Young is known to have read was the London-based Building News, to which he subscribed in 1879 while still attending Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.¹⁸³ In 1883 and perhaps even earlier, Young subscribed to the American Architect and Building News published in Boston,¹⁸⁴ and in 1884 the Sanitary Engineer published in New York City. Young clipped and retained various

illustrations, from these periodicals. Young's professional journal subscriptions continued into the second decade of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁵

Young was introduced to these publications during a time (1870-1885) when American architectural periodicals, particularly the American Architect and Building News, were in large part defining the emerging profession for the American practitioner, particularly for those architects living far from the East Coast. Printed with an improved clarity, using perspective drawings as well as traditional orthographic drawings -- elevations, sections, and detail -- these publications conveyed, whether on a monthly and weekly basis, the latest in building and architectural fashion, principally from the offices of practitioners in Boston and New York.¹⁸⁶

Young's primary inspiration for his Brigham Young Academy came from various issues of the American Architect and Building News, during the recent years preceding the building's design in 1884. This will be discussed with evidence in chapter IV. Young used the well illustrated periodical as inspiration for most of his early commissions. Along with his engineering training at Rensselaer, his office work at the Mormon Church architect's office, and his private work, Young's selective use of professional literature gave the final finish to his architectural education. The hallmark of this preparatory period, as was true for many budding American architects during the 1870s and 1880s, was Young's near imperceptible ability at taking precedent from numerous models and sources, piece by piece, and then turning a montage-like product into something carefully drafted, wholly architectonic, and

seemingly underivative, at least so far as his clients and immediate society were able to tell.

What Young learned in the late 1870s from the architecture and cityscapes of New York, Boston, and, to a lesser extent, Philadelphia, would have been thoroughly reinforced by the fledgling architect's reading and culling from the popular Boston-based American Architect and Building News during the early 1880s. AABN's editors and contributors during Young's reading (conceivably from 1876-1879 as a student and definitely after 1883) were members of the same architectural intelligentsia whose designs Young observed in New York and Boston-Cambridge area.¹⁸⁷ No where else could Young have observed more professional interest and activity in the emerging practice of architecture in the U.S. In either of these metropolitan areas and again, to a lesser extent in Philadelphia, Young could have observed or even taken part in engineering and architectural association's and society's lectures or exhibits and with his reading of these periodicals, Young would have continued with this influence and direction taken first while living in the East.¹⁸⁸

Besides the illustrated architectural precedents, Young also gained from his reading valuable professional insights into practices and standards, such as client relations, legal contracts, payment standards, commission management, and contemporary construction practices.¹⁸⁹ Young exhibited very early in his career a strong professional attitude and identity, which he must have first achieved as an engineering student at Rensselaer but which he then transferred to his adopted profession. The national campaign to heighten the credibility and professional status

of architects in American society reached its zenith during Young's years in Troy and the period immediately following (1875-1889).

The budding architect's reading of AABN and other professional periodicals only reinforced this intense professional identity. Exhibiting, what might be characterized as an artist's temperament in a highly conservative and practical society, Young's career was fraught with misunderstanding and alternating periods of economic difficulty and professional and financial success. Often taking an unyielding professional stance, Young during his fifty-year career in Utah entered into numerous disputes that put him at odds with various clients, including his principal patrons, the general leadership of the Mormon Church. Nearly all of these conflicts had to do with differing views of the architect's role, especially as regards design execution, the architect's primacy on the building site, and appropriate fees for services rendered. The foundations for this life-long fight were laid during this formative period and were strongly affected by Young's reading of AABN.¹⁹⁰

Besides Young's strong views about his profession relative to his Utah context, there is also some evidence to suggest that this son of Brigham Young had trouble controlling his temper. During the first half of Young's career, the architect came to literal blows with a number of antagonists.¹⁹¹

In a way that was not true of many architects in Utah during the 1880s, J.D.C. Young was, in summary, personally aware of, represented, and expressed openly the leading national attitudes regarding his emerging profession.¹⁹² He had not risen through the building trades or trained solely through office practice; nor did he tender

himself as a builder as well as architect. His primary training was academic in nature and during the period of his schooling he had been exposed to the country's largest cities. It had hardly been a "Grand Tour" experience yet in comparison with the training of his Utah peers, Young had an awareness (sometimes dated) of eastern fashions and, more importantly, an appreciation of the then popular historical precedents that had inspired them and would in turn inspire his work.

Comparing Young's professional methods, fee schedules, and designs during this early period with those prescribed and illustrated in AABN's pages, Young at least attempted to follow the popular periodical's lead.¹⁹³ The influence of the American Architect and Building News and other architectural periodicals on Joseph Don Carlos Young can hardly be overstated.

VI

Young made his professional debut in 1881 when he became the landscape designer and engineer for the Utah Territorial Insane Asylum in Provo, Utah, 1881-1883 (**fig.3.1**). In 1883 Young was elected to the Utah Territorial House of Representatives and secured part-time employment as the professor of drafting and architecture at the University of Deseret. In 1883 and 1884 the former fledgling architect acquired, among numerous other smaller projects, eight large institutional or commercial commissions. Some that would involve him into the following decade. Most of these commissions will be discussed in the following chapter.

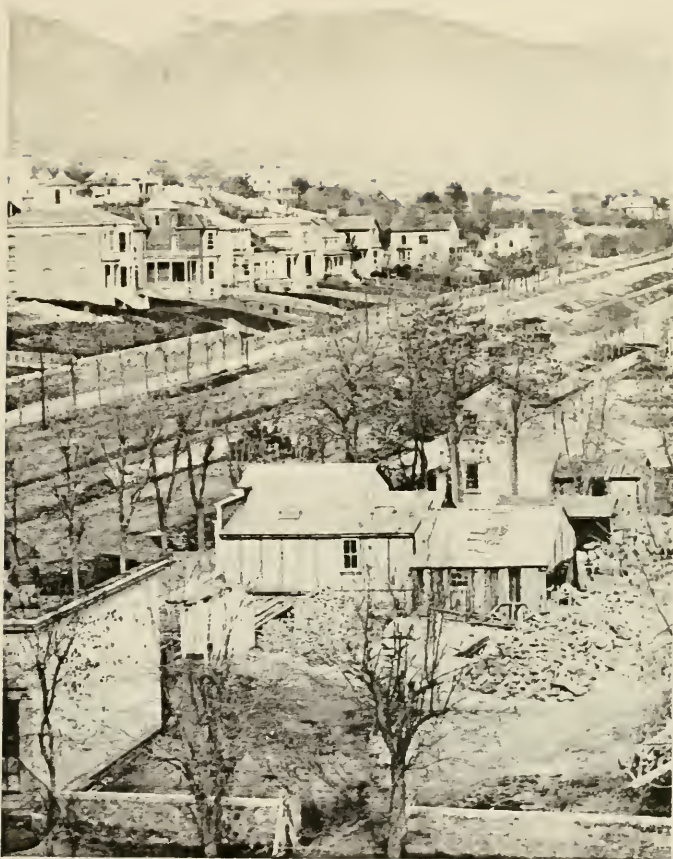
They include (1) the Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah, designed and built in 1883-1884; (2) the David O. Calder Commercial Building in Salt Lake City, designed and built in 1883; (3) the Deseret Ward meetinghouse in Deseret, Utah, designed and built 1883-1884 (fig.2.5-6); (4) Zion's Savings Bank in Salt Lake City eventually known as the Templeton Building, designed 1883 and redesigned and built in 1889-1890; (5) the Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah, designed with construction commencing and halting in 1884, completed 1889-1893; (6) the Bear Lake Tabernacle in Paris, Idaho, designed and constructed 1884-1889; (7) the landscape plan for the Logan, Utah Temple and finally (8), a very ambitious proposal for a complete re-design of the Mormon Church's headquarters in Salt Lake City, a preliminary or schematic design presented in 1884.



2.1 Railroad survey party in Salt Creek Canyon, near Nephi, Utah Territory, ca. 1880. Joseph Don Carlos Young is behind the level. In front of Young is the chief engineer Burgess and to the far right, German emigrant businessman Simon Bamberger. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah.)



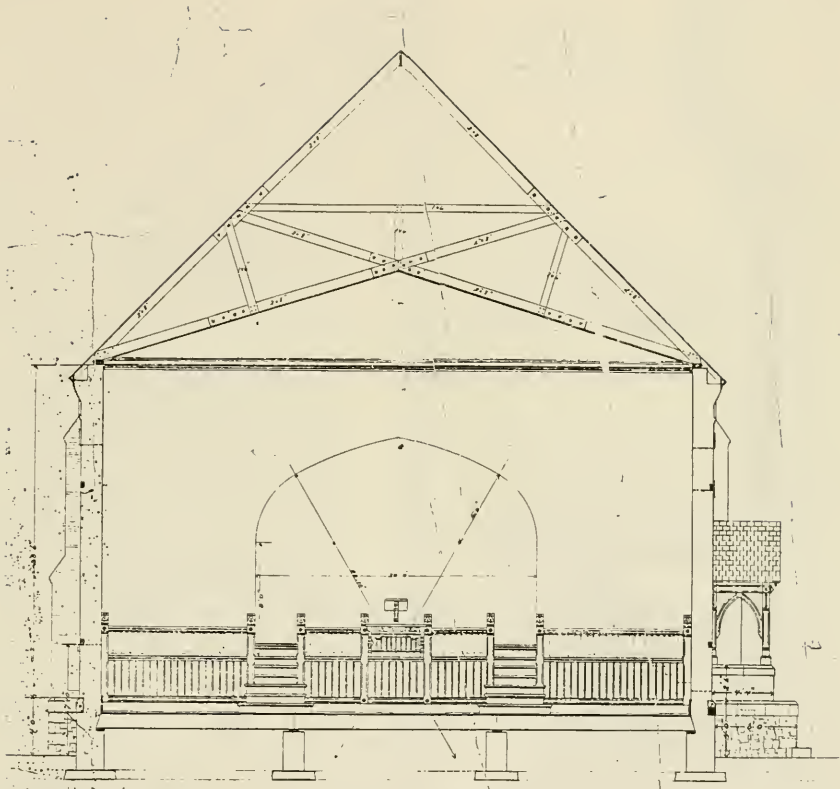
2.2 Salt Lake Stake Assembly Hall, Temple Square, corner of Main and South Temple St., Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, designed by Obed Taylor, under construction, ca. 1881. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah.)



2.3 South Temple or Brigham Street in Salt Lake City, ca. 1883. The Mark Croxall house is the second house from the upper left, designed by Obed Taylor, demolished. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah.)



2.4 The Gardo House, Brigham Young's last but unused residence, corner of State and South Temple St., designed by William H. Folsom, completed in 1881, photograph taken ca. 1890, demolished. (Courtesy of the Special Collections, University of Utah.)



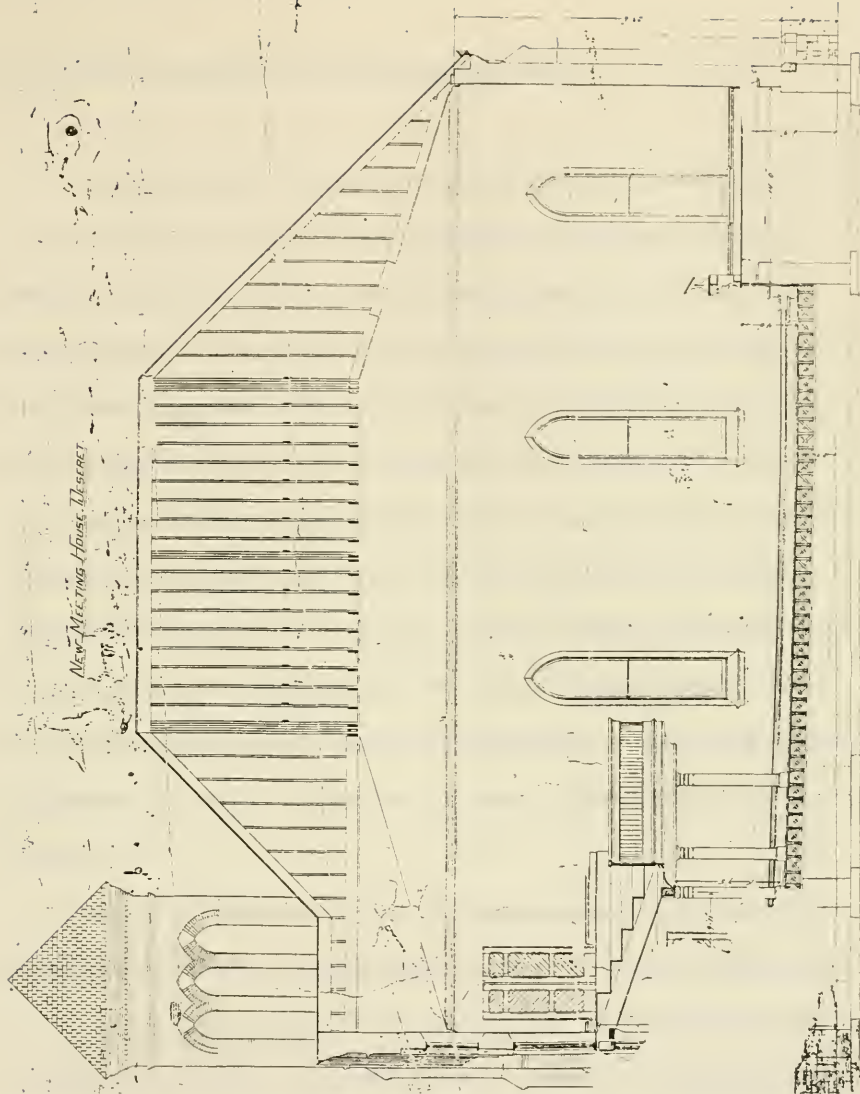
NEW MEETING HOUSE, DESERET.

CROSS SECTION

D. C. Young Archt.

John Wain - 1884

-
- 2.5 Deseret Meetinghouse, Deseret, Millard County, Utah Territory, architectural drawing, cross section, designed by Joseph Don Carlos Young, built in 1884, demolished. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



2.6 Deseret Meetinghouse, longitudinal cross section, Joseph Don Carlos Young architect, constructed in 1884, demolished. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)

Early Career, Commissions and Patronage (1881-1884)

I

Young's first major independent and publicly conspicuous commission came in August 1881, when the twenty-six year old architect was appointed by the Utah Territorial Legislature as civil engineer and landscape designer for the new Utah Territorial Insane Asylum. Shortly before the public announcement, the legislature and its asylum committee had selected a forty acre site for the facility east of Provo (45 miles south of Salt Lake City). The site, offered free of charge by the City of Provo, consisted of gently sloping foothills beneath the mountain's edge, a boggy flat ground below, an irrigation canal that traversed the property and a "one-thousand gallon per hour" spring at the base of the steep incline. Positioned outside of the city limits, one-and-a-quarter miles east of the Utah County Courthouse (location of the present Utah County Complex), the site was just above what would eventually become a city landfill, then later a municipal park with surrounding farm lots and residential subdivisions.

Along with Young as civil engineer and landscape designer, the board also appointed John H. Burton as asylum architect and Dr. J. M. Benedict, of Salt Lake City, as medical advisor to the two design practitioners.¹⁹⁴ Young's financial ledger and extant papers contain no information about the commission. Fortunately, besides the newspaper accounts, Young's signed landscape drawing for the commission has survived. Both Young's and Burton's legislative appointments appear to have been arranged, or at the very least encouraged, by familial associations.

J.D.C. Young's first cousin, Dr. Seymour B. Young¹⁹⁵, a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City (1874), had been appointed city physical in 1875, a position that included the care of the insane. Dr. Young first directed the Salt Lake City asylum's operations and later contracted privately to manage the facility. During his tenure as director Dr. Young introduced numerous humane and progressive treatment methods, including the liberal movement within the hospital and grounds for a "large percentage of patients" and the use of nature as a serene and thus a healing factor in the treatment of the mentally unbalanced. Dr. Young cultivated the surrounding hospital grounds with carefully planned flowers, shrubs, and tree plantings and established a hospital farm of grain fields, vegetable growing, fruit production, and animal husbandry,¹⁹⁶ thus merging the nineteenth century perceived transcendental, inspirational and thus medicinal benefits of nature with the longstanding Protestant gospel of labor in the treatment of his patients. Dr. Young's territorial asylum was eventually superseded by the new asylum in Provo.

In 1880 John H. Burton's father, Robert T. Burton, a distinguished territorial militia general and legislator from Salt Lake County, was appointed chairman of the newly created Territorial Insane Asylum Committee with a term from 1880 to 1884. As the territorial legislature maneuvered towards the final plans for this first phase of the asylum, Dr. Young surely must have exerted some influence over this process, or at the very least concurred with others that Dr. Young's eastern educated cousin was well suited to engineer the territory's new forty-acre asylum complex. General Burton, who was in the indisputable position of influence over these appointments, appears to

have tendered his son's name as architect for the new asylum.¹⁹⁷ As will be described later in this chapter, this was not the last time the senior Burton arranged his son's services for a territorial building project.

The threesome's plans for the site was approved by the asylum committee and ground clearing and excavation began under Young's direction on August 20, 1881.¹⁹⁸ Young's ink and watercolor poshe' rendering (**fig. 3.1**) includes various roads and footpaths, therapeutic ornamental gardens, shrubbery and trees (with an accompanied species legend), vegetable gardens, dairy and farm facilities, hay and grain fields, fruit orchards, and the footprint of Burton's proposed asylum building, resting at the terminus of Seventh (later Center) Street at the foot of the mountainous incline.¹⁹⁹

Besides Dr. Seymour Young and Dr. J. M. Benedict's medical recommendations, J.D.C. Young's plan appears to have been inspired in part by the very popular work of Central Park co-designers Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux (**fig. 3.2**). The plan, which was not entirely imitative of Olmstead's work, included such French inspired elements such as flower parterres, as Young's properly described them, and an axial avenue lined with trees which lead to the asylum. The Olmstead-inspired landscape flanking the grand avenue was bordered by designs for meticulous farm fields and orchards. Besides prevailing farm wisdom, Young may well have been inspired by the scientific farm literature he read before and after his departure East as discussed in chapter one.

Young visited New York City's Central Park in 1875, shortly after his arrival in New York State, as mentioned previously, and he continued to visit New York City

throughout his collegiate years at Rensselaer. With some of his summers in Brooklyn, Young would have become quite acquainted with the layout of Prospect Park (completed in 1866) and the Greenwood Cemetery. Besides these parks as inspiration (not to mention the other parks designed throughout Hudson Valley) designed under Olmstead's direction or influence, Young may have also studied English picturesque planning from any of a number of contemporary books, including those written by Central Park's co-designer Calvert Vaux or the American landscape architect and social critic Andrew Jackson Downing. Both men's works were reprinted and widely read, for the former into the 1870s and for the latter into the 1880s.²⁰⁰ Young may have also gained inspiration from newly developed parks he either visited while traveling to and from Troy and Salt Lake City or acquired stereographic views of, including parks in Saratoga Springs, Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Paul and Chicago during the late 1870s.²⁰¹ In the latter locale, Young may have visited the celebrated Chicago suburb of Riverside designed by Olmstead, Vaux and Company in the late 1860s. With surrounding residential subdivisions collaborated with by the Chicago firm of Jenney, Schermoerhorn and Bogart. This firm imported many of Olmstead's ideas in their own subdivision and park designs throughout the Chicago area in the late 1860s and early 1870s. All of the principals in this firm were trained at noted eastern engineering schools, Louis Y. Schermoerborn at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, as was Young. All of these most modern municipal and residential developments were in place and available for Young to study and visit in the late 1870s.²⁰²

Young's charge of the landscape design would have included designing a water supply system, a surface drainage system, septic system, numerous new roads and extensive landscape grading. Young's appointment as project engineer may have also included assisting the self-trained Burton with the small first phase building's mechanical systems. Burton and Young appear to have been congenial associates, if not friends during this period.²⁰³ Far more equipped than his fellow practitioner, Young may have contributed, if not designed the building's mechanical systems such as a gas-lighting plant, heating plant and hospital ventilation plan.

The only part completed in Burton's original scheme was the east end of the proposed south wing completed by 1883. Burton's better trained German emigrant assistant Richard Kletting, who worked with Burton immediately after his arrival in Salt Lake City in 1883, would complete the south wing in 1885 (using his own design) and the rest of the facility during the remaining decade.²⁰⁴

Allowing for the possible isolated residential landscape created previously, Young's 1881 Territorial Insane Asylum plan is Utah's first large-scale Olmstead-inspired and informed landscape. In producing this plan, the eastern trained engineer-architect introduced to Utah a new landscape aesthetic that would not be entirely heeded. Picturesque parks and residential plans, such as Olmstead's Riverside subdivision, would not be introduced to the classically minded and abounding grided landscapes of Utah until the 20th century.²⁰⁵ Sadly, with the exception of the plan's major elements -- main roads, out-building locations, orchards and farm fields -- there is little evidence to suggest the plan was executed as designed by Young. Such

aspects as the sundry winding roads, the abundantly specified plantings including large areas of lawn, the small pond or lake south of the asylum and the parterres left of the main road may not have been installed. These areas seem to have been developed and used solely as farm land by the asylum. In light of the asylum's phased construction (1881-1890), due to insufficient and interrupted state and federal funding, Young's elaborate landscape plan may have been considered superfluous and thus reduced by the asylum's director and trustees.

A 1883 Territorial map includes Young's elaborate plan for the asylum grounds, although its inclusion may be more to do with community boosterism than what was actually executed (**fig. 3.3**). However, much of Young's plan, at least the major aspects of it, can still be detected despite over a hundred years of change and development.²⁰⁶

Other significant events transpired in Young's life during 1880 and 1881. On September 22, 1881 Young married seventeen-year-old Alice Naomi Dowden in the Endowment House on Temple Square.²⁰⁷ Prior to his marriage, Young designed and built a small board-batten balloon frame house at approximately 70 East North Temple Street, near the place where his father's farm buildings and animal pens once stood, behind the Beehive House and the Lion House. Construction began in April and was completed in August of the same year.²⁰⁸

Soon after Carl's marriage Feramorz, Young's half-brother and engineering classmate at Rensselaer, died at sea, one hundred miles off Havana, Cuba enroute to New York City. Called on a proselytizing mission to Mexico by the Mormon Church

in November of 1879, Feramorz remained there until he fell ill with what he thought was a severe case of malaria. While on the way to the United States for medical aid he died on September 27, 1881, some five days from port. In the early afternoon of the following day his body was buried at sea.²⁰⁹ The news did not reach Salt Lake City until October 3, 1881.²¹⁰

II

In the spring of 1882 Young produced a set of plans and builder's specifications for a untitled building project for a R. Young, perhaps a Young family member who, at the moment, remains unknown. During the summer and into the early fall of that same year, Young designed and supervised the construction of his sister's Emily B. Clawson's home; the afore mentioned polygamist wife of Hiram B. Clawson, who was Young's early employer and mentor. Besides these documented family commissions, and perhaps the continuing engineering work from the territorial asylum project, Young's time and thoughts during 1882 were centered on his farm and dairy operations.²¹¹

In 1883 Young architectural career and community standing took on an added proportions when the part-farmer-part-architect became part-time instructor of mechanical drawing at his college alma mater, the University of Deseret. Also during this year Young was elected to the Utah Territorial House of Representatives, representing the counties Morgan, Davis, and Salt Lake.²¹²

In late summer before his new duties began at the university, Young received a notable commission from David O. Calder, a former business clerk for Young's father Brigham Young and former publisher of the Deseret News, Deseret Weekly News, and Deseret Semi-Weekly News.²¹³ For Calder, who was a businessmen of some notoriety in Salt Lake City, Young design a relatively modest three storey commercial building between Main and West Temple Streets (now known as 1st South and 47 West) in Salt Lake City. The building, which was slated for completion on the 1st of November 1883, was described by the Deseret News as a small business block "ornamented to the locality", made of red pressed brick and trimmed with Sanpete County Oolitic limestone (fig. 3.4). Probably in keeping with Calder's business temperate, the building is practical and unassuming.²¹⁴ The Calder Building was the first of a number of commercial buildings Young would design for Mormon Businessmen.

During his first year at the University of Deseret, Young was described as instructor of "architecture", the following year instructor of "architectural and mechanical drawing," and by academic year 1885-1886 the school's annual described Young as a full "Professor of Architecture and Mechanical Drawing." Young held this part-time position until 1888, when he was asked to resign to accept the position of church architect for the Mormon Church, with the task of completing Salt Lake Temple and axillary buildings.²¹⁵ Young's appointment to this academic position at the University of Deseret was the first public announcement, as it were, of Young's unique academic qualifications as a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

At the time of his appointment to the faculty of the University of Deseret, there were other architects in Salt Lake City who were better known, or who had been practicing longer, or who had a better grasp of construction practices. These included the apprentice-trained English architect, E.L.T. Harrison, who had previously taught drafting and architecture in Salt Lake City and who was still practicing in the city; the young German emigre Richard Kletting, who prior to his move to Utah and working in John H. Burton's office had spent over two years drafting in the architect's office of a large construction interest in Paris;²¹⁶ there was also a number of older architects who had, over the course of their careers, acquired ample drafting skills and who could have taught those fundamentals asked of such a position;²¹⁷ and finally there was John H. Burton, the aspiring and well connected young architect who two years earlier had been appointed architect for the new territorial insane asylum, an appointment short lived. A month before the school year began, in August 1883, Burton was appointed architect for legislatively funded University of Deseret. Like the Territorial Insane Asylum, Burton's father Robert H. Burton also served on this institution's governing board. Burton possessed, if not sufficient drafting skills, at least sufficient political connections to obtain such an appointment.²¹⁸

However, besides Young's strong familial and social connections within the predominate culture and the fact that he was an alumnus of the university, he also had academic credentials, something no other architect in Utah possessed at the time. J.D.C. Young brought to the small territorial university an academic degree from one of America's finest technical schools, a knowledge of the latest drafting techniques,

and a understanding of eastern architectural conventions and fashions -- combined, these conditions could not have been met by any other architect in Utah in 1883.

Young served in the Utah Territorial Legislature for two terms (1883-1885, 1885-1887),²¹⁹ a position Mormon church leaders may have urged him to campaign for, not only because of his prominent family name and his leadership potential as an educated Mormon, but also because he was not, as yet, a practicing polygamist. The Edmunds' Bill, passed in 1882 specifically by the U.S. Congress to combat polygamy, required all eligible voters and, most particularly, elected officials to take an oath that they were not engaged in plural marriage.²²⁰ In a society where all church leaders, high and low, were counselled to practice polygamy, Young's church credentials and monogamous status allowed him to represent Mormon Church interests in the territorial legislature.

While in the territorial house of representatives, Young served on the Appropriations, Counties, Militia, Public Health, and the Territorial Insane Asylum Standing Committees. Related to the latter, Young was instrumental in gathering the support necessary to fund in 1884-85 the completion of the south wing of the asylum.²²¹

Shortly before the end of second term of office, at his mother's urging, Young took a plural wife by being "sealed", presumably in the Logan Temple, to twenty-six year old Marian Penelope Hardy on the 11th of January 1887.²²² Seventy miles from Salt Lake City, away from center of political turmoil, and the second temple to be

built in Utah, the Logan temple opened with Young acting as landscape architect for the project in 1884. Young did not run for a third term.

III

Young's next major architectural commission entailed designing a four-storey rectangular building with projecting tower for the seven-year old Brigham Young College located in Logan, Utah (approximately 75 miles north of Salt Lake City) (fig. 3.5-10). The small local college (more high school than college as was the universal case with Mormon church schools of higher education) was founded by a group of local leaders and educators on the basis of a generous endowment of land given to the college by Brigham Young just a month before his death in 1877.²²³ In 1882 the school trustees, presided over by J.D.C. Young's older half-brother, Brigham Young, Jr., purchased a seven-acre farm in Logan and then hired J.D.C. Young to design a women's dormitory building to supplement or replace an existing farmhouse used for boarding.²²⁴ Young's building was never used as it was first intended, instead the domestically inspired building which the college's prospectus described as "more nearly to the Queen Anne [mode] than any other" was used solely for academic purposes.²²⁵ The loosely assigned label "Queen Anne" was probably offered by the architect. The most obvious of Queen Anne elements was the building's elaborate two tier "veranda" or balconies.²²⁶ Many of the surface features used on the exterior of the B.Y.C dormitory anticipate many of Young's choices on the Brigham Young Academy

exterior, including the use of dressed stone trim, decoratively laid and possibly gauged brick for segmental and semi-circular windows, water and string courses, header bricks laid in billet and corbelled tables beneath the eaves that are not only decorative but also functional, carrying the building's blind rain gutters. The building also had a steeply pitched roof with multiple dormers and decorated roof cresting. Young's eclectic design for this commission and his strict attention to lively surface rhythm and detail attests to his growing confidence in designing.

Young sited his building near a stream on an incline, allowing him to design a split-level building with a terraced landscape. These softened the building's relatively conventional block, offset by the double veranda and attached stair tower. A tower that Young revised by adding a steeply pitched hipped pavilion roof after his initial design was completed (**fig. 3.6**). The setting, landscape features, the redesigning of the tower and the inclusion of the balconies proved effective. The building was dedicated on January 1, 1885 with much fanfare including a speech from Karl G. Measer, principal of the Brigham Young Academy in Provo and acting client for the B.Y. Academy commission.²²⁷

This project was the first of a near-unbroken string of major commissions offered to or secured by Young through the patronage of Young family members (primarily polygamist siblings and in-laws) in private enterprise or in positions of control in education, community politics, banking, or within the Mormon Church hierarchy.²²⁸ This project was the first in a sequence of educational commissions J.D.C. Young would acquire throughout his career.²²⁹ With his eastern training,

practical experience with the church architect's office, and his religious and social standing as a son of Brigham Young, J.D.C. Young became, the architect of choice for Young family-controlled enterprises and for the Mormon hierarchy during a good share of the following half century (1883-1933).²³⁰ In a phrase, Young was very much part of and designed for the Mormon elite for his entire architectural career.²³¹ Conversely, Young appears to have done little if any work outside this circle of patronage during the nineteenth century and, while he sought non-Mormon and major civic commissions during the early decades of the twentieth century, he had little success in obtaining them.²³²

This near exclusive life-long patronage was firmly established during the early years after Young's returned from Rensselaer. Young re-entered Salt Lake City life in 1879 during a disruptive and transitional period characterized by a mounting national opposition to his church's practice of polygamy. In the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s there was a veritable call to arms to Mormons to defend the faith during an era when many were forced into hiding to avoid imprisonment for breaking newly-legislated federal laws prohibiting "unlawful cohabitation."²³³

Both Mormons and non-Mormons took increasingly aggressive and opposing positions regarding nearly every facet of Utah life. This social dichotomy developed between the dominant Mormon culture, with its strong tendencies towards theocratic economic controls and patriarchy and Utah's small but vocal non-Mormon sub-culture that had growing support from Americans generally and the U.S. Government in particular.²³⁴

Believing that the growing opposition was a sign of Christ's imminent Second Coming and His millennial reign on earth, the Mormons, believing that all worldly governments, including their own nation's, would shortly be destroyed, sought to disengage themselves from those who opposed their ways.²³⁵ Young appears to have followed his fellow-believers' lead in this regard.

Non-Mormons, many of whom were involved with Utah's business and mining enterprises, responded by establishing their own social and commercial alliances. Though not always the case, commercial enterprises were faced with the fact that non-Mormons and Mormons alike bolstered and patronized their own people. This also held true with practice of architecture in nineteenth-century Utah, less so during the last decade of the century.²³⁶ While the Mormon Church designated and supported its own architects, who also enjoyed the patronage of Mormon businessmen, non-Mormon businessmen along with Mormons disaffected from their church, in turn patronized their own architects. This insularity resulted in a situation that worked alternately to Young's benefit and to his detriment during his early career which continued throughout his life.

Conceivably, to take part in the expanding non-Mormon enterprises of the 1880s and 1890s, Young would have had to distance himself from Mormonism. Instead, at his mother's urging, Young re-affirmed his religious commitment by entering into a polygamous second marriage in 1887 in the wake of intensified prosecution of Mormon plural marriages.²³⁷ This, coupled with the constant threat that a polygamous son of Brigham Young might at any time be arrested by federal

authorities, would have been more than enough to keep him at a distance from Utah's non-Mormon society and that pool of potential clients. There is no indication that he suffered any legal prosecution in connection with his polygamous marriage.²³⁸

It was not until the early 1890s, after polygamy was officially renounced by the Mormons, largely because of nationally legislated economic disfranchisement of the Mormon Church, that this volatile atmosphere would begin to ease.²³⁹ In spite of renouncing polygamy, the Mormons still held a millenarian belief in the gathering of the "elect" in anticipation of a pending apocalypse. However, the Church's gradual accommodation to national pressures and its economic and social assimilation with the greater polity gradually defused the situation.²⁴⁰ In spite of this relaxation of social tensions in Salt Lake City and Utah generally, Young did not much benefit from the changing circumstances. Either by his own choice or otherwise, his commissions continued to be predominantly if not exclusively Mormon.²⁴¹

Young did not maintain a continuous public practice during his career, which may have been a factor in his not garnering clientele and commissions outside the Mormon market. Young's career was fragmented by his employment as an educator for eight years (1883-1888, 1897-1900), as an institutional architect for fifteen years (1888-1893, 1923-1933), and as a church missionary for two years (1895-1897). His off-and-on private architectural career, to use modern business jargon, was constantly faced with the challenges of "start-up time" and client development. When Young could have officially re-entered the border Salt Lake City architectural market after he was released as Mormon Church architect in 1893, the city itself, the building

industry, and the architectural profession as a whole had vastly changed. With over thirty-three architects practicing in the Salt Lake City in 1893 (a few with educations equal to his), all feeling the rippling effect of the recent national recession, and with a handful of well-established firms claiming much of the growing non-Mormon, religiously neutral, and civic commissions, Young must have found it advisable to retreat to his well-established Mormon clientele base, if in fact he ever had any desire to leave it.²⁴²

Unlike many of his competitors, Young was uninterested in social or civic clubs or desirous to involve himself in the growing number of non-Mormon or mixed social circles that served enterprising architects as means to architectural commissions.²⁴³ Despite his early exposure and association outside of Utah and Mormon society in the late 1870s, Young did not venture out into the same when he returned to Utah. This might, in part, explain why Young has not been considered as of this writing a major participant in Utah's early architectural history. Despite the fact that he designed many of Salt Lake City's (and to a certain extent Utah's) largest ecclesiastical and educational structures during this career (1883-1935), Young's accomplishments have been generally overlooked by Utah's architectural historians. When the emergence of modern architectural practice in Utah has been discussed, names such as Richard K.A. Kletting (arrived in 1883, commenced his private practice in 1885), Walter E. Ware (arrived in the late 1880s) and Frederic Albert Hale (arrived and began his practice in 1890), have been considered the primary operators in this change when, in fact, Young pre-dates them all. Young has an even stronger claim to

being not only the Mormon Church's first academically trained, modern architect but also Utah's.²⁴⁴

Two years after being released as church architect in 1895, he was asked to serve a church mission (1895-1897).²⁴⁵ Upon his return, Young accepted a teaching position in the mathematics department at Brigham Young Academy (1897-1900), work he clearly disliked yet urgently needed financially and felt obligated to accept in lieu of his deceased father's request. Because of his sense of obligation to his parents and to his church, Young's career was both furthered and frustrated by his involvement with Mormonism. The argument is somewhat moot though, since the entire story line (besides Young's own personal desire and talents), his generous educational opportunities, his moneyed period of apprentice training, and his most noted and costly commissions, all came to him because of who his father was and because of patronage by means of his unusual and elaborate family network.

Nevertheless, throughout his early and to a lesser extent latter career, Young was affected by conflicting social influences and historical circumstance that made it difficult for him to fit comfortably into any camp. In spite of being a devoted son of Brigham Young, a firm believer in Mormonism, and a practicing polygamist, Young often clashed with church leaders and with the greater Mormon society. This was due in no small measure to Young's subtle perception of social superiority, his agitated temperament and his distaste for the utilitarian bias in the greater Mormon culture, which was only heightened by his unbending vision of himself as a professional architect, able to design and bring his own design ideas to realization.

Young followed the tenets of his religion and the wishes of his father as far as he could, but in line with his father's stubborn independence, his mother's belief in her children's social eliteness and raised spiritual estate, and his own "liberal" education and eastern experiences, he was unwilling to compromise his personal and professional convictions, even if that were either subtly or openly demanded by his father's successors in office or other church leaders.

The fixed attitudes advanced by Young and the equally adamant biases from those outside of Mormondom, some whom may have profited from his skills, became locked-in as it were, during these early professional years. Because Young's life's work was performed almost exclusively for the Mormon Church and for a network of powerful polygamist family members and friends, his life's work -- so far as the client's wants constrain or inspire the creative process -- expressed the tenor of Mormon culture during this strenuous period of transition (1880-1900). A transitory period between pioneer intensity, extremism, and isolation and a gradual re-definition, partial accommodation to larger political forces, and the incorporation and centralization of real wealth and doctrine that would characterize the Mormon Church in the twentieth-century.

IV

Besides the Brigham Young Academy building, Young received four other major commissions shortly before or in 1884, making that year his most successful to that date. Though Young continued to supplement his income with farming and land

lease activities, some continuing into the following century, he was able to focus his attention primarily on architecture, either in his private practice or as an academician. This ideal condition continued for nearly a decade.

On October 30, 1883, J.D.C. Young's brother-in-law William Rassiter, president of the Mormon Church controlled Zion's Savings Bank and Trust, announced plans by Young for a three story business building to be located on East Temple (Main) Streets, north of the ZCMI department store. Rassiter was married to Shemira Decker Young, Brigham Young's daughter by Lucy Anne Decker Young and full-brother to one of J.D.C. Young's cherished half-brothers, Feramorz, who died enroute home from Mexico in 1881.²⁴⁶

Unlike Young's plain unassuming three story David O. Calder Building (**fig. 3.4**), which a boosting press described earlier in the year as "ornamented to the locality", Young's Zion's Savings Bank building aspired to a far more elevated series of societal associations (**fig. 3.11-12**). The same press described the proposed bank building as "first class, thoroughly artistic[, and] . . . one of the handsomest elevations we have seen."²⁴⁷ The article closed by expressing doubt as to when the proposed building would be built but could say with some degree of confidence it would not be built during "the current season." It would not, in fact, be erected until the closing year of the decade, with its grand opening in November 1890.

In the meantime the structure would be enlarged, re-designed or modified at least two times. With the promise of further economic prosperity, as was experienced in the late 1880s, the building took on added business and civic use as Salt Lake

City's largest first class hostelry and the location of the Mormon Church's Deseret Museum. It would also become the preferred address and center of activity for much of Utah's artist community until after the turn of the century. The building, which was razed in the early 1960s, was one of Utah's finest example of the late-nineteenth century architecture. This building's design did not reflect as much an identifiable style or architectural mode as it did an aesthetic philosophy of eclecticism that regaled and combined classical and medieval motifs to envelope the most modern of interior facilities. When the elaborate six story hotel and bank building was constructed, Young was not only architect but part owner and developer as well.²⁴⁸

During the first quarter of 1884 Young completed what was later described as a "relatively elaborate" landscape plan for the Logan, Utah temple in collaboration with James H. Martineau of the same city. Perched on the foothills above the north Utah community on acres of land, Young created a scheme something akin to his Utah Territorial Asylum plan. The Logan Temple was the second Mormon temple to be completed in Utah. The round arch castlsted Gothic building was designed in the mid-1870s by Truman O. Angell, sr., with design assistance and project supervision by his son Truman O. Angell, jr.²⁴⁹

In this commission, a pattern of confidence was established in J.D.C. Young's architectural and landscape designing abilities by the Mormon hierarchy. In April (Young's own records mention only the year), after presenting the Logan plans, the architect was commissioned and created an elaborate schematic or preliminary plan for the re-development of the Mormon Church's headquarters with a projected cost of

\$50,000 which even for 1884 appears to be a conservative figure.²⁵⁰ Under Young's conceptual design the existing headquarters -- a loosely combined group of buildings that had evolved in patch-work fashion over a thirty year period -- was to be transformed into a tightly knit, two-to-six storey, one-and-half city block complex of buildings. In this effort, Young made "no small plans", declaring in his sketch a complete re-thinking and re-construction of the Church's very administrative heart (fig. 3.14).

The drawing entitled "Preliminary Design for Church Buildings", includes in its lower boarder in block letters "D.C. Young, Archt." This carefully drawn ink on vellum drawing includes an equally elaborate handwritten program that Young titled with succinct hyperbole "Thesis!", that describes general building functions, program options, and the mixed uses of the buildings.²⁵¹ The thesis' introduction declares that the "accompanying sketches [are] for the improvement of the Church Property on East and South Temple Sts." [and] has been submitted for "approval", approval that was, apparently, never provided.

Young was commissioned by newly appointed presiding bishop William B. Preston, who had been installed in April 1884, after the death of long time Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter. Such an enormous scheme must have also been known, if not jointly commissioned, by Carl's new brother-in-law George Q. Cannon. Cannon, who had become one of the most powerful man in the Mormon hierarchy, was a business manager to Brigham Young and latter a counselor to church president John Taylor, who was installed in 1880. Cannon's fifth, last and youngest polygamist wife was

Carl's sister Caroline, divorced wife of Mark Croxall, whom Cannon courted and married in 1884.²⁵²

For its time and place, the scheme was sweeping, complex, and a thoroughly modern -- with Temple Square and the Salt Lake Temple, under construction to the west; the Historian's office and the ZCMI department store, factories and warehouses to the south -- the scheme constituted an even more tightly held and all encompassing spiritual, administrative, financial, mercantile and social core for the Mormon Church's capital city.

Young's practical training in engineering systems, served him equally as well in the study of organizational systems. In his appraisal of the diverse, overlapping, and supporting operations of both man and beast at the church's headquarters, Young carefully created a place for the intricate patterning of human activity, that had previously been scattered about and offered outside the Church's central control. Young's design represent a widening of intellectual vistas in the Mormon Church, an application of late nineteenth century scientific thought and social science to regulate and increase productivity, if not also to improve social conditions. In his proposal, Young offered a management of tasks and resources something akin to scientific management advocated by engineer Frederick W. Taylor in the following decade.²⁵³

The plan is the Mormon Church's earliest known architectural document that demonstrates, or at the very least anticipates, the fiercely industrious and business-like supervision of resources and services that the fledgling American church would eventually effect as art form, commencing in the last decade of the ninetieth-century

and refined and solidified in the period between the two World Wars.²⁵⁴ Although not executed, the design offers evidence of changing management style of church's resources. Nowhere else, in any other Utah architectural document of the last third of the ninetieth century, are so many previously separate functions blended into one building complex. This proposal is truly a proto-modern American corporate campus located on what was then considered the fringes of American civilization.²⁵⁵ When Young left Salt Lake City for Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1875, his charismatic father and his intensely personal leadership style governed the church, "still relatively uninhibited by structures, norms and precedents," from a small office building attached to Lion and Beehive House. Now, nearly a decade later, Young represented in his plan an early vision of modern bureaucracy for a church directed by a caucus, governed by collegiality.²⁵⁶ This design aptly documents the church's emerging requirement that leaders be both spiritual leaders and managers and overseers of church businesses and resources.

Young's ambitious proposal would have entailed the razing of his father's entire pioneer administration headquarters (1847-1877) with the exception of the Church's granary²⁵⁷, and replacing it with an new series of multiple use buildings, housing primarily new administration offices and meeting rooms for the church's growing bureaucracy of church leaders, committee and auxiliary members, secretaries and clerks.

The very detailed program also includes buildings and spaces for numerous church owned and operated businesses and services, including a lodging house (with a

large mess hall), to be used by poor incoming emigrants and church conference attenders (the accompanying text states that this facility could be, either in-part or in whole, a respectable hotel establishment instead); a newspaper and printing facilities; a philharmonic hall (to be used for "public meetings, concerts, soirees and social assemblies," that will "meet a need long felt")²⁵⁸; a banking establishment (to house Zion's Savings Bank, incorporated by Brigham Young in 1863)²⁵⁹; a large ornamental water fountain (with statue) to be placed at the intersection of South and East Temple streets²⁶⁰; and a complex series of supporting buildings, consist of carriage houses, livery stables, a barn, corrals, and outbuildings (including a steam driven central heating plant, a smokehouse, and ample number of outhouses) to be located behind the contiguous facing complex of facades, to be located on South Temple Street (facing south between East Temple Street, later Main Street, and State Street) and East Temple Street (facing west, between South Temple and North Temple Streets).

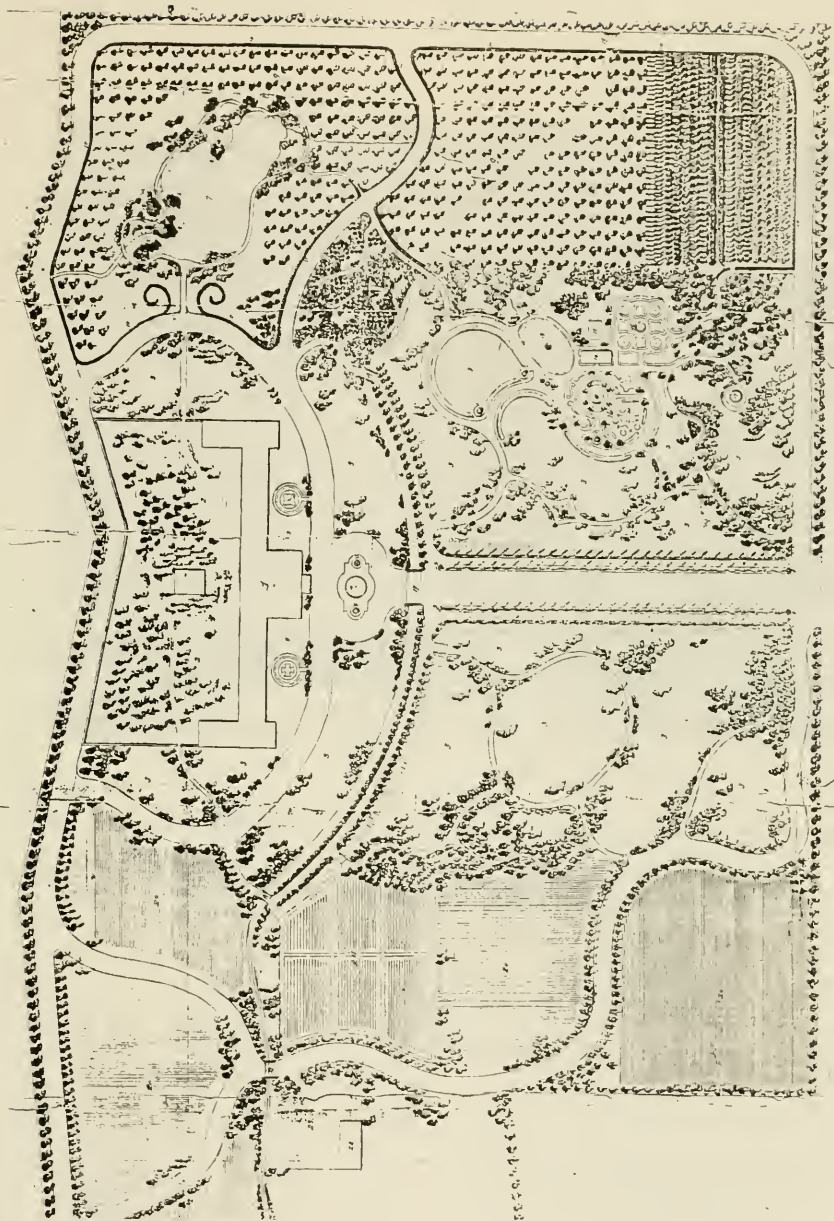
Much of the design recall French Chateaus in massing, roofs, conical attached towers and projecting bays, a very popular architectural mode of the 1870s and early 1880s. The plan also includes elements of the Romanesque Revival, in the use of the round arches, and the very popular Queen Anne, in the use of stylized Dutch gables on some of the wall dormers. The general impression resembles a mixture of architectural modes popular with civic and institutional buildings during the decade following the Civil War (1865-75). Many similar institutional buildings were described and illustrated in professional periodicals, particularly in the American Architecture and Builder News during the late 1870s.²⁶¹ Also, the Land Grand College

Act, enacted by congress in 1862, furnished funds for the design and construction of scores of colleges throughout the United States in the 1860s and 1870s. Many of these entailed similar massing and towers as seen in Young's hotel and bank buildings.²⁶² After Young designed the major units, it appears he stitched the lower buildings together with a standard commercial building design in between, making a ready-made urban streetscape. All together the plan intended to expel the dusty pioneer town and replace it with an urban and urbane streetscape.

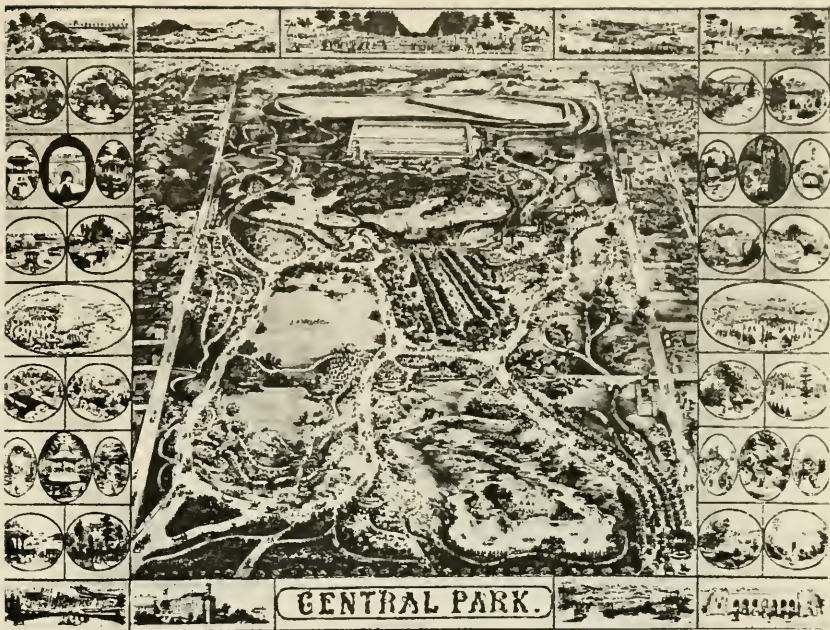
The design would have been entirely impossible to execute, during the two decades following its design, when national anti-polygamy pressures would eventually disfranchised the Mormon Church and effectively rendered it financially fractured and essentially dysfunctional in the late 1880s. The drawing demonstrated boldly what Young could do as a confident practitioner.

Conceptually, Young would eventually execute much of his early scheme in an era of relative prosperity in the early decades of the twentieth century, not by executing a comprehensive plan as he proposed in this 1884, but by designing independent office buildings on the same ground over a forty year period (1890-1930). Young's scheme to build a centralized physical plant would come to fruition ninety years later in 1974, when J.D.C. Young's youngest sons, George Cannon Young and his son Richard Young designed and saw executed a twenty-eight storey church office building, still in 1993 Salt Lake City's tallest skyscraper.

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- 3.1** Proposed Improvements of the Utah Territorial Insane Asylum, 1200 East Center St., Provo, Utah Territory, ca. 1881 (following page), designed by Joseph Don Carlos Young. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



Plan of the Estate of the late Mr. J. J. ...



3.2 Central Park, New York City, 1863, birds eye view, designed by Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux.



3.3 Map of Provo City, showing Territorial Insane Asylum and grounds, West New Sectional and Topographical Map of Utah, 1883. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



3.4 David O. Calder Building, 100 South and 45 East, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, circa 1885; designed by J.D.C. Young, demolished. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



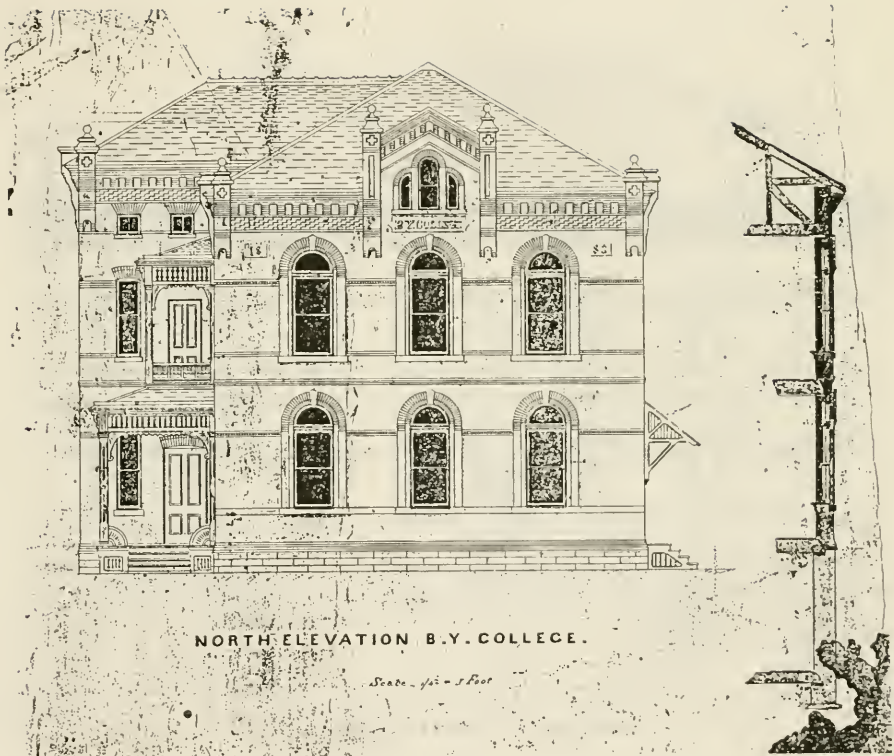
3.5 Brigham Young College, First and College Street, on the north fork of the Logan River, Logan, Utah Territory; Alma Compton photographer, Brigham City, Utah, circa 1884; demolished. (Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.)



EAST ELEVATION B.Y. COLLEGE.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ " = 1 Foot

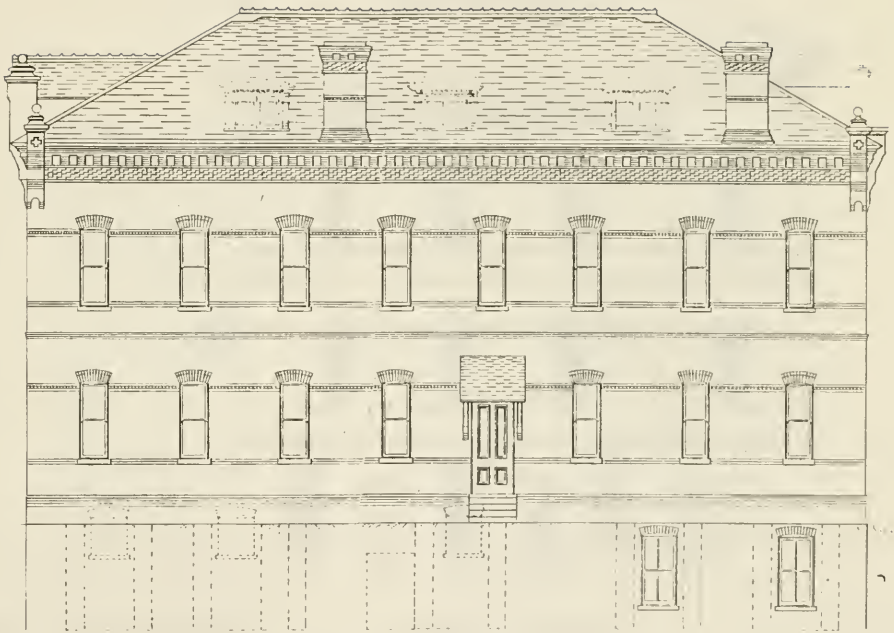
3.6 Brigham Young College, Logan, Cache County, Utah Territory, architectural drawing, east elevation, ca. 1883; J.D.C. Young architect, demolished. (fig. 3.6 to 3.10 Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.)



NORTH ELEVATION B. Y. COLLEGE.

Scale - 1/2" = 1 Foot

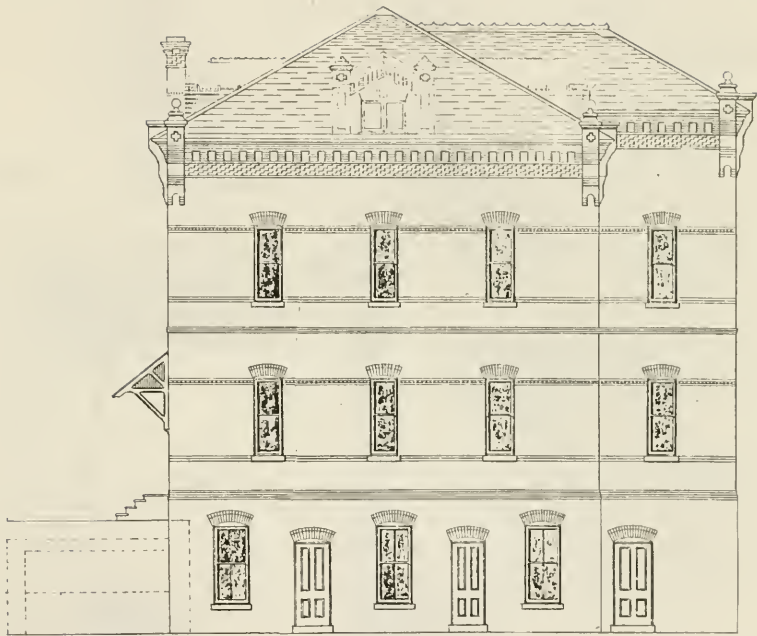
3.7 Brigham Young College (Logan), north elevation, ca. 1883; J.D.C. Young architect.



WEST ELEVATION B.Y. COLLEGE.

Scale 1/2" = 1 Foot

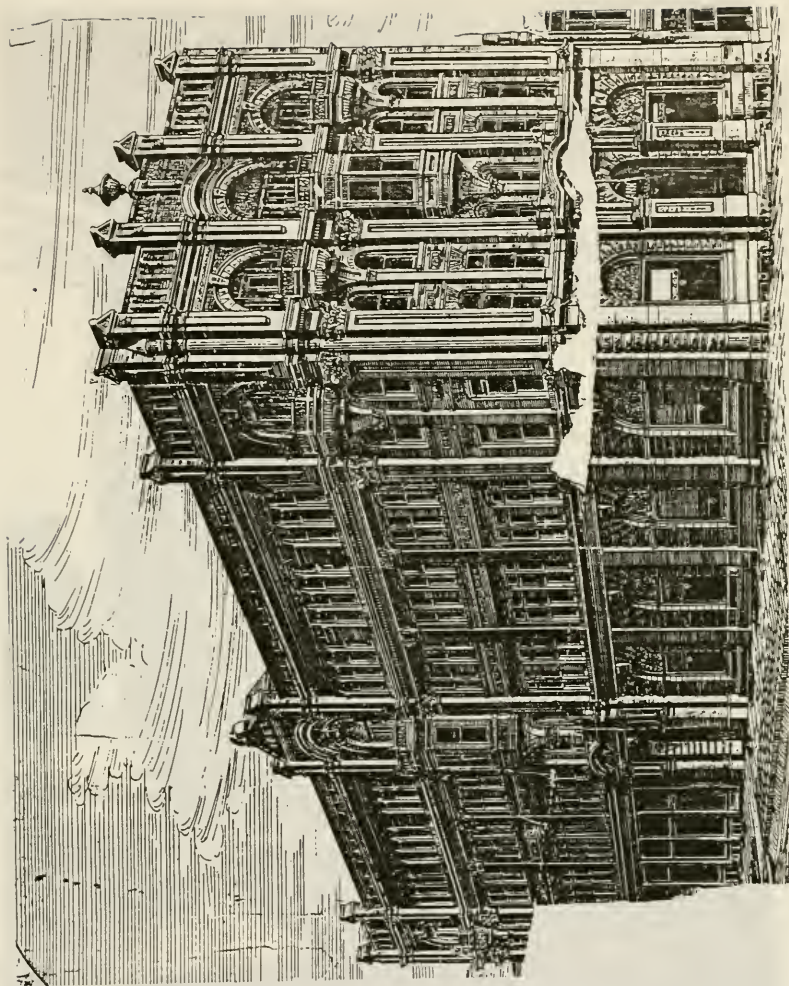
3.8 Brigham Young College (Logan), west elevation, ca. 1883, J.D.C. Young architect.



SOUTH ELEVATION
B.Y. COLLEGE.

Scale 1/4" = 1 Foot

3.9 Brigham Young College (Logan), south elevation, ca. 1883, J.D.C. Young architect.



3.11 Proposed design for the Zion's Savings Bank Building (later Templeton building), rendered perspective; designed by J.D.C. Young, delineated by William Ward, 1889, demolished. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah.)



3.12 Templeton Building (Zion's Savings Bank on first floor), ca. 1955; designed by J.D.C. Young, demolished. Statue of Brigham Young in foreground, pedestal designed by Young, ca. 1890. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)

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- 3.13 Proposed plan for Mormon Church property on East and South Temple Streets, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory (following page); designed by Joseph Don Carlos Young 1884, unexecuted. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah.)

Designing the Brigham Young Academy (Provo, Utah)

I

Joseph Don Carlos Young designed the Brigham Young Academy during a three-month period in 1884. The process began in the early weeks of February when Young secured Karl G. Maeser's "specifications and ideas." It concluded sometime before the site was dedicated and ground was broken on May 23, 1884. Excavation for the project commenced the following day.²⁶³ Young conceived his design and completed the working drawings for the commission all prior to this date. By the following December the foundation had been completed with winter halting construction.²⁶⁴ As will be explained, the work on the project did not resume until 1890 and the building was not occupied until January 1892. When construction resumed, Young made only minor modifications to his 1884 plan.²⁶⁵ In all, from mind to paper and from paper to completed building, nearly eight years lapsed.

The intent of this chapter is to suggest design antecedents and outline the process Young appears to have followed in designing this commission. This will include a review of aesthetic theory and the professional milieu that engaged Young at the time. Young's design for the Academy has for the most part evaded satisfactory stylistic classification. It is very much a product an era of eclecticism. It may be described as late Victorian,²⁶⁶ yet such terms oversimplify the enigmatic quality of this individualistic building and much of the balance of J.D.C. Young's architectural

production during this early period. The chapter will then offer an assessment of Young's early contribution to the Utah Mormon built environment.

II

On Sunday January 27, 1884, on a bitter winter night, the Lewis Building (fig. 4.1) which housed the fledgling Brigham Young Academy, was set afire by an unknown arsonist. The fire, even with much of the community fighting it, could not be stopped.²⁶⁷ The following day a local photographer, a Mr. Conkling, recorded the totally destroyed building, including a hoard of loitering youth surveying the debris (fig. 4.2). J.D.C. Young's former schoolmaster Karl Maeser, principal of the church academy since 1876, immediately made plans to rebuild.

Almost before the debris ceased smoldering, Maeser and the school's trustees had acquired pledges to the amount of \$2000.00 for the purchase of a new site for a new academy.²⁶⁸ Territorial newspapers recorded that the following Friday, five days after the fire, "the trustees travelled around Provo with a view of selecting another site. It is well settled that the location of the old building is totally unsuited for the wants of the institution, and that the new building will not be located there." Academy officials then estimated that the new school facility, which would be "much better fitted" to the institutions "character and aims," would cost \$30,000. The final cost would actually be two-and-half times that amount.²⁶⁹

Since his arrival in Utah in 1860, the German pedagogue Karl Maeser had struggled with cramped, ill-lit and poorly heated buildings, as well as shortages in

suitable library holdings, student primers, and instructional equipment, not to mention the meagerly recompense that rewarded his and the faculty's labors. All of this was a stark contrast to the world-renowned school system Maeser had known as an educator and administrator in northern Germany.²⁷⁰ In the aftermath of losing even the unsuitable Lewis Building, Maeser focused intently on building a suitable plant more closely match his expectations as tempered by the realities of location and resources he had known in Utah for over twenty years.

By 1884, when the fire destroyed the Lewis Building, the territory enjoyed well-established networks of transportation and communications, centered in Salt Lake City. Utah was prepared to offer the resources and the professional "know-how" needed to design and construct a school building in accordance with Maeser's expectations. The only problem, which would block the realization of Maeser's dream for nearly eight years, was the lack of capital in the cash-poor agrarian society served by the academy. This was only exacerbated by the difficulties faced by the church that often lacked the funds needed to meet centralized expenses in part due to the anti-polygamy campaign that drove most church leaders "underground" to avoid legislated prison sentences. Also, Church leaders in the 1880s held to a policy of local financing of local building projects, and local leaders were unable to fund such an ambitious building project.

With cash donations and labor support from Provo's citizenry, loans using the personal property of school trustees as collateral, a sizable opening contribution from the church, and some additional gifts of money, land was purchased and construction

was initiated. But, having made such a start, the project was held up by lack of funding until the early years of the next decade.²⁷¹

Nevertheless, unaware of how difficult it would be to complete construction, Maeser and the board of trustees threw themselves into the project in the early months of 1884 with the full support of central and local church leaders, an initiated campaign for funding and a specific building program in mind. As Maeser told his former student, he and the trustees desired to "rebuild the B.Y. Academy at once."²⁷² Turning the previous building loss into an opportunity, Maeser ambitiously conceptualized a building that would allow the academy's enrollment to triple. Maeser's desire to move ahead rapidly was endorsed by church president John Taylor, who on March 9, after consulting with local leaders on possible sites, was seen "riding around the town looking up a suitable site for the . . . new building." Taylor would in fact make the final decision on the site.²⁷³

Given the optimism of the times, and with trustees searching for suitable land for immediately purchase, having announced their intentions to construct a \$30,000 building as soon as possible, it is not surprising that the aspiring new firm of Dallas and Hedges (Salt Lake City) would make overtures regarding the proposed commission. Within a week-and-half of the fire, the firm approached church officials in Salt Lake (and possibly in Provo as well), with drawings for "a very handsome plan for the proposed academic building," which they reported to a territorial newspaper they were "contemplating donating to the grand cause."²⁷⁴

This bid could have borne fruit, since Messrs. Dallas and Hedges were blessed not only with ambition and talent, but also with church connections. Hedges, who came to Utah with the first engineering party of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad, relocated in Utah in 1881 while Dallas was a native of Utah. Hedges married the daughter of Daniel H. Wells (1814-1891), who served as second counselor to Brigham Young from 1857 to 1877, as mayor of Salt Lake City from 1866 to 1876, and as superintendent of public works from 1850 to 1870.²⁷⁵ Although the academy bid failed, the firm would eventually acquire numerous commissions both from the church and leading Mormon and non-Mormon citizens, particularly during the next two decades.²⁷⁶

Had it not been for the well-established position Young held within Young family controlled enterprises, Dallas and Hedges's bid might have been accepted. There was no interest expressed in the commission publicly by any other Mormon architects or builders. Besides Young, albeit with his alliance with the Mormon elite, there was no other architect in Utah who had the necessary combination of availability, church fellowship (in a politically-charged era), the necessary technical and artistic competence, and the ability to satisfy Maeser's exacting vision for his new modern facility.²⁷⁷

The first public mention of J.D.C. Young as architect for the new building was in Provo's Territorial Enquirer on March 25, 1884, the day after the site for the academy was purchased. The paper also reported that the following day, Young was out surveying the property in preparation for excavation which was to commence "in a

few days." Trustee's minutes (and all other school records) are silent as to the process by which an architect's services were obtained, which may well reflect the lack of involvement the school's trustees had in that process.²⁷⁸

In Brigham Young's 1875 charter for the academy, the following concluding provision is made: "But all rules, regulations, and by-laws so made by said Trustee shall be subject to the approval of the said party of the first part [Brigham Young], *his heirs or assigns*, and, if by him or them condemned, shall never be enacted again without his or their expressed consent".²⁷⁹ Young's heirs were therefore in a position to approve or disapprove the trustees' decisions as they saw fit.²⁸⁰ In creating this charter, Brigham Young was not acting as a representative of the church but rather as an aged patriarch desirous to act as philanthropist, solely on the merits of his own name. Young hoped that his heirs would carry out his philanthropic wishes and, as discussed previously, serve as learned faculty to these institutions.²⁸¹ Young established two other academies with basically the same provision, giving an endowment of land but vesting actual control in his heirs. Since the establishment of the three academies, the Provo school had gradually become the school of choice for church-wide patronage and financial support. As in most of the Mormon leader's financial dealings, it was difficult to distinguish between his personal enterprises and those the church he headed. With the 1876 appointment of Maeser to direct the school, it was essentially controlled and funded more and more by central church interest.²⁸²

Although many of Young's heirs offered the benevolent guidance intended by their father, some family members perceived the academies and especially its real property, as assets to be preserved for their benefit and secondly, that of the institutions'. They did not generally wish to be involved in the day-to-day affairs of the struggling academies but they clearly did not intend to divorce themselves from any major decisions. As might be expected, Brigham Young Academy administrators often say the Young family's influence as counterproductive to mission of the school.²⁸³

During the previous year, J.D.C. Young had designed a building for the Brigham Young College in Logan. So when it came to selecting an architect for the Provo facility there could hardly be any other choice in this new Young family-controlled undertaking. The appointment of the architect was made not by Maeser and his trustees in Provo but by the First Presidency of the church, in consultation with Maeser. And with the heirs of Brigham Young, who in many cases were also church leaders, including Brigham Young, jr., and George Q. Cannon, the latter supervising church finances.²⁸⁴ Young's professional ability and his seemingly enigmatic design would by no means disappoint. Although built seven years after it was designed, the building would become one of the most fashionably-informed pieces of *Mormon* architecture of its day, and now in retrospect, the most noteworthy and complex late-Victorian design in the Mormon region.

Unlike the firm of Dallas and Hedges, J.D.C. Young did not offer his services without a fee. Unfortunately for him, the financially struggling institution was able to

do no better than to offer a partial payment of \$200 sometime after 1884 with the balance of the architect's fee not being paid until 1900, sixteen years after Young completed his design. Young was paid not by school trustees but by church headquarters in Salt Lake City. His final payment consisted of \$1,000 in cash and church script, which he personally received from then-church president Lorenzo Snow. The final payment appears to have been made only after Young, in financial straits, once more requested it.²⁸⁵

III

Karl G. Maeser's involvement with the Brigham Young Academy design is somewhat obscure. Having spent so many years working in less-than-acceptable facilities, and with an architect at hand with his pencil and paper poised, Maeser must have in 1884 taken the time to describe, in detail, what he wanted in his new building. In an August 30, 1888, letter to church president Wilford Woodruff regarding the proposed construction of another church academy, Maeser stated, four years after the fact, that "Brother Don Carlos Young drew up a beautiful design for the future Provo Academy according to *my specifications and ideas . . .*"²⁸⁶ Some two years later, on December 18, 1890, the Brigham Young Academy trustees' minutes state that Joseph Don Carlos Young was reappointed as architect for the completion of the new Academy building, "the latter being engaged in 1884 to prepare plans for the building which were drawn then, *under suggestions from Prof. K.G. Maeser.*"²⁸⁷

At the dedication of the building in 1892, Maeser made the following public statement regarding the Academy's design:

I had a dream, but in the language of Byron, it was not all a dream. One night, shortly after the death of President Brigham Young, I found myself entering a spacious hallway with open doors leading into many rooms, and saw President Brigham Young and a stranger, while ascending the stairs, beckoning me to follow them. Thus they led me into the upper story containing similar rooms and a large assembly hall, when I lost sight of my guide, and awoke.

Deeply impressed with this dream, *I drew up the plan of the location shown to me and stowed it away* without any apparent purpose for its keeping nor any definite interpretation of its meaning, and it lay there almost forgotten for more than six years, when in January, 1884 the old Academy building was destroyed by fire. The want of new localities caused by that calamity, brought into remembrance that paper, which on being submitted suggestively to the board, was at once approved of, and *our architect, a son of President Young, instructed to put into proper architectonic shape.*

Another period of eight years, however, had to pass, and the same month of January, consecrated in our hearts by the memory of that conflagration, had to come around eight time again, ere we were privileged to witness the materialization of that dream, the fulfillment of prophecy. When in future days people will ask for the name of the wise designer of the *interior of this edifice*, let the answer be: Brigham Young.²⁸⁸

Maeser's mention of this prophetic dream, which apparently occurred in 1878, was accompanied by the assertion that the academy's construction was "participation in Zion's glory." To Maeser, both the academy he had directed and nurtured for sixteen years as well as its new facility were part of the broader prophetic mission of the Mormon Church. In nineteenth-century Mormon society where such spiritual manifestations were not only encouraged but expected, Maeser's statement was altogether in keeping. The schematic plan Maeser offered to J.D.C. Young as the basis for the building's design, was given by way of dream from deceased church

leader Brigham Young, "but in the language of Byron, it was not all a dream." Maeser's statement was essentially pronouncing, like the school itself, that the new building's "interior" plan was the result of a providential edict. His acts on the behalf of the church and that of the school's were, in both his and his audience's minds, building up the kingdom of God of earth in preparation for the pending millennial reign of Christ.²⁸⁹ However you wish to look at it, either as an authentic experience or a manifestation of a yearning and pious mind, Young did receive some sort of direction from Maeser. This entailed at the very least, using Maeser's own term, "specifications" that were, more than likely, a diagram showing primary and secondary spaces with their relationships and functions. Possibly, the general idea of wrapping classrooms around a large assembly hall may have come from Maeser. As will be discussed momentarily, the notion that Measer gave Young the entire floor plan for the building is called into question. Maeser did though offer his "ideas" for the building's design.

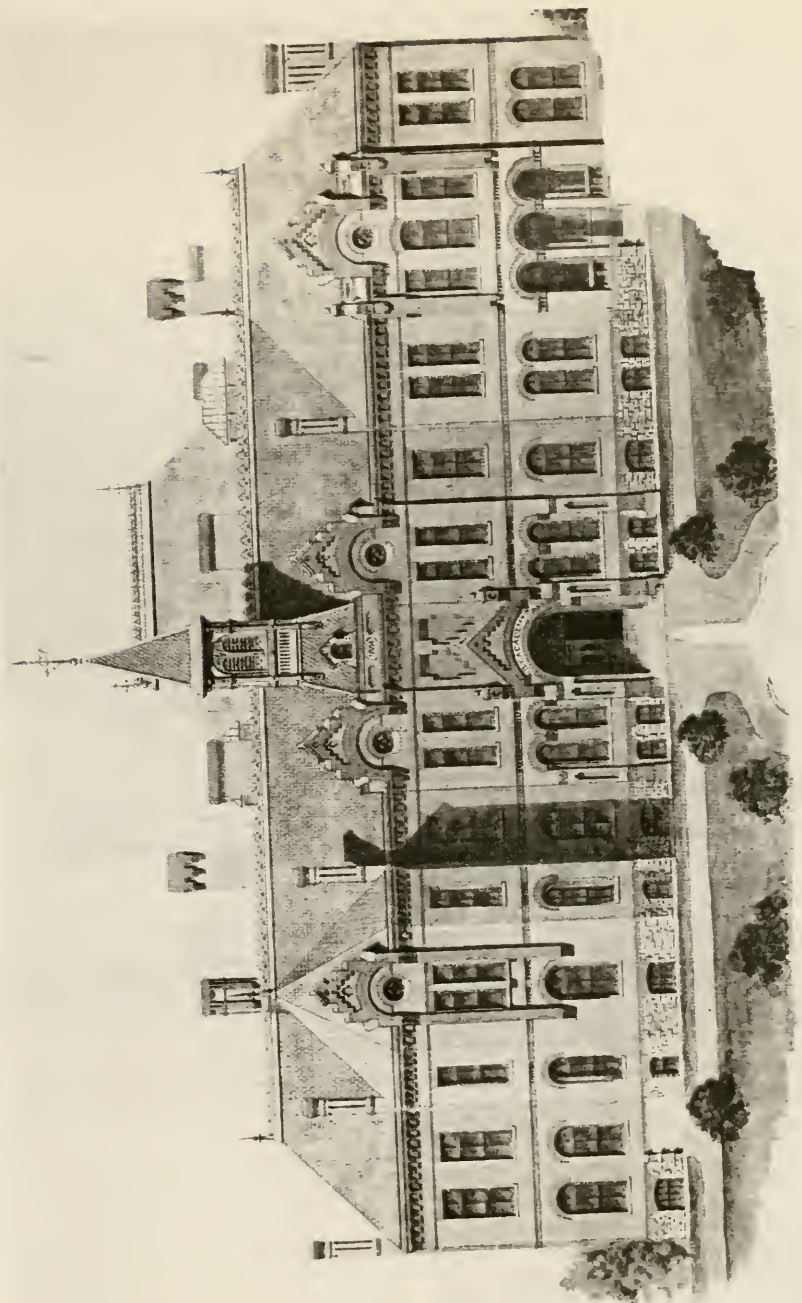
The first can be illuminated by comparing the academy's administrative structure prior to construction with the defined spaces in Young's 1884 floor plans. Under Maeser, the academy was divided into several departments, from grade school to college. The same divisions noted in the academy's curriculum prospectuses are reflected in Young's 1884 floor plans.²⁹⁰ The Primary Department (grades 1-3) and gymnasias were to be located in the basement, Preparatory (grades 3-6) and Intermediate (grades 7-8) departments were to be on the first floor, with the Academy's library and offices and its Academic (high school to college level) and

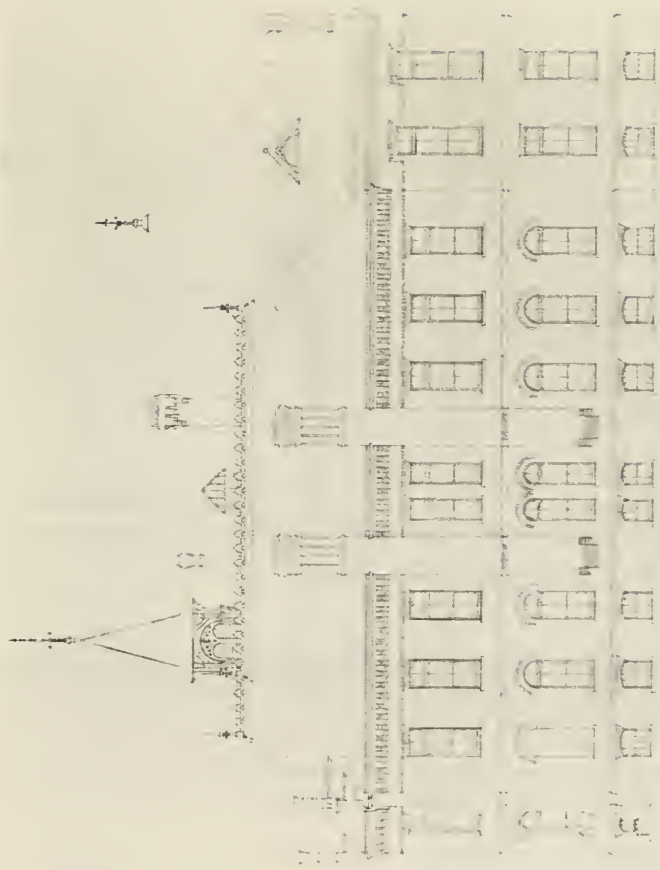
Normal (teacher training) departments on the second floor, along with the assembly hall and the art and music instruction rooms (plates 7-9).²⁹¹ In his "specifications", Maeser obviously discussed these various department and the necessary support spaces required for them with Young.

Maeser also appears to have offered "ideas" that influenced the building's general appearance. One of Maeser's biographers described him as "a strict advocate of precision and order . . . he expected the students and faculty members to respect his authority and abide by his decisions." His daughter, reflecting on her father's strenuous academic training in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century, stated that his educational "training had its part in making Father a sort of perfectionist in everything that he did. When he did a thing, it must be done right. He would say, 'When you sweep a room, sweep the corners. When you black a book, black the heels.'" ²⁹² A former student described Maeser as a man with a "highly artistic temperament," who could have been "great as an actor, painter or musician". Maeser's father was, in fact, an artist and a master painter of chinaware in Saxony.²⁹³ Part of Maeser's education, and most certainly his familial setting, would have encouraged an appreciation of art and architecture. His abiding commitment to the correct execution of details would have been incentive enough for Maeser to follow the architectonics as well as the functionality of his new school building. Much of the exterior design suggest's that Young may have drawn his plans with Maeser's German background in mind, if not by the principal's request. There is a Germanic component to J.D.C. Young's design, that is not entirely certain in derivation.

Brigham Young Academy, Provo, Utah County, Utah Territory, working and presentation drawings, numbered 1-9 (located on the following pages), J.D.C. Young architect and renderer, 1884. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)

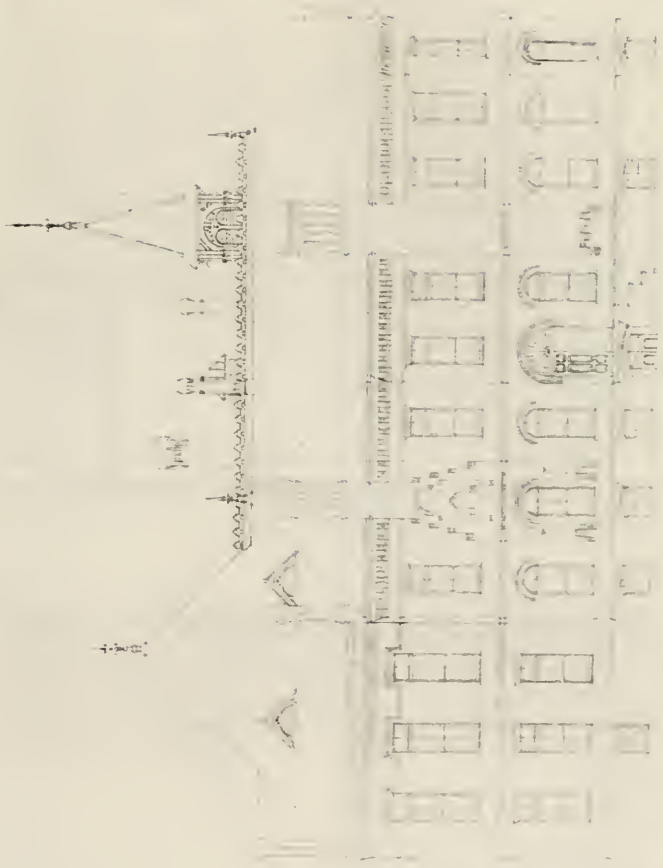
- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| Plate 1 | Rendered front or west elevation |
| 2 | South elevation |
| 3 | North elevation |
| 4 | Rear or east elevation |
| 5 | Cross section |
| 6 | Longitudinal section (looking north) |
| 7 | Plan of first story |
| 8 | Plan of second floor |
| 9 | Basement plan |





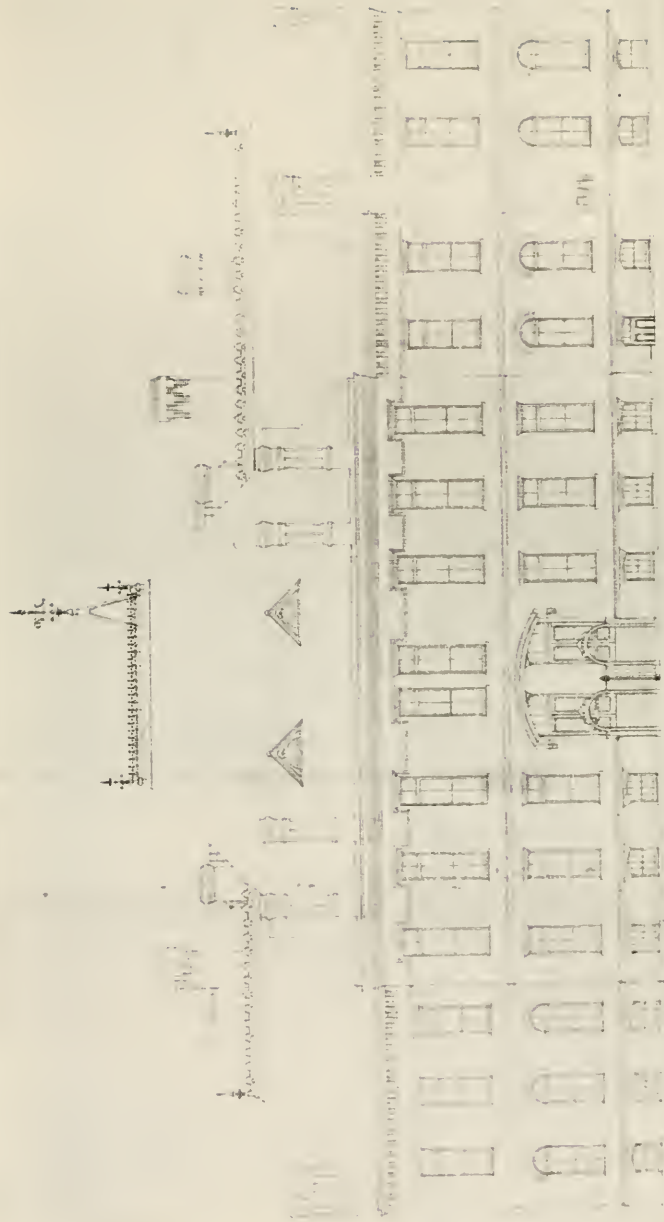
Southwestern
 University, Texas.
 J. C. Henry, Archt.
 Drawing No. 2

Scale, 1/8" = 1'



North Entrance
By University Gate
N.C. State Normal
Drawing No. 3

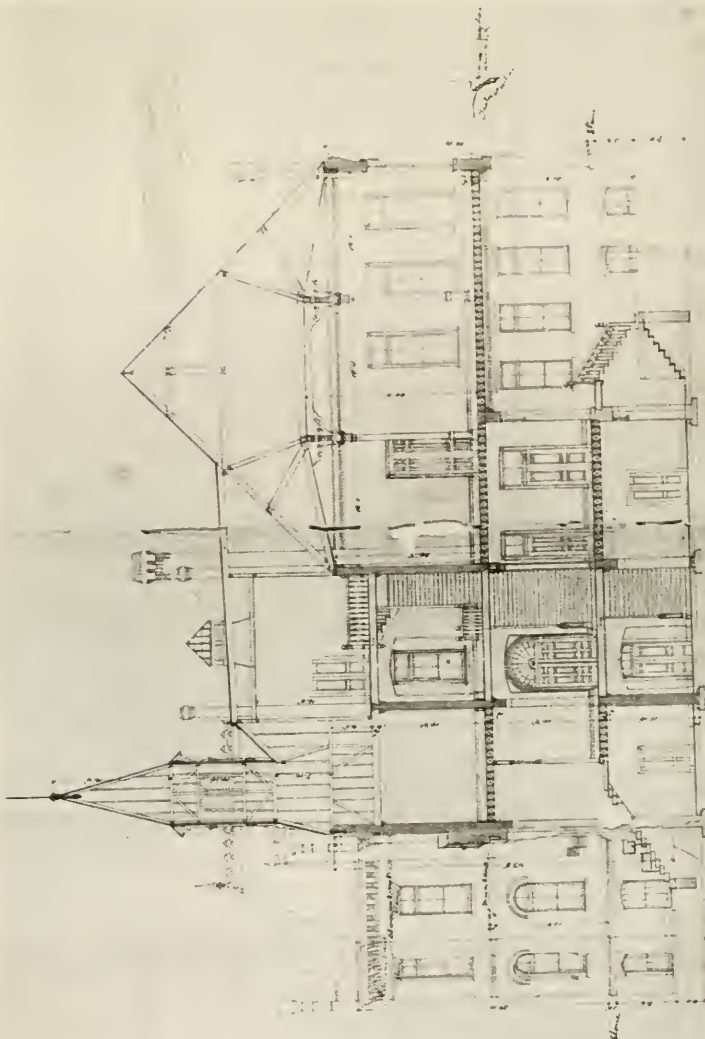
State no. 3



East Elevation
 115 Beacony Place.
 J. C. Young Archt.
 Drawing No. 4

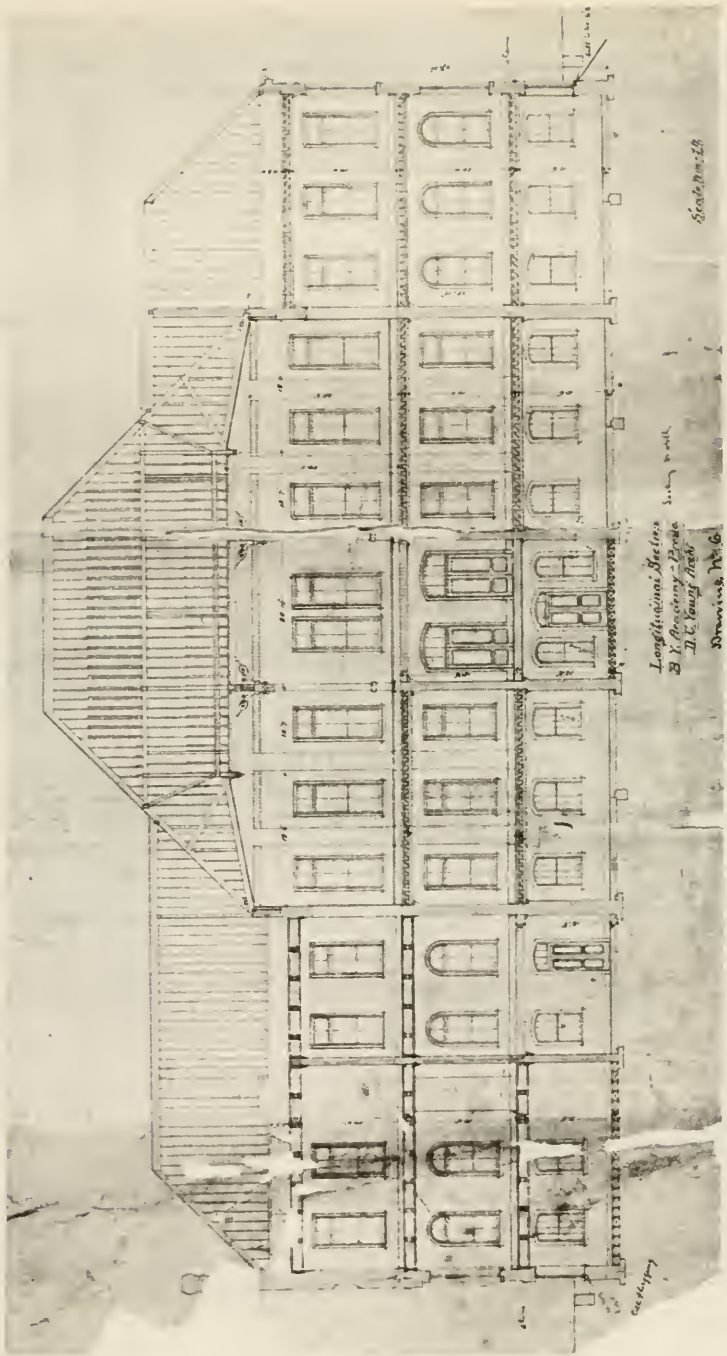
Plate from 28

Case change section in 2 story to show loads



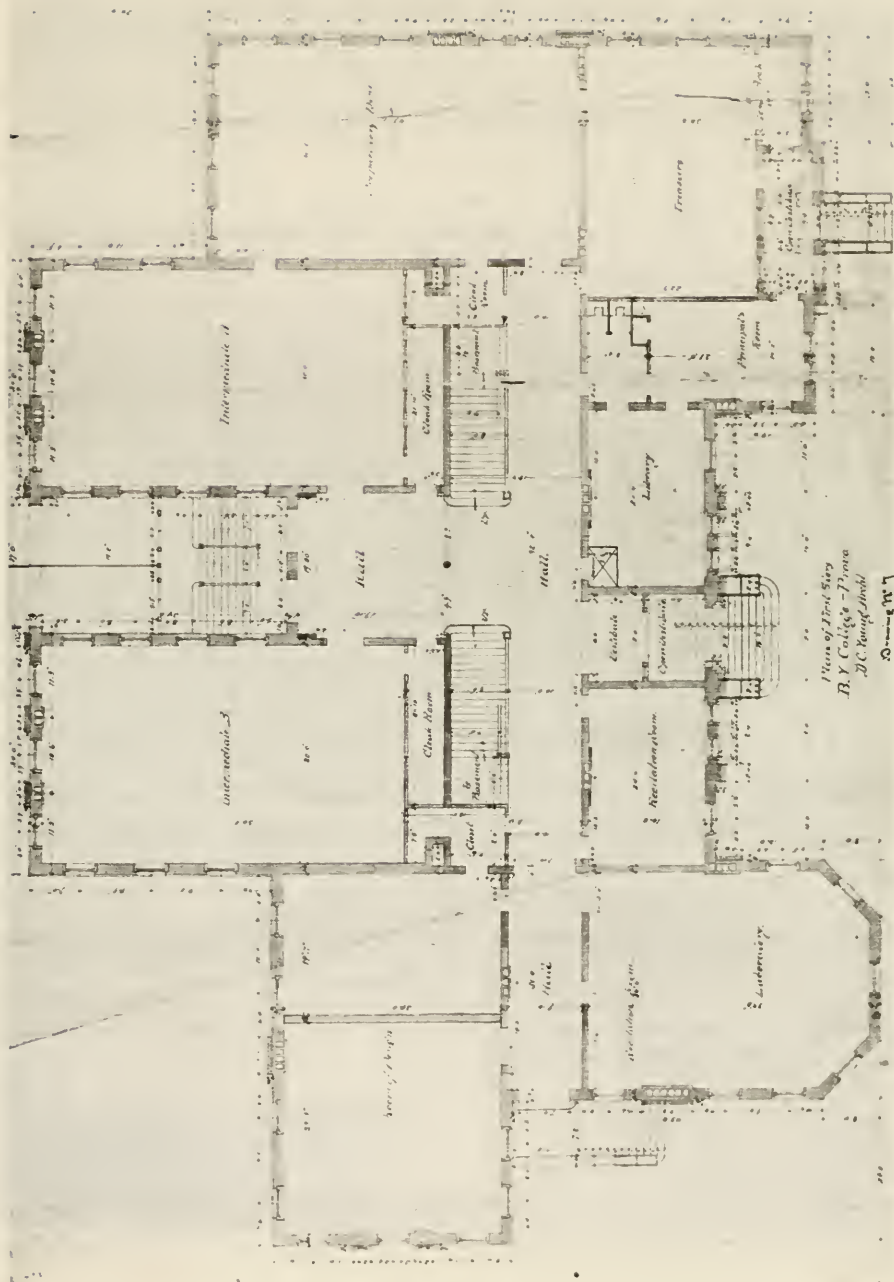
Cross Section
 B. L. Hayward, Prop.
 25 E. Young St. N.Y.
 Drawing No. 5

Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

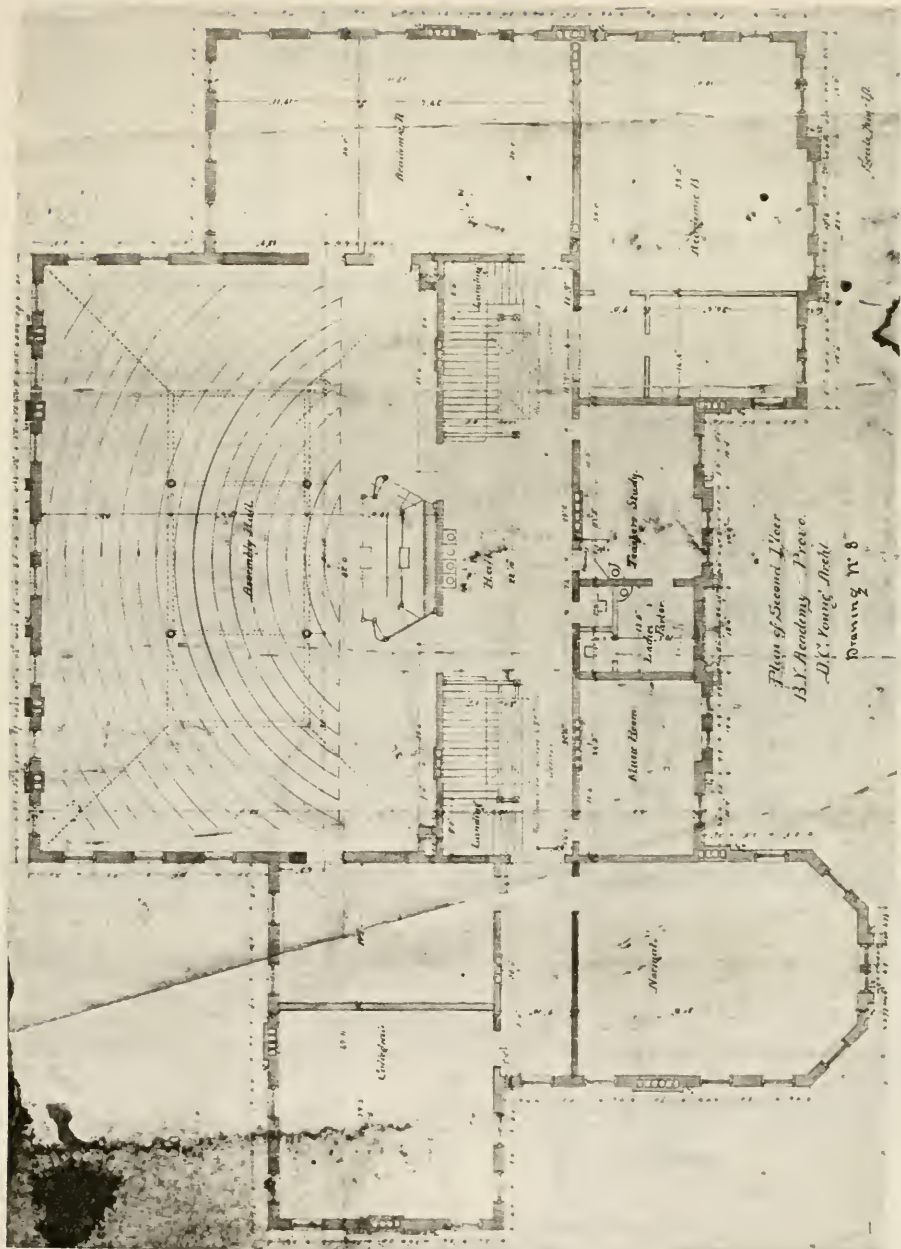


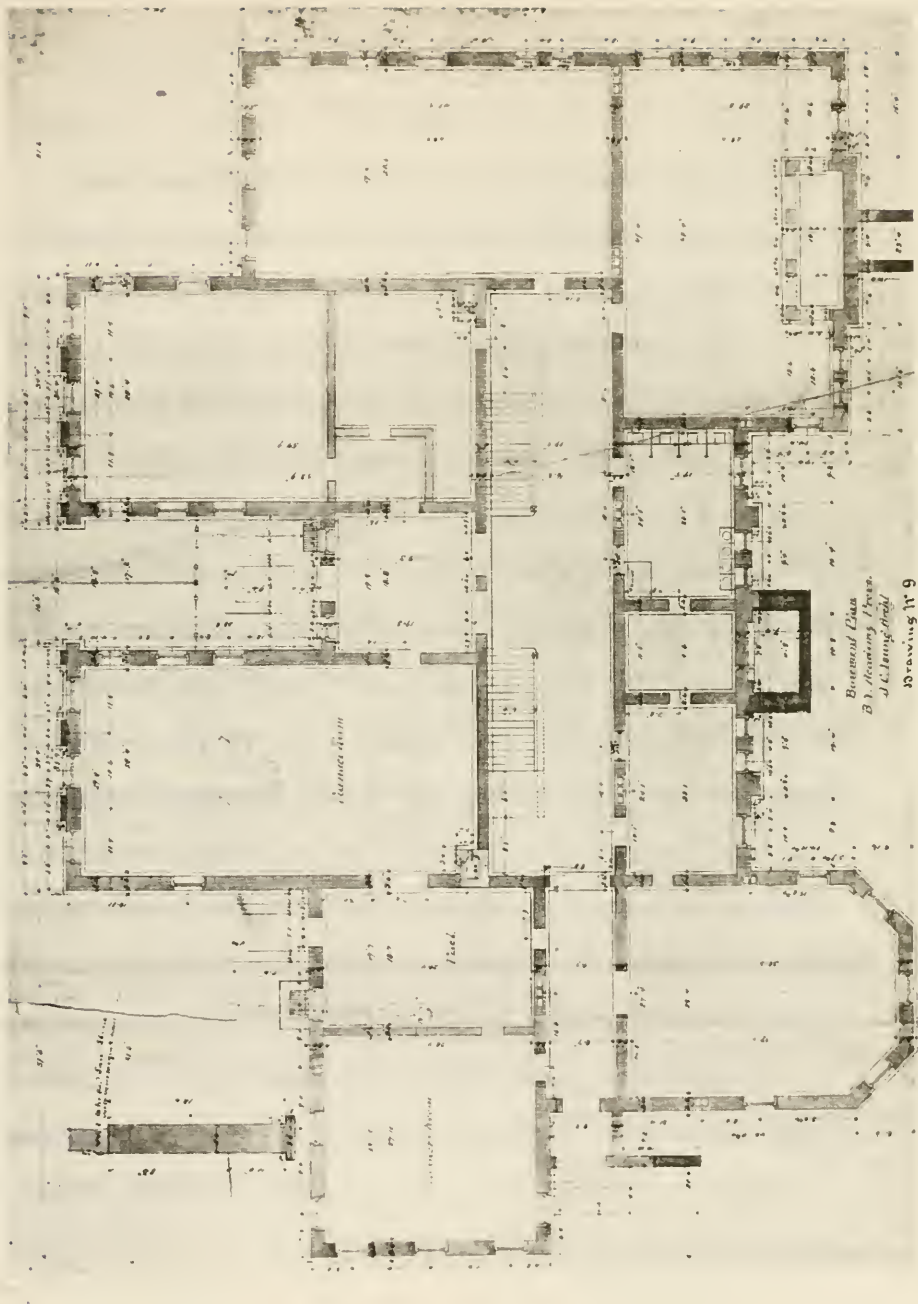
Longitudinal Section
of the
Mansard Roof
Drawing No. 6

Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"



First Story
 B. Y. College - Providence
 J. C. King & Son
 1887





Basement Plan
B. J. Manning, Esq.
J. L. Manning, Esq.
Drawing No. 9

IV

Maeser would have had both the interest and the opportunity to understand contemporary Germany architectural design prior to the Brigham Young Academy's design. His tenure as teacher and school administrator in Northern Germany in the 1850s and 1860s matches the period of the near-institutionalization of the *Rundbogenstil* or the "round arch style", which as the term implies has the arch as a leitmotif. Notwithstanding its development earlier in the century, many of its most recognizable design features proliferated in Northern Europe and to a lesser degree throughout the Western world until the last decades of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁴ Other modal features besides the round arch include an emphasis on flat surfaces, less plastic or undulating effects, with windows that appear to puncture rather than merge with wall planes, often the use of oculus windows in upper walls, subtle but frequent belt courses, slender pilasters and prominent and richly ornamented freezes, all rendered in the indigenously identified German material of brick. Ornament was dogmatically based on what could be rendered with this material. Wall planes were, more often than not, expressive of structural systems and proportions.²⁹⁵ Although other historical and contemporary sources are at play here, all of these features may also be used to describe J.D.C. Young's Brigham Young Academy design (see brick work on elevations, **plates 1-3 and fig. 4.3 and 4.5**). The Brigham Young Academy exterior is a veritable celebration in brick.

The use of Germany's "round arch style" was not widely exploited in the United States. Its utilitarian tenor and relatively honest expression of structure, made it a frequent choice for industrial and commercial architecture.²⁹⁶ Though Young could not have seen it in Chicago, the Uhlich Block (1862-1863, destroyed 1871) designed by German architect Augustus Bauer (1827-1994), offers much of the *Rundbogenstil* philosophy as well as brick detail Young would later use in the Brigham Young Academy (fig. 4.4)

Maeser also returned to Germany between 1867 and 1870 to serve as president of the Mormon Church's German and Swiss Mission. His oldest son Reinhard also served a proselyting mission to Germany from 1874 and 1876. In both cases, giving further opportunity for the educator to observe and reacquaint himself with Germany's contemporary architecture.²⁹⁷

The German component may have also come from Young's own study of, or at the very least exposure to, medieval prototypes including North European landmarks of the Romanesque. Young appears to have studied some of the same wellspring of medieval prototypes that inspired the noted architects of his day, so far as they were available to him in published sources. *AABN's* editors periodically included medieval landmarks in their plates, including one of nineteenth-century Germany's favored Romanesque landmarks, "Benedictiner Abtei Kirche ze Laach (1093-1156)" published in late-spring of 1883, under the title "Monuments on the Rhine" (fig. 4.6).²⁹⁸ The church was considered a monument and model to the proponents of Germany's *Rundbogenstil*.²⁹⁹ The author believes Young examined and generally adapted this

Medieval Romanesque landmark as precedent for his Bear Lake Tabernacle (Paris, Idaho) design, also completed in May of 1884, the same month that the Brigham Young Academy Design (fig. 4.7-9) was completed.³⁰⁰

Young's loose dependence on this German Romanesque abbey was hardly archaeological, not at all out of keeping with the era. What Young derived, besides the overall use of the German Romanesque motifs, was the towers and the arch leitmotif, augmented with a variety of other medieval motifs, merged into a narthex that essentially cloaked a simple but enormous gable nave behind it. Young also applied a semicircular apse to the end of the nave.

Young also tendered medieval monumentality, ruggedness and variety in his design by prescribing the tabernacle be built with locally quarried rough-cast, randomly laid dark limestone (foundation and mortar) and red sandstone (walls), which created both a polytonal and polychromatic effect. The use of rough cast ashlar also followed the likely published precedent. Stone work was supervised by a family of recently immigrated masons from Switzerland, who were then lured from Utah north for the project.³⁰¹

The other features not necessarily derived from Benedictiner Abtei Kirche ze Laach, includes the oculus window motif and the closely cut wall perforations. The stone walls are supported by a series of closely held buttresses, edging each tower and placed between each window bay. Young may have found a model for his buttresses from another German Landmark, "Liebhauen Kirche ze Trier, 1227-1243", an early Gothic church, also part of the "Monument on the Rhine" series published in AABN

during the previous year (fig. 4.10). This plate was found in J.D.C. Young's "Churches" portfolio.³⁰²

Young's portfolio of church plates also includes AABN published plates of H. H. Richardson's "Design for the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, N.Y." published on September 1, 1883. Young's adaptations of Romanesque motifs was probably not coincidental; Richardson's masterful and well published examples based on the Medieval prototypes must have inspired him. Unlike many of his peers in Utah in the late 1880s and 1890s, Young never designed a building that could be typed exactly as "Richardsonian Romanesque," yet he clearly owned a debt to Richardson. A committed eclectic, Young's eyes continued to rove across the geographical and architectural time-line, from indigenous early American to the more exotic architectural forms. Young's use of the Romanesque landmark, particularly this German landmark, may have been equally motivated by his exposure to Measer's German philosophy, as it was by Richardson's very popular blend of Medievalism, the very best of which was produced from 1878 and 1883 while Young was studying in the East and launching his career.³⁰³

The interior, which is a large nave, flanked by isles made by the U shaped gallery above, is as luxuriant in framing as the exterior is in masonry. With the overriding round arch leitmotif that is somewhat Romanesque and somewhat Classical, the interior is an amalgam of Queen Anne and Stick Style features, including pilasters with stylized capitals, classically scaled and chamfered gallery posts, with an elaborate

ceiling made up of alternately set diagonal and vertical strips overlaid with rectangular, diamond and triangular panels.

The building is six stories tall and still towers over its surroundings. Although very much a product of its era, there is a certain restraint and simplicity to Bear Lake, due in part to the materials used. In this design, Young created in an unassuming way a design that transcended its eclectic sources. It stands as one of the most appreciated and most successful expressions of Late-Victoriana in Idaho,³⁰⁴ perhaps throughout the Inter-mountain West and absolutely within the ranks of nineteenth-century Mormon meetinghouse stock. The tabernacle may very well be the earliest use of the post-Civil War incantation of the Romanesque Revival in the Mormon Corridor.

As was the case with most American architects of the 1870s and 1880s, Young was using architectural precedent from the "three European national centers" of architecture: England, with its' polychromatic picturesque designs in the late Victorian Gothic and the latest in so called Queen Anne mode; France, with its academic classism, the fading influence of the Second Empire, and the structural rationalism of Viollet-le-Duc; and Germany for its part-Renaissance, part Medieval expressions known as the *Rundbogenstil*.³⁰⁵ Besides these Western centers, Young also followed a fourth center in the Medieval exotic cultures of the Near and Far East. By 1884, Young had drawn from each of the first three "centers" and was striving to include the latter one.³⁰⁶

Young produced thirteen final working drawings for the Brigham Young Academy commission. The drawings, of graphite and ink on a heavy velum, include water colors that indicate building materials (pink:brick, blue:stone, brown:frame), he even tried his hand at shading and painting a surrounding landscape on the first drawing, which was intended to be presentational as well as a working drawing. Of the thirteen drawings in the original set, eight have survived, including floor plans (basement, first, and second), exterior elevations (ostensibly all four sides of the design), and two sectional drawings, cross and longitudinal (**plates 1-9**). What is absent from the extant set is detail drawings. These drawing are, to date, the earliest and most complete and comprehensive set of architectural drawing produced by J.D.C. Young.

As an orthographic expression of his design ability, and as an example of his draftsmanship, the drawings attest to Young's professionalism as an architect. As part of his professional responsibilities, Young also produced a detailed set of building specifications for the academy, which unfortunately have not survived.³⁰⁷ Young's early efforts at specification writing were probably considered an annoyance, if not totally out of line, by those builders who received them. Prior to the late 1880s, such documents were rarely seen in Utah. Before Young and shortly thereafter Richard Kletting, all of Utah's architects were first builders. Orthographic representations, if done at all, were generally confined to a front elevation and floor plans, with hardly a word of textual instruction. Beyond what could be shown on drawing paper, floor

plans, general building systems and materials, the remaining decisions were considered the domain of the architect-builder or the contractor on the building site. Young's specifications were thus an early examples of Utah's first modern architect attempting to take charge and represent his client through the entire building process, which generally flew in the face of Utah's well-established building conventions.

Maeser thus prescribed and Young designed what was allegedly the largest school building for its time in the Utah territory.³⁰⁸ The Brigham Young Academy was a huge monumental undertaking for the city of Provo and for the Mormon Church. It raised the physical scale of the building stock of both. It was the first Utah expression of a national trend of building larger school facilities, turning what was once domestically scaled buildings into public monuments, in the post-Civil War period.³⁰⁹ Young essentially designed a multipurpose school building that included a half-basement, a first and second floor, and a roomy attic, measuring 188 feet across and 168 feet deep, with 50 foot high brick walls and an additional forty feet to the top of the weather vane.

The building, as Young prescribed, was made with readily available building materials. The construction consisted of load-bearing masonry, a rubble stone foundation, and differing grades of common brick trimmed in locally quarried Kayune sandstone. Support was provided in part by 2 x 8 floor joists and in part by frame-and-iron floor trusses supported by the load-bearing walls. The roof was made of modern light braced balloon framing, supported by the load bearing wall, except in the

large lecture hall located in the rear of the second floor, where the roof was supported by four iron posts (**plate 5**).

Young made no known mention of the influences on his design. With Karl Maeser's desired building program in mind, Young must have turned first to his most comprehensive architectural source, back issues of the American Architect and Builder News (again, hereafter AABN). Young's previous institutional commission, the Brigham Young College in Logan, was a women's dormitory, for which he designed a small institutional building (**fig. 3.5 and 4.12**), almost townhouse in scale, not a multi-purpose school building such as Maeser had envisioned. Young found numerous school as well as other institutional designs to study in AABN. Numerous AABN illustrations or plates originally owned by Young, some dating back to February 1883, survive and suggest that the periodical was actively used and ingested by Young.³¹⁰ Circumstantial evidence suggests that Young subscribed to and studied AABN much earlier than that date. In using such a publication for inspiration and assistance, Young was by no means a simple copyist.

The inspiration for Young's academy *floor plan* is suggested in two published AABN plans. The first, the "Public School House, Wellsville, Ohio", published on June 12, 1880 (**fig. 4.13**), submitted by Pittsburgh architect William S. Fraser. (Compare the floor plan, located in upper left corner of this perspective drawing, to **plates 7 and 8**, the basement and first floor plans of the Brigham Young Academy). Although the Wellsville plan is symmetrical, like the later academy plan it includes six

large classrooms, two ancillary rooms in the front center of the plan, and matching grand staircases that meet in the center of a large central cross-axial hallway.

Young enlarged, extended components, and slightly rearranged the Wellsville plan keeping the plan's primary intentions. From the Wellsville plan Young directly transferred the left polygonal wing, on the right wing he chose instead to square and enlarged the pavilion. With the enlargement of the right wing, Young essential shifted the once centered entrance, as seen on the Wellsville plan, off center to the left on his Brigham Young Academy plan. Young also turned and aligned the right rear classroom wing, with its' perpendicular projection and gable, into one solid right wing envelope (**fig. 4.11 and 4.14**).

By enlarging and varying dimensions and shifting the orientation of certain classrooms, Young essentially duplicated and it should be added, adeptly "asymmetricalized" the Wellsville plan. Young's departure from his model in the academy's right wing, reduced the wall and roof area which must have cut material cost considerably. (Compare **fig. 4.13**, the Wellsville plan, to **plate 7**, the Brigham Young Academy first floor plan, and examine the entire right wing of the academy from the rear, as shown in **fig. 4.11**). With the enlargement and the realignment of these two classrooms, Young also significantly reduced the natural light coming into that wing. Suggesting the want for asymmetry and need to cut construction costs outweighed, at least in this segment of the floor plan, the acute contemporary interest for proper lighting and ventilation in all classrooms. The Wellsville plan, with its symmetrical layout of six projecting classroom wings jutting out from a central hall

core, was intended to offer maximum ventilation and natural lighting throughout the school day. This was considered a vital design imperative for a modern, scientifically designing school building. Besides taking inspiration from its illustrations, Young may have also read the numerous articles published in AABN regarding this issue.³¹¹ In working out his design, Young vacillated with what he thought to be near equal imperatives: design a building that functioned well, that was fit; making its aesthetically pleasing, monumental and expressive; and do this as economical as possible.

Also, as in the Wellsville plan, Young intended that the rear school grounds be divided between girl's and boy's areas. (See door gates on the rear elevation in **plate 4**.) This division of space and the signed doorways were abandoned in the final design. The large segmental arch above the signed doorways was also abandoned for a more contemporary Romanesque archway in 1890 (**fig. 4.11**). There is very little else in common between the two designs but the resemblance between floor plans is unmistakable.

Young also appears to have studied the more recently published "Baptist Theological College of Toronto, Canada," designed by the Toronto firm of Langley, Langley and Burke. This design was published on July 7, 1883, with a rendered perspective, three floor plans, a side elevation, and numerous detail drawings nearly six months before Young designed the Brigham Young Academy Building (**fig. 4.15-16**). The cross-axial hallway core and the somewhat less asymmetrical floor plan which included a half-octagon wing on the anterior left, a classroom wing placed at a

right angle behind the latter, and a blocked pavilion on the anterior right are also found in the Brigham Young Academy plan, although the blocked pavilion has been pushed out prominently from the central core in the Academy plan (Compare **fig. 4.15 and plate 7**). The west elevation of the Baptist plan (right inset drawing, **fig. 4.15**), may have inspired Young to combine the two right classrooms to create the solid French like massing (**fig. 4.11**).

Absent from the Baptist Theological College plan are the two projecting rear classroom wings, with the large assembly hall above, as seen in the Academy plan. It was the Wellsville floor plan that Young more closely emulated. Where the second design became more relevant to Young's design ensemble was in the building's exterior envelope, its fenestration, masonry detailing, attic and roof plan, and tower.

The Baptist College building has five floors (half-basement, three upper floors, and an attic) while the Academy has four. However, the overall envelope and surface rhythm of the Baptist College facade has much to tell about the Utah structure. The exact design detailing differs, as do the scale and some of the pitches but the basic elevation pattern and design components are clearly comparable. The building materials are, in fact, reversed in Provo. The Baptist College was ashlar trimmed with brick, while the Academy is brick trimmed in ashlar. The expense of quarried, dressed, and laid ashlar would have been prohibitive for the Academy project. Nevertheless, the energetic surface scheme executed in ashlar on the former was transferred, albeit in somewhat simplified form to the latter. By altering much of the

Baptist Theological College elevations, applying his own mix of motifs, Young created his own highly personal design.

In comparing the Brigham Young Academy facade to the Baptist College facade (fig. 4.16 and 4.17), the following similarities are clear. Both have asymmetrical tripartite facades with distinct demarcations between the central core and wings, as well as minor divisions in the wall plane throughout. Both have steeply pitched mansard roofs with a half-octagon to the left and a hipped roof on the right, joined by a mansard roof line. Both upper walls have concealed gutters, supported by corbelled brick gutters. Both have a water table above the half-basement, a string course between the first and second stories and another string course above the second-story windows. The fenestration across the front elevation of both aligns vertically from half-basement to attic dormers. Both have arched windows and entryways on the first floor with gauged brick voussoirs and squared window tops on the storey just below the roof line.

When the central pavilion is removed from the Baptist College facade, four large gabled wall dormers remain, as in the case of the academy, projecting from the mansarded roof and overlapping the wall plane. Both the Baptist College and the Academy have wall dormers that extend downward in a hood-like fashion to the main floor windows. In both case, this feature concludes in brick corbel tables. The gable on the left wing, on both the Baptist and Academy buildings, continues down the elevation as an affixed wall projection. This gable and minor wall projection on the

Academy facade were widened by Young to frame an arcade, an open vestibule, and an entry to the principal office (plates 1 and 7).

The two wall dormers flanking the main entrance continue downward as minor wall projections concluding in corbel window hoods on the first floor, flanked by brick pilasters on both ends of the projections that continue down to grade. This set of dormers and wall projections frame an elaborate main entrance, tympanum, and tower.

In the dormers, Young followed the general gable outline of the Baptist College facade. The College's simple parapet and double arched window motif he choose not to follow. Instead, Young choose an intricate decorative brick and ashlar assembly that included corbie step gables with dressed stone caps, corbel tables within, a broad banded arch below, additional brick and stone detailing and a oculus windows. Making the dormers strongly German, expressive of the latent *Rundbogenstil*.

Young chose to slightly enlarge the framed arch louvered tower, as well as to draw it prominently forward on the mansard slope. No longer simply a decorative ventilator, Young's tower, although still somewhat diminutive, became a belfry, taking a more prominent place in the building's appearance and symbology. Taking his decorative design work in brick and stone one step further, Young designed a even more elaborate tower following Queen Anne impulses, specifically using an Eastern Stick style of the 1870s and early 1880s.

Continuing to scan the plates in his back issues of AABN, Young may have found inspiration for his main entrance and porch in an issue published four months after the Wellsville plan, on October 9, 1880. In this issue, Young would have seen

two drawings for the Morse Building, built on Nassau Street in New York City, submitted by the firm of Silliman and Farnsworth of the same city. Along with an elevation drawing, AABN published an elaborate rendered perspective of the building's main entrance (**fig. 4.18**).

The design included a large Romanesque arched entrance leading to an open vestibule with the building's name carved in stone above the arch and a near-Gothic pitched gable or tympanum in-filled with decorative corbel tables, flanked by brick, stone, and terra-cotta buttresses topped with classicized gablets. Young's design, although simplified and less polychromatic, follows this model. Besides the entry porch there are other High Victorian Gothic elements that Young tipped his hat to, including the building's roof plan and pitch, decorative shingle design, ridge cresting and some of the brick detailing (**fig. 4.19**).

Young may have also found inspiration for his prominent arched corbie step wall gables and wall projections in numerous other published drawings, including Boston architect William G. Preston's Quincy Market Warehouse (published in AABN, August 26, 1882; see **fig. 4.20**) and Philadelphia architect James H. Windrum's First Regiment Armory (published in AABN, December 23, 1882; see **fig. 4.21**). The step gables were a reoccurring design element of the time.

Much of the decorative brickwork and detailing of the academy building were conspicuous features on published residential designs, such as a Cincinnati residence for George S. Horner, in Walnut Hills (published in AABN, January 14, 1882; see **fig. 4.22**). Young's repertoire of surface detailing, although likely modern to his Utah

audience, could have been observed throughout the Eastern seaboard a decade earlier, such as in G. T. Tilden's Block of Five Houses in Longwood, Massachusetts (published in AABN, May 20 1876; see **fig.4.23**). Note the mansarded and hipped roof, the use of wall projections and wings, the wall dormers, corbel brick work below the eaves, and decorative chimney breasts extending only partially down the wall plane.

To a certain degree, The Brigham Young Academy's decorative brick surfaces work appears more at ease on residential or lesser-scaled buildings, such as the Orange Music Hall of Orange, New Jersey again by Silliman and Farnsworth (published in AABN, August 28, 1880; see **fig. 4.24**). This same kind of de-scaling or use of seemingly residential scaled elements on larger wall planes, as well as much of the medieval inclination in the brick work, Young could have also observed during his travels in the East, especially in the work of Frank Furness and his contemporaries in Philadelphia. Furness's 1876 design for the Jefferson Medical College, also executed in brick with ashlar trim, possessed the visual and decorative intensity Young at least aspired to express in the Brigham Young Academy (**fig.4.25**). Conversely, Furness's use of seemingly over-scaled features are also evident in the Academy's composition, albeit in a minor way, in the colossal brick chimneys, although this is obscured by other eye-grabbing features and by the sitting of the most of the chimneys set on platforms that conceal their enormous scale (**fig. 4.26**).

It is the up-scaling, or in the case of the Academy's bell tower, the retention of the residential scale that makes this design capricious. Young's Eastlake-Eastern Stick

tower (**plate 1 and fig. 4.27**) was a familiar feature in lesser- scaled buildings of both the 1870s and 1880s as shown by the design of a carriage house published in The Architectural Sketch Book in August 1876 (**fig. 4.28**) or as recently as February 24, 1883 in the design of the tower of the Bishop Whittingham Memorial Church in Baltimore, Maryland (AABN, **fig. 4.29**).³¹² Young was only figuratively expressing structure in his tower.

In Young's stereographic library there are numerous photographs with comparable minor design elements, particularly medieval design elements, that the architect may have studied and adapted, including Sir Walter Scott's Tudor Revival residence in Scotland (replete with corbie step wall gables and multiple wall and roof projections) as well as buildings from both the nineteenth century and the ancient world. In fact, the dominant facade motif, the corbie steps, can be seen in a number of illustrations in Young's extant records of the period. The Sir Walter Scott card and the other cards Young purchased in a series (historic British Isles) illustrate the Medieval architecture that inspired the Queen Anne mode in England and in turn in the United States.

Young had become adept at drawing inspiration from numerous sources. What was earnestly attempted by building designers of this era was turning those various extracted bits into a montage-like product that was wholly architectonic, seemingly underivative, that would in the final product transcend its individual design elements. Young's designs were almost successful in this, the best of those in his time and place. Young, as with most of his national peers, pursued a path of unrestrained

eclectic delight. His talents increased in this effort, so by 1884 his architectural collages offered in the Bear Lake Tabernacle and the Brigham Young Academy in Provo were fully imbued with eclecticism. These designs were, so far as culture at large was concerned, mystically derived with their varied sources wonderfully sublimated.

VI

Through his designs Young introduced new elements into the Utah Mormon built environment: a new scale, a timely monumentality and a density of detail that was both urban and contemporary in its intentions. Young's work, in a very idiosyncratic way, expressed the Mormon's acquiescence and at the same time aspirations to join the greater American polity, but with its own philosophical motives and rationalizations folded in to it. Young's eclecticism was not laden with obvious historical associations, the messages offered were much more subtle, much more idiosyncratic to Mormon society. The design elements and themes had historical associations but they were not -- in overall composition -- obvious, blatant iconography. In some ways what Young did with his eclecticism was re-contextualize historical themes and features for Mormon society; medievalism was no longer associated with Roman Catholicism particularly the round arch style or *Rundbogenstil*, which was neutral without obvious Christian association. The gestures to affluence in Young's designs were in pursuit of beauty, expressing stability, not ostentatiousness and worldliness which would have ran counter to the Mormon message.

Prior to the late 1870s and early 1880s, the Mormon aesthetic philosophy was very much an expression of Protestant ideology from which it both sprang and reacted against from the 1820s to the 1840s. The same architectural aesthetic of this early period was essentially retained for decades after the exodus west to Utah. Mormon's possessed a "classical" mindedness, not at all out of place with much of nineteenth-century America.³¹³ Nature was to be placed in order, subdued. An extension of puritanical and later protestant aesthetics, the Mormon's canonical pretext urged efficiency, thrift, orderliness and simplicity in all expressions. With the nineteenth-century millennial doctrine, seeking after material goods and the desire for beauty, did not always conform with the fervor required in preparing for the end of the world forthwith. The majority of Mormon architecture prior to the late 1870s, and to a lesser degree until 1890s, was very much a sustained expression of Neo-classical or Renaissance traditions experienced in New England, the Mid-Atlantic states and Midwest during the genesis of the movement. Georgian and Federal architectural influences continued via vernacular building traditions into the 1860s. The Greek Revival proportions, planning and decorative elements used by the Mormon's in Ohio and Illinois,³¹⁴ remained a cogent part of Mormon architectural and landscape aesthetics until the 1890s and beyond.³¹⁵ Modern idioms in architecture did enter the Mormon region, such as Gothic Revival and the romantic classicism of the Italianate and the Second Empire, but they were nearly always subdued, mediated to conform to the enduring vernacular classical mind-set.

This aesthetics sprang in part from an appreciation and affinity with the aesthetics of the early republic. Early Mormon theorist taught the making of America, the entire so called "march of progress", including the creation of Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights were all part of a grand design, a Mormon manifest destiny intended for and culminating in the creation of Mormonism, and then soon after, the second coming of Christ. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both preached that the government framed by the leaders of the new republic created a government "that differed very little from that of the Kingdom of God." While nineteenth-century Mormons may have thought the U.S. Government utterly corrupt in their day, the republic and its origins were established by divine will.³¹⁶ The aesthetic ideals of the early Christian republic was, so far the nineteenth century Mormonism was concerned, linked with that of its own ideals and times. This classical aesthetic, particularly the prevalent use of the Greek Revival, appears to have also been anti-urban.³¹⁷ Brigham Young's envisioned pre-millennial city was a spacious extended grid, ten acre per block with an acre-and-half per lot, with houses zoned set into the lot and distanced from neighboring homes. Barns and outbuilding were set back into the block, common agrarian fields were to surround the residential area, home industry was to be the rule, commercial center were not needed and were to be avoided. Brigham Young had a healthy distrust for urban development and made every effort to create permanent agrarian society. The vaguely known Neo-classical works of the early republic suited Brigham Young view of his pre-millennial agrarian world.

It was not until J.D.C. Young and thereafter his contemporaries of the early 1880s, that the late-Victorian eclecticism entered Utah and remained. This was not a capricious change of fashion but an expression of a fundamental shift in Mormon thought regarding aesthetics. When Young returned, society in Utah was changing and he was ready to articulated this architecturally.

Art and architecture prior to the 1870s, when addressed, in the midst of pragmatic and utilitarian needs of pioneer living, was considered a entirely a spiritual concern. Art like any other material expression had to at least gesture towards the ultimate goal of millennial glory. All art, as with all material expression was to be socially constructive and uplifting, helping to keep eyes single on the glory of God. Young expressed a shift in this focus, by offering a corollary to what was previously entirely sectarian religious concern. Young could not and would not disentangle morality from art but he did offer art as something worth while for its own sake. The pursuit of beauty, art for art sake, was asked to co-exist along with preparing for the end of the world. Seeking beauty could also redeem, refresh, and inspire ardor for the Christian pageant, without blatant Christian themes. There was also a economic motive as the Mormon Church with its growing financial interests, and that of the greater Mormon society, began to coalesce with the broader national marketplace. Money was much more plentiful, personal wealth was evident and needed to be expressed socially. Mormons wished to speak the language of their new economic allegiances. Young architecture was informed, sophisticated, allowing a rapid tract

towards joining the growing fashion conscious middle-class American life. His Eastern training and exposure made him an arbiter to his fellow Mormons.

When the emergence of modern architectural practice in Utah had been discussed Richard K.A. Kletting, Walter E. Ware and Frederic Albert Hale have been considered the primary operators in this change. Joseph Don Carlos Young returned from college in 1879 and commenced his private practice in 1881. Young was both the Mormon Church's and Utah's first modern academically trained architect. The others are also legitimate participants in this change, albeit following Young.

Young's architecture also represented Utah's first acts of community re-development. With unfulfilled millennial hopes, a second generation replenished the concept of the Kingdom of God. Commencing in New York state in 1830, Mormonism and its proponents traversed North American either by preference or by rejection for over fifteen years until settling on the fertile fringe of the great basin, near what early nineteenth century cartographers titled the "great American desert." In each of these major successive respites, Kirtland, Ohio; Independence, Missouri; Nauvoo, Illinois and eventually the Utah Territory, the Mormons rendered on the frontier landscape swiftly built communities intended to urge and provide support for a pending millennial reign of Christ universal; which they, with Him, would steer towards an end of the world as it was known. Their urgent "gathering" of believers, from across the North American, Western Europe and beyond; their elaborate temples intended to offer community focus and indispensable instruction for eternal redemption for the elect; and their simple city plans intending to bring symbolic order to a "new

zion" on the American Continent, were all emblems of what was suppose to be a short lived experience, that would, like them, be subjected to the "refiner's fire."³¹⁸ All things were to be placed in order, in a similitude of Mormon contrived celestial order, for this final transformation.

In each of Mormon's successive settlements the preliminary stages of community development, the first generation of city planning and construction stood only for a short time. It would not be until Utah that the Mormons would have the opportunity to redeveloped or redefine on the same soil their pending existence and the built environment that reflected that stance. This redevelopment, this physical reinterpretation for the second generation of millennial expectants, would be offered in part by Joseph Don Carlos Young. Responding to institutionalization, the advent of bureaucracy, the "necessity of finding a way for God's Kingdom `to coexist with Caesar's',"³¹⁹, the partial acquiescence and partial adaption of greater American course of society, and the need to preserve the vitality, were all expressed in Young's architecture. Towards this end, Young attempted to express, in a half hearted manner the peculiarities of the "anti-modern and anti-bourgeois" Mormon past of his father, but even more so than the other, he pointed towards the Mormon society's eventual twentieth century stance as "mainstays of the American middle-class culture."³²⁰ Young would eventually represent, in the last years of his professional life (1920-1933), an even further closure of the conspicuous physical differences between Mormon and the broader American culture, by designing in a proto-standard-plan

manner, hundreds of Colonial Revival meetinghouses for the Church from Malad, Idaho to Copenhagen, Denmark.³²¹

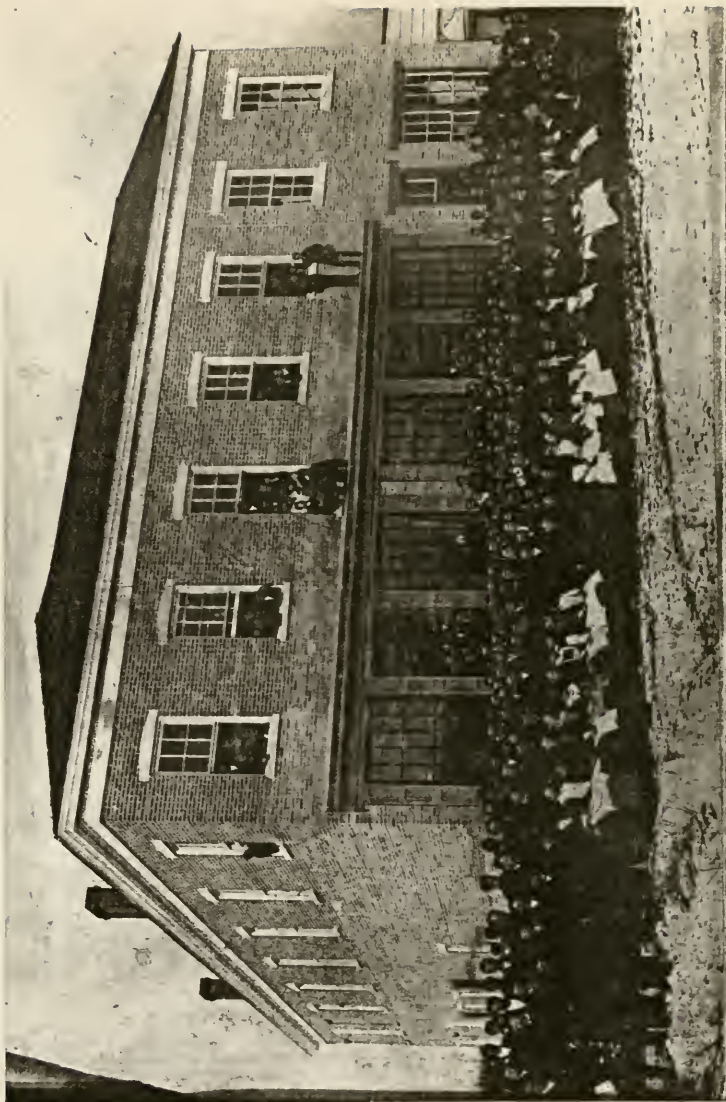
VII

After the period of this study, Young continued in private practice until 1887, when he was called by his church to act as the official church architect, replacing Truman O. Angell, who died in 1886, and concluded a forty year campaign to complete the Salt Lake Temple. In five years time (1888-1893) Young completely designed and saw executed the building's interior which was, prior to his appointment, a cavernous-like space with only partially built floors in place. Brigham Young conceptualized this building's design in 1853 for Truman O. Angell to articulate and see executed. Brigham Young offered the first act towards this building's design and his son Joseph Don Carlos Young offered the last act of design by designing the building's interior.

Once again resuming his private practice in 1893, Young would train three of sons and an assortment of nephews in architecture. This line of Young family architects commenced really with Brigham Young and his building interests continues with some of J.D.C. Young's heirs still practicing architecture today. Until the early 1970s, a considerable number of major buildings constructed by the centralized church, were designed by Young family heirs.³²²

In 1920, under the direction of his West-Point trained brother Willard, J.D.C. Young returned to church service. He retired from the practice of architecture

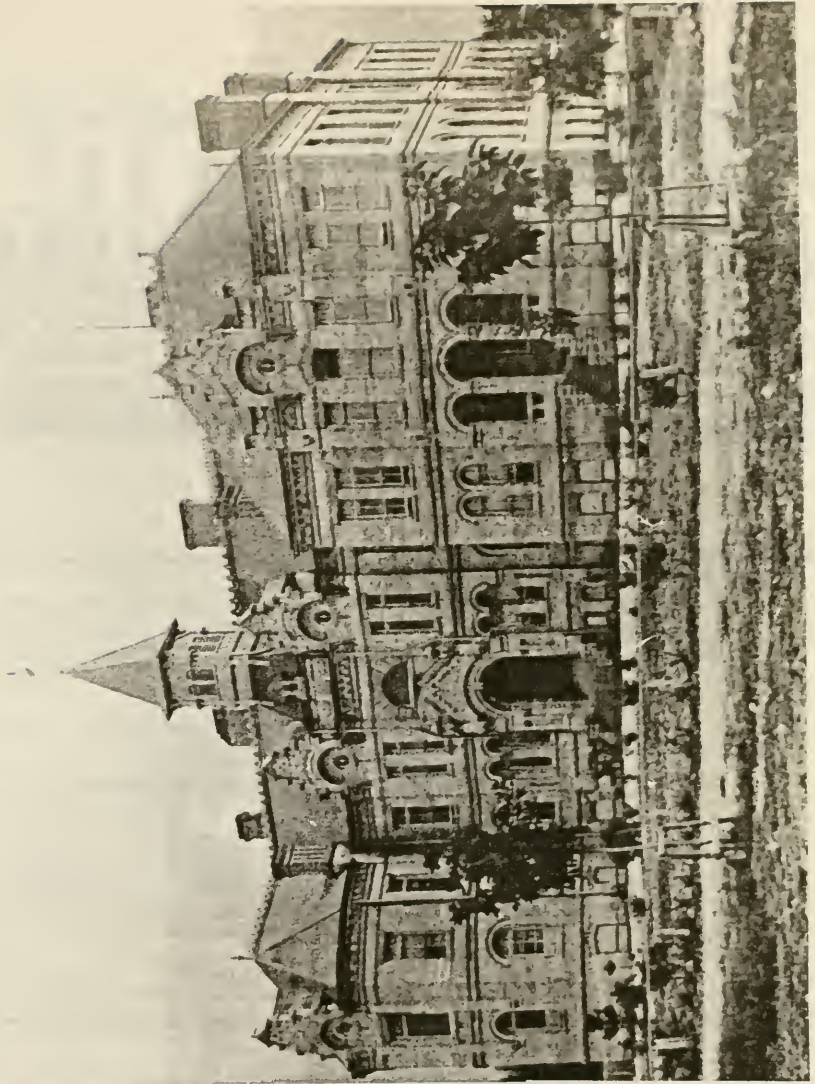
gradually between 1935 and 1936. As the last surviving son of Brigham Young, Joseph Don Carlos Young died on October 20, 1938.³²³



4.1 Lewis Building (Brigham Young Academy) 300 West Center St., Provo, Utah Territory, ca. 1883. (Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



4.2 Lewis Building, "Brigham Young Academy "After the Fire, 1884," Conkling Studios, Provo, Utah Territory.
(Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



4.3 Brigham Young Academy, 500 West Academy Avenue (later University Ave.), ca. 1892. (Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



UHLICH BLOCK.

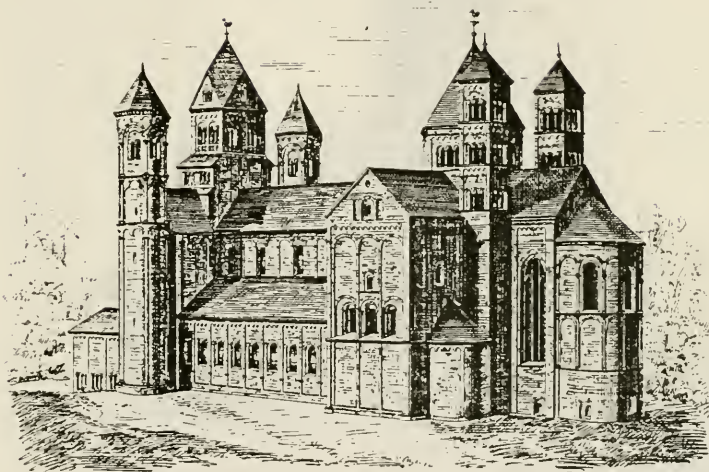
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- 4.4 Uhlich Block, Chicago, ca. 1865, Augustus Bauer, architect, H. Rehvold, artist, Robin and Feusier, lithographers. Built 1861-1862, destroyed by fire 1871.



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- 4.5 Brick work, north elevation, Brigham Young Academy, Provo, Utah, 1991, author photographer.

MONUMENT ON THE RHINE.

1093 — 1156



Benedictiner Abtei Kirche zu Laach.

Frank Zimmerman

- 4.6 "Benedictiner Abtei Kirche zu Laach, Monument on the Rhine, 1093-1156," AABN, no. 390 (June 16, 1883).



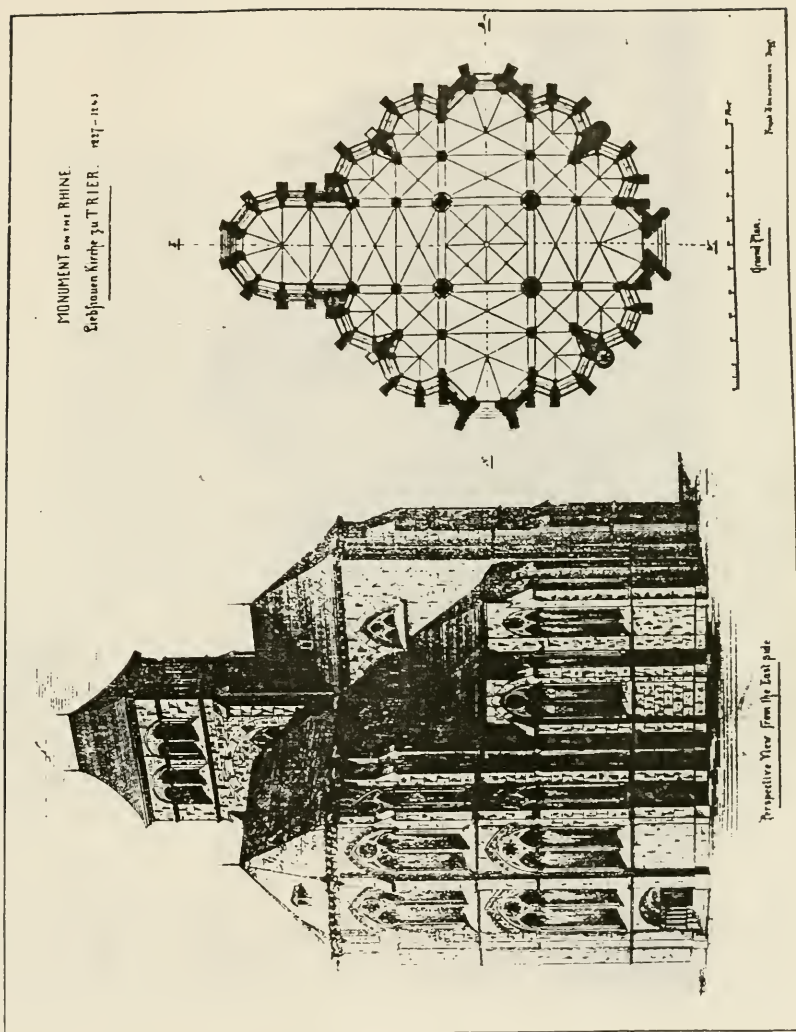
4.7 Bear Lake Tabernacle under construction, Paris, Idaho, ca. 1887, J.D.C. Young, architect. (Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.)



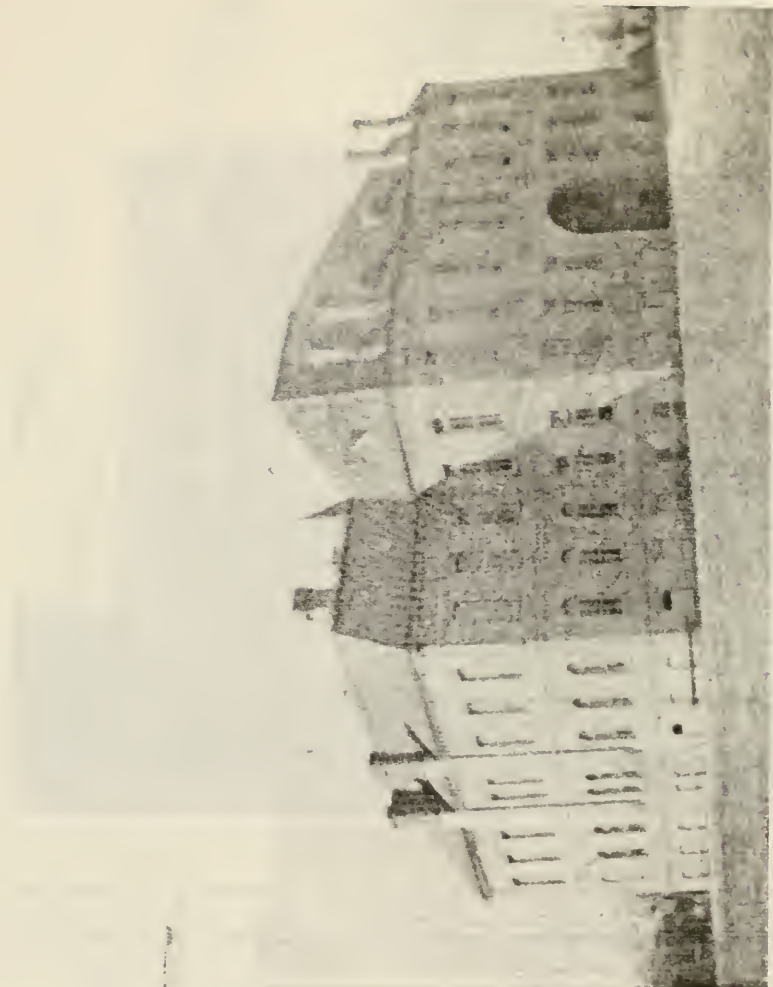
4.8 Bear Lake Tabernacle, Paris, Idaho, ca. 1956, Lynne Wakefield, photographer. (Gift of the photographer in possession of the author.)



4.9 Bear Lake Tabernacle Interior, Paris, Idaho, ca. 1956, Lynne Wakefield, photographer. (Gift of the photographer in possession of the author.)



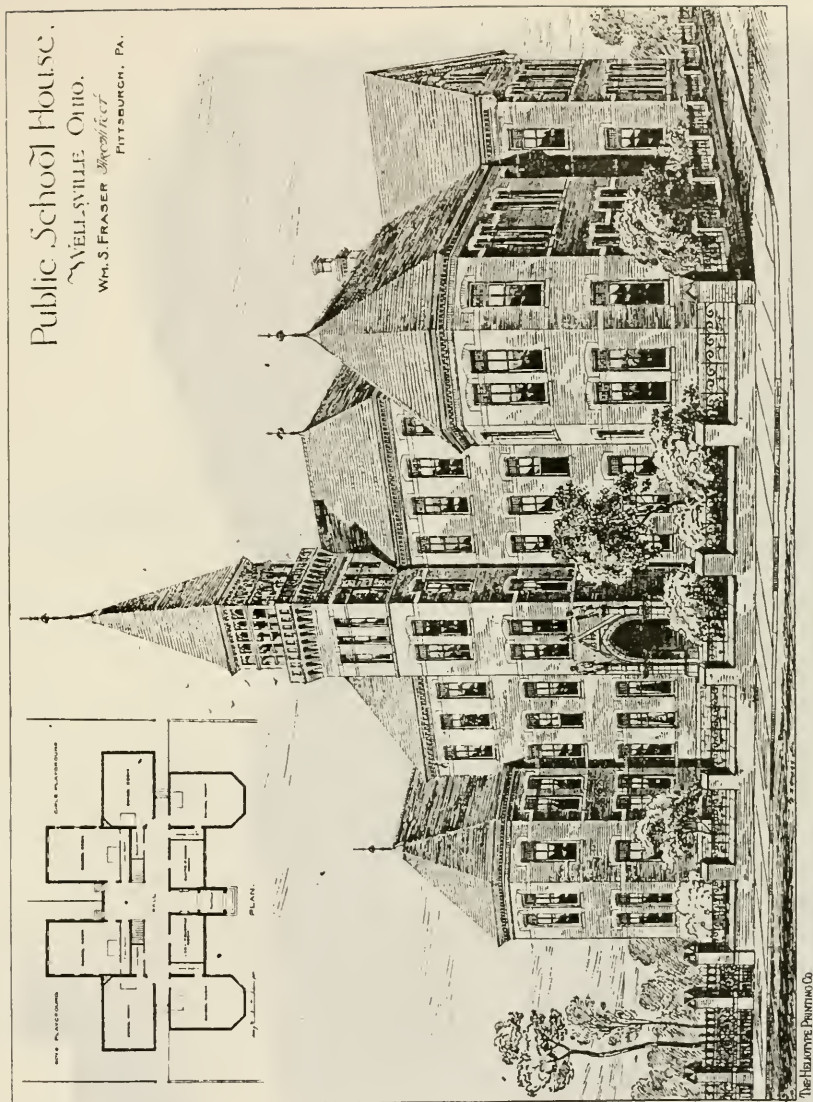
4.10 "Liebhausen Kirche ze Trier, 1227-1243, Monument on the Rhine," AABN, no. 408 (Oct., 20, 1883).



4.11 Brigham Young University, south and east elevations, ca. 1896. (Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



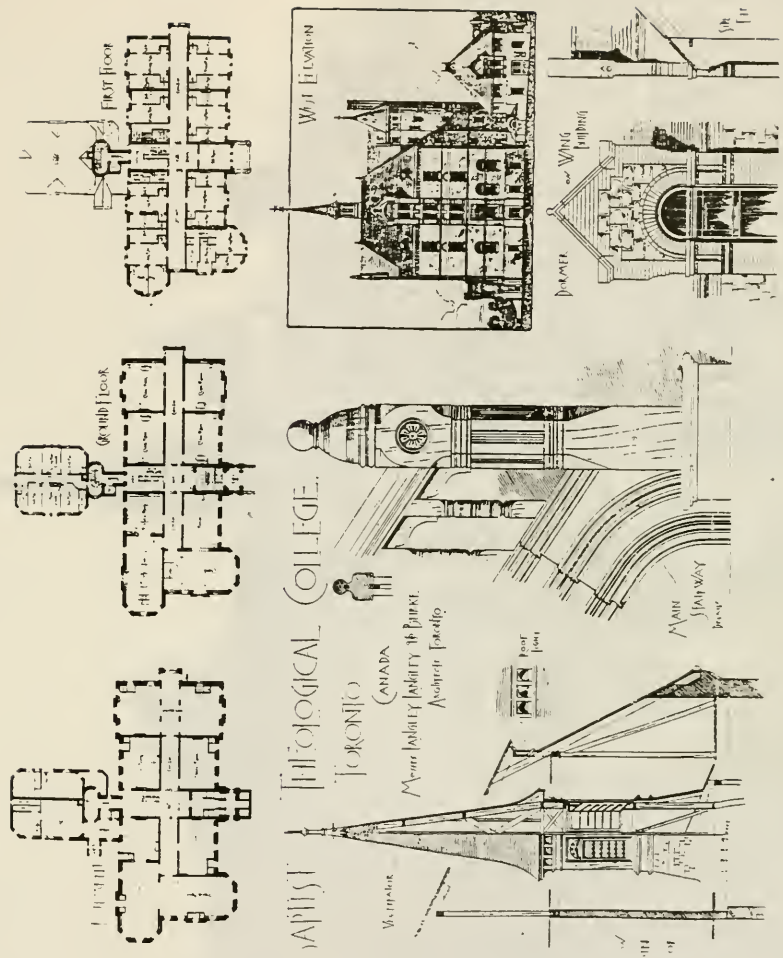
4.12 Brigham Young College (Logan) and student body group, ca. 1900. (Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.)



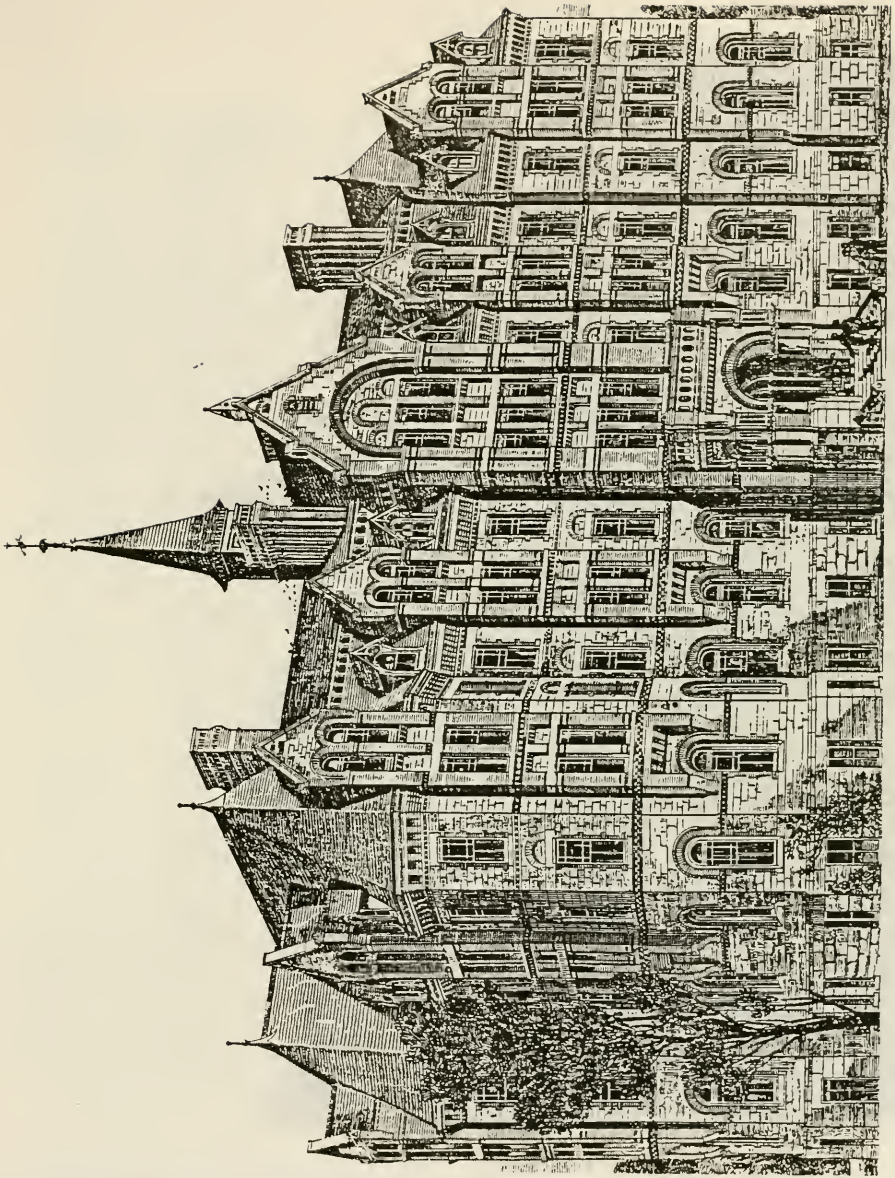
4.13 Public School House, Wellsville, Ohio, William H. Fraser, architect, Pittsburgh, Pa., AABN, no. 233 (June 12, 1880).



4.14 Brigham Young Academy, ca. 1895. (Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



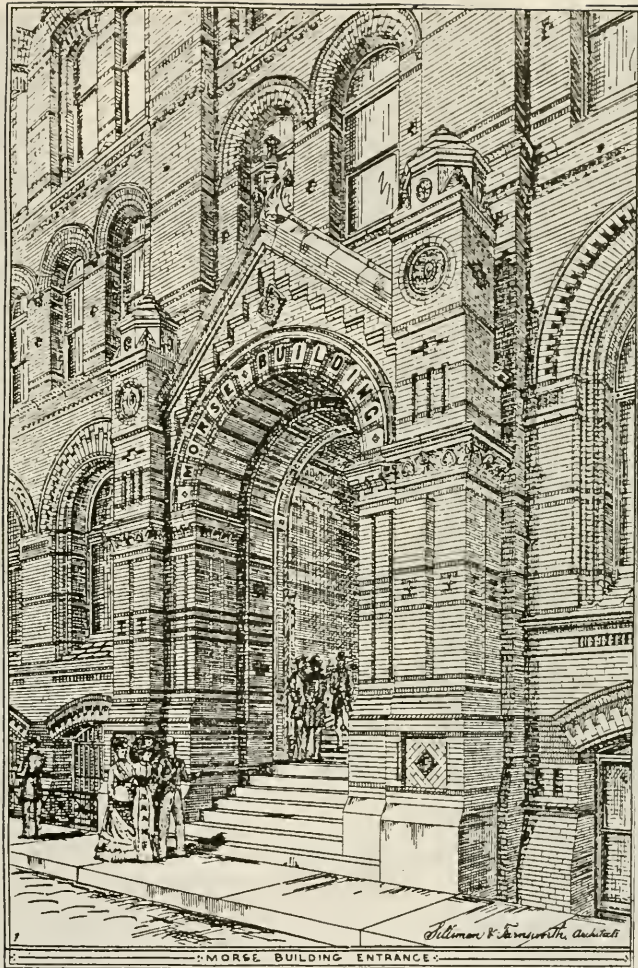
4.15 Floor plans, details, and west elevation, Baptist Theological College, Toronto, Canada, Messrs. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects, AABN, no. 393 (July 7, 1883).



4.16 Rendered perspective, "Baptist Theological College, Toronto, Canada, Messrs. Langley, Langley and Burke, architects," AABN, no. 393 (July 7, 1883).



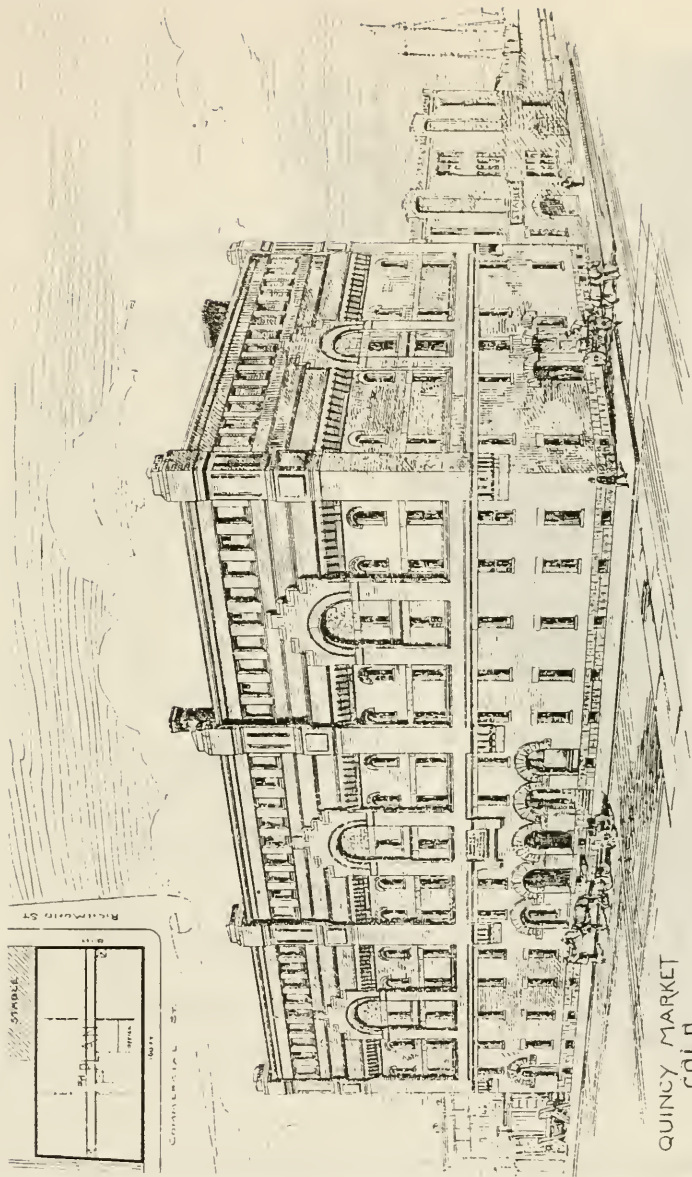
4.17 Brigham Young Academy, ca. 1895, Anderson and Larson, photographers, Provo. (Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



4.18 The Morse Building, Nassau Street, New York, Silliman and Farnsworth, architects, AABN, no. 250 (October 9, 1880).

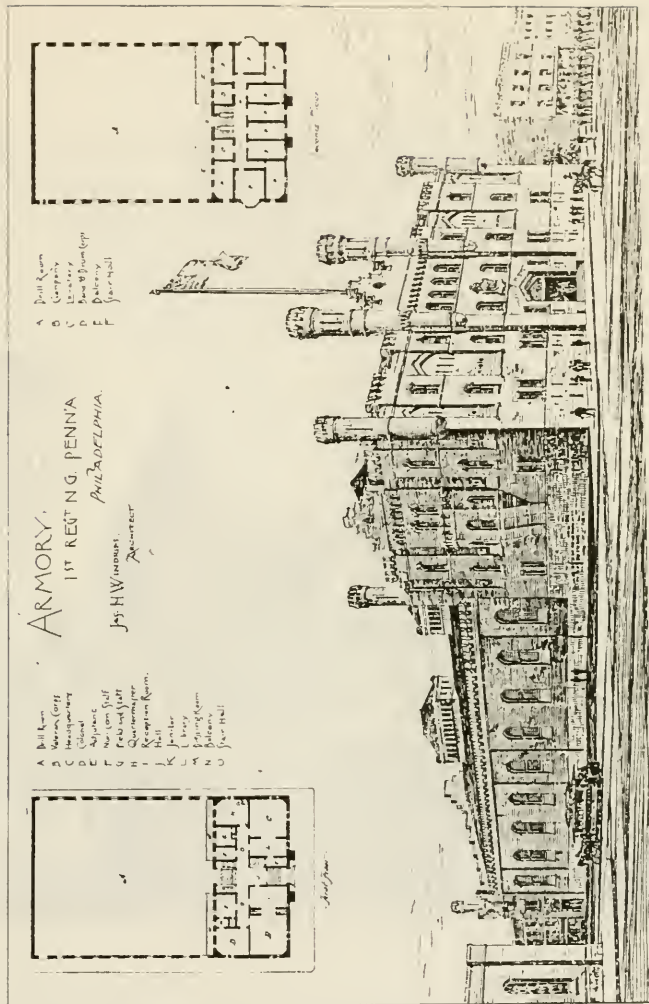


4.19 Roof ridge creasting, Brigham Young Academy, ca. 1975.
(Courtesy of University Archives, Brigham Young University.)



QUINCY MARKET
1882
STORAGE WAREHOUSE
BOSTON.

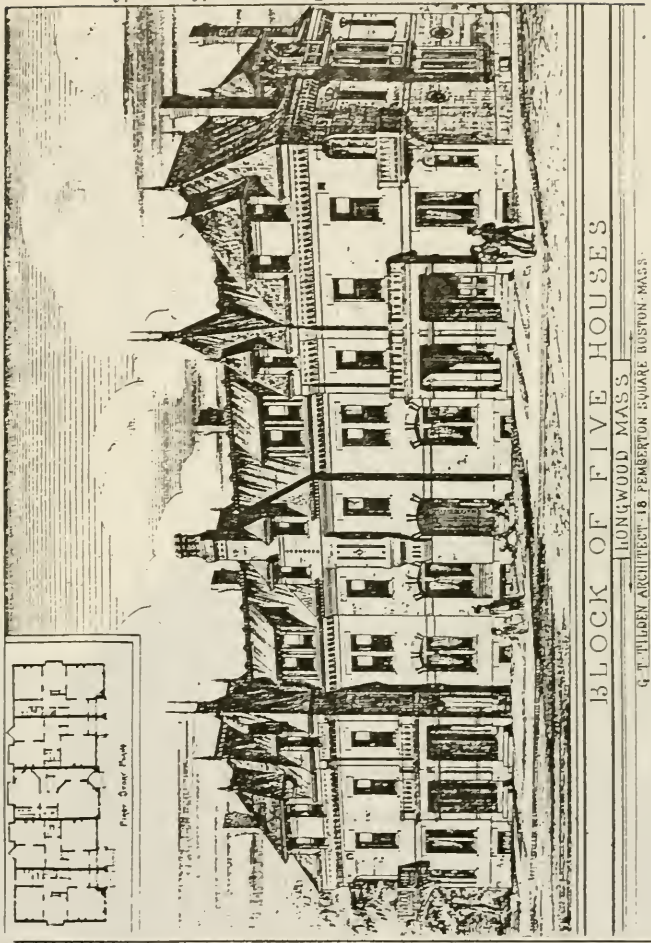
4.20 Quincy Market Cold Storage Warehouse, Boston, W. G. Preston, architect, AABN, no. 348 (Aug., 26, 1882).



4.21 Armory, 1st Regt. N.G. Penna., Philadelphia, Jas. H. Windrum, architect, AABN, no. 365 (Dec., 23, 1882).



4.22 Residence of Geo. S. Horner, Esq, Walnut Hills,
Cincinnati, AABN, no. 316 (Jan., 14, 1882).



BLOCK OF FIVE HOUSES

LONGWOOD MASS'S

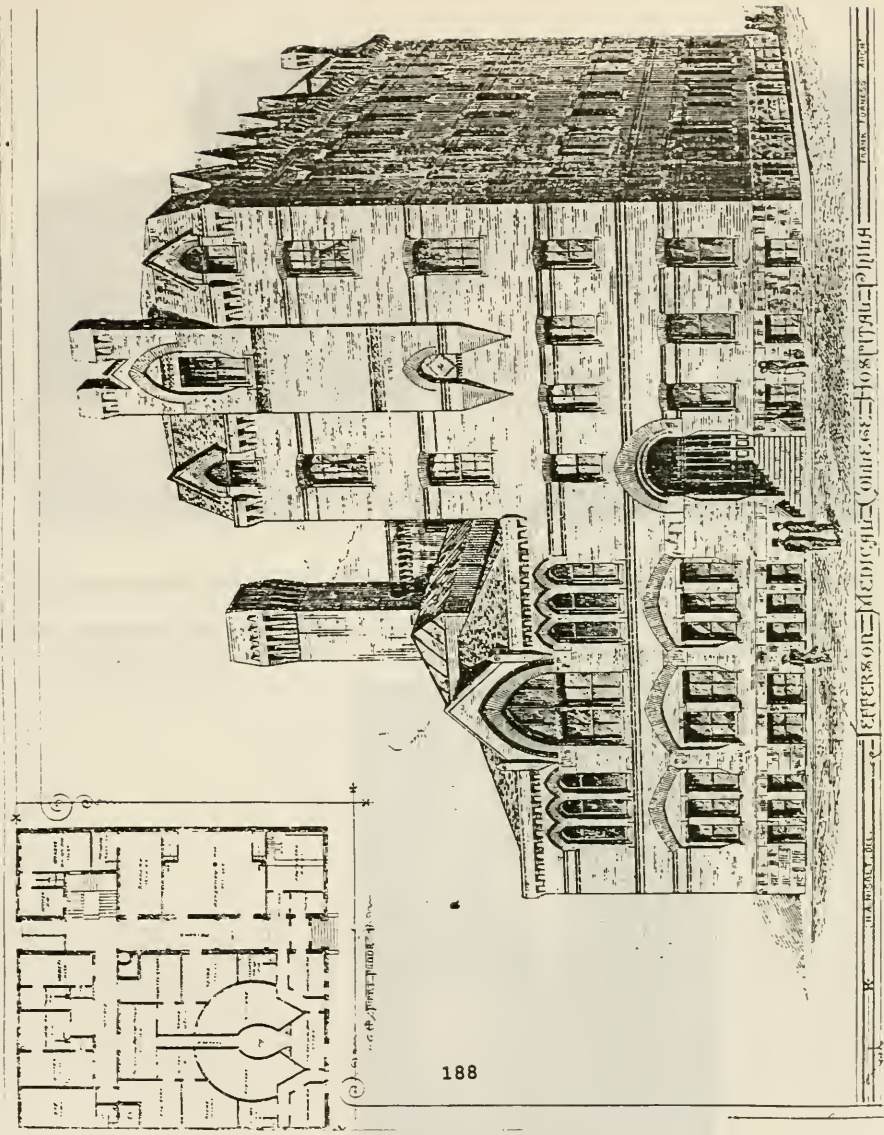
G. T. TILDEN ARCHITECT 18 FENBERTON SQUARE BOSTON MASS.

4.23 Block of Five Houses, Longwood, Mass., G.T. Tilden, architect, Boston, Mass., AABN (May 20, 1876).

— ORANGE MUSIC HALL —
ORANGE, N. J.
SILLIMAN & FARNSWORTH
ARCHITECTS NEW YORK.



4.24 Orange Music Hall, Orange, N.J., Silliman and Farnsworth, architects, New York, AABN, no. 244 (Aug. 28, 1880).



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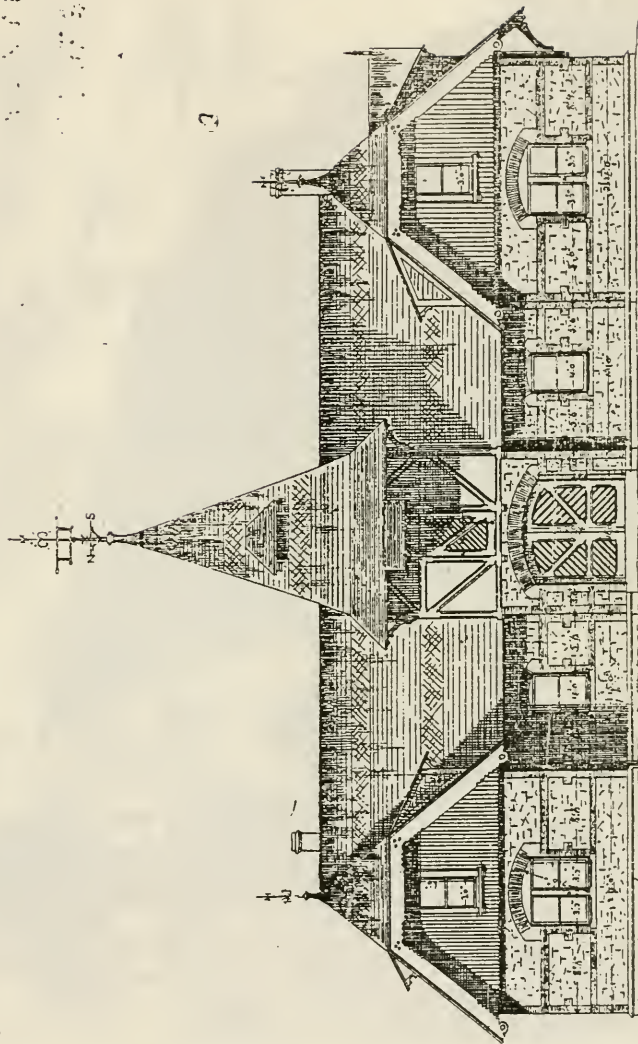
4.25 Jefferson Medical College, Hospital, Philadelphia, Frank Furness, architect, H. A. Nisbet, delineator, AABN, 1876.



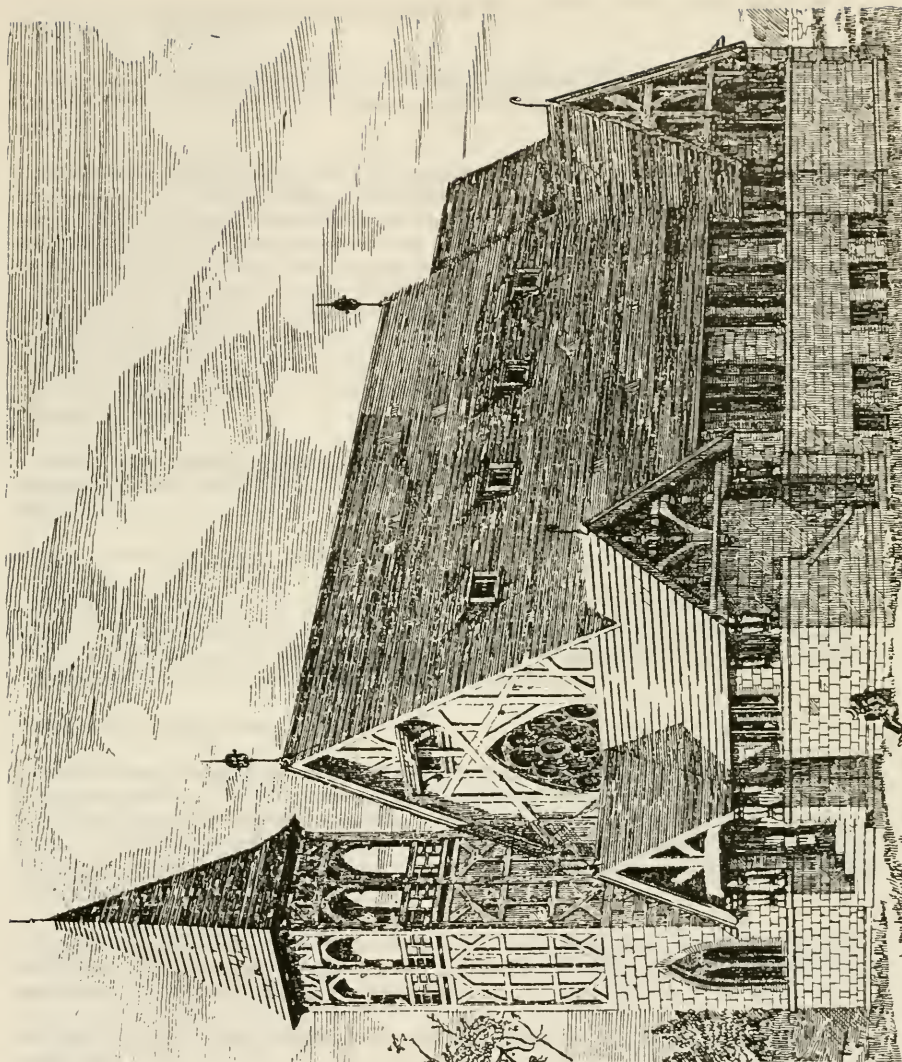
4.26 Chimney on roof deck, Brigham Young Academy, 1992, John Synder, photographer. (Gift of the photographer in possession of the author.)



4.27 Tower and wall dormer, Brigham Young Academy, 1992, John Synder, photographer. (Gift of the photographer in possession of the author.)



4.28 Carriage house, The Architectural Sketch Book, v. IV, no. 11 (Aug., 1876).



4.29 The Bishop Whittingham Memorial Church, Baltimore, Md.,
Charles E. Cassell, Architect, AABN, 374 (Feb., 24,
1883).

1. Frank Esshom, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah : Utah Pioneer Book Publishing Co., 1913) 1270.
2. Emily Dow Partridge Young, reminiscences, Women's Exponent 14:38 (August 1, 1885) and Linda King Newell and Valcen Tippetts Avery, Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith (New York : Doubleday, 1984) 89, 137.
3. Kate B. Carter, Brigham Young - His Wives and Family (Salt Lake City, Utah : Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1967?); Brigham Young (AFN:3ZD8-KC, spouses), The Ancestral File (TM), Family History Library, Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1990. Hereafter, materials cited from this repository will include the abbreviated title Family History Library. See also, Emily Dow Partridge Young, reminiscences, 14:38 and 14:43. J.D.C. Young described his mother's marriage to Brigham Young in the following way: "Father was intensely loyal to the Prophet Joseph Smith. My mother was a widow of the Prophet and father honored the memory of his martyred friend in honoring my mother as he did." Don Carlos Young, the Church Architect, writes thus:, n.d., Richard W. Young Papers, box 1, fd. 1, Special Collections, University of Utah Libraries, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter, any materials cited from this repository will include the abbreviated title University of Utah.
4. Dean C. Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons (Salt Lake City, Utah : Deseret Book Publishing Company and the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974) xxiii.
5. Emily Dow Partridge Young, 14:38.
6. To Emily's way of thinking no other man lived up to her memory of Joseph Smith. Thanks to Jeffery O. Johnson for discussing on June 12 1992 his research on Emily Dow Partridge Young and J.D.C. Young for his paper "Mormonism's Second Generation: A Look at the Brigham Young Family", presented August 7, 1992 at the Sunstone Symposium at Salt Lake City.
7. Emily Dow Partridge Young, 14:43.
8. Brigham Young's schoolhouse was a small adobe and stucco hall with a bell tower with its axis running east and west. The schoolhouse ran perpendicular to Brigham Young's adobe and cobble stone wall, the schoolhouse being the nearest building to the Eagle Gate. Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Brigham Young's Garden Wall, typescript, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter, materials cited from this repository will include the abbreviated title LDS Historical Department.
9. Joseph Don Carlos Young, Short Talk Given by J. Don Carlos Young at the Unveiling of the Eagle Gate Tablet, June 1934, photocopy given to author by Richard W. Young, a grandson of J.D.C. Young. The original is located in the Richard W. Young Papers.
10. Joseph Don Carlos Young, Reminiscence, 1937, George Cannon Young Papers, LDS Historical Department.
11. History File Notes for Joseph Don Carlos Young Architect-0012, [a brief oral history of] Naomi Schettler, interviewer unknown, March 3, 1986, Don Carlos Young Jr., Papers, box 1, fd. 4, University of Utah.
12. Jessee, Letters, 217-218.

13. This building, which was the second tabernacle built on Temple Square in Salt Lake City, was begun in 1863 and completed in 1867. The structure, which is still standing, has a self-supporting wooden roof that spans the full length and breadth of the oval-shaped structure (150 x 250 x 80 feet.) that rests upon a series of free-standing red sandstone and mortar buttresses. The lumber and lime hauled by Carl and Alfales would have been used for the interior woodwork and the plastering of the huge elliptical ceiling. Acoustics of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, a summary of Wayne B. Hales's Masters Thesis (1922), Historic Sites File, LDS Historical Department and Kate B. Carter, comp., The Great Mormon Tabernacle (Salt Lake City, Utah : Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1967).

14. J.D.C. Young recounted that he and his brother also hauled ice, adobe bricks, and household goods for his family and for the Public Works. Young, *Reminiscence*, 1936 and History File Notes for Joseph Don Carlos Young Architect- 0012.

15. One version of Willard's agreement is that he and his brother(s?) were allowed to work as long as they wished, then return to school after a time, working hard and earnestly at both. Leonard J. Arrington, "Willard Young: The Prophet's Son at West Point", Dialogue, a Journal of Mormon Thought v. 4, no. 4 (Winter 1969) 38-39. In another published account, Willard states specifically that he was allowed to work nine months, then attend school for three months during the winter. Willard Young, "Address at the Semi-centennial Celebration of Brigham Young University, October 15, 1925", The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, 17 (January 1926) 10-11. This was first noted in Jesse, Letters, 161. J.D.C. Young makes no mention of attending school for three months out of the year and his stay from school continued for much longer than a year.

16. Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City, Utah : Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901) 1:709 and Reinhard Maeser, Karl G. Maeser, A Biography (Provo, Utah : Brigham Young University, 1928), chapters 17 and 18.

17. Willard and his brother came to this realization shortly after the new schoolmaster took his position. Willard Young, "Address at the Semi-centennial Celebration."

18. Ernest I. Young apparently did not return to school. Brigham Young had very little opportunity to attend school in his youth. As an adult when the opportunity was offered him he preferred other tasks to formal education. Paraphrasing J.H., Adamson, Brigham Young personally preferred his labors to formal study, but, as with nearly all early Mormon leaders (many of who had no formal education) Brigham Young exhibited a "thirst" for education for his family and for church youth. Brigham Young wanted his children to "improve" through education yet he also expressed a healthy distrust for "men of words", believing education could lead them away from God and a productive life. Education was good to Brigham Young only if it was useful and, with their education, men must continue to toil as a matter of "daily worship". Jesse, Letters, xi-vix, xviii, and 151.

19. Brigham Young did not expect all of his sons to receive college educations but if the desire was there and it was sincere, he wanted to open the way for them to accomplish their goal. Young was more interested in his children performing honestly and honorably in their work rather than what work they performed. See Jesse, Letters, xxix. Regarding Brigham Young's sentiments about his children's careers, see Brigham Young to Elder F. L. Young, September 20, 1875, also in Jesse, Letters, 302.

20. Short talk Given by J. Don Carlos Young, June 1934 and Jesse, Letters, 161.

21. Young wrote about his early life in numerous recollections and brief life histories. In these writings the architect reflected on his not-so-well behaved childhood. See, *Early Experiences of Joseph Don Carlos Young*, n.d., Church Architect Writies Thus, n.d., and *Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young*, Sunday Night, February 2, 1936, all in the Richard W. Young Papers, University of Utah. This last

item appears to be an edited transcription of Reminiscences, 1936, in the LDS Historical Department.

22. Brigham Young wrote, "Amongst the pleasures of my life, at the present time, is the thought that so many of my sons are acquiring *experimental and practical knowledge* that will fit them for lives of great usefulness, and with this thought, I associate the hope, that by God's mercy, that knowledge will be applied in striving to same the souls of men, and *building up the Kingdom of Heaven on the earth*. (November 11, 1875, emphasis added) Jessee, Letters, xxi. In a letter to Carl's older brother Willard, their father also stated: "Two things I am very anxious all my sons should be, faithful servants of our Heavenly Father and useful members in his Kingdom", Arrington, "Willard Young: The Prophet's Son at West Point", 43. See also, Willard Young, Address at Brigham Young University. In this speech J.D.C. Young's brother recounts his father's philosophy regarding the gaining of "*useful knowledge*" (emphasis added).

23. Young, The Church Architect Writes Thus, [p.] 6. Musical instruction was emphasized primarily for the daughters although Carl and some of his other brothers received instructions in music. Carl was taught by his half-sister Fanny and would later receive organ lessons in Brooklyn, New York, at his father's request. Music would be a live-long love of Young's.

24. In her published biography Emily stated: "I attended school that summer, this was the last of my schooling. What little education I have got, I received in the log cabin schools, as we were roaming about being driven from place to place." Young, Women's Exponent 14:38. Emily was an attentive mother who was characterized as living for her church and for her children. Dorothy Rasmussen, Register of The Papers of Emily Dow Partridge Smith Young (1824-1899), (Salt Lake City, Utah : Special Collections Department, University of Utah Libraries, 1983), 1. Her only son's education would have been part of that concern.

25. Carrington was born at Royalton, Vermont in 1813 and graduated after two years of study from Dartmouth College in 1834. After arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Carrington in 1849 joined Captain Howard Stansbury in surveying the Great Salt Lake, U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers. Carrington also served in the Utah Territorial Legislature, twice editor of the Deseret News, served in various high church positions, and in 1870 was called to be a member of the Mormon Church's highest ecclesiastical council the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Carrington served in this quorum until 1885. Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:127. Carrington was also a regent and the chancellor of the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City and named territory attorney general, among numerous other accomplishments. Brigham D. Madsen, ed., Exploring The Great Salt Lake, The Stansbury Expedition of 1849-50 (Salt Lake City, Utah : University of Utah Press and The Tanner Trust Fund, 1989) 189-190, 814-816. Carrington's daughter Jane was married to Brigham Young son Brigham Young Jr., Jessee, Letters, 350.

26. In 1987 the University of Utah Special Collections and the LDS Historical Department, jointly acquired the George Cannon Young (a son of J.D.C. Young) and the Richard W. Young (a grandson of J.D.C. Young) Papers which were entitled, Richard W. Young Papers and the George Cannon Young Collection, respectively in these separate repositories. In the materials acquired by the University of Utah, approximately thirty linear feet of library material was collected, representing three generations of collecting, commencing with J.D.C. Young. Although family members appear to have collected some historic architectural titles, many of the earliest books were signed and in some cases annotated by J.D.C. Young. Luckily, these early titles were not integrated into the library's general books but catalogued and housed with the paper and drawings. These titles were studied for their influence on the architect.

27. The periodical included in J.D.C. Young's library are: The Country Gentleman: A Journal for the Farm, the Garden, and the Fireside (Albany, New York), March - December 1860; The American Agriculturist, Adapted to the Farm, Garden, and Household (all issues for 1860); The Cultivator: a Monthly Journal for the Farm and the Garden, Designed to Improve the Soil and the Mind (Albany, New York), all issues for 1862-1863; and Rural Affairs: Illustrated Register of Rural Economy and Rural Taste (Albany, New York), all issues for 1860. There are later books and periodicals reaching into the 1880s that have Carrington's signature in them. Richard W. Young Papers, box 75-76.

28. Davis Bitton, "The Rise and Fall of Albert Carrington", 1983 Mormon History Association's Annual Meeting Abstracts, LDS Historical Department.

29. Under church assignment Carrington lived in Europe from 1868-to July 1870, 1871 to 1873, and 1875-1877. Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia. Carrington's influence on Carl before 1873, admittedly would have been sporadic. Brigham Young's biographer, historian Leonard J. Arrington, described Carrington as a member of Brigham Young's "inner circle" during the 1850 and 1860 (and was very much in the same in mid 1870s). Leonard J. Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses (New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1985) 193. Carrington was also an executor of Brigham Young's estate. See deeds, certificates, and ledgers regarding Brigham Young's last will and testament, as they relate to J.D.C. Young. Richard W. Young Papers, box 3, bk. 1, and box 4, fd. 4.

30. Hiram B. Clawson (1826-1912) and Emily Augusta Young Clawson (1849-1926), Ancestral File (TM), 1990, Family History Library. See also, both individual's names in the Obituary File, LDS Historical Department.

31. The establishment of ZCMI was intended to place the means of production and the return of profits to the Mormon people, stifle exorbitant prices, and exclude or discourage the growth of non-Mormon business in the territory.

Hiram B. Clawson was raised in Utica, New York, and joined the Mormon Church in 1838. In the spring 1848, less than a year after the Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley, twenty-two year old Clawson, was put in charge of the first Public Works projects in the Salt Lake valley, including the construction of the first adobe building in the city and the Council House (the territorial capital and first city building). Clawson was a successful businessman, private business clerk to Brigham Young and the first director of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), the first major department store west of the Mississippi River. [Clawson merged his previously successful private business into ZCMI.] Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:629-630. See also, Fae Dix and Della L. Dye, Register of The Papers of Hiram B. Clawson (1826-1912) (Salt Lake City, Utah : Special Collections, University of Utah), 2-3.

32. Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, [p. 3].

33. Young's instructors at the University of Deseret were Miss Ida Cook, Dr. John Park (principal), and professors Moench, Captain, and Bishop. Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, [p. 3].

34. Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, and Reminiscence, 1936. In the former, Young mentions that after working two years for ZCMI, he started attending the University of Deseret. Young's employment with ZCMI began in 1868, shortly after his sister married Hiram Clawson. Therefore, two years would be 1870 and J.D.C. Young would have been fifteen years old.

35. Ralph V. Chamberlin, ed., Memories of John R. Park (Salt Lake City, Utah : The Deseret News Press, 1949) 15-25.

36. Don Carlos Young, The Church Architect, Writes Thus. Young wrote: "Father was very liberal to us, especially in the matter of education."

37. J.D.C. Young stated that the boys approached their father "sometime in 1873." In order to enter the University of Michigan in the fall, the brothers and their representatives would have had to apply for admission sometime before late summer of 1873. Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, [p. 3]. The six sons Young referred to in the above document appears to have been Brigham Morris, Alfales, Carl, Arta De Christa, Lorenzo, and Feramorz.

38. Le Grand Young (1840-1921), Brigham Young's nephew studied law at the University of Michigan, graduating in 1871. After graduating Le Grand served as a legal adviser to his uncle. Jessee, Letters, 351 and Arrington, "Willard Young: The Prophet's Son at West Point", 40.

39. An assignment Carrington held until Brigham Young's death in 1877. Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:127.

40. Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, ed., Brigham Young University, A School of Destiny, (Provo, Utah : Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 19-30.

41. Park was told by Brigham Young, as Ralph V. Chamberlin wrote, to study schools of higher learning in the eastern states and Europe. Brigham Young specifically requesting that Park study the educational systems in Switzerland and Germany. Chamberlin, Memories of John R. Park, 20. Park was accompanied by a Professor Bellerive who eventually choose not to return to the United States. Park visited Ireland, Scotland, England, Italy, France, Switzerland and Germany with most of his time in the two latter countries. Park left England for American in September 1872. Ralph V. Chamberlin, The University of Utah, A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850-1950 Salt Lake City, Utah : University of Utah Press, 1960) 97-98.

42. Thomas L. Kane established himself as a non-member friend of the Mormon's and particularly to Brigham Young, after reading of the group's expulsion and exodus from Illinois in a Philadelphia newspaper. Kane "felt compelled to visit" the Mormons, a visit that began a long term friendship between the landed Pennsylvanian and Brigham Young. Kane advised Brigham Young and the Mormons via special courier, lobbied on their behalf in Washington, and in 1857 personally negotiated a truce between the United States Government and the Mormons during the so called Utah War. "Brigham Young had an almost reverential regard for Kane, whom he addressed as "Our Friend" or "Our Special Friend." Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses, 193-194.

43. Letter, Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young, December 4, 1873, LDS Historical Department. First noted in Wilkinson and Skousen, 46-47.

44. On October 19, 1876, one year before his death, Brigham Young wrote to Willard, who was stationed at Willis Point, New York and told him of his efforts in endowing an academy in Salt Lake City which he called Young Academy of Salt Lake. Brigham Young then told his son "As a beginning in this direction I have endowed the Brigham Young Academy at Provo [accomplished 16 October 1875] and [am] now seeking to do the same in this city. Believing that my own boys will best accomplish and have regard to my wishes, I have appointed a board of seven trustees, of whom five are my sons, viz., Brigham Jun., John W., Ernest I., Hyrum S. and yourself." Jessee, Letters, 198-199.

Brigham Young established the Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah on 16 October 1875, a similar academy in Salt Lake City on 19 October 1876, and the Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah on 24 July 1877. Wilkenson and Skousen, 47-49, Jessee, Letters, 198-199, and Prospectus of the Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah For The Seventh Collegiate Year, 1884=1885 (Logan, Utah : Brigham

Young College, 1884) 6. As Brigham Young wished, each of these institutions were strongly influenced by the leader's sons and daughters.

45. Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, [p. 3].

46. George Cannon Young; Joseph Don Carlos Young, who is a son of Brigham Young..., n.d., Richard W. Young Papers. In this account the architect's son (George Cannon Young) recalls his father conditions given to him by his father (Brigham Young) in order to study in the East.

47. Of the six sons who originally made the request, only Alfales, Carl, and Feramorz attended school in the East. Willard, who left for West Point in 1871, was not part of this 1873 group. J.D.C. Young stated that all of the six wanted to attend the University of Michigan, although Feramorz had his mind set on attending the Naval Academy in Annapolis as early as 1872? Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night, [p. 3], Jessee, Letters, 295-296. All told, four sons of Brigham Young attended school in the east during the 1870s: Willard (engineering - West Point Academy), Alfales (law - University of Michigan), Carl and Feramorz (engineering - Rensselaer).

48. Ronald W. Walker, "Brigham Young on the Social Order", Brigham Young University Studies, 28:37-52; Roland W. Walker and Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Young", Journal of the Mormon History Association, 4:19-34 (1977); Brigham Young practical philosophy and advice was pervasive, see Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses, 198, 201-205.

49. Brigham Young to Cadet Willard Young, February 6, 1875 and June 4, 1875, Jessee, Letters, 185-190. In the first letter, to his son's inquiry as to what branch of the military to pursue, Brigham Young stated "At present I prefer the Engineer Corps." In the second letter he states "With you, we hope the academic board will see proper to recommend you to the Corps of Engineers...." As Jessee pointed out, a cadet's academic standing in his class dictated the commission (p. 186). Willard was fourth in his class of forty three. See also, Arrington, "Willard Young: The Prophet's Son at West Point", 42.

50. Walker and Esplin, "Brigham Young", 24.

51. Mormon premillennialism "held that Christ could appear, however, only after God's kingdom and a place of refuge, or Zion, had been established by the saints of the earth." Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience", Church History, 45:1:63 (March 1976); Walker, "Brigham Young on the Social Order", 39-47; and Arrington, Brigham Young : American Moses, 201-205.

52. Regarding nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American bias to practical skills, specifically as it relates to the development of the profession of architecture, see Andrew Saint, The Image of The Architect (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1983) 72-73.

53. Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses, 176-177.

54. One example of this is the 1856 mission of Church Architect Truman O. Angell (1810-1887) who was sent by Brigham Young to study "specimens of architecture", mechanical equipment for sugar refining, and various other artistic, industrial, and technological examples that might benefit the Mormons. "Truman O. Angell - Master Builder" [excerpts from his journal], Kate B. Carter, comp., Our Pioneer Heritage, 10:203-222, (Salt Lake City, Utah : Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1967).

55. Feramorz also intended to pursue engineering and expected to receive, when he entered the naval academy, some engineering education along with his other studies. Letter, J.D.C. Young to President Heber J. Grant, April 2, 1932, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1, and Jessee, Letters, 296.

56. Paul L. Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect", Utah Historical Quarterly, v. 43:252 (Summer 1975).
57. Jessee, Letters, 3-6, 91-95, 127-128, 161-163, 263-265, 295-297 and Marlowe C. Adkins, "A History of John W. Young's Utah Railroad, 1884-1894", masters thesis, Utah State University, 1978.
58. Reeder, jr., 21-24
59. Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses, 202-203.
60. Thomas F. O'Dea The Mormons (1957) as quoted by Jan Shippy in the "Background Books" addendum to Malise Ruthven's "The Mormon's Progress", The Wilson Quarterly (Spring 1991) 48-50.
61. Young's brother Willard offered some firm words against his younger brother leaving his engineering position to pursue a career in architecture. Letter, Willard Young to Joseph Don Carlos Young, October 5, 1879, box 1, fd. 3, Richard W. Young Papers.
62. Don Carlos Young, the Church Architect, Writes Thus; p. 5. An interesting twist to this story is thus: in 1881, one-and-half years after J.D.C. Young returned home to Utah, Hiram Clawson's own son John Willard Clawson, an aspiring artist and son of Alice Young Clawson (also a daughter of Brigham Young by another wife), wanted to study art at the National Academy of Design in New York City. In contrast to the advice given to J.D.C. Young, Clawson advised his son not to seek an education outside of Utah. He eventually relented and the young man studied in New York from 1881-1884. Robert S. Olpin, "Tradition and the Lure of the Modern", Vern Swanson, et al, Utah Art (Salt Lake City, Utah : Peregrine Smith Books, 1991) 92-93.
63. Notwithstanding the institute's claim of being "the birthplace" of civilian engineering in the United States, the pioneer school had by 1875, encountered stiff competition from a number of technical schools and programs. The institutes competitors included John Hopkins University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Lehigh University, Yale, and Harvard. Before the 1870s, Rensselaer could be considered one of, if not the best "engineering school" in the nation. Samuel Reznick, Education for a Technological Society, A Sesquicentennial History of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Troy, New York : Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1968) 155-156, 161, 237.
64. J.D.C. Young's oldest daughter Naomi, stated that Young's friend William Sharp "encouraged him" at the University of Deseret, "long enough to get credits allowing him to apply to Rensselaer." Whether Sharp suggested Rensselaer to Young or simply encouraged him along in his preparatory studies at the University of Deseret is not clear. History File Notes for Joseph Don Carlos Young Architect - 0012.
65. "Wm. G. Sharp is Laid at Rest", Salt Lake Herald July 7, 1919 and Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 677-678.
66. Frederick S. Buchanan, "The British Occupation" in The Peoples of Utah, ed., Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City : Utah State Historical Society, 1976) 72. Buchanan quoted Hurbert H. Bancroft, History of Utah, San Francisco, 1889, 650-51.
67. Brigham Young's Vermont birthplace which is twenty miles east of the Massachusetts and New York borders, is forty miles northeast of Troy, New York. Cartographic Division, National Geographic Society, Northern Approaches, Maine and the Maritime [map], (Washington D.C.: National Geographic Magazine, 1985).

68. Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 629-630. Troy, New York is less than one hundred miles down stream on the Mohawk River to Utica, New York, were Clawson was born and raised. With the constant river commerce and travel between Utica and Troy (where the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers meet), during the nineteenth century, Clawson could very well have heard of Rensselaer.

69. One example of the contact Brigham Young had with east sources is a story told by J.D.C. Young that his father for a time, entertained once a year a traveling commercial agent from New York who brought the leader the latest jokes from the east. Don Carlos Young, the Church Architect, Writes Thus:, p. 3. Between Church leaders, missionaries, agents, etc., Brigham Young was surprisingly acquainted with current affairs and news from the east.

70. In its early years, Rensselaer's curriculum was intended for the instruction and improvement of young farmers and mechanics, who might benefit from science and improved mechanical procedures. Such an enterprise in practical education would have interested Brigham Young had he heard of it. Gradually, the school developed instruction in pure and applied science and mathematics. By 1835, civil engineering, as a program had been defined. Palmer C. Richetts, History of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1824-1894 (New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1895) 69-80.

71. Samuel Edward Warren, author and faculty member enlivened the debate regarding technical education and the need for institutional education for engineers with a number of well circulated books and journal articles, including Warren's Descriptive Geometry and Graphics (ca. 1855), Notes on Polytechnical or Scientific Schools in the United States; Their Nature, Position, Aims, and Wants (1866). The latter included a description of twenty technical schools and programs, nearly all established after the Civil War. Warren also published a five part series in the Journal of the Franklin Institute (Philadelphia) entitled "Future Development of Scientific Education in America." Reznick, 155-158.

72. Richetts, v and 71 and Reznick, 155.

73. Leonard J. Arrington, Willard Young, 39 and Don Carlos Young, The Church Architect, Writes Thus:, p. 5.

74. Policemen's certificate, May 14, 1875, Richard W. Young Papers, box 4, fd. 1.

75. Young mentioned that a large railroad bridge near the falls which the young men walked over held their interest more than the falls did. Young, Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night. The bridge Young and Sharp likely studied was the "dramatically sited Niagara Falls" suspension bridge, "which attracted world-wide attention when it was new", designed by German immigrant John A. Roebling (1806-1969) in 1852. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, revised (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1989 (1958), 174-175.

76. Young, Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night.

77. Spencer Clawson's mother was Ellen Spencer, the elder Clawson's first wife. As mentioned previously, Hiram B. Clawson's last two polygamous wives were daughters of Brigham Young, by two different mothers. One of whom was J.D.C. Young's full sister. Spencer Clawson married Nabbie Howe Young, a daughter of Clara Decker Young and Brigham Young, on February 15, 1876, after which Clawson and his wife returned to his work in New York City. Orson Spencer Clawson, which was his full name, was a buyer for ZCMI in the New York City. Also in the New York City at this time was the William H. Hooper family. Hooper had been a territorial delegate to the U.S. Congress. He was a prominent banker and president of the ZCMI between the two tenures of Hiram B. Clawson. His daughter Harriet, married Willard Young. William C. Staines, immigration agent for the Mormon

Church was also located in New York City during this time. Young, *Memories of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Sunday Night and Jessee*, Letters, 269, 308-309, 336-337, 341, 349.

78. The appreciation of the "German system" was represented in the Karlsruhe Polytechnic in Baden, Germany. Rezneck, 161.

79. Rensselaer's evaluation of its curriculum was an expression of a larger national development regarding the relevance of a classical education. In engineering education, many schools and institutes, throughout the Western world, were moving towards less study of the laws of science and more towards the a "synthesis between scientific theory and engineering practice." David F. Channell, The History of Engineering Science, An Annotated Bibliography (New York and London : Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989) xxi. Regarding the schools drastic revision of its curriculum, Rensselaer historian Samuel Rezneck stated: "One very striking and strangely contemporary point was made emphatically [in the schools 1871 curriculum report, that stated] technical education did not consist in "dead languages, nor in immutable history, nor in changeless codes of law; but in the modern sciences which changed their aspects as swiftly as the clouds of the sky, or the spots on the sun. It is the mission of others to treat that which is fixed; ours, of that which is progressive; and our methods must change with the our themes, and out practice with our facts." "Unfortunately, [as Rezneck then stated] it would appear that technical education [at Rensselaer] did not follow this wise counsel, but became rather fixed and static in the period which followed." Rezneck, 155, 160-162, and 474-482.

80. [report cards], listing subjects and results, bx. 3, fd. 2 Richard W. Young Papers and Rezneck, 503-506.

81. Uncataloged school work, ca. 1875-1879, George Cannon Young Architectural Drawing Collection, LDS Historical Department and the Richard W. Young Papers, bx. 3, fd. 3. All of this work was strictly engineering in character.

82. Report cards and Forty-Seventh Annual Register (1871): The Single Course of Civil Engineering, published in Rezneck, 503-506. A comparison of these cards and the above course outline show only a slight change in curriculum from 1871 to 1875-79. One report card includes the additional subjects electricity and magnetism, while two other report cards are for required summer sections not included in the 1871 course outline.

83. Perhaps the only other Utah architect practicing in the 1880s that met or possibly surpassed Young's modern technical drafting ability was German emigre Richard K. A. Kletting, who arrived in Utah in 1883. An example of Kletting's drafting from the 1880s can be seen in Craig Lewis Bybee, "Richard Karl August Kletting Dean of Utah Architects, 1853-1943", Masters Thesis (University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah) 109 and in the Richard K.A. Kletting collections at the University of Utah and the Utah State Historical Society.

84. Steven M. Bedford "History I: The Founding of the School", Richard Oliver, ed., The Making of An Architect: 1881-1981 (New York : Rizzoli International Publications Inc., 1981) 11. Columbia's emphasis on the scientific and technical aspects of architecture in the early 1880s was also the case in earlier architectural programs in the United States. See John Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: the Case of John Galen Howard," Spiro Kostof, ed., The Architect (New York and Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1977) 218.

85. Sarah Bradford Landau, "Richard Morris Hunt: Architectural Innovator and Father of a "Distinctive" American School", Susan R. Stein The Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt (Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1986) 47.

86. Bedford, 11.

87. While studying at the University of Deseret, prior to leaving from Rensselaer Young may have taken an elementary drawing class. Chamberlin, The University of Utah, ch. VI, VII and note 27 on 120.

88. Reznick, 503-506; report cards, Richard W. Young Papers; and drawing exercises, George Cannon Young Architectural Drawing Collection.

89. There were, by the time Young went off to college in 1875 a small number of collegiate architectural programs in the United States. They were Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1866); University of Pennsylvania (1868); Cornell University (1871); and the University of Illinois (1873). Bernard Michael Boyle, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865-1965 Ideal and Reality", Spiro Kostof, The Architect 309 and George E. Thomas' book review of Margaret Henderson Floyd's Architectural Education and Boston: Centennial Publication of the Boston Architectural Center, 1889-1989 in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, LI:1:108-109.

90. The Builder's News May 2, 1879, Don Carlos Young Jr. Papers, Box 2, fd. 20, University of Utah.

91. Catalogue of the Library of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy N.Y. (Troy, New York : Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1880). This catalog was published only a year after Young's graduation from the institute and includes a small collection of architectural titles, nearly all published in the 1850s (one earlier). There were eleven books total, five German, four American, one French and one English. The German titles included works on railroad stations, various views of noted Germanic architecture and works that treated architecture and engineering in the same presentation. Besides the school's holdings that dealt strictly with science, there were numerous works on practical engineering (a mixture American, British, French and German) that included at least in an axillary way descriptions and illustrations of building stock. In addition to Rensselaer's library holdings, foreign instructors, many of whom studied in some of Europe's most admired polytechnical institutes, supplemented the institute's library holdings with their own, exposing the student to books, periodicals, etc., that can not be traced through studying library holdings. Telephone interview with John Dojka, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute archivist by the author, August 13, 1991.

92. Rensselaer's foreign language requirement, during the 1870s, was a reading proficiency in French, aimed at providing access to French engineering treatises, along with the predominately English and domestic titles read by the students. British engineering, no doubt because of the common culture and Britain's early industrial advancements, was highly regarded and studied by American engineers long into the 19th century. France had established by the early 19th century technical academies, founded on the immense body of engineering analysis, that lead the world in this effort. It was these two country's engineering that was most studied, besides domestic sources, by Rensselaer. By the mid-19th century Germany's well organized and practical technical institutes became highly admired by American observers including Rensselaer's administration. Germany's influence on the institute appears to have been the most recent. Channell, xvi-xxiii; Reznick, 161, 503-506; and Catalogue of the Library of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

93. Young may very well have remembered Central Park, when in 1881 he produced an extensive landscape plan for the Territorial Insane Asylum in Provo, Utah Territory, which appears to be in part inspired by the work of Central Park's designers Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux. This is discussed further in chapter three.

94. Letter, Joseph Don Carlos Young to Manie Young September 19, 1875, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1.

95. Letter, Joseph Don Carlos Young to "Dick", November 1, 1875, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1, fd. 5.
96. The correspondence from Salt Lake City to Willard, Carl, Nabbie Young Clawson and any other family member or friend, were shared with all who were located in New York State and even beyond in the Mid-Atlantic region, which often included Feramorz in Annapolis. When the siblings gathered, it was almost always in New York City. Jessee, Letters, 196, 209, 243, 279, 281.
97. Letter, Brigham Young to Elder Don Carlos Young, October 27, 1876 in Jessee, Letters, 271-274.
98. Jessee, Letters, 295-296, 310-313.
99. Letter, Joseph Don Carlos Young to [LDS Church] President Heber J. Grant, 2 April 1932, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1.
100. Jessee, Letters, 295-296 and 310-311.
101. Young recounted to his father that Buck was not entirely pleased with him. Jessee, Letters, 279. Although to Young's defense he had very little if any previous experience with the instrument. Despite Young's difficulty with the organ, music was a life-long interest to him. His instrument of choice was not a keyboard instrument but instead guitar and voice. Young choice of guitar and popular music over classical music and instrument probably appeared somewhat Bohemian-like and is perhaps expressive of his artist bent. Young's personal papers includes numerous printed music pieces for guitar and voice, circa 1890s. Richard W. Young Papers, box 6.
102. Letter, Joseph Don Carlos Young to President Heber J. Grant and Jessee, Letters, 264, 274-276. During the early weeks of the summer of 1877, Young attended an short obligatory summer session. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Division C Results of the Examination For the Summer Session of 1877, Richard W. Young Papers, box 3, fd. 2.
103. Letter, Bid to D.C. Young Esq., August 25, 1877, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1. The Brooklyn Bridge, which was designed by German immigrant John A. and his son Washington Roebling, was began in 1869 and was still under construction when Young saw it in 1877. The structure was completed in 1883. The bridge as Vincent Scully described it, "towered over the city; the curve of its road cut high above the old buildings." A thrilling sight to see, the bridge introduced to America "the scale of a new urban world." Young's early architecture would, in fact, do this for Utah. Vincent Scully, American Architecture and Urbanism, new revised edition (New York: An Owl Book, Henry Holt and Company, 1988) 99-100 and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) 174.
104. Letter, Manie Young to Carl Young, September 4, 1877, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1. In this letter Young's sister recounts the last hours of Brigham Young's life.
105. Jessee, Letters, 242-243, and 331.
106. Rezneck, 31; Jessee Letters, 263; The Transit, 1878, 88, box 3, fd. 4 and Joseph Don Carlos Young Architect -0012, Richard W. Young Papers.
107. Based on the requests for funds made to their father and their acknowledgement of funds received; their father's periodic inquiry concerning their need of funds; the relatively comfortable accommodations Carl, Feramorz, and William Sharp had while in Troy and in Brooklyn; and their frequent travel to New York City and elsewhere, it appears unlikely Brigham Young's sons suffered from a lack of funds while

in the East. It was by no means luxuriant living but it was hardly a hand-to-mouth existence. Young visited Philadelphia, the second largest American metropolis, during his 1876 summer break while enroute to Salt Lake City in June of that year, expressively to attend the Centennial Exhibition (opened May to November 1876). Besides the student's interest in Philadelphia and its international exhibition, Young also visited the newly organized Philadelphia Zoological Garden to see the zoo's first black bear donated by Young's father Brigham. Young stayed in Boston during the summer of 1878, for any undetermined length of time, to conduct his final graduating thesis. He visited Montreal, Canada in October of that same year and passed through and possibly stayed-over in Chicago, while enroute to-and-from Utah. Emily P. Young to Carlos Young, June 3, 1876; envelope, Joseph Don Carlos Young to Mrs. S.G. Hardy, October 26, 1878, both in the Richard W. Young Collection, box 1, fd. 5; the Cataloguing File, Philadelphia Zoological Society Collection, Pew Charitable Trust's Museum Loan Program Architectural Drawing Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia; stereographic views of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere in the stereographic cards housed in the photographic series of the Richard W. Young Collection (PO 326); and the Annual Register, 1879, 15.

108. J.D.C. Young's stereograph collection, circa 1875-1880, located in the photographic series of the Richard W. Young Collection (PO 326).

109. In describing the library holdings, architectural collections and educational apparatuses of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), America's first architectural school instituted in 1868, the editors of The American Architect and Building News described the use of stereoscopic views, as well as numerous other photographic formats, having among other material types "much importance and usefulness" to the student of architecture. AABN September, 23, 1876, 1.

110. Annual Register, 1879, 15.

111. Boyle, 310.

112. "The Land Secured", The Territorial Enquirer, March 25, 1884. This is the first public announcement that mentioned J.D.C. Young as the architect for the Brigham Young Academy.

113. Young engaged in other income earning activities for most of his income from 1879 to about 1885. The details to be discussed later in this chapter. Joseph Don Carlos Young, financial ledger [1880-1936], 2-60. After about 1885 the architect's livelihood was based primarily on his skills as an architect and educator.

114. Much of the professional and civic work of J.D.C. Young has been chronicled in Salt Lake City's two predominant newspapers, the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune and to a lesser extent other local, regional and national newspapers. References to J.D.C. Young, along with thousands of other bits of newspaper information relating to the Mormon Church have been indexed, clipped, and maintained in the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS Historical Department. The collections dates span from the 1820s to the present. Hereafter, cited as JH.

115. Some of these biographical sources include: Utah Her Cities, Towns and Resources (Chicago : Manly and Litteral, 1891) 97. A chamber of commerce-like production in which most of the book's subjects appear to have paid a fee to be included. J.D.C. Young's early career is described in one sentence: "He graduated at the College of Engineering, Troy, New York in 1879, and followed civil engineering for two years, but abandoned it to engage in the profession of an architect..." Jensen, Encyclopedic History, 138-139. This source states " he was engaged in architectural and building pursuits." The only published historical treatment of the architect's life is a brief sketch, written by noted LDS Historian Dean Jessee. This sketch introduces a select series of correspondence between J.D.C. Young and his father. The sketch, intended only to describe personal and career highlights, mentions his education (1875-1879) then skips to his professional work commencing in 1888. Jessee, Letters, 262-265. Also, in 1968 a history of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute briefly mentions the career of Joseph Don Carlos Young and his brother Feramorz, who later joined him at Rensselaer. Reznick, 207.

116. Obituary, "Brigham Young's Last Surviving Son Expires", Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 20, 1938. Other obituaries notices for Young were published in the Salt Lake Tribune, Salt Lake Telegram (as well as various other regionally based publications), The New York City Herald Tribune, New York Daily News, and the New York Post. All of the above were clipped, indexed, and included in the JH under the dates Oct.19 and 21, 1938, LDS Historical Department.

117. J.D.C. Young commenced his tenure as instructor of architecture in September 1883. Annual of the University of Deseret, 1883-84 (Salt Lake City, Utah Territory : University of Deseret, 1883) Special Collections, University of Utah.

118. Biographical Record, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Troy, New York, ca. 1884) "Class of 1879", Joseph Don Carlos Young, C.E., 504-505. This source, which includes some detail regarding the young graduates life, appears to have come by way of a questionnaire sent to graduates. The most wanted information was professional pursuits and occupations. The entry makes no mention of irrigation engineering.

119. Biographical Record, Feramorz Young, C.E., 505-506 and Joseph Don Carlos Young, financial ledger, 32, Richard W. Young Collection, Ms. 536, Special Collections, University of Utah. The first reference states Feramorz worked on the canal and the Utah Southern Extension Railroad during the summer of 1879. J.D.C. Young's entry (p. 504-505) in the same publication mentions his railroad work but not canal engineering. Perhaps the two brothers assisted each other during this first summer after

returning from Rensselaer.

120. Biographical Record, 504.

121. Utah's mining and mineral products beginning in the 1870s became a vital part of the territory's economy. Manufacturing, commerce, railroading, and banking also expanded, solidifying Salt Lake City's position as the territory's economic hub (from California to Colorado). Alexander and Allen, 90-91 and Karl T. Haglund and Philip F. Notarianni, The Avenues of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City, Utah : Utah State Historical Society, 1980) 8. Young would have had ample opportunity to act as an engineer in Utah and most definitely elsewhere in the U.S., in railroading and bridge designing, industrial design and construction supervision, irrigation, municipal water systems, public utilities companies, and more. During the early 1880s, after Young had graduated, engineering was still in the era of personal and local enterprise, preceding the eventual growth of the large national corporations, that would characterize engineering in the 20th century. Rezneck, 211.

122. Willard Young to Joseph Don Carlos Young, October 5, 1879.

123. As of December 1991, J.D.C. Young's diploma from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1879) hangs framed in Brigham Young's Beehive House located at 97 South Temple and State St., in Salt Lake City.

124. Biographical Record, 504.

125. Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 678.

126. Sharp was director, among other businesses, of the Utah Central Railroad Extension and the Deseret Irrigation and Navigation Canal Company. James B. Allen "Good Guys Versus Good Guys: Rudger Clawson, John Sharp, and Civil disobedience in 19th Century Utah", Res., Pq., LDS Church Historical Department. Besides J.D.C. Young, Feramorz also worked for the former named company, before working for the Deseret Irrigation Company. Biographical Record, 504-505.

127. The Utah Southern Railroad which commenced southward from Salt Lake City (connecting with the Utah Central Railroad, which connected northward with the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines in Ogden) was begun in 1871 and had reached Mills, Juab County, Utah Territory, by June of 1879. The Utah Southern Railroad Extension (built originally as a separate line) was designed to link mining areas in southwest Utah with northern transportation systems. The extension which was organized in January 1877, had gotten as far as the small town of Deseret, Millard County, by November 1879. Richard H. Jackson, "Railroads, 1869-1910", Atlas of Utah, Deon C. Creer, project director, Wayne L. Wahquist, editor (Provo, Utah : Weber State College and Brigham Young University Press, 1981) 96-97.

128. Biographical Record, 504-505.

129. Willard Young graduated fourth in his class of forty-three, in 1875. He then served as a army engineer at Willer's Point, New York, from 1875-1877 and on the Wheeler Geological Survey in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and California from 1877-1879. When this letter was written, Willard was serving as an assistant professor of civil and military Engineering at West Point (1879-1883). "Willard Young, Class of 1875", United States Military Academy at West Point, ca. 1970s. A compilation of Academy sources including the Academy's Annual Report, General George W. Cullum's Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of U.S. Military Academy and various archival sources located in the Academy's Archive, copies housed in Richard W. Young Papers, box 5, fd. 1-2.

130. Willard Young to Joseph Don Carlos Young, October 5, 1879.
131. Young indicated "this conversation occurred in 1875". "Don Carlos Young, the Church Architect, writes thus:", p. 5.
132. In nearly all of the previously mentioned memoirs and recollections written by Young, the architect never failed to mention the strong abiding influence his father had on him.
133. Karen, Lynn, "The Mormon Sacred and the Mormon Profane: An Aesthetic Dilemma", Steven P. Sandrup, ed., Art and Inspiration (Provo, Utah : Brigham Young University Press, 1980) 44-52.
134. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-1879", Pacific Historical Review 21:1:11-17 (February 1952).
135. Chamberlain, The University of Utah, 157 and Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Year, v. 1 (Provo, Utah : Brigham Young University Press, 1976) appendix on school faculty. This reference indicates Young was employed by the academy for only one year. Correspondence in the Richard W. Young Papers indicate Young was employed by the school from 1897 to 1900. Young was not satisfied with his teaching at the academy and attempted during the summers of 1898 and 1899 to find better employment. See the following letters, Benjamin Cluff to Don Carlos Young, May 17, 1897, box 3, fd. 2; Willard Young to Carl Young, June 6, 1889, box 1, fd. 6; and J.A.L. Wardell to J. Don Carlos Young Esq., May 19, 1899, box 7, fd. 1., Richard W. Young Papers. Regarding Young's mission and the difficulty he and his family encountered during it, see "Surviving Son Expires", Deseret News, October 20, 1938 and Jessee, Letters, 265. After each of these professional interruptions Young encountered some difficulty re-establishing his practice.
136. These changes to Mormon ideology and culture due to internal and external influences are discussed in: Leonard J. Arrington, "Crisis in Identity: Mormon Responses in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, Mormonism and American Culture (New York : Harper & Roe, p. 1972) 170-177; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah : Deseret Book Co., and the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1976) 471; Thomas G. Alexander, "To Maintain Harmony: Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930", Dialogue, v. 15:45-47 (Winter 1982); and Alexander's "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experiences", Church History, 45:1:55-69 (March 1976).
137. The railroad had been built as far as the town of Deseret by the first of November 1879. Jackson, "Railroads, 1869-1910", 96-97. Advance surveying would have brought Young to the community. Also, railroad engineers and officials could very well have boarded with settlers in nearby Deseret while the road was under construction nearby.
138. Jensen, Encyclopedic History, 191-192, under the entry "Deseret Ward, Deseret Stake, Millard Co., Utah."
139. Jackson, "Railroads, 1869-1910", 97.
140. Joseph Don Carlos Young, "New Meetinghouse for Deseret", architectural drawings, circa 1884, George Cannon Young Architectural Drawing Collection, LDS Historical Department.
141. Young, financial ledger, 26, under the entry heading "Deseret New Meetinghouse", Richard W. Young Papers, box 3.

142. There are a number of property deeds, dating from 1877 to the late 1890s in J.D.C. Young's financial records that suggests the architect acquired numerous land parcels both through inheritance and by using funds received through selling inherited assets. Distinguishing between the two is out of the scope of this study. However, there were some parcels and, more importantly, stock assets Young acquired that permitted him to study and pursue his chosen profession of architecture. In November 1879 much of the assets from Brigham Young's estate were dispersed to heirs. Just when Young received his bequest is not sure, although he sold his inherited stock on December 9, 1880 and paid tithing on his inheritance in March of 1881. Young, financial ledger, December 9, 1880, 2; deeds and certificates, box. 4. fd. 1-4, and tithing receipt, box 3, fd. 1, Richard W. Young Papers; and Arrington, Brigham Young's Estate, 17.

143. Young, financial ledger, 2. Little was a son of Brigham Young's sister Susannah Young and a prominent builder including roads, dams, and railroads. At the time of this purchase, Little was a director of the Deseret National Bank (where Young deposited his money), a director of the Utah Central Railroad and the mayor of Salt Lake City. Jessee, Letters, 342, James A. Little, Biographical Sketch of Feramorz Little, 1890, LDS Historical Department and Reeder, 48.

144. Scattered throughout the first sixty-five pages of Young's financial ledger are the expenses and income received from this farm and other agricultural properties Young either owned, leased, or managed. Young, financial ledger, 29, 31, 38, 46, and 52 and Johnson, "Mormonism's Second Generation: A Look at the Brigham Young Family." Most of Young's dairy customers were well-to-do family members or close family friends. The farm was located south of 900 South and in the vicinity of 500 East and was part of what was known as the "big field."

145. Young's financial ledger, personal financial papers and correspondence suggest by the late 1880s, the architect's financial condition had taken a gradual down turn. See Richard W. Young Papers, box 3.

146. The first thirty pages (1880-1884) of Young's ledger is peppered with entries for weekly salaries paid to farmhands, loans made to friends and family members, and expenses for (what would be considered for his time and place) numerous personal luxuries. Young, financial ledger, 2-30.

147. Young, financial ledger, September 15 and March 15, 1880, 4 and August 3, 1880, 10.

148. Unfortunately these bound materials have, as of this date, not been found. Young, financial ledger, May 15, 1880, 10 and 18.

149. Young, financial ledger, 10, April 29, 1880. Although this entry indicated Young purchased, what was probably architectural books, from the Bicknell & Co., there are no Bicknell titles in Young's extant library. This is not surprising first because Bicknell & Co., sold numerous titles other than those written by Bicknell and secondly, Young had three sons who pursued careers in architecture, trained numerous apprentices, moved his home three times before the turn-of-the-century, relocations his office on numerous occasions, and left much of his professional materials in his office at the LDS Church prior to his death. Young's extant library, which could in fact be only a fragment of its original size, was included in the papers of Young's youngest son George Cannon Young and his grandson Richard W. Young (Richard W. Young Papers, box 75-94).

150. AABN, 4:101. First noted in Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals 12:547 (Boston : C.K. Hall & Co., 1963).

151. So far as the physical evidence can prove, J.D.C. Young began to continuously subscribed to the American Architect and Building News, as will be discussed later in this chapter, by 1883 and, as circumstantial evidence suggests, Young appears to have subscribed to the popular periodical some years

earlier. Young could have been exposed to the periodical while attending school in New York State.

152. James F. O. O'Gorman, On the Boards (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) 10.

153. Some of Woodward's designs were published in the previously mentioned A.J. Bicknell's Specimen Book of One Hundred Architectural Designs (1878). Young may have first seen Woodward's design in Bicknell's book or he may have read about the architect in AABN. See AABN 3:182-183 (May 25, 1878); 3:198-199 (June 8, 1878), this article which is a review of Bicknell's above mentioned book, mentions Woodward as one of the architects whose work is included therein; 4:101 (July 6, 1878); and 4 (September 21, 1878). First noted in Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, 12:547 (Boston : C.K. Hall and Co., 1963). Many of Young's existing architectural books published in the 1870s and 1880s, were received much later in the 20th century as gifts from a "Mrs. Burton". Mrs. Burton's husband, John H. Burton, who was fledgling contemporary architect with J.D.C. Young during the 1880s, was tragically murdered in Salt Lake City in 1887. Unlike the other early architectural books that show evidence of being later gifts, The Woodward title has only Young's early signature "D.C. Young", which he used until the late 1880s when he added his first initial to his signature. Young appears to have possessed this book some time after his graduation from Rensselaer in 1879 and used it during the 1880s. For both the Woodward's book and for examples of the 19th century books that were given later to Young, see Richard W. Young Papers, box 83. For a brief sketch of architect John H. Burton's death, see Janet Burton Seegmiller, Robert Taylor Burton (Salt Lake City, Utah : Robert Taylor Burton Family Organization, 1988) 381.

154. Biographical Record, 504.

155. Jackson, "Railroad, 1869-1910," 97.

156. Young continued to advertise himself as engineer and architect during the 1880s and his ledger does show he performed small engineering jobs such as a canal survey and sketches executed in 1884. Young, financial ledger, 32.

157. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, Mormons and Gentiles, A History of Salt Lake City, v. 5, The Western Urban History Series (Boulder, Colorado : Pruett Publishing Company, 1984) 90-91.

158. Alexander and Allen, 100-105.

159. Because of the Mormon Church's doctrine of "gathering" and its active proselytizing in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Western Europe as well as throughout the Eastern United States in the nineteenth century, Utah was a veritable caldron of western cultural ethnicity. The various building-craft traditions from numerous domestic and foreign regions converged, influenced, and in turn where mediated by Utah's physical, economic, religious, and political milieu.

160. The Salt Lake Directory and Business Guide for 1869 (Salt Lake City, Utah : E. L. Sloan and Co., 1869) 153. Seven architects advertised. Gazetteer of Utah and Salt Lake City Directory (Salt Lake City, Utah : Salt Lake Herald Publishing Company, 1874) 301. Four architects and three architect-builders are listed. Utah Directory and Gazetteer for 1879-80 (Salt Lake City, Utah : J.C. Graham and Co., 1879) 149. The categories "architect" and "builders" are in entirely separate categories in the 1879-80 directory. Where in previous directories architects were self-described as architect and builders, listing their services often in both categories or in one combined category, they are now separately defined. Many "architects" who previously offered design and contract services beginning in the 1880s advertised themselves solely as architects. Utah urban architects were defining themselves, as was occurring throughout much of the nation, as a profession entirely separate from its builder-craft roots. The category "engineers", in state and city directories emerged in the late 1860s and 1870s. This

emerging specialization in the building industry bespeaks the expanding technical and aesthetic needs of the growing city.

161. Some of the tradesmen-turned-architects who were practicing in Utah during the early 1880s included, Truman O. Angell (orig. joiner-carpenter), T.O. Angell Jr., (office trained under his father), William H. Folsom (orig. joiner-carpenter), H. Monheim (orig. carpenter), William N. Fife (apprenticed trained builder-architect), Walter Thompson (orig. carpenter-builder), and William Paul (orig. mechanic-builder). Also during this period trade unions were established in Salt Lake City for carpenters, joiners, and other building tradesmen. Alexander and Allen, 106. Many of these tradesmen-turned-architects will, in the 1880 and 1890s, apprentice-train the next generation of Utah architect, who will be entirely removed from the building trades.

162. Joseph Don Carlos Young, Indenture, September 6, 1880, LDS Historical Department. Young also turned over to the Mormon Church in March 1881 a parcel of land "adjoining the museum [on South Temple between Main and 1st South]" valued at \$3,000 for tithing on his inheritance entered on the books of the 18th Ward. Richard W. Young Collection, box 1 fd. 6.

163. "Obituary File", LDS Church Historical Department under "Taylor, Obed ", July 30, 1881.

164. Anderson, 253-258.

165. The partnership continued, at least in name, until nearly the end of the decade, when their various commissions were completed.

166. William Folsom was called in 1875 as assistant church architect to replace Joseph Young, Brigham Young's oldest son, who unexpectedly died while in Manti, Utah. Taylor was called to assist long-time church architect, Truman O. Angell Sr., whose feeble health and strict attention to the Salt Lake Temple construction drawings, prevented him from performing any other Church work. Taylor was called, along with Folsom and T. O. Angell Jr., to work as assistant church architects during the 1870s and 1880s. Very little had been written about Obed Taylor. A brief life sketch was written by Allen Roberts, from which much of this information about Taylor was gleaned. See Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects: Their Lives and Works", Sunstone, 1:2:69-73 (Spring 1976). For the life of William Folsom, see Paul L. Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom." For a brief history of the office, church architect, see Andrew Jenson's entry under "Church Architect" in the Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Richard W. Jackson's appendix "Church Architects" in "Meeting Places of the Latter-day Saints", an unpublished manuscript, given to the writer with permission from its author.

167. [Salt Lake Temple Drawings Collection, ca. 1849-1893], see selected stone cutting and laying drawings produced in the 1870s, LDS Historical Department.

168. Deseret News Weekly, July 26, 1882 as indexed (under the 18th Ward) and recorded in the JH under the same date.

169. This residence, along with the surrounding houses, can be seen in photographs dating from the early to mid 1880s. See Salt Lake City photographer C.R. Savage's [South Temple street in Salt Lake City, ca. 1885], LDS Church Historical Department. The rapid commercial and civic growth of Salt Lake City effected a complete redevelopment of this area by the twentieth century. Croxall is mentioned in the closest published Salt Lake City directory as doing business under the partnership of Careless and Croxall. The Utah Directory for 1883-1884 (Salt Lake City : J.C. Graham Co., 1883) 59. Captain Croxall, as he was called, was one of Utah's most famous musicians. Croxall's brass band played in celebration in the Salt Lake Tabernacle when the Union and Central Pacific railroads joined

on May 10, 1869. Reeder, 53.

170. "Brothers and Sisters of Joseph Don Carlos Young", n.d., Richard W. Young Papers, box 1, fd. 2; Spouses of the children of Brigham Young and Emily Dow Partridge Young, Ancestral File (TM); and Jesse, Letters, 337. Young's sister Caroline eventually divorced Mark Croxall and became the fifth wife of George Q. Cannon in 1884. From this union four children were born, the last child Georgius Young Cannon (b.1889), was a architect who practiced in California. Family Group Record, George Quale Cannon (printer) and Caroline Partridge Young, Family History Library.

171. Richard W. Young Papers, architectural drawings, fd. 12.

172. See photograph [Feramorz Little Mansion, ca. 1885, Salt Lake City], LDS Historical Department. As of this writing, there is one other set of Taylor architectural drawings that survive. George F. Gibbs House, ca. 1875-1880, 29 F. Street, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, uncatalogued architectural drawings, LDS Historical Department. By examining the Croxall and Gibbs drawings, both of which are signed by the architect, I was able to compare and clearly note a common pattern of orthographic presentation between the two commissions. Unlike Young's academically acquired clean and highly presentational drafting technique (with all progress drawings superseded by one final set), Taylor's drawings are less carefully executed, continually amended, and although to scale, they do not include the amount of detail and direction Young would have offered.

173. Young, financial ledger, 12. Taylor died on the thirtieth of July 1881. Roberts, Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects, 69.

174. Paul L. Anderson, 251. Brigham Young died in 1877 and never used the residence. With Obed Taylor, Folsom also designed, sometime after Folsom had designed the Gardo house, a large house for Feramorz Little, the same who had purchased J.D.C. Young's Union Pacific Railroad stock in 1879. James A. Little, "Biographical Sketch". First published mention of both Folsom and Taylor as architects of the Feramorz Little Mansion is in Allen Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects", 71. Brigham Young's Gardo House was indisputably Utah's finest and most well known nineteenth century mansion. It was also Utah's finest residential example of America's Second Empire architectural mode. The building was razed to make way for a Federal Reserve Bank Building in 1926, that was designed by the firm of Young and Hansen, a firm J.D.C. Young helped establish a decade earlier, circa 1916-17. Federal Reserve Bank, architectural drawings, Don Carlos Young Jr., Papers, fd. 40-45, University of Utah.

175. Young, financial ledger, 16 and Anderson, 251. Considering the luxurious interior architecture that was in the Gardo House, this would not have been a small or insignificant effort.

176. Taylor's 18th Ward Meetinghouse (1880) and Young's Deseret Meetinghouse (1884) have a number of similarities. Both are a simple rectilinear, single nave halls with attached stair towers (Taylor's placed front and center, Young's attached to the front corner) with rear galleries. Both are Gothic Revival in inspiration, built in brick, with a similar roof profile (Taylor's was shed while Young's was hipped), four equilateral gothic arched windows on the elongated side with attached buttresses between each bay. Young's ornament and accents (interior trim, wooden porches, and roof plan) were in the contemporary inspired modes of Queen Anne. Taylor's design in contrast, used integrated classical and gothic accents that were decidedly dated. See photograph of the 18th Ward Building in Haglund and Notarianni, The Avenues of Salt Lake City, 49. If Young worked with Taylor or in the architect's office of the Mormon Church as a draftsman, the practical experience gained did not bring with it any stylistic influences.

177. In regards the Salt Lake Stake Assembly Hall, the building was seen through to completion by engineer Henry Grow, who was appointed superintendent of construction for the Assembly Hall. "Assembly Hall, How it Looks by Gaslight", Deseret Evening News, Saturday, April 3, 1880. Young may have taken part in the designing of the interior. On November 3, 1881, four months after Taylor's death, Young purchased, probably from the deceased architect's family, what Young described in his financial ledger as "sundries, Obed Taylor". Young, financial ledger, 17.

178. One other commission that was unfinished after Taylor's death in 1881, was the University of Deseret building, located on Union Square in the original northwest park of Salt Lake City. Young would later teach architecture and drafting in this building. Obed Taylor had drawn-up the building's design but because the territorial legislature and governor could not agree on its funding, the building's construction was slow in coming. In March and April of 1881, the newspapers announced Taylor's design and that construction was to be begin. At Taylor's death in July 1881, the construction contract had been awarded and the site probably surveyed and excavated, as by October the basement and foundation was nearly completed before construction was abandoned. In 1883, construction once more commenced with funding. Salt Lake City architect, John H. Burton, whose father was one of the university's trustees, acquired the commission. With only the foundation constructed, Burton as the newspaper stated "materially departed" from Taylor's original design. Taylor's original drawings are not known to exist. Deseret News, March 4 and 6, 1881 (as first noted in the JH under the same dates, 3 and 3, respectively), Deseret Evening News, April 23, 1881 (JH, same date, 3), Deseret News, June 20, 1881 (JH, same date, 2.) Deseret News, October 12, 1881, (JH, same date, 2). Alexander and Allen, 114 and Seegmiller, 130.

179. Some staff members produced quarry and mason drawings while another addressed future design issues and carried out smaller building designs. Known personnel of the Church Architect's Office during the 1870s and early 1880s, include Truman O. Angell Sr., William H. Folsom, Truman O. Angell Jr., Obed Taylor, Joseph A. Young (who may have conversed if not worked with this office in his position as supervising architect for the Manti Temple), and Joseph Don Carlos Young. Major buildings designed by this office during the 1870s and early 1880s include the mason's drawing for the Salt Lake Temple and the complete construction documents for the Manti Temple, the Logan Temple, the Salt Lake Stake Assembly Hall and numerous commercial and residential projects for the church and church leaders. Approval and assistance was also given for various church buildings outside of Salt Lake City including stake tabernacles. See Coalville Tabernacle drawings, unprocessed architectural drawing collection, LDS Church Historical Department.

180. Regarding the changing methods in architectural office practice in American, see Diana Balmori, "George B. Post: The Process of Design and the New American Architectural Office (1868-1913)", JAHA XLVI:342-355 (December 1987).

181. Young, financial ledger, September and October 1880, 4 and 6. There are a number of other entries for advertisements from 1880-1883. The Herald was considered during this time the non-Mormon paper with the Mormon owned Deseret News, representing and speaking to the Mormon community. Perhaps Young placed his ads in the Herald because its readers, made up in part of the non-Mormon merchants and businessmen, would be more economically disposed to using an architect than the rank-and-file Mormon. Also see, Letter, Feramorz Young to Carl Young, Mexico City, 7 January 1881, Richard W. Young Collection. In this letter Feramorz asked his brother how his private business was doing.

182. Young's extant library, Richard W. Young Papers, box 75-94. Some of the architectural titles, as mentioned in a previous note, from the 1870s and 1880s bare dates and signatures that suggest Young acquired them later in the twentieth century. The titles in this category are: Joseph Gwilt, Encyclopedia of Architecture 1-4 (London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), which includes unrelated names and

contemporary bookmen marks, and Eugene Emmanuel Viollet le Duc, Discourses on Architecture (Boston : James R. Osgood and Co., 1875), which includes an inscription indicating Young received the book in 1919. There are also architectural titles from the 1830s which bare unrelated names and bookmen marks suggesting they may have been purchased much later, possibly by Young's son George Cannon Young, while he was engaged in various preservation projects in the 1960s. Those architectural titles published before 1884 (the dates the Brigham Young Academy was designed) that bare Young's signature or annotation are: George Pyne, Practical Rules of Drawing for the Operative Builder and Young Student of Architecture (London : Lockwood and Co., 1864), and George E. Woodward, Woodward's National Architect v. 2 (New York : American News Co., 1877).

183. The Builder's News May 2, 1879, Don Carlos Young Jr. Papers, Bx 2, fd. 20.

184. Richard W. Young Papers, box 8.

185. Other periodicals Young subscribed to before the turn of the century are the Inland Architect in 1886 (published in Chicago); The Architect in 1890 (published in London); the Scientific American's Architect and Builder's Edition in 1891 (published in New York), and Up-to-date Architecture, in 1897 (published in Philadelphia). Besides the two previously mentioned locations for nineteenth-century periodicals owned by J.D.C. Young see also Joseph Don Carlos Young, "Churches", portfolio, ca. 1883-1888, in the possession of Paul L. Anderson, Salt Lake City, Utah. This is a quarto size portfolio containing illustrations from the periodicals mentioned above. This portfolio, which was given to Anderson by the LDS Historical Department, was previously part of the church architect's records. The title "Churches" on the portfolio's cover suggests Young may have made other folios based on building types. Various clippings and illustrations from 20th-century periodicals are included in the Don Carlos Young Jr. Papers box 2 and map case, fd. 1 and Richard W. Young Papers, box 8.

186. Mary Woods, "The First American Journals: The Professional Voice", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, VLVIII (June 1989) 117-138.

187. Mary Woods, footnote 68, 132.

188. Henry Van Brunt, trans., Discourses on Architecture by Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc, Architect (Boston : James R. Osgood and Company, 1875) xv-xvii.

189. Mary Woods, 117-138.

190. In 1888, after undergoing a series of disagreements with the contractors on the Salt Lake Temple, Young, as the newly called Church Architect, asked to meet with the Church's First Presidency and its presiding councils (Quorum of the Twelve and Presiding Bishopric) regarding his position on the construction site. The Young's perceived position as representative of the client and chief designer of all design issues was not upheld, and he was told the presiding church councils did not want such representation. Young's predecessor Truman Angell, Sr., in his later years attended only to his drawings and apparently did little overseeing construction superintendency or concern himself with interior design. Recounting his final counsel to Young during this meeting, Mormon Church President Wilford Woodruff wrote, I told Young to "draw the plans and visit the temple and see that the building was erected according to the plans, and that was the end of his work." Young would have been happy with this but the contractors' and various other interested parties' strong influences on the site, made it difficult for him to control, with any degree of certainty, his designs. Because of this and because of a yet undetermined illness that Young suffered, the architect attempted to resign on numerous occasions. After the temple and adjoining buildings were completed, Young was released from this calling promptly on April 5, 1893, a day before the building was dedicated. Health problems did impeded Young's work though conflicts regarding his professional responsibility (which entailed all design

aspects of the building) also contributed. As late as 1917, the then honored practitioner had to lobby from office to office to secure his agreed upon fees from church officials. Unwilling to pay what church authorities thought excessive, the architect had to appeal to church leader and past fellow University of Deseret professor, James E. Talmage for satisfaction of his fee. Scott G. Kenney, ed., Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 9, (Midvale, Utah : Signature Books, 1985) entries under the dates 12/3/88, 1/17/93, 2/2/93, 2/7/93, and the entry on 321; Joseph Don Carlos Young, Vest Pocket Notebook, September, 1892, Richard W. Young Papers, box 7, fd. 5; Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History, 138-139; and Letter, J.D.C. Young (sr.) to J.C.Y. Young (jr). Ocean Park, California, February 14, 1917, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1, fd. 7.

191. After a son of a building contractor refused to move a masonry window sill, which had been laid counter to architect's drawings, Young struck the man and broke out the disputed masonry. Young also struck a newspaper reporter after he called Young an unflattering name in the newspaper. Besides these acts of physical anger, Young often argued with his clients. History File Notes for Joseph Don Carlos Young Architect-0012; Correspondence, Presiding Bishopric Building, Richard W. Young Papers, box 1. fd. 1; and Salt Lake Herald 11 March 1886.

192. I was not able to find an architect in Utah, practicing during the 1880s, that had a similar eastern exposure in combination with the scholastic experience that Young had. Nearly all of Young's architect peers were previous carpenters, joiners and building contractors. Only two architects practicing in the 1880s apprenticed as draftsman-architects. They were Richard K.A. Kletting, a son of a German engineer and a stone mason who performed a drafting apprenticeship with a contracting firm in Paris (1879-1883) and Elias L.T. Harrison, a British apprenticed architect who emigrated to Utah in 1861 and was barely practicing in the 1880s. Craig Lewis Bybee, "Richard Karl August Kletting, Dean of Utah Architect, 1858-1943", Masters Thesis, University of Utah, 1980, 4-5 and Allen Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects", 79-80. Young's educational experiences and his professional methods and attitudes, unlike any other architect in Utah in the 1880s, uniquely bore the imprint of the east coast architectural establishment. In the 1890s this was an entirely different matter.

193. Young, financial ledger, 26, 29, 32, 57, and 65. Young charged (often with a discount) plans 1 to 1 1/2%; plans and specifications 3%; and plans, specifications, and construction supervision 4 1/2% to 6%.

194. JH, August 20 1881; Charles R. Mckell, History of the Utah State Hospital, Provo: A Study of the Evolution of Public Care for the Mentally Ill, Masters Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Utah, 1948, 38-42; and Utah County, A Graphic Account of Its Foundings (The Country Atlas Publishing Company, 1897) 39. Much of Mckell's information was extracted from the published pamphlet Report of the Board of Directors of the Territorial Insane Asylum, 1881.

195. Dr. Seymour B. Young was a son of Joseph Young, Brigham Young's older brother.

196. Mckell, 30-31.

197. Mckell, 38-42.

198. JH, August 20 1881. The first phase of construction, for which Young supervised site excavation, consisted of the east half of the south wing.

199. Provo City, Utah County, Utah [map] (New York : Sanborn-Perris Map Company Limited, 1890), No. 3958, sheet 1, Special Collections, University of Utah.

200. Vincent Scully, American Architecture and Urbanism, 86-88; and Scully, The Shingle Style and the Stick Style, 2. Vaux's richly illustrated Villas and Cottages (New York : Harper), which included a discussion and illustrations of picturesque landscape designing, was last reprinted in 1874. Young may have studied Downing's works on the subject before as well as after returning from Rensselaer via the Utah Territorial Library, which housed Downing's Hints to Young Architects (1847) and the most popular Architecture of Country Houses (1850). In the 1880s the territorial library was located on a small drive north of the ZCMI buildings on East Temple (or Main) Street in Salt Lake City, a close proximity to Young's early career endeavors. William C. Stains, comp., Catalogue of the Utah Territorial Library (Great Salt Lake City : Brigham H. Young, Printer, 1852) 27 and Sanborn Parris Map Co., Salt Lake City, 1889.

201. Stereographic cards of J.D.C. Young in the Richard W. Young photograph collection, PO 326, University of Utah.

202. Chicago and New York: Architectural Interactions (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1984) 33.

203. One indication of a congenial professional acquaintanceship was Burton's widow giving some of her deceased husband's architectural books to J.D.C. Young. See box 77 (book 1 and 2), 79 (book 2), and 83 (book 1) of the Richard W. Young Collection.

204. Paul I. Thorpe, ed., Provo Papers, Utah State Hospital (Provo, Utah : privately published, 1976) 15-17.

205. So far as the author was able to determine in Utah's landscape history, the Territorial Insane Asylum was also the first public landscape designed by an academically trained architect or, in this case, landscape architect.

206. The Utah Territorial Insane Asylum, later Utah State Mental Hospital and now Utah State Hospital, continues to use the same main axis into the facility, the orchards were located on the grounds south of the asylum (far right on the plan) until removed during the last decade. Also the present barn and stables are located north of the asylum (far left on the plan) as Young had designed. Various section of the original grounds are now in private hands.

207. Certificate, September 22, 1881, Richard W. Young Papers, box 7, fd. 7 and Obituary, Deseret News. On January 11, 1887 Young entered into plural marriage, marrying Marian Penelope Hardy. To this second union, four children were born. Naomi Dowden Young James (Schettler) "Family Group Record for the family of Young, Joseph Don Carlos Young (L.D.S. Church Architect)", circa 1964, LDS Church Family History Library and Marian Penelope Hardy (AFN:18K-LQ), Ancestral File (TM), Family History Library.

208. Young, financial ledger, 11 and 15. Young is listed at this address under "D.C. Young" in the Utah Directory for 1883/84 (Salt Lake City, Utah : J.C. Graham & Co., 1883) 178, and in the Utah Gazetteer and Directory, Logan, Ogden, Provo, and Salt Lake Cities for 1884, Robert W. Sloan, ed. and comp., (Salt Lake City, Utah : Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884). In the first, only his name is listed, in the later he is entitled "civil engineer and architect". Four years later in another directory, Young is entitled only "architect" and resides at 5th East, south of 9th South. Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and Logan for 1888 (Salt Lake City, Utah : Lorenzo Stenhouse Publisher, 1888). As a minor note Young also built a home for his second wife within the Second Ward in Salt Lake City in 1888. Young, financial ledger, p. 60.

209. The steamer was five days from New York City. "Feramorz L. Young" in "Old Salt Lakers" clippings, P-329, LDS Historical Department and Biographical Record, 505. See also, Dean C. Jessee, ed., Letters, 297. This tragic death, along with Young's practice of architecture instead of engineering, and Willard's continued enlistment in the U.S. Army and later employment in New York City, severely modified their father's plans, as he had envisioned it, for his eastern trained sons. Willard, who commandeered numerous engineering projects in the east, indicated he preferred not to return to Utah. Eventually, he did return, but only after the LDS Church Presidency formerly summoned him in the 1890s, to be a university and church department administrator. Willard was also a university trustee for Brigham Young University. As mentioned previously J.D.C. Young did teach at Brigham Young Academy and also served as a trustee for the school. Make no small words also that he designed most of the largest structures built by the LDS Church from 1880-1910. Still, they did not accomplish the engineering feats envisioned by their father.

210. Scott G. Kenney, ed., Wilford Woodruff's Journal, v. 8 (Salt Lake City, Utah : Signature Books, 1985) 55. A member of the LDS Church Quorum of the Twelve, Woodruff was a prolific journal keeper, who would later become president of the Church. Feramorz died not of malaria but typhoid fever.

211. Young, financial ledger, 12, 19 and 12-25 continuously.

212. Biographical Record, 505. Young also became a trustee of the Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward school district on July 9, 1883. certificate of appointment, box 4 fd. 1, Richard W. Young Papers.

213. Letter, "Bid" to D.C. Young, August 25, 1877, box 1, fd. 5. The letter head on which this letter was written was D. O. Calder Company.

214. Deseret News, August 15, 1883 as first noted in the JH under the name Calder, D.O., also same date. The building's size, dimensions, and exterior and interior descriptions are included in this article.

215. Annual of the University of Deseret, 1883/1884; Annual of the University of Deseret, 1884/1885; Annual of the University of Deseret, 1885/1886; Annual of the University of Deseret, 1886/1887; and Annual of the University of Deseret, 1887/1888 (Salt Lake City, Utah : University of Deseret, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887) "Faculty and Board of Instruction", Special Collections, University of Utah; Olpin, Dictionary of Utah Art 173, 284; and Joseph Don Carlos Young, [letterpress copy book], 1888-1893, LDS Historical Department.

216. Harrison, a disaffected Mormon and leaders of a dissenting social faction in Salt Lake City, also co-founder of the Salt Lake City Tribune, possessed a certain amount of political liability that would have precluded him from being seriously considered, if in fact he cared to be considered. Kletting arrived in the United States in the Spring of 1883 and within a short time traveled on to Denver and within days to Salt Lake City. His designing and drafting skills were probably not fully known when J.D.C. Young was appointed to this position. Although, when he arrived in Salt Lake City he immediately found employment. Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects", 73; John S. McCormick, The Historic Buildings of Downtown Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City : Utah State Historical Society, 1986) 66-67; Olpin Dictionary, 114; and Bybee, 11-12.

217. Some of the more notably architect, such as Truman O. Angell and William Folsom, were completely retained by the Mormon Church, Angell on the Salt Lake Temple (until his death in 1887) and Folsom on the Manti Temple (until its completion in 1888). Truman O. Angell Jr., was also retained as assistant architect with his father. Obed Taylor had died by 1881. There was still architects William Paul and Henry Monheim in Salt Lake City at the time. The Utah Directory for 1883-84 (Salt Lake City, Utah : J.C. Graham & Co., 1883). There were, beyond these men, dozens of builders, masons, carpenters who were considered qualified architects for their time but they had little if any drafting skills.

218. Burton's appointment as architect for the University of Deseret is mentioned in the JH, August 15, 1883, 3. Two other young Salt Lake City architects should be mentioned in this discussion. Truman O. Angell, Jr., was in 1883 working with his father in the Mormon Church Architect's office. William S. Hedges, a young builder-turned-architect, who may have been available for such an appointment, would soon establish the successful Salt Lake City firm of Dallas and Hedges. Hedges wrote a three-part series entitled "Architecture of Common Houses," for the Mormon Church periodical Contributor, 5:1:373-378; 5:2:428-430; 5:3:451-456, specifically written for the Utah Mormon audience. His articulate writing and professional knowledge suggests Hedges may have performed adequately in this capacity had he been appointed.

219. Young was re-elected to the house of representatives and certified on August 21, 1885. Certificate of election, box 4, fd. 1, Richard W. Young Papers.

220. Wayne K. Hinton, Utah Unusual Beginnings to Unique Present (Northridge, California : Windsor Publications, Inc., 1988) 86-87.

221. Utah Territory, Legislative Assembly House Report, 26th and 27th Session, 1884-1886, as recounted in Jamie L. Rogers, "The Life and Work of Joseph Don Carlos Young, Utah's Architectural Heritage", paper, 6, Special Collections, University of Utah. This funding may have also been used to complete the landscape plan Young instigated in 1881.

222. Ancestral File (TM), (AFN:187K-LQ) Marian Penelope Hardy (1861-1919), Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah and Rogers, 7.

223. Prospectus of the Brigham Young College, Logan Utah for the Seventh Collegiate Year, 1884-1885 (Logan, Utah, 1884) 7-11. Brigham Young deeded over 9000 acres of farmland " the rents and profits and issues of said tract to be used for the support of . . . the Brigham Young College." 6. Brigham Young died August 29, 1877.

224. Young fee for "plans, specifications, etc." was \$360.00 or three percent of an estimated \$12,000.00 construction cost. Later the architect reduced the fee by \$50.00 for "plans not used" and later he gave an additional ten percent discount for reasons not stated. Young received \$125.00 when the working drawings were presented sometime in the summer of 1883 and the balance in January 1884. In late

August 1884, Young received an additional \$25.00 fee for "fare" for "superintending" construction. Young, financial journal, 26.

225. There was a farmhouse and large stone barn on the property, the former used a boarding house for out-of-town students. College classes were held in the Logan City Hall. The College's Prospectus gives the general date the building was purposed and built as during the 1882-1883 school year. Young's financial ledger has no specific date other than 1883. Prospectus, 6-10; Don Carlos Young, B.Y. College Building (aka Dormitory for Girls, ca. 1883), George Cannon Young Architectural Drawings, LDS Historical Department; and Young, financial journal, 26.

226. "Veranda, Brigham Young College, Logan [ca. 1883]," Brigham Young College architectural drawing collection, unprocessed, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

227. Kenney, 297.

228. Young's financial ledger, which begin with an entry of cash received from the selling of his inherited railroad stock (1880), eventually, with the gradual decrease in income and payable entries from the farm, became an accounts receivable ledger for posting architectural commissions. Young, financial ledger, 2-65.

229. Besides the Brigham Young College building in Logan, Young designed the Brigham Young Academy building in Provo, the Oneida Utah Academy, and the entire campus of the LDS University in Salt Lake City.

230. Young was church architect from 1888-1893; thereafter, the unofficial church architect completing scores of building projects for the Mormon Church, including: Latter-day Saint University Campus in Salt Lake City (1900-1917); the Presiding Bishopric's Building (1907-1910); and the Church Administration Buildings (1914-1917). In 1923, Young was hired as supervising architect under the direction of the church's Presiding Bishopric's Office.

231. This extensive leadership in Mormon society, driven by familial relationships is aptly described in D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932, An American Elite" (New Haven : Yale University, 1976).

232. Young claimed to have lost the architectural design competition for the Utah State Capital in 1912, not because the firm's design was deemed unsatisfactory but because the firm was Mormon. See George Cannon Young, Oral History with Naomi Young Schettler, ca. 1970s, box 9, fd. 24 and John Hardy to Young and Sons, March 18, 1912, box 7, fd. 1, Richard W. Young Papers. For the complete story of the Utah State Capital Design competition, see Geraldine H. Clayton, "Utah State Capital Competition," master's thesis, University of Utah, 1984. Two civic commission that Young did acquired were the Chapman Branch Library in Salt Lake City (1917-1918) and the Utah State Fair Amphitheater (circa. 1910). National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, Chapman Branch Library (1979), Preservation Division, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah and the Utah State Fair Amphitheater project in the George Cannon Young Architectural Drawing Collection, LDS Historical Department. Still in regards to the former, some of the names mentioned in the branch library's establishment, suggest a church connections that may have contributed to this commission going to Young. In any case, there are very few exceptions to the rule that Young was patronized by means of church association.

233. In March 1882 the U.S. Congress passed the Edmunds' Bill, which outlawed polygamous marriage and polygamous living as "unlawful co-habitation" and was punishable by a five hundred dollar fine

and/or five years in prison. Hinton, 86.

234. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experiences", 67.
235. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experiences, 65-69.
236. Some of Utah's most popular non-Mormon architect and architectural firms designed meetinghouses for Mormon wards, i.e., Richard Kletting's Riverton Ward Meetinghouse designed in 1899 and Ware and Treganza's Salt Lake City 17th Ward designed circa 1903.
237. Young married Marian Penelope Hardy on January 11, 1887. Ancestral File (TM), Marian Penelope Hardy (AFN:187K-LQ). Regarding the claim Young entered into a polygamist relationship at his mother's urging see Jamie L. Rogers, 7. Ms. Rogers interviewed various Young family members and this idea may have come from one of these interviews. The anti-polygamy maneuvers by federal officers, the national press and congress "increased in intensity" beginning in 1884 and continued into the early years of the following decade. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience", 66.
238. There is little available documentation regarding Young's second wife Marian Penelope Hardy (1861-1919). There are some extant correspondence from Hardy to Young, while the later was on a mission for the Mormon Church. see box 2, fd. 5, Richard W. Young Papers. Young's second wife, who died in 1919, was not mentioned in the architect's obituaries as a former wife of the deceased, although their children were listed. This kind of treatment of a polygamist wife was not unusual in early twentieth-century Utah. Deseret News, October 20, 1938.
239. In March 1887 the U.S. Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Law which ostensibly disincorporated the Mormon Church, mandated the confiscation of Church funds and property, and abolished women's suffrage in the territory. Hinton, 87 and Alexander and Allen, 98-99.
240. Alexander, "To Maintain Harmony: Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930", 54.
241. Young's major commissions came from: 1) the central Mormon Church (religious, educational and commercial buildings), 2) Young family (and in-law) controlled ventures, 3) smaller Mormon ecclesiastical units, and 4) Mormon associates.
242. Between the 1880s and the 1890s, Salt Lake City's population more than doubled as did its commercial, industrial, civic, and institutional growth. Utah Statistical Abstract (Salt Lake City, Utah : Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Graduate School of Business, University of Utah, 1983) 1-22. Nevertheless, beginning in 1893, Utah began to feel the economic effects of the national recession of 1892. When Young was released as church architect in 1893, over thirty-three individuals advertised themselves as architects, over five times the number advertised in 1879 when Young returned to Utah from Troy. Some of the more successful architects and architectural firms in Salt Lake City in the early 1890s were, Richard K.A. Kletting, Walter E. Ware, Dallas and Hedges, Carroll and Kern (partners 1890-92) and Cornell University trained Frederick Hale among others. Utah Gazetteer, 1892-1893, Stenhouse & Co., publishers (Salt Lake City, Utah : Salt Lake City Litho Co., 1982) 796; Utah Directory and Gazetteer for 1879-1880, H.L.A. Culmer & Co., publishers (Salt Lake City, Utah : J.C. Graham & Co., 1879) 149; McCormick, 35-36, and Judith Brunvard, "Frederic Albert Hale, Architect", Utah Historical Quarterly, 1983, 5-30.
243. Frederick A. Hale, who arrived in Salt Lake City via Rochester, New York and Denver, Colorado in 1890, was a perfect example of the socially involved architect who acquired many commissions through his membership and associations within social clubs. Brunvard, 6-11 and Frederick A. Hale's

scrapbook, Frederick Albert Hale Papers, Ms. 653, Box 3, fd. 11, Special Collections Department, University of Utah.

244. See Brunvand, 6-7 and first chapter of Bybee.

245. A financial subscription was produced and passed around to well wishers (immediate and extended members, friends and business associates) to help defray his missionary costs. Which suggests Young was not in the best of financial circumstances before and particularly during his proselyting mission. Box 3, fd. 6, Richard W. Young Papers.

246. Young, financial journal, 25; Jessee, 357; and "New Bank Building", Deseret Evening News, October 30, 1883.

247. "New Bank Building."

248. "The Templeton Building, constructed in 1890, housed the studios of many early Salt Lake City artist and served as an informal art center and school." Some of Utah finest artists during the decades before and after 1900 had studios in the Templeton Building. Olpin, "Tradition and the Lure of the Modern", 95, 208.

249. The whereabouts of these plans are, as of this writing, not known. Melvin A. Larkin, "The History of the L.D.S. Temple in Logan, Utah," Thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah, 1954, 130-131 and footnote 126.

250. Young, financial ledger, 57.

251. Young records this commission in his financial ledger, 57. The use of the term "Thesis" as a title for the design's written program has caused some to speculate that the drawing was produced while Young was a student at Rensselaer. This is unfounded, besides the indisputable reference in Young's financial ledger, the architect recorded "Salt Lake City" as his address on the drawing. Also, Young's final project or bachelor's thesis was a re-calculation and review of a stone arch aqueduct and finally, Rensselaer's published curriculum for the years Young attended make no mention of any additional thesis other than the senior project. Furthermore, the curriculum doesn't give the slightest hint of any course that would allow such a blatantly architectural and artistic assignment. See "Graduating Thesis [for 1879]", Register of Graduates and Former Students 16 and Reznick, 505-506.

252. Young, financial ledger, 57; Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (Salt Lake City, Utah : Deseret News Press, 1964) 575-576, 686, 688; "William Bowker Preston", Utah — The Inland Empire (Salt Lake City : Deseret News, 1902), 21. See also Chapter 2, section IV.

253. Charles M. Dollar, ed., America: Changing Times Since 1865 (New York : John Wiley & Sons, 1979) 647.

254. This organizational ascent to a centralized corporation is described in Thomas Alexander's Mormonism in Transition (University of Illinois, 1986) 76, 94-97, 104, 108-109, 114-115.

255. This is an example, in corporate architecture and planning, of what Klaus J. Hansen has argued in his Mormonism and the American Experience (University of Chicago, 1984) when he stated, as Jan Shippo has recently quoted, that in the 19th century Mormons cultivated "modern habits of initiative and self-discipline that helped dig the grave of the kingdom and ushered in a new breed of Mormon thoroughly at home in the corporate economy of America." Jan Shippo, "The Mormons' Progress, 50.

256. Richard D. Poll, "Utah and the Mormon: A Symbiotic Relationship," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, New Views of Mormon History (Salt Lake City : University of Utah Press, 1987)
328. The term "collegiality" in relationship to post-Brigham Young government of the Mormon Church was coined by Thomas G. Alexander in "'To Maintain Harmony': Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930," 54.
257. Amongst a flurry of new construction proposed by Young one building, which would stand behind the contiguous facades, would remain standing, the church's tithing granary with supplementary granary space provided above the proposed stables.
258. Brigham Young and the Mormon Church had previously built a large theater in 1864 called the Salt Lake Theater. Presumably this new proposed hall would be used primarily for orchestral productions.
259. In October 1883 Young produced a set of working drawings for this same establishment which, as of yet, have not surfaced. Possibly, the elevation proposed here by Young in 1884 is an enlarged version of the proposed three storey building drawn by Young in 1883. Deseret Evening News, October 30, 1883.
260. Young eventually designed a large sculptured granite base for a statue of his father, located in this same intersection in the following decade.
261. During the period of possibly influence (from 1876 when AABN's was first published to the early 1880s), the periodical frequently published numerous architectural competition entries for state and municipal institutions, such as schools, hospitals and insane asylums. For an example of this, see "New Lunatic Hospital, Worcester, Mass., Geo. Dutton Rand, Architect", AABN, no. 149 (April 29, 1879) and "Hudson River State Hospital for the Insane. . . F.C. Withers, Architect, New York", AABN, no. 118 (March 30, 1878).
262. Paul Venable Turner, Campus, An American Planning Tradition (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London : MIT Press and The Architectural History Foundation New York, 1984) 140-158.

263. Letter, Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, August 30, 1888, Karl G. Maeser presidential collection, box 2, University Archives, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah and "Priesthood Meeting", February 8, 1884; "The Land Secured", March 25, 1884; and "Ground Broke", May 23, 1884, The Territorial Enquirer, as first noted in the JH on the same dates. The latter includes the full text of Utah Stake President Abraham O. Smoot's dedicatory prayer and a list of local and school dignitaries in attendance.

264. Academy Review, 1:3:24 (December 1884), as first noted in Karl A. Miller, History of Buildings and Grounds, Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah : privately published, 1989) 32.

265. Young's minor revisions and newly revised specifications were made in March of 1891. An Academy student publication stated that "plans and specifications" were to be ready for the new "building this week". Neither the drawing or the specification were new but lightly revised and made available to the B.Y.A. The BYA Student, 1:10:33 (March 24, 1891), University Archives, Brigham Young University. Considering the difficulty Young encountered securing payment for this commission, he must have considered his 1884 working drawings well enough. Young, financial ledger, 65.

266. Brigham Young Academy or the Brigham Young University Lower Campus, National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, [5], 1975, SHPO, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

267. "Burning the Brigham Young Academy", Deseret Evening News, January 28, 1884, 6; "Brigham Young Academy Burned", Deseret News, January 28, 1884; and "Fire at Provo, Further Particulars . . .", Deseret News, January 29, 1884, as first noted in the JH under the same dates. Also, Minutes, Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustee, 16 February 1884, 41, University Archives, Brigham Young University.

268. Minutes, February 16, 1884; N. L. Nelson, "Home of the School", White and Blue, v. 2, 1907, 2-9; and Wilkinson, ed., Brigham Young University, The First Hundred Years, v.1:125-132.

The following Tuesday, the academy moved into temporary facilities. Minutes, February 9, 1884 and "The Academy", Salt Lake Daily Herald, Sunday, February 3, 1884 as recorded in the JH, same date as above, 5.

269. "The Academy", Salt Lake Daily Herald and "Burning of the Brigham Young Academy."

J.D.C. Young's calculation total construction cost as \$40,000 in 1884. Eight years later, with the building completed, the bill was somewhere in the vicinity of \$100,000. One official source released the figure \$75,000. Young, financial ledger, 65, Wilkinson, ed., Brigham Young University, The First One Hundred Years, v.1:153-154 and Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History, 90.

270. Alma P. Burton, "Karl G. Maeser, Mormon Educator", thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1950, 15-55.

271. "The Academy", Salt Lake Herald. One paper indicated that via subscriptions \$15,000 had been promised by February 7. "Our Salt Lake Letter", Ogden Daily Herald February 7, 1884. In March, appeal was made for "young men of Utah County to contribute their labor and teams for the unskilled part of the work" of building the new facility. Wilkinson and Skousen, 78-79 and 130-131. In the following school year of 1885, student enrollment declined and the school teetered towards bankruptcy. At that point, construction on the new building was postponed indefinitely. Wilkinson, ed., Brigham

272. James E. Talmage, journal 13, February, 1884, as quoted in Wilkinson and Skousen, 79 and "A Good Prospect", Deseret Evening News, January 30, 1884. On February 7, building committee chairman H. H. Cluff boldly stated to the trustees and stake leaders that they "must work in good faith" and not wait for "sufficient funds" are secured before building or "he would rather as one of the committee, resign." With permission to seek a \$4,000 loan, Cluff was instructed to proceed but not before all stake leaders and trustees "signified their approval by rising on their feet". "Priesthood Meeting," The Territorial Enquirer February 8, 1884, as recorded in the JH on the same date. See also "Our Salt Lake Letter".

273. "Provo Points", Salt Lake Herald, March 9, 1884, as recorded in the JH on the same date and Wilkinson, ed., Brigham Young University, The First One Hundred Years, v.1:146.

274. "Our Salt Lake Letter."

275. "Our Salt Lake Letter" and "Death of W. S. Hedges, Well-known Architect" Tribune, 25, March 1914.

276. Dallas and Hedges was established circa 1881-82. Examples of the firms work can be found in Haglund and Notarianni, 115; McCormick, 39-40; and George B. Pratt, ed., and pub., Salt Lake City, Utah Picturesque and Descriptive (Neehah, Wisconsin : Art Publishing Company, 1889), "residence of W. H. Rowe." The firm had the honor of designing the Utah building at the Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Mrs. Clara Wells Hedges' half-brother Heber Wells was the speaker of the house and served as Utah's first governor (1896-1905). Mrs. Hedges's family alliances certainly did not hurt the firm. The "handsome plan" has, so far as the author could discover, not been found. No body of Dallas and Hedges records have at this writing been found.

277. The closest architect contenders would have been sixty-eight year old William Folsom, who was entirely immersed with the construction of the Manti Temple until 1888 and seventy-four year old Truman O. Angell and his son T.O. Angell, jr., both of whom were laboring on the construction documents for the Salt Lake and Logan Temples.

278. The first mention of an architect in the trustee's minutes is in 1890, when Young was officially appointed, "the latter being engaged in 1884 to prepare plans for the building," Minutes, BYA Board of Trustees, December 18, 1890, 77.

279. Deed of trust, [chartering the] Brigham Young Academy, 16 October, 1875, as recorded in the JH on the same date, 2.

280. Wilkinson and Skousen, 49.

281. See text and footnotes in the last pages of chapter one, section II, regarding Young's pedagogical hopes for his children and the governing of these three academies by the same. See also Wilkinson and Skousen, 46-49.

282. Wilkinson and Skousen, 72-73; Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-1879", 3-19; and T. Earl Pardoe, The Sons of Brigham (Provo, Utah : Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1969, 138.

283. Wilkinson and Skousen, 83-87. The Young family's regulatory control of the academy seriously impeded fund raising for the new building. Complete funding was not secured until after the family

approved a bylaw amendment that essentially suspended the family's veto power over trustees. J.D.C. Young, who was installed as a trustee in April of 1886, served on the subcommittee that sought family approval for the bylaw revision. Minutes, Brigham Young Academy, Board of Trustees, April 10, 1886, 48 and Wilkinson, ed., Brigham Young University v.1:138-140, 145-152.

284. President Taylor's interest in a building site must have also carried over to a suitable architect. Taylor's first counselor George Q. Cannon, a strong supporter of the Academy and brother-in-law to J.D.C. Young and the scores of Young family members, all having an equal say in the academy's decisions, would have also contributed to the decision.

285. Young calculated when the drawing were made up that the building would cost \$40,000 to build and charged 3% for "To scale, working drawings, details, specifications and laying out grounds". (\$40,000 x 3% = \$1,200). The "script" could be exchanged for food stuffs and provisions from the Church's tithing office. Young, financial ledger, 65.

286. Letter, Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, [1]. The letter is regarding the construction of the Uinta Stake Academy in Vernal, Utah. Although a much smaller building, its floor plan appears to closely follows Young's Brigham Young Academy floor plan.

287. Minutes, B.Y. Academy, Board of Trustees, December 18, 1890, 77, University Archives, Brigham Young University.

288. Karl G. Maeser, "Farewell Speech", transcript, item #3, fd. B-1, U.A. 104, University Archives, Brigham Young University.

289. In public expressions Maeser, as was the case with nearly all Mormon leaders, demurred any direct reference that his supervisory abilities brought success to the Academy. It was not the "superior wisdom of professors" that brought success to the Academy but inspired action based on testimonies of Christ. Any contribution Maeser would have made to the architectural design of the Brigham Young Academy would have been obscured in this kind of language. Following in line with this dream, Maeser stated that the schools he later organized and regulated as director of the church schools were "pattern after the schools in heaven." Maeser, Karl G. Maeser, 109 and 184.

290. "The New Brigham Young Academy," The Young Women's Journal (June 1892) 389-394, LDS Archives.

291. Young's 1884 plan also included a teacher's study with an adjacent "ladies parlor" that included a small toilet room with a corresponding toilet room for male teaches, accessed from the main hall. The plumbing was not installed when the building was completed in 1892. A line of outhouses were constructed north of the academy.

292. Alma P. Burton, 84 and 4.

293. Maeser, Karl G. Maeser, A Biography, 181, 10-13.

294. Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 221; Howard Shubert, "The *Rundbogenstil*, The German Architect and America: A Philadelphia Case Study," [1990], 2 and 19-20 a draft in the possession of the author; William H. Pierson, jr., "Richard Upjohn and the American *Rundbogenstil*," Winterthur Portfolio, 21:4:223-241 (Winter 1986); Gwen W. Steege, "The Book of Plans and the Early Romanesque Revival in the United States: A Study in Architectural Patronage," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XLVI:215-227 (September, 1987); and Roula

Mouroudellis Geraniotis, "German Architectural Theory and Practice in Chicago, 1850-1900," Winterthur Portfolio 21:4:293-306 (Winter 1986).

295. In this regard, Young may have also made himself acquainted with the structural rationalism espoused by the great nineteenth-century French architectural theorist, Violet-le-Duc. Young may have read of Violet-le-Duc in serial in AABN or even possibly from Henry Van Brunt's first volume translation of Entretiens sur l'architecture published in 1875. Young's professional peer and friend John H. Burton possessed a copy by 1883. See Chapter two regarding Burton.

296. Interviews, Howard Shubert, Ph.d., assistant curator, Prints and Drawings, Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Quebec, Canada, regarding middle and late nineteenth-century *Rundbogenstil* in the United States, early spring 1991. Also, Pierson, 229, Geraniotis, 294-298, Shubert, 18-20 and Robert J. Winberg, "Cincinnati's German Culture: Over-the-Rhine and West End Neighborhoods," April 1991, [3-8], mimeographed booklet in the possession of the author.

297. Karl G. Maeser Collection, UA 104, item 1 B-2, University Archives, Brigham Young University; Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia 1:709 and Improvement Era 30:1:24-26 (1926). One of Maeser's son, possibly Emil Measer (b.1864) practiced as an architect, see "Alpine Stake Tabernacle" designed by Liljenberg & Maeser, Improvement Era 17:2:790 (1914).

298. AABN no. 390, (June 16, 1883), the plate is entitled "Monument on the Rhine." In English the title is: Benedictine Order Church at Laach.

299. Interviews, Howard Shubert.

300. Young, financial ledger, 29.

301. Lisa B. Reitzes, Paris, A Look At Idaho's Architecture (Boise, Idaho : Idaho State Historical Society, 1981) 39-41 and 54.

302. AABN, no. 408 (October 20, 1883) included in J.D.C. Young's portfolio "Churches", in the possession of Paul L. Anderson, Salt Lake City, Utah. In English the building title is: Liebhausen Church at Trier.

303. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 177-185. Richardson also used Germany *Rundbogenstil*, see James F. O'Gorman, Three American Architects, Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright, 1865-1915 (Chicago : University of Chicago, 1981) 20-25.

304. Reitzers, 39.

305. O'Gorman, Three American Architects, 13.

306. Young's Salt Lake Temple Annex, designed near the end of the decade and therefore out of the scope of this study was, as Young described it was Byzantine in derivation.

307. Young, financial ledger, 65. Some of Young's hand written specifications for the Brigham Young College in Logan (1883) have survived. They are confined only to the building of the foundation. Other early specifications have survived including those Young produced for an untitled "Brick Cottage," ca. 1885 and a large "one story bungalow", ca. 1895. See "Specifications of Rock and Brick Work for the Foundation of the B.Y. College of Logan, D.C. Young, architect", ca. 1883, Brigham

- Young College architectural drawing collection, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah and box 7 fds. 2 and 7, Richard W. Young Papers.
308. Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1891-1892, 3, University Archives, Brigham Young University.
309. William H. Jordy and Christopher P. Monkhouse, Building on Paper (Providence : Brown University Press, 1982) 70.
310. See text and notes in chapter two, section V. J.D.C. Young's large portfolio of church plans and drawings, in the possession of Paul Anderson, suggest Young cut-up his architectural periodical illustrations and divided them by building type. Would that Young's "schools" portfolio would have survived along with "churches."
311. Young pierced each exterior facade with multiple windows which number and length, as far as local building conventions were concerned, were both generous and tall (see plates 1-4). Windows extended high up into the interior walls and light fans and sidelights of glass lite up the hallway. Young specifically remarked to a student reporter, who was in fact Karl Maeser's son, that sufficient natural light for all classrooms was a primary issue in his floor plan for the building. Emil Maeser, [The New Academy Building] Business Journal, Brigham Young Academy Business Department, November 6, 1891, University Archives, Brigham Young University. Young may have also studied articles addressing school building design in the pages of AABN, see issues nos. 258 and 278.
312. The Architectural Sketch Book, v.IV, no. 11 (August 1876).
313. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1984) 67-70.
314. Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York City : Dover Publications, Inc., 1964, originally published 1944) 258-314.
315. Carter and Goss give the date 1890 when the use of Greek Revival ends in Utah, 6.
316. Campbell, 311.
317. Scully, American Architecture and Urbanism, 64.
318. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: 1981), section 128, verse 24; the original form of this publication was published in Kirtland, Ohio in 1835.
319. Bitton and Beecher, 328.
320. Jan Shippo, "The Mormon's Progress," 48-50.
321. Richard W. Jackson, "Meetinghouses of the Latter-day Saints", chapter seven, "The Church Furnishes Free Plans."
322. Cases in point, the Washington D.C. Chapel and the Arizona Temple both designed by the firm of Young and Hansen (including a son and grandson of J.D.C. Young) and the Relief Society Building, North Temple Square Visiting Center and the LDS Church Office Building, all in Salt Lake City, all designed by George Cannon Young and Associates (including a son and a grandson of J.D.C. Young).

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I list here only the works and sources that have been used in the making of this thesis. This bibliography is by no means a complete record of all the works and sources I have consulted. Primary sources have been grouped as unpublished and published materials and then by institutions and secondary materials by books and articles.

Primary Sources

There are four major manuscript collections that document the life and work of Joseph Don Carlos Young. Two are located at the University of Utah and the other two at the LDS Church Historical Department, both institutions in Salt Lake City, Utah. This bibliography could not possibly offer every bit of information used from these extensive collections, the greater detail can be found in the endnotes.

University of Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah)

The two collections held by this institution are: the Don Carlos Young, jr., Papers (Ms. 465) and the Richard W. Young Papers (Ms. 536). Both are fully processed with published registers:

Goss, Peter and A. Scott Howe. Register of the Papers of Don Carlos Young, jr. (1882-1960). Manuscript collection, Ms. 465, 1986.

Perks, Elizabeth. Register of the Papers of Richard Wright Young (b. 1931). Manuscript collection, Ms. 536, 1989.

Here cited are the major segments or documents produced by Young or about Young that were consulted from these two collections.

Don Carlos Young Papers (Ms. 465), primarily boxes 1-2 (Ms.) and folders 1-14 (architectural drawings) contain materials created by Joseph Don Carlos Young. With the exception of the manuscript materials located in boxes 1 and 2, most of this collection post dates the period of this study (1855 to 1884).

Richard W. Young Papers (Ms. 536), primarily boxes 1-8 (Ms.), 75-94 (books) and folders 1-14 (architectural drawings) contain materials created by Joseph Don Carlos Young. Materials most cited often are:

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Cluff, Benjamin to Don Carlos Young [JDCY], May 17, 1897.
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Wardell, J.A.L. to J. Don Carlos Young Esq., May 19, 1899.
Young, Emily P. to Carlos Young [JDCY]. June 3, 1876.
Young, Feramorz to Carl Young [JDCY], Mexico City, 7 January 1881.
Young, Joseph Don Carlos to Manie Young. September 19, 1875.
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Willard Young papers and published matter.

Architectural drawings:

- Young, Joseph Don Carlos. Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah Territory, 1883.
----- Templeton (Zion's Savings Bank) Building, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, ca. 1889.
----- LDS Church property on East and South Temple Streets, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, ca. 1884.

Photographs, ca 1875-1880. Richard W. Young Photograph Collection (PO 326).

Hale, Frederic A. Scrapbook. Frederick Albert Hale Papers, Ms. 653.

LDS Church Historical Department (Salt Lake City, Utah)

The other two major manuscript collections are the George Cannon Young Architectural Collection and the Young and Hansen (Don Carlos Young, jr.) Collection. The latter although rich in materials produced by Young generally post dates the period of this study (1855-1884).

Young, George Cannon Young. Papers and architectural drawings, ca. 1870-1980. Includes papers and records of Joseph Don Carlos Young, his son George Cannon Young and his son Richard W. Young. Only LDS related materials were retained in this collection, all else were acquired by Special Collections, University of Utah, Richard W. Young Papers (Ms. 536). Specific materials used in this study that were produced by Joseph Don Carlos Young are:

Young, Joseph Don Carlos. Reminiscence, 1937.

----- "B.Y. Academy, Provo, 1884." Ms. architectural drawings.

----- "B.Y. College Building [aka Dormitory for Girls, ca. 1883.] Ms. architectural drawings.

----- "New Meetinghouse for Deseret [ca. 1884]." Ms. architectural drawings.

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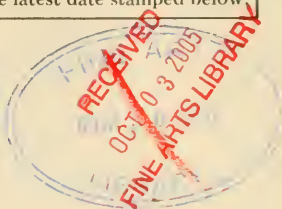
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