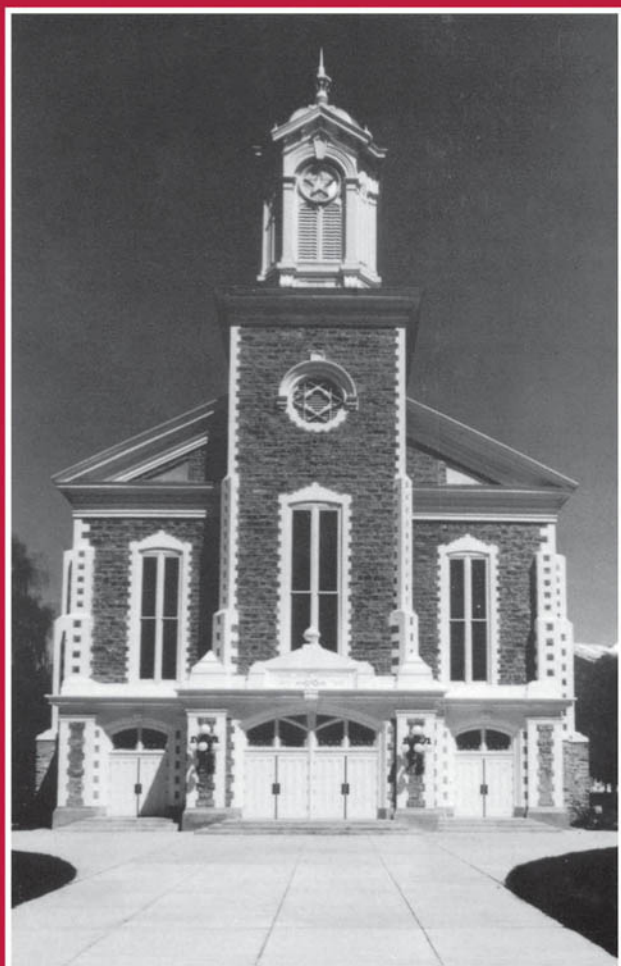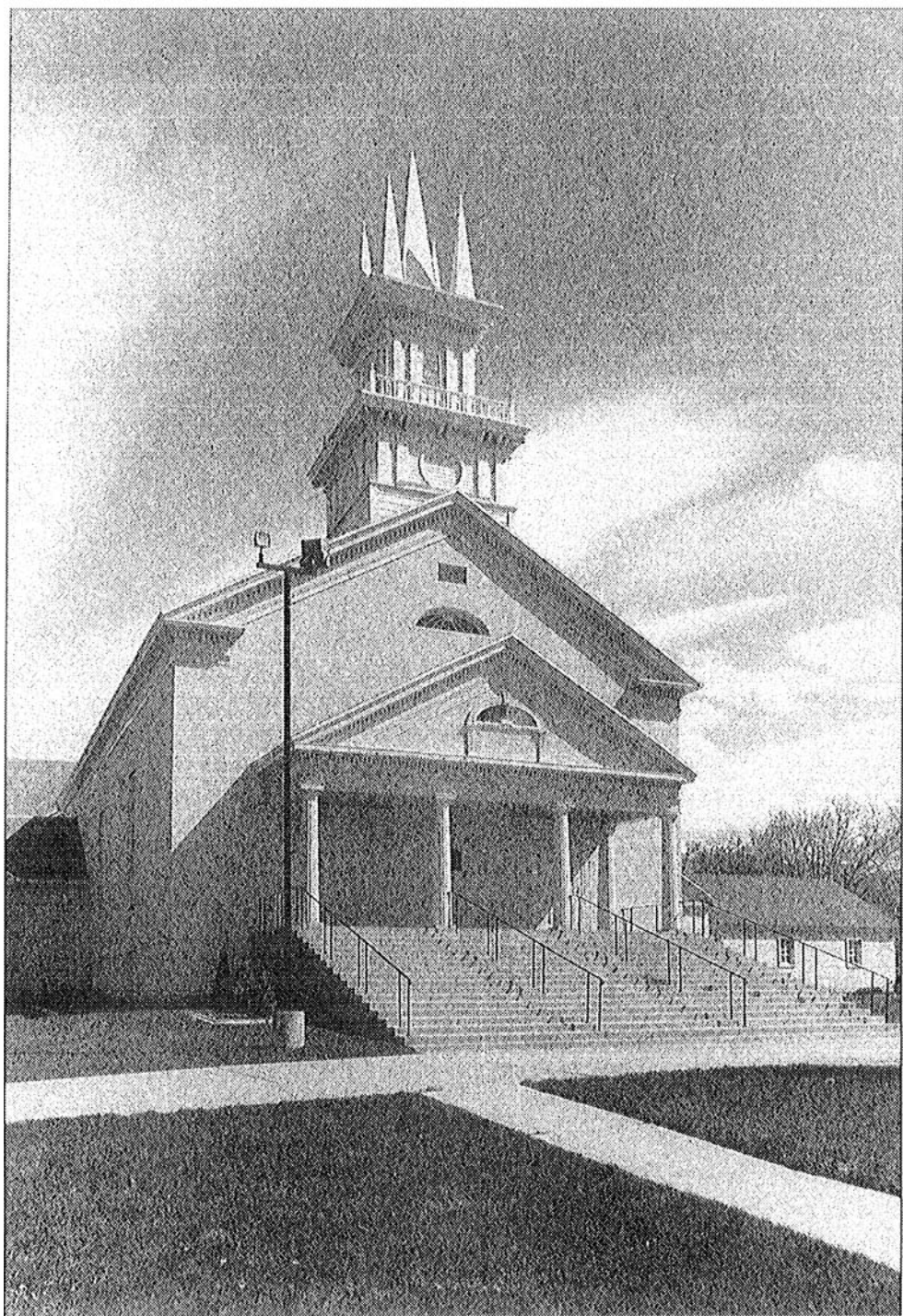# NINETEENTH-CENTURY MORMON ARCHITECTURE & CITY PLANNING

C. MARK HAMILTON

Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning

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C. Mark Hamilton

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PREFACE

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormons, is unique among American utopian societies. It has not only survived but flourished where others have become historical or cultural curiosities. The Mormons were responsible for settling a large portion of the United States. From the time of its founding in 1830 by Joseph Smith to the turn of the century, the church established over five hundred settlements. Most of these communities still survive. This was done under the most extreme circumstances. The members of the church were rejected by government and their neighbors. The decades of persecution caused them to be driven from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Their final place of refuge was the Great Basin region of the West. Even in isolation, they were pursued by their detractors.

Persecution did nothing to halt the growth of the church. All it did was galvanize the members into a more cohesive body and give them a resolve that could not have been acquired in any other way. Over half the membership were converts from Europe. These people contributed much to the spiritual, cultural, and material success of nineteenth-century Mormonism. The continued rapid growth of the church is rooted in its foundation doctrines and the fabric of nineteenth-century Mormonism.

Zion and its establishment was the driving force behind Mormonism. It also formed the basis for Mormon city planning and building types. The early material experiments in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, and influx of converts from Europe influenced subsequent communities and architectural forms in Utah and elsewhere. A knowledge of the doctrinal concept of Zion and its application is the key to understanding nineteenth-century Mormon material cultural.

Historically, nineteenth-century Mormonism has undergone the scrutiny of many noted scholars. Historians have written volumes regarding the origin, doctrine, practices, and accomplishments of the church. What is missing in their writings is a volume on Mormon city planning

and architecture. A study of the material culture of nineteenth-century Mormonism might have been lost in the shroud of contemporary events surrounding the growth of the church. Where the church now begins or completes approximately three new meetinghouses and temples every day somewhere in the world, the urgency and vitality of the present has the potential of overshadowing the history of the past. Fortunately, the church is acutely aware of the importance of its material heritage; but the contemporary requirements of the organization have rendered many of its early buildings obsolete. The church has gone to great expense to restore and maintain those buildings that still serve a vital historical or religious function. Some of the other buildings have either been sold or given over to other interested groups. Other buildings have been lost to time. This is why it has become so important to record the material history of nineteenth-century Mormon architecture. Its buildings are the most important documents pertaining to the material history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Its buildings can be read like a book.

Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning was written to document the achievements of the Mormon people from this period. It marks the culmination of over twenty years of research that initially resulted in a related master's thesis (1972) and doctoral dissertation (1978). Years of subsequent on-site investigations, personal interviews, and research in journals, letters, proceedings of meetings, and newspaper articles provided additional material to complete this study.

Only current photographs have been used where the original character of buildings have been maintained or not obscured from view by natural or built obstacles. Otherwise historical photographs have been substituted, as in the case of buildings that have been demolished. All photographs, except where noted in the captions, were taken by the author.

The unfortunate aspect of this book, and others like it, is the problem of having to make choices. Other buildings could have been included but were left out for a number of reasons, including practical considerations pertaining to cost. Emphasis has therefore been placed on extant monuments to help ease the problem of choice while encouraging preservation. Where there have been multiple examples of a particular building type, a conscious effort has been made to select one

or more representative examples of each from as many different geographic locations as possible, in order to demonstrate the general continuity found in Mormon architecture and the scope of Mormon settlement.

Provo, Utah   C.M.H.
October 1994

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Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning

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Introduction: Mormonism, A Historical Context

The Joseph Smith Years, 1830–1844

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on April 6, 1830, in Fayette, New York. The religion, of American origin, as was its founder Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844), differed from the Protestant sects because of its claim to ecclesiastical authority through restoration.[1] It began in 1820 during a period of religious fervor in western New York when various Protestant faiths were vying for the "souls of men."[2] Wishing to know which religion to join, the young Joseph Smith sought divine help through prayer. In response to his supplication, he declared that he had received a vision in which God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ appeared to him as resurrected beings. He stated that he was told that the authority of God and the Church of Jesus Christ was not upon the earth and that he was the one chosen by God to be the instrument of restoration.[3]

Later that same year, Joseph Smith was visited by an angel, Moroni, who had directed him to the Hill Cumorah near Manchester, New York. There, centuries earlier, Moroni had buried the records of his people that had been recorded on "golden plates." Joseph Smith acquired the plates, translating them between 1827 and 1829. The completed manuscript was published in 1830 under the title *The Book of Mormon*, so-named for Moroni's father, Mormon. The book is an account of Christ's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas and is accepted by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be an additional volume of scripture. It is seen as another witness, or testa-

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ment, for Christ and as a companion volume to the Bible.[4] (It is from *The Book of Mormon* that the church gets its nickname.)

Events over the next ten years turned a fourteen-year-old youth into a leader of thousands who would revere him as a modern prophet, seer, and revelator. During that time, Joseph Smith gave the world a new view of the nature of God and Jesus Christ, and claim of priesthood authority from God through the intercession of divine messengers— John the Baptist, Peter, James, and John.[5] His teachings and claims of divine authority soon led to open hostilities, so much so that within months of the organization of the church he and his followers (referred to as Saints or Mormons) were forced to flee western New York and find refuge in Ohio.[6]

The small body of Saints arrived in the Western Reserve area of northeastern Ohio in 1831, where Smith selected the existing settlement of Kirtland as their new place of refuge. Previously, missionaries had been sent to the region and were successful in converting a number of people in Kirtland and nearby Mentor. One of these converts, Sidney Rigdon (a Campbellite minister), became a mainstay of the new church through its early period and was important in establishing it at Kirtland.[7]

At the beginning of June, 1831, Smith asked a group of New York Saints (the Colesville Branch) now living near Kirtland to settle in western Missouri, where their prophet instructed them to establish the "City of Zion."[8] Under the direction of Newel Knight, they settled near Independence in Jackson County, and immediately began to purchase land in anticipation of its becoming the future headquarters of the church.[9]

Kirtland, in the meantime, developed into a small, bustling community.[10] A temple was built and the organization of the church was solidified, with a First Presidency and a Quorum of Twelve Apostles (also referred to as the Council of Twelve). The foundation doctrines and practices of the church were put into print for the use of the membership.[11] The rapid growth of the church soon led to problems centering on the financial failure of the Kirtland Safety Society Antibanking Company, founded under the direction of Smith in 1837. The bank was organized to improve the economic lot of the church and its membership, but the spirit of speculation and financial depression that gripped the nation that year helped lead to the collapse of the Society.[12] Distraught over the failure, a small group of dissident church members joined a number of nonmembers and staged a series of mob actions against Joseph Smith and the church.[13] By 1838, the situation had

reached the point where President Smith and the Saints again had to flee for their own safety.[14] They sought refuge among their fellow Mormons in Missouri. Unfortunately, those Saints were experiencing similar persecution.

The persecution in Missouri began as early as the summer of 1831. The Saints' zealous desire to establish Zion was a contributing factor in their eventual expulsion from the state. Their pattern of setting themselves apart from other people seemed peculiar to the local inhabitants. The purchase of land in preparation of the gathering for the Lord's elect became a source of contention and helped to widen the gap between the Mormons and their neighbors. The situation, already tense, came to a head in July 1833, when an article titled "Free People of Color" appeared in the local Mormon publication, the *Evening and Morning Star*. The article obviously was not popular in a state that favored slavery.[15] This and other concerns led to the expulsion of more than two thousand Saints from Jackson County in 1834.[16] They fled north to neighboring Clay County, where at first they were welcomed by the inhabitants, only to be expelled in 1836.[17] The leaders of Clay County, backed by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, advised the Mormons to leave the state. The Mormons, however, felt that Missouri was the "promised land of Zion" and wished to remain there.

In the summer of 1836, the Saints moved to sparsely populated Ray County. They were encouraged by the move, knowing that Missourians viewed this area of "prairie country" as unfit for human habitation. In December of the same year, two adjoining counties were specifically created for the Mormons by the state legislature, in complicity with Governor Boggs. The new counties were intentionally restricted in size in order to limit the growth and industry of the church. Ray County, and the newly formed Caldwell and Daviess counties, became the new gathering place for the Saints. The city of Far West in Ray County was platted in September 1836, followed by Adam-ondi-Ahman in Daviess County the next spring. The Kirtland exiles and Saints from elsewhere in the United States and Canada arrived in 1838, swelling the ranks of the church to nearly twelve thousand. The Missourians in the region reacted with alarm at the rapid increase of Mormon settlers, and open conflict broke out in August 1838. The increasingly volatile situation eventually led Governor Boggs to issue his "Extermination Order" on the twenty-fifth of October. It called for the Mormons to be "treated as enemies," stating that they "must be exterminated or driven from

the State, if necessary for the public good." The order went on to say that the Mormons' "outrages are beyond all description."[18] A few non-Mormons in leadership positions had the courage to renounce the governor's falsified accounts of Mormon activities and his efforts to have them expelled from the state, but to no avail.[19]

The intensity of the mob activities increased. There were murders and other atrocities, and prominent church leaders, including Joseph Smith, were imprisoned in Liberty. These actions led to the final expulsion of the Saints from Missouri during the winter of 1838–39. Smith appointed Brigham Young, a member of the Council of Twelve, to lead the orderly evacuation of the Saints. Young's success in relocating the Saints in the neighboring state of Illinois and the Iowa Territory foiled Governor Boggs's original plan. In frustration, he issued a warrant for Young's arrest—an effort to hinder further the relocation. What Young learned from this experience did much to prepare him for later leadership in relocating the Saints to Utah in 1847.[20]

The exiled Saints were taken in by residents in various towns and places in Iowa and Illinois along the Mississippi River. Smith sent messages of encouragement from prison in Missouri to his beloved followers. In one of these, he stated that "God would open an effectual door" for them.[21] Such was the case at Quincy, Illinois. The friendly and sympathetic reception of the Saints by the townspeople and those in neighboring areas across the river in the Iowa Territory prompted Smith to suggest that the Saints settle in that region and purchase needed land from those who were willing to sell.

Embarrassment over the Mormon issue and political pressure from all quarters caused the Missouri legislature to grant Smith a change of venue, in hopes that he would receive a fair trial elsewhere in the state. Then he and his companions were "allowed" to escape during their transfer to Boone County, Missouri. In the spring of 1839, Smith, known to his followers as the Prophet, was again reunited with his family and fellow Saints at Quincy. He had been incarcerated on false charges for more than four months.[22]

Upon rejoining his followers, the Prophet assessed the conditions in which he found the Saints and called for a meeting. During the meeting, held on the first of May, he announced that he had purchased 135 acres on the old site of Commerce, Illinois, some forty miles north of Quincy.[23] There the Saints would build the "City of Nauvoo" on a malarial bog.[24] In less than six years Nauvoo would become the second

most populous city (11,057) in the state of Illinois. Only Chicago would have a larger population (12,088).

The Democratic party of Illinois was quick to take the side of the Mormon exiles, seeing possible political gain. They condemned the actions of the Missourians toward the Mormons as "barbaric behavior" unbecoming to a state of the Union, and singled out Governor Boggs as the perpetrator of the offenses, calling for his criminal prosecution. Thomas Carlin, the Democratic governor of Illinois, petitioned other states to legislate Missouri out of the Union for violating the civil rights of the Mormons. His efforts apparently fell on deaf ears, however, as no state took direct action on his request. The Whigs, not to be politically outdone by their Democratic rivals, also condemned the actions of the Missourians. They were quick to point out that Governor Boggs and his entire administration were Democrats.[25] The political recognition of the Mormons by both parties marked the beginning of what would become a political chess match: it was perceived that whoever gained the Mormon vote would hold political power in Illinois. The situation did not go unnoticed by the Mormons.

Yet by the end of 1843 the problems that had faced the Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri had reappeared in Illinois. Initially the Democrats and Whigs vigorously sought the collective vote of the Saints and courted Smith, knowing that the Saints were devoted to their prophet and would probably follow his lead. To the consternation of the politicians, however, Smith stated that the Saints were encouraged to vote their own consciences, rather than blindly follow him. "I never tell any man how to vote, or whom to vote for. But I will show you how we have been situated by bringing a comparison. Should there be a Methodist society here and two candidates running for office, 'If you will vote for me and put me in [as] governor, I will exterminate the Methodists, take away their charters,' etc. The other candidate says, 'If I am governor, I will give all an equal privilege.' Which would the Methodists vote for? Of course they would vote *en masse* for the candidate that would give them their rights."[26]

To the politicians, it seemed treasonous to their cause to allow the Mormons to vote on their own—a policy that would shift too much independence and strength to the Mormons themselves. This situation was particularly alarming to the politicians because the church was growing at an even greater pace than it had when it first arrived in Illinois. The potential imbalance in political power could be solved only

by limiting the vote of the Saints through immediate legislation. Their neighbors were particularly concerned about the rapid growth of the church and its potential power. Open opposition soon erupted, and a frenzied mob murdered Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, at Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, 1844.

The enemies of Mormonism expected what they determined to be a radical sect to collapse and disappear soon after the death of its founder. They failed, however, to take into account the doctrinal premise on which Mormonism was founded and the ecclesiastical position and leadership abilities of Joseph Smith's successor, Brigham Young. Church doctrine provided for the succession of the presidency, which helped alleviate many fears and questions that prevailed among the Saints after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith.[27]

Brigham Young and His Successors, 1844–1900

Brigham Young, by virtue of his position as president of the Council of Twelve, was sustained by majority vote of the church membership to assume the leadership of the church. A few, for various reasons, chose not to follow Young, seeking their own direction. This culling process did much to strengthen the ranks of the church against the many hardships that they were to endure. President Young, in an effort to bolster the spirit of the Saints, turned their attention and energies to completing the Nauvoo Temple.[28]

The situation became more tenuous as time passed. The liberal Nauvoo Charter, which had protected them, was abolished by the State of Illinois in 1845.[29] The charter had been granted by the state legislature at a time of political weakness when both the Democratic and Whig parties were equal in strength, and facing an election year (1840). Each party sought the large Mormon vote in order to obtain a plurality of voters, so they cooperatively granted the Saints their petition for an individual city charter. The charter guaranteed the Saints the right of self-rule, limited only by the constraints of the U.S. Constitution, and was so permissive that it provided the right for a standing military force separate from state or federal control.[30] Lacking the protection of their charter, the Saints again feared for their lives and property. The state caused even more reason for concern by supporting the swelling ranks of dissidents through a policy of nonintervention. Among the dissidents were a number of prominent apostates who, bent on the total destruc-

tion of the church, helped stir the anti-Mormon supporters to action. Together they represented a formidable adversary, and when a hand-picked jury acquitted those on trial for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the Mormons realized they were endangered. The court decision handed the mob a mandate to carry out its proposed removal of the Saints without fear of either judicial or military action.[31]

The year 1845 proved to be critical for Brigham Young and the Saints in Illinois. They found themselves faced with expulsion, or worse. They could turn to no one in government for help, as both the state and federal authorities had ignored their circumstances. Their only alternatives were to resist or to leave.[32] President Young responded at Nauvoo, in behalf of the Saints, to the ultimatum by stating, "We propose to leave this country [the United States] in the spring for some point so remote that there will not be any difficulty with the people and ourselves."[33] He only requested of the persecutors an equitable settlement of the Mormons' property and freedom from any legal entrapments. The mob agreed to the president's request, knowing full well that they had no intention of honoring it. Young took the mob leaders at their word and set about organizing the Saints in preparation for an orderly exodus from their beloved Nauvoo in the following spring (1846).[34]

Young's plans were to send an advance company of pioneers to the Great Basin region of the West in March, to make preparations for the eventual arrival of the main body of Saints.[35] During the interim, those remaining in Nauvoo were to liquidate their property in order to purchase provisions and adequate means of transportation in preparation for the westward trek.[36]

The orderly evacuation that was planned unfortunately turned into an almost disastrous forced march. The mob, knowing that the Saints intended to leave in the spring, prepared to torch the city well before that time, leaving them without means for the exodus. President Young learned of the treachery, and on February 2, 1846, met with the church leadership. "I counseled the brethren to procure boats and had them in readiness to convey our wagons and teams over the river, and let everything for the journey be in readiness, that when a family is called to go, everything necessary may be put into the wagon within four hours, at least, for if we are here many days, our way will be hedged up. Our enemies have resolved to intercept us whenever we start. I should like to push on as far as possible before they are aware of our movements."[37]

Two days later, on February 4, the first group of wagons was ferried

across the Mississippi River into the Iowa Territory. By February 12, only a few Saints were left in Nauvoo; those who had elected to stay for one reason or another. In the wake of the exodus, Nauvoo was a virtually deserted city (1,141 by 1850), one that once rivaled Chicago in size and population and had exceeded that city in beauty and order.

Throughout the month of February, the Saints camped at Sugar Creek in Iowa, approximately nine miles upriver from Nauvoo. Young had previously organized his people into companies of one hundred, with appointed captains over each. The individual companies were to take care of their own needs while Young was to oversee the welfare of the entire body. This organization simplified the problems with which he and the other leaders had to contend. In March, the companies of one hundred were subdivided into smaller, more manageable groups of fifty; then into ten, with leaders appointed for each.[38] So successful was the organizational scheme that it led Young to conclude "that he doubted if there had ever been a body of people, since the days of Enoch, who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant and trying circumstances."[39] There remained another sifting, or test, for those who would make the trek: the physical hardship they would encounter on the plains and mountains they were to cross. More than seventy thousand Saints completed the journey across the Great Plains between the time the first group arrived on July 24, 1847, until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. They traveled by wagon, handcart, and on foot. This was the pioneer period of Mormon history.[40]

Until the railroad was completed, the Great Basin was geographically isolated from any major center of population—an isolation that gave the church the time it needed to establish itself. Even so, there were times of conflict between Mormons and Gentiles (non-Mormons) but these were not so intense—and certainly not so violent—as in the past. Salt Lake City became the new refuge for the Saints. Although they still saw Independence as the location for the City of Zion, they wasted little time in laying out their new city. The first order of business was plotting the site for a new temple. Like the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples before it, the Salt Lake Temple became the tangible base upon which the Saints could look for a brighter future. A temple gave them a reason for being, once again.

Even though Salt Lake City was the central gathering place of the Saints, only a few of the many thousands of Mormons who made the

journey before 1870 actually lived within its boundaries. Brigham Young was responsible for establishing approximately 358 settlements over an area that encompassed Utah, California, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho. By 1856, the population of Salt Lake City was nearing 12,000, while the population of the outlying settlements had reached a total of 46,335 inhabitants.[41]

The church had sufficient time to establish itself in the valleys of the Great Basin before the completion of the railroad and the resulting influx of non-Mormons. Although skeptical of the motives of the newcomers, Young initially welcomed them and made generous provisions for their peaceful settlement. Yet there were some whose sole purpose it was to reignite and fan the fires of hatred, to renew the persecutions that the Saints had experienced in the Midwest. Over the years, as the non-Mormons increased in numbers, anti-Mormon sentiment in the territory also increased. Fallacious stories, articles, and books began to circulate, all intended to discredit the Mormons as un-American, inhuman, and immoral.[42] The major accusation against the Mormons was their practice of plural marriage. Although only a small percentage of the membership was involved, facts were altered to give the impression that most, if not all, Mormons practiced polygamy.[43] Naturally, news of this practice outraged many influential members of the federal government.[44]

After 1860, anti-Mormon sentiment became a major political issue in Washington and part of the presidential rhetoric of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur.[45] The national clamor to "do something more" was answered as Congress enacted the Edmunds Act of 1882, forbidding plural marriage. The law encompassed the whole of the United States and its territories, but it was aimed specifically at the Mormons. Government persecution of the Mormons increased with each passing year, seeming to reach its climax in 1887, with the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which provided for the disincorporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. All real property of the church with a value of over fifty thousand dollars was escheated, so that eventually church leaders were forced to rent their own temple and Temple Square in Salt Lake City from the federal government for one dollar a month.[46] Left in financial straits in the wake of this unprecedented action, the church chose to abandon the practice of plural marriage. On September 25, 1890, Wilford Woodruff, the fourth president of the church, issued the manifesto that abolished the practice, and in October the manifesto was

unanimously sustained by the membership of the church at their semi-annual General Conference.[47] However, it was not until January 4, 1893, that the federal government issued a decree of amnesty for those who had entered into plural marriage before the issuance of the manifesto.[48]

The declaration of amnesty could not have come at a more opportune time. April 6 was the long-awaited day of dedication for the Salt Lake Temple. It would mark the end of a forty-year building program. The dedicatory services were attended by a crowd of some seventy-five thousand people, over a nineteen-day period. These services psychologically lifted the church and its membership from under years of sacrifice and oppressive persecution into an era of unprecedented growth and activity.[49]

T W O

Zion and
Mormon City Planning

Zion: a Doctrinal Concept and Geographic Location

Zion, as a doctrinal concept, was central to nineteenth-century Mormonism. Joseph Smith spoke of the necessity to create a "Zion-like" society, where the Saints would abide by the governing laws of the gospel, and thereby live in harmony with one another under a theocratic government.[1] In this society the Saints would live under the law of consecration, where all possessions would be held in common. Pride, greed, immorality, and crime would not be found there. It would be a place for the "pure in heart." Such a utopian state of being was to be achieved in preparation for the millennial reign of Christ.[2]

> The building up of Zion is a cause that has interested the people of God in every age; it is a theme upon which prophets, priests and kings have dwelt with peculiar delight. They have looked forward with joyful anticipation to the day in which we live; and fired with heavenly and joyful anticipations they have sung and written and prophesied of this our day; but they died without the sight; we are the favored people that God has made choice of to bring about the Latter-day glory; it is left for us to see, participate in and help to roll forward the Latter-day glory, "the dispensation of the fullness of times, when God will gather together all things that are in heaven, and all things that are upon the earth, even in one," when the Saints of God will be gathered in one from every nation, and kindred and people and tongue when the Jew will be gathered together into their place, where the wicked will be gathered together to be destroyed, as spoken of by the prophets; the Spirit of God will also dwell with His people, and be withdrawn from the rest of the

nations and all things whether in heaven or on earth will be one in Christ.[3]

Joseph Smith interpreted Zion as more than a state of mind or way of life; he also saw in it a geographical location. He stated that the Americas in general were blessed above all other lands, with the United States being the most blessed among them. He designated specifically Jackson County, in the state of Missouri, as the site for the City of Zion, the prophesied "New Jerusalem." The city was to be the headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ. It was there that Christ was to come, following His appearance to the Jews in Jerusalem. "It is to be the headquarters, it is to be the place where the Son of Man will come and dwell, where He will have a Temple, in which Temple there will be a throne prepared where Jesus will dwell in the midst of His people; it will be the great central city, and the outward branches will be called Stakes wherever they shall be organized as such."[4] How Mormons see America and Jackson County is in some ways similar to how Jews view Israel and Jerusalem.[5]

The idea of Zion captured the imagination of the Saints from the beginning—and Joseph Smith wasted little time in preparing for its establishment. In June 1831, he asked Newel Knight to lead the first group of Saints to Missouri to find a fitting site for the City of Zion. Knight recorded the following in his journal: "We now understood that this [Ohio] was not the land of our inheritance—the land of promise, for it was made known in a revelation, that Missouri was the place chosen for the gathering of the church, and several were called to lead the way to that state.

"A revelation was also given concerning the gathering, on the receipt of which we . . . immediately set to preparing for our journey."[6]

Zion and Mormon City Planning, 1831–1846

THE ORIGINAL PLAT FOR THE CITY OF ZION

The physical manifestation of Zion and its importance within Mormonism can be seen in their settlements. With few exceptions, the more than five hundred towns and cities founded by the Mormons were, in one form or another, based on the concept and plat for the City of Zion.[7] The original plat for the city was drafted by Joseph Smith ap-

proximately two years after the first group of Mormons had been sent to settle in Jackson County. Twice during that period, Smith made the arduous round-trip journey of more than 1,700 miles to Independence to visit the Saints and encourage them in their mission. Apparently satisfied with their desire to move forward with the project, he finally mailed the plat on June 25, 1833. In the margins of the plat he explained the layout and content of the city, including dimensions:

> The plat contains one mile square; all squares in the plat contain ten acres each, being forty rods square. You will observe that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in one square running from the south and north to the line through the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from the east and west to the center line.
>
> Each lot is four perches in front and twenty back, making one half of an acre in each lot, so that no one street will be built on entirely through the street; but on one square the houses will stand on one street, and on the next one, another, except the middle range of squares, which runs north and south, in which range are the painted squares. The lots are laid off in these squares, north and south, all of them; because these squares are forty perches by sixty, being twenty perches longer than the others, their greatest length being east and west, and by running all these squares, north and south, it makes all the lots in the city of one size.
>
> South of the plot where the line is drawn, is to be laid off for barns, stables, etc., for the use of the city; so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses; the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom. On the north and south are to be laid off the farms for the agriculturist, and sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot; and if it cannot be laid off without going too great a distance from the city, there must also be some laid off on the east and west.
>
> When this square is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in the last days; and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion. All the streets are of one width, being eight perches wide. Also the space round the outer edge of the painted squares, is to be eight perches between the temple and the street on every side. No one lot, in this city, is to contain more than one house, and that to be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick and stone. The scale of the plot is forty perches to the inch.[8]

Smith also discussed the purpose of the three colored center blocks, giving particular attention to the numbered buildings on two of the three blocks:

> The painted squares in the middle are for public buildings. The one without any figures is for storehouses for the Bishop, and to be devoted to his use. Figure first is for the temples for use of the presidency; the circles inside of the squares, are the places for the temples. You will see it contains twelve figures, two are for the temples of the lesser Priesthood. It is also to contain twelve temples. The whole plot is supposed to contain from fifteen to twenty thousand people; you will therefore see that it will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses of worship, schools, etc., and none of these temples are to be smaller than the one of which we send you a draft. This temple is to be built in the square marked figure 1; and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it on the north end.
>
> The names of the temples to be built on the painted squares as represented on the plot of the city of Zion, which is now about to be forwarded thither—numbers 10, 11, 12, are to be called House of the Lord, for the Presidency of the High and Most Holy Priesthood, after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of the Son of God, upon Mount Zion, City of the New Jerusalem. Numbers 7, 8, 9, the Sacred Apostolic Repository, for the use of the Bishop. Numbers 4, 5, 6, the Holy Evangelical House, for the High Priesthood of the Holy Order of God. Numbers 1, 2, 3, the House of the Lord, for the Elders of Zion, an Ensign to the Nations. Numbers 22, 23, 24, House of the Lord for the Presidency of the High Priesthood, after the Order of Aaron, a Standard for the People. Numbers 19, 20, 21, House of the Lord, the Law of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Messenger to the People; for the Highest Priesthood after the Order of Aaron. Numbers 16, 17, 18, House of the Lord for the Teachers in Zion, Messenger to the Church. Numbers 13, 14, 15, House of the Lord for the Deacons in Zion, Helps in Government. Underneath must be written each house.[9]

The plan for Zion had a central ecclesiastical, public, and commercial area surrounded by symmetrically arranged blocks composed of single-family dwellings. The initial adoption of a square-mile grid pattern was in keeping with the federal land survey of 1785.[10] The use of a square grid pattern for the platting of new settlements was common to this period in American history for this reason. However, it was the utopian premise behind Smith's plan and how it was to be implemented, using

the grid pattern, that set it apart from other American cities. Charles L. Sellers, in his study of early Mormon city planning, best summarizes the provisions of the plan.

- The city was to be divided into a square grid pattern.
- Central blocks were reserved for ecclesiastical buildings.
- Specific blocks were reserved for public buildings—storehouses, schools and parks.
- The city was divided into ecclesiastical districts called wards resulting in the possible creation of social units or neighborhoods.
- Individual family lots were regulated relative to the siting of dwellings and the enhancement of the community.
- The farmers and ranchers lived within the boundaries of the city in order to be part of the larger community.
- An agricultural greenbelt was to be created.
- Barns, corrals, and heavy industry were to be located on the periphery of the city.[11]

A unique aspect of the domestic area was the arrangement of individual lots. They were positioned so that no single dwelling was fronted by another, thus giving a sense of openness and privacy to the entire community. Houses were to be set back 25 feet from streets which themselves were 132 feet wide. Also, it was proposed that when the city reached its optimum population of 15,000 to 20,000, satellite communities of the same size and pattern would be created in order to accommodate expected growth.[12]

THE REVISED PLAT FOR THE CITY OF ZION

Soon after Smith mailed the original plat to Missouri, he had Frederick G. Williams draft a revised plat to correct oversights that he found in the first proposal. Critical discussion of early Mormon city planning centers on this revised plat and not the original.[13] The changes to the original plat were as follows:

1. The revised plat was one and a half times greater in area than the original plat. It increased the total area from 1 to 1.5 square miles.

original	revised
6006 × 5676 ft.	9092 × 8349 ft.

2. The revised plat has nearly three times as many half-acre family building lots.

original	revised
968 half-acre lots	2,600 half-acre lots

3. One of the three center blocks reserved for storehouses and schools was eliminated.

original	revised
1 bishop's block	0 bishop's block
2 temple blocks	2 temple blocks

Note: The proposed temples were designed to be multipurpose buildings. They were schools as well as meetinghouses.

4. The two remaining center blocks were reduced in size from fifteen to ten acres.
5. The change from rectangular to square center blocks created a uniform grid pattern.
6. The axial direction of the temple blocks was changed from a north-south to an east-west orientation.
7. The uniform street width of 132 feet of the original plat was applied only to the four major cross-axis avenues. The width of the other streets was reduced to 82.5 feet.

original	revised
16 132-foot-wide streets	4 132-foot-wide streets
	21 82.5-foot-wide streets[14]

8. Only the streets on the revised plat were given either names or numerical designations. For example, the major cross-axis avenues were given specific names, such as New Jerusalem or Zion; the other streets were numbered First or Second North, First or Second South, etc.
9. There was a significant decrease in the projected average family size. (The comparison is based on Joseph Smith's population projections of 15,000 to 20,000 for the City of Zion.)

original	revised
15,000—15.5 average	15,000—5.8 average
20,000—20.7 average	20,000—7.7 average[15]

The revised plat arrived in Missouri sometime in August and was delivered to Bishop Edward Partridge, ecclesiastical leader of the church in Missouri. Earlier, Smith had asked Partridge to oversee the purchase of lands, platting of the City of Zion, and the distribution of individual lots, or "inheritances." He also had asked Oliver Cowdery, one of the early leaders of the church, to help establish the city. Concerned about the growing antagonism toward the Saints, Cowdery returned to Kirtland in late July or early August 1833 to report to Joseph Smith on the condition of the church in Missouri. Learning that a revised plat had been prepared, Cowdery wrote the following letter to the Saints in Missouri: "Remember—those patterns sent you [original plat], per mail, by our brethren are incorrect in some respects; being drawn in grate [*sic*] haste. They have therefore drawn these, which are correct. The form of the city was also incorrect being drawn in haste. We send you another [revised plat]."[16]

Because the plat had been changed, and because of the nature of Cowdery's remarks, Edward Partridge felt that he had the freedom to alter the plat even further. He then adjusted the center blocks and the position of the temples to suit the actual site location. He stated his position in a letter to President Smith that accompanied his proposed changes: "I have marked out the 2 squares below & also the 24 buildings. I have arranged them so as to leave the spaces between them more equal and according to the natural judgment of man would be preferable to the arrangement on the plat you sent. Thinking perhaps that their arrangement was not by revelation, and also that you had not seen them platted out has induced me to plat them this way for your view & reflect upon. If this plan on this s[ketch] should be considered preferable to the other perhaps it would be wisdom to set the buildings nearer the streets than the way they are marked.[17]

Partridge changed the axial direction of the temple blocks from a north-south to an east-west orientation and rearranged the complex of temples into horizontal and vertical rows of three or four per block.

AN INTERIM PLAT

Another plat exists that appears to be a compromise between the original and the revised plat. It retains the central range of rectangular blocks and uniform street width of the original, but its comparative size suggested a number of individual lots, and two designated ecclesiastical blocks indicate a close affinity to the revised version. Moreover, it was left incomplete, indicating that it was nothing more than an interim development.

In 1833, the Saints were expelled from Jackson County and the plan was never carried out. The revised plat drafted by Williams, however, would serve as the model for subsequent Mormon settlements.

KIRTLAND, OHIO

Most Saints were reluctant to leave Kirtland even though Independence had been designated as the site for the City of Zion. The population of the town continued to grow, especially after the hopes of Zion had faded. The announced construction of a temple in Kirtland further solidified the importance of the city to the church, and the influx of converts reached the point where a city plat had to be drafted to accommodate the newcomers. The plat was probably prepared at the same time as the revised plat for the City of Zion and was similar in form. Both shared a two-block central arrangement, street designations, and overall square grid pattern. However, Kirtland's did not include the center axial avenues, or the variation in street width found in the revised plat. The probable reason for the difference in the street widths had to do with the existing layout of Kirtland.[18]

FAR WEST, MISSOURI

The impact of the revised plat for the City of Zion on subsequent Mormon city planning can best be seen in the plat for Far West, Missouri. When surveyed, the plat encompassed an area of a square mile, or 640 acres (the same amount of land that Smith had proposed in his original plat for the City of Zion). In general, the plat followed the square grid pattern of the revised plat and specifically utilized the same street pattern and street widths. However, it had only one central temple block and each block was 4 acres, not 10, in size. From the present

tranquil and picturesque rural setting, it would be very difficult for the passerby to discern that a community of nearly five thousand people once inhabited the site of Far West. Nothing remains except the four cornerstones that were laid for the construction of a temple on the central block.

NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

The Saints were faced with a dilemma, having been expelled from their gathering place. A new site had to be found, for there was no hope of the Saints being restored to the land of their "inheritance." An explanation was needed to answer why they had been forced from their lands when they were the "chosen" people of God. These were real and immediate problems, made more difficult because Joseph Smith was still being held prisoner in Missouri. The answers were contained in two letters of comfort that Smith sent to his followers, years earlier. The first was written on December 5, 1833:

> Remember not to murmur at the dealings of God with his creatures. You are not as yet brought into as trying circumstances as were the ancient Prophets and Apostles.
>
> We know not what we shall be called to pass through before Zion is delivered and established; therefore, we have great need to live near to God, and always be in strict obedience to all His commandments, that we may have a conscience void of offense toward God and man. . . .
>
> You will recollect that the Lord has said, that Zion should not be removed out of her place; therefore the land should not be sold, but be held by the Saints, until the Lord in his wisdom shall open a way for your return.[19]

The second letter, written five days later, gives further comfort and guidance to the Saints: "I have always expected that Zion would suffer some affliction, from what I could learn from the commandments which have been given. But I would remind you of a certain clause in one which says, that after much tribulation cometh the blessing. By this, and also others, and also one received of late, I know that Zion, in the due time of the Lord, will be redeemed; but how many will be the days of her purification, tribulation, and affliction, the Lord has kept hid from my eyes."[20]

The Saints were entrusted to the care and able leadership of Brigham Young until Joseph Smith was able to join them in Illinois. Only days after his escape from Missouri, Smith had to decide whether his people were to become part of the existing populace or establish a separate gathering place. He chose the latter, asking the Saints to purchase the undeveloped site of Commerce, Illinois, approximately eleven miles north of Keokuk, Iowa, on the east bank of the Mississippi River. The new city was named Nauvoo after a Hebrew word that suggested a "place of beauty." The name, however, did not reveal that Nauvoo was built on a less-than-desirable piece of real estate. The site largely consisted of swampy bottomlands known for malaria, that would later translate into a higher-than-average death rate among the Saints. The task of draining the site was made more difficult because of the heavy stands of trees and thick growth of shrubs and underbrush. The reasons why Joseph Smith chose the site are not fully known, but the financial conditions of the sale appeared correct. There was sufficient flat land for a new city, and the Saints were desperately in need of a new gathering place, having fled first from New York, then Ohio, then Missouri. Smith called to the Saints to join him in building up Zion. He reminded them that where sufficient numbers of the pure in heart were gathered, a stake of Zion, or ecclesiastical district would be created.[21] Many thousands of Saints would heed their prophet's call and work together to transform the swampland into a thriving city.[22]

The plat for Nauvoo was laid out in June 1839, following the prescribed grid pattern for Independence and Far West, but with a few notable exceptions. The following comparison to the revised plat is based on the Nauvoo plat, as drafted by Gustavus Hill in 1842.

There was no provision for a public area or temple block in the Nauvoo plat. Each square block was 4 rather than 10 acres in size; and each block was divided into 1-acre lots, compared to 20 half-acre lots. The actual size of each block was probably determined more by the preexisting survey of the area than any of Smith's proposal. (The number of lots per 4-acre block was later increased; the money from the sale of each lot was to help pay for the debt incurred in the initial land purchase.)

All streets were to be 3 rods wide (49.5 feet), except for Main and Water streets. The reason for the discrepancy in street size was to allow for expansion, including a possible commercial district. Water Street, at 64 feet, was to have been a canal for commercial boat traffic from the

Mississippi River. Main Street, at 87 feet, was intended to be the primary commercial street. The presence of the two wider streets, and their position as the focal point of the community, reflect the influence of the main axial streets proposed for Independence and Far West.

Joseph Smith's original homestead, the Mansion House, and the Nauvoo House (a hotel) stood strategically at the intersection of Main and Water Streets. The location of his houses and business enterprises indicate his direct role in the platting of Nauvoo. The commercial center at Main and Water streets did not materialize as originally proposed. However, the location of the site for the Nauvoo Temple on the bluff, or "top lands," overlooking the residential area to the west, changed the focal point of the community, and Mulholland Street, which extended eastward from the temple block on the top lands, soon became the center of commercial activity.[23] Even with this development, a good number of individually owned stores, shops, and home industries were located on family lots below the bluff.[24]

The importance of Nauvoo as the new gathering place was affirmed in August 1840 with Smith's announcement that a temple was to be built.[25] The declaration served to renew the spirit of the Saints and to unite them in support of their prophet. The building of the temple would give the Saints a sense of focus and a reason for being, in much the same way that the Tabernacle and Temple had done for the children of Israel. The temple would also bring civic pride to the community. In keeping with the sanctity of the temple, the people were encouraged to take greater care of their dwellings and yards, realizing that their land was a place of righteous inheritance. An individual plot of ground was viewed as an integral part of the larger concept of "sacred space," or a piece of Zion. Ebenezer Robinson, in the Mormon publication *Times and Seasons* of February 1, 1842, wrote of Nauvoo and its potential of becoming another Eden: "Let each citizen fill his spare ground with fruit trees, shrubbery, vines, etc., tastefully arranged and properly cultivated, and in a short time we may each sit under his own vine and fig tree.... Let the division fences be lined with peach and mulberry trees, the garden walks be bordered with current, raspberry, and gooseberry bushes, and the houses surrounded with roses and prairie flowers, and their porches crowned with the grape vine, and we shall soon have formed some idea of how Eden looked."[26]

Robinson's remarks predicted the nature of the people who were moving to Nauvoo. Approximately one-third of them would be new

converts from the British Isles, who, for the most part, were equally or better educated and skilled than were their American and Canadian counterparts. Their presence did much to promote a more cosmopolitan and literate society. It was President Smith's desire to make Nauvoo a showpiece and to let it stand as a physical manifestation to the validity of Mormonism.[27]

Smith's vision for Nauvoo came to an end a year and a half after his martyrdom on June 27, 1844.[28] The Saints, under the leadership of Brigham Young, abandoned Nauvoo under the threat of mob action in February 1846. Their departure was not fully unexpected, for Smith, in the summer of 1843, had commented that the Saints "would yet go to the Rocky Mountains" and establish cities and build temples.[29] In preparation for their departure, President Young, in counsel with other church leaders, reviewed charts and maps of the Great Basin region, including the journal of General John C. Frémont, who had recently explored the area.

Zion and Mormon City Planning, 1846–1900

WESTERN SETTLEMENTS

The exodus from Nauvoo began on the night of February 4, 1846. Thousands of Saints walked away from the security and warmth of their homes into the bitter cold of the midwestern winter. They made an arduous journey to the Missouri River, arriving in mid-June to an area that trappers and traders referred to as "Winter Quarters." The original plans were to send a vanguard company to the Great Basin region that March. However, the Saints' late arrival prevented the vanguard company from leaving until the spring of the following year.

The Saints initially settled on the east and west banks of the Missouri, establishing the settlements of Winter Quarters (Florence, Nebraska) and Kanesville (Council Bluffs, Iowa). The months spent there were a period of religious renewal and rejoicing at their deliverance from their enemies. It gave them the needed time to prepare for the coming journey.

Winter Quarters, on the west bank of the river, was the temporary headquarters of the church. Surveyed and platted in a familiar grid pattern in October 1846, it consisted of a mixed grid of thirty-eight square and rectangular blocks laid out within a framework of fourteen orthog-

onally arranged streets. Two major avenues, First Main Street and Second Main Street, were each approximately 132 feet wide and formed the north-south axis of the settlement. These avenues were crossed by twelve smaller east-west axial streets of 82.5 feet in width. The cross streets were named after prominent individuals who had contributed to the growth of the Church—Joseph, Hyrum, Woodruff, Pratt, and others. (The combination of square and rectangular blocks and varied street widths reflected the revised plan for the City of Zion.) The blocks were subdivided into 760 individual building lots; approximately 600 small log-and-sod dwellings were built by the Saints.[30] By the winter of 1846, some 4,000 Saints occupied Winter Quarters and there were another 8,000 in Kanesville on the east bank.[31] The two settlements would become the final staging area from where approximately 75,000 Saints would make their way to the Salt Lake Valley before the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Thereafter, they came by railroad rather than face the hardship of an overland trek by wagon or handcart.

SALT LAKE CITY

The vanguard company left Winter Quarters for the Great Basin on April 5, 1847, finally reaching their destination on July 24, after an arduous crossing of the Plains.[32] During the journey, Young had fallen ill with Rocky Mountain spotted fever but was able to lift himself from his bed in the back of a wagon to view the Salt Lake Valley. He encountered much different terrain than had Joseph Smith at earlier settlements. Instead of swampy bottomland or luscious growth of trees and foliage, the Saints found a dry, nearly treeless basin, with soil that yielded only reluctantly to the plow. Yet by now the Saints were prepared for virtually any hardship and were not deterred.

An advance company reached the valley a day before the main body. They immediately built a dam across City Creek in order to prepare the dry ground for the sowing of wheat to provide food for the coming winter. Self-sufficiency was critical to survival in this inhospitable environment, hundreds of miles from any major trading center.

Brigham Young, though still ill with fever, set to work immediately in preparing the site as the new place of refuge for the Saints. He sent out riders to visually assess the surrounding territory; their reports reassured him and the others that Salt Lake Valley was indeed the place intended for Saints by God, as spoken of by Isaiah: "And it shall come

to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."[33]

The first order of business in laying out the new city was to mark the spot for a temple, and the location of a base and meridian point from which the new city could be platted. The responsibility of siting the temple block (what would become Temple Square) and drafting the plat for the city fell to Thomas Bullock. On July 28, 1847, Brigham Young, in concert with the other members of the Quorum of Twelve, made the following statement about the plat: "We propose to have the temple lot contain 40 acres, to include the ground we are now on. . . . That the streets be 8 rods wide, side walks 20 feet, the lots to contain 1¼ acres eight lots in a block, the houses invariably set in the center of the lot, 20 feet back from the street. Neither will they be filled with cattle, horses and hogs, nor children, for they will have yards and places appropriated for recreation, and we will have a city clean and in order."[34]

August of 1847 was a busy month. On the fourth, it was decided by the same council to reduce the size of the temple block from forty acres to its present ten. On the sixteenth, they decided that all streets were to be consecutively numbered north, east, south, and west, beginning from the base and meridian point on the southeast corner of the temple block. "Plat A" was laid out, incorporating the changes proposed since August 4. It was composed of 135 blocks of 10 acres each, with eight 1¼-acre building lots. Brigham Young had followed the prescribed pattern for the City of Zion reasonably well. He employed the familiar grid of square blocks set at the cardinal points, and the alternating direction for the individual building lots. The actual lay of the city has changed very little from how it was first envisioned.[35]

A second plat, "plat B," was prepared the following year to accommodate a greater-than-expected number of Saints arriving in the valley. The plat added 63 blocks and 504 individual building lots. In 1849 "plat C" was drafted, with 84 blocks (672 individual building lots) added. Salt Lake City now spread out in an L-shape, extending three miles to the south and four miles to the east. The location for the temple, however, did not change.

Brigham Young chose not to use the varied street widths and grand axial avenues of the revised City of Zion plat; instead, he adopted the uniform street width of 132 feet borrowed from the original plat. A

greenbelt area was established around the south and west portions of the city. Five- and ten-acre tracts near the city center were subdivided for the mechanics and artisans. Larger outer tracts were reserved for farmers who wished to live on their farmsteads rather than in the confines of the city.[36]

There was no charge for any of the land save a $1.50 recording fee. What Brigham Young wanted to avoid was a flurry of land speculation—a repeat of what he had seen in Nauvoo as a consequence of a rapid influx of settlers: "No man will be suffered to cut his lot and sell a part to speculate out of his brethren. Each man must keep his lot whole, for the Lord has given it to us without price. . . . Everyman should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes. . . . He may till as he pleases, but he should be industrious and take care of it."[37]

President Young made other significant changes to the revised Zion plat. The temple block, for one, was not located at the center of the community, but was positioned at the asymmetrical point from which the city was platted. This was prompted by a steep rise in terrain to the north and east and a corresponding slope to the west, south, and southeast.

The collective needs of the Saints were provided for by four public squares at different locations within the city. The concept of public squares, derived from the English tradition of town commons and long a part of American city planning, was central to both the original and revised proposals for the City of Zion. The Salt Lake City plat is in fact somewhat reminiscent of the 1682 proposal for Philadelphia by William Penn, who considered four public squares to be essential to the social well-being of a city's inhabitants. The idea for the public squares came from a proposal presented by George A. Smith at the July 28 meeting of the Council of Twelve over the layout of Salt Lake City. His proposal was seconded by Ezra T. Benson, followed by a unanimous vote of those assembled.[38]

While President Young supported the need for public squares or parks, he rejected the idea of a centralized commercial zone. Instead, he called for the development of home markets on individually owned family lots, similar to those of Nauvoo.[39] Yet, a commercial zone was also allowed to develop. Main Street south of Temple Square became the center of commerce, much as Mulholland, Water, and Main streets had become the commercial centers in Nauvoo.

A reporter for the *New York Herald* wrote the following description of Salt Lake City in 1858:

> The town is very sparsely covered with houses; in the major part of it there are only two or three little habitations on a square block, and it will be remembered that the blocks are very large. The houses are built close to the sides of the blocks, the rest of the ten acres being tilled as gardens and fields; thus the city at present contains numerous small fields of wheat and some very fine gardens. The houses are all built of adobe. . . . The color of the buildings is a sort of slate white, and thugh [*sic*] with an individual house it is not very agreeable, yet it gives to the tout ensemble of the city a very lively and pleasant appearance. . . . Probably no other city in the world of this size presents to the approaching *voyageur* so magnificent a prospect; the exact space it occupies, the streets set as it were in a jewel of rippling brooks which glisten bright as silver in the sunlight, their breadth and regularity, the rows of young verdant trees that border upon them, the lively color of the houses, the beautiful gardens and orchards, with the small fields thick covered with flowing wheat, give to it an aspect singularly attractive. . . . This city, so beautiful, so isolated from the rest of the world . . . is the work of but ten years, and that too in a barren valley, without spontaneous vegetation higher than a willow bush.[40]

This journalist's description could be used to describe most early Mormon settlements. Brigham Young was determined that Salt Lake City—and all other Mormon communities—have regulations to insure orderliness, cleanliness, and pure water. He advocated attractively fenced yards to help foster peace between neighbors. And he was equally determined that each settlement have a righteous citizenry whose principles and actions were based on the commandments of God. Anything less would play into the hands of the world.[41]

SATELLITE SETTLEMENTS

In an effort to secure the Great Basin for the Mormons, Brigham Young proposed in March 1849 the establishment of a provisional State of Deseret. However, the region was to become a territory before a state. On September 9, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed legislation creating Utah Territory and declared Young its first governor. The decision was based on the need to maintain an equal number of pro-slavery and anti-

slavery states. Statehood probably would have shifted the balance of power in favor of the anti-slavery states; the Mormons were opposed to slavery.[42]

The proposed State of Deseret encompassed all of Utah, Nevada, nearly all of Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, western Colorado, southwestern Wyoming, southern Idaho, southeastern Oregon, and southern California. Brigham Young wanted to create a Great Basin Kingdom, to form a bulwark of interrelated settlements to help strengthen the position of the church. A cordon of settlements would reach as far as the West Coast.[43] Leaders were called from among the Saints to establish permanent communities throughout the territory. During his presidency (1847–77), Young was responsible for 358 settlements.[44]

The Mormons found themselves in a vast wilderness where they could gather without any immediate threats to their well-being. This gave them the necessary time to strengthen themselves against any future challenges. In 1847, Brigham Young, in a prayer before his followers, asked the Lord to grant them ten years in which to make these preparations. Ten years later federal troops under the command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston were sent to the region to put down what had been falsely reported as a Mormon rebellion against the government of the United States.[45] The Saints were prepared and had no intention of abandoning their homes this time. This was evident in a sermon Young gave to his people assembled on the temple block just days before the army entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in July 1857.

This year has made me think of the season that we were obliged to leave Nauvoo [Here he made reference to 1845, when the Mormons were approached by their enemies to leave Nauvoo.] That was one of the most productive seasons ever known in the State of Illinois. It has been asked me by some of the brethren, "Do you think we shall have to leave our fine crops?" The earth seems to be loaded as well as it was in Nauvoo." We have not got to leave our crops and our houses to our enemies: we can sustain ourselves. It makes me rejoice that we are now in a situation that, if this people will live as they should live, they will no more have to be driven as we have been hitherto. Should we ever be obliged to leave our houses, the decree of my heart is that there shall naught be left for our enemies but the ashes of all that will burn. [The

congregation responded, "Amen."] They shall not have my house nor my furniture, as they have had hitherto.[46]

As new companies of Mormon pioneers entered Salt Lake City, Young often sent them to other settlements or to establish new ones. Approximately half of these new converts were immigrants from Europe,[47] and many of the settlements bear place-names from the immigrants' country of origin: Avon, Elsinore, Leeds, Wellington. Other settlements were given names from Mormon scripture, such as Lehi, Manti, or Moroni. Settlements were also named after the physical appearance of the site, such as Meadow, Riverton, or Lake Shore. Some carried the name of a prominent church leader; Joseph and Hyrum are examples. A few towns were given classical names, such as Paris or Syracuse.

Regardless of its name, each settlement was patterned on the model of Zion, with occasional adjustments made to fit the site location, or some other need. The ordered layout of each community conveyed a sense of unity and purpose indicative of a utopian society. An excellent example of a close group of Mormon settlements is the string of small communities in Sanpete Valley in central Utah. The first settlers were of American and English descent. They arrived in 1849, and their numbers were later augmented by an influx of converts from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The area became a blend of cultures held together by a common faith in Young as a prophet of God and a fervent belief in the truthfulness of their new religion. Their devotion to Mormonism is nowhere more evident than in the planned layout of their communities. The towns of Fairfield, Mt. Pleasant, Spring City, Moroni, Fountain Green, Wales, Ephraim, and Manti shared a similar grid pattern, wide axial streets, and ample size family lots and, most important, a prominent, often central block or "church square" for a meetinghouse or tabernacle.[48]

The concentration of Mormon townsites in Cache Valley in northern Utah, and the St. George-Cedar City-Parowan region of southwestern Utah were similar in layout to those of Sanpete Valley. Even the distant settlements of San Bernardino, California (1856), and Mesa, Arizona (1877), resembled those in Utah. Some settlements, like Logan and Manti in Utah, Mesa, and San Bernardino, adopted the alternating system of individual building lots. Others, such as Callville, Arizona, and Tooele, Brigham City, and Farmington, Utah, utilized a nonalternating

system. Brigham City was unusual because its grid pattern was formed of rectangular blocks and its streets varied in width. The streets running east-west were 4 rods (66 feet) wide; the north-south streets were 6 rods (99 feet) wide. The only exception, Wall Street, was 6 rods wide and ran east-west along the north side of Tabernacle Square.[49] Tooele exhibits the square and rectangular block system of the original plat for the City of Zion and the two street widths of the revised plat.

There is no mistaking a Mormon settlement, regardless of its geographic location. A grid pattern, wide streets, ample building lots, fenced or walled properties, church square, and open irrigation ditches are characteristic features. Those who were asked to settle each region did so knowing that they were to spread the boundaries of Zion. By this time, however, Zion was wherever the Saints found themselves. Their communities and the way in which they platted them became outward manifestations of an inner belief and commitment to live by the laws of God as defined by scripture and the living prophets.

Wherever there was a concentration of Mormon settlements, one among them was selected as the site for a temple. Besides Salt Lake City, this honor went to St. George in southwestern Utah, Logan in northern Utah, and Manti in central Utah. The temple not only became the primary focus of the community but also for the surrounding communities. All within a given temple region were responsible for its building, maintenance, and enactment of ecclesiastical ceremonies.

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1. The original 1833 plat for the City of Zion. (*Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter LDS Historical Department*)
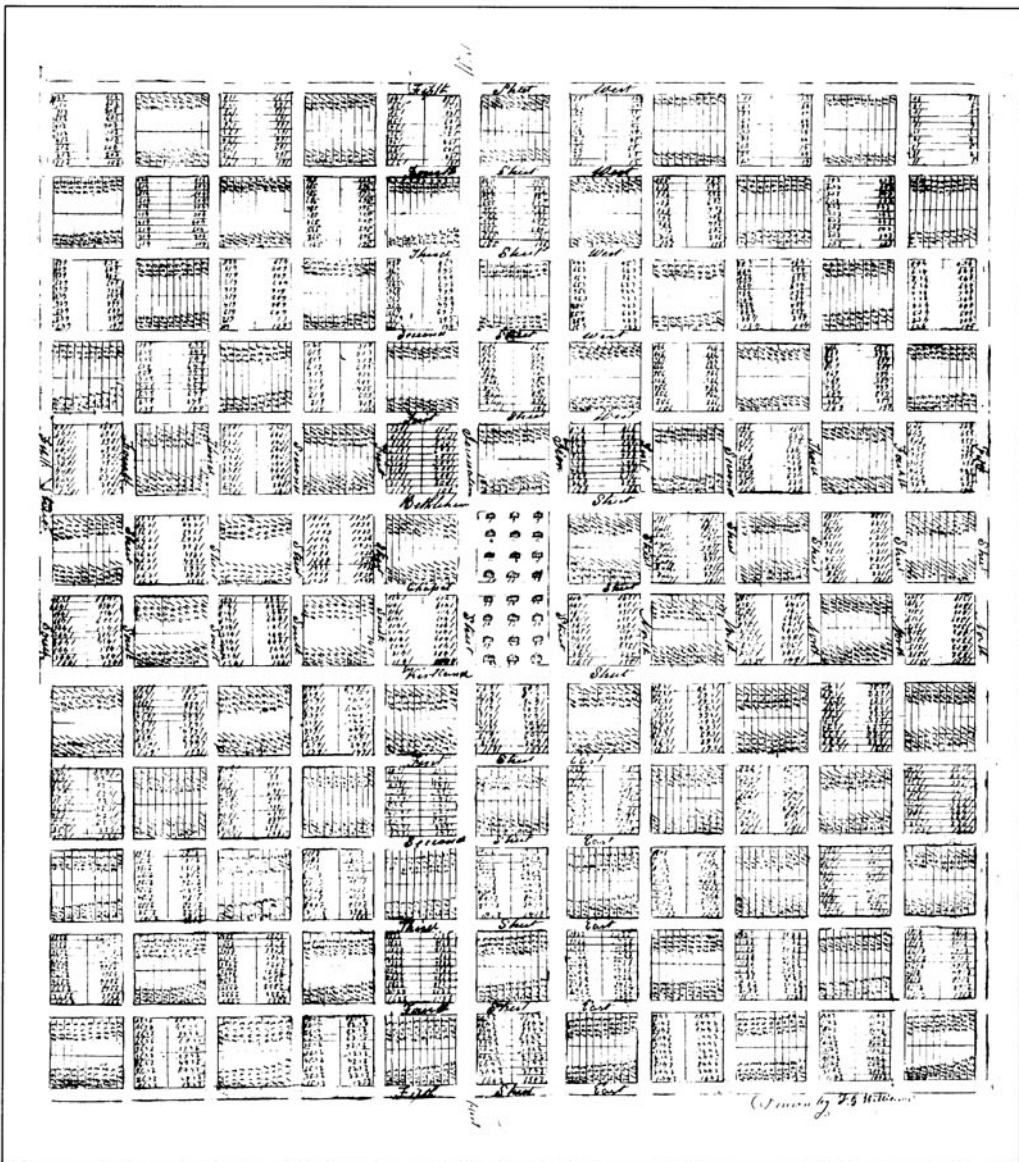
2. The revised 1833 plat for the City of Zion, prepared by Frederick G. Williams. (*LDS Historical Department*)
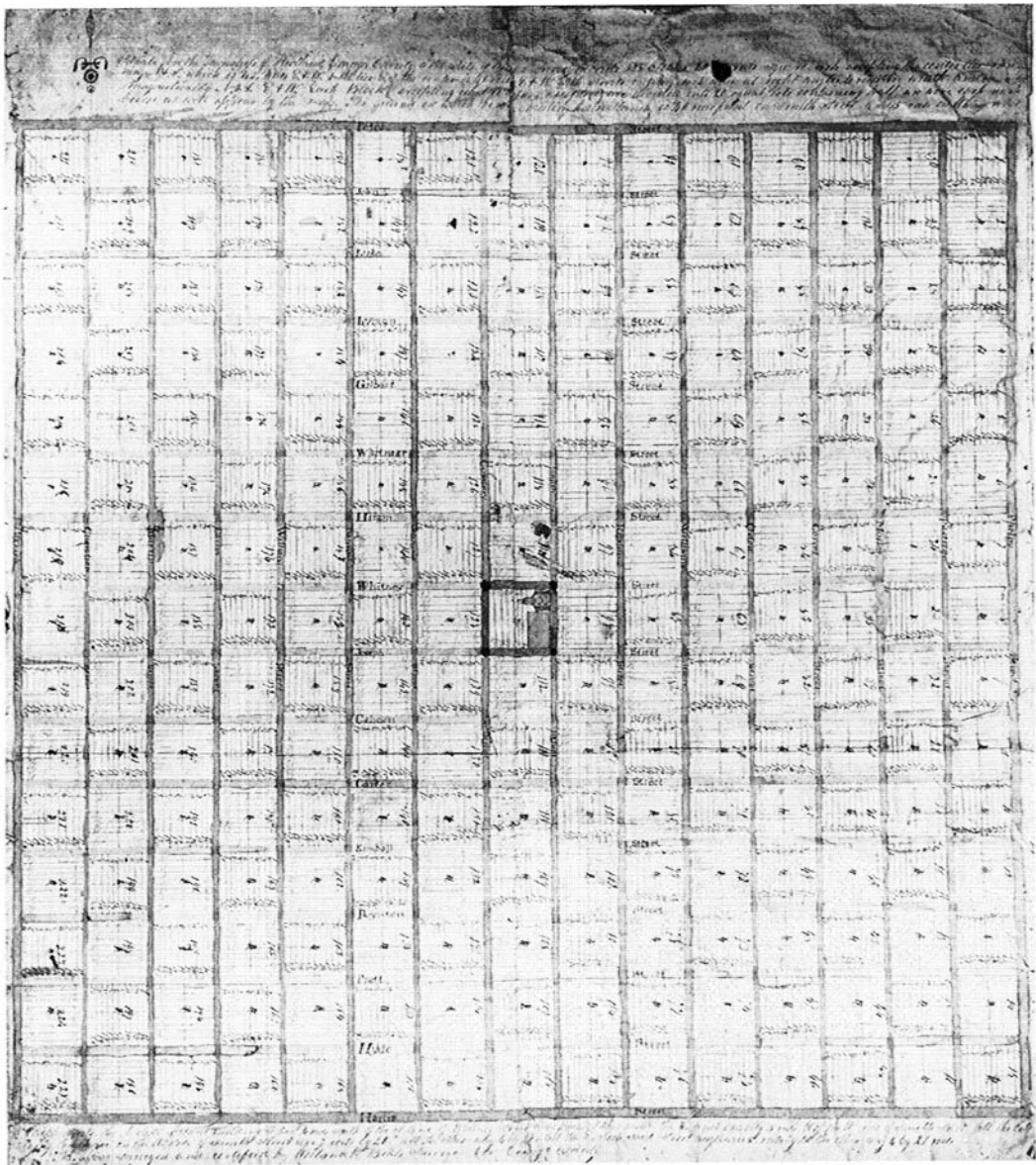
3. The 1833 plat for Kirtland, Ohio. (*LDS Historical Department*)
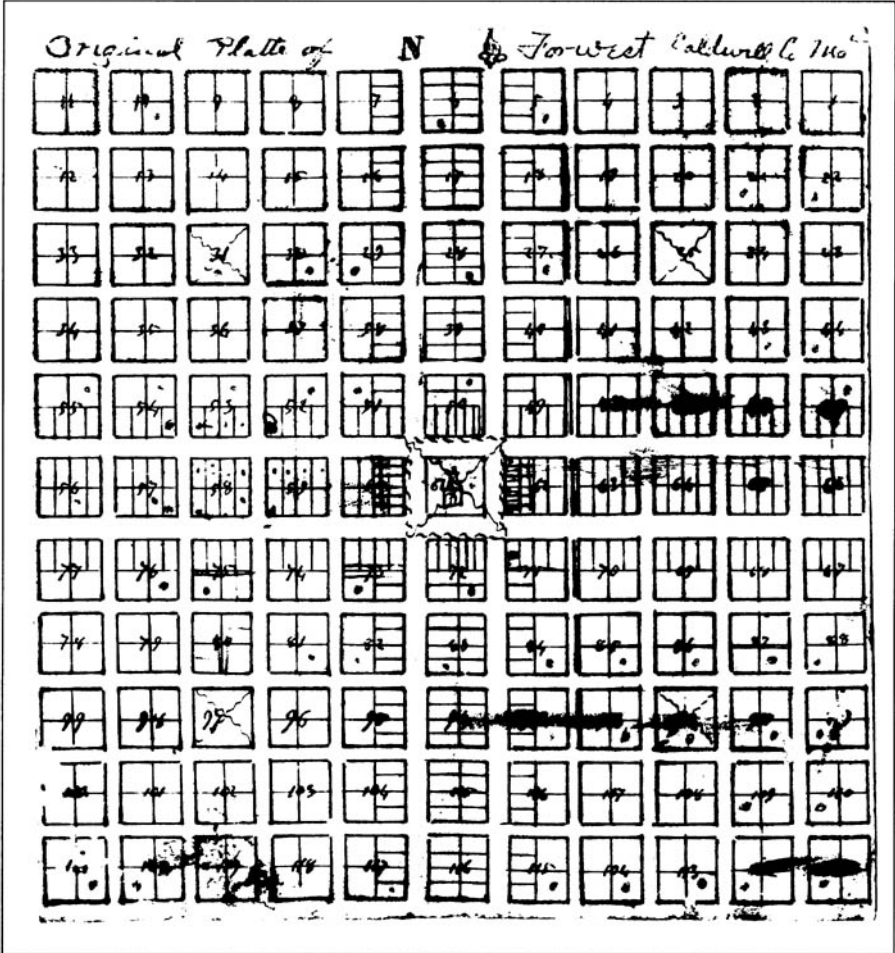
4. The original c. 1838 plat for Far West, Missouri. (*Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Independence, Missouri*)
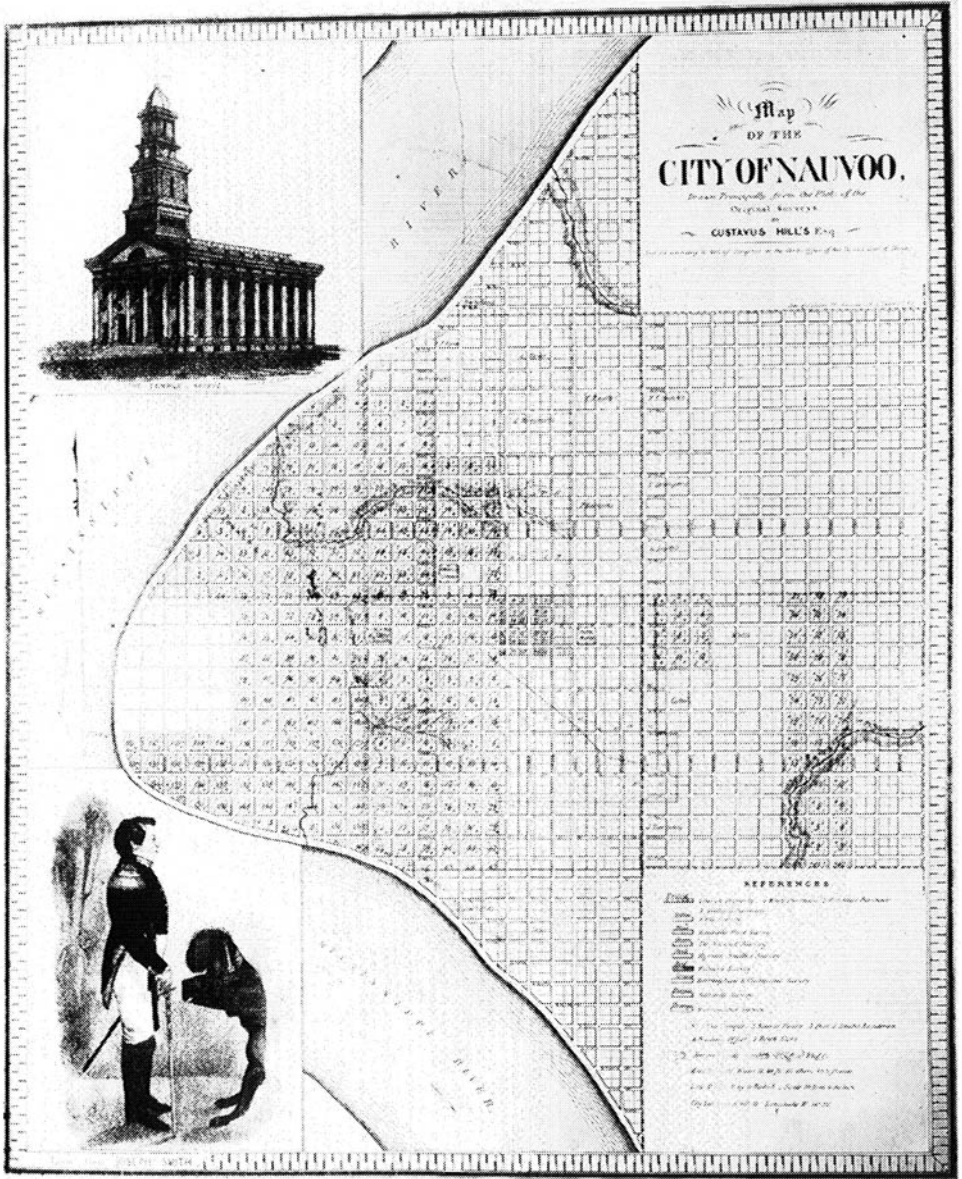
5. Gustavus Hill's 1842 plat for Nauvoo, Illinois. (*LDS Historical Department*)
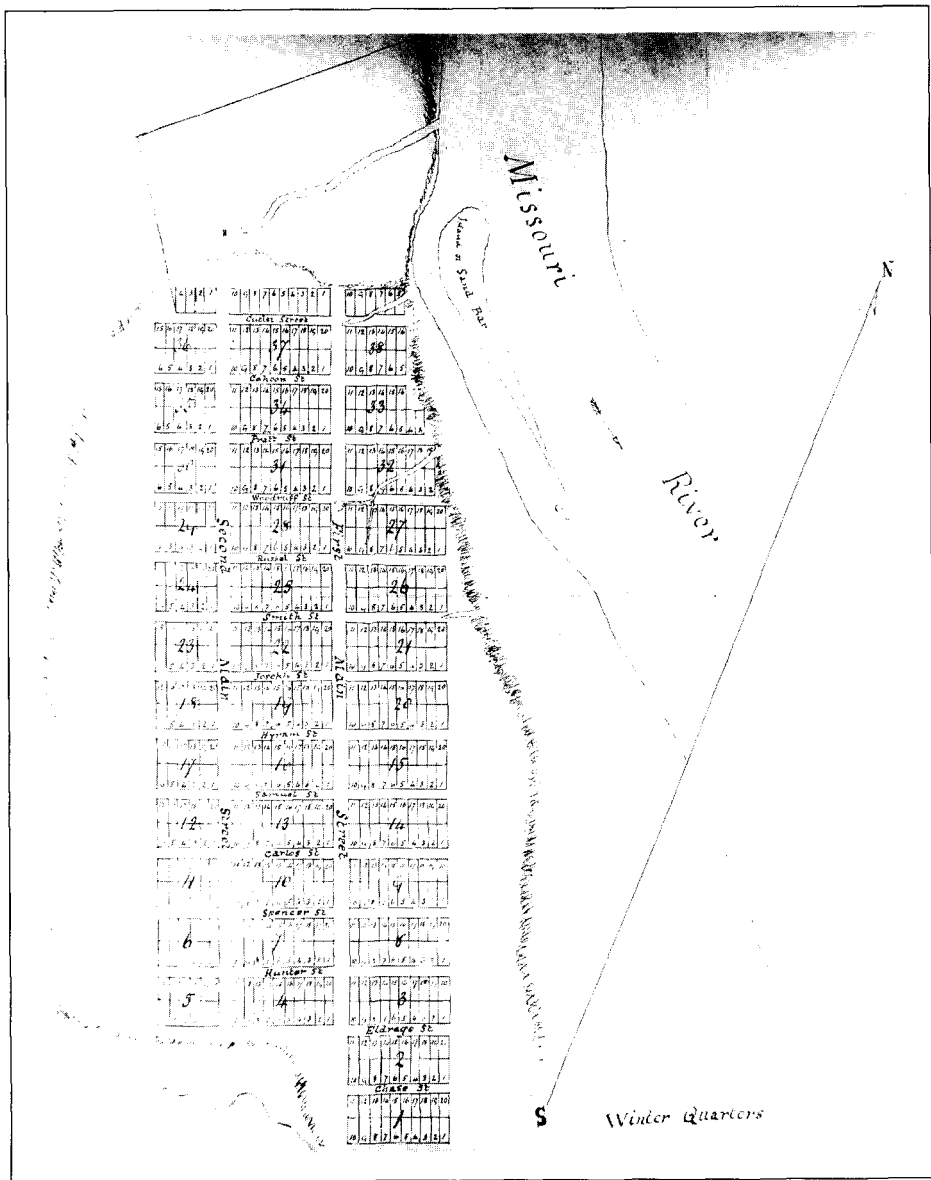
6. The 1846 plat for Winter Quarters, Nebraska. (*LDS Historical Department*)
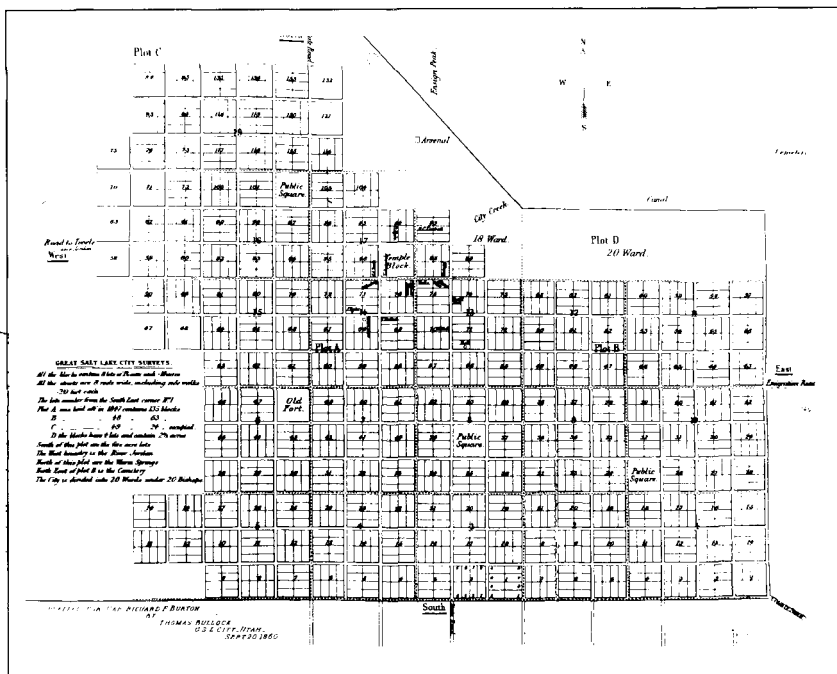
7. Thomas Bullock's 1860 plat for Salt Lake City, Utah. (*LDS Historical Department*)
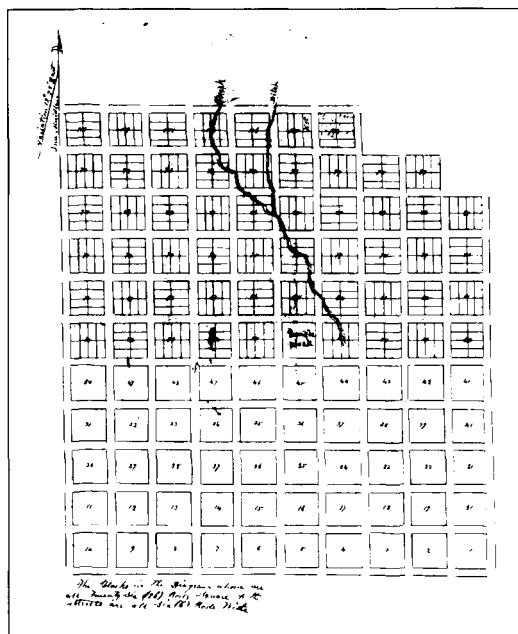
8. The 1850 plat for Manti, Utah. (*LDS Historical Department*)
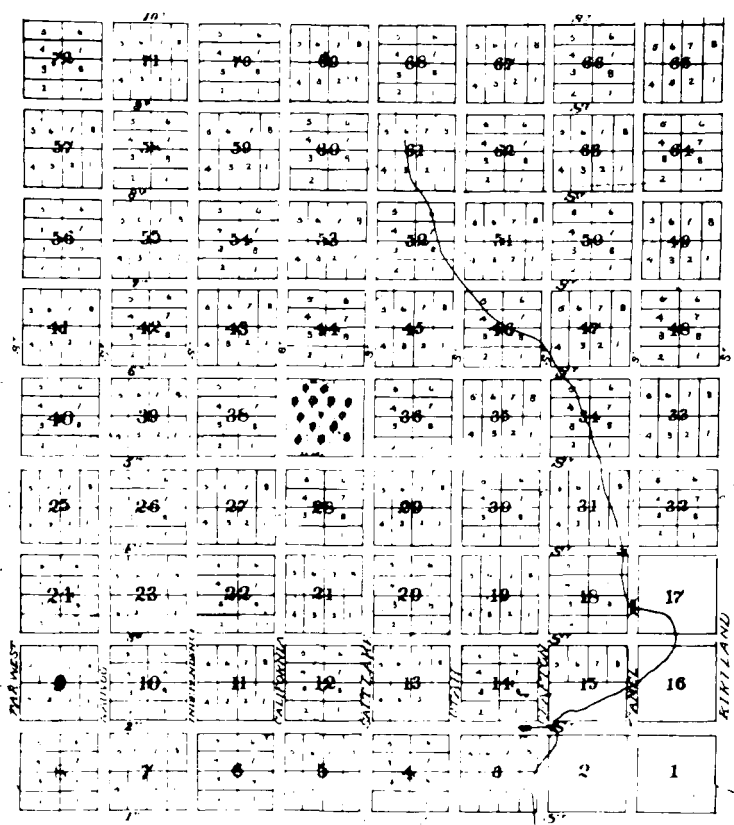
9. The 1854 plat for San Bernardino, California, presented to the county recorder by Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich. (San Bernardino County Recorder, *San Bernardino, California*)

10. The 1868 plat for Brigham City, Utah. Plot A marks the initial town site. (*Brigham City Planning Office, Brigham City, Utah*)
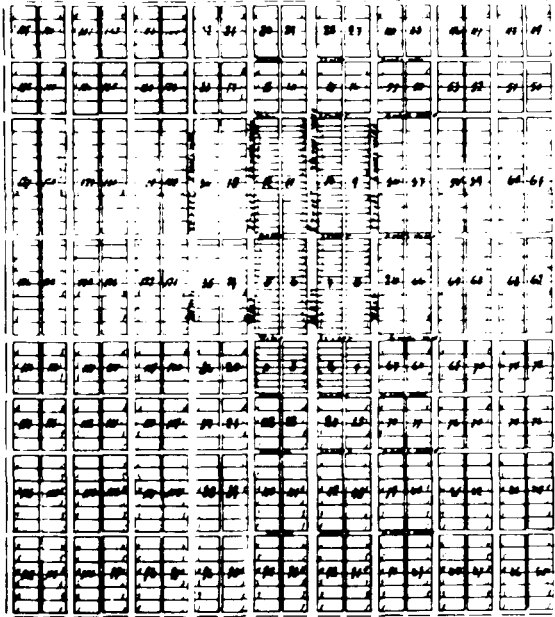
11. The 1868 plat for Tooele, Utah. The town site was surveyed by Jesse Fox, who was responsible for many such surveys, under the direction of Brigham Young. (*Cartographic Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.*)

THREE

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Temples

The Temple, an Expression of Sacred Space

The temple has been important in Judeo-Christian tradition since the time of Solomon. References to temples were abundant in *The Book of Mormon* (June 1830), which in speaking of Christ's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas, emphasizes the importance of temples to the people. Nephi, in *The Book of Mormon*, who left Israel for the Americas with his father Lehi just before the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, made direct reference to the Temple of Solomon: "And I Nephi, did build a temple: and I did construct it after the manner of the Temple of Solomon save it were not built of so many precious things; for they were not to be found upon the land, wherefore, it could not be built like unto Solomon's Temple. But the manner of construction was like unto the Temple of Solomon; the workmanship was exceedingly fine."[1]

Many structures called temples have been built over the centuries, but according to Mormon doctrine, none have been built to function as temples did in the times written of in the Bible or *The Book of Mormon*.[2] The importance that Mormons attribute to temples has nothing to do with size or style.

Their temples are not public places of worship as are Mormon tabernacles and meetinghouses. Instead, temples provide space for giving the sacred instructions and ordinances necessary to prepare individuals to return to the presence of God. They also stand as a physical representation of God's earthly presence, in the sense of medieval Gothic cathedrals.[3] In order to maintain the sanctity of the buildings and the

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temple ordinances, only those who abide by the laws of the church are allowed to enter the temple. An envelope of "sacred space" is created within the walls. Today, the Mormons' temple-building program and the sacred activities associated with it remain unique. Their temples represent a basic theological belief of divine and continuing revelation, and thus a restoration of all priesthood powers since biblical beginnings.[4]

The Temple of Zion, 1831–1833

Joseph Smith first spoke of temples in a "revelation" he received near Fayette, New York, in the month of December 1830: "I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God; wherefore gird up your loins, and I will suddenly come to my temple."[5] This was the first indication to Mormons that they were to become a temple-building people. Until that time, they had not built or owned a house of worship.

Upon the Saints' arrival in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, Smith declared specifically, through a revelation, that the Saints were to build a temple: "And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot not far from the courthouse."[6] The first temple was to be built in Independence, Missouri, or the center of Zion—not in Ohio. Shortly after the revelation, Smith journeyed to Independence, arriving on April 24, 1832.[7] His mission was to strengthen the spirit of the Colesville Branch, which had arrived a year earlier. While there, he assisted in the laying of the southeast cornerstone of the temple and the dedication of the ten-acre lot on which it was to stand. This activity alone strengthened the resolve of the Saints and their belief that Independence was the center place for the "New Jerusalem," the City of Zion. However, it would be nearly a year before they would receive the actual plans for the temple.

THE TEMPLE PLANS FOR ZION

A description and plans of the temple by Joseph Smith and Frederick Williams were sent from Kirtland in the summer of 1833, along with the plat for the City of Zion. The description is as follows:

> The house of the Lord for the Presidency, is eighty-seven feet long and sixty-one feet wide, and ten feet taken off of the east end for the stairway,

leaves the inner court, seventy-seven by sixty-one feet, which is calcu-
lated and divided for seats in the following manner, viz: the two aisle
four feet wide each; the middle block of pews are eleven feet ten inches
long, and three feet wide each; and two lines drawn through the middle
are four inches apart; in which space a curtain is to drop at right angles,
and divide the house into four parts if necessary. The pews of the side
blocks are fourteen and a half feet long and three feet wide. The five
pews in each corner of the house, are twelve feet six inches long. The
open spaces between the corner and side pews are for fireplaces; those
in the west are nine feet wide, and the east ones are eight feet and eight
inches wide, and the chimneys carried up in the wall where they are
marked with a pencil.

The pulpit in the west end of the house is to be occupied by the
High Priesthood, as follows: Number 1, is for the President and his coun-
cil; number 2, for Bishop and his council; number 3, for the High Priests;
and number 4 for the Elders: each of these is eight feet long, containing
three coves or stands for the respective speakers; and those seats opposite
them are for visiting officers, who are to occupy seats according to their
respective grades. The two spaces in the middle are stairs two feet wide.
The middle pulpit is to be elevated; the first seats one foot, the second
two feet, the third three feet, and the fourth four feet. And those upon
each side are also to be elevated: the first one eight inches, the second
sixteen, the third tweny-four [*sic*], the fourth thirty-two. The corner seats
are to be occupied by singers, and elevated—the first seat six inches, the
second twelve, the third eighteen, the fourth twenty-four, and the fifth
thirty-two inches. The pulpit in the east end of the house is to be oc-
cupied by the Lesser Priesthood. Number 1, is for the Presidency of the
Lesser Priesthood; number 2, for the Priests; number 3, for the Teachers;
and number 4, for the Deacons; and the seats by their sides, are also to
be occupied by visiting officers; each one opposite his respective grade.
The pulpits are to be finished with panel work, in the best workmanlike
manner; and the building to be constructed of stone or brick of the best
quality. Observe particularly that as there are pulpits at each end of the
house, the backs of the congregation must be to one of them, and they
will want occasionally to change. In order for this the house must have
pews instead of slips, and in the pews let the seats be loose, that they
may slip from one side of the pew to the other, so as to face either
pulpit, as occasion may require.

The side view represents five windows in each story. The windows
are to have each forty-eight lights, of seven by nine glass, six one way
and eight the other; the sides and lintels of the windows to be of hewn
stone, and on the top of the lintel is to be a Gothic top, as you see, but

the windows must have a lintel; and so with the outside doors, all with Gothic tops.

Make your house fourteen feet high between the floors. There will not be a gallery but a chamber; each story to be fourteen feet high, arched overhead with an elliptic arch. Let the foundation of the house be of stone; let it be raised sufficiently high to allow of banking up so high as to admit of a descent every way from the house, so far as to divide the distance between this house, and the one next to it. On the top of the foundation, above the embankment, let there be two rows of hewn stone, and then commence the brick-work on the hewn stone. The entire height of the house is to be twenty-eight feet, each story being fourteen feet; make the wall a sufficient thickness for a house of this size. The end view represents five windows of the same size as those at the side, the middle windows excepted, which is to be the same, with the addition of side lights. This middle window is designed to light the rooms both above and below, as the upper floor is to be laid off in the same way as the lower one, and arched overhead; with the same arrangement of curtains, or veils, as before mentioned.

The doors are to be five feet wide, and nine feet high, and to be in the east end of the house. The west end is to have no doors, but in other respects is to be like the east, except the windows are to be opposite the alleys which run east and west. The roof of the house is to have one-fourth pitch, the door to have Gothic top, the same as the windows. The shingles of the roof to be painted before they are put on. There is to be a fanlight, as you see. The windows and doors are all to have venetian blinds. A belfry is to be in the east end, and a bell of very large size.

You will be careful to have hooks and rings to suspend your veils on, so that they can be let down or raised at any time, at pleasure. Also, as you see, the pulpits are to have four seats, rising one above the other; for instance, the Elder's seat is the lowest, next comes the High Priest's, next the Bishop's so each of these must have a veil that is suspended from the upper floor, so as to be let down; which will at any time when necessary be let down, and shut off each stand or seat by itself.[8]

The temple design lacked any real sense of style or historicism. It was little more than a vernacular two-story, rectangular meeting hall. There were no architects or builders among the Missouri Saints with sufficient training or experience to build a more refined structure than the one proposed.[9] The plans for the Temple of Zion, hindered by growing tensions between the Saints and their Gentile neighbors and by dishar-

mony among themselves, came to an abrupt end when they were driven from Jackson County.

THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE, 1833–1836

The Saints' hopes for a temple in the center place had faded, but plans were soon under way for a temple at Kirtland. Three years after the formal organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the cornerstone for the Kirtland Temple was laid, on July 23, 1833. This marked the beginning of what would become the most important building type within Mormonism. Joseph Smith received a revelation on June 1, 1833 where he was instructed to build the temple at Kirtland.

> Now here is wisdom, and the mind of the Lord—let the house be built, not after the manner of the world, for I give not unto you that ye shall live after the manner of the world; Therefore, let it be built after the manner which I shall show unto three of you, whom ye shall appoint and ordain unto this power.
>
> And the size thereof shall be fifty and five feet in width, and let it be sixty-five feet in length, in the inner court thereof.
>
> And let the lower part of the inner court be dedicated unto me for your sacrament offering, and for your preaching, and your fasting, and your praying, and the offering up of your most holy desires unto me, saith the Lord.
>
> And let the higher part of the inner court be dedicated unto me for the school of mine apostles, saith Son Ahman; or, in other words, Alphus; or, in other words, Omegus; even Jesus Christ your Lord.[10]

The need for the temple had become imperative. According to Mormon belief, many sacred "keys," or rites of the priesthood or divine authority had yet to be restored to the earth. These keys, they believed, would be restored through the instrumentality of heavenly messengers and be received in a temple.

Preparations for construction got under way in June 1833, but the laying of the cornerstone did not take place until July. For the next three years, much time and personal sacrifice would figure in its completion. No plans or drawings of the building survive, but the exterior appearance bears some resemblance to the temple proposed for Zion— two and a half stories and two interior courts that were reached from a vestibule entrance.

The Kirtland Temple exhibits a certain sense of style in spite of its eclectic appearance. Its mixture of Georgian, Federal, Greek, and Gothic elements are not necessarily unique, however. The Congregational Church at Atwater (1837–41), a few miles south, also exhibits a mixture of classical and Gothic elements. The tendency to combine architectural motifs from different eras was not unusual during this period in American architecture. These features were typically derived from pattern books.

The building material was sandstone from a nearby quarry. In an effort to give the building a more even appearance, the craftsmen stuccoed the exterior with a mixture of crushed glass and chinaware to catch the sunlight, and painted lines on the surface to give it the look of dressed and evenly coursed stone. This method was common in Canada and was probably brought to Kirtland by Artemus Millet, a New Hampshire mason who was working in Ontario at the time he was introduced to Mormonism by Brigham Young. Smith asked him to leave his work and come to Kirtland to oversee the construction of the temple: "The prophet Joseph Smith wanted me to go to Kirtland, Ohio and take charge of the mason work on the temple as they were going to build a temple there. So I closed out my business there and in April 1834 I moved to Kirtland . . . I did have full superintendency of the building."[11]

The interior arrangement of double courts and multitiered pulpits at each end, was undoubtedly derived from the proposed temple in Independence. The vestibule entrance with its two corner staircases is a thing of beauty, enhanced by light from the large, centrally placed Federal-style window. The landing of the second floor was purposely designed with an open front, or balcony to allow light from the window to illuminate both stories of the vestibule and the two interior courts.[12]

The classical aspects of the building are most noticeable on the interior. Vaulted ceilings of both courts are supported by fluted piers of the Doric order capped by an Ionic frieze and architrave. A dentiled Ionic cornice forms the base of the elliptical vault in the lower court. The classical motifs—guilloche, egg and dart, bead and lozenge—in the lower court undoubtedly came from the late eighteenth-century volume *Practical House Carpenter* (London, 1789) by William Pain, or its American counterpart, *American Builder's Companion* (Boston, 1806) by Asher Benjamin. Jacob Bump, a carpenter from Silver Creek, New York, is credited with overseeing the work on the lower court. He was probably

responsible for some of the intricate decorative work, particularly the west window.[13]

The intricate carvings of the lower court were not repeated in the upper court. Instead, less sophisticated strapwork was used, possibly indicating the hand of Truman O. Angell, Sr. Angell was a carpenter from Providence, Rhode Island, who was converted to Mormonism while living in New York. He was younger and less experienced than Bump, but was asked to oversee the work during the latter's absence for a few months. Most of the classical motifs used by Angell were probably derived from *The Practical House Carpenter* (Boston, 1830), by Asher Benjamin.[14]

Design inconsistencies can be seen in the building. The easternmost windows of the north and the south elevations are bisected by the wall, separating the vestibule from the courts. And the interior pier-supports do not correspond to the window bays, a support system that probably accounts for the corresponding misalignment of the dormers to the windows.[15]

The ecclesiastical order of the pulpits and the arrangement of the pews followed that prescribed in the original plan for the Temple of Zion. The pews on the floor of the first court could be reversed to face either pulpit. Natural light filtered from the arched windows above each pulpit and from the five window bays of the side elevations. The lower court was used for general church meetings and assemblies, while the upper court and attic floor were used for priesthood councils, educational purposes, and giving sacred instructions. Its building had done much to unite the Saints spiritually, and made it possible for Joseph Smith to receive the priesthood keys necessary for the salvation of the Saints.

The temple was finally dedicated on March 27, 1836, with songs and prayers of gratitude. Many of the men who worked on the temple, Brigham Young and Truman Angell among them, would be instrumental in designing later temples at Salt Lake City, St. George, Logan, and Manti. The knowledge that these men had of the pattern, and their concept of sacred space was acquired from firsthand experience from their involvement on the Nauvoo and Kirtland temples.

Only a few months after its completion the Kirtland Temple was abandoned, as the Saints were forced to leave Ohio. The edifice was exposed to the ravages of time and neglect through most of the nineteenth century. The building is restored and open to visitors as a historic

monument. It still dominates the small town of Kirtland, much as it did at the time it was built.[16]

THE NAUVOO TEMPLE, 1840–1846

Initially, Nauvoo gave the Saints a secure environment, one in which a new temple could be constructed for the full implementation of the temple ordinances, or "endowment."[17] Brigham Young defined the endowment as follows: "Your endowment is, to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord [temple], which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give them the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood [Melchizedek Priesthood], and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell."[18]

The complete temple endowment was not fully enacted until after the Saints reached Nauvoo. During the Kirtland period, Joseph Smith introduced a partial endowment. Brigham Young, in fact, commented that those who had apostatized from the Mormon Church while in Kirtland had not received the full endowment.[19]

The vernacular style proposed for the temple at Independence, and the eclectic appearance of the Kirtland Temple were replaced by the singular Greek Revival style of the Nauvoo Temple. Joseph Smith was responsible for these stylistic differences. As president of the church, it was his responsibility to oversee temple designs in consultation with an appointed builder-architect. The close relationship between Smith and a builder-architect is nowhere more evident than it is in the design of the Nauvoo Temple. It was his desire to find the best and most competent talent from among the membership to carry out his designs for this project. When William Weeks submitted his plans to Smith, the Prophet immediately "grabbed him, hugged him and said 'you are the man I want.' " Weeks's proposal came closest in design to what Smith had seen in a vision.[20]

William Weeks was born on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, in 1813. He trained as a carpenter under his father, James, Jr., before moving to the South with his brother Arwin, where they practiced architecture in the Greek Revival style. While there, Weeks came into contact with the Mormon missionaries and was baptized. He moved to Missouri at the time the Saints were being expelled from the state and

spent some time in Quincy, Illinois, before moving to Nauvoo in 1840. It was his fortune to be in the right place at the right time. His design for the Nauvoo Temple promised a significantly more impressive structure than either of the previous temples. Except for a massive tower, in the style of James Gibbs, Weeks's rendering of the Nauvoo Temple resembles a peripteral Greek Revival–style temple. As impressive as his drawing was, especially for its time and place, it would undergo numerous changes. Weeks would soon learn one valuable lesson; the president of the church had the final word in all matters of the church, including those pertaining to church architecture. This was made clear in a conversation between the two over the style of windows for the temple:

> In the afternoon, William Weeks (whom I had employed as an architect of the Temple) came in for instructions. I instructed him in relation to circular windows designed to light the offices in the dead work of the arch between the stories. He said that round windows in the broadside of a building were a violation of all known rules of architecture, and contended that they should be semicircular—that the building was too low for round windows. I told him I would have the circles, if he had to make the Temple ten feet higher than it was originally calculated; that one light at each circular window would be sufficient to light the whole room; that when the whole building was thus illuminated the effect would be remarkably grand. "I wish you to carry out my designs. I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of the building illuminated, and will have it built according to the pattern shown me."[21]

William Weeks, needless to say, incorporated round windows in his design. The interior arrangement for the Nauvoo Temple was derived from the pattern proposed for the Temple of Zion and built interior of the Kirtland Temple. It exhibited two interior courts, end-pulpits, and a functioning attic story that was accessed by a spacious two-story vestibule. The half-story administrative offices above the side aisles of each court were unique to the Nauvoo Temple. The round windows and high elliptical vaults in the courts provided light and extra height for the offices. A similar area exists in the Kirtland Temple, but it lacks sufficient height and outside windows to accommodate such offices.[22]

The tower also underwent a major change. The massive Gibbsian structure was replaced by a design better suited to the overall propor-

tion and style of the temple. The Prophet asked Weeks to change the triangular pediment of the facade to a rectilinear service area for the cross-axial arrangement of the rooms in the attic story. This probably was done in anticipation of this area becoming the facility for the endowment service. The Nauvoo Temple was destroyed by fire in 1846, leaving only a shell. In 1850, a tornado completed the destruction except for the two-story vestibule. It was later taken down and the stone used to construct other buildings in the area.[23]

Sacred Space and the Early Utah Temples

The Nauvoo Temple was a transitional structure between the Kirtland and Salt Lake temples. The latter would function solely as sacred space whereas the Nauvoo Temple was a building of mixed usage. The two courts of the Nauvoo Temple were designed to satisfy the general congregational needs of the church, with the basement and attic story fulfilling the requirements of sacred space. A full basement was excavated to accommodate a baptismal font set on the backs of twelve oxen carved from limestone.[24] Compartments along the side walls of the basement served as dressing rooms and preparatory facilities associated with the activities which took place in the attic story. The vestibule to the attic and the attic story were strictly used for the endowment service and offices for the church authorities. Both the basement and attic story were reserved for those who were deemed worthy to receive and participate in the endowment service.

The common bond between the Kirtland, Nauvoo, and early Utah temples would be the pattern established by Joseph Smith.[25] However, the addition of the baptistery in a basement area and the conversion of the attic story into an endowment floor in the Nauvoo Temple changed the role and function of future temples. No longer would they be used as meetinghouses, as in the case of the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples. The Salt Lake Temple and all subsequent Mormon temples would be designed as places of sacred space. The interior would symbolize, in the truest sense of sacred space, the interim place between heaven and earth. The temple would be the *axis mundi* where the worthy communicant could prepare to meet God and where God could be among His worthy adherents.

THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE, 1853–1893

Since the laying of the cornerstone for the Temple of Zion in Missouri, temples had become the focal point of Mormon life, and, in a sense, the Mormons' reason for being. The Salt Lake Temple occupies a particularly important place in Mormon history. One of Brigham Young's first orders of business was to lay the cornerstones of the building; the southeast cornerstone was laid on April 6, 1853, followed in prescribed priesthood order by the northeast, southwest and northwest stones. It was a day of rejoicing for the Saints.

The Salt Lake Temple would be the first of four temples proposed by Brigham Young. He followed the basic interior pattern and alternating story-and-a-half configuration of the Nauvoo Temple, but for the exterior he selected what could best be described as a compromise between the massive load-bearing qualities of the Romanesque round-arch style, and the soaring verticality of Gothic architecture.

The vertical massing of six towers and spires gave the Salt Lake Temple its distinctive look. The vertical quality was enhanced further by the repetitive use of staged wall and octagonal corner buttresses. The idea to recess the windows was critical to the overall design of the building. It not only dramatized the six- to eight-foot thicknesses of the walls, but helped to create the venerable quality that Brigham Young hoped to achieve in his design. Crenellations were added to the walls and towers to complete the fortresslike appearance of the building. It was his intention to create a symbol of spiritual strength, a bulwark against evil, and a statement of permanency of their newly founded Great Basin Kingdom. Young had the temple built to last the millennium.[26]

DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

Brigham Young's first choice of architect for the temple was William Weeks, whom he brought to Salt Lake City in 1847. However, Weeks left the valley the next year, returning east, and Young chose as successor to the position his brother-in-law, Truman Angell. Angell probably deserved the appointment because of his work on the Kirtland Temple and the fact that he brought the Nauvoo Temple to completion after the Saints abandoned the city in 1846. But he was not as skilled a builder-architect as his predecessor. His perception of the event and his

abilities can be seen in a letter he wrote to Young's successor, John Taylor, in 1881: "I came here with the pioneers I went back to Winter Quarters the same year [1847], came out the next Spring . . . soon was called to be architect of the Church, this perhaps for the want of a better man, Weeks had run the gantlet and went off."[27] Angell's primary responsibility was to design the temple and to oversee its construction. Three assistants were assigned to him over the years: William W. Ward, Jr., William H. Folsom, and his son, Truman O. Angell, Jr. The first was Ward, a young convert from England. Ward was an accomplished designer, draftsman, stonemason, sculptor, and painter. Had it not been for Ward, Angell would have been hard pressed to do the precise detail work and finished drawings for the temple.[28] Yet, it was Angell's singleminded devotion to both the church and President Young that carried the project through very difficult times.

Brigham Young, however, was directly responsible for the design of the Salt Lake Temple. While visiting Angell's office on Temple Square in the spring of 1853, he took a drawing slate and sketched his design for a temple with six towers, asking Angell and Ward to refine his proposal. Just before this visit, Young had described his vision of the temple to a general congregation of the church: "I scarcely ever say much about revelations, or visions, but suffice it to say, five years ago last July [1848] I was here, and saw in the Spirit the Temple not ten feet from where we have laid the chief cornerstone [April 6, 1853]. I have not inquired what kind of Temple we should build. Why? Because it was presented before me. I have never looked upon this ground, but the vision of it was there. I see it as plainly as if it was in reality before me. Wait until it is done. I will say, however, that it will have six towers, to begin with instead of one."[29]

Young's comments and sketch of the temple were in keeping with the Mormon concept of architectural design in which the word of the president is final. In fact, he assumed an even greater role in architecture than did Joseph Smith. This was probably because of his training in the building trades and interest in architecture.[30]

Young drew from his direct exposure to English medieval architecture. While on a proselyting mission to England (1839–41), he visited many monuments—Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London, and Worcester Cathedral among them—that left a lasting impression on him. Later, in 1856, he sent Truman Angell to England and Europe in order to study their architecture firsthand. President Young gave a bless-

ing to his architect on the eve of his departure. The content of that blessing leaves little doubt why Angell was being sent. "You shall have power and means to go from place to place, from country to country, and view the various specimens of architecture that you may desire to see, and you will wonder at the works of the ancients and marvel to see what they have done."[31]

Young hoped that Angell would return to Salt Lake City with new ideas that would improve the design for the new temple. Yet the architectural mission did little for the architect. He returned home in 1857, thinking that his interpretation of President Young's design proposal was greater than any building he had seen in England or Normandy and proposed no significant design change to the exterior.[32]

Though it seems that Angell rejected any direct influence from the British Isles, he did have one of Peter Nicholson's builder's guides, from which he extracted ideas, construction techniques, methods of perspective rendering, and shading. He did not mention which guide he had, but judging from the contents of Nicholson's volumes, one can assume that it was *Architectonic: The Practical Builder and Workman's Companion* (London, 1822–32).[33] The knowledge that Angell was dependent on Nicholson makes explicit an English source for the particularization of Young's design proposal. Within the text of *The Practical Builder* are illustrations of medieval crenellated designs in varied configurations.[34] Of course Ward, who was trained in the Gothic Revival style in England, convinced the architect to recess the windows rather than leaving them flush to the exterior surface. This design change enhanced the temple's venerable fortresslike appearance by drawing more attention to the building's monumental character. Angell essentially was under the tutorage of English builder-architects, and a president who had an abiding appreciation for English architecture.

Angell's work on the temple after his trip and before his death in 1887 primarily consisted of preparing stone-number and position plans for the masons. When Angell's son, Truman Jr., who trained under him, succeeded his father as architect of the temple in 1887, he radically altered the arrangement and spatial flow of the interior.[35] The changes were based on those he had made while he served as architect on the temple at Logan, Utah.[36] The pattern of the two axial courts and the two above-aisle half-stories were reconfigured to better suit the needs of the endowment ceremony. The lower court was subdivided into a series of interrelated rooms, and the associated half-story was extended

to form a complete floor between the lower and upper courts. The latter was partitioned into a series of priesthood offices that were serviced by access halls and circular staircases in the four corner towers. The upper court (auditorium) was retained, but the half-story was replaced by a gallery along the length of the south and north walls, increasing the seating capacity of the court. The court was finished with multistaged pulpits at both ends, reminiscent of the earlier temples, and is still used for special assemblies of the church. The basement story was also transformed, into a more complex spatial arrangement. Two large rooms used in the endowment service were added to the east end; they were separated from the baptistery by a north-south axial corridor and an access staircase on the south.[37]

The Salt Lake Temple was completed in 1893, appropriately enough, by one of Brigham Young's sons, Joseph Don Carlos Young.[38] In 1889 Young was appointed architect of the temple, following the dismissal of Truman Angell, Jr.[39] His appointment came ten years after he returned from the East where he had earned a degree in civil engineering from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. The new architect did nothing to change the exterior appearance of the temple. He did, however, oversee the completion of the six spires, constructing them of granite as proposed by his predecessor. His primary contribution was to design the interior of the temple, employing architectural and decorative elements in the classical style of the École des Beaux-Arts. The influence of this style is particularly noticeable in the Celestial Room on the first above-ground story of the temple. This is fitting for a room intended to symbolize the highest obtainable degree of glory in the hereafter. The thirty-four-foot vaulted ceiling was designed to express a feeling of exalted space. The vault is pierced by window and doorway arches which are decoratively supported by paired and fluted Corinthian columns. The complexity of gilded architectural elements is reminiscent of work by Richard Morris Hunt.[40] The Salt Lake Temple was formally dedicated on April 6, 1893, marking the end of a forty-year building program.

THE ST. GEORGE TEMPLE, 1873–1877

During the construction of the Salt Lake Temple, three regional temples were completed in Utah: St. George, Logan, and Manti. Initially, they followed the pattern established by Joseph Smith with their main bodies

derived from the plan of the Nauvoo Temple. Brigham Young's contribution came in the form of a medieval fortresslike style, first seen on the design for the Salt Lake Temple. Of the four Utah temples, St. George was closest in size and design to the Nauvoo Temple.

In 1851 President Young sent the first group of Saints to settle in what is now southwestern Utah. St. George became the largest of the communities. It was founded in 1861, primarily by converts from England and the southern states who hoped that its warm climate would support a cotton, silk, and grape industry.[41] Young selected St. George as a suitable place for a temple and asked Truman Angell, Sr., to design a building on the order of the Nauvoo Temple. The architect obliged the president by designing a building of approximately the same size: four stories capped by a single tower. However, instead of following the Greek Revival style of the Nauvoo Temple, he chose the pseudo-medieval, fortresslike style of the Salt Lake Temple. The viewer has to look past the medieval shroud of the building—octagonal corner staircase towers, staged wall buttresses, and crenellated walls—to see the four-part, alternating elevation of the Nauvoo Temple. Angell's original design for the tower was a crenellated structure capped by a polygonal spire, but at Young's request, he replaced it with a diminutive square design, rendered by his assistant, William Folsom, just before the building was completed.[42] The interior of the temple reflects the Nauvoo plan: a basement baptistery, two axial courts, associated half-story, above-aisle offices accessed from an ample vestibule, and corner staircases.

The St. George Temple was the only one of the four that Brigham Young had proposed to be completed before he died. It can be assumed that if Young had lived to see the temples completed, and had Angell remain as his architect, the temples would have followed the same strict axial pattern. This assumption is based on a letter Angell sent to Young's successor, John Taylor, regarding the proposed change in the interior pattern of the Salt Lake Temple by his son in 1885: "Shortly after our arrival here President Brigham Young wanted me to start on the temple design of six towers; three on the east and three on the west: both sets connected to the main body of the building. The house was designed about 34 years ago; and as I got the plans ready I took them to President Young and he approved them, both exterior and interior. The outer parts are now up except topping out the towers.

"All we knew of temples then was what we had received through

President Smith. . . . It seems to me to alter the plans now would make a bad thing of the house: but I should think the plans as approved all along until now better continue. I know it will do if you consent to the same."[43]

The temple site was located in the midst of a small valley surrounded by a protective ring of cliffs and low-lying hills. Although St. George has grown considerably, the building remains the focal point of the community. The central location of the temple follows more closely what was prescribed for the City of Zion than in Salt Lake City, Logan, and Manti. The footings and basement walls were constructed of basalt quarried from an ancient lava bed northwest of the city. The upper walls were formed of red sandstone that varied in thickness from four to three feet. The walls were stuccoed and whitewashed to even the appearance of the building and give it a greater sense of presence in the community.[44] On occasion, Angell had to leave his work on the Salt Lake Temple to evaluate the progress on the St. George Temple. Aside from the difficulty of traveling between the two locations, he found that working on the new temple was less demanding than his efforts on the Salt Lake Temple.[45] He was assisted by talented local artisans such as Miles Romney, who earlier had assisted him in completing the Nauvoo Temple. Romney, in fact, was selected to oversee construction when Angell had to be absent from the site.[46]

The exterior of the temple has changed little since it was dedicated in 1877. One exception is the tower, which was damaged by a lightning-caused fire in 1878 and replaced by a larger, more proportionate structure. The interior, however, has undergone a number of changes. The first major renovation was in 1937–38 when the lower court was divided into a series of related rooms.[47] The 1974–75 renovations changed the arrangement and spatial flow of the interior, except for the upper court, which remains unaltered. At this time the west end was extended and a new annex completed to better accommodate the increased number of temple-goers. Great care was taken in its design and construction in order to complement the crenellated style of the building.[48]

THE LOGAN TEMPLE, 1877–1884

Logan, north of Salt Lake City in the Cache Valley, and Manti, to the south in Sanpete Valley, were selected by Brigham Young to be the next communities to receive a temple. The population in Cache Valley,

a rich agricultural region, was growing, and certainly a temple was warranted. Logan was settled, platted, and named in 1859 by John Pannell Wright, who led a group of twenty-one pioneer families to the area.[49] The town soon became the hub for the surrounding settlements, partly because of the importance attached to the proposed temple. It was to be built on a natural terrace overlooking the Cache Valley.

Truman Angell found himself overwhelmed by the continuous work on the Salt Lake Temple, and the added burden of the Logan and Manti temples. It was fortunate that his son, Truman Jr., was available to assume responsibility for the Logan Temple. While in his father's office, he had become intimately familiar with the designs for the Salt Lake and St. George temples and was probably well acquainted with the wishes of President Young, which helps explain why the Logan Temple took on the familiar crenellated style of both the earler temples. Moreover, the design was done under the watchful eye of his father, if not actually proposed by him.[50]

The design for the Logan Temple adopted the tripartite, double-end configuration of the Salt Lake Temple. The arrangement of octagonal corner and central towers of the St. George Temple was kept, but within the width of the body of the building, giving it a more compact and vertical appearance. The difference in the height between the east and west central towers, taken from the Salt Lake Temple, was symbolic.[51] The taller east tower (170 feet) symbolizes the Melchizedek, or higher, Priesthood, while the west tower (165 feet), represents the Aaronic, or lesser, Priesthood. The temple was constructed of dark gray siliceous and buff-colored limestone from quarries in the nearby mountains.

The contribution of the Logan Temple to the design of other temples was its interior arrangement. Unlike the Salt Lake and St. George temples, a portion of the basement and the lower courts was subdivided into a series of related ordinance rooms. These were arranged in a progressive circular pattern that eased the movement of people from one area to another, helping to facilitate the endowment service. The younger Angell gained the approval of his father to adopt this innovative arrangement. Beginning in 1976, the temple was completely renovated. The roof and entire interior were removed; only the load-bearing walls were left standing. The changes were made to improve the interior arrangement and the structural integrity of the building. The upper court was restored to its original form. The addition of an elevator

altered the appearance of the north face of the temple. It remains an imposing structure.

THE MANTI TEMPLE, 1877–1888

Manti was settled by the Mormons in 1849, and named after a location in *The Book of Mormon.* The community is sited against the down slope of the Wasatch Plateau to the east. The Manti Temple was positioned on an associated spur that gave it a commanding view of Sanpete Valley to the west and north. It and the Logan Temple would emerge as sister designs under the direction of Truman Angell, Sr.

William Folsom was given the responsibility to superintend the work on the temple, in the same context as Angell, Jr. for the Logan Temple.[52] Folsom, who trained as a carpenter under his father, was living in Buffalo, New York, when he and his wife, Eliza, first came into contact with the church. They were baptized on February 17, 1842, and with their two children moved to Nauvoo in 1843. Folsom's considerable talents as a builder-architect brought him into contact with most of the workers who would play a major role in the architecture of Utah. He was employed on the Nauvoo Temple and remained behind to help Angell bring the temple to completion. Folsom joined the Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1860; his arrival could not have come at a more opportune time. Angell, Sr., had just relinquished his position as church architect for reasons of ill health, and Brigham Young, on the advice and counsel of Angell, called Folsom to that position. Folsom remained in that position until 1867, when Angell came out of retirement to assume his former duties. Ten years later Folsom assumed the responsibility of the Manti Temple.

The exterior of the Manti Temple resembles that of the Logan Temple, with its tripartite, double-end configuration, and the east tower (179 feet, Melchizedek Priesthood) is higher than the west tower (169 feet, Aaronic Priesthood). The main body of the building also exhibits the same three-part elevation as the Logan Temple, and was buttressed and crenellated in the style of the three other early Utah temples. Its major difference from its sister temples is the absence of flanking octagonal towers on the east end of the building, which is squared-off instead. The change in design might have been prompted because the temple abuts a hill. The result was a less unified design than the Logan Temple.

Folsom apparently replaced the original Logan Temple–style caps for

the central towers, with Victorian-Mansard caps. They were more in character with the crenellated style and vertical emphasis of the building. The soaring feeling of the temple was further enhanced by the light cream color of the oolitic limestone.

Work on the interior began in 1886. The arrangement of the endowment rooms followed Truman Angell, Jr.'s pattern, first used in the Logan Temple. Folsom embellished the interior, more so than had been done in the St. George and Logan temples. He used the talents of the local artisans to execute a wide variety of decorative motifs. The ornamented low-arched beams that segment the flat ceilings in both the Terrestrial and Celestial rooms are supported by a series of delicately fluted, freestanding and engaged Ionic columns. The geometric and foliate patterns in the plaster and woodwork are sensitively treated. Carved pediments are set above the segmental arches of the doors. The most impressive interior features are the two open-center spiral staircases in the octagonal towers, which provided access to the upper court. The upper court, like those in the other three Utah temples, is an axial-length assembly hall reserved for special occasions.[53]

William Folsom was responsible for several other buildings in the Utah Territory, but none was so important as the Manti Temple. Folsom spent his last years living in Salt Lake City, where he remained active in the building trade and the church. He died peacefully at his home in 1900, surrounded by his beloved family. Few had given as much to nineteenth-century Mormon architecture as he.[54]

Temples remain the most important type of building within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During the nineteenth century, temples evolved from structures used for general worship to buildings designed for restricted sacred space. The temple walls exist to define the parameters of sacred space necessary to the enactment of sacred ordinances. The ordinances that are enacted within the temple give the temple more importance than any other type of Mormon building. The Salt Lake and other three regional temples were the first to be designed around the concept of sacred space. All were based on the pattern originally prescribed by Joseph Smith for the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples. Brigham Young, however, adopted a more medieval fortresslike style, with turrets, towers, spires, buttresses, and crenellated walls, a style that seemed to symbolize the formidable strength of the church

in its wilderness kingdom. Young and his immediate successors were not to be driven from their mountain empire, as they had been from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. They planned to remain until they were called by their prophet, through God, to return to Jackson County to reestablish Zion. The four early Utah temples are as formidable in appearance today as they were when they were first dedicated.[55]
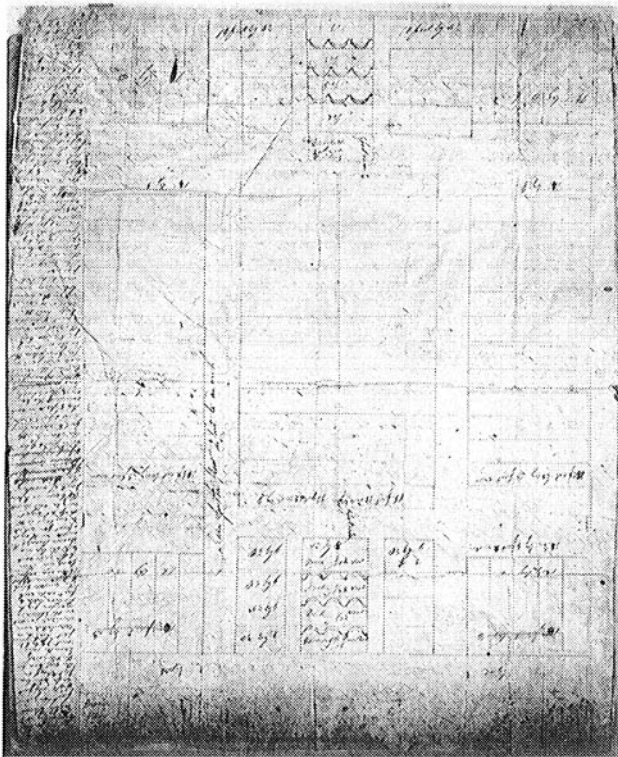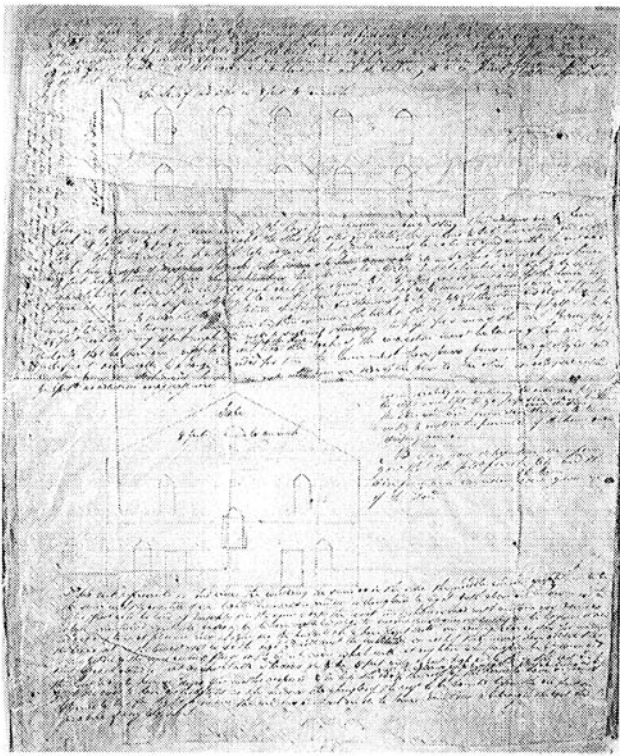
12. The 1833 plans for the temple (Independence Temple) for the City of Zion prepared by Frederick G. Williams under the direction of Joseph Smith. (*LDS Historical Department*)

13. A contemporary view of the Kirtland Temple (1833–36) from the Southeast. (*Author*)
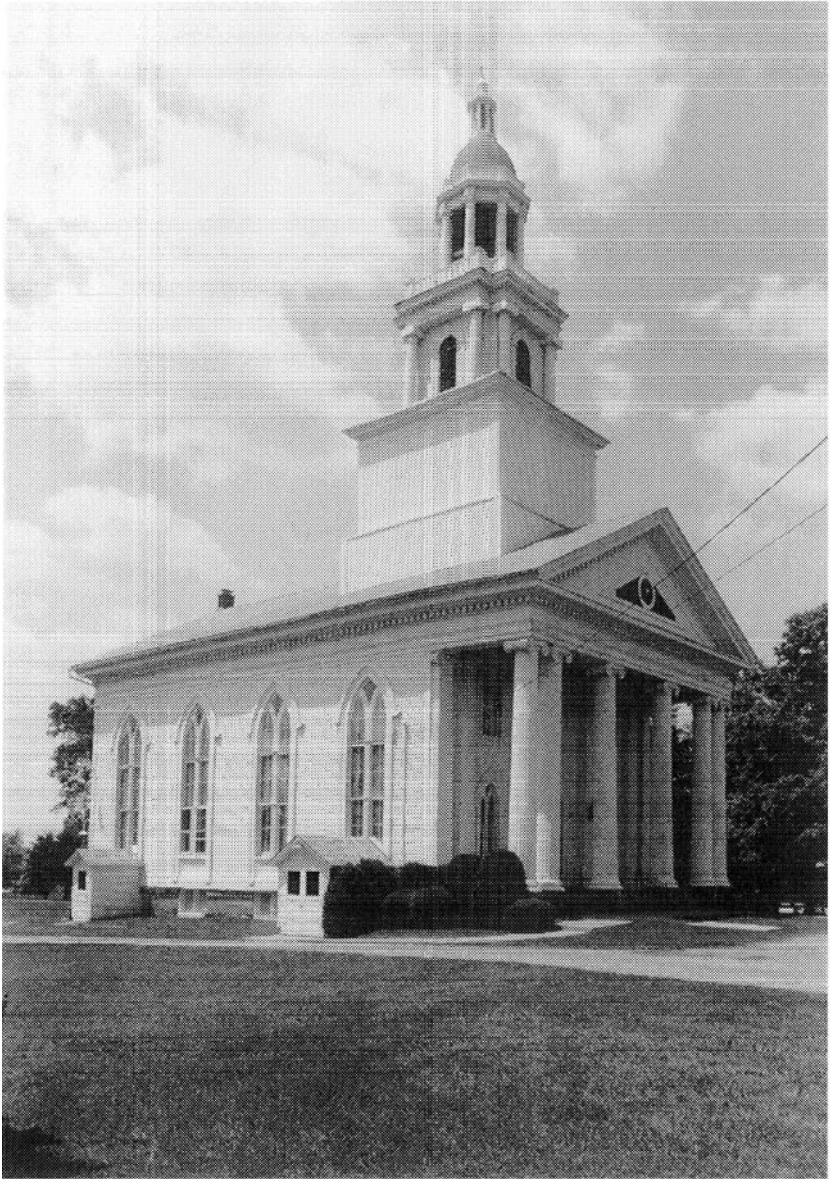
14. The Congregational Church (1837–41) at Atwater, Ohio, seen from the southeast. (*Author*)
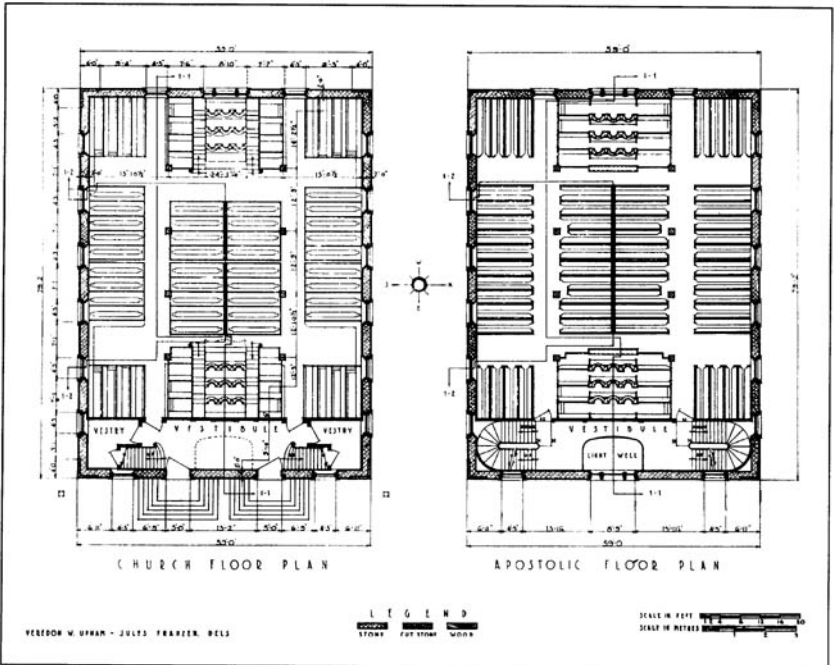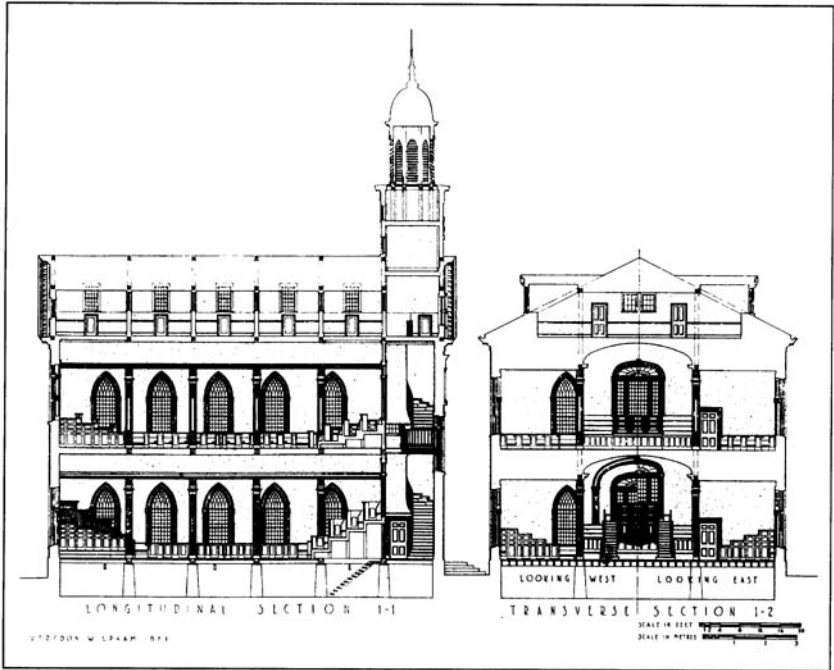
15. The floorplans and longitudinal and cross-sections of the Kirtland Temple, prepared by the Historic American Buildings Survey and published in the *Architectural Forum* in the 1936. (*Historic American Buildings Survey, Washington D.C.*)

16. William Weeks's rendering of the Nauvoo Temple from Gustavus Hill's 1842 plat of Nauvoo. (*LDS Historical Department*)
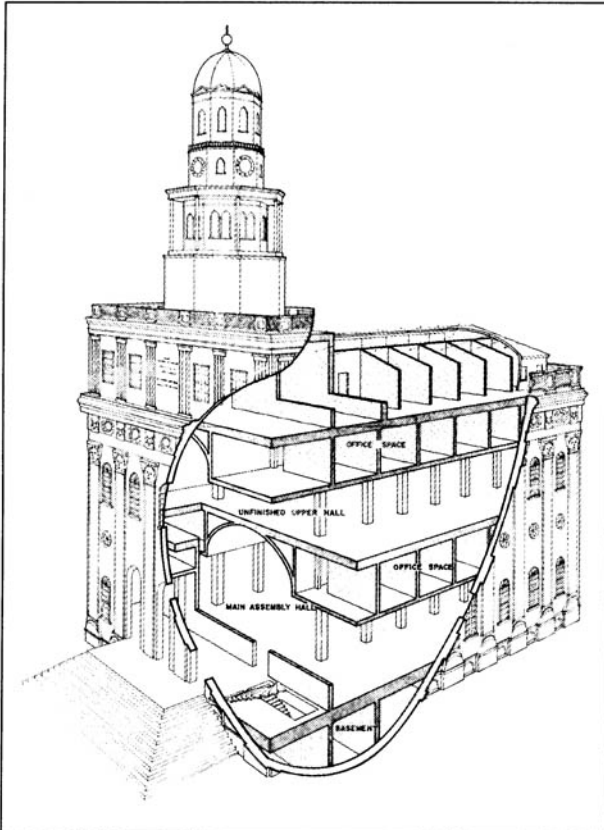
17. A reconstruction of the Nauvoo Temple depicting the interior arrangement. (*Stanley B. Kimball*)
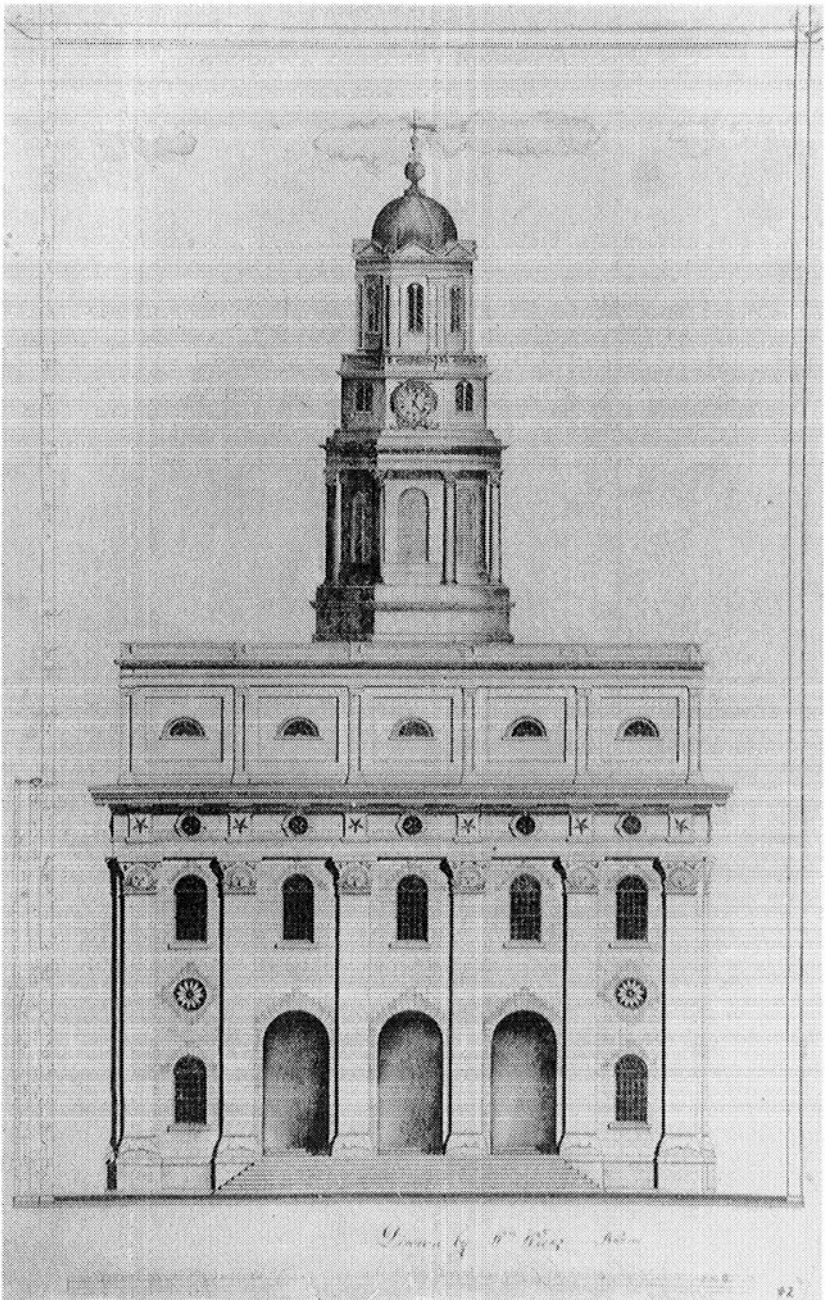
18. William Weeks's drawing of the Nauvoo Temple (c. 1844) with a rectangular attic story. (*LDS Historical Department*)
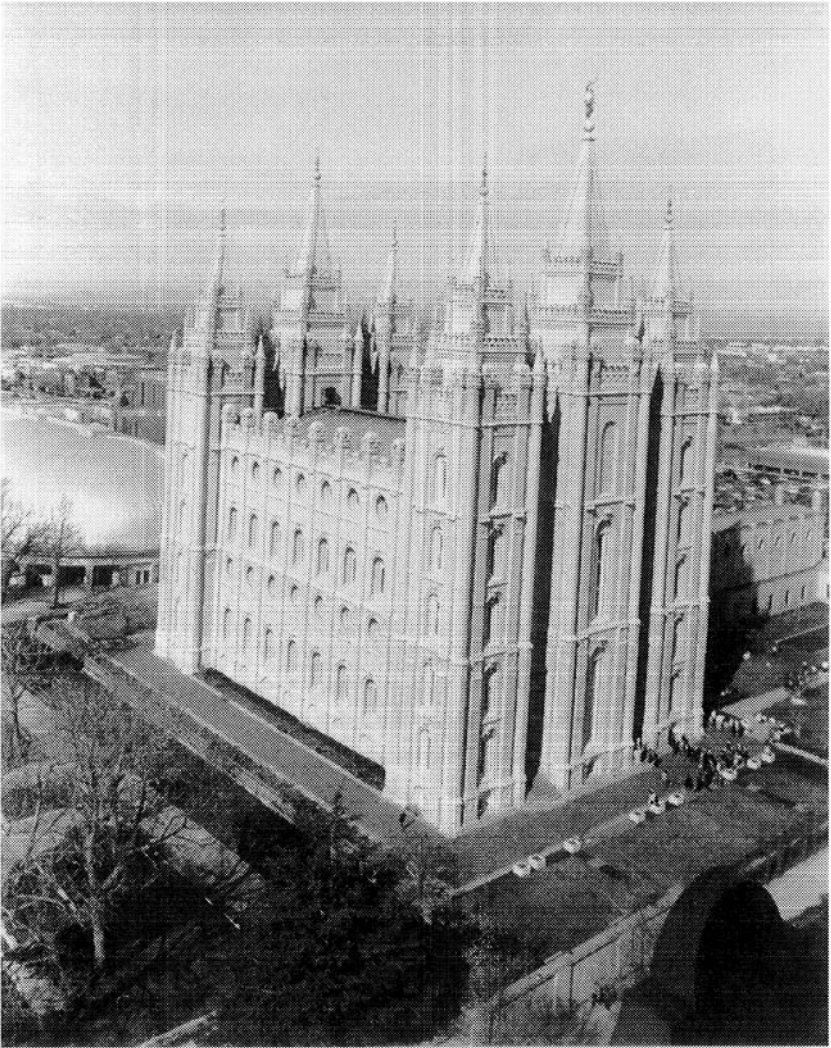
19. A contemporary view of the Salt Lake Temple (1853–93) from the
southeast. Note the axial relationship between the temple and the "Large
Tabernacle" to the west. The original temple annex to the north was
replaced by the more sympathetic design in 1963. (*Author*)

TRANSVERSE SECTION
of
TEMPLE.
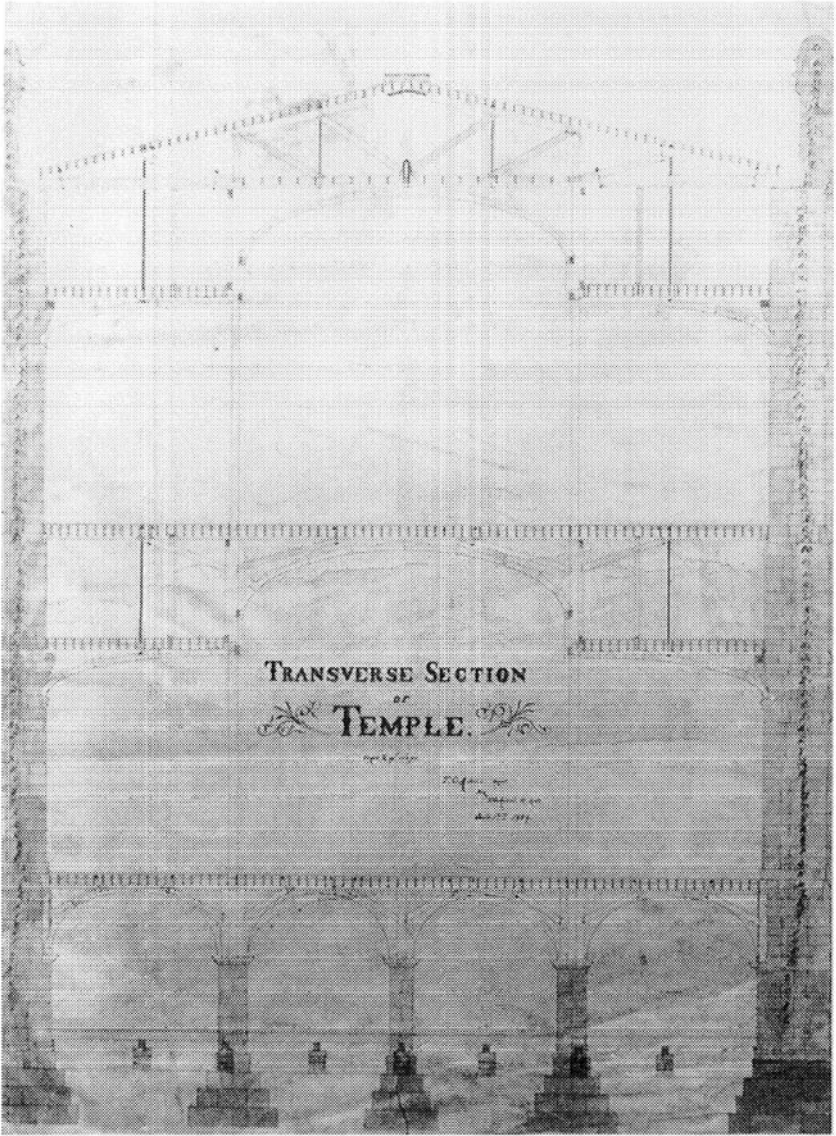
20. The original 1884 cross-section of the Salt Lake Temple prepared by Truman O. Angell, Jr., under the direction of his father. The interior arrangement was derived from the Nauvoo Temple. (*LDS Historical Department*)

21. A contemporary view of the St. George Temple (1873–77) from the southeast. The present tower arrangement was designed by William Folsom in 1883. (*Author*)
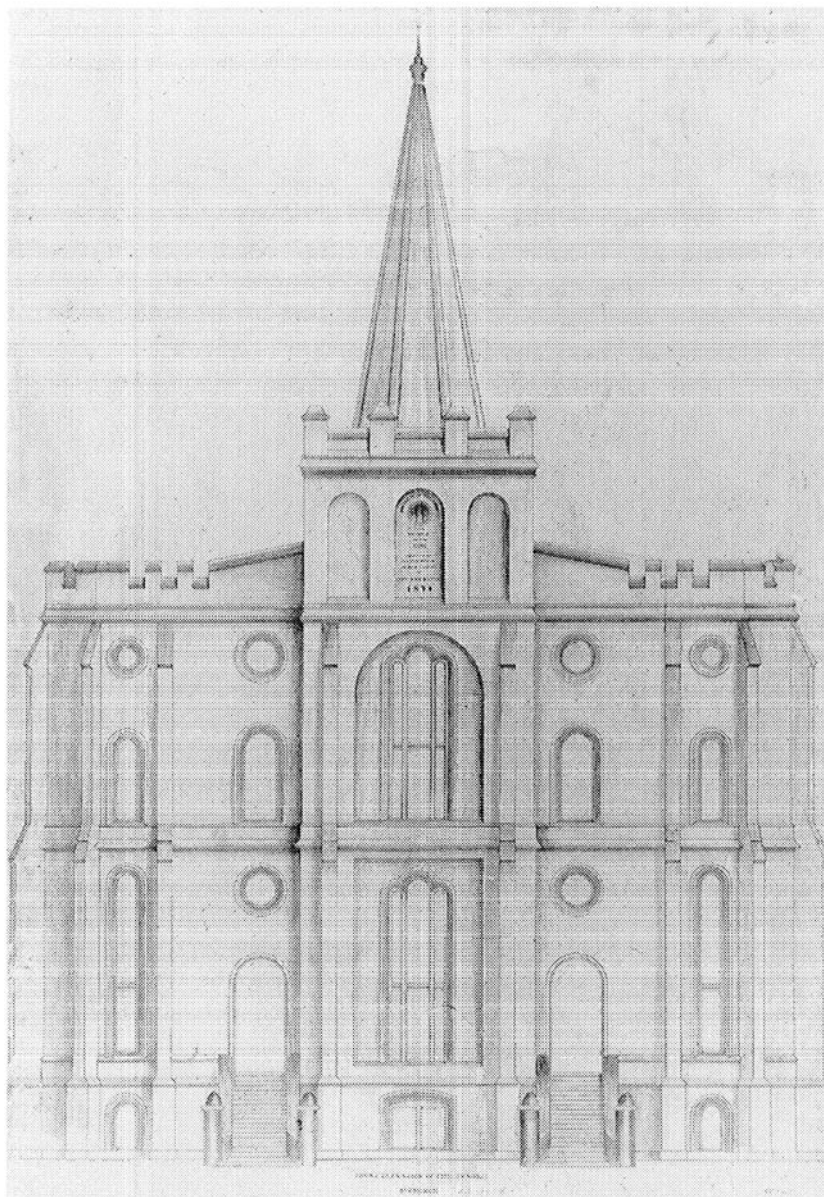
22. Original proposal (c. 1873–74) of Truman O. Angell, Sr. for the St. George Temple. (*LDS Historical Department*)
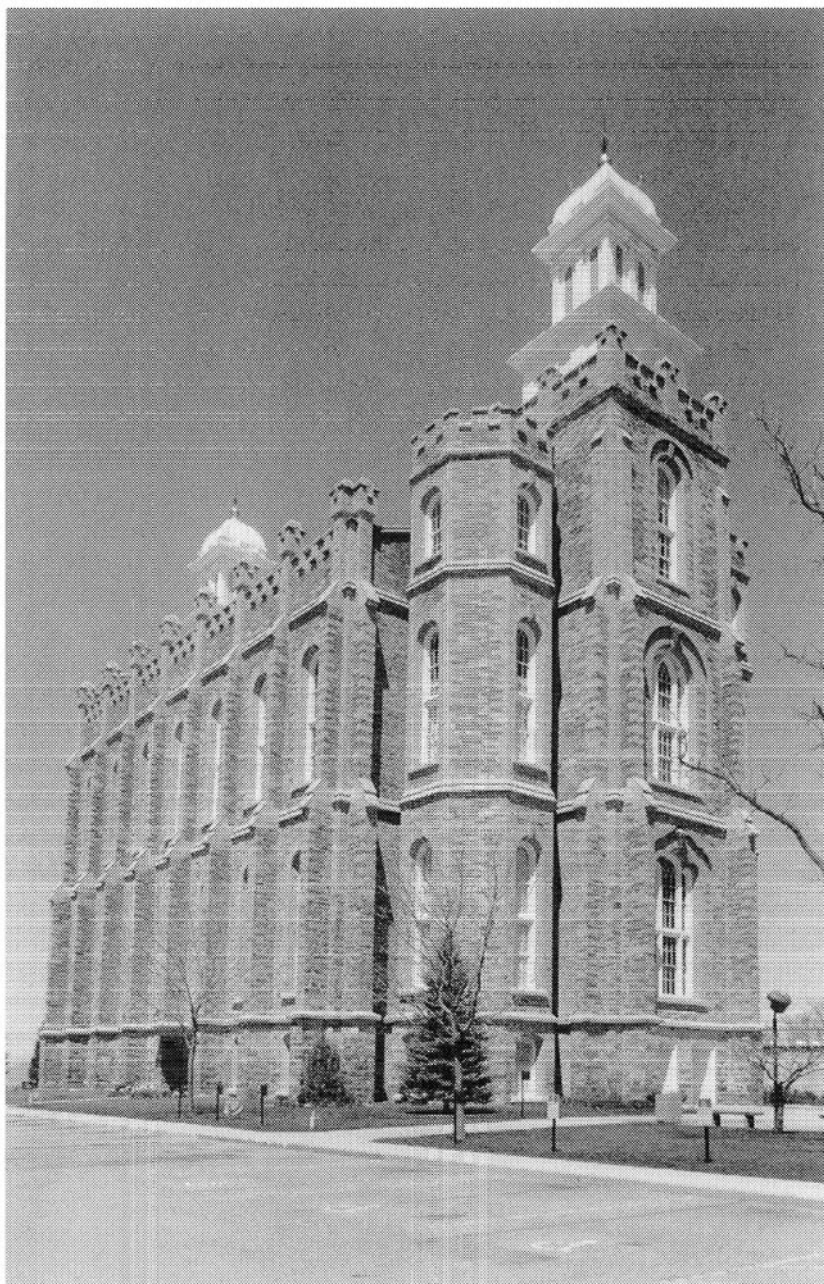
23. A contemporary view of the Logan Temple (1877–84). The photograph is of the east main facade of the building rather than the more commonly seen and picturesque view of the temple from southwest. (*Author*)
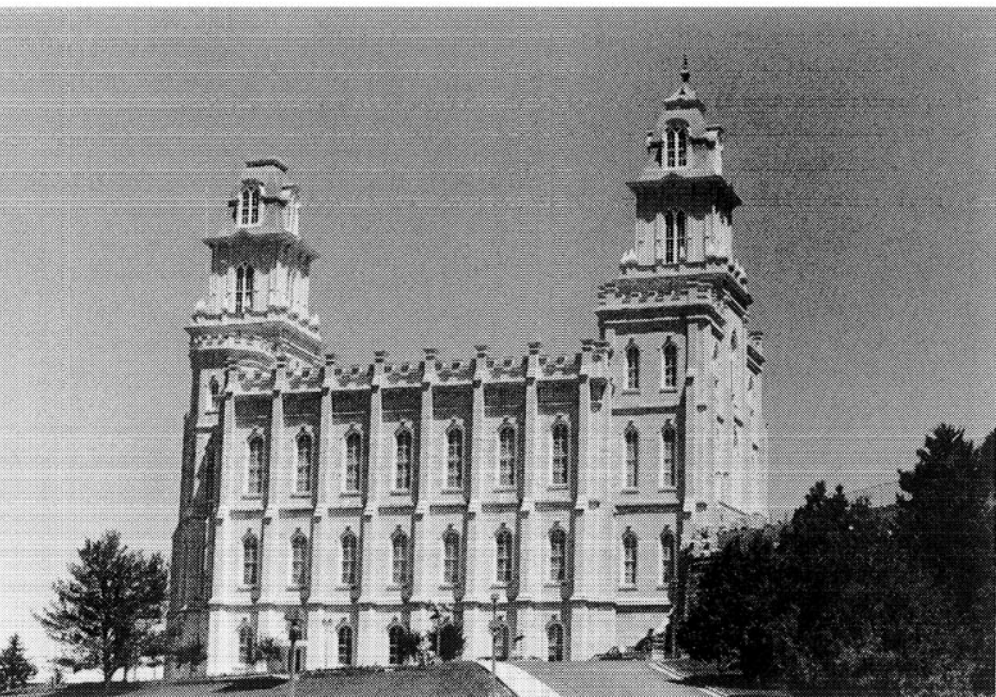
24. View of the Manti Temple (1877–88) from the southeast. The photograph shows the differences between the east and west tower arrangements and how they were kept within the width of the building. This is in contrast to the Salt Lake and St. George Temples. (*Author*)

FOUR

Tabernacles

A Building for Stake Meetings

A tabernacle was an important unifying element in maintaining the Mormon concept of Zion and the Saints' requirements to bring it about. Its size and central position within the community reminded the Saints of their covenants and obligations. Tabernacles were specifically designed to meet the congregational needs of a stake, a term used to describe a Mormon ecclesiastical unit roughly equivalent to a diocese.[1] A stake is composed of wards, smaller ecclesiastical units roughly equivalent to parishes. A typical stake, in the nineteenth century, often encompassed an entire community and a number of outlying areas, including other towns, whereas a ward encompassed a single settlement or ecclesiastical subdivisions in cities where there were larger concentrations of church members.[2]

The origin of the church's use of the term *tabernacle* is unclear. However, the term frequently appears in the Bible and other Mormon scripture associated with Zion. Isaiah's symbolic interpretation as used by Bruce R. McConkie best describes the purpose of a Mormon stake and the role of a tabernacle:

> In prophetic imagery, Zion is pictured as a great tent upheld by cords fastened securely to stakes. Thus Isaiah, envisioning the latter-day glory of Israel, gathered to her restored Zion: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left. . . ." (Isaiah 54:2–7) And of the mil-

lennial Zion, Isaiah exulted: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: . . . a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken." (Isaiah 33:20)

In keeping with this symbolism, the great areas of the church population and strength, which sustain and uphold the restored Zion, are called stakes. They are the rallying points and the gathering centers for the remnants of scattered Israel.[3]

Others speculate that the tabernacle of skins, or the tent built by Moses to house the ark of the covenant, is the most logical source.[4] This concept is rejected by still others, citing the lack of documentation.[5] Often overlooked in both arguments is that the term could very well have sprung from common usage, having been used to describe both temporary and permanent facilities designed to house religious congregations. Sir Christopher Wren, for example, while rebuilding parish churches destroyed in the Great Fire of London (1666), erected a number of wooden temporary shelters that he referred to as tabernacles.[6]

The tabernacle was another aspect of the overall concept of sacred space and a physical symbol of the kingdom of God. It carried a certain amount of prestige, clearly indicating that the community it served was an important ecclesiastical center. Tabernacles were second in hierarchical importance to temples. In fact, only temples lent more prestige to a community, and the presence of both building types indicated a center of considerable importance (Salt Lake City, St. George, Logan, and Manti, Utah, all boasted both a temple and a tabernacle). Smaller towns, such as Richmond and Willard, Utah, whose populations and geographic locations did not warrant stake tabernacles, chose to call their houses of worship "tabernacles" when in reality, they were ward meetinghouses.[7] Sited on church squares, or blocks, tabernacles were typically the largest and most impressive structures in a town. Construction, which involved more than the local church membership, drew upon aid from other ward congregations within the stake.

The importance accorded tabernacles is reflected in their size and elaborate design. While the crenellated style of the Mormon temples was an expression of Brigham Young's defiance toward the outside world, and a statement of permanency of the restored kingdom of God on earth located "in the top of the Mountains" as prophesied by Isaiah (Isaiah 2:2), the varied styles of the tabernacles can be seen more as a

reflection of the diversity of Mormon taste and knowledge of architecture. This diversity led to styles ranging from Wrenish Colonial to Victorian Gothic.

As a building type, the tabernacle originated during the Missouri period of church history. When the Saints fled to Far West in 1836, their first concern was to build a structure where they could hold their religious services. They built a log tabernacle, incurring the displeasure of Joseph Smith, who expected them to build the temple.[8] The issue came to an end with the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri in 1839. It was not until the Nauvoo period that Smith would call for the construction of a tabernacle.

The rapid growth in church membership in Nauvoo created the need for a covered facility of ample size. The Grove, an open area east of the Nauvoo Temple, had become an inadequate place for the Prophet to address his followers and was very uncomfortable during cold and inclement weather. In the spring of 1844 Smith requested a tabernacle be constructed to remedy the situation. The tentlike structure, to be fabricated of canvas and wood, was to be attached to the west facade of the temple then being constructed, to take advantage of the structural stability of the building. The dimensions of the projected ellipse were approximately 250 feet on the long axis and 125 feet on the short axis.

Planning for this was temporarily halted with the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. Yet it was now even more critical for Brigham Young to address the needs of the Saints than it had been for his predecessor. Under Young's direction, the Council of Twelve sent a letter to the eastern Saints in 1845, to contribute to the building of the tabernacle.

To the Saints Abroad, Greetings:

The walls of the Temple are completed and the roof is nearly on. Through the liberality of the brethren that building is in a rapid state of advancement; but it will only accommodate a small congregation when completed.

Pursuant to the counsel of Joseph Smith given previous to his martyrdom, we now intend to erect a Tabernacle for the congregation made of canvas. It will take about four thousand yards, which with other fixtures, will cost between one and two thousand dollars.

We have appointed Elder Orson Hyde one of our own quorum, a faithful, trusty and competent man of God, to go forth and raise all the necessary funds for the above purpose, to procure the materials and

return with them to this place as soon as possible. Elder Hyde is authorized to raise the necessary funds by loan, by contribution, or tithing or donation; if by loan, the church here will refund the same in lands at a low rate, or in cash as soon as we can command it; and any contract that he may make in relation to the above, the church will be responsible for.

It is hoped that no brother or sister who has funds that he or she can spare for a season will withhold them from Brother Hyde, for it is the aid that he seeks for us. Also we hope that the saints will be liberal in their donations, and every other person that wishes well to the Temple of God and to the Tabernacle of the congregation in Zion. May God bless all that feel interested in the matter.[9]

Elder Hyde was duly dispatched in 1845, to raise funds and purchase "cloth" for the tabernacle. His journey took him to Wheeling, West Virginia; Pittsburgh; Wilmington, Delaware; Philadelphia; New York City; and Boston. By early September that year, he had raised enough money to buy the needed four thousand yards of canvas, and had it shipped to Nauvoo from Boston on September 17. Rope to stretch and help support the tabernacle was purchased in St. Louis.[10]

But again the building was delayed, this time by the urgent need to complete the temple. Then the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo, abandoning the project altogether. The canvas was put to good use, however, covering the many wagons built for the evacuation.

Tabernacles, 1847–1877

It was during Brigham Young's tenure as president of the church that the tabernacle became more than a temporary structure. The tabernacles built under his direction largely followed the same general exterior pattern and interior arrangement.[11] This uniformity was due largely to two factors. First, the tabernacle represented a link to the past for many church members. Young spoke of "preserving among the youth of Zion . . . the kind of edifice in which many of their fathers and mothers, as members of the Presbyterian Church, worshipped before they heard the gospel."[12] (This referred to buildings both in the United States and in the British Isles.) The second factor was that plans or advice for construction of the building often passed through the office of the church architect—which, of course, was governed by the president of the

church. Where there were differences, they were in size and architectural detailing.

The Mormons built their first tabernacle in exile at Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa, in 1846. The need for such a structure was urgent; many Saints had gathered there in preparation for their trek to the Great Basin. Measuring forty by sixty feet, the building was designed to seat a thousand people, and although only temporary, was sturdily constructed of logs cut from local sources.[13] It was dismantled following damage by the spring floods of 1848, and the logs were used in constructing a smaller tabernacle in Pigeon Creek, Iowa Territory, the next year.[14] Both structures were used for church meetings and recreational activities.

THE OLD SALT LAKE TABERNACLE

It was not until 1852 that the first tabernacle was dedicated in Utah. It was located on the southwest corner of Temple Square in Salt Lake City. The "Old Tabernacle," as it would be called to distinguish it from the later "Large Tabernacle," was designed by Truman Angell, Sr., who a year earlier had been appointed church architect by President Young. The building replaced the second of four boweries constructed on the temple block between 1847 and 1863. These picturesque shelters, made of log posts with flat or arched roofs of interwoven tree boughs, were used for the general meetings of the church, but there was a desperate need for a more fitting all-weather structure.[15]

The new tabernacle, 126 feet long and 64 feet wide, was constructed of adobe, a favored building material of Brigham Young, who spoke of its economy and structural virtues, and encouraged its use by the Saints during his discourse on what material should be used to construct the Salt Lake Temple: "If you take this clay, which is to be found in abundance on these bottom lands, and mix with it these pebble rocks, and make adobies [sic] of the compound, it will petrify in the wall and become a solid rock in five hundred years. . . . If a man should undertake to put me up a stone house, I should wish him to build it of adobies, and then I should have a good house.[16]

The first mention of adobe as the preferred building material was made in a council meeting held on August 1, 1847, in Salt Lake City. Samuel Brannan, a convert who had just arrived from San Francisco to meet with the Saints and extol the virtues of California as a place to

settle, spoke highly of adobe construction. He cited that he had just built a structure of adobe at much less the cost and time than it would have taken using another material. However, it was probably a detachment from the Mormon Battalion that had been sent to fight in the war with Mexico, who brought a practical knowledge of adobe construction to the Great Basin. They arrived in Salt Lake City on July 29, 1847, after living months in the region where this type of construction was the rule.[17]

The Old Tabernacle served as a multipurpose assembly hall, accommodating general church meetings, lectures, and cultural events. The interior was dominated by an expansive elliptical ceiling that sprang from the upper half of the wall, eliminating the need for interior columns, or pier supports, adding to the openness and acoustical qualities of the interior. Light came from a series of chandeliers and a precious few windows in the north end, west wall, and east entrance.[18] Heat was provided by pot-bellied stoves located in each of the four corners. The stoves managed to take the chill out of the air but warmed only those who were fortunate enough to sit near them. This perhaps encouraged some to arrive early, particularly on the coldest days. People sat on wood benches facing the pulpit. The pulpit was originally positioned in the middle of the west wall, or on the short axis of the building, in a probable effort to bring the audience closer to the speaker.[19] It was relocated to the north end, on the long axis, and placed in the nearly full-width, half-dome apse that was added to the building in the early 1860s. The concept of the half-dome (hemicycle) was probably the brainchild of Brigham Young, who later proposed a more elaborate concept using the principle for the present tabernacle on Temple Square.

In 1857 a seven-stop pipe organ was installed in the building.[20] It was built in Australia by Joseph Harris Ridges (1827–1914), a carpenter-cabinetmaker from Eling, England, who, imbued with gold fever had emigrated to Australia with his wife and son in 1851. Though unsuccessful in finding gold, he was able to pursue his lifelong dream of designing and building a pipe organ. It was during this time that he came into contact with the Mormons and was baptized by Augustus Farnham in 1853. He was later persuaded by Farnham, then presiding elder of the mission, to ship the organ to Utah, and donate it to the church.[21]

When the maximum seating capacity of 2,500 proved insufficient, a

third open-sided bowery was built just north of the tabernacle in 1854. With a diameter of 160 feet, the new bowery could seat approximately 8,000. The continuing need for a more adequate all-weather facility with ample seating eventually led to the construction of what would be known as the Large Tabernacle.

In 1863 the third bowery was razed, and planning for the Large Tabernacle began. The design of the domed structure originated in a sketch by Brigham Young and was carried out by William Folsom, who was at the time acting church architect. Construction began the following year, under the direction of Henry Grow, a convert and accomplished bridge builder from Pennsylvania.[22] Grow modified the Remington Lattice truss system to accommodate the roof structure.[23] Timber trusses of local pine were held together by wooden pegs lashed with strands of rawhide. The great dome (240 by 150 feet) rested on forty-four exterior piers constructed of sandstone quarried from nearby Red Butte Canyon. The floor sloped to the west approximately 65 feet below the height of the ceiling at the base of the rostrum. Dominating the west end of the building was a four-tiered rostrum and choir.

When the Large Tabernacle was dedicated on October 6, 1867, the acoustics of the structure proved inadequate. Brigham Young approached Truman Angell, Sr., who had just come out of retirement, and asked him to resolve the problem. Angell's innovative solution was equal to that of Grow's structural design for the dome: he constructed a thirty-foot-wide gallery around the interior wall. It was supported by two rows of freestanding wooden columns with wall attachment points every twelve to fifteen feet. A thirty-inch gap was purposely left between the gallery and wall to help eliminate the problem of recurring echoes. The project was completed in 1870 to the satisfaction of President Young. The acoustics were now excellent, and the new gallery provided seating for 3,000 more occupants, increasing the total capacity to approximately 10,000. The tabernacle, including the new gallery, was engineered so that the entire congregation could be evacuated in approximately five minutes, through a series of sixteen double doors set between the pier supports and access staircases. Its pine benches were painted with a feather to imitate oak, while the pine columns were painted to simulate marble, an Old World practice commonly used in many Mormon buildings. However, the organ and console were the most impressive part of the interior. Again designed and built by Joseph Ridges at Brigham Young's request, the inspiration for the design prob-

ably came from Ridges' two visits to the Boston Music Hall in 1863 and in 1869. Both times he inspected its marvelous pipe organ. His own organ was 23 feet across, 30 feet deep, and 40 feet high, and consisted of 2,638 pipes, the largest being 32 feet high.[24] The building, today recognized as one of the world's great halls because of its fine acoustics, was a remarkable achievement for nineteenth-century frontier engineering.[25]

THE OLD PROVO TABERNACLE

The tabernacle as a building type soon spread from Salt Lake City to other areas of the growing "Mormon Empire." The first of these outlying tabernacles was proposed for Provo, forty-five miles south of Salt Lake City, and was one of Truman Angell's earliest projects as church architect. It set the pattern for most tabernacles designed under the aegis of Brigham Young and represented a marked departure from the earlier Old Tabernacle on Temple Square and its sister design (1856) in Ogden, Utah. It was certainly more traditional when compared to the Large Tabernacle on Temple Square.[26] Angell relied on architectural guides for the largely Greek Revival design of the tabernacle.[27]

The original site (1852) for the building was the block that is now Pioneer Park at Fifth West and Center streets. However, in 1856—after the site had been platted, the land deeded, and the foundations of the building laid—Brigham Young shifted the city center five blocks east to the "Tabernacle Block." The reasons for the change are not known.[28]

When the plan was first presented to the local priesthood leadership by George A. Smith of the Council of Twelve, it was met with some opposition. Conflict is evident from an article that appeared in a Salt Lake newspaper the year the tabernacle was completed: "Bro. George A. Smith brought the plan down [from Salt Lake City] to the brethren who were residents in Provo at that time, but it was not favorably received by many of them, because its being so much like a Presbyterian meetinghouse, and because there was not, as they supposed, material in the county to erect and finish such a house."[29] Why some did not want to build the tabernacle is not clear. Building materials such as rock, clay and lumber were readily available. It was not the lack of skilled artisans. Economic circumstances might have been a factor and,

perhaps, had Angell proposed a smaller and more spartan building without a tower, his design might have been more acceptable to those opposing it. But he probably had prepared the plans under the watchful eye of President Young, who earlier had requested the Saints to build tabernacles and meetinghouses of the best materials befitting a house of worship.[30] The president appointed Thomas Allman to superintend the construction of the building.[31]

Work began in the fall of 1852 but was not completed until 1867. The single-elevation rectilinear structure, 81 by 47 feet, was oriented north-south and sat atop a raised stone basement. The main entrance was on the north. Stuccoed adobe brick walls were broken by quoins, narrow sash windows with "Elizabethan pediments," and a continuous cornice beneath the eave of the roof.[32] The entrance was unadorned except for a simple above-door pediment and dedicatory inscription, and flanking single-height windows.[33] The gable ends of the medium-pitched roof were appropriately finished with triangular pediments, and an oval window with a bell-shaped surround was fitted in the pediment of the north end. A quoined, square vestry was attached to the south end. The focal point of the exterior, a well-proportioned, three-stage octagonal tower stood above the main entrance, approximately eighty feet from ground level. The base supported the belfry, which was articulated by eight peripterally arranged engaged Ionic columns that supported an entablature. The pointed octagonal cap was topped by a ball-and-arrow weathervane.

The tower was reminiscent of the one on the Nauvoo Temple and those of earlier buildings of the Federal–Greek Revival style in the Midwest and East.[34] When the Saints first arrived in Utah, Greek Revival as an architectural movement was on the decline, being supplanted by the Gothic Revival style. This dates Truman Angell in terms of his knowledge of contemporary trends in architecture—and is perhaps one of the reasons, along with geographic isolation, why current trends in architecture were slow to develop in the territory. The interior arrangement of the tabernacle might very well have set the standard for all subsequent tabernacles. A full-windowed, English-style basement was reached through single-door entryways on the north end of each side wall. This room, initially smaller than the main assembly hall, was designed for leadership meetings and cultural activities, and as a classroom area. The front entrance of the building led to a full-width vestibule.

Three doors opened into the assembly hall, which sloped to a curved, multitiered, full-width pulpit and rostrum with an eighteen-foot-deep vestry. A velvet curtain could be drawn across the vestry to separate it from the hall. The vestry served as a backdrop for the rostrum and an auxiliary space for priesthood leadership meetings. A U-shaped gallery was reached by corner staircases in the vestibule. The gallery was built with an eight-foot clearance, bringing it to the level of the massive nine-foot-high Elizabethan or Gothic style pulpit.[35] The Provo Stake Tabernacle Choir sat at the north end of the gallery. The hall was finished with a prominent cornice and elliptical ceiling. It was capable of seating about 1,500 people. In 1919, the Old Tabernacle, deemed too small and costly to maintain, was razed.

THE BOUNTIFUL TABERNACLE

The Bountiful Tabernacle (1857–63) was designed in the Greek Revival style by Augustus Farnham (1805–1865), a convert born in Andover, Massachusetts.[36] Located on the church square near the center of town, it sits atop a nine-foot-high podium base of local stone. Eighteen-inch-square piers were positioned in the middle to support the floor of the assembly hall. The walls of the three-bay structure were built of adobe brick three feet thick and stuccoed to enhance the general appearance of the building. The triple-sash windows are set midway into the load-bearing walls, revealing their massive thickness. The west entrance is accessed by a broad frontal staircase that reaches to a temple front. A freestanding porch is supported by four fluted Doric columns constructed of red pine. The medium pitch of the temple-style pediment is repeated in the open gable of the main body of the building. The gable features cornice returns and a pronounced fan-lunette, and the lunette is repeated in the pediment over the porch. The roof is dominated on the west by a wooden Wrenish-style three-stage tower with a delicate balustrade on the second stage, and a spire and corner pinnacles on the third stage.[37] Two entrance doors open into an assembly hall. A west gallery, accessed by corner staircases, overlooked a boxed rostrum and a centrally positioned pulpit (removed in 1877) against the east wall. Brigham Young had Danquart Weggeland, a Norwegian convert, paint a grisaille bust of Joseph Smith in a trompe l'oeil niche on the wall behind the choir seats. The painting was framed by fluted wooden

pilasters that supported a plaster arch.[38] Paired pilasters supported a formal entablature that was congruent with the cornice. Coal oil chandeliers that hung from a low, elliptical, arched ceiling provided lighting and, as in many Mormon tabernacles and meetinghouses of the time, heat was supplied by a wood- or coal-burning pot-bellied stove that sat in the middle of the hall.[39]

THE ST. GEORGE TABERNACLE

St. George, Utah, has perhaps the most beautiful of the Brigham Young– era tabernacles. It was designed in 1863 by Miles Romney in a Wrenish Colonial-Georgian style. Romney was born in Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire, where he was apprenticed to a carpenter. He was baptized in the Mormon Church in England in 1839, and left for Nauvoo in 1841. By 1850 he was in Salt Lake City, where, from 1851 to 1856, he was employed as the Foreman of Public Works under the direction of Daniel H. Wells.[40] During this time, he assisted Truman Angell in platting and laying out the foundation for the Salt Lake Temple. In 1856 he was called by President Young to return to his native England as a missionary; in 1858 he returned to Salt Lake City, and four years later, he was called to help settle St. George. Romney was responsible for a number of buildings in the area, but the St. George Tabernacle (1863–76) was his most important contribution.[41]

The tabernacle, located five city blocks northwest of the St. George Temple, is an imposing structure, rising above the smaller period buildings to the north. It is constructed of local red sandstone blocks, the surfaces of which bear the individualized chisel marks of the masons who worked on them.[42] The main body of the building rests on a raised basement story once used for religious instruction, cultural activities, and administrative meetings. A series of columns were positioned in the middle to support the main floor of the structure. The area was later partitioned into three instructional rooms. The area is now used as a Family History Center for the church.

The facade is dominated by an engaged central tower that is capped by an impressive, two-stage tower-spire arrangement reminiscent of eighteenth-century Colonial Georgian churches of the Wrenish style. The two-story arrangement of the interior is not reflected on the exterior because of single-height triple-sash windows. The height of the

windows does, however, ease the visual transition between the basement story and the bracketed cornice beneath the eave of the roof. Entrance to the assembly hall is gained through doors on either side of the central tower.

The general plan of the interior is essentially the same as that of the Old Provo Tabernacle. The doors open into staircase vestibules that service the double aisles of the main floor and a U-shaped gallery reached by two handsome open-center, spiral staircases, a type not found in other tabernacles of the period. A vestry room sits between the vestibule entrances. The main floor culminates with a two-tiered rostrum at the west. The rostrum, centrally placed pulpit, and choir seats are, again, the central focus of the interior arrangement. Beautiful consoles support the architraves over the thinly proportioned windows. A flat lath-and-plaster ceiling is decoratively separated from the walls by an elaborate modillioned cornice. The plaster foliate surrounds of the metal chandeliers were formed from wood and wax molds made by local artisans.

Tabernacles, 1877–1900

Mormon architecture experienced a moderate renaissance starting prior to the death of Brigham Young in 1877. This period of growth was the result of several factors: the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, an expanding economy, and a significant increase in the numbers of skilled artisans arriving from the eastern United States and Europe. A new level of prosperity and confidence, coupled with a greater understanding of outside architectural styles, led to a new generation of tabernacles. Adobe, favored by Brigham Young, gave way to local stone and brick as the building materials of choice. The later tabernacles had the same general interior arrangement as the first tabernacles, and they shared the same architectural vocabulary of rectangular body with tower-and-steeple combination. The differences between the earlier and later structures lay in building size (the later ones are generally bigger) and in a heightened level of sophistication in design, style, and construction. This period was also marked by a change in church administrative affairs. Members of the church hierarchy from Salt Lake City were no longer required to oversee outlying settlements and were replaced by strong local leaders.

The Single-Axis Plan

THE LOGAN TABERNACLE

The first of a new generation of single-axis-plan tabernacles was proposed for the city of Logan in 1865. Until that time, the church had used the Logan Hall (1861–62) as a meetinghouse, but the city's population had nearly doubled between 1861 and 1865. A tabernacle was now needed. The local church leaders requested permission to build one, and President Young approved the request. Construction, however, was delayed until 1873 because of the lack of available labor: men from Logan and the surrounding areas went seeking work on the transcontinental railroad and local spurs. The foundation that was laid in 1865 was left untouched for eight years. It was Brigham Young, again, who revived the project, this time calling for a larger structure. The new 65-by-130-foot foundation was laid over the original 60-by-106-foot foundation in 1873.[43]

The design of the limestone-and-quartzite tabernacle probably came from the hand of Truman Angell, Jr., who had moved to Logan in 1874 to start work on the temple.[44] Because construction of the temple took precedence, the tabernacle was not dedicated until 1881.[45] Even then, the upper portion of the tower had yet to be completed. In 1885 work again commenced on the tower, directed by George and Erastus Cole, who had just completed towers of similar design for the Cache County Courthouse and the Logan Temple.[46] Evidently the two men had gained valuable experience from working on those buildings, because their best work was done on the tabernacle. The tower and cupola were completed in January 1886 to a height of 125 feet.[47]

The original entrance staircases were removed prior to the building's rededication in 1891. The congregation could then enter the building at ground level. Three entrance doors and their associated windows were combined to form three large windows, resulting in a more pleasing facade. The new entrance doors and associated decorative surrounds did much to bring a sense of foundation and finality to the west facade. However, in this fanciful display of bichrome Victorian taste, the sense of structure is somewhat lost.

As in the interior designs of earlier tabernacles, the assembly hall sat atop an ample full-length basement. It, too, was a multipurpose area, but unlike earlier plans, was augmented by a two-story vestry at the

east end. This addition provided extra space for church leadership meetings. The vestry was flanked by side entrances that eased the flow of people into the area, as well as into the main hall.

The two-aisle assembly hall was unvaulted and dominated by a near full-width, tiered rostrum and choir with a pulpit at the center. The hall sloped toward the rostrum at the east, and a column-supported U-shaped gallery completed the interior arrangement. The gallery was reached by two corner staircases at the west, and two stairways from the adjoining rostrum. The pipe organ that now occupies the upper reaches of the east end was not part of the original design.

PARIS IDAHO TABERNACLE

The Paris Idaho Tabernacle (1884–89) was probably the most handsome of the tabernacles built during the nineteenth century. It must have seemed unusual to find a stone edifice of its size and style in a relatively isolated rural area, when tabernacles were usually reserved for larger populace centers. It was built to serve the needs of the numerous small farm communities in the Bear Lake Stake, which at the time extended from Paris to Soda Springs, Idaho, approximately forty miles to the north; seventy miles south-southeast to Randolph, Utah; and fifty miles into the Star Valley area of Wyoming.[48] The town has grown very little since the dedication of the tabernacle in 1891 (construction was completed in 1889).

Although the Paris Idaho Tabernacle shared the same general interior pattern or arrangement with other tabernacles, its exterior was significantly different. The powerful asymmetry and the articulation of the towered facade is suggestive of a building of Germanic origins. This is reinforced by heavily buttressed load-bearing walls of sandstone, pierced by flat and round-headed windows.[49] Joseph Don Carlos Young was responsible for changing the original design between 1882 and 1884. The masculine heaviness of the Ottonian facade was well within his knowledge of Romanesque architecture, and reflected the growing popularity of the Richardsonian style and the availability of current architectural periodicals.[50] The tabernacle's style and subtle bichrome exterior place it within the contemporary Victorian period, consistent with that of the Logan Tabernacle. An unusual feature is the round, apselike two-story vestry at the east end. Common to churches of other faiths, it is an uncommon feature in Mormon architecture. Apparently, Young re-

lied on the original 1882 proposal for the vestry to complete the formality of the design and to provide space for leadership and prayer meetings.[51]

Young followed the pattern of earlier tabernacles by using a single-axis assembly hall with a U-shaped gallery. Entrance to the vestibule and hall is through a large double door at the base of the approximately 110-foot-tall central tower. The impressive vaulted ceiling is decorated with single strips of stained wood arranged in geometric patterns. Its hull-like design was by James Collings, Sr., a New England shipbuilder by trade. Tradition suggests that Collings vaulted the ceiling in the same way he built ships.[52] The gallery was reached through staircases in the flanking towers from associated vestibules. In trying to unify the interior and the exterior style of the building, Young had the gallery supported by single columns that extended from the ground floor through the gallery front into an arcade. This feature was a marked departure from the Federal and Greek Revival styles which dominated the other tabernacles and was consistent with the nave-aisle arrangements of late eighteenth-century Georgian or picturesque Gothic-style architecture. Young's design, an aesthetically pleasing architectural solution, was both of its time and reflective of the past.

MANTI, MORONI, AND HEBER TABERNACLES

Three smaller tabernacles were built in the rural communities of Manti, Moroni, and Heber, Utah. All were patterned on the familiar five-bay rectilinear plan with an engaged tower-spire or tower-belfry arrangement. The Manti (1879), and Moroni (1879–89) tabernacles, built of local oolitic limestone, were designed by William Folsom while he was engaged in overseeing the construction of the Manti Temple.[53] The Heber Tabernacle (1887–89) of the Wasatch Stake, credited to Alexander Fortie of Heber, was constructed of local sandstone. It was finished with a simple cap, reminiscent of those on the St. George and Logan temples.[54] The noticeable difference on the exterior between it and the Manti and Moroni tabernacles was the consistent use of Gothic or pseudo-Gothic features—pointed arches in the tower, hooded segmental arches in the main body, and stepped-wall buttresses. All three, however, were built without an attached vestry.

The interiors of the tabernacles were designed around galleried (U-shaped) assembly halls that faced a rostrum-choir area. (An additional

end gallery was included in the design of the Manti Tabernacle, creating a two-tier effect at the back of the hall.) Access to the galleries was from a vestibule, or a tower-vestibule arrangement.[55]

Heber City acquired the tabernacle from the church in 1965 and converted it into a two-story city office building in 1987–88.[56] The Manti Tabernacle is still in use by the church but has undergone a number of changes. The first, completed by 1903, was the addition of a pedimented spire, closed gable ends, and decorative corner turrets (bartizans). The remodeled building exhibited decorative qualities similar to the nearby Richfield Tabernacle (cruciform plan, 1882–99) of the Sevier Stake by Niels Mortensen Skougaard.[57] A second, extensive remodeling under the supervision of L. P. Miller, an accomplished local builder, was done in 1927. The tabernacle was changed on the interior from a one- to a two-story building to facilitate the growing needs of the church. The floor of the assembly hall was raised to the former level of the U-shaped gallery in order to create a new ground story for religious instruction, and auxiliary meetings. The end gallery was retained for supplemental seating. Continued inadequacies led to further changes in the building. A new office, classroom, and cultural hall complex was added to the west end in the late 1950s.[58]

The Moroni Tabernacle was the most aesthetically pleasing of the three. Folsom utilized decorative late-Georgian quoins and window and door surrounds in the Gibbsian style. The building makes the transition from the horizontal to the vertical, beginning with the flat-headed windows of the main body to the segmental pediment over the entrance, into the pointed arches of the upper part of the engaged tower, to round-arch windows in the octagonal belfry, and concluding with a polygonal spire. It, like the Manti and Heber tabernacles, had side entrances to facilitate the movement of people. The Moroni Tabernacle was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1950.[59]

THE BRIGHAM CITY TABERNACLE

The Brigham City Tabernacle of the Box Elder Stake is included in this section because of two extensive renovations of the building in 1889 and after 1896. Work on the original single-axis-plan structure began in 1865, following a visit by Brigham Young and the church surveyor, Jesse W. Fox. The tabernacle was located on Sagebrush Hill because of the hill's prominence and good drainage. Work on the 58-by-98-foot foun-

dation was completed by 1868, but construction proceeded slowly thereafter, because most of the laborers had found work on the railroads or the Logan Temple. Construction did not resume until 1875, and would take another six years to complete. The building was a simple, rectilinear building of quartzite-and-sandstone construction, with a diminutive engaged tower. The assembly hall was reached through an ample vestibule.

A fire in 1889 made extensive repairs necessary. Although the original walls remained, both the interior and exterior of the tabernacle took on a new appearance, a decidedly Victorian Gothic architectural and decorative character. The tower was extended to a height of seventy-eight feet. The walls were articulated with brick buttresses capped by prominent pinnacles, and hood moldings were added over the doors and windows. The interior was similarly transformed. Seating capacity was increased from approximately 1,000 to 1,400 through the addition of a gallery and an enlarged rostrum-choir. The tabernacle was dedicated by President Wilford Woodruff on October 28, 1890.

The renovation was short-lived, however, because another fire, caused by an air heater under the east rostrum, destroyed the interior in 1896. To avoid a possible recurrence, builders relocated the rostrum-choir to the west end of the building, while retaining the axial direction (west-east) of the building. The reorientation of the interior created a most interesting situation. Those who entered through the vestibule on the west passed on either side of the rostrum-choir on their way to their pews, and once seated, found themselves facing the pulpit and rostrum-choir from the direction they entered the building. This unusual orientation was later used by Frank Lloyd Wright in his design for the Unity Temple (1906), in Oak Park, Illinois. The Box Elder Tabernacle was one of the best examples of nineteenth-century Mormon, Victorian Gothic architecture.

THE CRUCIFORM PLAN

The cruciform plan, when used, was the product of two architects, William Folsom and Obed Taylor. Taylor was born in Canada and moved to San Francisco in the 1850s, where he established himself as a builder-architect. He was baptized in the spring of 1855 by Parley P. Pratt of the Council of Twelve, and moved to Utah in 1871 to help in building the "kingdom of God on earth." There he gained the attention

of Brigham Young and became an assistant, with Folsom, to the church architect, Truman Angell, Sr. For a brief period the two assistants joined company to form their own architectural firm. Taylor is best known for his cruciform plan of the Salt Lake Assembly Hall (more commonly known as the Assembly Hall) on Temple Square, which was built on the site of the Old Tabernacle.[60] While under construction, the Assembly Hall was referred to as the "New Tabernacle" in order to distinguish it from the domed tabernacle to the north. When further clarification was needed, the domed tabernacle was referred to as the "Large Tabernacle." Confusion persisted until President John Taylor, in December 1879, officially changed the building's name from the New Tabernacle to the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. This, however, did not imply a change in function: the structure remained as the tabernacle for the Salt Lake Stake. But it also was used to accommodate overflow crowds on Temple Square and to fill the needs of smaller congregations who did not require the spacious Large Tabernacle.

Taylor began work on the Assembly Hall soon after Brigham Young called for its erection on August 11, 1877, and brought the building to completion in 1882, at a cost of ninety thousand dollars. Henry Grow supervised the construction of the building, a two-story, cruciform-plan structure built of cast-off granite blocks from the Salt Lake Temple.[61] Its thick load-bearing walls are subdivided into bays by repeating octagonal wall buttresses. Each bay is configured with two segmental single-mullion windows capped by appropriately styled hood moldings. Three lancet windows are used on the second elevation, with a single-oculus window in each gable entrance. This, no doubt, is done to enhance the vertical appeal of the building. The pitch of the gables is repeated in each of four canopies over the entrances. The main body of the hall is linked with the design elements of the entrances, creating a comfortable transition from a horizontal to a vertical emphasis, culminating in the crossing tower. The use of a continuous cornice completes the transition between the horizontal and vertical design elements.

The building's thick walls and roof trusses support an impressive, eclectic, Victorian Gothic–style crossing tower. The tower is complemented by twenty prominent pinnacles that cap the octagonal wall buttresses and the gable peaks of the roof.[62] Smaller pinnacles on the peak of each porch, in concert with the hood moldings over the oculus windows and the entrance doors, do much to unify the exterior design. This unity is further enhanced by the constant repetition between the

dark walls and the light inset decorative elements—pinnacles, hood moldings, cornice, and lintels—a contrast characteristic of Victorian architecture. The most unusual feature of the plan was the placement of the crossing or transept arms relative to the long axis of the building. In the traditional Latin-cross plan, the transept is located toward the sanctuary end of the building rather than the facade-narthex. The pseudo-transept of the hall is located one bay closer to the entrance vestibule than the rostrum-choir area.

The exterior of the Assembly Hall suggests a traditional Gothic interior arrangement of nave-transept and vaulting system. Yet little of this is reflected on the interior, where the only noticeable evidence of the cruciform plan is the presence of shallow, recessed arches in the gallery corresponding to the transept entrances. These arches do not add to the unity of the building; their function was to provide access to the main floor, gallery, and rostrum-choir. The few medievalizing elements are more decorative than structural, and are found in the upper reaches of the building. They include the Elizabethan-style pediments over gallery windows, the quatrefoil frieze along the front of the gallery, and the pseudo ribs of the slightly vaulted ceiling that springs from drop moldings, set at regular intervals along the wall. These features appear to be an effort to unify the interior with the hall's Victorian Gothic exterior. The interior generally follows the pattern that Brigham Young prescribed decades earlier: a galleried assembly hall with a large rostrum-choir at one end.

In the tradition of earlier tabernacles, the pine benches and seats were painted with a feather to imitate oak, while the pine column supports for the gallery were painted to simulate marble. Although the Assembly Hall was not as stylistically cohesive as other similar buildings in the United States during this period, it was, more important, a representative material document of Mormon functional and aesthetic priorities, as determined by the varying levels of expertise in architectural design at the time.[63]

THE NEW PROVO TABERNACLE

The New Provo Tabernacle (1883–98) of the Utah Stake was begun a year after the completion of the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. The need for the new tabernacle was noted by Brigham Young on the same day that the Old Tabernacle was dedicated in 1867 and was acted upon in a

letter dated March 28, 1882, to President John Taylor from the Stake Presidency asking about the financial feasibility of constructing a new tabernacle.[64] The First Presidency and the Council of Twelve approved the request on this basis:

> By the action of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles at a meeting held Wednesday, April 12 it was decided that you contemplate building a stake meeting house [tabernacle], you are authorized to use in the erection of said meeting house, so much of the labor and team tithing for your stake as you can collect and utilize.
>
> In this appropriation it must not interfere with the regular cash, stock, merchandise, property and produce tithings [a voluntary donation of one-tenth of a member's increase to the church] of the Saints.
>
> It is understood there are many of the brethren who will apply extra labor and team work [horse and oxen teams] on such buildings when they are informed they can have credit on tithing for the same, as they have not been required for some years to pay labor tithing and the same has almost gone into disuse.[65]

The conditions were acceptable to the stake membership who hoped that the tabernacle could be completed within two years. But the two years stretched into thirteen. Unexpected delays, including the disenfranchisement of the church over the issue of plural marriage, thwarted progress. In spite of the delays, William Folsom lived to see the building through to its completion.

The design of the tabernacle was no small task; Folsom at the time lived in Manti and was working on the temple there. He had also just completed the designs for the Manti and Moroni tabernacles. His burden was lightened, however, when the church leaders in Provo asked him to pattern their new tabernacle after the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. Folsom obliged by adopting a similar cruciform plan, but he made certain noticeable changes. First he used an equal number of bays on each side of the transept arms. He also abandoned the idea of wall buttresses and pinnacles for shallow pilasters to form a continuous bay system. The most obvious departure from the design of the Assembly Hall was the addition of four large flanking staircase towers at each corner—reminiscent of the octagonal towers of the Manti Temple. The towers did much to facilitate access to the interior. The gallery could be reached

from the outside, freeing the vestibule entrance for those who wished to be seated on the sloping main floor.[66] The towers and projecting pavilions also essentially eliminated the aesthetic necessity for any other large articulative elements for the main body of the tabernacle.

Unusual, the flared eaves of the steep-pitched roof reach out to encompass the towers, making them an integral part of the design. The corner towers, considered in relation to the front and back pavilions and the transept arms, create a rhythmic movement around the building. The unity of the two-story exterior is further enhanced by a number of repetitive design elements: lancet windows, hood moldings, and a stringcourse and bracketed corbel table. The vertical emphasis concluded with the crossing tower: an arcaded, octagonal belfry supported on a large square base. A balustraded promenade, which gave a commanding view of the Utah Valley and Utah Lake, quickly became a popular attraction. Unfortunately, in 1917 it was removed for fear that lack of structural support would cause it to collapse. Much of the visual appeal of the building was lost when this focal point of the design was eliminated.

The New Provo Tabernacle is twenty feet longer and ten feet wider than the Salt Lake Assembly Hall and its corner towers give it a more imposing presence. The similarity between the two buildings is particularly noticeable in their nearly identical interiors as originally completed. The obvious difference is the symmetrical placement of the pseudo-transept of the New Provo Tabernacle. Except for the lancet windows and stained glass, there is less visual cohesion between its Victorian Gothic exterior and the mixed stylistic and decorative forms on the interior. Circular staircases, off the arched recesses in the gallery on the north and south, provide access to the attic and the tower promenade. (The south staircase is no longer used.)

Both the New Provo Tabernacle and the Salt Lake Assembly Hall followed the long-established pattern of a galleried assembly hall and a multitiered rostrum-choir arrangement. In the New Provo Tabernacle the original frosted glass was replaced by stained glass in 1917 when the crossing tower was removed and the ceiling reconfigured.[67] The ambient light from the stained glass helps to soften the interior and enhance the beauty of the handcrafted woodwork. A so-called west room, twenty-four by thirty feet in size, forms the west end of the building. This area was reserved for priesthood and church auxiliary meetings, as were vestries in

other tabernacles. This area has since been remodeled, altering the number, size, and location of some of the rooms.[68]

The venerability of the structure would probably have been increased had it been constructed of stone rather than brick. The choice was probably more a matter of economics than aesthetics. The New Provo Tabernacle remains one of the pivotal designs of nineteenth-century Mormon tabernacles and a credit to the architectural skills of William Folsom. The cruciform plan continued into the first decade of the twentieth century with tabernacles in Vernal (1901–7) and Loa (1906–9), Utah.[69]

THE SMITHFIELD TABERNACLE

The Gothic style became popular in Mormon architecture beginning in the 1880s—consistent with contemporary developments in ecclesiastical forms of expression across the country. While the style is more commonly seen in the architecture of later meetinghouses, the Smithfield Tabernacle (1881–92) is an excellent example of this phase. Located in Smithfield, a rural community in Cache Valley, Utah, it is a brick, five-bay, single-tower-and-spire structure. It was designed by James Quayle from nearby Logan. The main body rests on a foundation of local stone extracted from an adjoining meetinghouse that was built in 1867 and later razed. The long axial roof is steeply pitched, befitting its medieval appearance. The exterior is articulated by wall buttresses, proportionate lancet windows, and a concluding corbel table. Doors on either side of the tower provided access, through a vestibule, to a sloping, two-aisle, unvaulted assembly hall with a rostrum-choir set against the west wall. The gallery was reached by a single staircase in the center tower. Curtains were drawn across the assembly hall in the absence of classrooms for religious instruction during Sunday School. (The Kirtland, Nauvoo, and St. George temples, as well as the early tabernacles and meetinghouses, used separating curtains to create instructional areas.) In 1946, the impressive corner pinnacles and capping tower were removed at the request of Bishop M. T. van Orden, who felt that it would be an act of sacrilege to turn the building over to the local school district with these elements on the structure. The Smithfield Tabernacle was then replaced by a new, more efficient building with a separate chapel area, classrooms, auxiliary meeting spaces, lavatory facilities, and running water.[70]

Tabernacles, second only to temples in importance, were an integral part of the concept of sacred space pertaining to Zion. Their shared pattern and their diversity in styles are reflective of the whole of nineteenth-century Mormonism. They demonstrated the will and lasting influence of Brigham Young and the changing tastes in architecture brought about by outside influences. Tabernacles were replaced by stake meetinghouses, or centers. This was for economic and practical considerations associated with the liturgical, instructional, and cultural needs of the church. Because the tabenacle as a building type was abandoned in the 1960s, the nineteenth-century structures have become even more important as a material expression of Mormonism.

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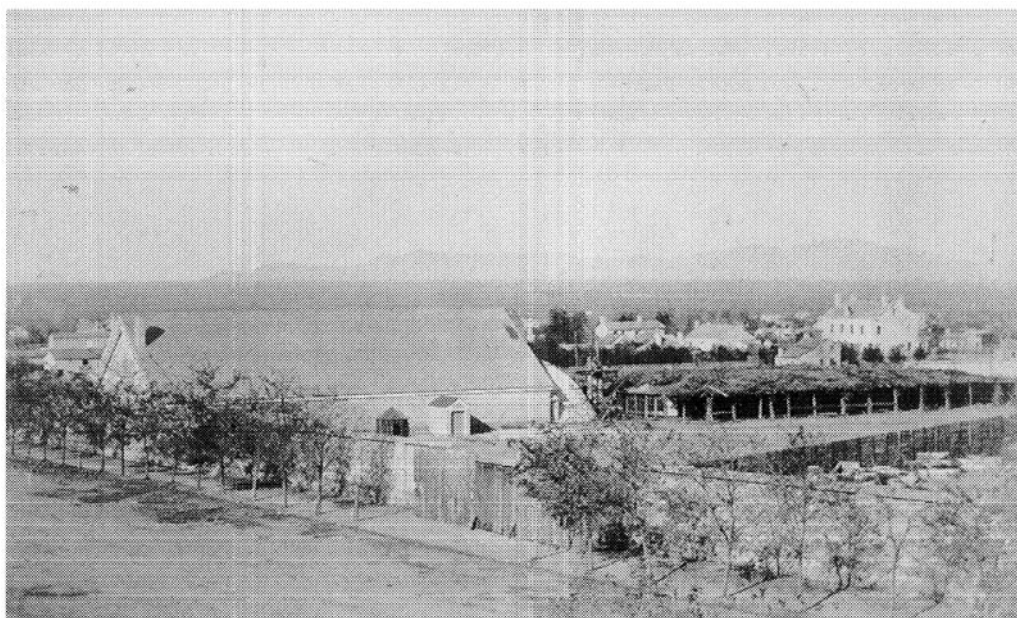
25. The Old Tabernacle (1851–52, demolished) and third bowery (1854, demolished) as they appeared c. 1862–63. Notice the hemicycle on the north end of the tabernacle and the stone-and-adobe wall surrounding Temple Square. (*LDS Historical Department*)

26. The Large or New Tabernacle (1863–70) on Temple Square seen from the southeast. The photograph was taken shortly after its completion in 1867. (*LDS Historical Department*)
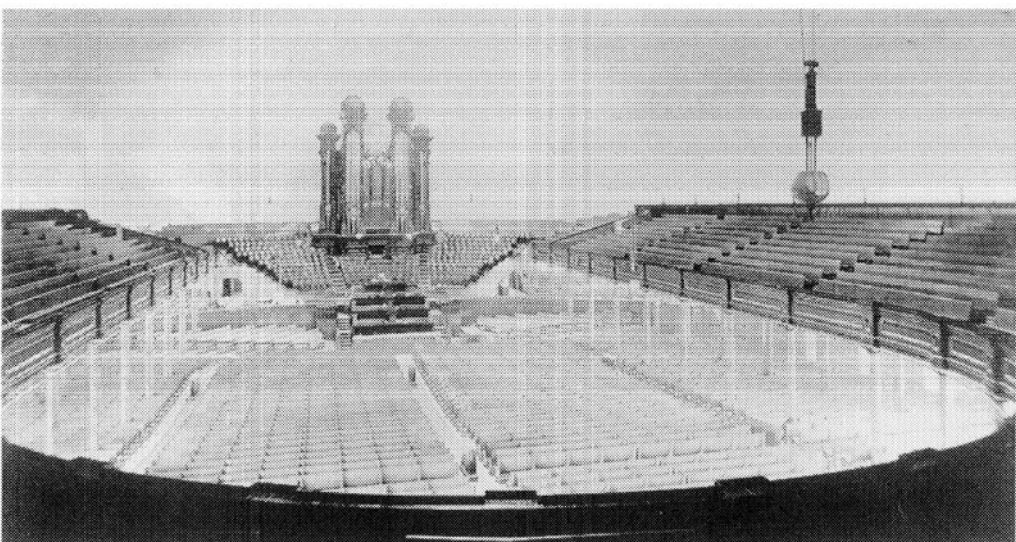
27. The interior of the Large or New Tabernacle as it appeared in 1896, marking the year of Utah's statehood. The organ and rostrum-choir area have since been enlarged. (*LDS Historical Department*)

28. The Old Provo Tabernacle (1852–67, demolished) seen from the northeast. The photograph was taken prior to the construction of the new tabernacle in 1883. (*Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter Utah Historical Society*)

29. A contemporary view of the Bountiful Tabernacle (1857–63) from the northwest. The rostrum-choir area has undergone a number of changes, altering its original appearance. (*Author*)
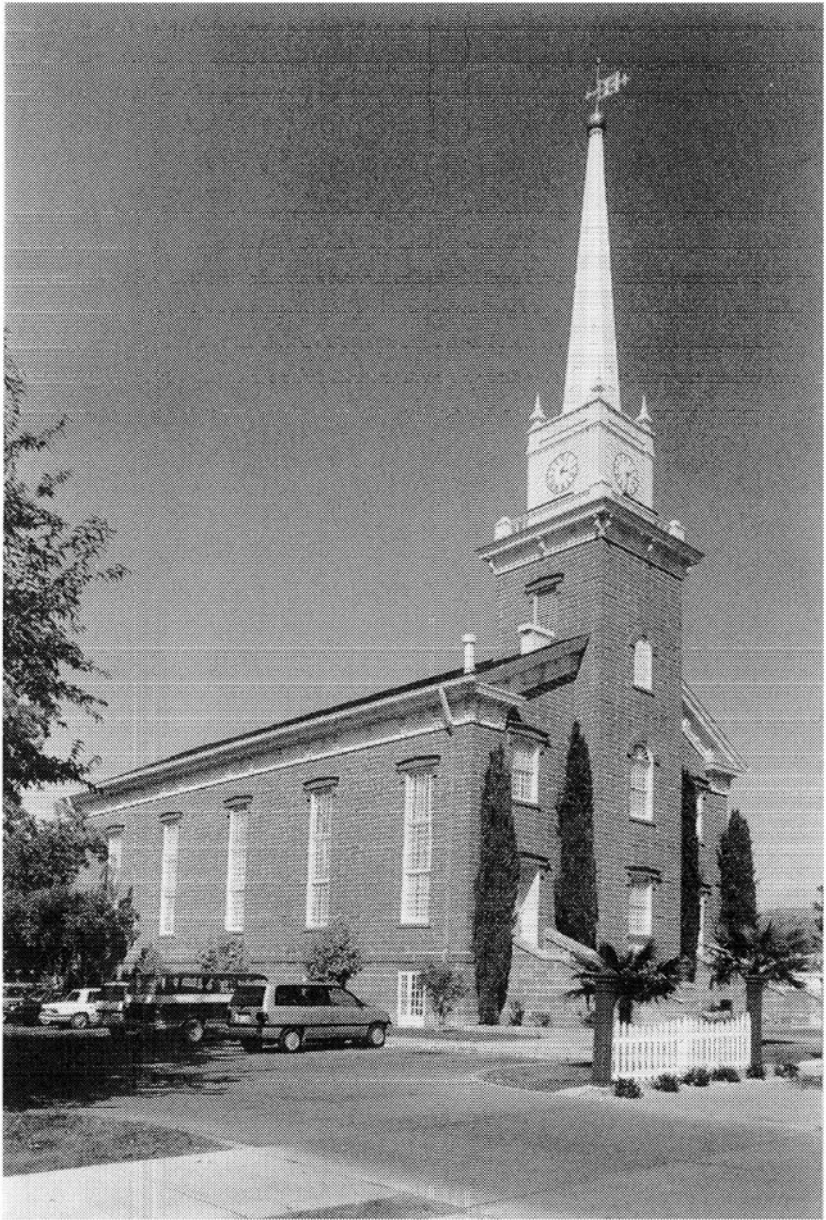
30. The St. George Tabernacle (1863–76) from the southeast. The building was restored in 1992–93. (*Author*)

31. The interior of the St. George Tabernacle toward the rostrum-choir, following the 1992–93 restoration. (*Author*)
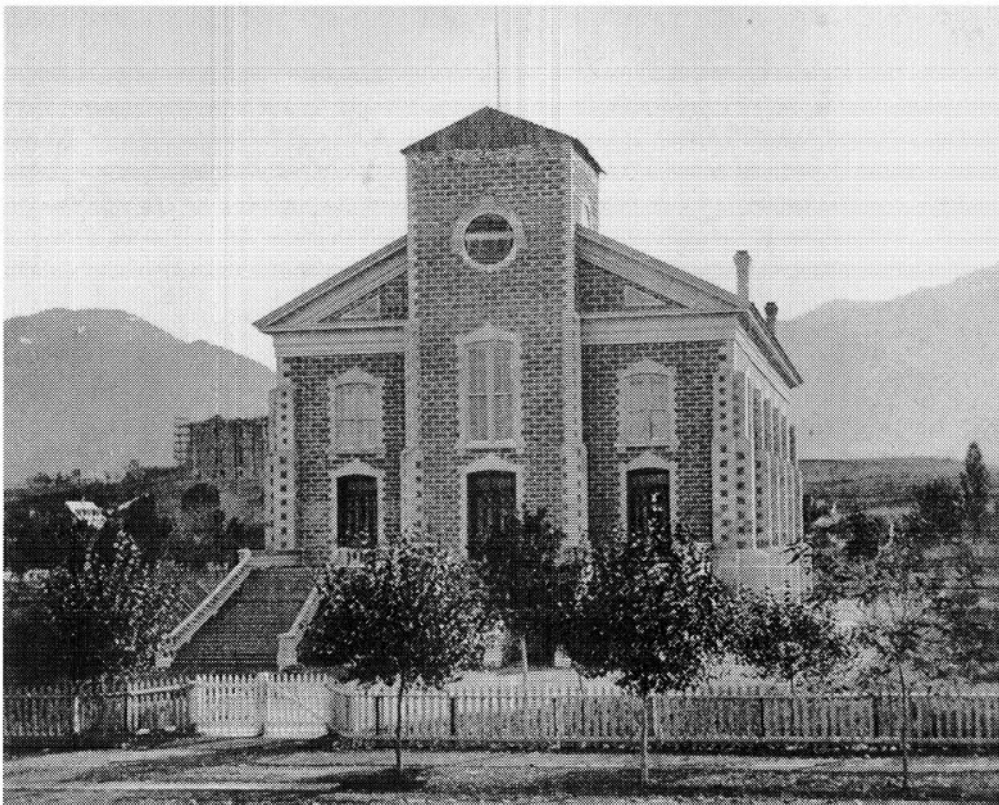
32. The Logan Tabernacle as it appeared in 1880. Note the Logan Temple still under construction to the left of the tabernacle. (*Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah*)
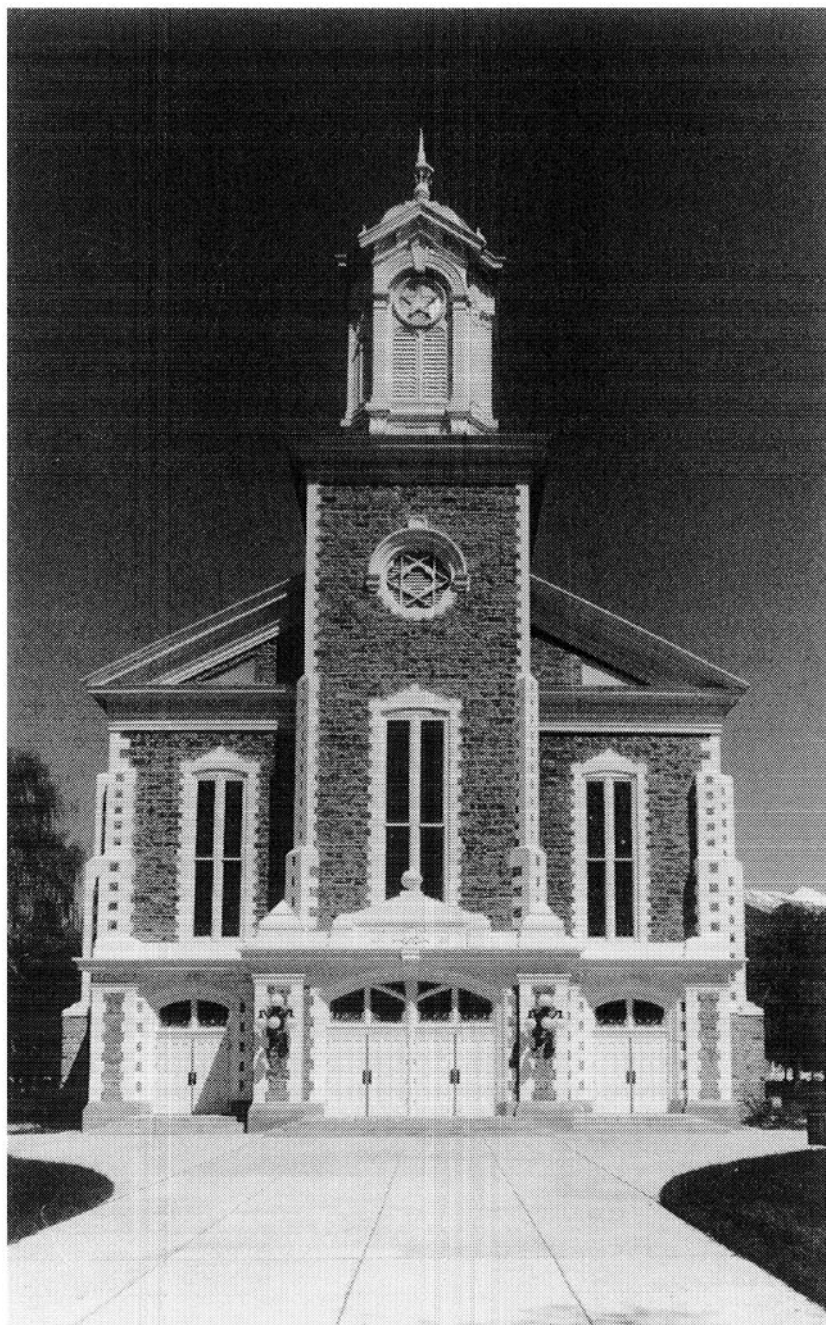
33. A contemporary view of the Logan Tabernacle from the west. The photograph depicts the changes made to the facade in 1885–86. (*Author*)
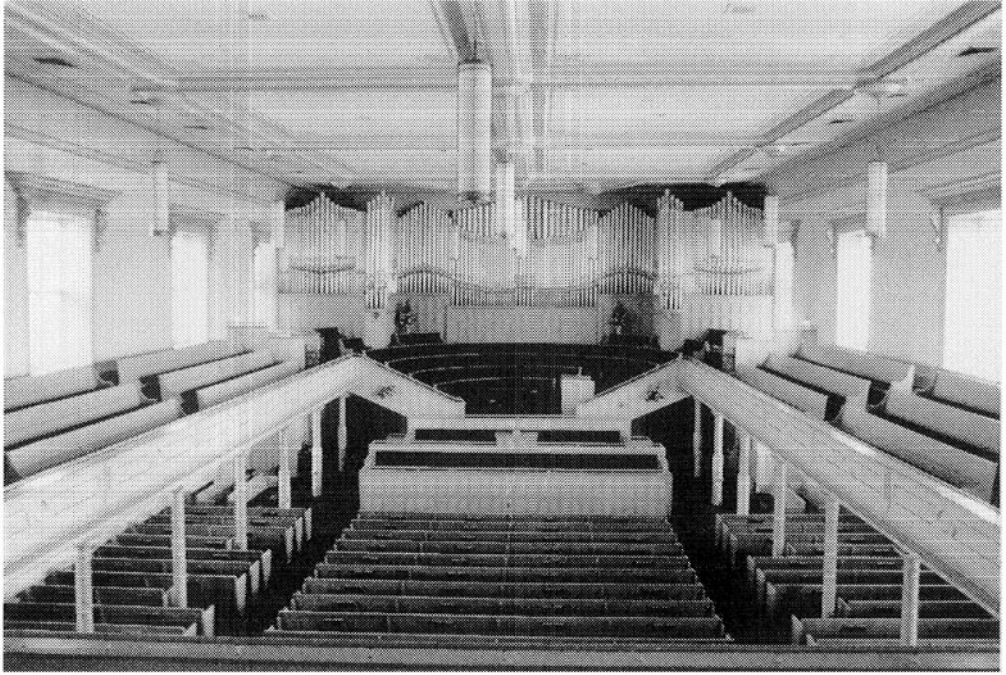
34. Interior of the Logan Tabernacle toward the rostrum-choir. The organ was installed in 1908. (*Author*)

35. A contemporary view of the Paris Idaho Tabernacle (1884–89) from the southwest. Local tradition attributes the difference in height and appearance in the tower staircases to differences of opinion between the architect and a local church leader. (*Author*)
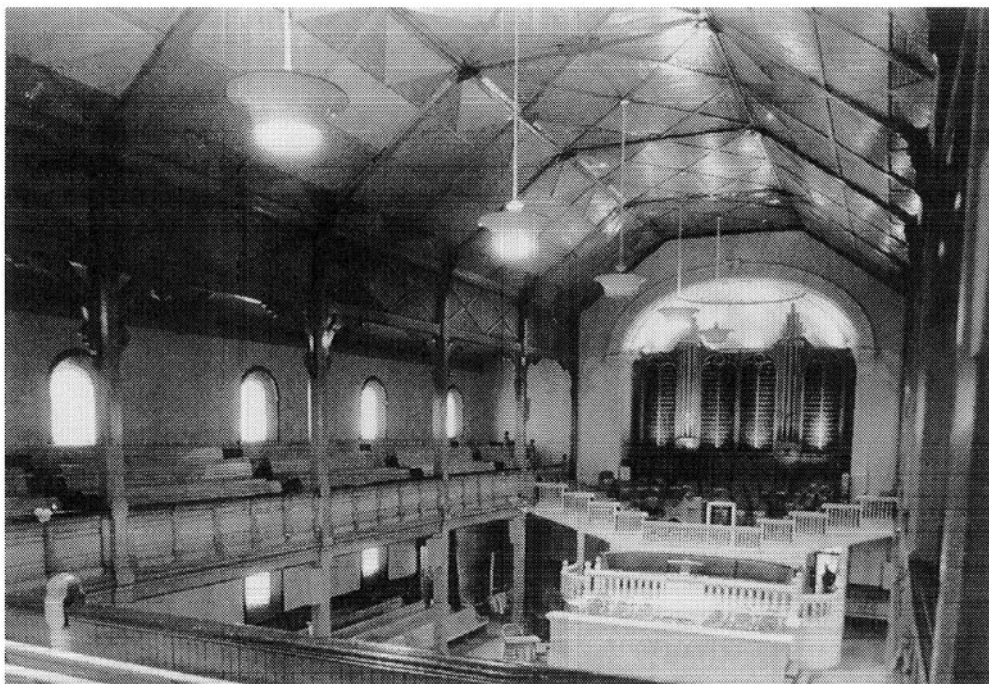
36. The interior of the Paris Idaho Tabernacle toward the rostrum-choir. The present organ was installed in 1928, replacing the original 1893 hand-pumped organ. (*Author*)
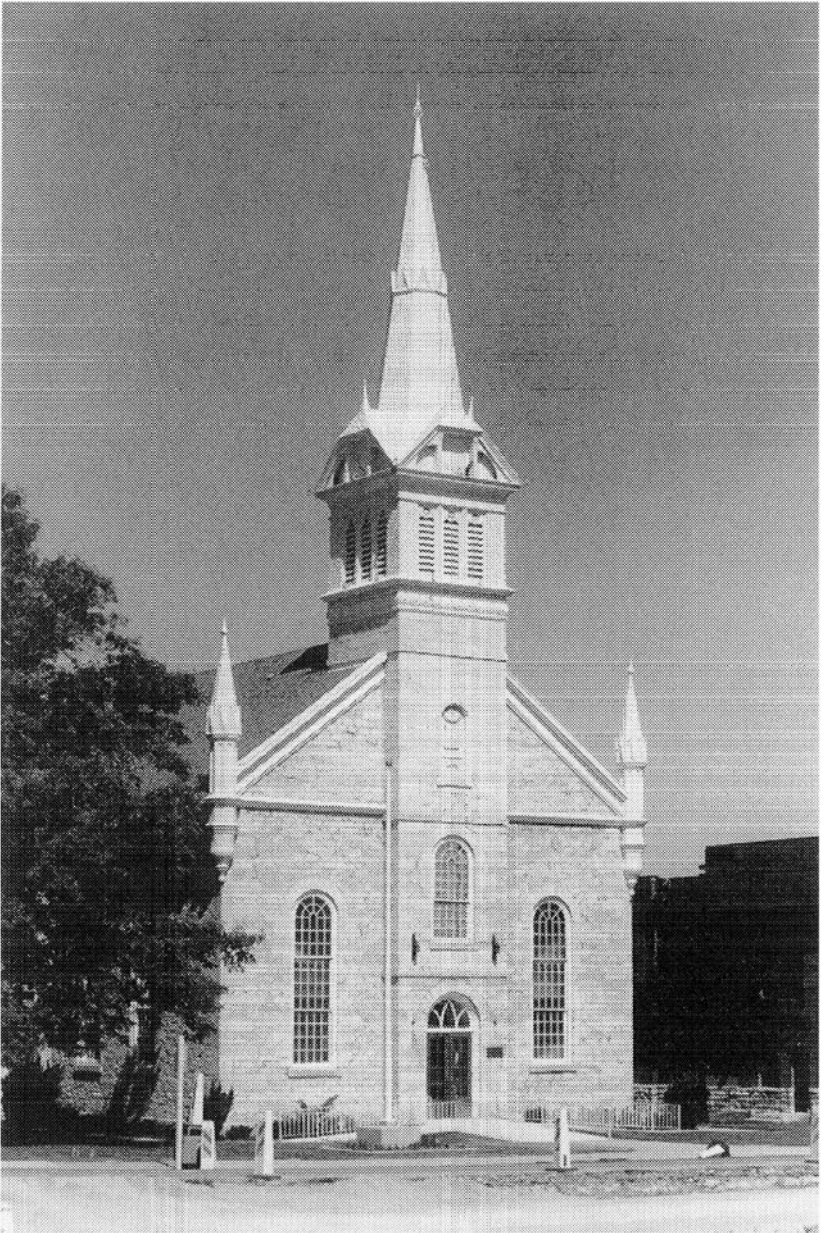
37. A contemporary view of the Manti Tabernacle (1879) from the southeast. The photograph shows the alterations made to the facade and tower at the turn of the century. (*Author*)
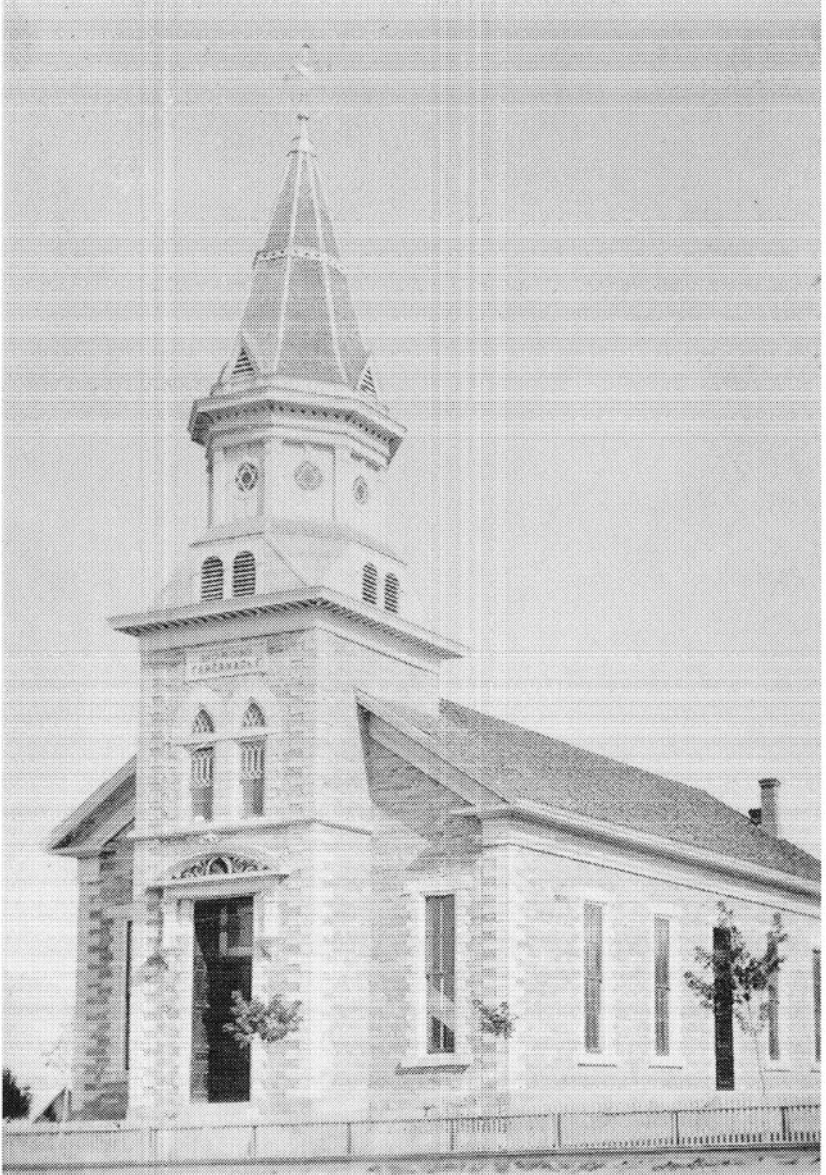
38. The Moroni Tabernacle (1879–89, demolished) seen from the southeast. The building was destroyed in a tragic fire in 1950. (*LDS Historical Department*)
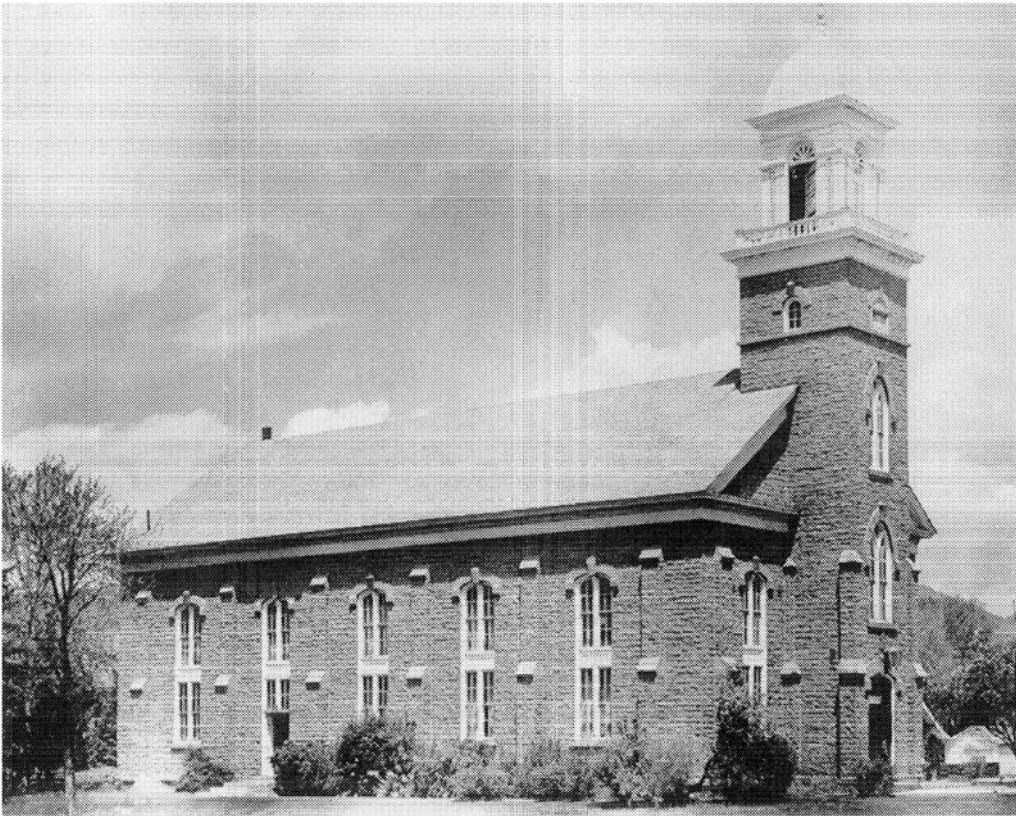
39. The Heber Tabernacle (1887–89) seen from the southeast. The photograph depicts the building as it appeared before its conversion to a two-story city office building in 1987–88. (*Utah Historical Society*)
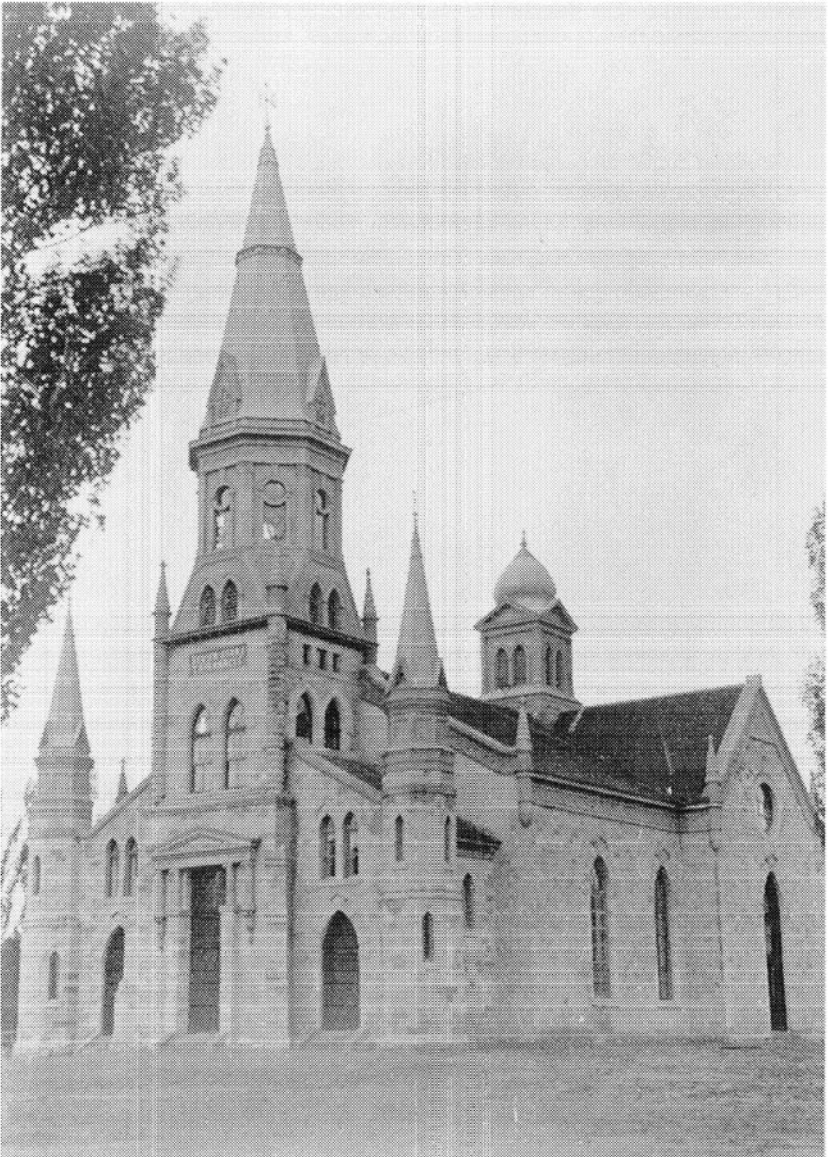
40. The Richfield Tabernacle (1882–99, demolished) seen from the northeast. The cruciform building was condemned in 1914 for structural inadequacies, resulting in its destruction. (*LDS Historical Department*)
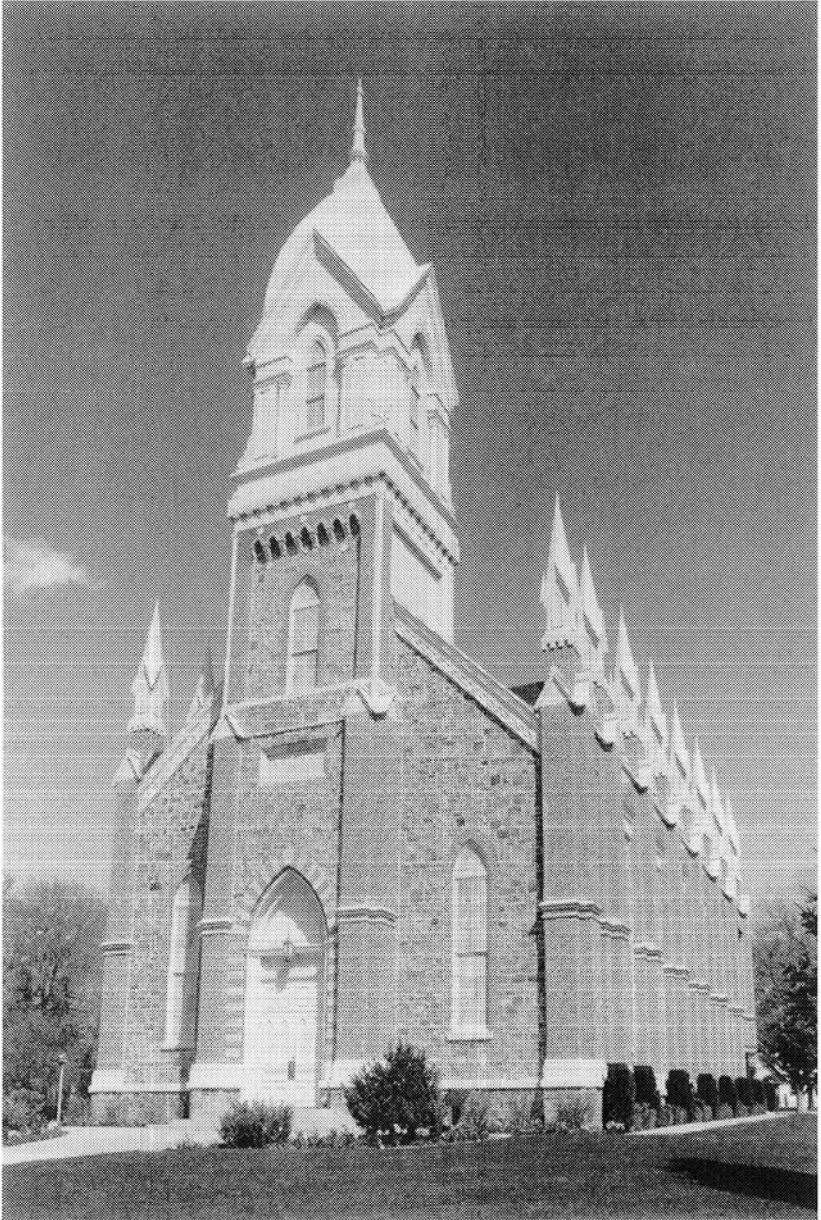
41. A contemporary view of the Brigham City Tabernacle (1865–81 / 1889–90 / 1896) seen from the west. No known photographs exist of the building prior to its reconstruction in 1896. (*Author*)

42. The interior of the Brigham City Tabernacle toward the rostrum-choir. The contemporary photograph depicts the interior as rebuilt in 1896. (*Author*)

43. A contemporary view of the Assembly Hall (1877–82) on Temple Square from the northeast. (*Author*)

44. Interior of the Assembly Hall as it appeared near the turn of the century. The view is toward the rostrum-choir. (*LDS Historical Department*)

45. The New Provo Tabernacle (1883–98) before the removal of the crossing tower in 1917 for reasons of structural inadequacies. The view is from the southeast. (*Utah Historical Society*)
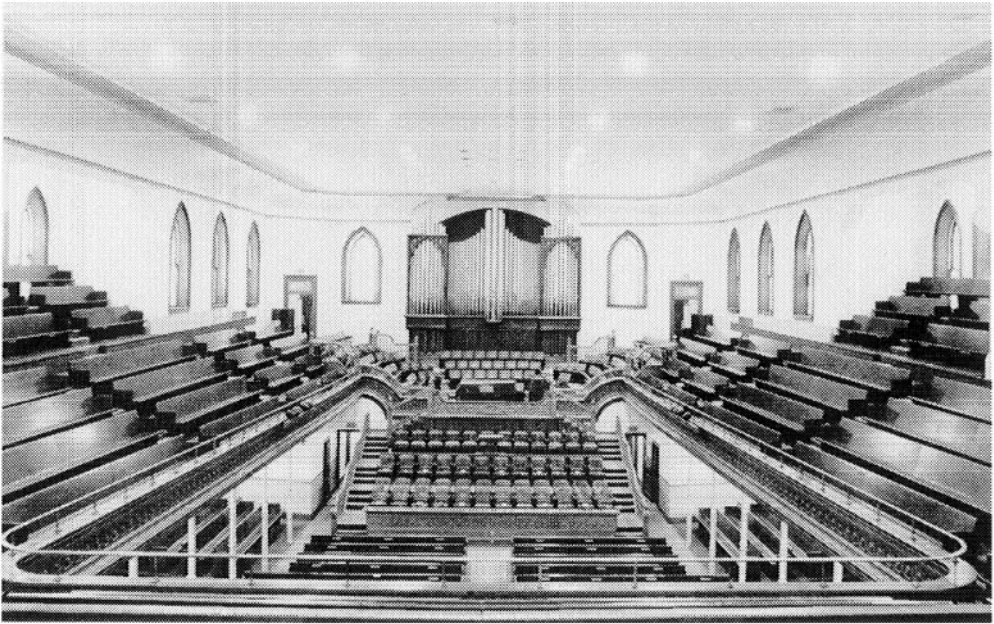
46. A contemporary view of the interior of the New Provo Tabernacle toward the rostrum-choir. The ceiling and organ area have undergone some changes since the removal of the crossing tower and restoration of the building in the 1980s. (*Author*)

47. The Smithfield Tabernacle (1881–92) as it appeared before the removal of its pinnacles and spire cap in 1946. The view is from the east. (*Lawrence S. and Rita C. Cantwell*)

FIVE

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Meetinghouses

A Building for Ward Meetings

The meetinghouse was to become the most common building type within the hierarchy of Mormon architecture. It served the congregational needs of a ward, the basic ecclesiastical unit within the church, serving the weekly devotional needs of the Saints as community hall and, often, as school.[1] "In pioneer Utah the ward was more than the basic ecclesiastical unit—it was the most important political unit and, except for the family, the most important social unit as well. . . . The ward was the unit of welfare, the unit from which younger men (and later women) were called on missions to proselyte in "foreign" fields of labor; the unit where babies were christened or "blessed," younger men (and older men as well) ordained to the priesthood, funerals held, dances, musical festivals, and bazaars sponsored, young people taught and group consciousness established.[2]

This multipurpose role was consistent with the partially theocratic society under which the Mormons governed themselves in their early years in the Great Basin region. Like the Puritans before them, they made no distinction between church and state, and all activities involving the communities of Zion were done in one form or another under the aegis of the church. And in the absence of a temple or tabernacle, the meetinghouse became the primary physical symbol, or reminder, to the Saints of their relationship to God. Although smaller and less pretentious than a temple or tabernacle, the meetinghouse was a common element within the Mormon concept of sacred space.[3]

The number of ward meetinghouses in each community was deter-

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mined by population. As a town grew and the population began to exceed the capacity of the existing house of worship, a new ward would be created and typically another meetinghouse built. Often several meetinghouses were needed in a single community. For example, each of the nineteen wards that comprised the original Salt Lake Stake held church services in individual meetinghouses.[4]

The Mormon need for a house of common worship can be traced to Kirtland and Nauvoo, where the temples were designed to meet the general congregational needs of the early church. When it was realized that the Nauvoo Temple was too small to accommodate the growing population of the church, Joseph Smith called for the construction of a tabernacle, as noted in Chapter 4. Yet even these buildings would not have been able to satisfy the needs of the individual wards. Nauvoo was divided into wards, none of which held regularly scheduled worship services. (The Prophet held weekly meetings for the church membership, in the Grove east of the temple, or at other places within the city.) When the Saints did meet, it was typically in private houses or in various other buildings. Following the death of Smith, Brigham Young was left to resolve the issues surrounding church organization. The resolution of the relationship between the church, stake, and ward organizations and standardization of meetings came after the Saints arrived in the Great Basin. The same was true for the building of meetinghouses.

The Meetinghouse, 1847–1870

Once in Utah, Brigham Young immediately called for the construction of meetinghouses. At first they were nondescript, single-room buildings within the defensible enclosures built to protect against attacks from Native Americans.[5] Constructed of the materials used to build the fort (logs, adobe, or stone), they were either integral to the design or an independent structure within the fortification. At Cove Fort (1867) in central Utah, two connecting rooms, contiguous with the fort's south defensive wall, served as a meetinghouse. These rooms also served as school, dining room, and cultural hall.[6] When fortifications were no longer needed, the Saints abandoned the forts and established communities nearby, or as an outgrowth of the site. It was during this time that the meetinghouse was born. Soon it gained a sense of prominence and typically was given a central location in the town. Many of the early meetinghouses were temporary, intended to be replaced later by

more adequate buildings. They were constructed of local materials such as logs or adobe bricks and were similar to early homes in size and appearance. Most had small windows, earthen or plank floors, and open ceilings.

THE GABLE-END, SINGLE-HALL, RECTILINEAR PLAN

Two types of meetinghouses soon replaced the early structures. Each was designed to show the sense of permanency the Saints felt after their arrival in the mountain valleys. Stylistic elements—cornices, pediments, bracket motifs, pilasters, quoins, and small belfries—became common features of the buildings. Yet, even with the increased use of these elements, the majority of Mormon meetinghouses can be grouped as either eclectic or as vernacular "high style." Established building traditions and practical considerations guided the choice of style, more than a knowledge of historical movements in architecture. The first of the two types was a small, single-story, rectilinear structure, oriented on a long axis. The main body of adobe or stone was usually set atop a shallow masonry foundation, often distinguished by a watertable, and was covered by a shingled medium-pitch roof. The walls were broken by flat, segmental, or round-headed sash windows. Entrance was through a single or double door often flanked by windows. The single-room, axial assembly hall was usually very plain, although some halls were fitted with chair rails, dados, window panels, and moldings. Wooden benches were typically arranged on either side of a central aisle, facing a pulpit-rostrum set against the wall. These buildings differed from one another only in their exterior and interior decorative features.

The two stuccoed adobe meetinghouses in Grantsville, Utah, illustrate the changing needs of a pioneer Mormon community. The first was built in 1861 as a church, school, and civic and amusement hall. Five years later a new and larger meetinghouse was constructed to the east of the first to accommodate the growth in population. The extant structure was designed with a two-story vestry, decorative quoins, and overdoor plaque. The original interior was finished with a pulpit-rostrum elaborate for the building's geographic location on the edge of the western desert. This level of sophistication can in part be attributed to Alexander Gillispie, an accomplished stonemason-builder from Scotland, who was the mechanic for the meetinghouse.[7]

The meetinghouse in Virgin City, Utah (1866), was somewhat unusual among the adobe structures of the period. Its twenty-four-inch thick walls were covered by clapboard siding rather than stucco to protect the mud-dried brick from the elements. Wood slats were recessed vertically into the walls as attachment points. In the 1930s the siding was removed, and years later stuccoed and painted white. The belfry is original to the building. The focus of the single-room interior was a full-width single-step pulpit-rostrum, an area often used on weekdays as a stage for plays and operettas. A curtain, from a roller bar in the ceiling, separated the audience from the activities on the stage (pulpit-rostrum). The building became a community center, following the construction of a new meetinghouse in 1970.[8]

The sandstone-and-granite meetinghouse by Elias Archibald in West Jordan, Utah (begun 1861), has a markedly heavier appearance than its adobe counterparts. Its facade is of coursed ashlar while the other walls are of rubble construction. The massive quality of the building stands in contrast to the delicate appearance of the rock meetinghouse in Alpine, Utah (1863).[9] Although the Alpine Meetinghouse is of rubble construction (local granite), the exterior was stuccoed and scored to give the appearance of finely dressed ashlar. The two-bay, single-room structure was built within the walls of the old fort and served as a meetinghouse, school, and amusement hall. A basement with four windows was included in the design for recreational needs. The building was used as a meetinghouse until the completion of a more adequate facility in 1872, and in 1979 was surplused by the church.[10]

The most common motif shared by these and most other meetinghouses of the period was a continuous cornice (boxed cornice) with cornice returns.[11] This might be expected—it was characteristic of the Greek Revival movement popular in the United States between 1820 and 1840. Moreover, tradition and early architectural guidebooks (not to mention the presence of Truman Angell, Sr.) were key factors in the continuing popularity of this and other motifs during Brigham Young's presidency.

The meetinghouse in Coalville, Utah, exhibits one of the best-preserved interiors of Mormon meetinghouses from this period. The building, an axial three-bay structure, was constructed of local sandstone, in random ashlar, to a thickness of eighteen inches. Originally built as a courthouse and amusement hall in 1865, it was converted in

1869 into a meetinghouse and dedicated by Brigham Young. It was equally well suited to use as a meetinghouse; its transformation from a secular to an ecclesiastical building points out how basic building design was at the time. Two rows of pine benches (painted to appear as oak) were added, along with a two-step rostrum and a small pulpit that was positioned in the middle. A pot-bellied stove was located in the right-hand corner, which apparently heated the area but little else. Beautiful handcrafted pine dado and window panels embellished the interior, and nine-candle, wrought-iron chandeliers hung from the flat, plastered ceiling. The building was relocated to Pioneer Village at Farmington, Utah, in 1975 in an effort to recreate an early Utah community from representative buildings.[12]

The Old Rock Meetinghouse in Farmington, Utah (1862–64), is a rare example of a meetinghouse from the period that is still used by the church. The plans were prepared by Reuben Broadbent, an accomplished housewright and local resident. Work on the structure commenced in 1862—following a visit from Brigham Young, who had called for the building's construction a year earlier. Wilford Woodruff, under Young's direction, dedicated the building on January 9, 1864. Until that time, church services had been held in private houses and in an older meetinghouse.

The three-bay rectilinear structure measured forty by sixty feet. Its walls, reinforced by corner quoins that also enhanced the appearance of the building, were formed of local stone to a thickness of nearly three feet. The planes of the walls were broken by eight slightly recessed single-height, square-headed, six-on-six sash windows. The roof, of medium pitch, was finished with a continuous cornice and pedimented gables. On the west end was the main entrance, flanked on either side by windows. It led directly into the central-aisle, longitudinal assembly hall with a semicircular pulpit-rostrum at the east wall. Choir seats on the north and a sacrament (communion) table on the south flanked the pulpit-rostrum.[13] Four chandeliers hung from a flat ceiling. A 24-by-28-foot two-story vestry at the back of the building served the administrative and auxiliary needs of the Farmington Ward.

Starting in 1937, the Old Rock Meetinghouse underwent a number of changes which significantly altered its appearance. First, an enclosed entrance porch was added to the west end. A new south wing was finished in 1941, and a corresponding north wing in the late 1970s. The

assembly hall was completely altered. The renovation involved reversing the axial direction and entrance to the hall. The new pulpit-rostrum was set against the west wall, turning the former entrance porch into a storage room.[14]

The old 40-by-60-foot five-bay adobe meetinghouse in Lehi, Utah (1855–60), was one of the more ambitious designs from this period. It was built with a full-width vestibule that provided access to an east gallery and a columned, elliptical and vaulted assembly hall. The building was constructed without an attached vestry. Instead, two rooms were built above the vestibule that functioned as a vestry. It was razed in 1972, after 117 years of continuous use.[15]

Of similar interest is the original four-bay, adobe meetinghouse (1851) in Fillmore, Utah. It was built with two axial "council rooms" in the gable area, which was serviced by an exterior staircase on the south end of the building. The rooms were supported by six posts that formed side aisles in the assembly hall. The building was remodeled and enlarged by two bays in the early 1880s. An elliptical ceiling replaced the council rooms, eliminating the need for interior supports. A large box stove was placed in the middle of the assembly hall with a directional "drum" to better distribute the heat. The structure was abandoned a few years after it was seriously damaged by fire in 1897.[16]

PODIUM-BASE OR SPLIT-LEVEL PLAN

The second type of meetinghouse to appear during this period followed the podium-base, or split-level plan (hereafter podium-base plan). The Nauvoo Temple was the first Mormon religious edifice to be designed with a functioning basement story. When the Saints arrived in the West, they adopted the higher-podium, or English-style basement for many of their meetinghouses—more out of practical than stylistic considerations. The higher profile accommodated larger windows, increasing the amount of light in the interior.

In his design for the Old Provo Tabernacle, Truman Angell first proposed the raised, functional basement in 1852. Extant examples of this type of meetinghouse are located largely in the smaller communities of central and southern Utah, where a stable Mormon population less affected by outside influences has led, fortunately, to the preservation of these structures.[17]

THE ROCK MEETINGHOUSE, 1861–1870

The oldest and most imposing meetinghouse was built in Parowan, in southwestern Utah. The Rock Meetinghouse replaced the Old Bowery (1851) and Log Council House (1851–52) where Sunday services had been held.[18] Ebenezer Hanks, Daniel Page, and Bishop William S. Warren were responsible for drafting the plan and cost analysis for a rock structure fifty-four by forty-four feet in size. The structure was first built as a meetinghouse and years later was designated as a stake house.[19]

The yellow-sandstone side walls, thirty inches thick, of the basement story were broken by three eight-on-eight sash windows that provided light and ventilation. This area of the building was completed in 1868. Entrance was through two doors on the north that led down four steps into a full-size hall. A platform was built along the south wall where plays and musicals could be staged. Five years later the hall was subdivided into its present three-room configuration, providing classrooms for the ward school, whose enrollment numbered more than one hundred students. Church worship services were held in the basement until the upper assembly hall was completed in 1870.[20]

Visually, the podium-base is separated from the main body of the building by a delicate stringcourse. The walls, twenty-four inches thick, of the upper assembly hall were broken by groupings of flat-headed sixteen-on-sixteen sash windows. The area between the side walls of the entrance facade was of lath-and-stucco construction in anticipation of extending the length of the building at a future date. A continuous cornice was used to create a transition between the walls and the medium-pitched roof.

Two axial wooden staircases led to two pedimented double-door entrances that opened directly into the assembly hall. (Concrete was used by the WPA to replace the wooden steps in 1940.) A center aisle divided rows of wooden benches, and a pulpit-rostrum was built against the north wall, back-lighted by flanking windows. The interior was softened by a four-foot-high pine dado, and the point between the plastered walls and flat ceiling was broken by a delicately carved cornice.

After 1870 a two-story, two-room wood-frame vestry was added to the north end of the building. The upper room was used for religious instruction ("School of the Prophets"). Entry was through a door in the middle of the north wall of the assembly hall. The lower room, or Relief Society room was entered through a ground-level exterior door.

Though the original plan called for a south gallery and belfry, neither was added until the 1880s.[21] The building was to have been razed, but the International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers was granted a ninety-nine-year lease from the church in 1927. It now serves as a local heritage museum.

THE PINE VALLEY MEETINGHOUSE, 1868

The jewel of the podium-base meetinghouses was built in a beautiful mountain valley just north of St. George, Utah. It was from Pine Valley that timber was cut and milled into lumber for the St. George Temple, and for the larger pipes of the original organ in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.[22] The Pine Valley Meetinghouse was designed and constructed under the supervision of Ebenezer Bryce, a shipbuilder from Australia and a convert to Mormonism whom Brigham Young had sent to help in the settlement of Utah's Dixie. The small, four-bay, clapboard structure was constructed of local pine, and has been in continuous use by the local congregation since its completion in 1868. The king-post-truss system of the roof clearly shows Bryce's nautical skills. Local tradition states that he constructed the building in the only way he knew how; that if it were caught in a flood, that it would turn upside down and float like a ship.

The building's ground-story podium-base is equal in height to the upper assembly hall. This permitted direct access to the ground floor from the door in the entrance staircase. It was divided into two rooms; the larger one was used for a school and religious instruction. The room at the north end, heated by a brick fireplace served the needs of the Relief Society. The room was entered from an outside door on the northeast corner and a staircase from the upper floor. The larger of the two rooms was marked on the outside by the first three bays.

The Puritan-like simplicity of the building is broken by a delicately railed, baroque, or straight-double staircase—the building's most attractive feature. The staircase leads to a transom-lit double door flanked on either side by single nine-on-nine sash windows. The complexity of the staircase complements the finely bracketed continuous cornice and cornice returns in the gable ends. The medium-pitched roof supports a small but well-proportioned belfry.

Like other axial meetinghouses of the period, the Pine Valley Meetinghouse has an entrance door that leads directly into the main assembly

hall. The hall occupies the entire floor, corresponding to the four upper side bays, and is divided by a central aisle with wooden benches on either side. The pulpit-rostrum is at the north end, flanked by windows. The hall is vaulted with a lath-and-plaster elliptical ceiling. Both lower and upper floors were originally heated by pot-bellied stoves. A small attic priesthood room at the north end is lit by two small windows. This small meetinghouse is silent testimony to the skill of the early Mormon pioneers.

With the coming of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the faith of the Saints was challenged by growing prosperity and contact with the outside world. This was true especially in Salt Lake City and the surrounding area. Many older meetinghouses were used for other purposes, or were razed to make way for a more adequate facility in which to worship.

The Meetinghouse, 1870–1890

Gothic elements began to appear in meetinghouse designs during this period. The traditional meetinghouse began to assume a more specialized role, taking on the appearance of conventional or contemporary Protestant chapels in Gothic style.[23] The axial plan was extended, the pitch of the roof increased, pointed arch, tracery windows, wall buttresses, and towers were added. These new meetinghouses were more stylistically sophisticated than their earlier vernacular equivalents.

The appearance of the new stylistic elements is attributable to a number of things. The infusion of well-trained builder-architects did much to change the picture of Mormon architecture. Obed Taylor, for example, was instrumental in introducing Gothic Revival/Victorian Gothic forms to Utah; his design for the Assembly Hall on Temple Square was a pivotal monument.

Cultural awareness was also growing among the Saints. A large number of missionaries were returning to Utah from their labors in the United States, Canada, and Europe, bringing with them new cultural ideas, technological advances, and current architectural styles. By 1900 more than 100,000 converts had emigrated to Utah, resulting in a direct cultural transfusion. Although isolated geographically, the Saints remained current in many trends.

Education played a major role. President Young, though at times an

outspoken critic of encouraging the youth of the church to leave the protective confines of the mountain valleys to seek a higher education, did encourage four of his sons to go east and enroll in the "best schools of learning." Each returned to contribute to the growth of the church and the state. Joseph Don Carlos, in particular, set the direction of Mormon architecture after 1890, as noted in chapter 4. The growing emphasis on education, or "learning of the world," brought more knowledge of current trends in architecture to the region.

A major factor in the introduction of Gothic Revival/Victorian Gothic styles to Utah was the influx of Protestant faiths to the region. Among them the Episcopal Church, concerned about the welfare of its small congregation in Salt Lake City, constructed their St. Mark's Cathedral in the Gothic Revival style from plans prepared by Richard Upjohn (1870–72).[24] The building was deemed so important by the eastern establishment that it was given cathedral status in order to: "dispute the false claims of the Mormon Bishops, and to announce that a true Bishop of the Church of God had taken up his residence among a deluded people. Mormonism has not yet been overcome, but some good has been done.[25]

The Presbyterians followed suit in building churches in the Gothic Revival style throughout Utah—Salt Lake City (1874), Manti (1881), American Fork (1882), Kaysville (1888), and Richfield (1890). In 1871 the Catholics completed St. Mary Magdalene in the same style one block southeast of Brigham Young's home in Salt Lake City.[26] The emergence of Gothic Revival architecture in Utah happened to coincide with the First Presidency's request in 1869 that wards in the Salt Lake Stake build new meetinghouses to replace their earlier inadequate structures, and subsequently two were done in the new style.[27] The first, the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1879), was an axial-porch design, more convincing as a Christian chapel through the refined and sensitive exterior use of selected Gothic features. The combination of staged wall buttresses, and pointed-arched windows with delicate tracery reflects a competent understanding of Gothic form.

The unity of the Fifteenth Ward Meetinghouse was further enhanced by the way the architect matched the style of the porch to the main body of the building. The repetition of windows and the resulting sense of movement around the building were accomplished by placing a single arched window in the facade and sides of the entrance porch. A single oculus window in the front gable completed the design, furthering the

look of a chapel in the Gothic Revival style as adopted by many Christian faiths after 1840.[28]

The Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1881) is an early Gothic Revival, central-tower design. The structure, which originally stood at Second Avenue and A Street, was relocated in 1973 to a site just south of the state capitol. Obed Taylor, the architect, used attenuated proportions, wall buttresses, pointed arches, and engaged tower to create a Gothic design. The use of crenellations on the front gable, but not on the rear, suggests a certain naïveté for the time in which it was built.[29]

The interior design of the building exhibits the same sense of consistency as the exterior. The decorative use of wood, the vaulted ceiling, and the choir loft above the entrance do much to enhance the building's appearance and to impart the feeling of a "chapel" even though it served as a multi-use building in the meetinghouse tradition.[30]

The Gothic Revival/Victorian Gothic styles persisted through the last decade of the nineteenth century, being replaced in popularity by the English Parish style and a mix of interpretive exotic and neoclassical designs by 1900. The 1890s marked a turning point in church history and architecture.

The Meetinghouse, 1890–1900

The 1890s was a period of change for both the church and the region. The federal government had challenged the church over the issue of plural marriage, but the practice was discontinued as decreed in the manifesto issued by President Wilford Woodruff in 1890. In recognition of the manifesto, the government returned to the church its escheated holdings, including Temple Square and the Salt Lake Temple. The year 1893 was particularly important for the church, as it marked the completion of the Salt Lake Temple—an event that brought thousands of members and visitors to Temple Square to tour the edifice before its dedication on April 6. The dedication essentially and symbolically opened the church to the world, and church leaders soon began to ask converts in other countries to remain in their own lands to build and strengthen the church rather than emigrate to Utah. Zion began to fulfill its greater destiny of encompassing the whole earth. In Chicago the Mormon Tabernacle Choir participated in a national choral competition at the World's Columbian Exposition (1893), an early sign of the

church's outward-reaching efforts. The last act of political recognition sought by the Mormons was the granting of statehood to Utah in 1896. The previous decades of relative isolation had given the church sufficient time to solidify its position in terms of numbers, doctrine, and practice. This coming of age could be seen in the meetinghouses built after 1890. Current trends in architecture were followed, and the church chose professionally trained architects to create new designs and to oversee church architecture in general.

A number of ward meetinghouses were built in the Gothic Revival/ Victorian Gothic styles in Salt Lake City during this period. The Salt Lake Sixteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1892–93) is a representative example, replacing a meetinghouse in a round-arched vernacular style completed in 1873. The new building was an eclectic interpretation when compared to those from the previous decade. Pilasters, bracketed cornice, gable returns, and a stepped-cornice motif in the gable replaced wall buttresses and corble tables.[31] Stylized capped pinnacles and a round-arched belfry completed the engaged tower. The open gable work in the entrance canopy reflects the influence of the Stick style (so named by Vincent Scully) first made popular in a number of small country churches designed by Richard Upjohn and in architectural pattern books by Gervase Wheeler, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Henry W. Cleaveland. The Sixteenth Ward Meetinghouse was destroyed by fire in 1929.

This style was equally popular in the outlying areas. The Porterville Meetinghouse (1898) a late extant example of the porch-style meetinghouse, is located in the small agricultural community of Porterville, Utah, about forty-five miles northeast of Salt Lake City. The main body of the five-bay brick structure was built on a high podium base separated by a prominent brick stringcourse. An arcade formed of decorative-keystone pointed arches and supported by a series of pilasters was used to articulate the walls and the porch. Small pointed-arch windows were set in the larger, recessed pointed arches of the arcade—a combination that enhanced the vertical quality of the building and solidified its Gothic appearance. The diagonal stickwork in the gable ends and steep pitch of the roof also added to this effect. Unfortunately, the removal of the belfry diminished the building's picturesque appeal. Today the building is used as a private residence.

Entrance to the meetinghouse is through a single pointed-arch porch attached to the west facade reached by an ample staircase. Originally,

the door opened into a longitudinal assembly hall bisected by an aisle that led to a raised pulpit-rostrum at the east end. No offices or instructional rooms were added to the back of the building. Instead, a transverse curtain was drawn across the assembly hall to create instructional areas for adult Sunday School classes.

Junior Sunday School and cultural activities such as ward dances and related gatherings were relegated to the podium-basement, a nearly full-length open hall. It was accessed only at ground level by a single door at the east end of the building. This hall could be subdivided by partitions to create smaller spaces.[32]

The North Branch, or Third Ward Meetinghouse in Lehi, Utah (1893, originally Zion Hill Meetinghouse), is one of the more original buildings in the Gothic style from this period. Plans for the building were prepared by two local contractors, Andrew Fjeld and Charles Ohran—a rectilinear, three-bay design with paired lancet windows set between wall buttresses. The outer walls were constructed of fired brick, the inner walls of adobe.[33] A corbel table eased the transition between the wall and the steep-pitched roof. The building was remodeled in 1936, changing its exterior appearance. A two-story classroom-and-office extension was added to the northeast corner off the third bay, creating an L-plan building, and a small porch added to the entrance altered the appearance of the facade. The building was surplused by the church in 1955 on completion of a new meetinghouse. It is now used as a private residence.[34]

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the English Parish style became the model for many Mormon meetinghouses.[35] This style was concurrent with the resurgence of medieval influence in American architecture, often associated with the late Gothic Revival architecture of Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue.[36] The Mormon meetinghouses in the Parish style exhibited a level of architectural sophistication that was not present in the earlier Gothic Revival designs. Characterized by either a symmetrical or an asymmetrical facade, they are dominated by a square, Norman-style entrance tower. Gothic or Romanesque arches, or a combination of the two, are used throughout the buildings. The chapel area is usually vaulted, consistent with a steeply pitched roof. A more elaborate pulpit and tiered rostrum were used in these designs. The offices and meeting rooms, which formed the back of the meetinghouses, were enlarged in number and size. A full basement was frequently retained. The Third Ward Meetinghouse

in Provo, Utah (1901), is a representative extant example of an early Parish design. The facade and rear access staircase are in the Romanesque round-arched style, while the side windows of the assembly hall are Gothic. Unity between the styles is achieved through the use of Gothic tracery in the Romanesque window of the facade. Later designs in the English Parish style were more consistent and concurrent with other faiths that adopted this style for smaller houses of worship.[37]

Joseph Don Carlos Young was influential in setting a more exotic direction for Mormon architecture in the 1890s. Following his years of training as a civil engineer, he brought to Utah a new set of rules governing architectural style and design. He quickly displayed his knowledge, designing the annex (1892) to the Salt Lake Temple—a domed, central-plan Byzantine concept. In addition, the chimney for the temple's heating plant took on the appearance of a highly ornamented prayer tower. Young's knowledge of contemporary trends in architecture, and his flair for the exotic, did not go unnoticed. The Gothic style was challenged by this and other forms of expression.

The Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward Meetinghouse, by Robert Bowman, represented the exotic in Mormon architecture. It was built in 1890 to replace an earlier meetinghouse constructed in 1866. The building's five-bay facade exhibited a greater sense of lateral development than earlier designs, and concern for complex articulation. The decorative facade of Victorian and Richardsonian forms is capped by an onion dome, called the "Muscovite Dome," set on an engaged tower. Smaller domed pinnacles at the corners help to unify the design. Entrance was through a vestibule tower beneath a handsome Richardsonian-style archway. The assembly hall, or chapel, opened out on either side to full width, with the pulpit-rostrum set in a polygonal end positioned on-axis with the entrance. The traditional axial hall was replaced by a more compact square, or near-square arrangement, bringing the congregation closer to the pulpit-rostrum.

Synthesis of form became more frequent during the 1890s, and into the first decade of the next century. The Riverton Ward Meetinghouse (1898–1909/1920, also called the "Old Domed Church") in Riverton, Utah, by Richard K. A. Kletting, was one of the more accomplished and unusual designs to emerge during this period.[38] A domed, largely central-plan structure, it was designed in the Beaux-Arts style, reminiscent of Richard Morris Hunt's Administrative Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.[39]

The dome of the meetinghouse sits atop a massive, north-to-south rectilinear base, which was approached from the east by a baroque-style staircase.[40] The assembly hall, or chapel, occupies the upper half of the base. The pulpit-rostrum was set in a recessed wall to the west, reached by two aisles that divide the assembly hall into three seating areas. Wooden pews were aligned parallel to the pulpit-rostrum. In typical fashion, the auxiliary meeting and instructional rooms formed the back of the hall and were reached by outdoor staircases at the back of the building. The area of the podium-base, or ground floor, was taken up by a large hall for cultural activities and classrooms that was entered from doors encased in the main staircase on the east front. The dome itself was visually closed off from the assembly hall by a ceiling that was approximately forty feet above the floor.[41] The proposed east gallery was never completed. The Riverton Meetinghouse was a high point in 1890s eclecticism that continued into the early part of the next century. The building was razed in 1939 after determining that it was too inefficient. This was a sad ending for a building that was considered to be "one of the handsomest small houses of worship in any of the country districts of the state . . ."[42]

The meetinghouse, smaller and less expensive to build than a tabernacle, became the basic building type used by Mormons for general church services. The characteristic pattern of the meetinghouse, a rectangular axial hall, changed little over the decades, except for the addition of auxiliary rooms at the back of the building, and the addition of fully functioning basement stories. Stylistically, they varied from vernacular to eclectic. The most notable change in style came during the 1890s, a consequence of growing optimism and cultural affluence within the church. A new standard of designs resulted from a new generation of trained architects led by Joseph Don Carlos Young. He and a handful of others like him did much to change the direction of Mormon architecture.

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48. A contemporary view of Cove Fort in Utah (1867), from the southeast. The structure was dedicated as a historic visitors center in 1994, following an extensive restoration of the facility. (*Author*)

49. Multipurpose room area in Cove Fort which was used for church meetings. (*Author*)

50. Adobe school and meetinghouse in Grantsville, Utah (1861), seen from the southeast. The building now serves as a community museum. (*Author*)
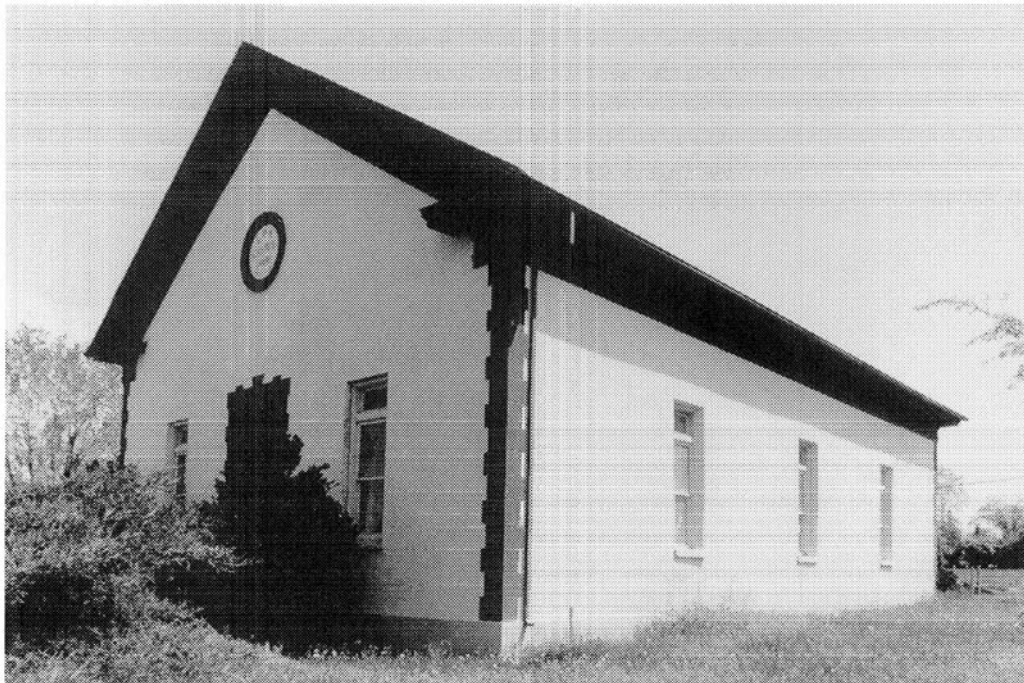
51. Grantsville Ward Meetinghouse (1866) seen from the northwest. The three-bay vernacular structure is of adobe brick. (*Author*)

52. Adobe meetinghouse in Virgin City, Utah (1866–67) with its original clapboard siding. The clapboards were removed in the 1930s. (*LDS Historical Department*)
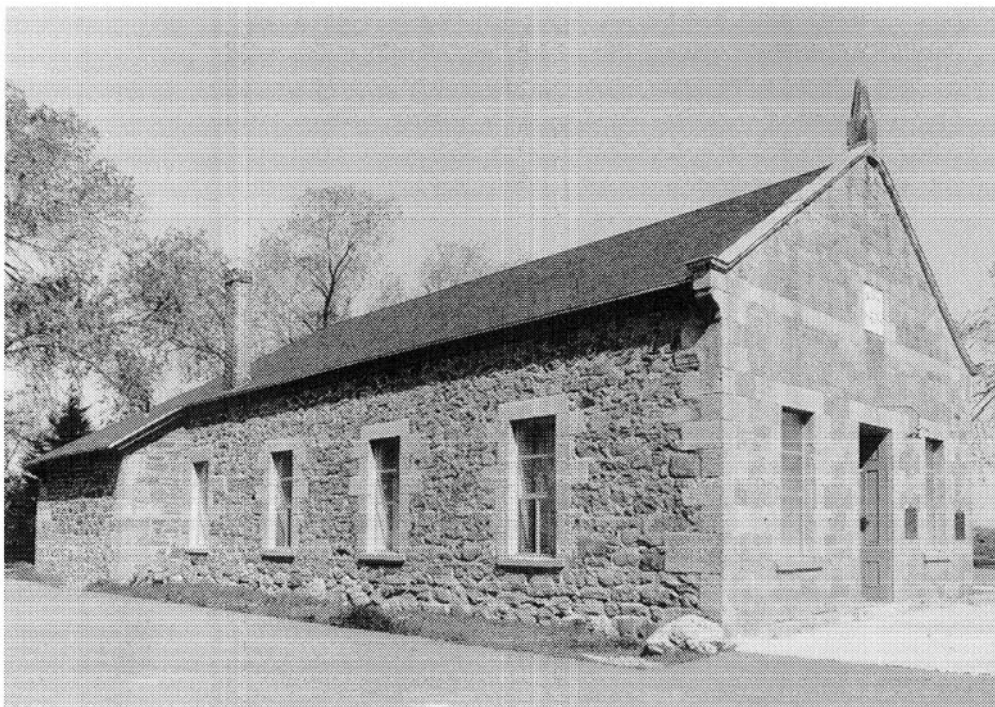
53. A view of the West Jordan Meetinghouse (b. 1861) from the southeast. Notice the difference in stonework from the facade to the side walls. (*Author*)
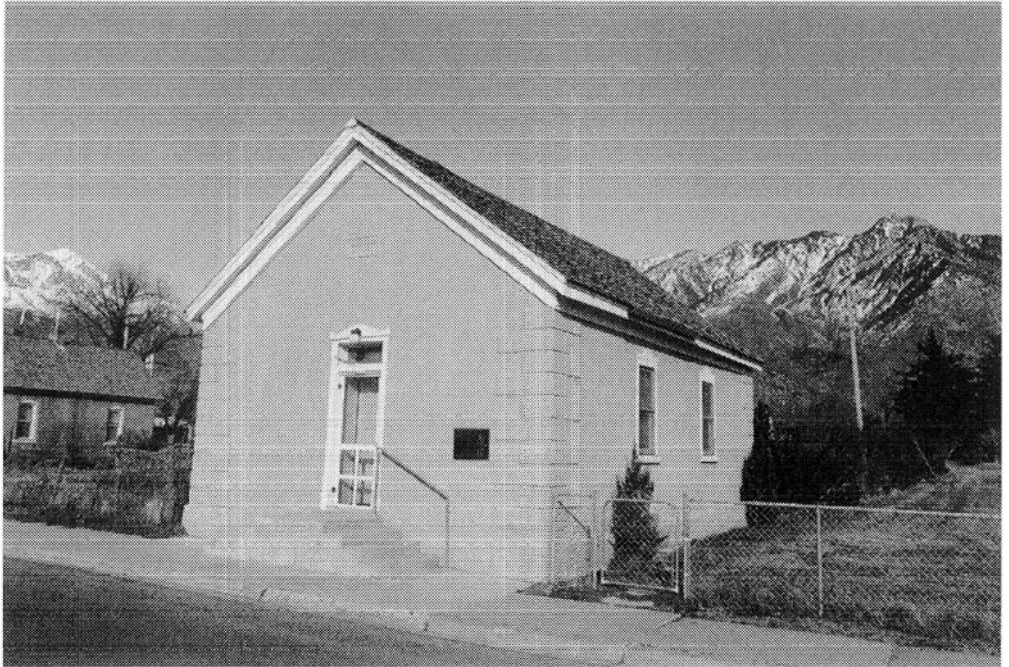
54. The Alpine Meetinghouse (1863) seen from the southwest. The rubble walls were stuccoed and scored to give the appearance of ashlar construction. (*Author*)

55. The Coalville Meetinghouse (1865/1869) seen from the southwest. The building was converted from a courthouse to a meetinghouse at the request of Brigham Young. (*Author*)

56. A view of the interior of the Coalville Meetinghouse toward the
rostrum. Notice the pot-bellied stove in the right-hand corner. (*Author*)
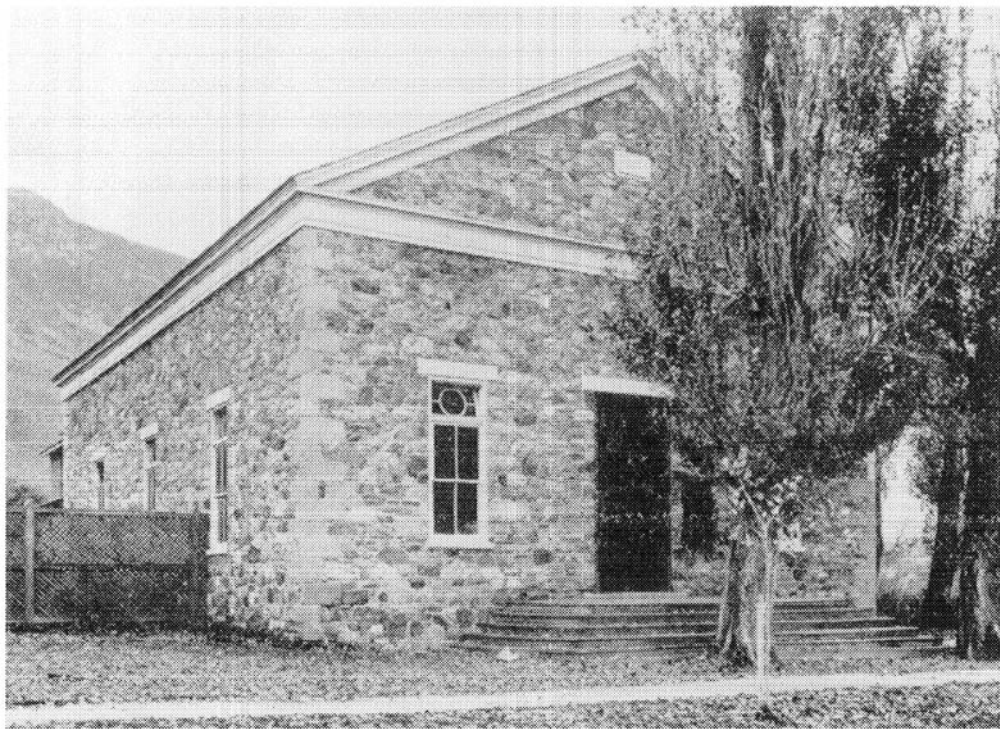
57. The Old Rock Meetinghouse (1862–64) as it appeared before the twentieth-century additions. The view is from the northwest. (*Utah Historical Society*)

58. The Parowan Rock Meetinghouse (1861–70/1880s) seen from the southeast. Notice the difference between the stone sidewalls and the stuccoed front. (*Author*)

59. The Pine Valley Meetinghouse (1868) is an extant example of the less-common frame meetinghouse. The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)
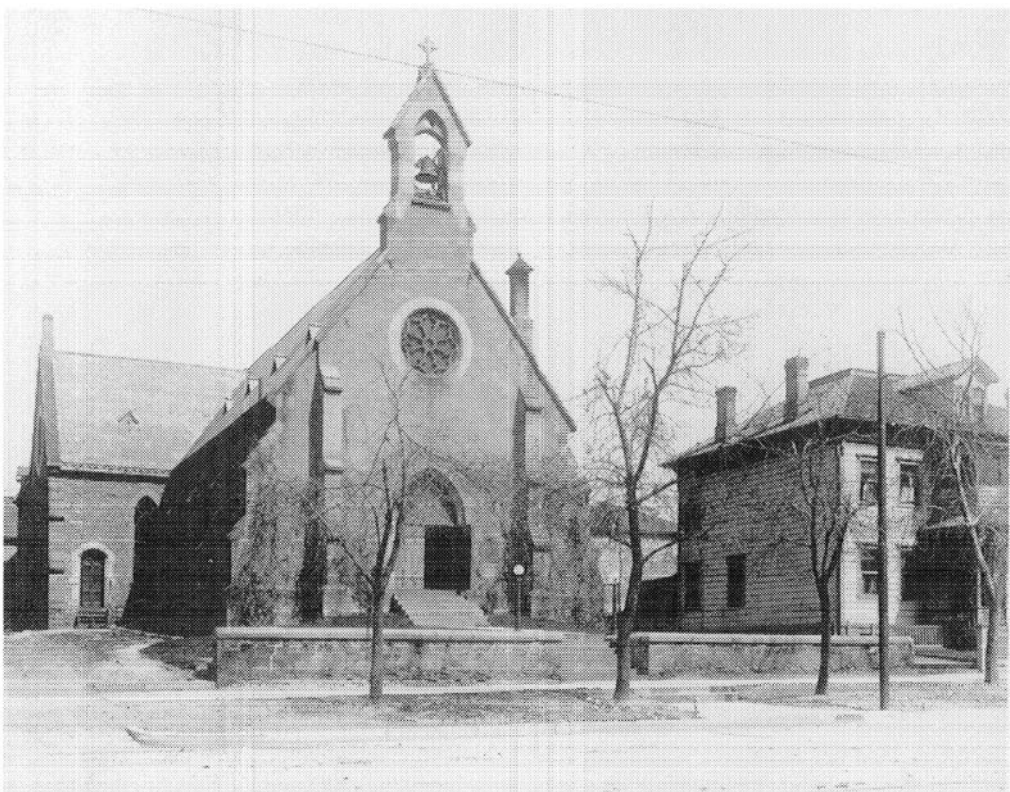
60. St. Mark's Cathedral (1870–72) as it appeared in 1909 before the addition of an entrance porch. The view is from the southwest. (*Utah Historical Society*)
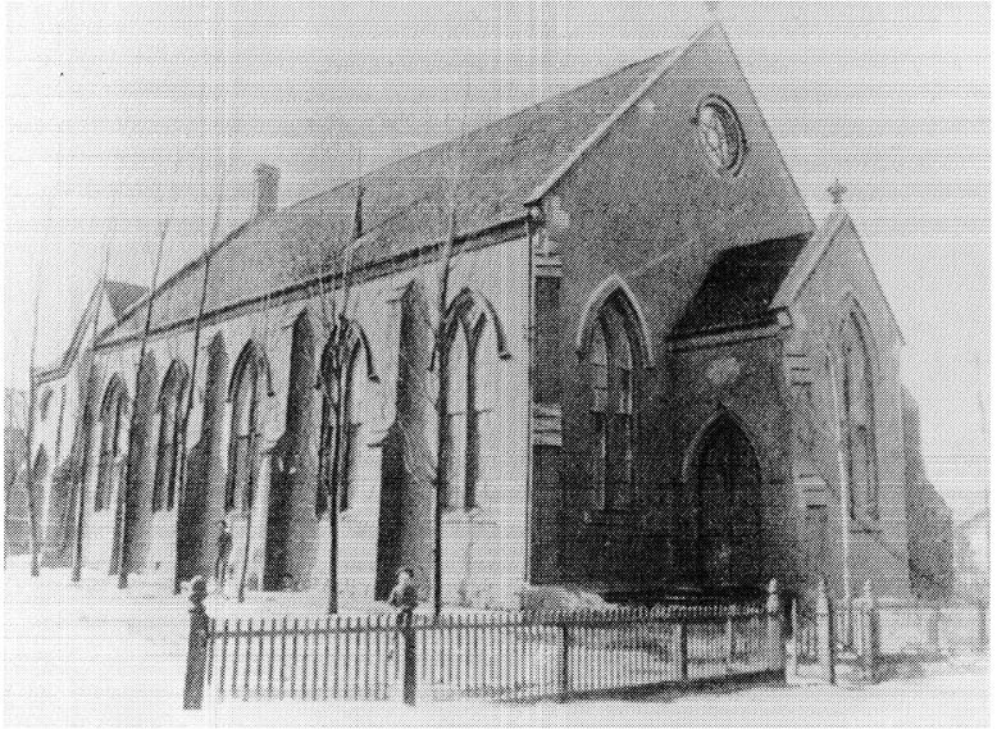
61. The Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1879, demolished) before it was sold by the church in 1903 to make way for a railroad station. (*Utah Historical Society*)

62. The Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1881) as reconstructed. The original building faced east rather than north. (*Author*)
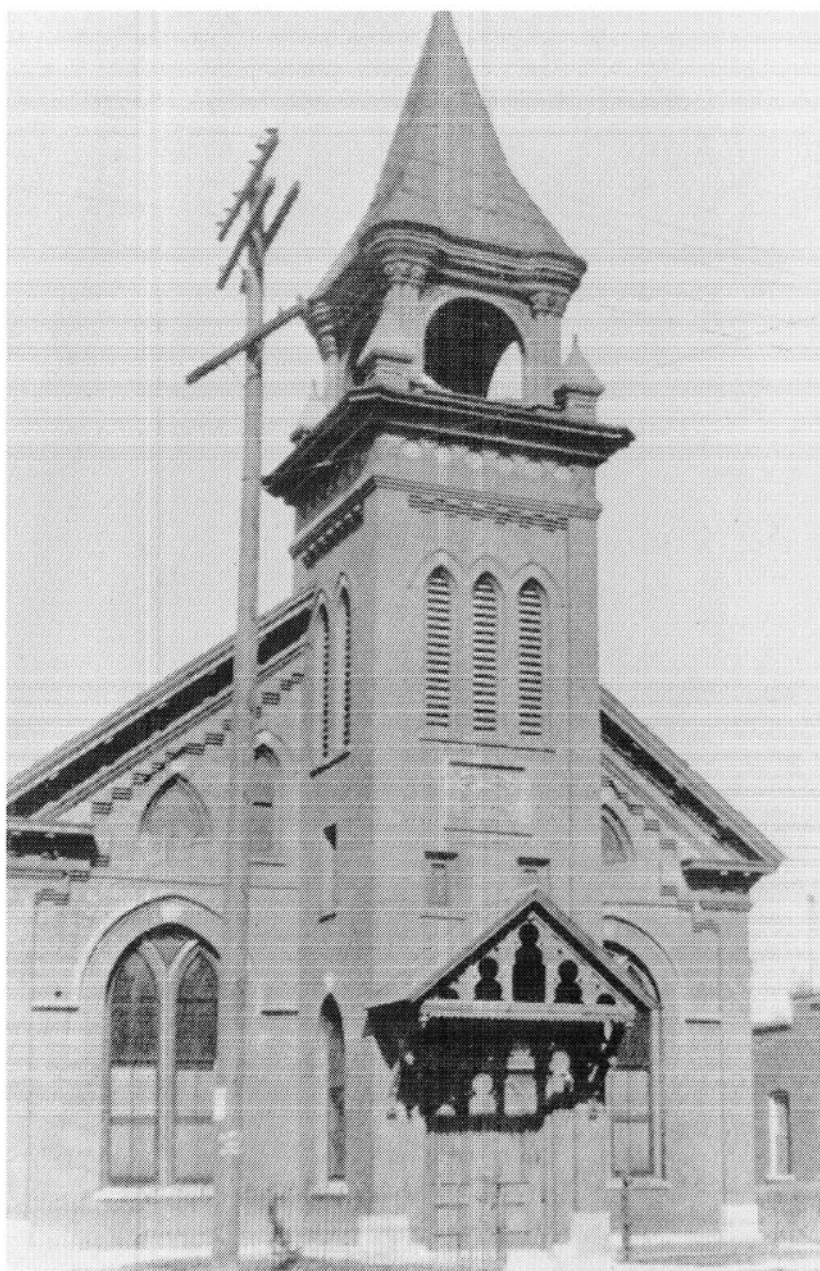
63. The Salt Lake Sixteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1892–93, demolished) as it appeared before it was destroyed by fire in 1929. (*LDS Historical Department*)
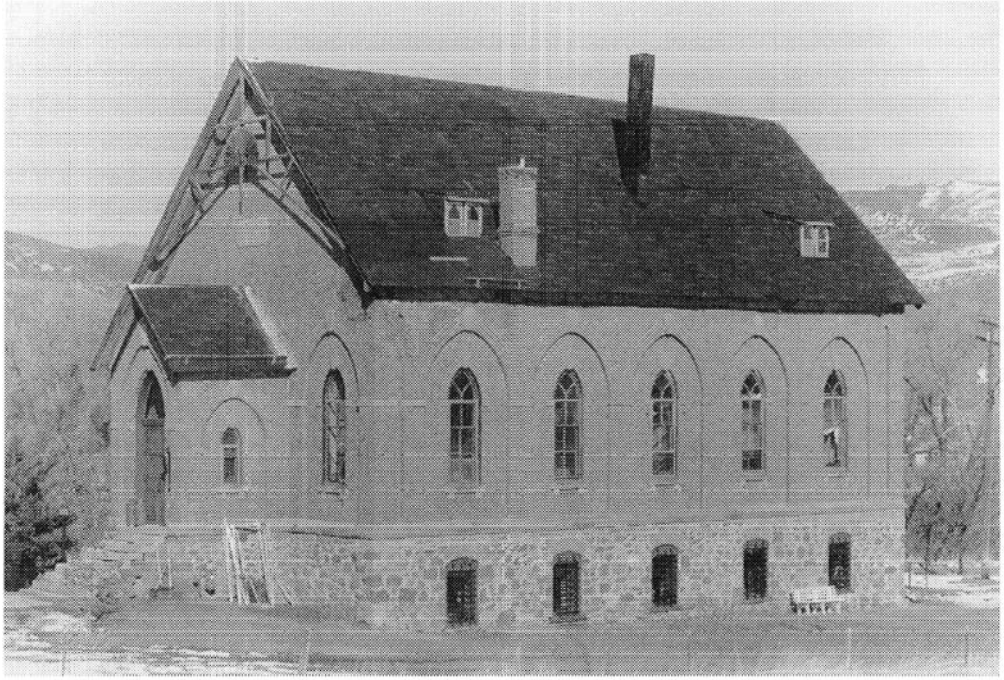
64. The Porterville Meetinghouse (1898) seen from the southwest. The building was surplused by the church in 1942 and now serves as a private dwelling. (*Author*)
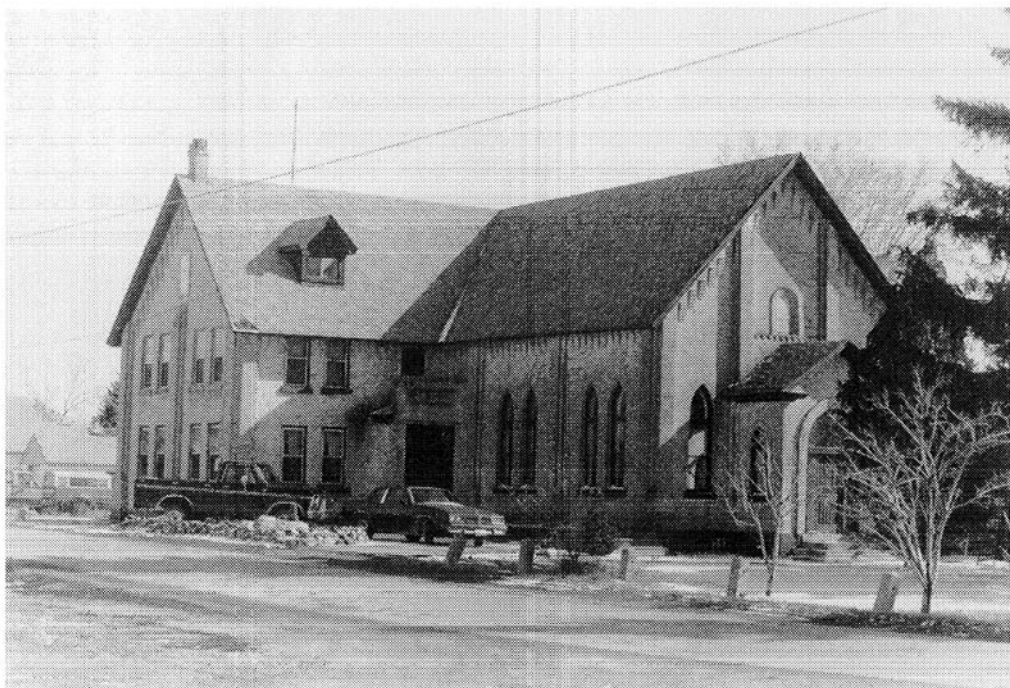
65. The North Branch or Lehi Third Ward Meetinghouse (1893) seen from the northwest. The west porch, two-story north wing, and corner entrance were added in 1936. (*Author*)
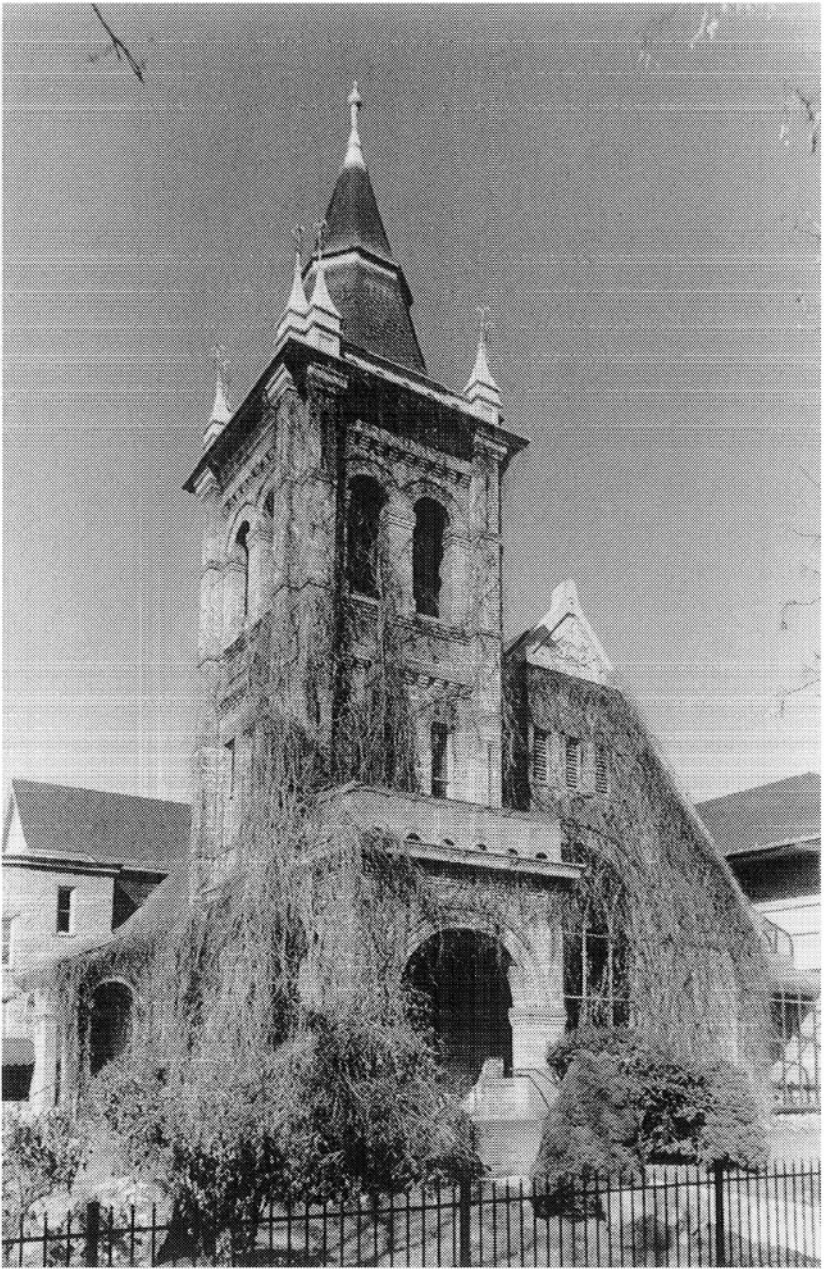
66. The Provo Third Ward Meetinghouse (1901) seen from the southeast. The pointed-arched windows of the main body contrast with the round arches of the facade and elsewhere on the building. (*Author*)
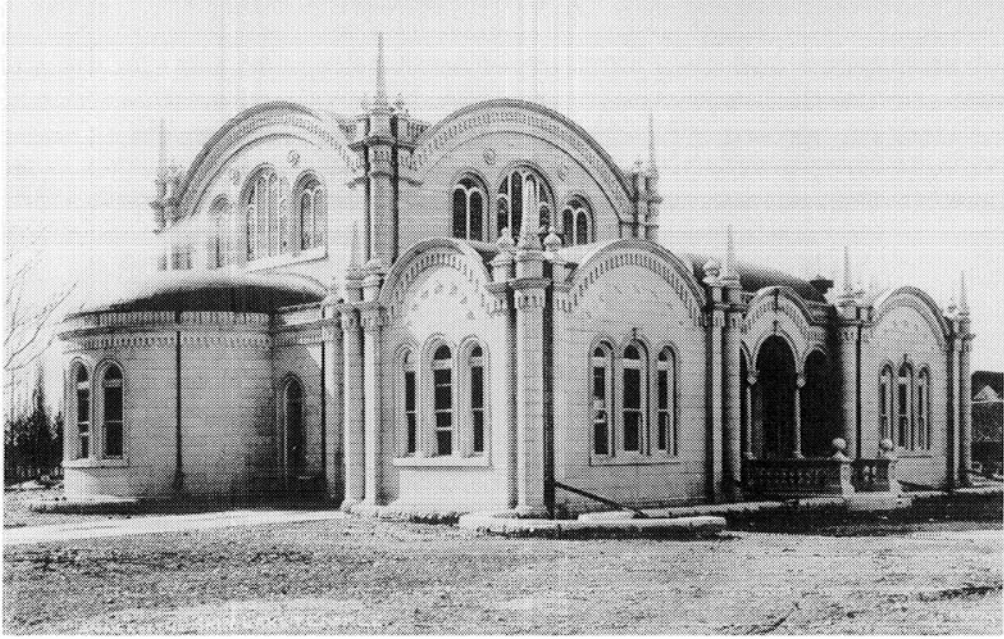
67. The original annex to the Salt Lake Temple that was completed in 1892 (demolished). It was replaced in 1963 by a building in the style of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, England (1446–1536). (*Utah Historical Society*)
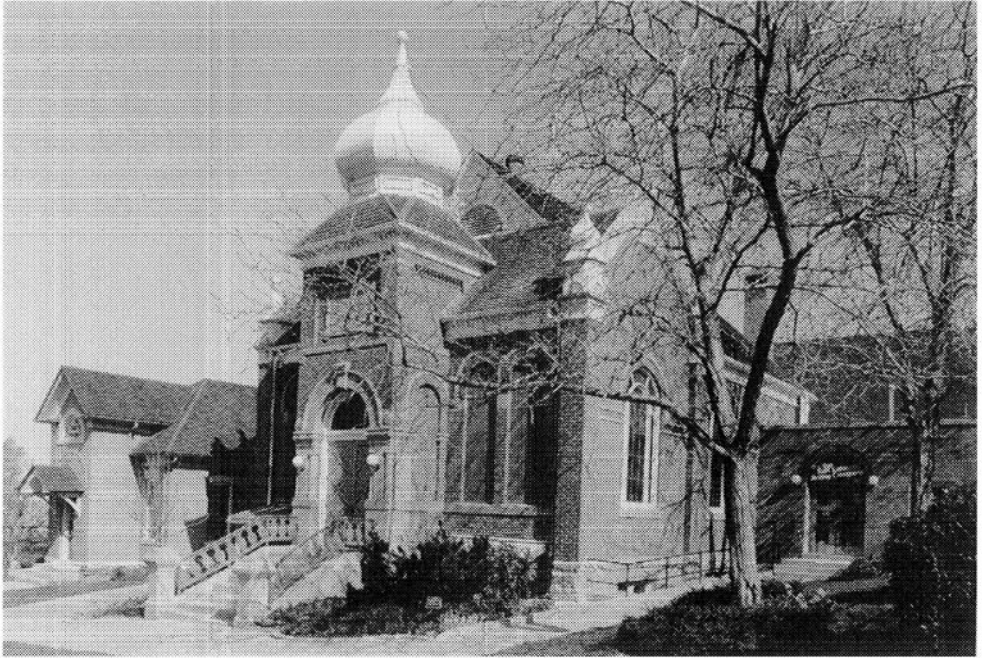
68. The Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1890) seen from the southeast. Observe the associated ward Relief Society Hall (1908) to the west of the meetinghouse. (*Author*)

69. The Riverton Ward Meetinghouse (1898—1900, demolished) seen from the east. It was designed by Richard K. A. Kletting who did much to elevate the level of architecture in Utah. (*Blenda White Hamilton*)

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Associated Buildings

Building Types

Four types of specialized church buildings made their appearance in the nineteenth century: the endowment house, the priesthood hall, the Relief Society hall, and the tithing office. Each was built in response to a specific liturgical, administrative, or auxiliary need. The endowment house and the priesthood hall were exclusive to the nineteenth century, while the Relief Society hall and the tithing office continued to function into the early decades of the twentieth. Eventually, each was abandoned because of the completion of the temples, changes in church practices, and the expanded role of meetinghouses. Yet these building types played an important role as the Saints strived to solidify church doctrine and practices and to accommodate the growing numbers of converts coming to "Zion."

THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

A temporary place was needed to give the endowment to worthy Saints before the completion of the Nauvoo Temple and later, the Salt Lake Temple.[1] Joseph Smith first administered the full endowment in 1843, in the upper room of his "Red Brick Store," a commercial building on Water Street in Nauvoo. There, members of the Council of Twelve were endowed so they could share in—and administer to other Saints— the knowledge and blessings of the kingdom.[2] It was not until after the death of the Prophet in 1844 and the completion of the attic story of the temple that the endowment was administered to the broader seg-

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ment of worthy members in preparation for the Saints' departure from Nauvoo.[3]

Once the Saints were established in the Salt Lake Valley, Truman Angell, Sr., drafted plans for a temporary endowment house (to be called "the House of the Lord") under the direction of Brigham Young in 1854. A year later a two-story adobe building with a dependent wing was completed on the northwest corner of Temple Square. The Endowment House was in continuous use until it was razed in 1889 in anticipation of the completion of the Salt Lake Temple.[4]

The simple vernacular structure sat on a sandstone foundation, and was surmounted by a medium-pitched roof. Continuous cornice with cornice returns was the only reference to a particular historical period in architecture. Double chimneys at either end of the building serviced the cast-iron heating stoves on the interior.

The first floor was divided into a series of four rooms that were used for the enactment of the various phases of the endowment service. The walls were adorned by a series of murals that progressed from room to room. Painted by William Ward in 1856, they depicted scenes associated with the Creation and subsequent stages of the earth's existence, according to Mormon scripture. The upper floor was divided into two rooms. Another wing was added to the building after 1855 to better facilitate the endowment service.[5]

PRIESTHOOD HALLS

The priesthood is the governing power, or authority, of the Mormon Church and is held by lay persons from within the ranks of the church. It is divided into the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods. Each has three divisions which form a hierarchy of offices. In the ascending order of responsibility they are deacon, teacher, and priest in the Aaronic Priesthood; and elder, seventy, and high priest in the Melchizedek Priesthood. Members of the Aaronic Priesthood officiate in the lesser duties and ordinances of the church, while those in the Melchizedek Priesthood are called to oversee spiritual affairs and to assume the major leadership positions within the church.[6]

The seventies were given the responsibility of taking the message of the "restored Gospel" of Jesus Christ to the world under the direction of the Council of Twelve.[7] Their importance to the early history of the

church is attested to by the number of converts that swelled the ranks of the church. They were the only office within the Melchizedek Priesthood to build a priesthood hall.

In 1843 John D. Lee, a prominent Mormon leader and general secretary of the Seventies Quorums (seventy members per quorum) in Nauvoo, was appointed to oversee the construction of the first Seventies Hall. Each seventy (member) was assessed a five-dollar fee for the building of the hall. Work on the structure, on the corner of Bain and Parley streets, commenced in the fall of that year but came to an abrupt end the following March when a tornadolike wind blew a portion of the west wall down. On Brigham Young's advice, the builders tore the remaining portion of the wall down and rebuilt it, adding an extra coursing to increase the wall's thickness from two to three bricks. By August, a two-story, 28-by-40-foot building had been completed, to the satisfaction of President Young. Eventually the structure fell into ruin and the remains were sold for brick in 1915. Excavation of the site, in anticipation of its reconstruction, began in 1970, and the building was completed in 1973.[8] Although the rebuilt hall is a conjectural restoration, based on archaeological evidence and contemporary descriptions of the building, it is considered close to the original in its main aspects.

The south facade of the building is marked by a Federal-style double-door entrance topped by a handsomely proportioned arched fanlight window. The ground floor consists of an assembly hall with a pulpit and rostrum at the north end. It is assumed that the hall was reached from a vestibule entrance. The hall was used for general quorum meetings as well as Sunday services for other church groups.

The second floor was reached by one or two corner staircases, held a three-thousand-volume library probably occupying the area overlooking Parley Street to the south and marked on the exterior by the second-story windows of the entrance facade. The library's importance to the church and its members was reported in the pages of a local Mormon newspaper: "Among the improvements going forward in this city, none merit higher praise, than the Seventies' Library. The concern has been commenced on a footing and scale, broad enough to embrace the arts and sciences, everywhere: so that the Seventies; while traveling over the face of the globe, as the Lord's Regular Soldiers [missionaries], can gather all the curious things, both natural and artificial, with all the knowledge, inventions, and wonderful specimens of genius that have

been gracing the world for almost six thousand years."[9] The Seventies Hall became a center of learning for Nauvoo, just as it would in Salt Lake City.

The remaining part of the second floor was used for meetings of the Council of Fifty, an administrative body appointed to oversee security and some directional and organizational affairs of the church and civil government. This area is also a conjectural reconstruction based on available information.

The seventies constructed their next building, the Seventies Council Hall, in Salt Lake City in 1854. A temporary thirty-by-fifty-foot adobe structure located between First and Second South Streets on First East, it was intended for the instruction of their ranks in preparation for missionary work. A more ambitious building was designed—but never built for lack of resources—by Truman O. Angell, Sr., in 1851 under the same name, the Seventies Hall of Science.[10] The name implies the continued use of the hall as a center of learning that began with the Seventies Hall in Nauvoo.

Of the many structures Angell designed, this was his most unusual. The rendering of the building designed around a large, two-story domed oval hall, shows an eclectic mix of classical and medieval features. While the classical element could be attributed to Angell's familiarity with this form, it was Brigham Young who probably influenced the use of crenellations. It is unfortunate that the hall was never built, for it would have been a fitting material statement of the importance of the seventies in early Mormon history.

The high priests of Nauvoo sought to build their own hall but the impending evacuation of the city prevented its construction. The money they had raised for the hall was used instead to purchase materials for the construction of wagons for the exodus. Apparently no designs were prepared for the hall but it can be assumed that it would have been a classically inspired, Federal/Greek Revival design as were other prominent buildings in Nauvoo.

After 1854 priesthood halls were no longer built. The church was growing rapidly, Mormon settlements were widely disseminated, and it would have been difficult for the central hierarchy to oversee efficiently the functions of local quorums.[11] By the end of the century, auxiliary rooms were being added to tabernacles and meetinghouses where priesthood quorums could hold their meetings.

RELIEF SOCIETY HALLS

The Relief Society, the women's auxiliary unit of the Mormon Church, is the oldest—and largest—women's organization in the world. It was founded in Nauvoo on March 16, 1842, by Joseph Smith, who appointed his wife Emma as the first president. The society's primary responsibility was to look after the physical well-being of its members, assisting effectively, the priesthood leadership in helping the Saints to become self-sufficient.[12] One of the society's most important contributions was in domestic and cultural education. Included in the duties of its members were teaching homemaking skills, child care, and cultural education. The society also provided a forum whereby women could discuss issues related to their role as members of the church and society.

Although branches of the Relief Society were organized seven years after the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, it would not be until 1868 that Brigham Young made it an integral part of every ward. The branches were established in the wards to help strengthen the church against a growing tide of negative outside influence.[13] Since that time the structure and responsibilities of the society have changed little; ward units continue to work under the direction of the ward bishop, helping to care for the needs of its members and families. The outward importance of the society to the church could be seen by the construction of separate halls, adjacent to stake tabernacles or ward meetinghouses. A separate building would permit the women to work on designated projects, such as the preparation and manufacture of wearing apparel and other items for those in need, from one day to the next without having to set the projects aside. Meeting halls of their own gave the female membership a sense of their importance to the church.

Most Relief Society halls were one- or two-room, single-story wood or masonry structures done in a vernacular style. A basement, or below-ground cool-storage root cellar was often included in the design. On the advice of President Young, granaries were sometimes built in conjunction with the halls. Wheat gleaned or raised by the women was to be stored in these facilities for emergencies.

The first unit of the Relief Society, after the Saints' arrival in the territory, was organized in the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward in 1854. They were also the first to build their own hall, having done so through individual member donations.[14] The hall, constructed in 1868, was a

twenty-by-thirty-foot two-story frame building. The upper floor was used by the Relief Society for its meetings while the lower-floor co-op store was operated by the ward.[15]

The Relief Society Hall (1897–99) in Bicknell, Utah (formerly Thurber), is representative of later rectilinear designs.[16] It is a three-bay brick structure built by donated labor. Subtle decorative qualities give the building an individual personality: the brick, made locally, was dipped in red clay to enhance the overall appearance. Lighter brick, used for the quoins and the door and window surrounds, heightened the contrast. The building sits on a stone watertable foundation and is completed with a steeply pitched roof. Above the entrance is a delicate belfry.

A few of the later halls rivaled the designs of their adjacent structures. The Relief Society Hall in Moroni, Utah (1904), was second in size only to the adjacent tabernacle. Designed in sympathy with the Moroni Tabernacle by William Folsom, the hall was positioned at right angles to the larger building, with a tithing office positioned between. The single-room three-bay hall was constructed of local cream-colored oolitic limestone, with dressed quoins and window surrounds contrasting with the darker-colored stone. The facade was dominated by an engaged tower-spire arrangement; overall, the building resembled a small meetinghouse.

The Weber Stake Relief Society Hall in Ogden, Utah (1900–1903), was the only such hall built for a stake. It was a Gothic-inspired design with a large vaulted workroom and a raised quarter-size cross-axial instructional area at the rear of the building. Access to the back room from the work area was by a broad staircase, through two bifold glass-paned doors. The room doubled as a stage for plays, musicals, and related cultural activities when the doors were folded back. The building is now used as a relic hall for the local camp of the International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

The need for Relief Society Halls ceased after 1921 because the church had incorporated these facilities in the newer meetinghouse designs. None of the extant halls are now used by the organization.

TITHING OFFICES

The practice of tithing was introduced into the church by Joseph Smith in 1831.[17] Continued in Utah by Brigham Young, tithing was the means

whereby the church financed its activities—but more important, tithing was intended to teach the Saints to serve one another by giving a portion of what they had for the betterment of the whole.[18] Individualism was to be tempered by sacrifice. And with a lay rather than a paid ministry, tithes went directly into assisting the growth of the church.[19] Faithful adherence to the practice remains one of the reasons for the great success of Mormonism.

Because hard currency was not always readily available during the early years, the Saints paid their tithes in kind, or with goods. One of the first major building projects was a combined General Tithing Office of the church, on Main Street and a two-story Bishop's General Storehouse (Deseret Store, 1850–53) on South Temple Street.[20] Commodities and livestock were taken to the "tithing yard," or storage sheds and barn area, on the north and behind the General Tithing Office where they were stored or stabled for distribution to the needy through the accompanying church store. The complex itself was built with labor paid with commodities and general merchandise. Many of the newcomers to the valley, arriving without jobs, were thus employed on church public-works projects. This was Brigham Young's way of allowing those who were able, to work for what they received and to maintain their sense of dignity and personal worth. The ward bishops had the responsibility of determining those who were in need of the tithing goods. The complex was replaced by the Hotel Utah in 1909–11 (now the Joseph Smith Memorial Building).

With colonization came the need for tithing offices and associated outbuildings and tithing yards for receiving the in-kind donations. The volume of goods contributed, of course, varied according to the population of the town or area. While the General Tithing Office in Salt Lake City was the largest, that in Pine Valley (1868) was one of the smallest.[21] It was a one-bay vernacular structure with a root cellar and a commodity door on the west wall for receipt and distribution of commodity goods. As seen in the accompanying photograph, it, like most tithing offices, was located near a tabernacle or meetinghouse. It is now used as a local post office.

The Tithing Office in Kanosh, Utah (1870), is an example of the middle-size buildings of this kind constructed before the 1880s. For a brief period it served both as tithing office and meetinghouse. The main floor of the one-and-a-half-story brick structure is entered from the west while the gable story was originally serviced by a rear exterior staircase.

The basement was used as a root cellar, the ground story for grain storage, and the upper floor for church activities. It is now under the care of the International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers as a relic hall and may be visited.[22]

The last tithing offices to be built were considerably more refined than the early structures. Built on a standard domestic plan—a simple square or rectilinear design with a hipped or medium-pitched roof, they often were distinguished by an arched or pedimented vestibule porch. They featured one- or two-door entrances indicative of the interior arrangement. Examples can be found of tithing offices (bishop's storehouses) from Idaho, to the north, and Colonia Juarez in northern Mexico. Eventually, with the change from in-kind tithing to currency, and the construction of a new generation of meetinghouses that included offices for the bishop and financial clerks, the tithing office became part of history—just as had the priesthood and Relief Society halls.

The endowment house, priesthood hall, Relief Society hall, and tithing office were temporary building types designed to meet the growing needs of nineteenth-century Mormonism. Each type was a casualty of history. With the completion of the Salt Lake Temple, the Endowment House was no longer needed. The institution of regular priesthood meetings by quorums within individual wards eliminated any need for separate priesthood halls. A new generation of meetinghouses around the turn of the century, accompanied by changes in church practices, led to the demise of the Relief Society halls and tithing offices. The few buildings that remain are solemn reminders of how deeply infused the concept of Zion was among the Mormons.

70. The Endowment House (1854–55, demolished) as it appeared in the
1870s. The granite blocks in the foreground were for the Salt Lake Temple.
(*LDS Historical Department*)

71. A reconstruction of the Seventies Hall (1843) in Nauvoo, Illinois. The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)
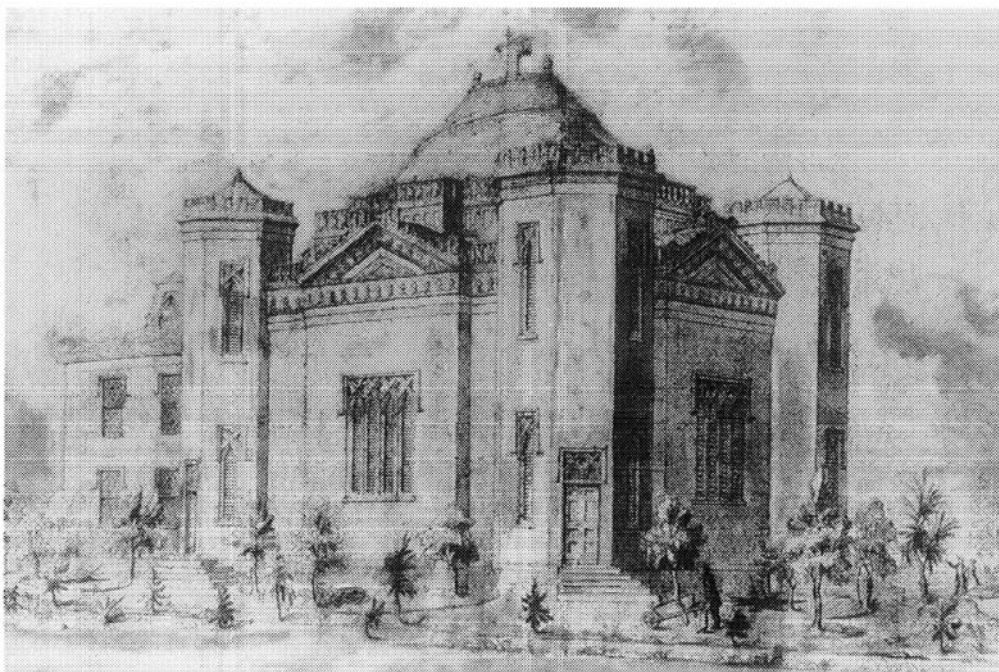
72. Truman O. Angell's 1851 proposal for the Seventies Hall of Science. (*LDS Historical Department*)

73. The Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward Relief Society Hall (1868, demolished) as it appeared in the 1870s. The sign with an "all-seeing eye" above the door defines the purpose of the first floor. It reads: "Holiness to the Lord, 15th Ward Co-operative Mercantile Institute." (*Utah Historical Society*)

74. The Thurber (Bicknell) Relief Society Hall (1897–99) seen from the southwest. Decorative brick Victorian door and window hoods adorn the building. (*Author*)

75. The Moroni Relief Society Hall (1904, demolished) seen from the east. The building was razed in the 1960s. (*LDS Historical Department*)
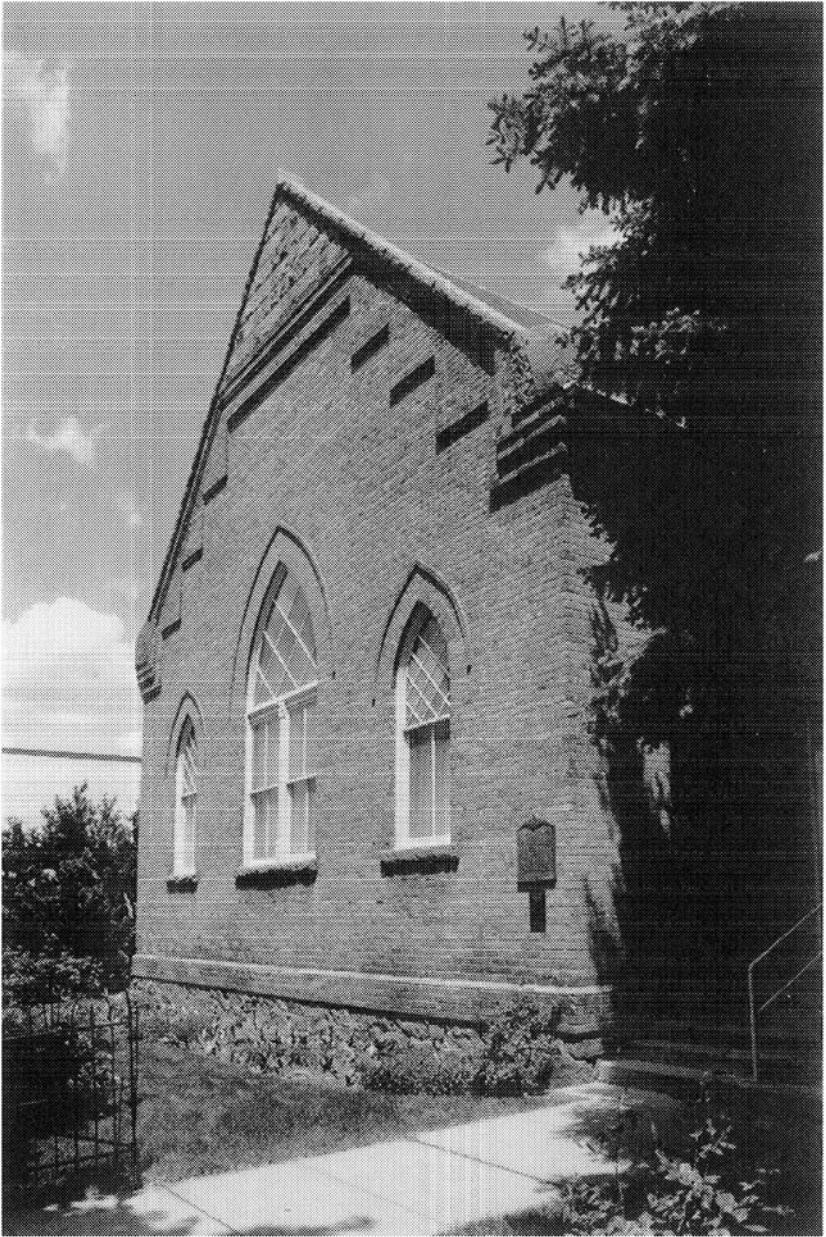
76. The Weber Stake Relief Society Hall (1900–1903) seen from the southwest. It is located in Ogden, Utah, and was the only Relief Society hall built for a stake. (*Author*)

77. The General Tithing Office and Bishop's General Storehouse (Deseret Store, 1850–53, demolished) in Salt Lake City as it appeared before the addition of a two-story veranda and balcony (gallery) in the early 1860s. The view is from the southwest. (*Utah Historical Society*)
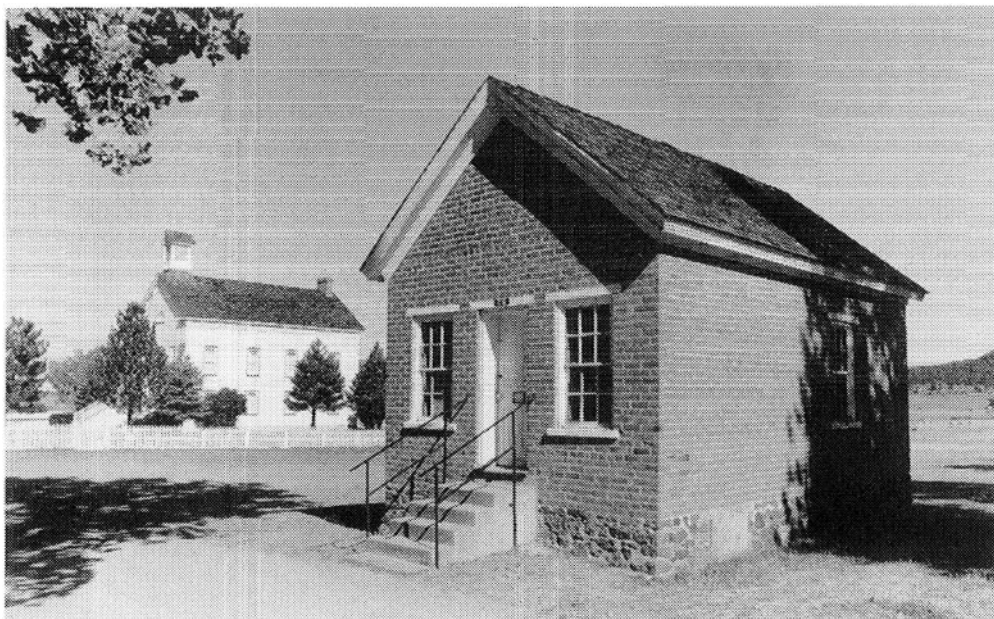
78. The Pine Valley Tithing Office (1868) from the southeast, toward the Pine Valley Meetinghouse. It is an example of one of the smaller nineteenth-century tithing offices. (*Author*)

79. The Tithing Office in Kanosh, Utah (1870). The porch and side structure on the north are not original to the building. The view is from the southwest. (*Author*)

80. The Tithing Office or Bishop's Storehouse in Panguitch, Utah (1903). It is representative of the new type of tithing offices built at the turn of the century. The view is from the south. (*Author*)

SEVEN

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Domestic Architecture

Early Domestic Architecture, 1831–1846

In Mormonism and the concept of Zion, the family is central. Church doctrine pertaining to the family is based on the continuation of the family unit after death, and to Mormons, eternal life is the opportunity to live with God as a family unit. Because of this eternal emphasis, the home takes on an even greater meaning to the Mormons than it does in most societies. Their children are nurtured and instructed in the teachings and practices of the church to prepare them to be the next generation of faithful members. However, the importance affixed to the family was not necessarily translated into significant domestic architecture. For the most part, the Saints' early designs were based more on existing vernacular forms than on current stylistic trends, yet they were a vital aspect of nineteenth-century Mormon history and material culture.

KIRTLAND AND NAUVOO

The homes of the Saints in Kirtland were simple, vernacular frame structures that were consistent with their places of origin in the Western Reserve, New York, or New England. Aside from a few classical details, the houses were unremarkable and the Saints' impoverished circumstances prevented them from building any architecturally significant houses. It would not be until after they arrived in Nauvoo that they would be able to develop more substantial family dwellings. Nauvoo, as it appears today, is not representative of the way it was in the 1840s.

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Based on the number of surviving houses, it might be assumed that most of the early domestic dwellings were of masonry construction. Yet log and wood-frame structures were the most common of the 2,500 homes built during the Nauvoo period: 1,500 were log cabins, 650 were frame structures, and only 350 were brick.[1] Unfortunately, time and neglect led to the demise of the log dwellings and virtually all of the frame houses—time has been more generous to masonry structures than wood buildings. However, the dwellings that do survive are representative of the types of houses that were built. Each house type followed established building traditions and design.

No log cabin built during the Mormon period has survived.[2] In the restoration of Nauvoo, an example of a log house was constructed on the former property of Dr. Calvin Pendleton to better illustrate the original character of the city.[3] The house is of square-cut, V-notch log construction. Chinking was applied to seal and weatherproof the main body of the house, and the gable ends and frame lean-to were covered by weather boards. The open-beam ceiling of the single-room ground floor is seven feet in height. The sleeping loft is reached by a narrow staircase in the northwest corner to the right of the brick chimney.[4]

A few of the original frame houses still exist. Joseph Coolidge, an accomplished woodworker from Maine, built a two-story, L-plan frame house (1843) in a classically inspired vernacular design. It was painted white, as were most other frame houses in Nauvoo. Sash windows and continuous cornice were used on the building. Only the roof of the south portion or wing of the house was finished with pedimented gables. The main entry, a single door on the west front of the building, leads directly into a large, one-room hall and parlor. Access to the south-facing portion of the house is through the hall-parlor, or a single-door side entry. The door leads to an entry hall off the hall-parlor and staircase. The large ground-floor room of this portion of the house is thought to have been used by Coolidge as a workshop. Bedchambers formed the second floor of the house. Its two-story configuration, Federal-style proportions, and decorative elements are often referred to as a "Nauvoo house." (A lean-to was added to the north portion of the house after the departure of the Saints from Nauvoo in 1846.) The Mansion House (1842–43) and the Orson Hyde home (1843) were more pretentious. Both were of the Greek Revival style popular along the Mississippi River in that era. Joseph Coolidge was credited with the design of the Mansion House, an L-plan two-story frame building

painted off-white with green shutters. It was large enough for Joseph Smith's family, and served as a fitting place to entertain guests. The west facade of the L-plan, two-story, frame building is defined by four colossal pilasters of the Tuscan order. Placed at the corners and on either side of the front entrance, they visually support a well-proportioned entablature beneath the shallow eave of a low-pitched roof. The entrance features a pattern-book-derived single-paneled door with side and transom lights. The entablature above the door is appropriately placed at the point marking the structural division between the two floors. A central passage hall opens into the ladies' parlor on the north and the men's parlor ("the Office") on the south. Both rooms are fitted with end-wall fireplaces. Corresponding bedrooms and passage hall occupy the second floor. A two-story kitchen and bedroom (or sitting room) ell came off the southeast corner of the house. It was extended to the east to make a hotel in 1843.[5]

The Orson Hyde house (1843) is an I-plan, one-and-a-half-story, four-room frame dwelling adorned with corner piers and a shallow, noncontinuous cornice. The cornice concludes in the gable ends, corresponding with the cornice returns and the corner piers. Four windows set in the cornice mark a half, or attic, story on the front and back of the house. The half story is best defined by the two windows in the gable ends. The pilastered Greek entrance was symmetrically placed, providing access to the parlor and hall. (The veranda, bay window, and rear extension are not original to the house.)

Nauvoo today has examples of masonry homes ranging from single-story to two-and-a-half-story dwellings. The I-plan brick house with entrances on the long side, is the most common design. They are largely vernacular in appearance with Federal proportions and decorative elements. The two-story George Laub house (1843), and the larger David Yearsley house (1843–44) are representative examples. However, the Wilford Woodruff (1843–44), Heber C. Kimball (1845–46), and William Weeks (1843) houses are the most expressive I-plan designs.

The Wilford Woodruff house is perhaps the most refined of the Federal-style homes in Nauvoo. Woodruff, a keen observer of architecture, hand picked every brick for the exterior wall in order to insure uniform size, color, and surface quality. The proportions and symmetry of the building, from the minimal detailing around the windows and doors to the flat arches above the windows, the double chimneys, and the fan lights in the parapet gable-ends, speak of a person of refined

taste. Its central passage hall leads to symmetrically arranged and spacious rooms on both floors in keeping with the symmetry of the house.

The Kimball house was a familiar two-and-a-half-story, three-bay, side-entrance design in Nauvoo. The double chimney is indicative of its less common two-room-deep configuration. A broad dentiled cornice was placed along the front and back of the house beneath the eave of the medium-pitched roof. The asymmetrical placement of the entrance offsets the otherwise bilateral symmetry of the three-bay design. Kimball, as others in Nauvoo, probably chose to locate the entrance where he did for practical reasons; in that position it provided immediate access either to the staircase against the east wall or to the parlor to the left of the entrance.

Of the I-plan brick houses with entrances on their long sides, few were as individualistic as the single-story home and office of architect William Weeks. The original two-window cottage designed by himself in 1843 is characterized by a round-arch entrance unusual for Nauvoo. Its clean lines and delicate proportions are indicative of the Federal style. As he did elsewhere in the city, Weeks employed limestone lintels and sills for the windows and a wood cornice to contrast with the red-brown brick, enhancing the simple beauty of his house. It has a full basement with a kitchen and storage area which is reached through an outside entrance from the west slope, and a narrow staircase off the north side of what is now the center fireplace. The use of parapets and the date for the addition of the smaller east bay and interior arrangement are problematic.

The John Taylor house is the most architecturally worthy of the extant brick dwellings in Nauvoo. Built originally in 1842 by James Ivins, a Mormon convert from New Jersey, it was one of the earliest brick structures in the city. John Taylor, a convert from England who would become the third president of the church, purchased the home for his family in 1845. The two-and-a-half story, five-bay, symmetrical structure is enhanced by a beautifully crafted single-door entrance with sidelights and an over-door transom. A proportioned limestone lintel or entablature complete the entrance. The sash windows, like a number of others in Nauvoo, diminish in size and conclude with narrow rectangular windows set in a refined cornice beneath the shallow eave of the low-pitched roof. The end chimneys are accented by raised and capped parapet-gables. The fine classical detailing of this central-passage hall-parlor design is unexcelled. The same concern for detail can be seen in

the woodwork in the four symmetrically arranged rooms. A summer kitchen, with an attic-story bedchamber was added to the back of the one-room-deep house. (Summer kitchens, either attached or detached, were commonplace in Nauvoo.) Ivins' Store (later a church printing office) and the Post Office (reconstructed) on the south and north framed the house.

The I-plan with the entrance on the short side (the so-called temple front) was the other type of brick family dwelling that appeared in Nauvoo. The George C. Riser house (1843, reconstructed) was the most simple of those that were built. This design is characterized by narrow vertical facades either with common or stepped gables. The rooms were arranged on the long axis, reminiscent of a townhouse. The symmetry of the facade varied according to the function of the building; the central position of the door in the Riser house, for example, was for the convenience of the ground-floor shoe shop. Brigham Young, however, adopted a side-passage design for his home (1843). The axial hall was set to the right to provide for a full room on the left, a narrow staircase on the right, and a kitchen at the back of the house. Bedroom and meeting-room wings were added to the west and east sides.[6] In adding the wings, stepped gables were used, coordinating with those of the main body.

It was common at the time to add shops to family dwellings. Jonathan Browning, the father of John Moses Browning, who founded the Browning Arms Company, made two lateral additions to his original brick home to accommodate his family and growing firearms business (1843–45).[7] His house stands in contrast to the Windsor P. Lyon house (1843), where the apothecary shop and general merchandise store were designed as part of the living quarters. The shop comprised most of the entire lower floor, while the upper story served the domestic needs of the family. In the Raymond Clark house (1843), the west side of the ground floor, as marked by the oversized windows and double-door entrance, was designed as a store. The symmetry of the facade, the double and single-door entrances, and the relative size of the windows are clear indications of the position of the store in relation to the house.

A "modified American" bond was the most common pattern used in the construction of brick houses in Nauvoo. Typically, a coursing pattern of five or six stretchers to each course of headers was used, differing from the more common pattern (three or five courses of stretchers to each course of headers) of the true American bond. The

higher proportion of stretchers to headers was apparently due more to economics than to structural or aesthetic appeal. The Flemish bond was also used, but less frequently because of the added cost. The Taylor and Kimball houses are two excellent examples of the Flemish bond technique.[8] The structural integrity of the walls was an important consideration. For added strength, a three-brick thickness was preferred over two.[9]

One of the great tragedies of Nauvoo was that the people had such a brief time to enjoy their homes. Heber Kimball lived in his home for little more than five months before he and his family had to leave. They loaded what few belongings they could into a wagon and left for the Great Basin region, taking with them only memories of their new home.

Pioneer Domestic Architecture in the Great Basin, 1846–1877

Before the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, domestic architecture in the Great Basin was largely composed of "survival" forms, vernacular, or eclectic styles. Necessity and functionalism were of primary importance. Any formal stylistic elements could usually be attributed either to traditions brought from Nauvoo or new forms introduced into the region by new immigrants. Most houses were probably constructed without the aid of plans or builder's guides. The result was a certain practical or eclectic sameness in the dwellings from community to community. Dugouts or cabins made of logs from nearby mountains were built as temporary living quarters until more substantial houses could be constructed. On the advice of Brigham Young, fortified compounds were also built, serving as the first homes for many of the early arrivals to Utah and for those Saints who needed temporary quarters because they had been asked to found other settlements throughout the territory.

ADOBE HOUSES

The pioneer period in domestic architecture began with the founding of Salt Lake City. On August 10, 1847, President Young and other camp leaders declared that homes of "dobbies" (adobe bricks) would be built to form a defensive stockade. All of the houses in the Old Fort (1847–48) faced the center plaza of the fort, their back walls acting as a pali-

sade. Narrow gunports were built into the back walls for defense against possible attacks by Native Americans. Roofs were made of "poles or split logs laid close together and covered with cedar bark or rushes that grew along the banks of the creeks and rivers."[10] The east range of houses was reserved for the General Authorities of the church, and the others for the Saints. A few log cabins were included within the grounds of the fort.

The vanguard company remained in the Old Fort through the winter of 1847–48 while Brigham Young returned to Winter Quarters to prepare to bring three other companies of pioneers to the valley the next summer. Although crude, these adobe dwellings were a welcome alternative to camping beneath or in the box of a wagon. Yet the Saints were faced with hardships during their first winter. This account was recorded by Mary Isabella Horne:

> In the beginning of March we had a severe storm of rain and sleet, completely saturating the roofs, so that it rained as fast in the house as it did outside. The first consideration was to secure our provisions, for they were our salvation. Buffalo robes and all available covering were brought into use for protection. We were in a bad situation. Mr. Horne tacked wagon covers to the roof and at the foot of the bed to let the water run off to the floor. We had an oil cloth table-cover which he tacked over our heads where we ate, emptying the water into buckets every little while. Wraps and umbrellas were used while doing our cooking and housework.
>
> This storm lasted ten days. Almost everything in the house was wet. It rained on us in the house for some time after it had abated outside. The first day after the storm ceased the whole fort had all kinds of clothing hung out to dry. It looked like a variety rag fair. It was really laughable to see them. We had only got things dry and put in order when a terrible storm passed over City Creek Canyon. A cloud burst, and the water came rushing down to the Fort pouring into the houses. Our floor had two or three inches of water over it.[11]

In the October conference of 1848, it was decided that President Young, Heber Kimball, and Willard Richards should oversee the distribution of city building lots, or "inheritances," among those present. Family heads were required to pay a fee of one dollar for the lot survey, and another fifty cents to record their plat. In compliance with the earlier decision, settlers agreed to build their houses with adobe brick.

Adobe was initially chosen as a building material because clay, sand, and water were readily available while lumber and stone could be found only at a distance. Clay could often be gathered on site, and bricks were easily formed in simple wooden molds. In fact, adobe proved to be an ideal building material for the arid climate. The thick walls were energy-efficient, keeping interiors warm during the severe winters, and cool during the hot summer months.

Small one-room-deep, one- or two-room houses soon dotted the city, an otherwise featureless alluvial slope. Most of the early houses were built according to the simple I-plan, one- or two-story designs similar to those seen in an early photograph of Salt Lake City.[12] This scene is representative of early Mormon communities throughout the territory.

Practicality of design and construction took precedence over style during these early years. Passage halls were not common, in order to maximize space. Many of the homes were built by their owners, assisted by more skilled help when it was needed. Women often assisted in construction, especially when their husbands were absent on church missions. They molded and laid the adobe brick and performed most other functions pertaining to house building. As families grew, the small I-plan houses were enlarged to accommodate their needs.

The Isaac Sears house, in Salt Lake City, grew from a two-room, one-and-a-half-story adobe structure to a T- or cross-plan design before it was demolished in the twentieth century. The house was built in the early 1870s and a summer kitchen was soon added to the back of the house, followed by a two-story adobe addition in 1879. In 1886 a brick extension—kitchen, pantry, dining room, and bathroom—was added to the back of the original building.[13]

Lean-to or saltbox designs were relatively common in the territory. The Jesse N. Smith house at Parowan, Utah, is an excellent example. The original house was built in 1856–57 as a two-story, four-room adobe I-plan structure. In 1865 Smith added a four-room kitchen and bedroom lean-to.[14] The house differed little from dwellings built by the Saints elsewhere in the territory and Nauvoo, or from their ancestral homes in New England and the British Isles.

Less common were the design features introduced by Scandinavian converts. Brigham Young sent many of these Nordic immigrants to settle the areas of Sanpete and Sevier counties in central Utah. The Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes initially were less inclined to abandon their cultural traditions than converts from England, Wales, Scotland,

Germany, and Switzerland.[15] Thomas Carter, in his architectural study of the early Mormon settlements in central Utah, discovered a number of Scandinavian traditions. He observed that many of the homes followed long-established folk traditions in terms of general room arrangement, proportion, and structure. For example, he noted the presence of "pair-houses"—the axial organization of three rooms of equal or nearly equal size. The central room was the most important of the three because it was used as a living room or kitchen (depending on the disposition of a back room or rooms) as well as a passage hall to access the flanking rooms and the backyard or back addition. The disposition of the three rooms could be noted from the exterior by the placement of the windows in relation to the central entrance. Windows on either side of the door indicated the position and width of the central room, and the end windows marked the location of the flanking rooms.

The general proportions of the pair-house were relatively low, given the overall height and length of the building. They were closer to the one-story, vernacular cottage-style houses built by the Scots and the English in Beaver, Utah. In the 1860s Frederick Christian Sorensen, a convert from Denmark, built an adobe pair-house (c. 1850) in Ephraim, Utah. The original three-room adobe dwelling was covered by a medium-pitched roof constructed of log purlins that supported milled rafters braced by collar beams in the absence of a ridge pole. A lean-to was later added to the back of the building. A veneer of red stucco covered the exterior and was scored in a Flemish bond pattern.[16]

On occasion, houses were designed or enlarged to accommodate those who were involved in the practice of plural marriage.[17] In the early 1850s Charles C. Rich, a member of the Council of Twelve, built an adobe cabin in Centerville, Utah, for two of his wives. It was a three-room structure, serviced by individual doors and chimneys. The end rooms were for his wives, the center room served as a kitchen, work area, and family gathering place. After 1860 the house was enlarged to a two-story structure with a rear lean-to. In 1975 it was relocated to This is the Place State Park in Salt Lake City, and restored to its original appearance.[18]

In other instances, houses built originally for a monogamous family were expanded to accommodate another wife or wives. For example, Jacob Weiler, who came to Salt Lake City with the vanguard company in 1847, built a small, story-and-a-half, one-room, 16-by-16-foot adobe dwelling for his wife and children in 1848. On taking a second wife, he

added east and west wings to the house. As his economic situation improved, he took a third wife. He then demolished the original part of the house and replaced it with a full two-story, two-door structure. The end result was a four-door vernacular dwelling designed to house himself, three wives, and their children.[19] This example does not mean or imply that all multidoor dwellings were so-called polygamist houses, for other multidoor dwellings were built simply for convenience or as duplexes for separate families.[20]

MASONRY HOUSES

Stone and brick houses were preferred over frame structures in Utah. This is attributable to the availability of materials, the presence of masons, and the importance that Brigham Young placed on permanency. There is a concentration of representative stone houses in Willard and Beaver, Utah.[21] Willard was settled by five families, at the request of Brigham Young, in 1852–53. Its northern Utah location, at the foot of the Wasatch Range, provided the settlers with an easily acquired supply of metamorphic fieldstone or quarry stone for the construction of a fort and domestic dwellings.[22] The earliest houses were built of uncoursed rubblestone, gathered from adjoining fields or taken from the walls of the fort. Shadrach Jones, a stonemason from Wales, may be credited with establishing the tradition of stone houses in Willard. His own near symmetrical, two-story, classically detailed home is indicative of the early spartan residences he built. The facade is of finely pointed range-work, while the other walls were constructed of uncoursed rubblestone set in abundant mortar.

Beaver, in southern Utah, was settled by Saints from Parowan (1855), most of whom were converts from Scotland and England.[23] The settlers found a ready supply of igneous rock from the nearby Tushar Mountains, approximately five miles to the east.[24] The homes, constructed of black basalt and tuff, ranged from simple I- or L-plan, in the style of one-story, low-profile cottages of Scottish-English ancestry (cottage or small house) to one-and-a-half-story I- or T-plan designs.[25] Thomas Frazer, an accomplished stonemason from Scotland, was responsible for many of the houses.[26] His original house was a one-story, I-plan, hall and parlor cottage (1870), with a rear lean-to. It was constructed of black basalt laid in a broken course with white mortar joints. Bas-reliefs in green granite, thought to be portraits of himself and his wife Annie,

are located on either side of the door. In 1872 he added a two-room east wing, creating a T-plan design. It was constructed with an attractive south bay window. Following Scottish tradition, he carved the date of the addition, along with his and his wife's initials, in a plaque over the door. Characteristic of his houses, the lintels were of lighter stone. A west extension of pink tuff was added to the original house in the 1890s.[27]

Stone houses in the Gothic Revival style began to appear in the 1860s. Builders commonly used the I, T, or H-plans in a story-and-a-half configuration, typical of those found in other regions of the United States. The earliest dwellings were less pretentious and decorative than those built later. The style was characterized by steep-pitched roof ends; cross-gables; dormers or pitched dormers; windows in flat, round, or pointed arches; and bargeboard and scrollwork in the gables, along the eaves, and in the porch and veranda areas.

The Cyrus Benjamin Hawley house (c. 1869) is a one-and-a-half-story, cross-gable, I-plan design. It was built of "soft rock" (tufa), characteristic of houses constructed in Pleasant Grove, Utah. It is representative of many Gothic cottages done in the plain style—a traditional vernacular house with a steeply pitched roof and cross-gable(s), or dormers. It is devoid of enriching bargeboards, window hoods, and other decorative features associated with the Gothic Revival style. In the 1880s and 1890s the house was remodeled. The exterior was stuccoed and pointed, and quoins were added, along with a Victorian porch. A one-and-a-half-story addition was made to the rear of the house, with a west-facing veranda, replacing an earlier frame structure, creating a T-plan. Restoration of the house was completed in 1988, and is now the office of Richards Laboratory.[28]

Many of the Gothic Revival houses were built by artisans responsible for earlier classically inspired vernacular dwellings. The Duckworth Grimshaw house (1877) constructed by Thomas Frazer in Beaver, is a one-and-a-half-story, hall-and-parlor, T-plan structure with a Gothic-inspired central gable. "Drop-dormers" (cornice-line dormers) were used to increase the amount of light in the gable story by extending the windows below the eave into the upper wall. The black basalt is laid in typical fashion. The facade and north end are of coursed ashlar and the other walls of coursed rubble—from the Scottish-English tradition of finishing the walls facing the street side of the house. The lintels are of pink tuff. The veranda is not original to the house.[29]

Later houses designed by Shadrach Jones were in the Gothic Revival style. His most noteworthy design was the John L. Edwards house (1860s) in Willard. It is a one-and-a-half-story T-plan residence with steep-pitched roofs broken by drop-dormers. The walls were stuccoed except for the stone quoins. Wooden trim on the porch and balcony, along bargeboard work and finials in the gables, set the house apart from the plain-style Gothic cottage.[30]

The houses designed by John Watkins represent the best of the Gothic cottage style. Like William Ward, Jr., Watkins was trained in England in the Gothic Revival style. He was born in Maidstone, Kent, to a prosperous builder-architect and after converting to Mormonism left England for the United States and Salt Lake City.[31] In 1864 Watkins settled in Midway, Utah, where he became a prominent builder of domestic dwellings. The oldest of the houses that he built in the more "decorative" Carpenter's Gothic (picturesque) style was his own cross-wing dwelling. Built in 1869, the house of kiln-fired brick features delicate scrollwork in the gable ends and a central dormer concluding with finials at each ridge peak.

Even more captivating was the house that he designed for George Bonner, Sr., a convert from Ireland. The Bonner house (1876), in a one-and-a-half-story cross-wing plan, features the same decorative gable work and use of finials, but is more forceful in appearance because of its central pavilion with a bay window. In both designs, Watkins used pointed-arch doorways in the pitched dormers, and pedimented sash windows in the pavilions. The support posts and rails of the verandas and the use of quoins suggest a knowledge of cottage architecture featured in such pattern books as A. J. Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses*. Watkins's work was consistent with contemporary developments in domestic architecture.[32]

Later houses in the Gothic/Victorian Gothic cottage style were often inspired by examples from a growing number of pattern books. The decorative work could be purchased from catalogues, making it easier for the builder, and giving the residence a more refined look. This is particularly true of the styles that followed the pioneer period.

HOUSES OF DISTINCTION

There were a few houses of architectural distinction that stood apart from the vernacular-style dwellings that predominated. One such home

was Brigham Young's Beehive House (1852–54), located on the north-west corner of South Temple Street and First East in Salt Lake City. It was designed by Young's brother-in-law, Truman O. Angell, Sr., to re-place a classically inspired adobe home built in 1852.[33] The new two-story house, Federal/Greek Revival in style, sported a broad veranda supported by attenuated piers and, later, a balcony that sheltered the upper story from the summer sun and inclement weather. The architect used a boxed-fret motif on the cornice similar to that used on the Kirtland Temple. A square observatory with Egyptian-style battered piers at each corner sat atop a railed overlook.[34] It was capped by a rope beehive, from which the house took its name. Twenty-four-inch-thick adobe walls cooled the house in the summer and retained the heat in the winter. President Young called for large sash windows to insure ample light and fresh air. Entrance was through a large oak door that opened into a passage hall. Young's bedroom was located immediately to the left; to the right was a large and well-appointed sitting room with an adjoining sewing area. Interior pine doors and door frames were "feather" painted to simulate oak, and the walls of the entrance hall were decorated as marble. A staircase led from the entrance hall to a parlor known as the Long Hall on the second floor, where such noted guests as Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Horace Greeley were received. The location of the Long Hall was in keeping with Young's New England heritage and sense of social order and grace. Family bedrooms occupied the rest of the upper floor.

With time, classical and Gothic detailing became more common, and its use projected a moderate sense of style into the architecture. An influx of skilled artisans and economic growth among the Mormons contributed to the change. Yet most of the homes built between 1847 and 1877 were more vernacular or eclectic than correct Federal, Greek Revival, or Gothic Revival in style.

The building of Brigham Young's Lion House (1854–56) and Forest Farmhouse (1861–63) did much to awaken the territory to Gothic Re-vival architecture. The Lion House, built adjacent to the Beehive House, earned its name from the stone couchant lion atop the crenellated en-trance.[35] Inspiration for the design came directly from England through William Ward, Jr., who had been trained in the Gothic Revival style. The Gothic character of this house stands in marked contrast to its classically inspired neighbor.[36] So different was the Lion House from all

that preceded it, that it could be considered a unique building form within Mormon architecture. Ward patterned the house after a medieval English cross-gable plan using large pitched dormers to capture the effect of full cross-gables. The upper floor was adobe and the basement was stone. The building was specifically designed to house members of President Young's family, with the main floor reserved for some of his wives and as a reception-dining area, and the attic, or dormer story as the bedroom area for the older children. Both floors were served by wide axial passage halls. A large, well-appointed family meeting room was located at the south end of the attic floor, where Brigham Young met with family members to discuss the concerns of the day, to instruct them in church matters, and to close the day with family prayer. The kitchen and the storage rooms were located in the basement, which was fully exposed on the west to improve access. A wood "gymnasium," or screened porch, was built along the full length of the west side of the main floor to benefit the health of the residents. It was removed shortly before or after the death of President Young. The Lion House and Beehive House were connected by two church office buildings and a utilitarian backyard.[37]

In many ways, Brigham Young's H-plan Forest Farmhouse (1861–63), now located in This is the Place State Park in Salt Lake City, was the most pleasing of Brigham Young's homes.[38] Truman Angell is credited with the design, although William Paul (see Devereaux House) was more familiar with this style of architecture. It was built in the tradition of the Lion House, but more in the Carpenter's Gothic style, which was then popular in the United States. The design of the earliest balloon frame in the Utah Territory, was symmetrical, with a large double parlor and kitchen-pantry area on either side of a central area for reception and formal dining on the ground floor. The attic, or true cross-gable story, was reached by end-gable staircases that exited in an upstairs bedroom on the south and a parlor-office area on the north. A master and children's bedroom occupied the north cross-gable, and the south cross-gable was probably used as an activity room. The exterior was enhanced by a light peripteral veranda supported by attenuated posts. The latticework added to the character of the building. President Young often entertained important guests at the Forest Farmhouse to show how agriculturally progressive the Mormons were.

The Devereaux House (1856–57, 1868/1877) was named by its third owner, William Jennings, in memory of his ancestral home in England. The original house was designed for William C. Staines by William Paul in the "cottage style."[39] Paul was a practicing architect from Liverpool, England, before he joined the church and later emigrated to Utah in 1854. His design reflected a knowledge of contemporary trends in English and American architecture and of gentry taste befitting Staines. It was markedly different in appearance from the vernacular character of Salt Lake City and the territory. Staines, a noted horticulturist from England, purposely set his house back 130 feet from the street to create a garden-and-orchard setting in keeping with an English manor house. Joseph A. Young (eldest son of Brigham Young) purchased the house in 1866, but sold it a few months later to William Jennings.

Jennings, whose father was a prosperous businessman, left England for the United States in search of his fortune in 1847. He did not come into contact with the church until he arrived in St. Joseph, Missouri. There he met and married a convert from England and followed her to Utah, where he became a member of the church. A businessman, Jennings was Utah's first millionaire and a devoted follower of Brigham Young. After he purchased the house, he began to increase its size according to his economic, social, and political importance. In 1868 he enlarged the west side of the house, followed by the east side nine years later. Paul, Jennings's father-in-law, was fittingly given the commission, which entailed razing the original Gothic Revival building. He finished in the Second Empire style with integrated Gothic motifs. Its adobe walls were stuccoed and scored to simulate stone, giving the house a more aristocratic aura. He had his freighting company's wagon boxes made in Missouri from hardwood so that he could lay hardwood floors in his new ballroom and elsewhere. The remaining woodwork was of pine painted to appear as a hard wood. He imported expensive furnishings from the East Coast and made a special trip to England in 1876 to purchase fine china, crystal, and silver for the house. He also increased the size of the lot to five acres, or half a city block. The house became the center of style and fashion for the period in Salt Lake City. Brigham Young, in fact, used the Devereaux House on occasions to entertain guests.[40] The presence of the palatial dwelling was partly responsible for Brigham Young's later decision to build a house befitting the president of the church.

Mormon domestic architecture essentially came to an end with the pioneer period, which was marked by the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the assimilation of immigrant converts from Europe. In an 1884 speech to the Saints of Rexburg, Idaho, President John Taylor spoke of Salt Lake City and its transition from a pioneer to a more affluent period, suggesting that Rexburg should follow a similar path.

> And now we want to see you as Latter-day Saints, as quickly as circumstances will permit, get on to your city lots, and don't be scattered abroad like so many stray calves. We want you to locate on your city lots, and in the mean time be preparing to build on them; for we must have beautiful cities and splendid habitations in the land of Zion. Many people begin to admire Salt Lake City; but we have done nothing there to what we intend doing [here]. I have talked . . . on the subject of building nice homes, and have suggested that you get some architect to furnish the plans of some pleasant cottages, and some more pretentious, according to the means and circumstances of the people. You may be able to purchase architectural books that will answer the purposes; but let us build beautiful homes. It is nearly as cheap to put up a good looking house, and one properly constructed, as it is one of those ill-favored affairs. Build your temporary homes well back in the lot, so that when you build again these will answer for kitchens, or it may be some of your boys and girls, till they can do better. But we want to see beautiful cities, beautiful houses and pleasant homes, and everything around you calculated to promote happiness and well being.

In the same address, he emphasized the importance of the house and its role in the plan of Zion: "And then we want to see you operate as one in all things. You fathers of families and you mothers, see to it that you dedicate yourselves and your habitation and everything you have to God, and that you live pure, virtuous, and holy and upright lives. See to it that you are men and women of God—children of the Most High God, and your offspring with you. And I tell you that the time is rolling on when Zion will become the praise of the whole earth."[41]

Contemporary movements in architecture soon supplanted earlier styles and cultural traditions. Architectural mainstreaming became more noticeable in the larger and more affluent cities such as Salt Lake City and Ogden. This transformation was seen in the Gardo House (demolished in 1921).[42] In 1873 Brigham Young proposed building a new house

to replace the Beehive House as his official residence. His desire for a building of current design worthy of receiving visiting dignitaries is evident from an article that appeared in a local newspaper:

> One of the most magnificent and substantial residences in the West, and much superior to any other private residence in this city, is at present being erected for Brigham Young. . . . It is four stories in height including the basement, with a tower at the north-west corner, the height of which latter will be seventy-six feet from the ground. . . . The building will contain about three dozen rooms lighted by about one hundred and fifty windows, and be reached by two principal and four side flights of stairs. The whole will be elegantly finished and it is the intention, if possible, to lath and plaster the whole this fall. W. H. Folsom, Esq., Jos. H. Ridges, Esq., and other gentlemen have aided in this architectural department. . . . President Young has named the new residence the Gardo House.[43]

Young died before the Gardo House was completed, leaving it to his successor, John Taylor, to finish the building at a cost of thirty thousand dollars. Later, Wilford Woodruff chose to live in his own residence, prompting the sale of the Gardo House in 1890.

The house was constructed of brick and local sandstone and finished on the interior with the finest hardwoods and plate glass imported from the eastern United States. Located across the street from the Beehive House, the Gardo House towered over the surrounding buildings. Its sentinel-like appearance was fitting, for it signaled the end of the pioneer era of domestic architecture. It also marked the beginning of the end of nineteenth-century Mormonism and the beginning of a new era for the church and its architecture.[44]

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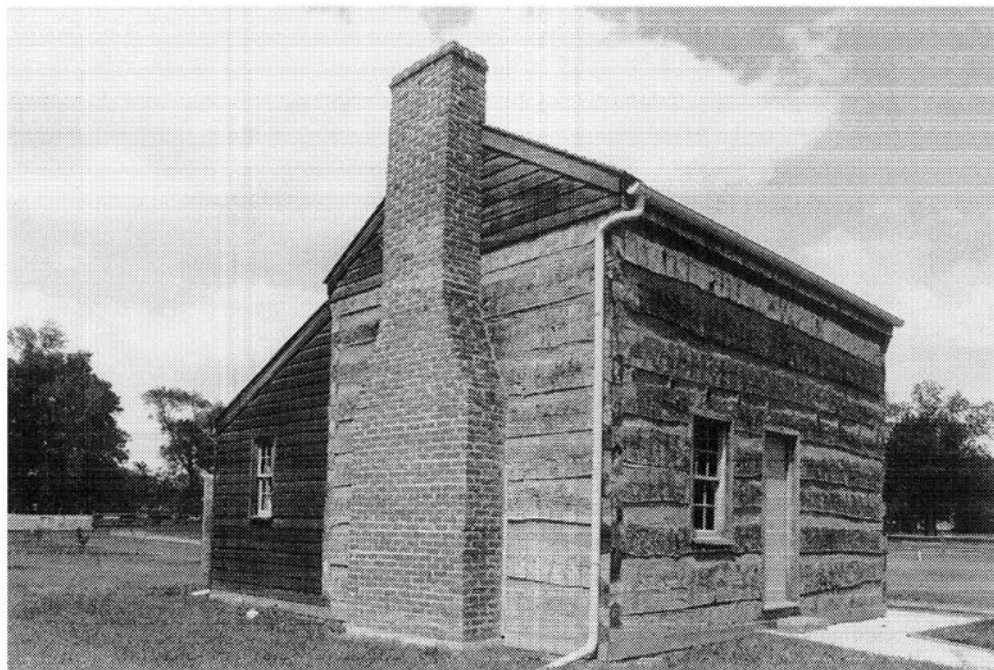
81. A reconstruction of what is considered to be a representative log house built during the Nauvoo period (1839–46). It is located on the former property of Dr. Calvin Pendleton. The view is from the southwest. (*Author*)

82. The restored Joseph Coolidge house (1843) seen from the southwest. The lean-to on the back of the house was added after the Saints left Nauvoo. (*Author*)

83. Joseph Smith's Mansion House (1842–43) seen from the southwest. A twenty-two-room hotel was added as an east wing to the house. (*Author*)

84. The Orson Hyde house (1843) seen from the east. The veranda is not original to the building. (*Author*)

85. The George Laub house (1843) seen from the northwest. This is an extant example of a small single-room, two-story dwelling in Nauvoo. (*Author*)

86. The David Yearsley house (1843–44) seen from the south. It was probably the tallest house built in Nauvoo. The veranda is not original to the house. (*Author*)

87. The Wilford Woodruff house (1843–45) seen from the northeast. It is one of the more refined dwellings constructed in Nauvoo. (*Author*)

88. The Heber C. Kimball house (1845–46) seen from the southwest. The three-bay east wing was added after the departure of the Saints from Nauvoo in 1846. (*Author*)

89. The William Weeks house (1843) seen from the southeast. There is a question whether the two-bay east portion is original to the house. (*Author*)
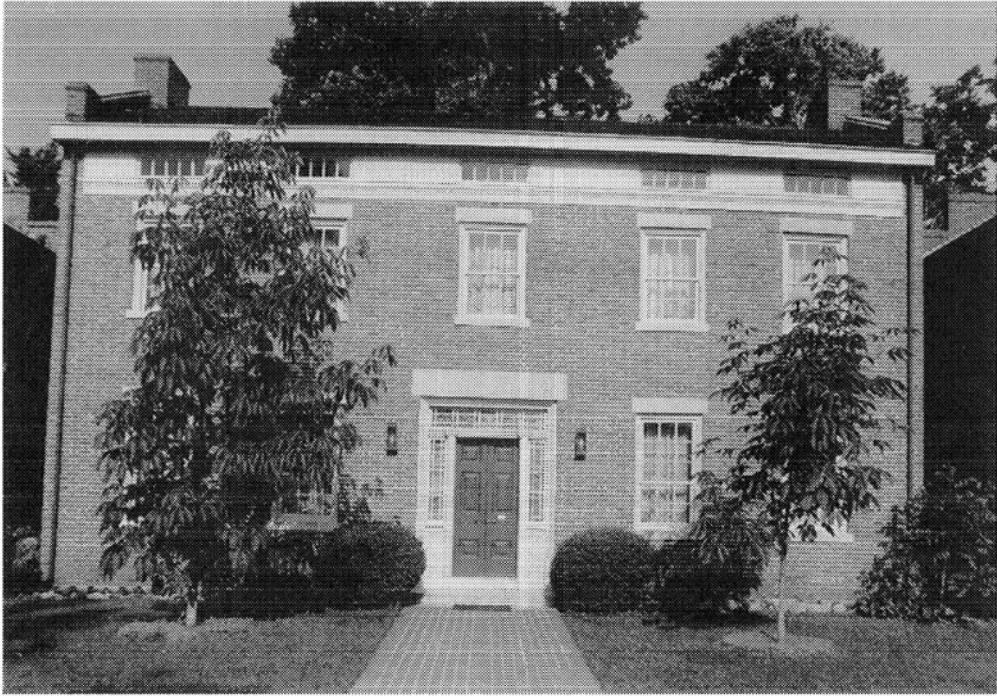
90. The John Taylor house seen from the east. It was originally built by James Ivins in 1842 and purchased by Taylor in 1845. (*Author*)
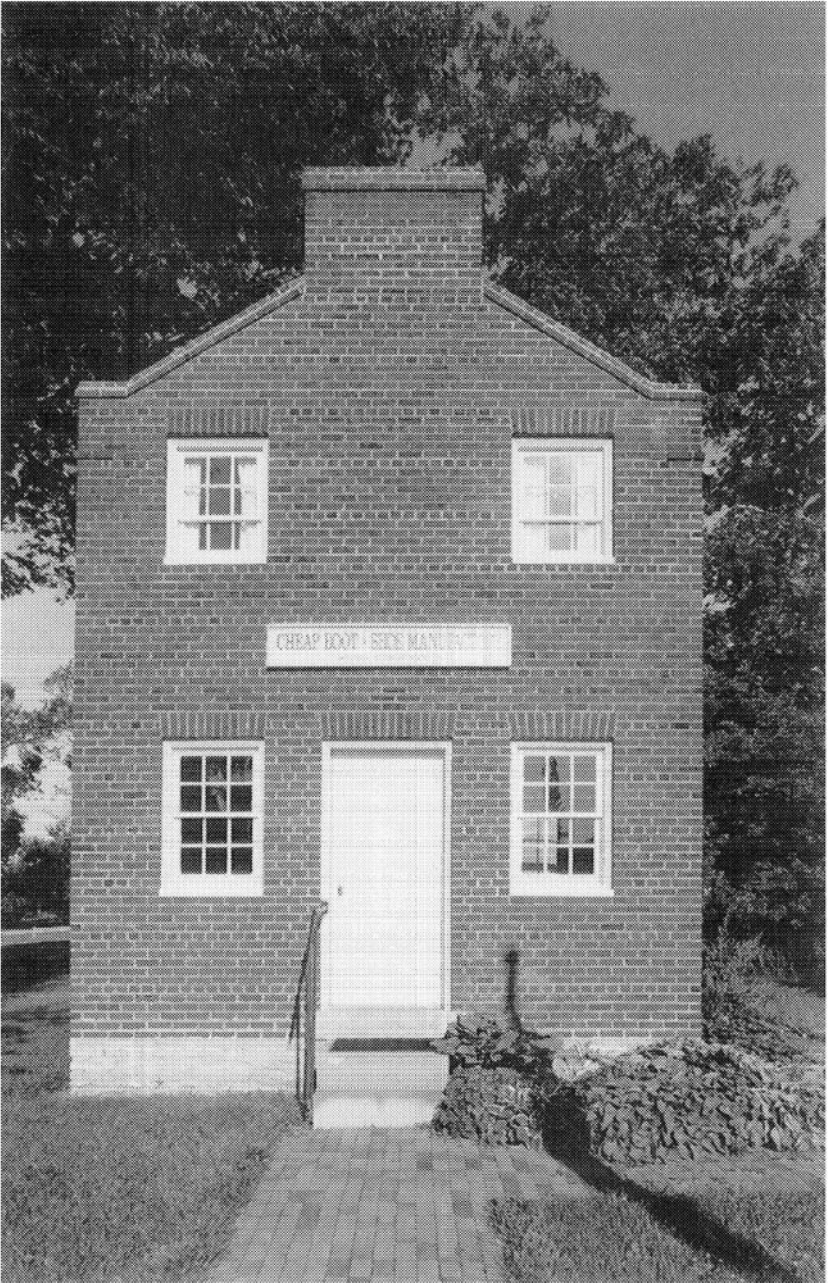
91. A reconstruction of the George C. Riser house (1843). Riser was a boot-
and shoe-maker from Germany who joined the church soon after he arrived
in Nauvoo. The view is from the east. (*Author*)
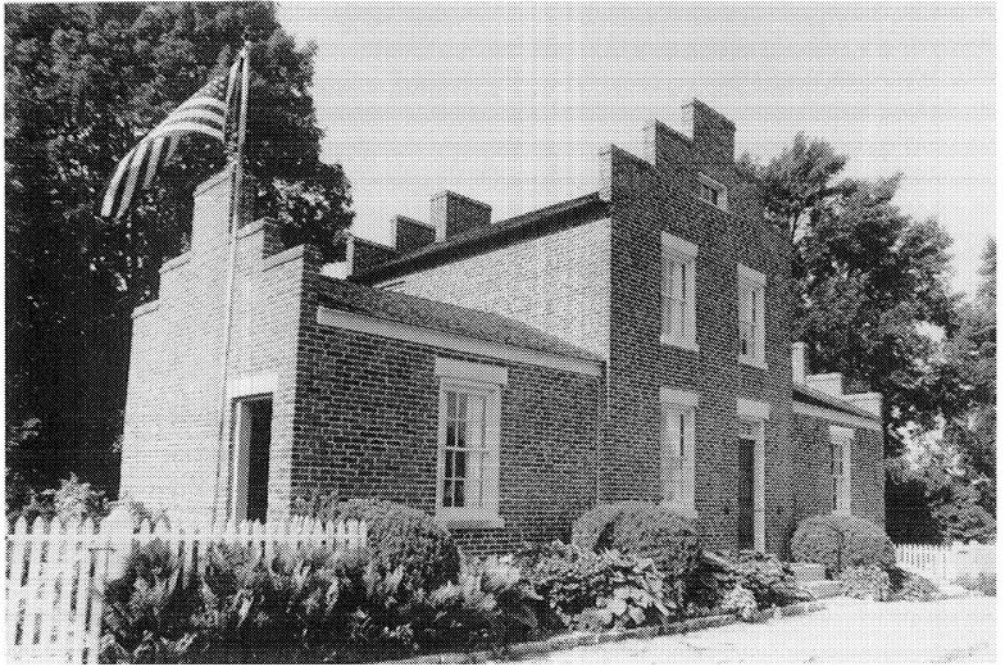
92. The Brigham Young house (1843) seen from the northeast. The east and west wings were added before Young's departure from Nauvoo. (*Author*)

93. The Jonathan Browning house and gun shop (1843–44) seen from the southwest. His son, John Moses Browning, founder of the Browning Arms Company, was born in Ogden, Utah, in 1855. (*Author*)
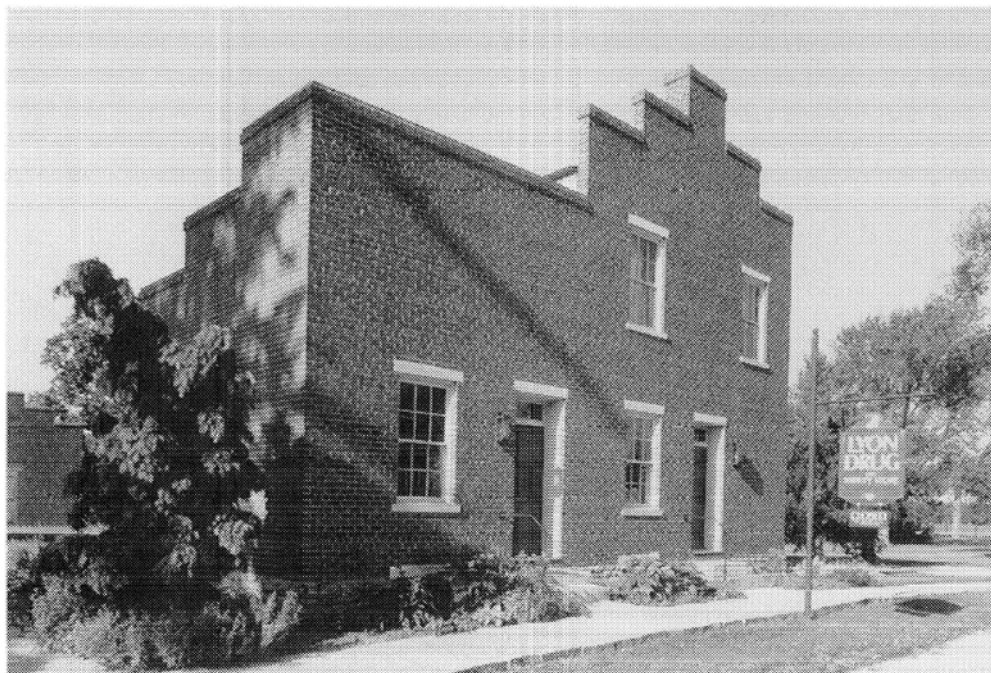
94. The Windsor P. Lyon house (1843) seen from the northeast. The multipurpose structure served as a pharmacy, general store, and family dwelling. (*Author*)

95. The Raymond Clark house and store (1843) seen from the south. The general store occupied the ground floor while the second story served the needs of the family (*Author*)
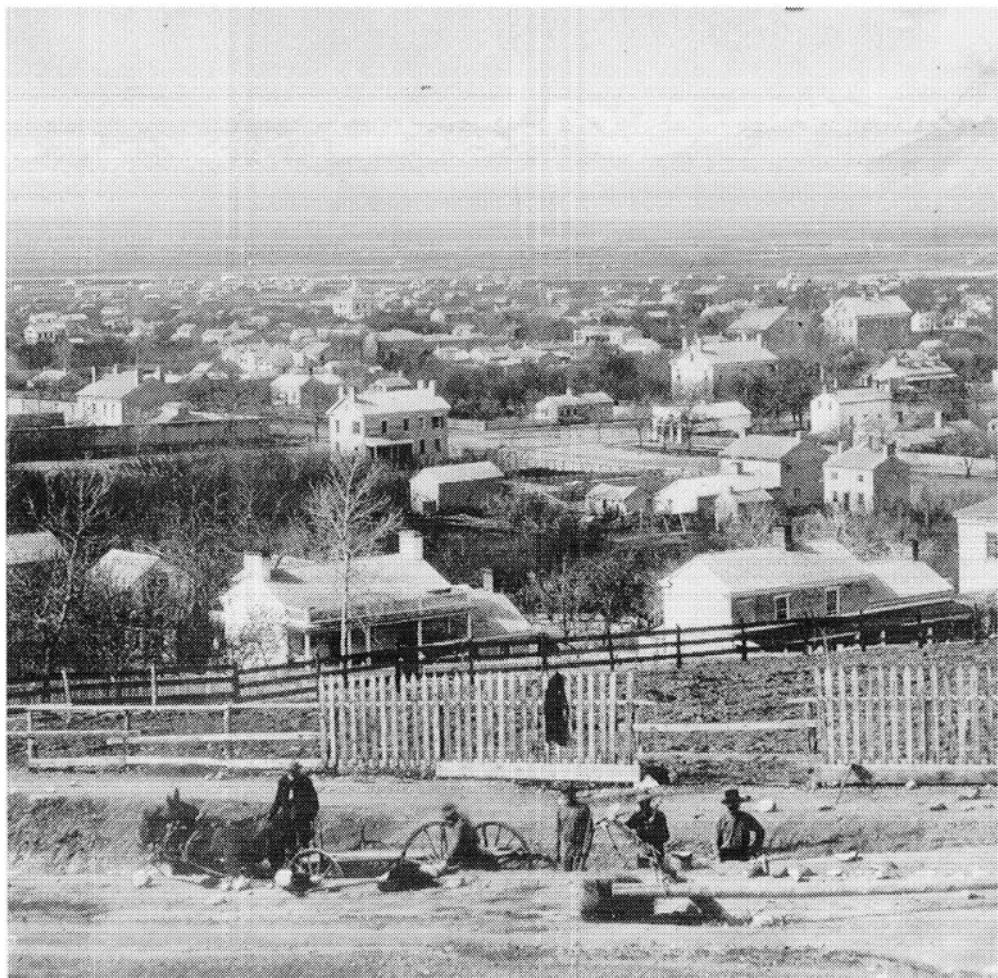
96. A view of Salt Lake City c. 1869–71, looking across the valley toward the southwest from Capitol Hill. The four-square Salt Lake County Court House stands in the middle distance. (*LDS Historical Department*)

97. The Isaac Sears house (1870s / 1880s, demolished) in Salt Lake City. The house and its additions were of adobe. (*International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah*)
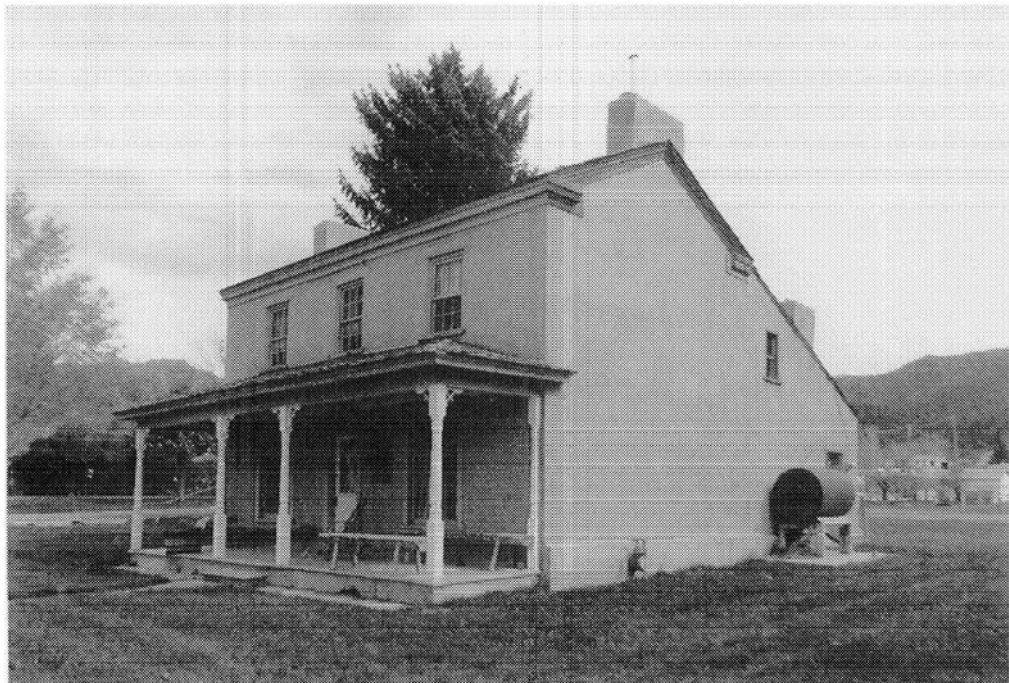
98. The Jesse N. Smith house (1856–57) in Parowan, Utah, seen from the northwest. The lean-to was added to the adobe structure in 1865. (*Author*)

99. The Frederick Christian Sorensen house (c. 1850) in Ephraim, Utah, seen from the north. The distinctive position of the door and windows relative to disposition of the rooms is indicative of Scandinavian influence. (*Author*)
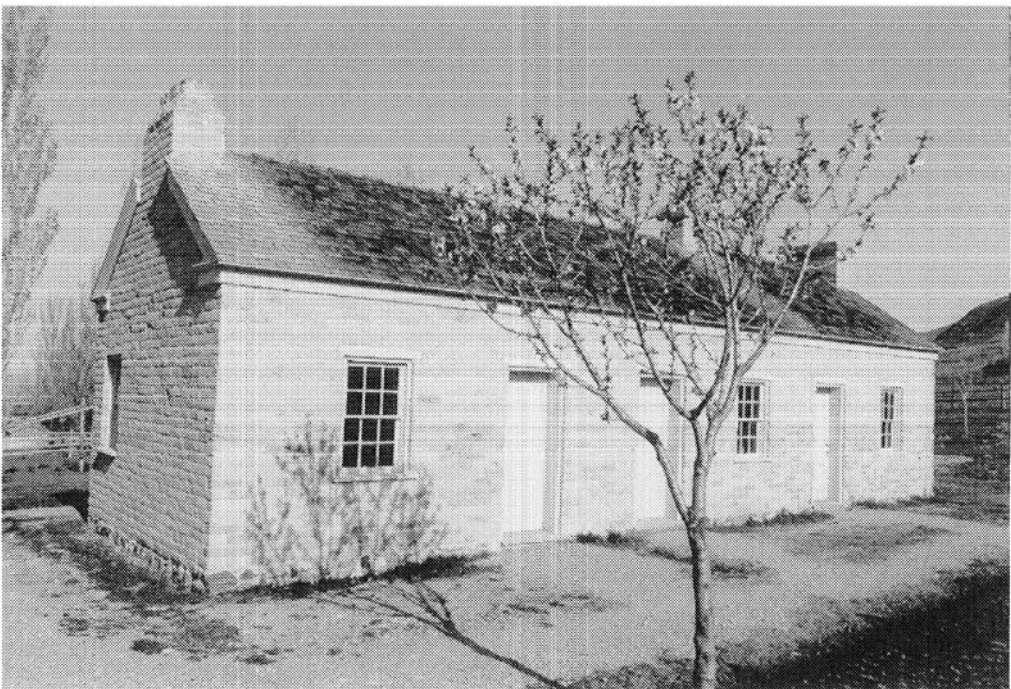
100. The Charles C. Rich adobe cabin (1850s) was relocated to This is the Place State Park in Salt Lake City from Centerville, Utah, in 1975. The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)
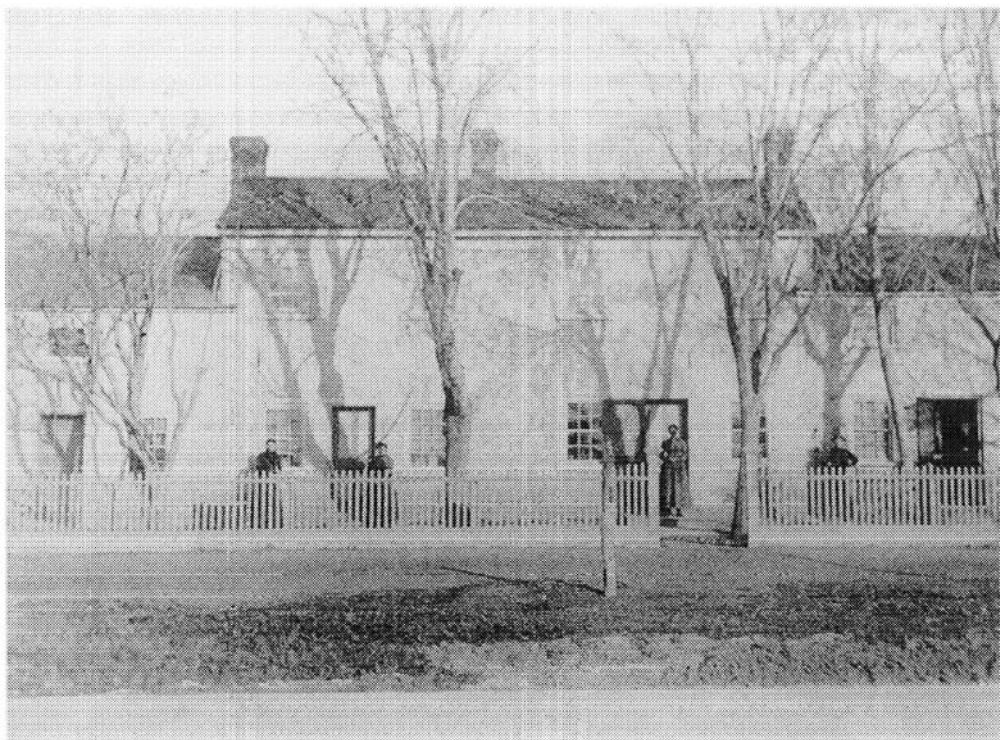
101. The Jacob Weiler house (1848, demolished) in Salt Lake City is an excellent example of pioneer architectural adaptability necessitated by a growing family. (*International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers*)

102. The Shadrach Jones house (1850s) in Willard, Utah, seen from the southeast. The house is an asymmetrical design of local stone. (*Author*)

103. The Thomas Frazer house (1870) in Beaver, Utah, seen from the south. The east wing, with its bay window, and west extension were later additions. (*Author*)

104. The Cyrus Benjamin Hawley house (c. 1869) in Pleasant Grove, Utah, seen from the southwest. The "soft rock" (tufa) rubble walls, typical of the area, were later stuccoed and scored to give the impression of ashlar construction. (*Author*)

105. The Duckworth Grimshaw house (1877) in Beaver, Utah, seen from the southeast. The facade and north end are of coursed ashlar while the other walls are of rubble construction, a method common in Europe and America. (*Author*)

106. The John L. Edwards house (1860s) in Willard, Utah, seen from the southwest. Designs in this style and that of the Hawley House (fig. 104) became more common in the territory after 1870. (*Author*)

107. The John Watkins house (1869) in Midway, Utah, seen from the south. The paint has been partly removed from the brick in an effort to restore the house to its original appearance. (*Author*)
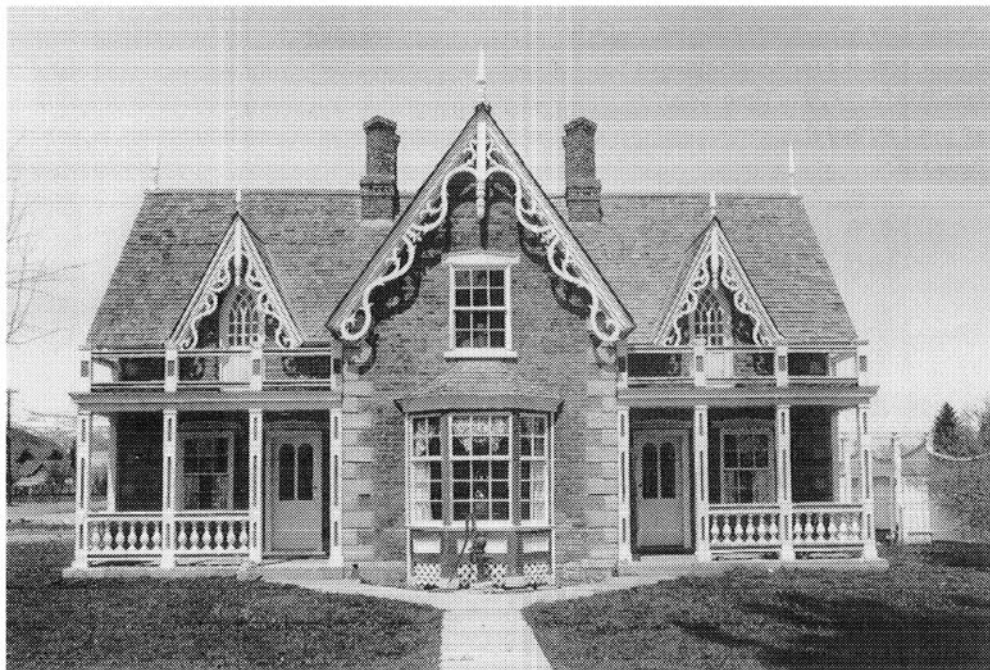
108. The George Bonner, Sr., house (1876) in Midway, Utah. The exterior of the house has been restored to its original appearance. The view is from the south. (*Author*)

109. Brigham Young's Beehive House (1852–54) in Salt Lake City. The balcony (gallery) was probably added about the same time as the veranda and balcony on the nearby Tithing Office (Deseret Store). The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)

110. Brigham Young's Lion House (1854–56) in Salt Lake City. The
basement story was fully exposed on the west side to provide direct access
to this area. (*Author*)

111. Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse (1861–63) was moved from its original site in South Salt Lake to the This is the Place State Park in 1975. The view is from the west. (*Author*)

112. A view from the south of the Devereaux House (1856–57 / 1868 / 1877) in Salt Lake City. The adobe walls were stuccoed and scored to give the impression of ashlar construction. (*Author*)

113. The Gardo House was located across the street from the Beehive House. Work on the house began in 1873 under the watchful eye of Brigham Young. Unfortunately, he did not live to see it completed. The house was razed in 1921. (*LDS Historical Department*)

EIGHT

—⟨beehive⟩—

Peripheral Buildings

Building Types

The emphasis that the church leaders placed on education, cultural pursuits, and civic involvement was integral to the success of "the Kingdom of God." And the strong focus on these activities resulted in other building types. By the 1850s and 1860s, schools, theaters, and civic buildings were being added to the ecclesiastical vocabulary of temples, tabernacles, and meetinghouses. Based primarily on economy of construction and practical functionalism, these structures were for the most part not architecturally distinguished. Vernacular became the accepted form, consistent with much of Mormon architecture before the death of Brigham Young in 1877. Even so, these buildings were an important part of nineteenth-century Mormon architecture.

Educational Buildings

KIRTLAND AND NAUVOO

"The glory of God is intelligence" has long been the Mormon scriptural maxim, and education was of paramount importance to the Saints, even during times of severe hardship.[1] As early as 1831, Joseph Smith asked Oliver Cowdery and William W. Phelps to collect the best textbooks available in preparation for organizing a primary and secondary school. In 1833 Kirtland High School was established and 140 children enrolled. Classes were held in the attic story of the newly completed Kirtland

—⟨beehive⟩—

Temple. The curriculum consisted of classics, English, and science. Competency examinations were administered at the end of each term.

Adult education was also addressed. In 1833 Smith founded "the School of the Prophets" to prepare members of the priesthood to teach the gospel. The initial lectures were on the nature of God and the Godhead, which was composed of three separate beings: God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost. When the Kirtland Temple was completed in 1836, lecture sessions of the school were moved from the Newel K. Whitney store to the upper assembly room, or court, of the temple. There, approximately eighty men studied Hebrew and Greek in order to better understand the Bible and other "revelations" of God. Professor Joshua Seixas, a scholar of ancient languages, was paid a fee of 320 dollars to come from Hudson, Ohio, to conduct classes in Hebrew.[2] Later, in Independence, Missouri, "the School of Elders" was organized for the same purpose and, during the Nauvoo period (1839 to 1846), the church expanded its view of education to include an institution of higher education.

Under the signature of the First Presidency, Joseph Smith sent a promotional letter dated January 15, 1841, to the Saints throughout the United States and abroad, encouraging them to relocate in Nauvoo. The letter mentioned the future "University of the City of Nauvoo" which was to "enable us to teach our children wisdom, to instruct them in all the knowledge and learning, in the arts, sciences, and learned professions. We hope to make this institution one of the great lights of the world, and by and through it to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practical utility, and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness. The Regents of the University will take the general supervision of all matters appertaining to education, from common schools up to the highest branches of a most liberal collegiate course. They will establish a regular system of education, and hand over the pupil from teacher to professor, until regular gradation [sic] is consummated and the education is finished."[3]

The university was never established because of more pressing matters, including the construction of the temple. Then the Saints were driven from Nauvoo, and a institution of higher education would have to wait until they reached Utah. In anticipation, the library in the Seventies Hall was carefully packed, and taken by wagon to the Great Basin.

Brigham Young was as strong an advocate of education as was his

predecessor, and kept a firm hand on all aspects of learning in the new territory.[4] In his position as territorial governor (1850–57), he was directly involved with education and met regularly with the legislature, calling for taxes to support a public school system. In 1851 county boundaries, for the most part, became the boundaries for public school districts. In the larger population centers, such as Salt Lake City, the boundaries for individual schools followed those of Mormon wards.[5]

However, Brigham Young's interest in education, and tolerance toward non-Mormons took a different course, beginning in the late 1860s. He turned against public education because it appeared that the curriculum would not include religious instruction. He had also become alarmed over the growth of sectarian missionary schools in the territory, and his mistrust of the sectarian world, and the federal government in particular, led him to make the following address on education to the General Conference of the church in April 1873:[6]

> We have no societies or persons to assist us in our efforts to school ourselves and our children; we never have had, and the feeling that is now exhibited, and which has always been shown towards us since the organization of the kingdom of God upon the earth, is that those who are our enemies would rather spend ten, yea, a hundred dollars to deprive us of the least privilege in the world, than give us a cent towards schooling our children. When we were leaving Nauvoo, in our poverty, we sent our Elders hither and thither to the principle cities of the United States, to ask the people if they would assist the Saints. Our brethren told them that we were leaving the confines of the United States, having been driven by the violence of mobs from our homes, and how much do you think we got in the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and a few smaller towns? Their hearts and hands were closed against us. From the whole people of the United States, after making an appeal to them in our deep distress and poverty, we got but a few dollars, and we were then starting into the wilderness, and, how we were going to live, God only knew. Well, we have got to help ourselves, we have to school ourselves.[7]

He did not want "the seeds of infidelity in the hearts of their children." He wanted the children educated in the learning of the world, but within the context of "the restored truths of the Gospel."[8]

Even before Brigham Young's death, the citizens of the territory of Utah had become entangled in the growing problem of religious instruc-

tion in public schools. From the outset, the federal government had denied funds for public education in the territory because of the existing prejudice toward Mormons. Thus, the entire financial burden for education fell upon the people, and it was not until 1878 that a general school tax was levied.[9] Even then, it would not be until after 1890 that the territory and later, the state of Utah (1896), would have a successful tax-supported public school system. The years before 1890 saw Mormon children attending ward, or related schools, while non-Mormons gravitated to non-Mormon parochial schools. When the public school system was first established (1851), this division between Mormons and non-Mormons helped weaken the system. The Mormons were primarily in control of the schools because of their numbers.

After the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887, the church felt compelled to organize its own school system.[10] The stakes were asked to establish academies—combined elementary and secondary-normal schools—and responded by organizing twenty-two academies, over half of which continued into the next century. However, they proved to be a financial burden on the Saints, who were already paying state taxes to support the public schools. Yet the church members, as in times past, showed their courage and willingness to sacrifice by ignoring seemingly insurmountable obstacles. They created the schools anyway.

EARLY SCHOOLHOUSES

One of the first things that the Saints did after they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley was establish a school. Mary Jane Dilworth erected a tent within the protective walls of Old Salt Lake Fort where students sat on logs while they were instructed from materials carried from Nauvoo. As the Saints left the safety of the fort to build homes in the city, or were asked to establish new settlements, schoolhouses became a top priority.[11] Brigham Young placed the responsibility of common education under the direction of ward bishops, and church members were asked to build, staff, and pay for the operating costs of the schools. Young instructed the bishops to make certain that the teachers were paid a fair wage.[12] By 1854, it was reported in the *Deseret News* that schools in Salt Lake City were organized according to boundaries.[13]

Schools differed primarily in the materials used rather than in any design or decorative features. Materials ranged from wood to rock,

adobe being the most common. Most of the buildings served a dual role, meeting both secular and ecclesiastical needs. As early as 1849, Brigham Young drafted a plan for ward schoolhouses in Salt Lake City, which apparently called for a main building with side wings. His plan was never fully implemented.[14] Instead the one-room, single- or double-story school-meetinghouse became the norm for the territory. The previously discussed adobe school-meetinghouse (1861, chapter 5) in Grantsville, Utah, is an extant example.[15] Vernacular in appearance, it is representative of most early schoolhouses in the territory. When the new Grantsville Meetinghouse was completed in 1866, the building remained in service as the "Adobe School House" until 1892. It was purchased by the city of Grantsville and was used as a city hall and jail from 1894 to 1970. It was restored in 1950.[16]

The extant four-bay Rock Schoolhouse (1867) in Fillmore, Utah, was the first school in Utah to be built by tax dollars. It represents the larger one-room school buildings constructed in the territory. It was fashioned of local red sandstone laid in random ashlar with flush quoins at the corners, and like so many other early buildings, it sported a continuous cornice with cornice returns.[17] Its double-door entrance was dictated by the original position of two pot-bellied stoves at either end. An elliptical ceiling covered the single-room interior, which was designed to accommodate forty students.

The most innovative design solution was the Salt Lake Sixth Ward Schoolhouse, built in 1872. The two-story 30-by-60-foot frame structure, by Samuel L. Evans, replaced an earlier adobe meetinghouse, dating from 1851 (1852). The first floor was used for the school while the second floor served as the meetinghouse. A 30-by-20-foot brick addition was made to the front of the building in 1885, seriously altering the original appearance of the building. It was used as a meetinghouse until 1942, when it was surplused by the church and later demolished.[18]

In Fruita, the small, 17-by-20-foot one-room school (1897) was built of logs. It stood in marked contrast to contemporary multiroom, one- and two-story schoolhouses of brick and stone in other communities. This points to its relative geographic isolation in southeastern Utah. Fortunately, it is located within the boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park where it is beautifully preserved as a relic of the former town of Fruita.[19]

After arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young built a schoolhouse for his own family. He first constructed a small, single-room

adobe building to the west of his "White House" in 1853. His family then grew to the point where he was compelled to build a new two-bay, single-room adobe structure in 1860, incorporating the original building as a small east wing in the new schoolhouse. The windows were set higher than normal so students would not be bothered by direct sunlight, and the ceiling formed an elliptical arch to improve the acoustics of the building. The individual desks were set in neat rows, facing the the north wall. An attached tower gave the building the appearance of an early meetinghouse; and well it should, having served the ecclesiastical needs of the Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward until 1881.[20] The building was first abandoned and then razed to make way for an apartment complex in c. 1900.

ACADEMIES

Eager to educate the youth of the church, Brigham Young called for the establishment of separate academies in 1860, one for boys and one for girls in Salt Lake City. The academies were designed to serve both elementary and secondary students and were larger than existing one- or two-room schoolhouses.[21] His plans were not realized; instead, the wards built and managed their own schools until the public system gradually assumed the responsibility, beginning in the 1880s. After the enactment of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, Mormon academies began to appear throughout the territory.

These schools, which differed little from others built in the United States during this period, typically followed a basic, symmetrical, two-story, four-on-four or six-on-six plan and were constructed of brick, stone, or a combination of both. They were usually capped by a broad-eaved hipped roof. The entrance and focal point of the facade was commonly a central pavilion with a closed pediment. Wide axial halls bisected the interiors. In the two-story designs the access staircase was usually located at one end of the central hall. The buildings were fen-estrated with either flat- or round-headed multi-pane windows. The Juarez Stake Academy (1904) in the Mormon community of Colonia Juarez, Mexico, is a handsome Victorian example of the later schools. It is the only academy still sponsored by the church.[22]

The Oneida Stake Academy (1891–94) in Preston, Idaho, was designed by Joseph Don Carlos Young, which might account for its distinctive appearance. Its crenellated, steep-pitched cross-gable design and ashlar

construction gave the building a venerable look, befitting a Richardsonian structure. A thick-walled half basement supports two classroom stories and a cross-gable-story auditorium-gymnasium. Entrance is from the south through a rusticated Richardsonian archway reached by an imposing staircase. A monumental V-shaped hood of the same angle as the gable protected the entrance. The upper floors are serviced by wide halls, and an adequate staircase (now a narrow concrete replacement). A spired polygonal belfry at the crossing appropriately completes the design.[23] The monumental hood was destroyed and the crenellations removed because of an earthquake in 1934.[24]

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

The church established schools of higher learning in Salt Lake City, Provo, and Logan, Utah. The oldest of these was the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City (founded in 1850). Books by such authors as "Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Byron, Homer, Juvenal, Lucretius, Virgil, Euripides, Sophocles, Plato, Montaigne, Tacitus, Spencer, Herodotus, Goldsmith" and current newspapers and periodicals were shipped from New York to Utah for the university.[25] Unfortunately, insufficient funds seriously curtailed the operations of the university between 1852 and 1872. Classes were held in the Council House periodically from 1851 to 1881.[26] Other buildings were used before it was moved to its present location on the east bench of Salt Lake City. The church continued to sponsor the institution, but relinquished control to the state in 1892, and in 1902 the name was changed to the University of Utah.

Brigham Young College in Logan and Brigham Young Academy in Provo were the other institutions sponsored by the church in the nineteenth century. Land for both campuses came from deeds provided in Brigham Young's estate. Unlike the University of Deseret, and the planned Young University at Salt Lake City (1892), the Logan and Provo schools offered both high school and college curricula.[27] The church abandoned the Brigham Young College soon after the founding of Utah Agricultural College in Logan (1888, now Utah State University, a federal land grant school), but continued to sponsor Brigham Young Academy, which they renamed Brigham Young University in 1903.

The Academy Building (1884–91) of Brigham Young Academy was fittingly designed by Young's son Joseph Don Carlos Young, who was also on the board of trustees. Made of locally manufactured low-fired

brick, the Academy Building was typical of other Victorian-inspired buildings of its kind in Utah, as well as nationally. A broad-arched central pavilion and symmetrically placed pavilion-tower dominated the facade. At each end were unmatched corner pavilions. The pavilion to the north took the form of a polygonal bay unit while that on the south was an articulated cubic projection with a three-arched entrance. Both were designed to visually balance and limit the horizontal movement of the building. The combination of round arches, corbel tables, and subtle bichrome decorative elements reflect Young's abilities to work in Victorian complexities.[28]

Karl G. Maeser (1828–1901), principal of the academy since 1876, assisted the architect in planning the interior layout of the building. He stated that he had seen the plan of the building in a dream some six years before construction began:

> 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, where I lost sight of my guides, 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 the calamity brought into remembrance the paper, which on being submitted suggestively to the board, was at once approved.[29]

In accordance to Maeser's dream, the main hall bisected the building, providing access to the auditorium, basement, and upper stories. Wide, spacious longitudinal halls serviced a series of high-ceilinged classrooms. The Academy Building exhibited a certain restraint relative to color and decorative patterns for a Victorian structure, due mostly to limited funds.

In the early 1900s, the church gave its academies to the State of Utah. Those in Cedar City, Ogden, St. George, and Ephraim eventually became Southern Utah State University, Weber State University, Dixie College, and Snow College, respectively.

The academies established by the church reflect its commitment to

education and the sacrifice the Saints were willing to make in order to temper the secular knowledge with religious understanding. The church continues the same commitment, but on a much larger national and international scale.[30]

Cultural Halls

The membership of the church found time for cultural activities, even during difficult times. The Relief Society (founded by Joseph Smith in 1842) and the Young Ladies' Retrenchment Society (founded by Brigham Young in 1869) were both central to the church in the promotion and perpetuation of cultural and moral education.[31] Through these organizations, the women of the church took active roles in church and community affairs. They were encouraged to become doctors, midwives, and teachers. (Mormon women had equal voting rights with men, but these rights were taken from them by the federal government when Utah became a state in 1896.) The church's influence through its female membership, coupled with the rapid influx of foreign converts from Europe after 1839, were important factors in broadening cultural understanding in Nauvoo and the western settlements.

Dancing was popular and one of the mainstays of Mormon society. During times of strife, it brought relief to the people—as when the Saints were working feverishly to complete the Nauvoo Temple or making preparations for their exodus from the city. In recognition of the Saints' unselfish efforts after a hard day's labor, Brigham Young, on December 30, 1845, called for a dance to be held in the unfinished Nauvoo Temple. A description of the event recorded in the *History of the Church* is enough to show the pleasure the Saints derived from dance.

> The labors of the day of having been brought to a close . . . it was thought proper to have a little season of recreation, accordingly Brother Hanson was invited to produce his violin, which he did, and played several lively airs accompanied by Elisha Averett on his flute, among others some very good lively dancing tunes . . . and before the dance was over several French fours were indulged in . . . The spirit of dancing increased until the whole floor was covered with dancers, and while we danced before the Lord, we shook the dust from off our feet as a testimony against this nation.

> After the dancing had continued about an hour, several excellent songs were sung, in which several of the brethren and sisters joined. The "Upper California" was sung by Erastus Snow.[32]

Dances were also held in the evenings as the Saints made their way across the Plains, and on their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley.

In Nauvoo, William Weeks was the probable architect for the classically inspired, three-story multipurpose building (1843–44) to house departments of city government, three Masonic lodges, cultural activities, and school and church meetings. It replaced the Prophet's general store as the city's social center.[33] Although it was commonly referred to as the Masonic Hall or Masonic Temple, the building was used only briefly for Masonic meetings, as the Grand Lodge of Illinois rescinded the charter a year after the dedication of the hall, on April 6, 1844.[34] It would perhaps be more accurate to refer to the building as the Nauvoo Civic and Cultural Hall.

The first floor was used as a courtroom and assembly hall for plays, concerts, recitals, funerals, and church meetings. The second floor was reserved for the police department. Formal dances and dinners and Masonic meetings were held in a third-floor auditorium. Overlooking the auditorium was a balcony where the Nauvoo Brass Band played for social occasions. The basement was used for the storage of food items.

The Masonic Hall was second in architectural importance only to the Nauvoo Temple. A synthesis of Federal and Greek Revival forms, the hall's three-story attenuated proportions must have appeared ungainly when compared to surrounding buildings.[35] (The use of round arches on the first floor seems to be a hallmark of the architect.) Center doors opened directly into an assembly hall with a raised stage along the back wall. Access to the second and third floors was gained by a rear interior staircase. The ceiling and main support beams for the second floor were set on six columns. Both of the upper floors were serviced by ample landings and entrance doors. A dumbwaiter positioned in the center of the back wall of the third floor serviced the social activities held there.

Music, a major element in Mormon society, was probably equal in popularity with theater among the Saints. When the Masonic Hall proved inadequate, an eight-hundred-seat brick Concert Hall (sometimes referred to as the Music Hall) was built a block north of the temple. Construction began in the fall of 1844 and was completed the

following March. It was recorded, on one occasion, that a concert lasting five hours was received with great enthusiasm by an audience of a thousand people. The stage area was large enough to accommodate the Nauvoo Choir, which numbered one hundred participants. Unfortunately, the building fell into ruin after the Saints abandoned Nauvoo.[36]

Boweries were used as interim gathering places for the Saints in the early years of the church. They could be constructed of readily found materials—logs, willows, brush, and tree limbs—in a few hours, and their size and open interiors were conducive to large social gatherings. Such events were considered to be as necessary as work and worship in developing the whole person. This holistic, or balanced concept of life was continually stressed by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and their successors.[37]

In the Utah Territory the practice of building social·or cultural halls continued. Brigham Young called for the construction of both a social hall and a theater in Salt Lake City. First to be built, the Social Hall was dedicated on January 1, 1853. Truman Angell, Sr., was the architect, William Ward the foreman over stonecutters.[38] The 33-by-73-foot building, located half a block south of Young's Beehive House, was host to dances, theatricals, musicals, and banquets, not to mention church meetings and legislative gatherings. The hall was a simple five-bay rectilinear structure with a main floor of adobe brick. Both floors were fenestrated by multipane sash windows. A medium-pitched roof with continuous cornice and cornice returns completed the structure. Originally, the walls of the main floor were left unstuccoed and without quoins. Years later they were stuccoed and scored to simulate stone. Quoins and a formal entrance staircase were added at the same time, giving the Social Hall the look of a Georgian building.

The entrance door opened into the main-floor assembly hall, a room designed to host from 300 to 350 people. Light was provided by two chandeliers hung from an elliptical ceiling. The stage and dressing-room area occupied the east end of the building and a staircase led from the dressing area to a lower-floor kitchen and banquet hall. The most often mentioned feature of the hall was a plaster bust of Shakespeare in the center of the proscenium. The building was razed in 1922, but an exact replica was built in This is the Place State Park in Salt Lake City in 1975.[39]

The Salt Lake Theater soon replaced the Social Hall as the cultural center for the city. Other than the New Tabernacle and St. George Temple, it is considered the most architecturally significant monument

to have been completed before Brigham Young's death in 1877.[40] Young took great interest in the theater, being a talented amateur actor and musician himself. The importance of the building to the Saints was conveyed in a speech Young gave on the dedication of the building in 1862.

> There are many of our aged brethren and sisters, who, through the traditions of their fathers and the requirements of a false religion, were never inside a ball-room or a theater until they became Latter-day Saints, and now they seem more anxious for this kind of amusement than are our children. This arises from the fact they have been starved for many years for that amusement which is designed to buoy up their spirits and make their bodies vigorous and strong, and tens of thousands have sunk into untimely graves for want of such exercises to the body and the mind. They require mutual nourishment to make them sound and healthy. Every faculty and power of both body and mind is a gift of God. Never say that means used to create and continue healthy action of body and mind are from Hell.[41]

While encouraging theater and music, Young cautioned that they were to be done in the strictest sense of religious decorum: "Tragedy is favored by the outside world; I am not in favour of it. I do not wish murder and all its horrors and the villany [sic] leading to it portrayed before our women and children; I want no child to carry home with it the fear of the sword, the pistol, or the dagger, and suffer in the night from frightful dreams. I want such plays performed as will make the spectators feel well; and I wish those who perform to select a class of plays that will improve the public mind, and exalt the literary taste of the community."[42] If considered appropriate, outside entertainers and troupes were booked for the edification and amusement of the Saints. The theater became a major attraction for residents and those visiting the city. When not in use as a theater, it became a church hall, fulfilling a dual role as originally intended by Brigham Young.[43]

The Salt Lake Theater was located a block south of President Young's Beehive House. Its construction was, in large part, financed from the sale of surplus goods acquired from Johnston's army when it left the territory.[44] For a time, the 80-by-144-foot adobe-and-stone structure was the largest building to be completed in the territory. Work on the building, which was designed by Church Architect William Folsom, began

in July of 1861 and was completed the following March. The importance of the building, besides its cultural significance, lies in its architectural correctness. It was a mature, pseudo-peripteral design in the Greek Revival style. Its tripartite facade was dominated by two accurately proportioned, freestanding fluted Doric columns. The columns were set *inantis*, emphasizing the depth of the three-portal front. The pilasters were carried around the building to complete the peripteral design. The use of columns and pilasters helped to unite the two-story building into an aesthetic whole. Consistent with the Doric order, the architect employed a metope-and-triglyph motif in the entablature beneath the extended cornice. The low-pitched hipped roof was capped by an attic clerestory that helped provide natural light for the interior. Folsom, no doubt, borrowed from available sources for the design of the exterior; the facade, for example, followed designs from builder's guides and prototype buildings in the United States and England. The previous cosmopolitan activities of the architect would have brought him into contact with similar buildings.[45]

The opulence of the interior—out of character for this period in Mormon history—was in marked contrast to the classical severity and controlled geometry of the exterior. The difference is attributable to Elias L. T. Harrison, a convert from England. Harrison was given the responsibility of designing the interior soon after he arrived in 1861. His knowledge of contemporary London theaters was the probable source for his design.[46] Access to the richly appointed auditorium was through an equally impressive vestibule. The floor of the three-aisle auditorium sloped to an ample stage, and an elegant, curved, three-story gallery terminated with plush box-loggias on either side of a spacious stage. The box-loggias, in turn, were skillfully tied to the design of the proscenium. The baroque ceiling, elliptical in its expanse, was done in sympathy with the rest of the interior. Entrance to the galleries was through a second-floor vestibule from corner staircases off the main-level vestibule. At the time, it was the only major theater of its size between St. Louis and San Francisco. The building attracted the attention of visitors to the city, and its cultural importance and lasting popularity could be seen in the reaction of the citizenry who protested its destruction in 1928.[47]

The Social Hall and the Salt Lake Theater were followed by the construction of smaller cultural centers in other Mormon communities. St. George, for one, built or established two halls—St. George Hall and

an Opera House. St. George Hall, a stone-and-adobe structure, was completed in 1863 and was patterned on the Social Hall in Salt Lake City. In 1875 it was sold to purchase a more adequate facility. An existing building, constructed in 1867, was acquired and converted into a multipurpose hall. It was called by various names, including the Social Hall, but it was most frequently referred to as the Opera House. In 1880 wings were added to both sides of the rectangular hall, creating a T-plan, which increased the seating capacity to four hundred. The main floor was sloped, dropping four feet from the entrance to the stage. Added later was a moveable floor that could be raised to an even level with the stage so that dances could be held there. It served the cultural needs of the community for fifty years. It was later purchased by the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. The Opera House is again being used as a cultural center, following its restoration by the city of St. George in 1994.[48]

The importance of cultural activities and the growing separation between church and state eventually led the Mormon Church to include amusement or cultural halls in its plans for newer meetinghouses. The Riverton Ward Meetinghouse was one of the earliest to integrate a cultural hall with adjoining instructional rooms and baptismal font. Since the 1920s, meetinghouses and stake centers have been designed with amply sized halls to encourage cultural and athletic events and related activities.

Commercial Buildings

The early leaders of the church were concerned not only with the spiritual and cultural well-being of the Saints but also with their economic welfare. In Nauvoo those who did not farm for a living were encouraged to develop a trade to provide for themselves and their families. A network of small businesses sprang up around the city. Joseph Smith, for one, owned the two-story "Red Brick Store" (1841–42) on Water Street and was involved in the construction of a planned four-story hotel (Nauvoo House, begun 1841) at the time of his death.[49] It was especially important in the Salt Lake Valley and elsewhere in the mountain West that the Saints become economically self-sufficient. The distances between their new home in exile and the major commercial centers in the Midwest and the East often proved too costly to ship goods over before the coming of the railroad in 1869. And the lack of

hard currency to purchase goods was another drawback. These factors, combined with Brigham Young's desire to establish a strong, unified "Zion-like Society," independent of corrupting outside influence and control, led to the creation of home industries. The President established the "United Order" in many of the Mormon communities to stimulate cooperative industry among the Saints and blunt the problems associated with the Panic of 1873. The cooperatives that developed within the United Order were based on the law of consecration envisioned by Joseph Smith.[50]

President Young, concerned over establishing an industrial base, soon sent elders to the eastern United States and the British Isles to investigate the latest developments in the iron, sugar, paper, and textile industries, hoping to establish these enterprises in the territory. This knowledge, combined with available talent from among the membership, helped in establishing specific industries. For one, a group of pioneers was sent to the area that is now southwestern Utah with the directive to grow and process cotton into thread and broadcloth. It was done in fear of shortages stemming from the Civil War. The Old Cotton Mill in the town of Washington stands as a reminder of these pioneer industries. The two-story vernacular structure of local red sandstone was built between 1865 and 1870. The cotton industry declined and eventually failed as a result of falling cotton prices following the Civil War and the building was subsequently used for a variety of other purposes, including the processing of silk and wool.[51] The building was recently restored and is being used for social functions.

Even less successful was the early iron industry, founded by the early settlers of Parowan and Cedar City, Utah.[52] At a conference held in April 1853, George A. Smith, of the Council of Twelve, complimented the Parowan Saints on the success in producing iron products. The high cost of mining, milling, transportation, and the Panic of 1873 led to the collapse of the iron industry in 1876.[53]

In another effort, Brigham Young promoted home industries to help insure independence and self-reliance. Ward stores, under the direction of bishops and ward Relief Societies emerged as outlets for home products produced by ward members. The buildings were located in proximity to ward meetinghouses. An example of this is the Salt Lake Tenth Ward complex. The Ward Store (c. 1880) was grouped with the earlier brick meetinghouse (1873), and later the Tenth Ward School (1887) on the northeast corner of the block. The present English Parish–style

meetinghouse on the south replaced the earlier rectangular meeting-house in the middle in 1909. The older building was transformed into an amusement hall and the original two-story schoolhouse to the north into an attendant structure for related ward meetings. The buildings are still in use by the Tenth Ward, except for the store, which was razed in the 1980s.[54]

As discussed in chapter 6, the design of the "Fifteen Ward Co-operative Mercantile Institution" store (1868) was an interesting com-promise. The ground floor was occupied by the store, and the Relief Society held their meetings on the second, "Society Hall," floor.[55] A similar compromise was made in the Salt Lake Sixth Ward Schoolhouse, previously mentioned in this chapter.

In conjunction with the ward stores was Brigham Young's broader mercantile venture, Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI). As the Saints began to demand more imported goods and patronized Mormon and non-Mormon establishments alike, Young began to ques-tion the leanings of the people, fearing that they were developing a dependency on outside goods. He also frowned upon some of the sales tactics of Mormon merchants, receiving unwarranted profits at the ex-pense of others. These factors prompted him to step into the economic fray. In 1866 he put a freeze on the price of agricultural goods, so that Mormon merchants could not underbid one another in order to win supply contracts. Two years later, he asked the Saints to boycott non-Mormon merchants who were not in sympathy with the church. Young's long-term hope was to increase the availability of hard cur-rency—first, by lowering prices of imported goods, and second, by al-lowing those without currency to purchase goods through the exchange system. When their goals were not realized, he called for the establish-ment of a chain of cooperative stores. In response, Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) was organized in 1868. This stock-owned collective gave the church the buying power and hard currency it needed, and insured both lower prices for imported goods and a con-venient outlet for locally produced products. ZCMI came at an oppor-tune time when the railroad was nearing completion and made goods more available at a lesser cost.

The parent ZCMI store (1875–76) was built on Main Street in Salt Lake City. The 53-by-318-foot three-story brick building with a full base-ment designed by William Folsom and Obed Taylor is purported to be the first department store constructed in the United States. It brought

the various departments of ZCMI within the city under a single roof when it opened in 1876, except for the produce, drug, wagon, and machinery departments. The interesting aspect about the building was its arcaded cast-iron front. Before ZCMI, little concern was given to the aesthetic appearance of commercial fronts, with the occasional exception. The ZCMI building, however, raised the level of architectural aesthetics along Main Street, and in the territory, consistent with the contributions of the New Tabernacle and the Salt Lake Theater. Lateral additions to the store were completed in 1880, increasing the width of the building by fifty feet. In 1891 a one-story addition was built onto the north side, further increasing the width by another sixty feet.[56]

The cooperative stores built in other communities were smaller and architecturally less sophisticated than the Salt Lake City parent store. Yet some, such as the United Order Co-op and Granary (1871–74) in Ephraim, Utah, were rather handsome in their simplicity. The co-op, an early participant in the ZCMI program, was a substantial two-story building of oolitic limestone. Three large glazed double-doors on the ground floor were designed for the shoppers' ease of entry as well as access for products. The doors also helped to illuminate the interior, as there were no side or rear windows (full-wall display shelves and cabinets occupied the other three walls). Three windows on the second-story facade repeated the pattern below. On each of the side walls, however, were four windows. Originally, an outside open staircase on the south wall provided access to the second floor, where the Relief Society held their meetings, along with school, church, and community groups. Cast-iron stoves at both ends heated the interior.

The commonly used Mormon inscription "Holiness to the Lord," surrounding a rope beehive (the Mormon symbol of industry), was placed in the open gable of the steeply pitched roof. A continuous bracketed cornice and cornice returns completed the building. A stone granary of similar size was built immediately to the south of the co-op by the church for the Relief Society.[57] The building has been restored and is presently used as a crafts shop and reception center.

The co-op in Franklin, Idaho (1868), is a smaller stone building, finished with a screen facade and capped by an arched gable containing the co-op inscription and symbol. It was the first ZCMI cooperative to be built in the territory. It was from a telegraph in the store that the news of General George A. Custer's defeat at the Little Bighorn was sent to Washington, D.C., in 1876.

The stock-owned cooperative was an economic experiment suited to its time and was predominantly successful in keeping the Saints' Great Basin Kingdom intact. The small town and city cooperatives are gone, but ZCMI continues to operate as a modern chain of department stores. None of the extant cooperatives is now owned or operated by ZCMI, except for the parent store in Salt Lake City. Even there, only the cast-iron front remains; the rest of the building was replaced and spatially reconfigured in the early 1970s.

Government Buildings

The Mormons did not build a civic hall in Kirtland, Independence, or Far West. Meetings pertaining to civic affairs in Nauvoo were held in private homes, in Joseph Smith's general store, in the Seventies Hall, and in the Masonic Hall.[58] When the Mormons left for the Great Basin region, they remained devoted to the ideals of the Constitution and loyal to United States—so much so that they petitioned in July 1849 for statehood. Their petition was denied because of the slavery issue, which resulted in the Compromise of 1850: it was assumed that the Mormons would vote to abolish slavery if Utah were made a state, since they had been against the practice in Missouri two decades earlier. As compensation, both Utah and New Mexico were given the status of federal territories.

Because of the Saints' loyalty toward the United States, Brigham Young was appointed territorial governor in 1851, a job he held until 1857, when he was replaced by Alfred Cumming, a non-Mormon from the East and close friend of President Buchanan. Even then, President Young remained the political power in the region because of the disproportionate number of Mormons. It was during his governorship that two structures were erected to serve the political needs of the territory, which then encompassed present-day Utah, Nevada, and parts of Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. The first public building constructed was in Salt Lake City.

In 1849 Brigham Young asked Truman Angell, Sr., to design the Council House (1849–50), to be financed by tithing funds.[59] The building, which stood on the southwest corner of South Temple and Main Streets, with the primary entrance on South Temple Street, was the first of a number of this type of four-square buildings to be constructed in Utah (others were found in St. George, Provo, Brigham City, and

elsewhere). It was perhaps influenced by or patterned on similar legislative-judicial buildings in the midwestern and eastern United States, not to mention those found in builder's guides. The multipurpose facility (the upper floor was used for the endowment service until the Endowment House was completed on Temple Square in 1855) satisfied the early administrative needs of the church and that of the Salt Lake Stake.[60] At first it was used by the church; then it was sold to the territorial government, only to be repurchased a brief time later. The territorial legislature used the building for their sessions until it was destroyed by fire in 1883.

The simple structure, forty-five feet square, had a foundation and first story made of sandstone from nearby Red Butte Canyon, while the second story was made of adobe brick.[61] Its square proportions, cornice, low-hipped roof, and cupola were indicative of the Federal Greek Revival style. The architect used a delicate string course to aesthetically separate and define the two stories. The asymmetrical arrangement of the assembly hall and two rooms on each floor affected the exterior placement of the doors and windows. Angell repeated the sidelights of the double-door entrance in the above window of the second story to help unify the building. Each floor was dominated by a large meeting room and a series of smaller rooms.

Millard County was formed in 1851 with the selection of Fillmore City as the seat of government. Both were named in honor of President Millard Fillmore, who signed the Organic Act, which created the new territory.[62] Upon Governor Young's request, Truman Angell, Sr., designed a fitting capitol building in 1851–52. The first legislative session was held in the new capitol in 1855. The building, a two-story, red sandstone, Greek-cross-plan structure with a large festooned dome over the crossing, was an ambitious design of this period in Mormon history. The peripteral design was an eclectic synthesis of Federal and Greek Revival motifs. The first and basement stories were subdivided into a series of offices and small meeting rooms arranged on either side of the axial halls; on the second floor was a large, elliptically vaulted room where general assemblies were held. Inadequate federal funding, however, led to construction delays, and only one of the 44-by-62-foot wings was completed. Work on the building ceased altogether when the capitol was officially moved back to Salt Lake City on December 15, 1856. The change in location was largely prompted by the distance from Salt Lake City and the headquarters of the Mormon Church.[63]

Salt Lake City constructed a new City Hall (1864–66), replacing two earlier buildings on the same block. It was designed by William Folsom and originally built adjacent to the Salt Lake Theater on First South Street. It was moved stone by stone to a site across from the present State Capitol in 1962. The City Hall was significantly larger than the Council House. Each story of the red sandstone, four-square structure is of equal height, as is the spacing between the windows. The north-facing facade was attractively handled, with entrance portal and windows set between small piers on the first floor and lighter, engaged columns on the second floor. The open quality of the ground story gave the appearance of a commercial facade. The over-entrance balcony, off the larger upper-floor assembly room, is reminiscent of eighteenth-century Georgian halls. The other walls were unadorned, except for stone lintels over the windows. A bracketed cornice completed the transition between the walls and the low-hipped roof. A capped octagonal cupola atop a classically inspired square base was in harmony with the main body of the building. The ground floor was bisected by a wide axial hall, with a staircase at the south end. A series of smaller rooms were used for meetings and offices. The building served the needs of city and territorial governments from 1866 to 1894, when the Richardson-inspired Salt Lake City and County Building by the architecture firm of Monheim, Bird, and Proudfoot was completed. In 1916 Utah took possession of a new capitol building overlooking Salt Lake Valley. This brought to an end the era of Mormon involvement in design, construction, and shared use of government buildings.[64]
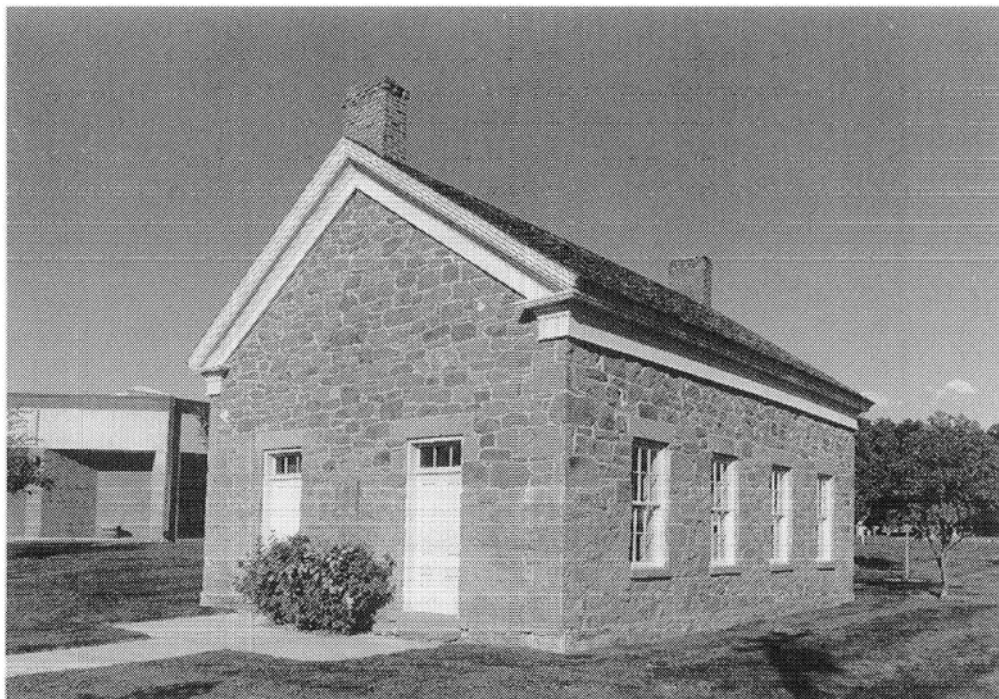
114. The Rock Schoolhouse (1867) in Fillmore, Utah. It is the only surviving example of three such schools that were built at the time. The view is from the southwest. (*Author*)
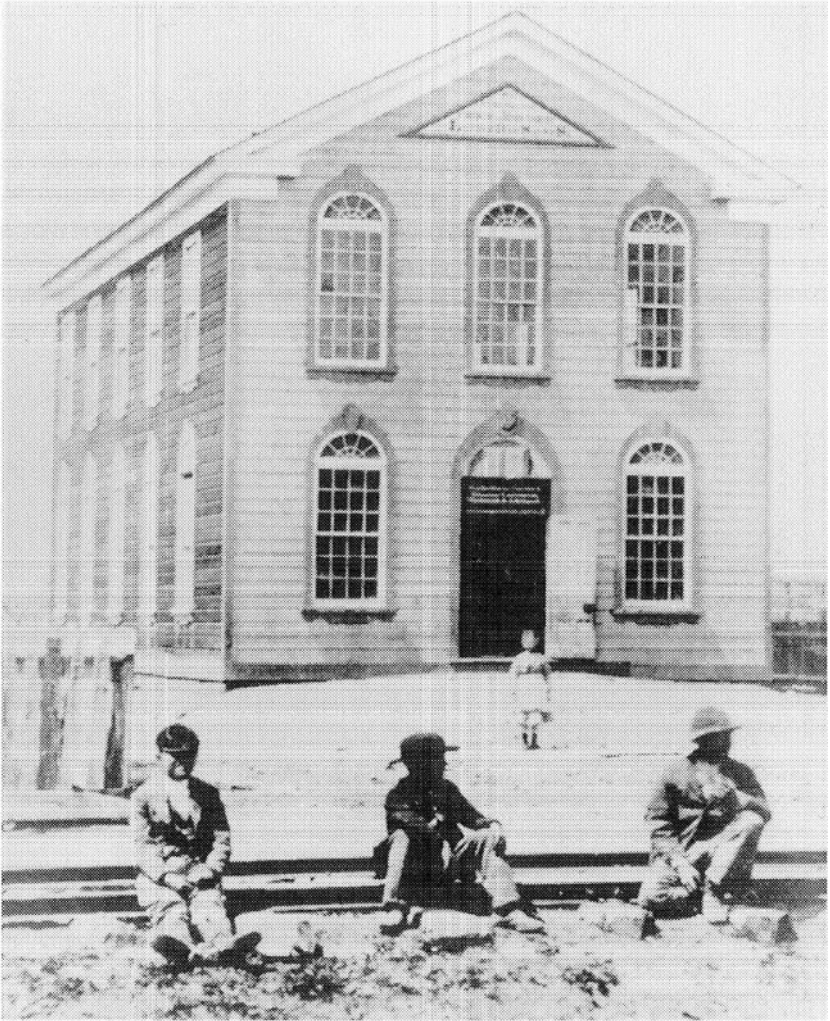
115. The Salt Lake Sixth Ward Schoolhouse (1872). School was held on the first floor and church meetings on the second. The photograph was taken c. 1880. (*LDS Historical Department*)
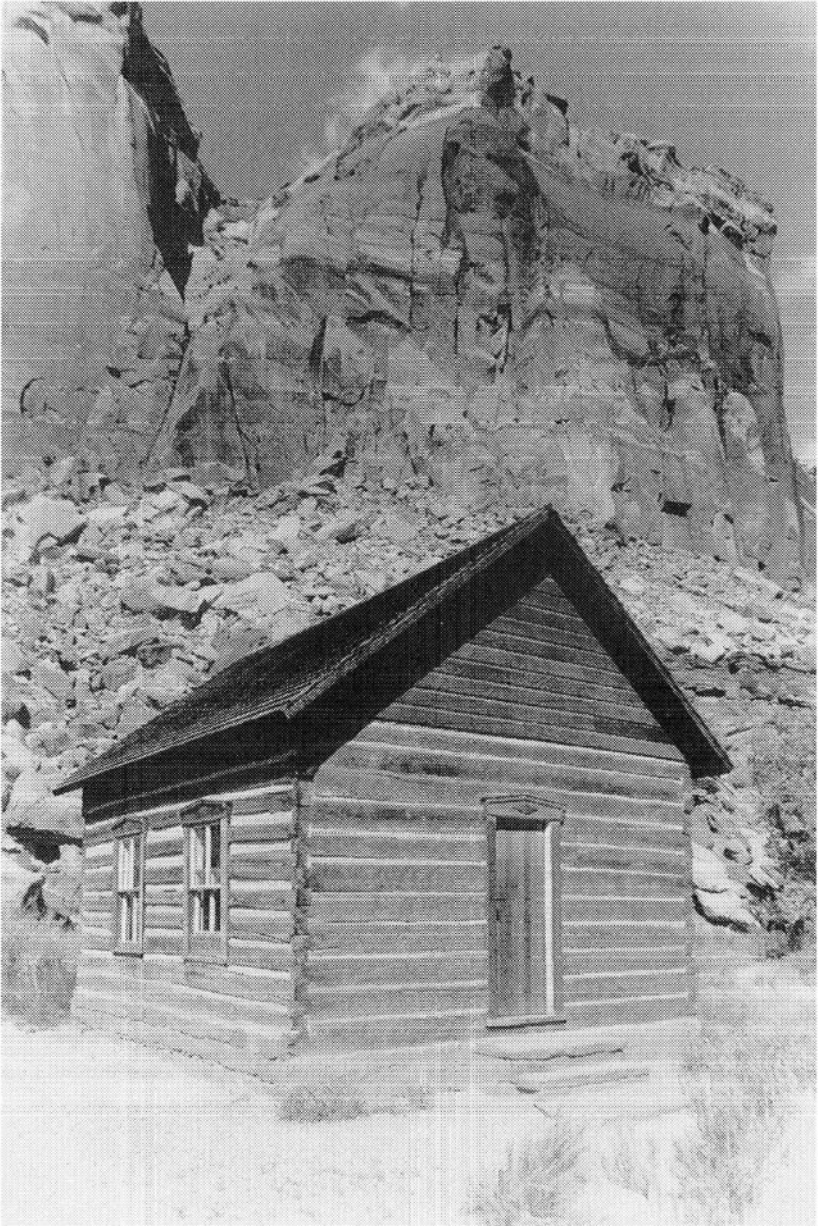
116. The Fruita Schoolhouse (1897) seen from the southwest. The log structure fronts the dramatic cliffs of Capital Reef National Park indicative of the ruggedness of the area. (*Author*)
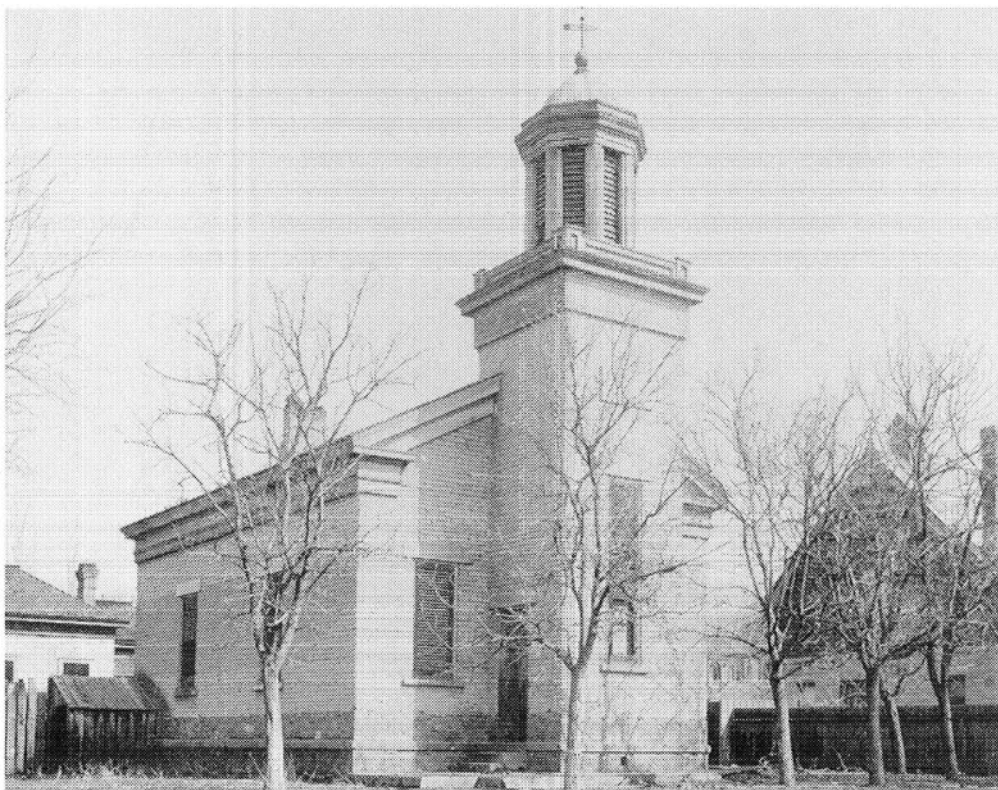
117. Brigham Young's Schoolhouse (1860, demolished) on the northeast corner of First East and South Temple Streets in Salt Lake City. The photograph shows it as an abandoned building c. 1895. (*LDS Historical Department*)

118. Juarez Stake Academy (1904) in Colonia Juarez, Mexico, just after its completion. (*LDS Historical Department*)
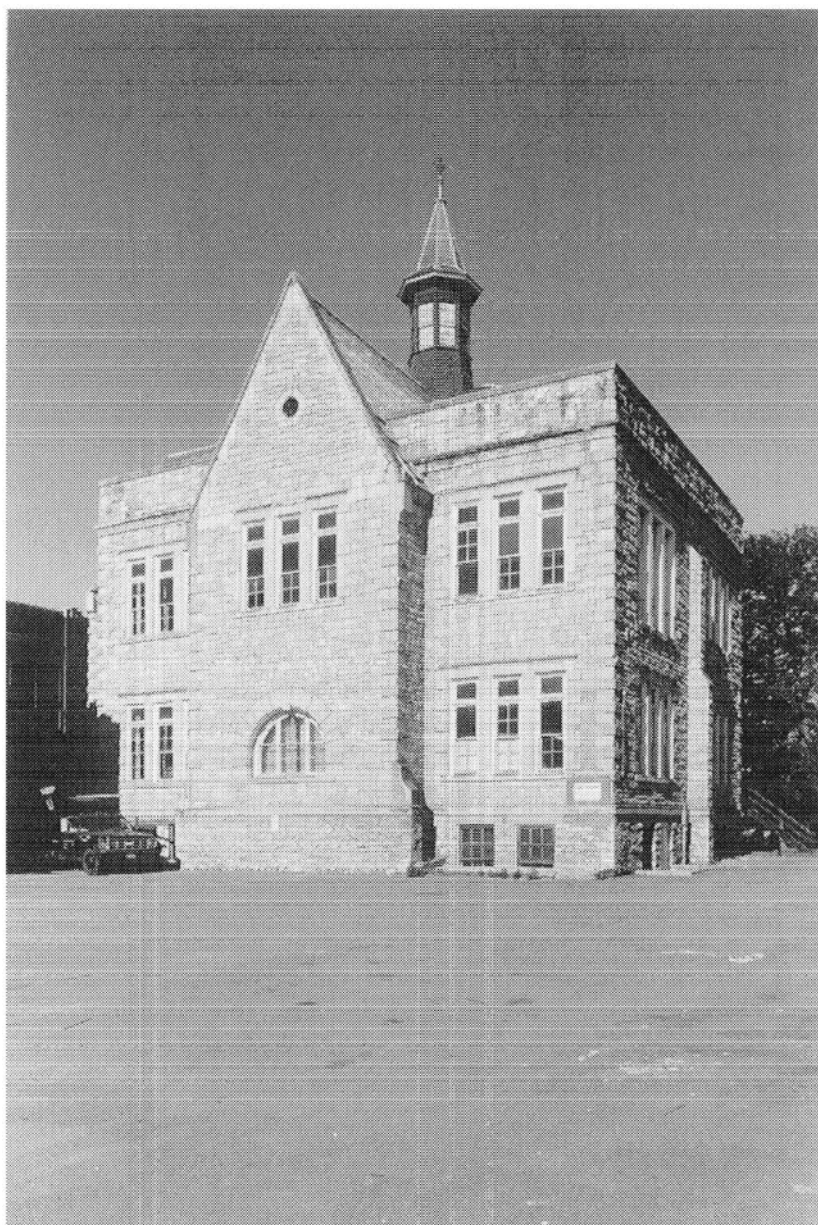
119. Oneida Stake Academy (1891–94) in Preston, Idaho, from the northeast. The original crenellations have been removed and the wall finished with coping stone. (*Author*)

120. Brigham Young Academy Building (1884–91) in Provo, Utah. The photograph was taken shortly after its completion. (*Utah Historical Society*)
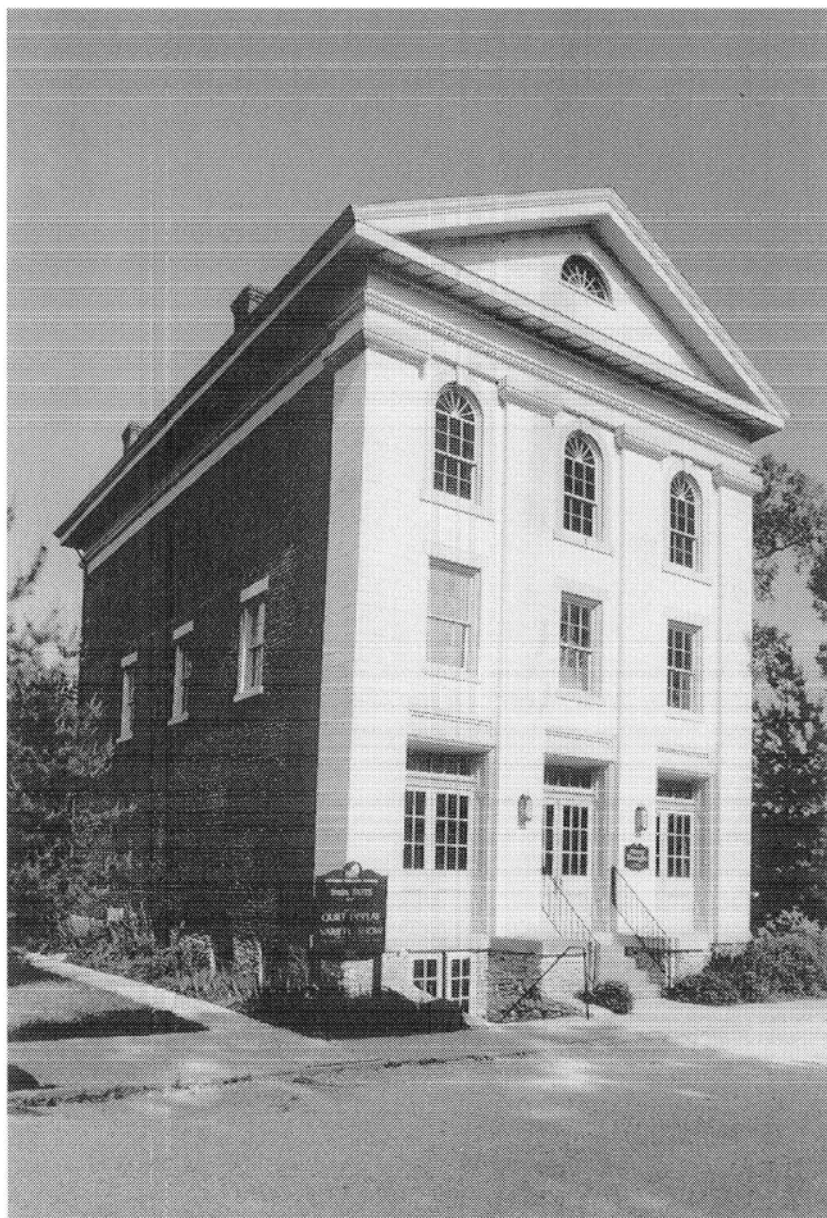
121. The Nauvoo Masonic Hall (1843–44) after restoration of the third story. The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)
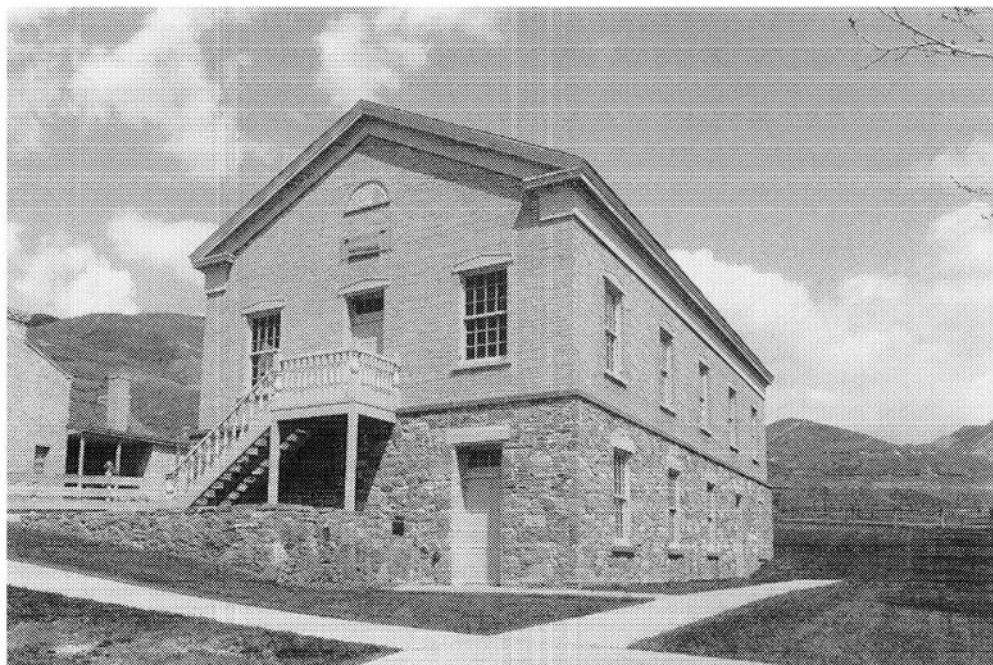
122. A reconstruction of the Social Hall as it appeared soon after its completion in 1853. The building is located in This is the Place State Park. The view is from the southwest, reflective of its original siting. (*Author*)
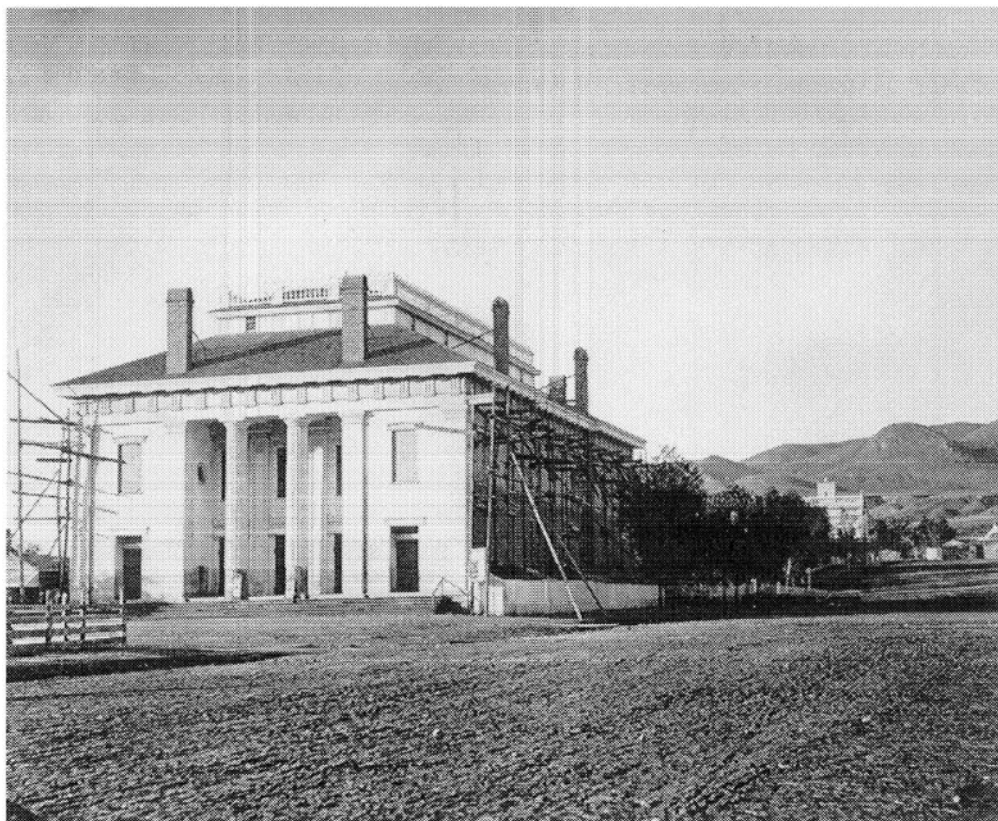
123. The Salt Lake Theater (1861–62, demolished) with a view toward Brigham Young's Beehive House to the north. The photograph was taken just before the removal of the scaffolding in 1868. (*Utah Historical Society*)
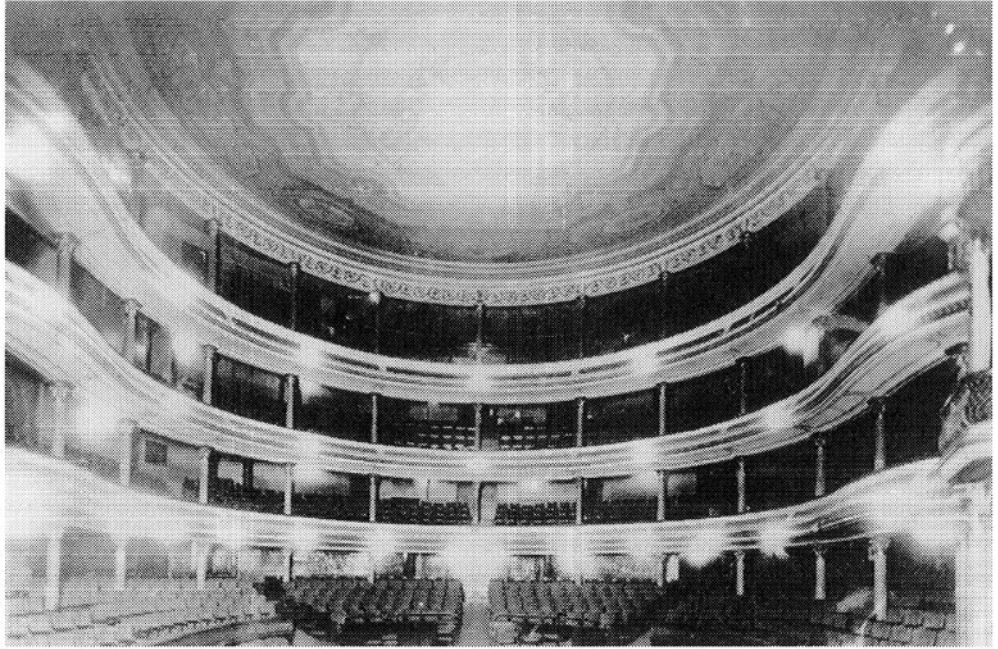
124. Interior of the Salt Lake Theater as it appeared in 1917, eleven years before its destruction. (*Utah Historical Society*)
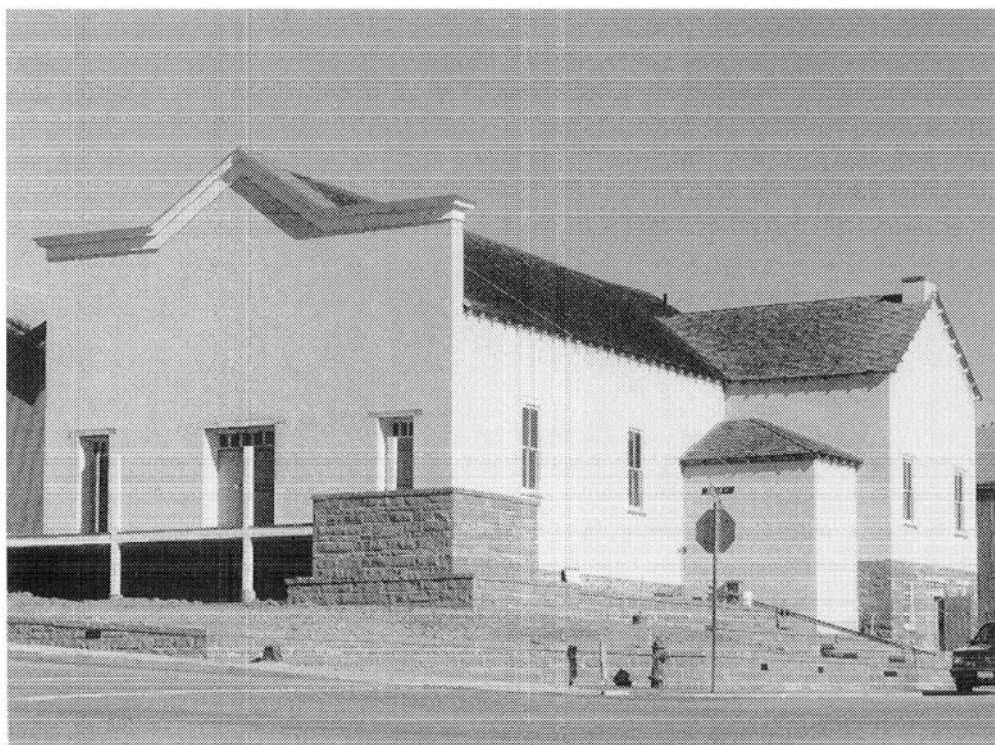
125. St. George Opera House (1867/1880) seen from the southwest. (*Author*)
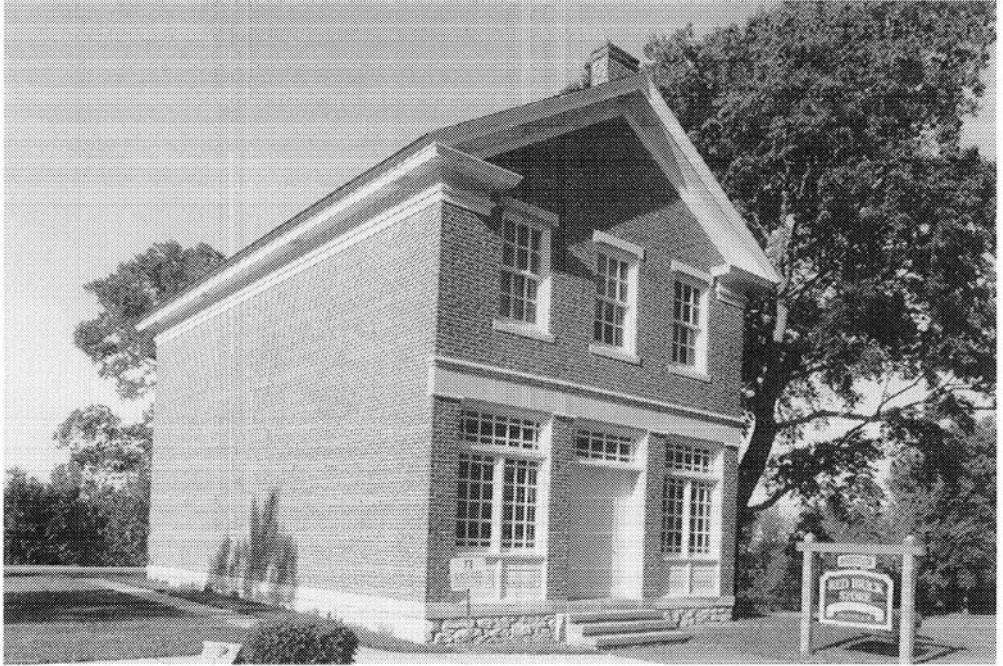
126. Reconstruction of Joseph Smith's "Red Brick Store" (1841–42) in Nauvoo, Illinois. It exhibits a common tripartite facade. (*Author*)
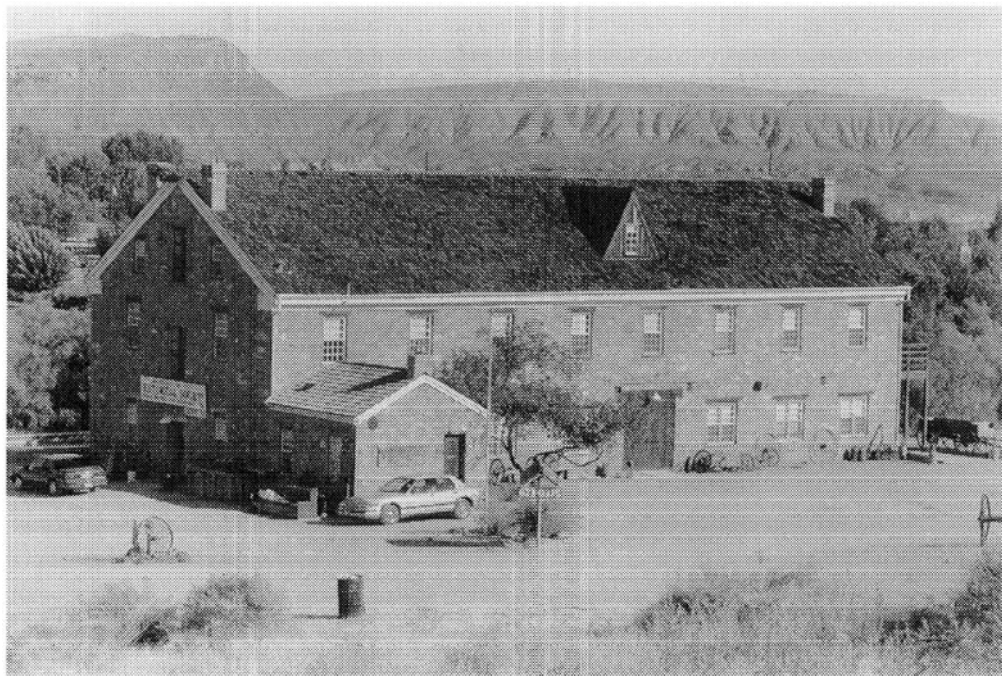
127. The Old Cotton Mill (1865–70) in Washington, Utah. The view is from the northwest. Wool and silk were also processed at the mill. (*Author*)
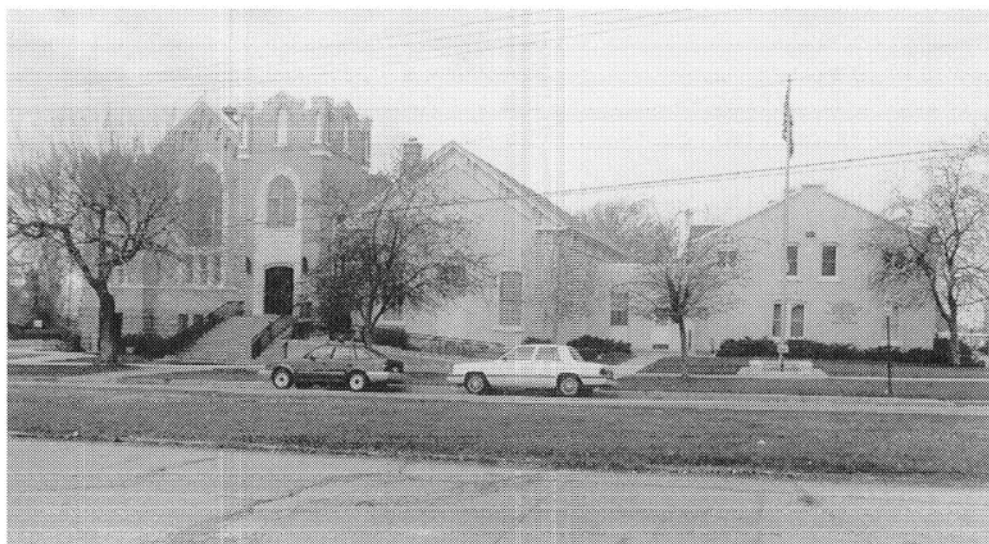
128. The Salt Lake Tenth Ward complex (1873–1909) seen from the east.
The 1873 Tenth Ward Meetinghouse is in the center with the schoolhouse
to the right, and the new Tenth Ward Meetinghouse (1909) to the left. The
store, located to the left of the new meetinghouse, was razed in the 1980s.
(*Author*)
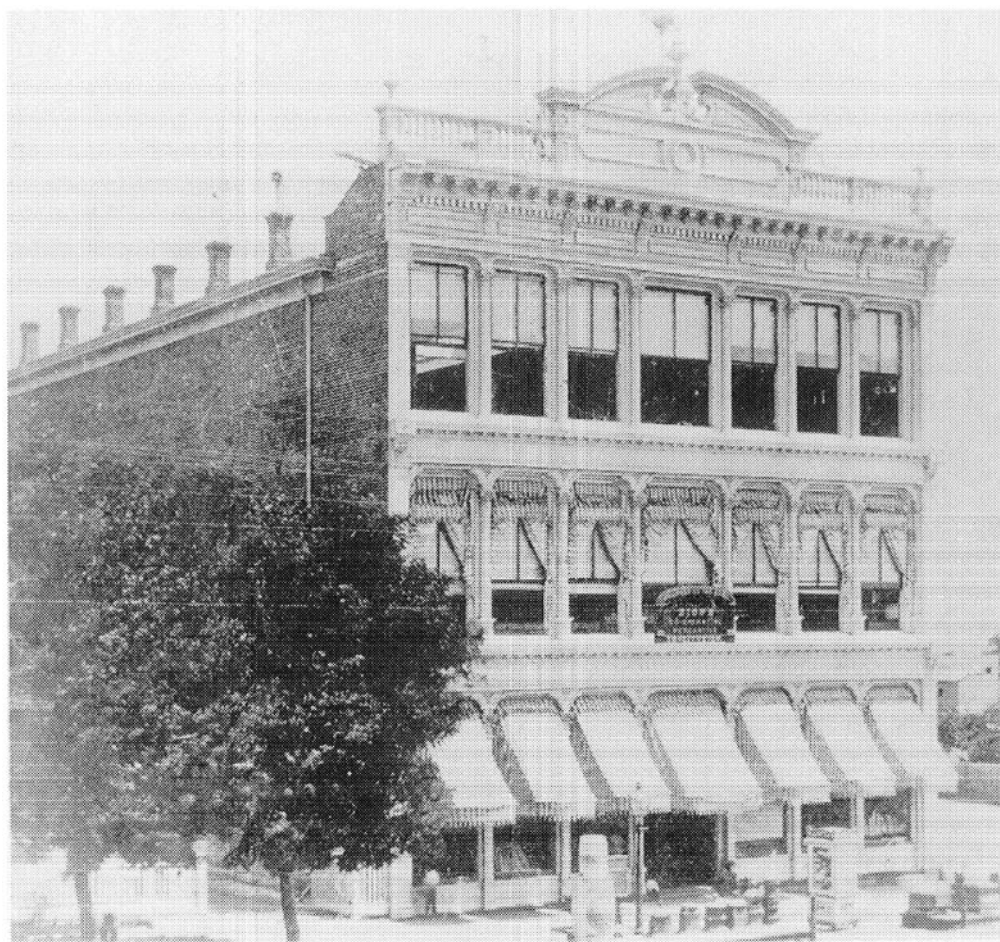
129. The ZCMI parent store (1875–76) in Salt Lake City, Utah. The photograph is of the original building with its cast-iron facade a few years after its completion. (*Utah Historical Society*)

130. The United Order Co-op and Granary (1871–74) in Ephraim, Utah. The view is from the northwest, with the co-op on the left and the granary to the right. (*Author*)
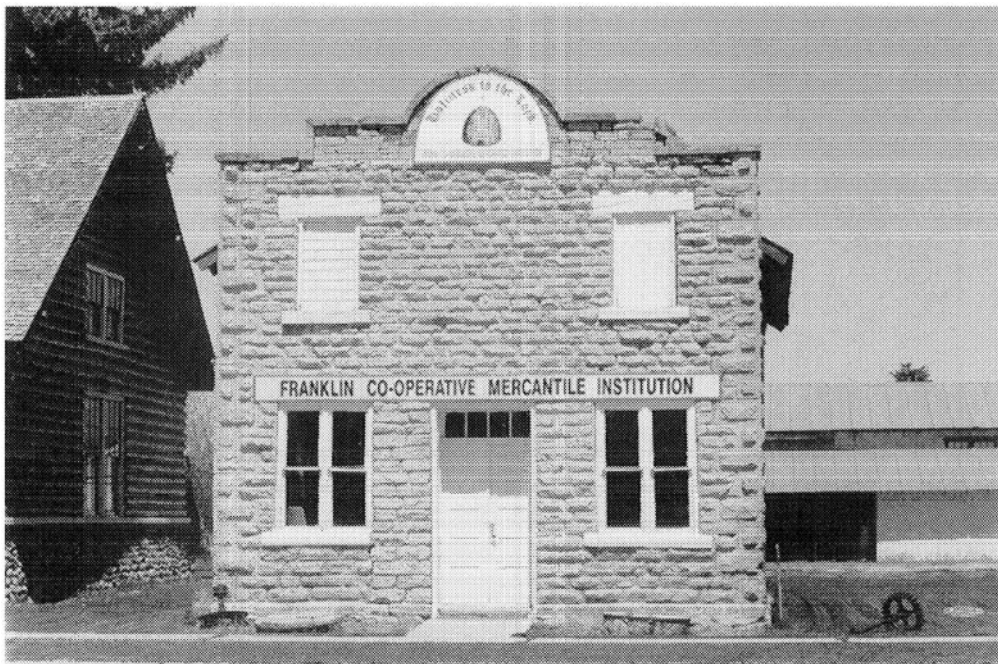
131. ZCMI Co-op (1868) in Franklin, Idaho, seen from the south. It was from a telegraph message sent from this store that the nation first learned of Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn. (*Author*)
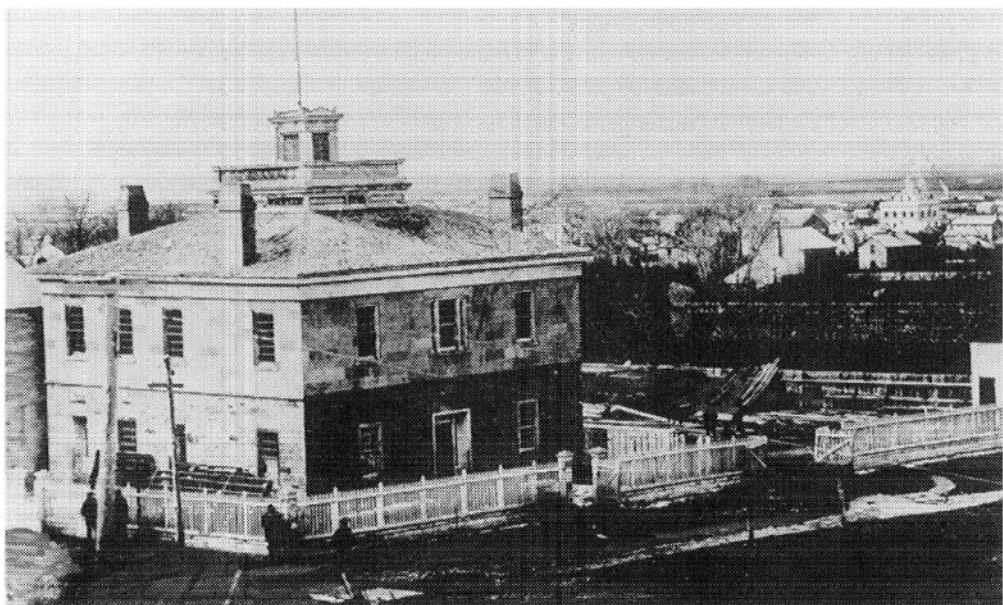
132. The Council House (1849–50, demolished) in Salt Lake City, Utah. The view is from the Bishop's General Storehouse on South Temple Street to the southwest. The photograph was taken c. 1869. (*Utah State Historical Society*)
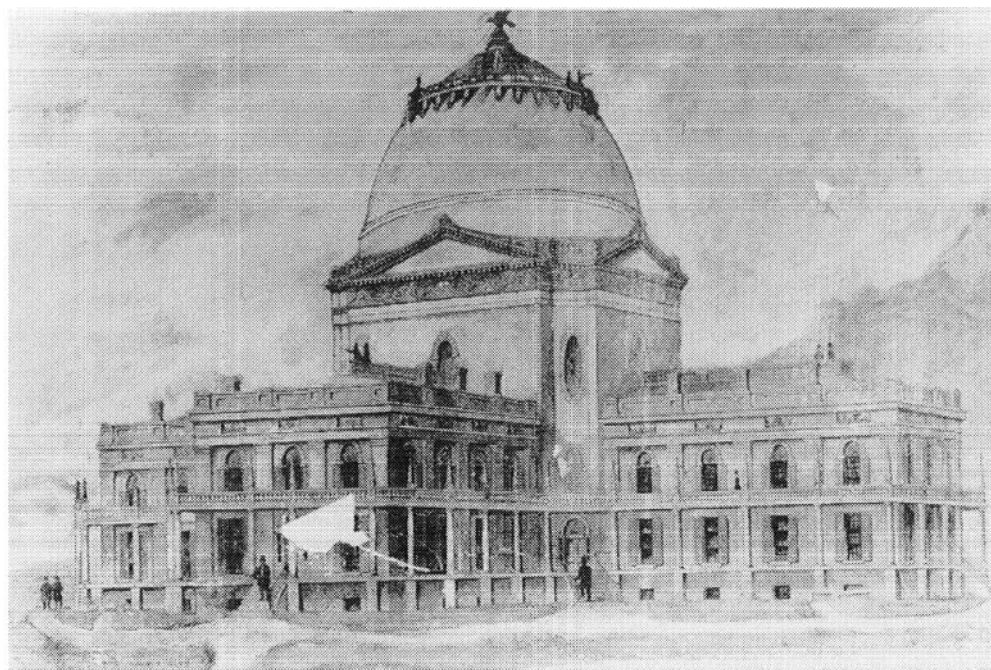
133. Truman O. Angell's proposal for the Territorial Capitol Building (1851–52) in Fillmore, Utah. Only one of the four wings was completed. (*LDS Historical Department*)

134. The completed wing of the Territorial Capitol Building (1855–56) at Fillmore, Utah. The view is from the southeast. (*Author*)
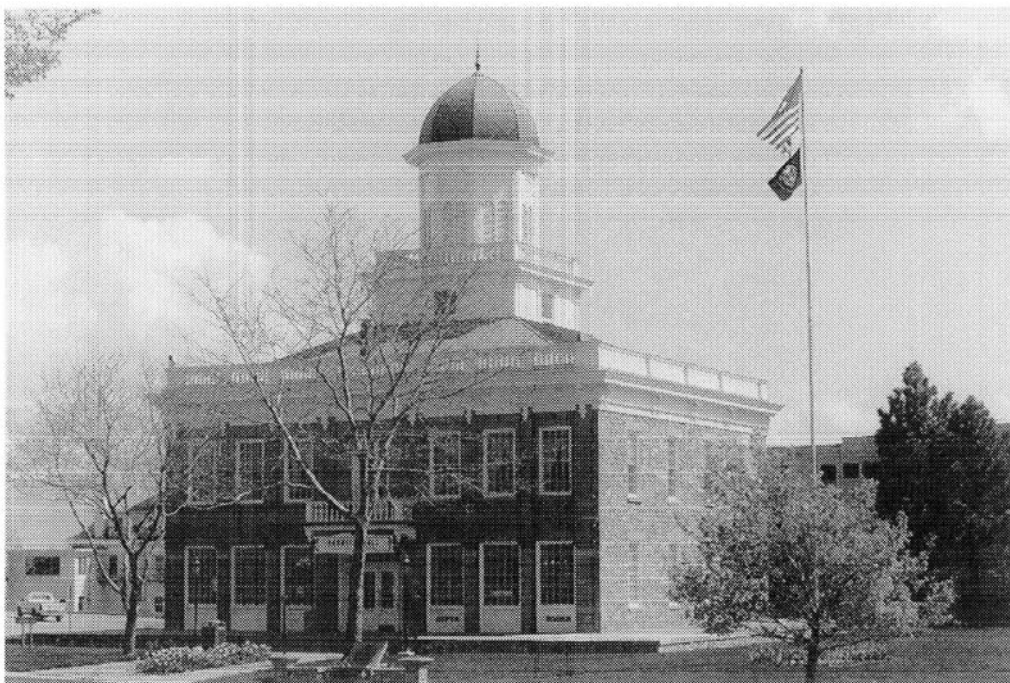
135. The City Hall (1864–66) in Salt Lake City, Utah, seen from the northwest. It was relocated to its present site in 1962. (*Author*)

Conclusion

The full impact of doctrinal beliefs and practices within Mormonism and their expression in physical form were not fully realized until the Utah period. However, prototype utopian plans and building types did appear in the various places where the church had found temporary refuge—Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. These early expressions served as models for subsequent community plats and building types in Utah and elsewhere.

The basis for Mormon city planning and building types comes from the doctrinal concept of Zion. To Mormons, Zion can represent a physical location as well as a state of mind or level of spiritual attainment. One is synonymous with the other, and achieving a Zion-like society was the driving principle behind nineteenth-century Mormonism. It was the encompassing concept that led to the platting of settlements, the use of various building types, and the way in which individuals governed their lives in relationship to the community as a whole. A knowledge of this principle and its application is the key to understanding nineteenth-century Mormon city planning and architecture.

Mormon communities were arranged according to an established pattern that dates from the Ohio period, 1831–36. Each settlement was laid out in a regular grid pattern with axial streets running north-south, east-west. A single block or series of blocks was typically reserved for the community center. A greenbelt or farming area formed the outer zone around each settlement.

Architecturally, there developed a hierarchy of building types. The most important, the temple, was reserved for strategically positioned settlements. The tabernacle was next in importance, followed by the

meetinghouse, the priesthood hall, the tithing office (later bishop's store-house), and the Relief Society hall.

No utopian society has contributed so much to the history of nine-teenth-century America as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A history of Mormon achievements can be seen in the collective nature of its architecture. Their architecture speaks of a society that was devoted to its beliefs, regardless of the circumstances. From the temple to the house, each building was integral to their beliefs and practices. The structures that remain are images of a society that was driven by something more than survival or the desire to advance. Their goals were set on a life that would permit them to return to the presence of God, their Father in Heaven. What they left behind was a material testament of their faith, industry, and willingness to sacrifice.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Joseph Smith, Jr., was born December 23, 1805, at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, to Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith. The ancestral roots of the Smiths go back to the *Mayflower* and seven of its passengers. Robert Smith, Joseph Smith's immediate great-grandfather, arrived in Boston from England in 1638. John Mack, on Joseph's mother's side, arrived in Boston in 1668. His parents met at Tunbridge, Vermont, where they were married in 1796. In search of a better living, the Smith family moved from Vermont to New York, where they eventually took up residence on a hundred-acre farm between the townships of Palmyra and Manchester. Donald Q. Cannon, "Topsfield, Massachusetts, Ancestral Home of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (autumn 1973): 56–57. (Hereafter cited as *BYU Studies.*)

2. Whitney Cross used the term "burned-over district" to describe this region of New York during this period of religious fervor. His pioneering study is supported by the later work of Milton V. Backman, Jr. See Backman, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950) and idem, "Awakenings in the Burned-Over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9 (spring 1969): 301–20.

3. It was the competition among the various Christian sects for new members that divided the Smith family over the issue of which church to join. Joseph's mother, two brothers, and a sister were leaning toward the Presbyterians, while Joseph looked more favorably upon the Methodists. This division within his family, and the conflicting claims among the various denominations to be the true church led Joseph to seek an answer through prayer. The Smith family accepted Joseph's claims and were among the first to be baptized into the new faith. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1951), 1:2–8. (Hereafter cited as *HC.*)

4. Monte S. Nyman and Lisa Bolin Hawkins, "Book of Mormon," *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 1:139–41. (Hereafter cited as *Encyclopedia.*)

5. Before the completion of *The Book of Mormon*, Joseph Smith stated that he had been visited by John the Baptist, followed a few weeks later by Peter, James, and John. From these divine messengers, he received the Aaronic and the Melchizedek priesthoods, the authority required to establish again the Church of

Jesus Christ. In this sense, the Mormons claim a restoration of divine authority directly from God, rather than from a reformation. They claim a complete restoration through direct revelation of the divine truths and priesthood lost as a result of a universal apostasy after the death of the Savior and His apostles. The basic foundation of Mormonism is the belief in continued revelation. James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, 41st ed. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1960), pp. 296–313.

6. Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), section 38. (Hereafter cited as *DC*.) *The Doctrine and Covenants* is a compilation of selected revelations received by different presidents of the church beginning with Joseph Smith. It was first published in 1833 under the title *A Book of Commandments*. Roy W. Doxey, "Doctrine and Covenants," *Encyclopedia*, 1:405–7.

7. Sidney Rigdon had been converted through the instrumentality of Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt, who had been sent by Joseph Smith to Ohio as missionaries. Sidney Rigdon was a Campbellite minister before his conversion. Cowdery and Pratt asked if they could speak to Rigdon's congregation; he and his followers were so moved by their message of restoration that they accepted the church en masse. Shortly thereafter, Rigdon left Ohio for New York to meet the Prophet. He found immediate favor with Joseph Smith and soon became a powerful figure in the early church. Bruce A. Van Orden, "Sidney Rigdon," *Encyclopedia*, 3:233–35.

8. The Colesville Branch was one of three branches (or small congregations) organized in New York in 1830. Smith selected them for the task of establishing Zion because they had the courage to shelter him and other church leaders from their persecutors in New York. *DC*, 54:1–10.

9. *DC*, 57:1–16. Joseph Smith, and those who accompanied him on his visit, arrived at Independence, Missouri, toward the end of July. In a conference held on August 2 he declared, through another revelation, that the Saints were to purchase land in the area of Independence in preparation for building the City of Zion. *HC*, 1:208.

10. Although Kirtland was thriving by the end of 1837, the Saints were relatively poor in terms of material goods. Many had received no compensation for the property they left when they were asked to relocate in Ohio. In spite of this, they were extremely industrious and driven to improve their lot in society.

11. According to *The Doctrine and Covenants*, the organizational structure of the First Presidency—church president and two counselors—was received by revelation on March 8, 1833. (*DC*, 81, 90.) The actual ordination of Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams as counselors to Joseph Smith took place in March 1833. (*HC*, 1:334.) The Council of Twelve Apostles was chosen and ordained between February 14–15, 1835. (*HC*, 2:180–200.) Joseph Smith mentioned the need for Twelve Apostles to serve as the ecclesiastical foundation of the church as early as June 1829. (*DC*, 18:27–31, 37–39.) In a conference held on February 28, 1835, the first Quorum of Seventies was selected and ordained. They were to serve as mis-

sionaries and direct others in that work under the auspices of the Twelve Apostles. (*HC*, 2:201–4.)

12. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1983), pp. 313–21.

13. Milton V. Backman, Jr., notes that only 8 percent of the members, who invested in the Safety Society left the church. Of these, 45 percent later returned to full fellowship. "Establish a House of Prayer, a House of God: The Kirtland Temple," in *The Prophet Joseph Smith: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, edited by Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1988), p. 221.

14. Joseph Smith, in company with Sidney Rigdon, fled Kirtland for Missouri on January 12, 1838. The Saints followed throughout the summer. The church population in Kirtland dwindled from a high of more than two thousand by 1838, to less than one hundred by the end of July. Ibid., pp. 211, 220.

15. *HC*, 1:372–79.

16. T. Edgar Lyon, "Independence, Missouri, and the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 13 (autumn 1972): 14–19.

17. The Mormon "New Englanders" settled among a mixed group of frontier people who saw them as being different from themselves, and feared a large influx of "Eastern" settlers. R. J. Robertson, Jr., "The Mormon Experience in Missouri, 1830–1839," part 1, *Missouri Historical Review* 68 (April 1974): 280–86.

18. Ibid., pp. 286–90.

19. Among the individuals who stood up for the Mormons was Alexander Doniphan, who championed their plight as their acting attorney. As an officer in the Missouri militia, he refused to carry out the execution of Joseph Smith and others, although General S. D. Lucas commanded him to do so. Instead, Doniphan told Lucas and the others involved that he would take them to court. Because of his courageous actions, the execution was not carried out. Ibid., pp. 286, 290. It is also interesting to note that St. Louis served as a place of refuge for a number of Mormons during the Missouri and Illinois persecutions. The people of the city proved to be more cosmopolitan, tolerant, and objective than those on the frontier of western Missouri or in the area around Nauvoo. Stanley B. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831–1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security," *BYU Studies* 13 (summer 1973): 489–519.

20. Robertson, "Mormon Experience," pp. 290–98.

21. *HC*, 3:301.

22. Robertson, "Mormon Experience," p. 291.

23. *HC*, 3:327, 342.

24. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 1. (Hereafter cited as *Nauvoo*)

25. Ibid., pp. 217–18.

26. *HC*, 1:490. Joseph Smith, dismayed over the two candidates for president of the United States (one of whom was Governor Ford of Illinois), declared himself a candidate for president, with the sustaining vote of the Council of Twelve and

selected Mormon civic leaders in Nauvoo. He knew that he had no chance of winning, but his hope was to bring to view the awful plight of the Mormons to both the American public and the federal government. His candidacy turned both state parties against him, since both now realized that they no longer had a chance of securing the Mormon vote. Smith's campaign came to an abrupt end on the day of his martyrdom. Kimball, "Saints and St. Louis," p. 500.

27. In accordance with *The Doctrine and Covenants,* as given by Joseph Smith in 1835, the Twelve Apostles as a quorum are equal in authority to the First Presidency. When the church president dies, the First Presidency is dissolved, and the governing authority of the church becomes the Quorum of Twelve, with its president acting as the spokesperson for that body and for the church. *DC,* 107:23–30.

Sensing his impending death, Joseph Smith called the Twelve Apostles together and spoke to them over a period of many days during the winter of 1843–44 about the doctrines of the church. He bestowed upon them, through the laying on of hands, the priesthood powers or "keys of the Kingdom" in the event he should be taken: "Brethren, I have great sorrow of heart for fear that I might be taken from the earth with the keys of the Kingdom upon me, without sealing them upon the heads of other men. God has sealed upon my head all the keys of the Kingdom of God upon the earth, and to prepare the Saints for the coming of the Son of Man. Now brethren, I thank God I have lived to see the day that I have been enabled to give you your endowments, and I have now sealed upon your heads all the powers of the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods and Apostleship, with all the keys and powers thereof, which God has sealed upon me; and I now roll off all the labor, burden and care of this Church and Kingdom of God before heaven and earth, and before God, angels and men, and if you don't do it you will be damned." Roy W. Doxey, *The Latter-day Prophets and the Doctrine and Covenants,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1965), 4:21–23.

28. *HC,* 5:291–92, 299–300.

29. The Nauvoo City Charter was repealed by the Illinois state legislature on January 29, 1845. Ibid., p. 268; James L. Kimball concluded that the Nauvoo Charter was similar to charters that had been granted other communities. "The Nauvoo Charter: A *Reinterpretation,*" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (spring 1971): 66–78.

30. Flanders, *Nauvoo,* pp. 96–101.

31. John Hay, "Mormon Prophet's Tragedy," *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1869). A critical review of John Hay's article was written by Orson F. Whitney: "The Mormon Prophet's Tragedy: A Review of an Article," *The Deseret News,* 1905.

32. Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 73–75; *HC,* 7:401–4.

33. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young,* September 25, 1845, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah. (Hereafter cited as LDS Historical Department.)

34. *HC,* 7:449–55.

35. It was no mystery among the leaders of the church where the Saints were to make their new home. Shortly before his martyrdom, Joseph Smith was making preparations to go to the Rocky Mountains. He had earlier stated it would be the refuge for his people. *HC*, 5:85. Brigham Young stated on September 9, 1845, that he intended to send an advance company of 1,500 to the Great Salt Lake Valley to survey it for habitation. Ibid., 7:439. They got their information from letters, maps, and journals in their possession. The journal of John C. Frémont was particularly important. Ibid., 6:374–75; 7:558.

36. September 25, 1845. Young, *Manuscript History*,

37. *HC*, 7:578.

38. *HC*, 7:586.

39. *HC*, 7:608.

40. The Saints established fifty-five temporary camps and settlements in the territories of Nebraska and Iowa.

41. This takes into consideration only the adult population; when the children are included, the number within Utah Territory was 76,335. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 3:487–88. (Hereafter cited as *CHC*.)

42. O'Dea, *The Mormons*, pp. 104–11.

43. Those involved in plural marriage between 1852 and 1890 probably averaged between 10 and 15 percent of the Mormon population. Stanley S. Ivins addressed the particulars of this issue in the well-documented and well-written article. He concludes by stating: "It is difficult to arrive at general conclusions concerning this experiment in polygamy, but a few facts about it are evident. Mormondom was not a society in which all men married many wives, but one in which a few men married two or more wives. . . . It was not one of the fundamental principles of the Mormon faith, and its abandonment was accomplished with less disturbance than that caused by its introduction. The Saints accepted plurality in theory, but most of them were loath to put it into practice, despite the continual urging of leaders in whose divine authority they had the utmost faith. Once the initial impetus given the venture had subsided, it became increasingly unpopular. In 1857 there were nearly fourteen times as many plural marriages for each one thousand Utah Mormons as there were in 1880." "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (summer 1956): 239.

44. O'Dea, *The Mormons*, pp. 104–11.

45. Ibid. President Ulysses S. Grant visited Brigham Young in October 1875. He learned that much of what he had been told about the Mormons was false. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Star Publishing Co., 1886), p. 623.

46. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 360–379.

47. *DC*, Official Declaration 1, pp. 291–93.

48. O'Dea, *The Mormons,* pp. 104–11; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 167.

49. *CHC,* 6:236.

Chapter 2

1. Joseph Smith spoke of Zion at the Fourth General Conference of the church held in Kirtland, Ohio, during the first week of June 1831. He made it known that Missouri, not Ohio, was the land of promise. *DC,* 52:1–5, 42–44. On June 19, he and a number of other elders began their 880-mile journey to Missouri. On arriving in Jackson County, Smith received a revelation that declared the existing site of Independence to be the "center place" for the City of Zion or the land of their "inheritance." Ibid., 57:1–16.

2. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1979), pp. 854–55.

3. *HC,* 4:609–10.

4. *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool, England: F. D. and S. W. Richards, 1854–86), 22:35. (Hereafter cited as *JD*) The "Center Stake of Zion" has been used in Mormon literature as a substitute term for the City of Zion. Orson Pratt commented on its use during the October General Conference of the church in 1880: "Let me here take the liberty to say to this congregation that the City of Zion when it is built in Jackson County, will not be called a Stake. We can find no mention in all the revelations that God has given, that the City of Zion is to be the Center Stake of Zion; the Lord never called it a Stake in any revelation that has been given." Ibid.

5. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1972), pp. 17–18, 79–80, 362. Joseph Smith stated that North and South America were the land of Zion, with America being the most blessed country on the two continents. *DC,* 133:1–35.

6. Newel Knight's Journal, *Scraps of Biography* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883): 69–70. Although the Saints appeared excited about Zion, very few were eager to leave Ohio in 1831. This contrasts with the willingness of the Colesville Branch, which did undertake the move.

7. Scholars have often compared the nucleated character of Mormon city planning with the earlier developments in Colonial New England, the ancestral home of most early converts to Mormonism. In making this comparison, they use the term *village.* Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17 (winter 1977): 223–40; Richard V. Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); idem, "Passing Mormon Village," *Landscape* 22 (spring 1978): 40–47; idem, "The City of Zion in the Mountain West," *Improvement Era* 72 (December 1969): 10–11, 14–17; Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1952). The terms *town* and *city* better suit the character of Mormon city planning.

This is based on John W. Reps's definition that "in New England the word 'town' did not and does not connote only a nucleated urbantype settlement but instead the entire community of village lots and farm fields." For this reason the author has elected not to use the term *village* because it is too confining for the vision behind Mormon city planning. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 119–20.

8. *HC*, 1:357–59.

9. Ibid.

10. Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert, "The Genesis of Zion and Kirtland and the Concept of Temples," *Restoration Studies* 4 (1988): 102.

11. Charles L. Sellers, "Early Mormon Community Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 28 (fall 1962): 24–30.; idem, "Mormons as City Planners," *Dialogue* 3 (Autumn 1968): 80–81.

12. HC, 1:358; C. Mark Hamilton, "Mormon City Planning in Light of the Revised Plat for the City of Zion," unpublished paper presented at the Society of Architectural Historians, Annual Conference, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 1991; idem, "The Revised Plat for the City of Zion," unpublished paper presented at *The Mosaic of Mormon Culture*, an international conference on Mormonism held at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, October 1978. Both papers on file at BYU.

13. The author discovered the revised plat for the City of Zion in the LDS Church Archives in 1978. The existence of the plat and the historical ramifications associated with it were first presented by the author at *The Mosaic of Mormon Culture*. Two excellent independent studies by Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert have subsequently been published: "Jackson County, 1831–1833: A Look at the Development of Zion," *Restoration Studies* 3 (1986): 286–305; and "Genesis of Zion and Kirtland." Read Wayne L. Wahlquist's review of the earlier literature on Mormon city planning. "A Review of Mormon Settlement Literature," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (winter 1977): 4–21.

The following are studies on Mormon city planning that were done without the benefit of the revised plat: Sellers, "Early Mormon Community Planning"; idem,"Mormons as City Planners"; Jackson, "Mormon Village"; Joel Edwards Ricks, *Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and Surrounding Regions, 1847–77* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1964); John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 303–36. Some aspects of these studies need to be revised based on the existence of the new plat.

14. William Penn's proposal for Philadelphia included streets of varying widths. The two cross-axial avenues were to be 100 feet, the others 80 feet wide.

15. The difference in numbers of building lots would significantly change the average size of each family. In 1962, Sellers projected the average family size for the original plat at 15.5 for a population of 15,000 and 20.7 for a population of 20,000. With the revised plat, the average changes from 5.8 to 7.7, respectively. (Sellers, "Early Mormon Community Planning.") The major difference in family size would certainly refute Sellers's conjecture that Smith might have been thinking of plural

marriage at the time the original plat for Zion was prepared. Unfortunately, the re-
vised plat was not discovered until 1978. (Hamilton, "Mormon City Planning";
idem, "Revised Plat for the City of Zion.")

16. Oliver Cowdery, undated letter, LDS Historical Department.

17. Edward Partridge, undated letter, LDS Historical Department.

18. Romig and Siebert feel that the plat for Kirtland, Ohio, was influenced by the
plat for the City of Zion. They conclude that it was probably a concurrent effort. At
the time, Kirtland was receiving an increasing number of new converts, and its plat
was enlarged to accommodate the influx. The plat was recorded in the Geauga
County land records in 1833. "Genesis of Zion and Kirtland," p. 108; idem, "Jackson
County, 1831–1833," p. 295.

19. *HC*, 1:449–51.

20. Ibid., 453–56.

21. *HC*, 3:390–91.

22. Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 23–56.

23. *HC*, 4:185–86.

24. Sellers, "Early Mormon Community Planning," 27. Flanders points out that
the Saints' first concern on arriving in Nauvoo was shelter. The second was to pro-
vide for the needs of the family. Those who lived in the farm area outside the city
were able to provide for their own needs but those living on one-acre lots in the city
could only supply their immediate needs by planting a large garden plot and keep-
ing a small flock of chickens and a cow or two. One way to earn a living was to cre-
ate a home industry or a small business. Joseph Smith himself ran a general store
and had plans for a hotel. A home store, bakery, tin shop, chemist, drugstore, and
shoe shop were among the commercial enterprises the Saints started in Nauvoo.
Nauvoo, pp. 23–56, 144–78.

25. *HC*, 6:185–86.

26. *Times and Seasons*, 3:678–86.

27. Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Nauvoo Neighborhood: A Little Philadelphia or
a Unique City Set Upon a Hill?" *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 79–97. (Hereaf-
ter cited as *JMH*.) Richard L. Jensen writes that the converts from the British Isles
contributed little to the culture of Nauvoo. The opposite was true after their arrival
in the Great Basin region. "Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter-day
Saint Immigration upon Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 31 (winter 1991): 76–87.

28. It was moved by Brigham Young in the April 8, 1845, session of the Special
Conference of the church, that the city of Nauvoo be changed to the "City of Jo-
seph." His motion was approved by the general membership. *HC*, 7:393–94.

29. *HC*, 5:86. Anson Call commented on Smith's statement regarding the
Rocky Mountains: "He [Smith] seemed absorbed in gazing at something at a
great distance, and said: 'I am gazing upon the valleys of those mountains.' This
was followed by a vivid description of the scenery of these mountains, as I have
since become acquainted with it. Pointing to Shadrach Roundy and others, he
said: 'There are some men here who shall do a great work in that land.' Point-
ing to me he said: 'Anson, he shall go and shall assist in building up cities from

one end of the country to the other, and you, rather [than] extending the idea to all those he had spoken of, shall perform as great a work as many of them will be gathered in that land and assist in building cities and temples, and Israel shall be made to rejoice. . . . Oh the beauty of those snowcapped mountains! The cool refreshing streams that are running down through those mountain gorges!' But he continued, 'the priesthood shall prevail over its enemies, triumph over the devil and be established upon the earth, never more to be thrown down!' " (July 14, 1843.)

Joseph Smith first spoke of the Saints going to the Rocky Mountains on April 25, 1834. He was speaking to a body of followers in Kirtland, Ohio. Wilford Woodruff, *LDS Conference Report*, April 8, 1898. The thought of moving west was investigated in 1843. Smith asked for expeditions to be sent to Wisconsin, Iowa, Texas, and California to locate possible sites for Mormon colonies. The colonies were never established even though the Council of Fifty would have been responsible for conducting the expeditions. *Millennial Star*, 26:327–28. *HC*, 5:542–49, 6:255–57. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 289–90.

Joseph Smith, in company with his brother Hyrum and Willard Richards of the Council of Twelve, left Nauvoo in the early morning of June 23, 1844, for the Rocky Mountains in search of refuge. He and the others turned back on the pleading of his wife Emma and some of the Saints. He returned knowing full well that it would mean his death. His words would prove to be prophetic. *HC*, 7:78–81.

30. The number of dwellings increased to approximately 1,000 by the end of 1848.

31. In 1850, the federal government asked the Saints to move from Winter Quarters because it was situated on "Indian land." They joined the Saints in Kanesville. This settlement was named in honor of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a non-member advocate for the Mormons during this period. Richard F. Bennett, "Winter Quarters," *Encyclopedia*, 4:1568–69. Conrey Bryson, *Winter Quarters* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1986), pp. 51–69, 116.

32. Brigham Young did not join the vanguard company until two days later. He remained in Winter Quarters to preside over the April Conference of the church.

33. Isaiah 2:2–4.

34. Thomas Bullock Journal, July 28, 1847, LDS Historical Department.

35. Bullock, August 3, 1847; August 4, 1847; August 16, 1847; August 22, 1847. The forty-acre plot for the temple block was platted on August 3, just a day before it was decided to reduce its size to ten acres. Wilford Woodruff stated that the change was made because they could not do justice to forty acres. Wilford Woodruff Journal, August 4, 1847, LDS Historical Department.

36. *Journal History*, October 9, 1848, LDS Historical Department. (Hereafter cited as *JH*.) Communities such as Spring City, Utah (1852), not only had a greenbelt area, but also allowed farm animals and barns within the city limits. Each block was divided into four equal lots with the houses sited at the corners to maximize the remaining area for agricultural purposes. Monroe, Utah (1870), is

another important settlement that has retained significant aspects of its nineteenth-century character and is in need of further study.

37. *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1921), p. 326.

38. Dale L. Morgan, "The Changing Face of Salt Lake City," *The Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1967), p. 211. The public squares were probably eliminated from Penn's original proposal by the surveyor Benjamin Eastburn between 1733 and 1741. They were not reinstated as public parks until after 1794. The center square became the site for the city hall. Reps, *Making of Urban America*, pp. 169–74.

39. *Clayton's Journal*, p. 326.

40. *New York Herald*, June 1858.

41. Bullock Journal, July 28, 1847; T. Edgar Lyon, "Mormon Colonization in the Far West," *Improvement Era* 73 (July 1970): 13–14.

42. Leland Hargrave Creer, *The Founding of an Empire*. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1947), p. 320. Eugene E. Campbell notes that the State of Deseret's application would have been denied on the basis of insufficient population had it not already been stricken because of the Compromise of 1850, which granted statehood to California as a free state. *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988), p. 205.

43. Eugene E. Campbell, "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon—A Reappraisal," *The Exodus and Beyond*, Lyndon W. Cook and Donald Q. Cannon, eds. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Hawkes Publishing, 1980): 50–77.

44. Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, 4th ed. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, 1973), pp. 361–67.

45. *JD*, 5:226.

46. Ibid., 5:337.

47. The first English Mormons arrived in Nauvoo in the summer of 1840. Over 30,000 English converts made the trek across the Plains to Utah before 1869. From 1837 to 1869, 566 missionaries were responsible for 96,214 convert baptisms in England. This is more extraordinary given that over the next sixty-six years, the number of converts from England dropped to 30,379 for 5,578 missionaries. Of course, the early missionaries read like a Who's Who of the Mormon hierarchy. The likes of Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Heber C. Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt served in England and set the standards of missionary work for the whole of the British Isles. The number of English converts far exceeded those from America, reaching the point where in both Nauvoo and Utah a British accent was as common as an American accent. They came at a most crucial time in the history of the Mormon Church, their numbers giving Mormonism a new resolve and strength. They also brought with them a new sense of culture and level of artisanship among the many crafts and building trades. M. Hamlin Cannon, "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review* 52 (1946–47): 441–42, 455.

48. Spring City, perhaps the best-preserved early Mormon settlement, retains

the four-dwellings-per-block arrangement (set at the corners) and many of the associated outbuildings.

    49. Reps, *Cities of the American West*, pp. 313–36.

Chapter 3

    1. *The Book of Mormon*, Second Nephi 5:16. The construction date for the temple is put at 570 B.C., just thirty years after the departure of Lehi's (Nephi's father's) group from Jerusalem for their journey to the Americas. (Lehi and Nephi are major figures in *The Book of Mormon*.)

    2. The time period given for *The Book of Mormon* is 600 B.C. to A.D. 421.

    3. Newly completed temples are open to the general public for viewing prior to their dedication. This procedure also commonly applies to older temples that have undergone major renovations. Following this brief period, they are closed to the general public and dedicated for the work of the living and deceased. The books that best define and describe the theological purpose of Mormon temples are: James E. Talmage, *House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1912); Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1980).

    4. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, pp. 203–4.

    5. *DC*, 36:8.

    6. Ibid., 53:3.

    7. In a revelation dated June 7, 1831, Smith was instructed to go to Jackson County, Missouri. Ibid., 52:2.

    8. *HC*, 1:359–62.

    9. Dr. Williams, a physician, was appointed by Joseph Smith to render the elevation drawings for the Temple of Zion and the revised plat for the City of Zion in 1833. T. Edgar Lyon, "The Sketches on the Papyri Backings," *Improvement Era* 71 (May 1968): 18–23.

    10. *DC*, 95:13–17.

    11. Artemus Millet, Autobiography, p. 1, LDS Historical Department.

    12. Joseph Smith mentioned having seen the interior of the temple in a vision before its completion. Autobiography of Truman O. Angell, Sr., p. 4, LDS Historical Department.

    13. Roger D. Launius, *The Kirtland Temple: A Historical Narrative* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1986), pp. 53, 56; Elwin C. Robison, "Vernacular Building Tradition and the Temple at Kirtland, Ohio," Unpublished paper delivered at the Society of Architectural Historians, Annual Conference, April 1991, Cincinnati, Ohio, pp. 5–7, on file at Brigham Young University. Professor Robison is the foremost authority on the architecture of the Kirtland Temple.

    14. Bump returned to Kirtland, after a period of apostasy, to plaster the interior of the temple. He contracted to do the work for 1,500 dollars, completing the project in February 1836. In 1845, he and others organized the Church of Christ in

opposition to Brigham Young and for a brief period they took over the Kirtland Temple after the church left Kirtland. Robison, "Vernacular Building Tradition," pp. 6–8; Launius, *Kirtland Temple*, pp. 56, 96.

15. Launius, *Kirtland Temple*, pp. 4–5. These inconsistencies are particularly noticeable in the series of measured drawings by the Historic American Building Survey (HABS). The drawings were first published in the *Architectural Forum* in 1936.

16. C. Mark Hamilton, "The Salt Lake Temple: An Architectural Monograph" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1978), pp. 21–26.

17. *Millennial Star*, 6:177–78; Backman, Jr., "Establish a House of Prayer, a House of God: The Kirtland Temple," *The Prophet Joseph Smith*, pp. 216–17.

18. *JD*, 2:31.

19. *JD*, 2:31. Bruce R. McConkie defines endowment as "certain special, spiritual blessings given worthy and faithful Saints in temples . . . , because in and through them the recipients are endowed with power from on high. They receive an education relative to the Lord's purposes and plans in the creation and peopling of the earth and are taught the things that must be done by man in order to gain exaltation in the world to come." *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1979), pp. 226–27. *JD*, 19:15–16.

20. J. Earl Arrington, "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple," *BYU Studies* 19 (spring 1979): 340; *HC*, 6:197. After Joseph Smith had appointed Weeks architect of the Nauvoo Temple, he informed the temple committee "that no person or persons shall interfere [except for himself] with him [Weeks] or his plans in building the Temple." Smith had previously charged Weeks with the formal responsibility of carrying out the designs that he (Smith) had "seen in the vision." Ibid., 5:353.

21. *HC*, 6:196–97.

22. Robison, "Vernacular Building Tradition," pp. 2–3.

23. The French Icarians purchased the temple site in 1850. They planned to convert the basement into a communal kitchen before the shell was damaged by the tornado. The east and south walls were razed for safety reasons. The surviving vestibule was taken down in 1865 for the same reason. The stone was used to construct other buildings. Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Nauvoo Restoration, 1971), pp. 5–6.

24. *HC*, 7:358. The original font was made of wood.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 10:254.

27. Truman O. Angell, Sr., to President John Taylor, December 1881. It is important to note that William Weeks suffered much while in Nauvoo and during his trek to the Great Basin and after. He and his wife, Caroline M. Allen of Quincy, Illinois, lost seven of the ten children born to them between 1840 and 1859. Shortly after he left the Saints, he was excommunicated for his actions. President Young

commented on his flight by stating "that the Saints could build a temple without his assistance, although he [Weeks] said they could not." Weeks spent the next five years in Wisconsin, where he joined his brother Arwin and plied his trade as a builder-architect. Although he had left the church, Weeks longed for the fellowship that he enjoyed among the Saints, a longing that led to his rebaptism sometime before 1852. He returned to Utah in 1852 after a brief period in Iowa, and in 1853 settled in Provo. There is no evidence that he was ever asked to participate on the Salt Lake Temple. In 1857 he was with the Saints in San Bernardino, California. However, when President Young called for the Saints to return to Utah that same year due to the arrival of federal troops, Weeks and his family remained behind. Rather than involve himself in architecture, he became a successful dairy farmer in the Los Angeles area, where he died on March 8, 1900. From the time he left Nauvoo until his death, he retained the drawings for the Nauvoo Temple. They were presented to the church in 1948 by a relative. Unfortunately, some of the drawings were lost in a flash flood while Weeks was making his way to California from Utah. Arrington, "Weeks," 353–59.

28. William W. Ward, Jr., was born in Leicester, England, in 1827. He was apprenticed to a stonemason at an early age, and he was introduced to architecture. He joined the Mormon Church in England and emigrated to the United States, arriving at St. Louis in 1848. He moved to Salt Lake City to be with the main body of the Saints in 1850. He was hired by Brigham Young in 1851 to be Truman Angell's architectural assistant and did some of the fine drawings of the Salt Lake Temple. After Angell left for England in 1856, Ward left his employ and went to St. Louis; then he went to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he became a successful architect. He returned to Salt Lake City in 1888 to take the position of professor of architecture at what was then the University of Deseret (now the University of Utah). He returned to Council Bluffs in 1892, where he died shortly after. *Deseret News*, January 5, 1893.

Truman O. Angell, Sr., often disagreed with others about the design of the Salt Lake Temple—among them was Brigham Young's successor, John Taylor, and even Angell's own son, Truman O. Angell, Jr., who would succeed him as architect of the Salt Lake Temple. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," pp. 61–64, 68–70.

29. JD, 1:133. See the author's article on the Salt Lake Temple for a more complete interpretation of the symbolism of the building. C. Mark Hamilton, "The Salt Lake Temple: A Symbolic Statement of Mormon Doctrine," *Charles Redd Monograph Series*, Thomas Alexander, ed. (1980): 103–26. Allen D. Roberts wrote a speculative article on Mormon symbolism. Its significance lay in the fact of how important symbols were to nineteenth-century Mormonism. "Where Are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use, and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism," *Sunstone* 4 (May–June 1979): 22–37. The article was republished six years later in the same journal. "Where Are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use, and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism," *Sunstone* 10 (May 1985): 36–48.

30. Brigham Young was a trained cabinetmaker, glazier, and general builder.

While living in Mendon, New York, he was engaged in the building profession having built at least one house of record. He also worked on the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples as a carpenter. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, had no formal training in the building trades. See Sheldon Fisher's article on Brigham Young's building activities in Mendon. "Brigham Young as a Mendon Craftsman: A Study in Historical Archeology," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 431–47.

31. Truman O. Angell, Sr., Diary, April 1, 1856, LDS Historical Department.

32. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," p. 71.

33. Angell Diary, April 12, 1855.

34. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," pp. 55–56.

35. Truman O. Angell, Sr., to President John Taylor, November, 27, 1880, LDS Historical Department.

36. The proposal to change the assembly hall arrangement of the Logan Temple was made in a letter from Truman O. Angell, Jr., to President John Taylor written May 8, 1878, some eight months after the death of Brigham Young. LDS Historical Department.

37. The proposal to change the interior arrangement of the Salt Lake Temple had been presented earlier by Truman O. Angell Jr., who had just been appointed as assistant architect to his father. Angell Jr. first presented his ideas to his father, who rejected them, since they were contrary to the plans approved by Brigham Young. Angell Jr., knowing that his father was in failing health, took his proposal to Young's successor, President John Taylor, in hopes of receiving his approval. Angell Sr., on hearing of this, vehemently opposed his son's effort in a passionate letter written to President Taylor. Out of respect for his father, Angell Jr. set the issue aside. Soon after his father's death, he again brought the proposal before the church president. This time it was presented to Wilford Woodruff, who had succeeded President Taylor on the latter's death in 1887. He received prompt approval for the changes to the interior. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," pp. 68–70.

38. Paul Bradford Westwood has written a thoroughly researched and documented thesis on the early life and professional career of Joseph Don Carlos Young. "Joseph Don Carlos Young and the Brigham Young Academy Building" (M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1993).

39. Truman O. Angell, Jr., was born in Salt Lake City, February 27, 1852. He was the first child of six born to his father's second wife, Eliza Savage. He was the fourth oldest of twenty living children. The exact reasons for his dismissal as architect of the Salt Lake Temple are not known. He did disagree with President Woodruff over a raise in salary. He moved to Butte, Montana, where he died April 10, 1933.

40. The celestial room is emblematic of the highest kingdom of glory that can be obtained in the life after death. It is the kingdom where God and Christ live, which Mormons strive to obtain through strict obedience to church teachings and practices. Celestial rooms are the most highly decorated areas in Mormon temples, symbolizing the greater glory of the celestial kingdom over the lesser terrestrial and telestial kingdoms. Mormons believe that a person cannot enter the highest

portion of the celestial kingdom without having received their endowments, being married in the temple, and having lived an exemplary life. This is one of the reasons why Mormons do vicarious work for the dead—work intended to give those who are deceased the opportunity to have their temple work done for them by proxy. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, pp. 96–99, 186–91.

41. Juanita Brooks, "The Cotton Mission," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (July 1961): 206–20.

42. Truman O. Angell, Sr., to President John Taylor, November 27, 1880, LDS Historical Department.

43. Truman O. Angell, Sr., to President John Taylor, April 28, 1885, LDS Historical Department.

44. It is interesting to note that Thomas Frazer (see chapter 7), a stonemason on the temple, felt that it should not have been stuccoed because it would diminish the venerable look of stone. Linda L. Bonar, "Thomas Frazer: Vernacular Architect in Pioneer Beaver, Utah" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1980), p. 105. The temple was restuccoed in 1957, restoring its original appearance.

45. Marvin E. Smith, "The Builder," *Improvement Era* 45 (October 1942): 631.

46. See the discussion of Miles Romney's St. George Tabernacle in chapter 4. William Folsom was asked by Brigham Young in 1874 to temporarily leave his responsibilities on the Salt Lake Temple and travel to St. George to oversee the construction of the temple there. The request came after Romney broke his leg on the steps of the new tabernacle and was unable to continue his work on the temple. Brigham Young was wintering in St. George at the time. Folsom returned to Salt Lake City after three months due to ill health. He again assumed his duties on the Salt Lake Temple under the direction of Angell. Nina Folsom Moss, *A History of William Harrison Folsom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: 1973), p. 55.

47. *Deseret News*, August 3, 1938. The second or present tower was reconstructed in 1994. *Deseret News*, October 26–27, 1994.

48. Janice Force DeMille, *The St. George Temple First 100 Years* (Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishers, 1977), pp. 110–16.

49. A. J. Simmonds, "The Reese Company Settle the Island," *Herald Journal*, October 20, 1991; idem, "A Surveyor Steered a Different Course," *Herald Journal*, November 17, 1991; idem, "Cache Land Survey Began Early," *Herald Journal*, April 26, 1992.

50. Truman O. Angell, Jr., to President John Taylor, February 18, 1882, LDS Historical Department. "In addition to the Logan Temple I have done most of the drafting for the Salt Lake Temple during the past five years [1882–87] which my father can vouch for if necessary." It can be assumed that Angell Jr. took over Folsom's responsibilities on the Salt Lake Temple after the latter moved to Manti to begin work on the Manti Temple.

51. See note 28.

52. William Folsom was first asked to be the architect of the Logan and Manti temples. However, it was determined that the great distance between them was too great for him to effectively carry out his responsibilities. Therefore, Truman

O. Angell, Jr., was appointed architect of the Logan Temple. Moss, *Folsom*, p. 57. It is interesting that the names of Angell Jr. and Folsom appear together on one of the drawings for the Manti Temple. This might be significant given the fact that only a few drawings exist.

53. Ibid., pp. 57–60, 62–63. The Manti Temple was rededicated in 1985, following an extensive renovation program. Great care was taken to restore the interior to its original beauty.

54. Ibid., pp. 65–69; Paul L. Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (summer 1975): 240–59.

55. *JD*, 10:254.

Chapter 4

1. A tabernacle often doubled as a meetinghouse for economic reasons. The Manti Tabernacle, in Sanpete County, Utah, was initially used as a ward meetinghouse and stake tabernacle. However, it was used only for stake meetings after the Manti South Ward Meetinghouse (1881, razed 1957) and North Ward Meetinghouse (1910, razed 1981) were built. This continued until the Manti Center Ward was created and the tabernacle once again served both purposes. Elliot Braithwaite, interview, November 21, 1993. Thomas Carter, "A Hierarchy of Architectural Values," *The Other 49ers* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Western Epics, 1982), pp. 461–62, 469.

2. The original Salt Lake Stake encompassed Salt Lake and Davis Counties until the latter area was made a separate stake in 1877. The Salt Lake Stake consisted of fifty-one wards at the time of its second division in 1900. The so-called country wards formed the Granite and Jordan Stakes. In 1904, the Salt Lake Stake was further divided, creating four new stakes: Ensign, Liberty, Pioneer, and Salt Lake. Ronald G. Watt, *Liberty Stake*, LDS Historical Department. Contemporary stakes are composed of fewer wards than their nineteenth-century equivalents. However, their ecclesiastical and symbolic functions remain the same.

3. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 764.

4. W. Ray Luce, "Mormon Tabernacles," Unpublished paper in possession of Dr. Ray Luce, presented at Society of Architectural Historians, Annual Conference, April 1991, Cincinnati, Ohio.

5. Elden J. Watson, "The Nauvoo Tabernacle," *BYU Studies* 19 (spring 1979): 421.

6. Kerry Downs, "Christopher Wren," *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, 4 vols. (New York: Free Press, 1982), 4:423.

7. An unusual case would be the situation that developed in Sanpete County. Three adjoining communities (Manti, Ephraim, and Moroni) each took pride in its own tabernacle; yet each belonged to the same stake. This was perhaps the result of the rivalry between the communities and the ecclesiastical structure of the stake prior to 1877. Braithwaite interview.

8. Minutes, Utah Stake Priesthood Meeting, April 1, 1882, LDS Historical Department.

9. *HC*, 7:427; Watson, "Nauvoo Tabernacle," p. 416.

10. Watson, "Nauvoo Tabernacle," pp. 417–20.

11. The three exceptions are the Old and Large tabernacles on Temple Square in Salt Lake City, and the tabernacle in Ogden, Utah. See note 25.

12. Andrew Jenson, *The Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), p. 907. It must be remembered that during this period approximately one-third of the church membership was from the British Isles.

13. *HC*, December 31, 1846. The Kanesville Tabernacle was considered by one pioneer to be "the biggest cabin in the world." Norton Jacob Journal, December 22, 1847, LDS Historical Department. Brigham Young was ordained president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the tabernacle on December 27, 1847. Young, between the time of his ordination and the death of Joseph Smith, had directed the affairs of the church as president of the Council of Twelve Apostles. This he did under the direction of the council, which constituted the governing authority of the church. He selected Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his counselors. *HC*, 7:621. There are plans to reconstruct the tabernacle to commemorate the selection of Brigham Young as the second president of the church. *Church News*, December 18, 1993.

14. Pottawattamie High Council Minutes, August 26, 1849, LDS Historical Department.

15. The second (1849) and fourth (1863) boweries were constructed with wooden side walls to improve their all-weather capability. The latter was razed in 1867.

16. Brigham Young, in the same discourse, proposed that the Salt Lake Temple be made of adobe brick with a protective freestone veneer. *JD*, 1:218–20. However, granite, which had been found in nearby Little Cottonwood Canyon southeast of the city, was substituted for adobe on the advice of Wilford Woodruff. Ibid., 21:299–300.

17. *JH*, August 1, 1847; Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1973), pp. 41–54. The Saints, however, knew of adobe construction nearly three years before they arrived in the Great Basin. While they were still in Nauvoo, an article appeared in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (July 31, 1844) titled "Unburnt Brick Houses." It spoke of houses built in Washington D.C., of unfired brick and suggests that masons become familiar with this economical and durable form of construction. An important follow-up article, "Unburnt Brick," gave specific directions on how to make, lay, and finish adobe brick. Ibid., February 19, 1845.

A percentage mix of clay, sand, straw (grass), and water were necessary to make a quality adobe brick. The mix was commonly placed in a pone (mold) of two, three, or six divisions. When the bricks reached a leathery consistency they were taken out of the mold, stacked, and left to dry. The hardening process took ap-

proximately three days. Kate B. Carter, comp., "How Adobes Were Made in Fillmore," *Heart Throbs of the West*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), p. 317.

18. *Deseret News*, November 22, 1868.

19. *Deseret News*, April 17, 1852.

20. *JH*, October 11, 1857.

21. Jay M. Todd, "The Tabernacle Organ," *Improvement Era* 70 (April 1967): 16; Barbara Owen, *The Mormon Tabernacle Organ* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Paragon Press, 1991), p. 2. Ridges used his carpentry skills to earn a living in Los Angeles and San Pedro, California, during the winter of 1856–57. He and his family accompanied the organ to Salt Lake City in a twelve-wagon company, arriving on June 12, 1857. Kate B. Carter, comp., "The Great Mormon Tabernacle," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, vol. 11 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1968), pp. 105–8.

22. Joseph Don Carlos Young stated that Truman Angell, Sr., was the architect of the tabernacle. He mentioned that Brigham Young met with Angell on Temple Square and drew the plans for the tabernacle in the dirt with the tip of his umbrella, stating, "It will look like this when completed." *Deseret News*, March 1, 1927. Although Henry Grow had been appointed overseer of the project, William H. Folsom, as acting church architect, monitored his activities. *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 6, 1867. Truman Angell, Sr., returned from self-imposed retirement in 1867 to work as a carpenter on the New Tabernacle and was later appointed carpentry foreman. *Daily Telegraph*, October 13, 1867. It was during this time that he complained to Brigham Young about Folsom's and Grow's abilities as carpenters. His complaint might have led to his resuming his position as church architect in April 1867. Angell, "Diary," July 12, 1867, LDS Historical Department; Letter, Truman O. Angell, Sr., to Brigham Young, October 16, 1867, LDS Historical Department.

23. Henry Grow was responsible for railroad bridges in and around Norristown and Germantown, Pennsylvania. He had secured the patent rights to use the Remington Lattice system of bridge construction, and his efforts probably caught the attention of Brigham Young and others. Stewart Grow, *A Tabernacle in the Desert* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1958), pp. 36–37, 98. The local newspaper reported that Truman Angell, Sr., was responsible for drafting and overseeing the detail work on the interior of the New Tabernacle. *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 6, 1867.

24. See note 12. Wings were added to the original grouping of pipes in 1916, increasing the width to fifty-four feet. More pipes were added in 1916, 1924, and 1940, bringing the number to 10,814. Todd, "Tabernacle Organ," pp. 18–19; Owen, *Mormon Tabernacle Organ*, pp. 5–15.

25. In 1971, the American Society of Civil Engineers recognized the Mormon pioneer builders for their engineering feats. *Church News*, April 3, 1971. In 1927 Joseph Don Carlos Young submitted to the church his proposal for the remodeling of the interior of the tabernacle, increasing the seating capacity and configuration of the rostrum and choir. The most interesting part of the proposal was a two-gallery arrangement. A new truss-gallery was to be cantilevered from its column

supports into the main floor area above the original gallery. Both were to have been attached to the lower part of the inner shell of the dome, not the piers of the tabernacle. His proposal was never carried out. Plans, Salt Lake Tabernacle, LDS Historical Department.

26. Angell, "Diary," September 13, 1852. A priesthood delegation from Provo visited Angell in his office in Salt Lake City to discuss the plans he had sent for the tabernacle. Ibid., May 26, 1853. The Old Provo Tabernacle was originally referred to as the "Provo Meeting House" or "Chapel." It would not be until after its dedication in 1867 that it would be more appropriately called a tabernacle. This was in keeping with its original purpose as the headquarters for the Provo Stake. N. La Verl Christensen, *Provo's Two Tabernacles* (Provo, Utah: Provo Utah East Stake, 1983), pp. 49–91. The original design for the Juab Stake Tabernacle (1860) in Nephi, Utah, appears to have been based on the Old Provo Tabernacle.

The tabernacle in Ogden, Utah (1856), was designed four years after the Provo Tabernacle but was the first to be completed. It was little more than a pastiche of the Old Tabernacle on Temple Square. Brigham Young asked William Nicol Fife (1831–1941), a builder-architect and convert from Scotland, to oversee the construction of the tabernacle. The tabernacle was thoroughly remodeled in 1896 and razed in 1971, being replaced by a tabernacle of current design. "The Ogden Tabernacle," *Improvement Era* 17 (June 1914): 773–74; Kate B. Carter, comp., "Other Early Pioneer Churches," *Heart Throbs of the West*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1941): pp. 57–58.

27. Besides Peter Nicholson's architectural guide, it is known that Angell owned an 1830 edition of Asher Benjamin's *Practical House Carpenter* while employed on the Kirtland Temple. The following books were also available to him from the Territorial Library in Salt Lake City: Asher Benjamin, *Practical House Carpentry* (Boston, 1850); Henry Barnard, *School Architecture*, 3d. ed. (New York, 1849); Andrew Jackson Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1850); idem, *Cottage Residences, Adapted to North America*, 3d. ed. (New York, 1847); idem, *Hints to Young Architects* (New York, 1847); O. S. Fowler, *Home for All, or Superior Mode of Building* (New York, 1848); William Johnston, *Carpenter's New Guide*, 14th ed. (Philadelphia, 1850); Miss Leslie, *Complete House Book* (Philadelphia, 1849); Minard LeFevre, *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* (New York, 1849); William H. Ranlett, *The Architect*, 2 vols. (New York, 1849); Edward Shaw, *Rural Architecture* (Boston, 1843); Thomas Tredgold, *Elementary Principles of Carpentry* (Philadelphia, 1837); J. L. Vicat, *Mortars and Cements* (London, 1837). *Catalogue of the Utah Territorial Library* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Brigham H. Young Printer, 1852).

28. Stephen A. Hales, "The Effects of the Rivalry between Jesse Knight and Thomas Nicholls Taylor on Architecture in Provo, Utah, 1898–1915" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1991), p. 1.

29. *Deseret News*, September 4, 1867. Brigham Young asked the Saints in and around Salt Lake City to flee south to Utah Valley, on hearing of Johnston's Army impending arrival to quell the purported "Mormon Rebellion." As a consequence Provo became the temporary headquarters of the church for a few months in 1858.

It was only after the newly appointed federal governor, Alfred Cumming, promised that there would be no war and Johnston camped his army many miles southwest of Salt Lake City that Young asked the Saints to return to their homes. He returned to Salt Lake City on July 5 of that year.

30. Allen D. Roberts, "Religious Architecture of the LDS Church," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (spring 1975): 311.

31. *Millennial Star*, 29:662–63.

32. The adobe walls were three bricks thick. The exact thickness in inches is not known, except that each adobe brick was much larger in size than a standard brick. Christensen, *Provo's Two Tabernacles*, p. 57. It was not uncommon to use adobe bricks that measured 12 by 4 by 6 inches.

33. The dedicatory inscription is the only remaining part of the Old Tabernacle. It is located in front of the North Park Pioneer Museum in Provo, Utah. Ibid. pp. 60–62.

34. The tower was similar to one proposed in Peter Nicholson's, *Architectonic: The Practical Builder and Workman's Companion* (1822–33).

35. *Millennial Star*, 29:661–64.

36. Augustus Farnham was baptized on April 21, 1843. Shortly thereafter, he left Massachusetts for Nauvoo, where he found work as a carpenter on the temple. He emigrated to Salt Lake City where he was called to serve a mission to Australia. He arrived in Sydney in 1851, and two years later was made the presiding elder. In 1856 he returned to Salt Lake City, then to Farmington, Utah, where he died in 1865. Farmington adjoins Bountiful on the north. It was probably while living in Farmington that Farnham was commissioned to design the Bountiful Tabernacle. Allen D. Roberts, "More of Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects: Their Lives and Works," *Sunstone* 1 (summer, 1976): 51–52; Todd, "Tabernacle Organ," pp. 15–16; Owen, *Mormon Tabernacle Organ*, pp. 1–2.

37. The spire and pinnacles were blown off by strong winds in 1906. They were restored in 1955. *Church News*, April 2, 1955; Mabel Jones Gabbott, comp., *A Tabernacle in the Land of Bountiful* (Bountiful, Utah: Accent Graphics, 1992), p. 13.

38. The pilasters and arch were painted to appear as marble. The painting was carefully removed in 1974 and placed in the LDS Church History Museum in Salt Lake City. The painting was replaced by a pipe organ and a copy of the work placed in the south foyer. Gabbot, comp., *Tabernacle*, p. 30.

39. The original plaster ceiling collapsed in 1983 but was immediately restored. *Davis County Clipper*, February 8, 1983. Leslie T. Foy, *The Bountiful* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1975), pp. 103–4. The location of the pot-bellied stoves during this period varied from the center of the assembly room to the corners. An array of elbow and extender pipes typically cluttered the interior, taking the smoke through the roof. The stoves were not very effective in heating.

40. Daniel H. Wells, appointed director of the Department of Public Works by Brigham Young in 1850, oversaw church enterprises throughout the territory, including various production mills in support of the church's effort to become self-sufficient.

41. Arthur K. Hafen, *Beneath Vermillion Cliffs* (St. George, Utah: 1967), pp. 16–20; Charles M. Brown, "The Past Restored, Historic St. George Tabernacle Reopens" (1993), pp. 1–4.

42. Local limestone was used for the footings.

43. A. J. Simmonds, "The Logan Tabernacle Takes Shape," *Herald Journal*, June 28, 1992; idem, "Church and State in Early Logan," *Herald Journal*, November 24, 1991.

44. A. J. Simmonds, interview, November 22, 1993.

45. The basement was in use by January 1877. Construction had reached a point in August 1878 that a quarterly conference of the Cache Valley Stake could be held in the assembly hall. It is doubtful that the gallery was completed until 1881. A. J. Simmonds, "Tabernacle Construction Was a Slow Process," *Herald Journal*, July 5, 1992.

46. Truman O. Angell, Jr., was responsible for the design of the Cache County Court House (1882–83). Simmonds, interview, November 22, 1993.

47. Simmonds, "The Logan Tabernacle Takes Shape," *Herald Journal*, June 28, 1992; idem, "Church and State in Early Logan," *Herald Journal*, November 24, 1991.

48. *Church News*, February 20, 1971. According to the 1870 United States census, the composition of the population of Paris, Idaho, by country of origin, was as follows: England, 108; Wales, 2; Scotland, 3; Isle of Man/Wight, 1; Sweden, 11; Denmark, 21; Canada, 7. Note that not one inhabitant was from the United States.

49. The stonemasons who built the Paris Idaho Tabernacle were converts from Switzerland. Jacob Tueller, Sr., and his three sons—Jacob, Jr., John, and Christian—moved from Logan to Paris, Idaho, to work on the tabernacle. Thomas G. Lowe was the overseer of construction. The tabernacle was built at a cost of forty to fifth thousand dollars, less than the Assembly Hall in Salt Lake City. "The Bear Lake Stake Tabernacle," *Improvement Era* 17 (June 1914): 780; "Bear Lake Tabernacle," LDS Brochure.

50. *Deseret News*, July 20, 1889. Paul Bradford Westwood mentions a number of architectural guides, pattern books, and periodicals that were available to Joseph Don Carlos Young. He specifically cites a print of the Ottonian Benedictine abbey of Maria Laach, south of Cologne (1093–1156), that might have been in the architect's possession at the time he was working on the Paris Idaho Tabernacle. "Joseph Don Carlos Young," pp. 152–56.

51. Work on the Paris Idaho Tabernacle commenced in 1871 with the hauling of rock from Indian Creek Canyon, some eighteen miles to the southeast, but halted shortly thereafter for several reasons. Work on the present building was started in 1884, under Joseph Don Carlos Young. Ibid.; Russell R. Rich, *Land of the Sky-Blue Water: A History of the LDS Settlement of the Bear Lake Valley* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1963), pp. 157–61. It might be assumed that an original design by Truman Angell, Sr., was abandoned because of his heavy workload, before 1884. By that time, he was preoccupied with the need to complete the Salt Lake Temple. This, and his own failing health allowed him little time to devote to other projects. He simply had to entrust the work to other architects: his son,

William Folsom, and Joseph Don Carlos Young. They were probably given more latitude in design than they would have enjoyed had Brigham Young been alive.

52. *Deseret News*, July 20, 1889; LDS Brochure.

53. William Folsom attended a meeting of the building committee for the Manti Tabernacle where he volunteered to design the building. The Manti Tabernacle was one of three contemporary tabernacles to be built in the Sanpete Stake during the nineteenth century (see note 7). The five-bay Ephraim Tabernacle (1870–74, razed 1951) was the first. Its gallery was used as a model for the one in the Manti Tabernacle. Manti Tabernacle Committee Minutes, 1877–79, April 9, 1877; March 10, 1878. LDS Historical Department.

The Manti Tabernacle features an extremely shallow pseudo-transept. It did not function relative to the gallery as did the transept on the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. For this reason I have not categorized it as a cruciform plan.

54. Alexander Fortie was born in Scotland and emigrated to the United States soon after his conversion to Mormonism. He joined the Saints in Utah and settled in Heber with his wife in 1869. A talented carpenter, he was responsible for many of the buildings in the local area, including the Heber Tabernacle. William James Mortimer, comp., *How Beautiful the Mountains: A Centennial History of Wasatch County* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1963), p. 372.

55. "Mormon Tabernacle, Manti, Utah, 1879–1979," pp. 11–12.

56. The gallery and pulpit-rostrum were removed and the latter replaced by a stage against the west wall in 1930–31.

57. Pearl F. Jacobson, ed., *Golden Sheaves from a Richfield: A Centennial History of Richfield, Utah, 1864–1964* (Richfield, Utah: Richfield Reaper Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 62–64. The Richfield Tabernacle was abandoned in 1914 because of structural problems. It was finally demolished in 1923. Irvin L. Warnock, *Sevier Stake Memories, 1874–1949* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Co., 1949), pp. 30–31, 54.

58. Ibid., pp. 12–16.

59. Moss, *Folsom*, p. 60.

60. *Deseret News*, August 3, 1881.

61. *Deseret News*, April 3, 1880.

62. The truncated pinnacles served as flues for the heating system.

63. The Coalville, Utah, Tabernacle (Summit Stake, 1879–86) was the sister design to the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. It was razed in 1971. Part of the problem stemmed from the alterations made to the interior over the years. The gallery was eliminated and replaced by a second floor. If the tabernacle had been restored, it would still have been too small to accommodate local congregational needs. Extensive material in the LDS Historical Department deals with the attempted preservation and final destruction of the tabernacle and gives greater insight and accuracy relative to the complex issues surrounding the building than any articles published to date.

64. Brigham Young, in a meeting with the local church leaders prior to the dedication of the Old Tabernacle (Meetinghouse), commented that it should have been completed twelve years earlier, as originally planned. He stated that it "was

entirely too small." It proved so small that he asked those in the morning session of conference to assemble outside for the afternoon meeting, so all could attend and hear the dedicatory service. Minutes, *Early Provo History, 1849–72*, microfilm, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

65. Letter, First Presidency, May 6, 1882.

66. William Folsom claimed to have received the design of the New Provo Tabernacle in a revelation. *Enquirer*, April 6, 1886.

67. The original chandeliers were removed at the same time. The organ was enlarged between 1909 and 1911.

68. The two rear doors were replaced by windows, and a new central entrance was constructed, altering the interior movement in this part of the building.

69. The LDS Church plans to convert the Vernal Tabernacle into a temple sometime after 1994. This is the first time that a lesser building type has undergone such a transformation. The interior will be completely changed to meet the spatial requirements of a temple.

70. *The City of Smithfield* (Smithfield, Utah: 1927), pp. 34–38; Lawrence S. and Rita C. Cantwell, interview, November 12, 1993. The spire caps are reminiscent of the one used on the former Salt Lake Twenty-first Ward Meetinghouse.

Chapter 5

1. A ward is the smallest fully staffed ecclesiastical unit in the LDS Church. The church does not have a paid ministry and all ward positions are filled by people taken from the lay membership, including the position of bishop, the presiding authority over a ward. All members serve the church voluntarily while holding regular jobs.

2. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 208–9.

3. Ibid., pp. 211. During the early period, the term *meetinghouse* was used interchangeably with *tabernacle*. Both terms, for example, were used to describe the Old Provo Tabernacle and the Old Lehi Meetinghouse.

4. See note 2, chapter 4. The Salt Lake Fifth and Sixth wards were amalgamated in 1860 and met in the Sixth Ward Meetinghouse until 1877 when the Fifth Ward was reorganized and its new adobe meetinghouse built. Before 1860 the Fifth Ward held their meetings in the ward schoolhouse. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 743–44.

5. Mormon protective enclosures varied in design. Some, like Cove Fort, were built in the tradition of a walled fort. At Moroni the fort was fully enclosed and included a defensive stone turret. This was in contrast to the open-square arrangement of cabins in the fort at Franklin, Idaho, and the open parallel rows of cabins at Fort Logan, Utah.

6. Cove Fort, Utah, is one of two extant Mormon fortifications. The other is Windsor Castle at Pipe Spring, Arizona, which served as a cattle ranch for the tithing herds of the LDS Church in what is now northern Arizona and southern

Utah. It was proclaimed a national monument in 1923 and remains under the direction of the National Park Service. "Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

7. Andrew Jenson, "Alexander Gillispie," *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1914), vol. 2, p. 5. See chapter 8 for discussion of the first meetinghouse ("the Adobe School House").

8. The clapboard siding was painted white during the history of the building. Nelson Maloney, interview, February 9, 1994; Yvonne M. Wilcox, interview, February 10, 1994. It was designed and built under the direction of Solomon Angell. Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun* (Panguitch, Utah: Garfield County News, 1950), p. 276.

9. Brigham Young had the Saints change the name of the settlement from Mountainville to Alpine because its location at the foot of the Wasatch Mountains reminded him of Switzerland.

10. Ula B. Hemingway, comp., *Mountainville Camp DUP* (Alpine, Utah: 1990), pp. 195–96, Jennie Adams Wild, *Alpine Yesterdays: A History of Alpine County, Utah, 1850–1980* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Blaine Hudson Printing Co., 1982), p. 25.

11. The original semicircular inset in the Grantsville Meetinghouse was replaced by the present circle medallion in 1931.

12. The Coalville Meetinghouse was part of the original Pioneer Village when it was located in Salt Lake City, Utah. "Historical Brochure," Pioneer Village, Farmington, Utah.

13. Communion in the Mormon Church is referred to as "sacrament." The sacrament service is emblematic of Christ's Last Supper and the emblems of His sacrifice are represented by bread and water. The partaking of these symbols represents the renewing of covenants that are made at one's baptism. Sacrament services in the nineteenth century were typically held in the afternoon or early evening. The sacrament table was typically not a major physical feature; rather, the pulpit was the main focus of the interior.

14. Cindy Liggett, "Farmington Rock Meetinghouse," unpublished paper, Brigham Young University, 1977.

15. Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portrait of a Utah Town* (Lehi, Utah: Publishers Press, 1990), pp. 90–92.

16. The meetinghouse was built in the center of the old fort. Adelia Robinson, "Old Adobe Meetinghouse," unpublished paper, 1951, pp. 1–3.

17. William Ward, talented assistant to Truman Angell, Sr., utilized the full English basement in his design for Brigham Young's Lion House (1855–56). Ward patterned his design on an English medieval gable-front house, a design concept that he brought with him from his native England.

18. Luella Adams Dalton, comp., *History of Iron County Mission, Parowan, Utah* (Parowan, Utah: 1973), pp. 34–41.

19. Ibid., pp. 319–20. Ebenezer Hanks was appointed chairman of the building committee, assisted by Bishop Warren, Edward Dalton, Silas S. Smith, and Abraham Smith two days after the plans were drafted. Ibid., pp. 302–03, 326–30. "Parowan Stake House," *Improvement Era* 17 (June 1914): 729.

20. Dalton, comp., *Iron County Mission*, p. 325.

21. A south gallery was part of the original proposal, as was the belfry, but there is a question as to whether it was ever built. In any case, the present U-shaped gallery was patterned on that of the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Ibid., p. 322–23, 325–26. The decision to add the gallery and belfry probably came after it was determined that it would be less expensive than extending the length of the building. Alan B. Barnett, interview, November 10, 1993. The local church membership still refer to it as "the Old Rock Meetinghouse." "Parowan Stake House," p. 729.

22. Some of the lumber for the Salt Lake Tabernacle organ was milled in a canyon east of Parowan, Utah. Dalton, comp., *Iron County Mission*, p. 411–12.

23. *Chapel* is one of the terms used to describe the basic building type used by the LDS Church for holding general worship services. However, in reference to its actual function in the nineteenth century, it is more appropriate to refer to the building type as a *meetinghouse*, because it was used in the tradition of the New England meetinghouse. As the meetinghouse has evolved into a multiroom complex with a main assembly hall in the twentieth century, the main hall has been designated as the chapel, while the building itself is most often referred to as a meetinghouse. In the strictest sense, it would be inaccurate to refer to the entire building complex as a chapel, because the term *chapel* applies to a specific room or space that has been reserved for worship services. On the other hand, the terms *church, church house,* and *ward house* would be more in keeping with the term *meetinghouse*. Unfortunately, all four terms—*meetinghouse, ward, church,* and *chapel*—continue to be used interchangeably. C. Mark Hamilton, "LDS Meetinghouses," *Encyclopedia,* 2:876–78.

24. James W. Beless, Jr., "Daniel S. Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (October 1959): 370–71. The vestibule-porch was a twentieth-century addition.

25. The design is a product of the Ecclesiological movement in which the Episcopal Church of America was involved from the 1840s. George Wolfe Shinn, *King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches* (Boston: Moses King Corporation, 1889), p. 247. Daniel S. Tuttle, the Episcopal Bishop of Utah from 1867 to 1886, did not take a confrontational position during his tenure. He was well received by the Mormons who respected him for his objective attitude toward them of peaceful coexistence.

The Episcopal Church made a concerted effort to establish itself in Utah, particularly after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Episcopal houses of worship were built in the Utah railroad towns of Corinne (1870) and Ogden (1874). Both were in the Gothic Revival style. Beless, "Daniel S. Tuttle," pp. 360–68. See T. Edgar Lyon's article on the religious makeup of nineteenth-century Utah. "Religious Activities and Development in Utah, 1847–1910," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (fall 1967): 292–306.

26. The Catholic Church maintained an amenable relationship with the Mormons. It was largely the Evangelists who took an aggressive posture in hopes of thwarting the Mormons through their missionary and educational efforts. T. Edgar

Lyon and Glen M. Leonard, "The Churches in the Territory," *Utah's History*, Richard D. Poll, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1978), pp. 317–35.

27. Lynn M. Hilton, ed., *The Story of the Salt Lake Stake, 1847–1972* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Printing Press, 1972), p. 126.

28. The Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward Meetinghouse was razed and the property sold for the construction of a railroad station in 1903.

29. The Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward was the home ward of Obed Taylor and the early presidents of the church. The meetinghouse was probably the first building to be called a chapel. *Chapel*, as a term, was used during the 1880s and 1890s but never supplanted *meetinghouse* as the more appropriate term to describe this type of building. The ground for the building was donated by Joseph Don Carlos Young.

30. The Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward Meetinghouse was rebuilt at a cost of 300,000 dollars. It is now used as a memorial chapel (White Memorial Chapel). *Historic Buildings on Capitol Hill* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1981). No. 13.

31. The stepped-gable cornice motif appears to have become popular in the 1890s and persisted into the first decade of the twentieth century. The meetinghouse (1902–14) in Spring City, Utah, is an extant example from the early twentieth century where this motif can be seen.

32. The Porterville Meetinghouse was surplused by the LDS Church in 1942 for a new building. Grace Bower Kilbourn, *History of the Old Porterville Church, 1864–1948* (Porterville, Utah: 1980), pp. 42–45; *Utah: A Guide to Utah Historic Sites* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1972), p. 10; Blenda White Hamilton, interview, January 31, 1993. The Gothic meetinghouse (1899) in Woodruff, Utah, is similar in size and design to the Porterville Meetinghouse. The arcading system is similar to one used on the meetinghouse (1918) in Fountain Green, Utah, by J. R. Watkins of Provo.

Some lesser Gothic designs appeared in a number of smaller communities. Pointed-arch windows and entrances distinguished them from earlier vernacular designs—i.e., the Lindon (1890–91) and Mapleton (1890–93), Utah, meetinghouses. Colleen McMillan, comp., *Lindon, Our Town* (Lindon, Utah: Lindon Community Progress, 1983), p. 69; Barbara B. Robertson, "Meetinghouse to Meetinghouse," unpublished paper, Brigham Young University Provo, Utah, 1979, pp. 8–10.

33. This was a common building technique during this period. It helped reduce the construction cost.

34. Van Wagoner, *Lehi*, pp. 97–98. There are extant examples of this style in Taylorsville (1894), Santaquin (1896), and Orem (1895–96), Utah. Only the Timpanogos Ward Meetinghouse in Orem is still owned by the LDS Church.

35. The non-Mormon architectural firm of Walter E. Ware and A. Owen Treganza in Salt Lake City helped popularize the English Parish style in Utah. The church commissioned them to design some of their buildings. The Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward Meetinghouse (1906–7) was perhaps their most successful design in this style.

36. Robert Muccigrosso, *American Gothic: The Mind and Art of Ralph Adams Cram* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980).

37. A number of turn-of-the-century designs in the late Gothic Revival style were built in Utah for non-Mormon congregations. St. Joseph's Catholic Church (1900), in Ogden, by Francis C. Woods, and Walter E. Ware's First Presbyterian Church (1903–6) are representative examples. Peter L. Goss, "The Architectural History of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (summer 1975): 227–28.

38. Richard Karl August Kletting (1858–1943) was an architect from Germany. He was an accomplished designer whose other major work from this period was Salt Lake City's original Salt Palace (1899). He became one of Utah's most prominent architects in the twentieth century, his best-known design being the Utah State Capitol Building (1912–16) in Salt Lake City. See Craig Lewis Bybee's thesis for a more extensive treatment of Kletting. "Richard Karl August Kletting: Dean of Utah Architects, 1858–1943" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1980).

39. "Riverton Ward Meeting House West Jordan Stake," *Improvement Era,* 17 (June 1914): 731. Kletting had previously designed a similar dome for the Salt Palace. *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 11, 1899.

40. It is interesting to note that the original drawing of the front elevation published in the *Deseret News* and side elevation in the *Salt Lake Tribune* did not exhibit a raised ground floor or baroque-style staircase. Apparently these were preliminary drawings, because work on the foundation and ground floor had begun months earlier. *Deseret News,* June 17, 1899; *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 17, 1899.

41. Hamilton interview.

42. *Deseret News,* June 17, 1899; October 28, 1908. The building apparently proved too impractical and costly to heat, leading to its destruction. Hamilton interview. The actual work of razing the building did not start until more than two years after it was first announced. *Midvale Sentinel,* April 30, 1937; *Salt Lake Telegram,* November 23, 1939; *Midvale Sentinel,* December, 1, 1939; *Deseret News,* December 15, 1939.

Chapter 6

1. See note 19, chapter 3, for a definition of the endowment.

2. The first instructions pertaining to the endowment were given by Joseph Smith to Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Newell K. Whitney, George Miller, and James Adams in the spring of 1842. The meeting was held in the president's private office (the Council Room) on the second floor of his store. *HC,* 5:1–2. When the Prophet first acquired his knowledge of the endowment is not known. It is known that he had this knowledge sometime before the recording of section 124, dated January 19, 1841, of *The Doctrine and Covenants,* which speaks of the endowment. *DC,* 124:39.

3. Ensign Peak, in Salt Lake City, and other selected sites were used for the endowment services before the construction of the Endowment House on Temple Square. *Deseret News,* May 5, 1855.

4. A. William Lund, "The Endowment House," *Improvement Era* 39 (April 1936): 213. The upper floor of the Council House was used for the enactment of the endowment service before the completion of the Endowment House. See the discussion of the Council House in chapter 8.

5. Truman O. Angell, Sr., "Undated Plan for Endowment House," LDS Historical Department.

6. *DC*, 20:38–67, 107:1–100.

7. The seventies worked under the direction of the Council of Twelve and were assisted in their missionary labors by them. *DC*, 107:5, 25; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 707. At present, elders in the Melchizedek Priesthood largely assume the everyday responsibilities of missionary work. They work under the direction of the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve, assisted by the Quorum of Seventy.

8. "Seventies Hall at Nauvoo" (Salt Lake City, Utah: Nauvoo Restoration, 1973), p. 4; Dale L. Berge, *Archaeology of the Seventies Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Nauvoo Restoration, 1979), pp. 7–18.

9. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 1, 1845. An untitled builder's guide dated 1836 was in the Seventies Library. "Partial Book List," Seventies Library, Nauvoo, Illinois.

10. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, p. 161; *CHC*, 4:14.

11. The 1877 restructuring of the priesthood corresponds to the changing roles of stake presidents and ward bishops. The sole responsibility of the bishops in Nauvoo and Winter Quarters was the physical well-being of their ward members. The stake president was given the added responsibility of the spiritual well-being of the wards and the Melchizedek Priesthood quorums. The bishop was given the same responsibility but only for his ward members and the Aaronic Priesthood quorums. The size of wards, in terms of the number of members, was reduced so a bishop could better care for the needy under his jurisdiction. He was assisted in the care of the needy by the Relief Society. William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *BYU Studies* 20 (fall 1979): 3–35.

12. During the Nauvoo period, the Relief Society was organized to help the needy in the church. It was under the immediate direction of the president of the church. The expanded role of the Relief Society and its work under the direction of a local bishop came after the Saints' arrival in the Great Basin region.

13. Brigham Young reestablished the School of the Prophets for the same reason he organized branches of the Relief Society in each ward. The School of the Prophets was discontinued when individual priesthood quorums began to meet on a ward basis, during weekly scheduled meetings.

14. Susa Young Gates, "Relief Society Beginnings in Utah," *Relief Society Magazine* 9 (April 1922): 185–89.

15. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, p. 750.

16. Thurber was renamed Bicknell in 1914 for William W. Bicknell, a prominent figure from Providence, Rhode Island. He promised to build a small library anyplace in Utah where the residents would name their town after him. John W.

Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The University of Utah Press, 1990), p. 31.

17. Joseph Smith collected tithes in Nauvoo in the office located in the back of his Red Brick Store. Alma R. Blair, interview, Nauvoo, Illinois, May 31, 1993.

18. It was Joseph Smith's desire that his people live the "law of consecration" where all property was held in common. For a brief period, this experiment was tried by some in Kirtland and Independence. It failed, however, due to the Saints' pride and persecution by their enemies. In 1869 Brigham Young began to promote the lesser "United Order of Enoch." Approximately 150 settlements were involved in one of the four cooperative forms of the social order. The cooperative movement was abandoned for various reasons by the 1880s. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 323–49.

19. The General Authorities, or central leadership of the church—First Presidency, Council of Twelve, etcetera—are paid, but not from tithing funds. Rather, they are self-supporting, or are paid from existing financial investments.

20. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London: n.d.), p. 302. The church printing office was also housed in the two-story structure.

21. The Tithing Office (1887) in Vernal, Utah, is the smallest extant building of its kind. It is a one-bay, single-story, vernacular stone structure. It was removed to its present site in 1958. It is now used as a relic hall for the local camp of the International Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

22. Nora Whitaker Price, interview, June 20, 1994. The two-story stone Tithing Office (1856–57) by Elias Morris in Cedar City, Utah, was one of the more impressive buildings of this type. It was razed in 1910.

Chapter 7

1. Milton V. Backman, Jr., interview, Nauvoo, Illinois, June 1, 1993.

2. The only extant log dwelling in Nauvoo predates the arrival of the Mormons. It was constructed in 1803, and purchased by Joseph Smith, Jr., for his family in 1839. Smith raised the ceiling of the first floor to accommodate his six-foot height and added a lean-to on the north end of the dwelling and a small summer kitchen in 1840. The family lived there until they moved into the Mansion House in 1843. Smith built a log kitchen next to the "homestead" which was briefly used as living quarters for his parents. Alma R. Blair, interview, Nauvoo, Illinois, May 31, 1993.

3. The effort to restore Mormon Nauvoo (1839–46) began as a private venture in the 1960s. It was later taken over by the LDS Church under the direction of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. The restoration of a section of south Nauvoo is under the direction of the RLDS Church. Both organizations continue their restoration activities.

4. Calvin Pendleton, the second of fourteen children, was trained in natural medicine in Worthington, Ohio. Soon after his arrival in Nauvoo, he was called on a mission to Maine. He later left Nauvoo and moved to Winter Quarters, where

he lost his wife Emmeline and daughter to illness. In 1852 he emigrated to Utah, and eventually settled in Parowan.

No archaeological dig was done on his property to establish the authenticity of the house. It is questionable whether it is even on the correct site of the original building.

5. Blair interview. The Mansion House hotel was managed by an outside individual, but its operation was overseen by Joseph Smith. The hotel addition was comprised of twenty-two rooms and a storage area (reduced to nine after the removal of the eastern portion of the hotel addition in 1890). The Mansion House was built out of frustration over the lack of progress on the Nauvoo House, a guest hotel located at the end of Main Street on the Mississippi River. The Nauvoo House was designed by Lucian Woodworth to serve as a place where "men of wealth, character, and influence from abroad can go and repose themselves." *HC*, 5:283–87, 328, 366, 368. It was incomplete when the Saints left Nauvoo in 1846. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 189–90. The bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were briefly sheltered behind the foundation walls of the Nauvoo House in fear that the mobs would try to recover them. Their bodies were later interred on the grounds of the family Homestead. Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), p. 622.

6. The east wing, added by Brigham Young after the death of Joseph Smith, was used for church council meetings, previously held in the upper room of Smith's Red Brick Store.

7. The Brownings purchased the property, along with a one-and-a-half-story log cabin, from the Benjamin Bird family in 1843. The present log cabin is a reconstruction of the original based on archaeological evidence and written documentation. Dale L. Berge, "The Jonathan Browning Site: An Examination of Archaeology for Restoration in Nauvoo, Illinois," *BYU Studies* 19 (winter 1979): 209–28.

8. Flemish bond was also used in the gable area of Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store. A modified American bond of a seven-to-one ratio was used on the lower floors.

9. See discussion on the Seventies Hall in Nauvoo in chapter 6.

10. *Deseret News*, August 10, 1888.

11. Mary Isabella Horne, "Home Life in the Pioneer Fort," *Juvenile Instructor* 29 (March 15, 1894), 181–85.

12. Kate B. Carter, comp., "Pioneer Houses and Enclosures," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Printing Company, 1958), pp. 119–21.

13. Ibid., pp. 135–39.

14. Jesse N. Smith, a member of the vanguard company that settled Parowan, Utah, in 1851, was a cousin to Joseph Smith, Jr., and George A. Smith. He was one of the key figures in Parowan, serving as its mayor. Lavina Fielding Smith, "Called to Settle, Called to Build: Parowan," *Ensign* 10 (February, 1980): 26–27. In 1878 Jesse Smith was called to Snowflake, Arizona, a Mormon settlement estab-

lished by Erastus Snow of the Council of Twelve. James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1985), pp. 164–65. *Utah: A Guide to Utah Historic Sites* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1972), p. 23; Jesse N. Smith House, Site N–72, Utah State Register, Utah Historical Society.

15. Philip S. Robinson, *Sinners and Saints*, 1883, p. 167. Cynthia Rice noted that the church, on occasion, sent bishops to specific areas to assist in the assimilation process. Spring City, Utah, experienced some difficulty. Differences existed between the Danish and English settlers in the community that prompted the building of separate meetinghouses. The town itself was essentially divided into two sections with the Danes to the north, the English to the south. "A Geographic Appraisal of the Acculturation Process of Scandinavians in the Sanpete Valley, Utah, 1850–1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973), p. 59; Richard C. Poulsen, *The Pure Experience of Order: Essays on the Symbolic in the Folk Material Culture of Western America* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 73, 75.

16. Frederick Christian Sorensen House, Site N–357, Utah State Register, Utah Historical Society. Willow lath and plaster were often used in the construction of log and frame dwellings to help finish the interior. The interiors were often of fine quality because of the use of this method of construction. Thomas Carter, "Cultural Veneer: Decorative Plastering in Utah's Sanpete Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (winter 1981): 68.

17. Plural marriage was initiated in Nauvoo prior to the Saints' departure. It was not officially announced to the general membership until 1852 (Winter Quarters). The exact percentage of those who participated in this practice is not known, but the studies suggest that the number was from 10 to 20 percent. The practice was governed by the church, and those involved were expected to live in accordance to the church standards. Besides adhering to strict church standards, a man had to be financially able to support more than one wife. Furthermore, he was required to get the permission of his first wife to marry again. If she denied his request, he would simply not be allowed to participate. Bruce L. Campbell and Eugene E. Campbell, "Pioneer Society," *Utah's History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), pp. 289–92. This was the case with Thomas Frazer of Beaver, Utah. His wife Annie refused him permission to take a second wife. He remained in a monogamous relationship, helping raise eight children with his wife. Bonar, "Thomas Frazer," p. 10.

18. Rebecca Shadowitz, "The Rich-Wolley Home: An Architectural History," Wiche Report, Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, August 1979, pp. 1–11; Paul Edwards Damron, "The Pioneer Home of Charles C. Rich, 1850–1867," Wiche Report, Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, September 1979, pp. 1–14. Similarly but in more elaborate terms, John Watkins, mentioned later, designed his house with symmetrically arranged wings to individually house two of his three wives. Nearby, he built a separate house for his first wife and the older children.

19. Jacob Weiler took his second wife, Elizabeth McElroy Foster, in 1858. She cared for his first wife who had been an invalid for some years. He married his third wife, Harriet B. Smith, in 1866. Carter, comp., "Pioneer Houses and Enclosures," pp. 131–32.

20. Austin E. Fife, "Stone Houses of Northern Utah" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (winter 1972): 14. In 1884 Daniel Cross, a convert from Banbury, England, built a two-entrance duplex in Salt Lake City. The home remained in the family until it was sold in 1937. *Historic Buildings on Capitol Hill* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1980), no. 25. A duplex was built for the Snow and Ashby families at Nauvoo in 1843. Erastus F. Snow was a native of Vermont and was an early convert to Mormonism, being baptized in 1833. In 1849 he was ordained a member of the Council of Twelve. When he moved to Nauvoo, he joined with Nathaniel Ashby of Massachusetts (one of his converts) to build a duplex on his property. Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffrey Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1990), pp. 88–89. The Frederick Walter Cox house in Manti, Utah, is one of the extant documented polygamist dwellings.

21. Austin E. Fife used selected examples from Smithfield, Clarkston, Logan, Wellsville, Mendon, Harper's Ward, Farmington, and Bountiful in his study. "Stone Houses of Northern Utah." Barry Michael Roth identified the communities of Bluff, Heber City, Manti, and Pleasant Grove, Utah, where there are further concentrations of stone houses. "A Geographic Study of Stone Houses in Selected Utah Communities" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 8–9.

22. Following the advice of Brigham Young, the settlers of the area called North Willow Creek made the building of a fort (1852–55) their first priority. It was one of the largest fortifications built by the pioneers. At least two of its twelve-foot-high tapered walls were constructed largely of gathered fieldstone. Teddy Griffith, "A Heritage of Stone in Willard," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (summer 1975); 288–89. The name of the North Willow Creek was changed by the voice of the people to Willard in 1857, in honor of Willard Richards, second counselor to Brigham Young. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, p. 399.

23. Brigham Young asked Simon F. Howd to lead a group of settlers from Parowan to form a settlement between Fillmore and Parowan. He felt that there was too great a distance between the two communities and that an interim place (Beaver) should be established. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, p. 25.

24. Roth, "Geographic Study of Stone Houses," pp. 44–45.

25. R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), pp. 50–74; Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1981), pp. 143–59, 183–202.

26. Thomas Frazer was born August 12, 1821, in Bankhead, Perthshire, Scotland. He and his wife, Annie, came to Utah in 1861 after joining the church. They lived in Lehi for a period, moving to Beaver in 1868. Bonar, "Thomas Frazer," pp. 28–42.

27. Ibid., pp. 47, 64, 69.

28. *Deseret News*, August 27, 1984; *Pleasant Grove Review*, August 29, 1984;

Provo Herald, August 31, 1984; *Pleasant Grove Historic Walking Tour* (Pleasant Grove, Utah: Pleasant Grove Historic Preservation Commission, 1993), site 11; Robert D. and James F. Richards, interview, July 5, 1994.

29. Linda L. Bonar, "Historic Houses in Beaver: An Introduction to Materials, Styles, and Craftsmen," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (summer 1983): 220–23.

30. Griffith, "Heritage of Stone," pp. 290–300.

31. In 1852 John Watkins and his wife moved to London where he, too, became a successful builder-architect. While there, he came into contact with missionaries of the Mormon Church and was baptized in 1854. After raising sufficient funds, he and his wife and two children left England in 1856 to join the Saints in the mountain West. They arrived in Boston and went by train to Iowa City, where they joined the Edward Martin handcart company to make the journey to Salt Lake City. Shortly after their arrival in November, they moved to Provo, where Watkins established himself as a builder-architect. His first major commission was the Provo Opera House (Cluff's Hall). In 1865 he and his three wives and children moved to the fort at Midway. He soon left the fort and built a three-room stone house, where his family resided until 1869 when he and two of his wives moved into the present Watkins house. He built a separate house in the same style for his first wife, Margaret, and her children. He was responsible for other brick homes as well as a stone meetinghouse. Carter, comp., "Pioneer Houses and Enclosures," pp. 168–71.

32. Andrew Jackson Downing, "Rural Gothic Style," in *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1861), pp. 295–311.

33. The older dwelling was referred to as the "White House" because of its exterior color. It was located to the east of the Beehive House on South Temple Street. It was the first house in the Salt Lake Valley to have a shingle roof and was said to be of a "Colonial style." The house was razed in the 1920s to make way for the Elks Building. Carter, comp., "Pioneer Houses and Enclosures," p. 126. It replaced Young's first house, that was a small temporary adobe structure located on what was called "Old Log Row," near present-day First Avenue just east of State Street.

34. It was not uncommon to mix Egyptian with Greek Revival forms in the pre–Civil War period. It was a consequence of what has been referred to as the period of "the battle of the styles," when Georgian, Federal, Greek, Romanesque, Gothic, and Egyptian forms were being used at the same time.

35. The couchant lion was sculpted by William Ward, Jr. *Deseret News*, October 31, 1855.

36. The Beehive and Lion Houses were saved from destruction in 1959 when the church was persuaded to preserve both buildings for historical purposes. Prior to their restoration they had been used as a meeting facility and dormitory for young women of the church who were working in Salt Lake City. The ell on the Beehive House is a post–Brigham Young make-over, which altered the bedroom arrangement of the second story of the main house.

37. George L. Scott, "Work Men Overhaul Lion House," *Church News*, Novem-

ber 4, 1967. The present interior staircase is not original to the house, being added for convenience. The same is true of the English-style garden, a twentieth-century interpretation.

38. Brigham Young, like others, owned a large tract (a 640-acre farm) in a greenbelt area. The farm supplied his family with meat and dairy products, and also acted as an experimental station for the growing of new crops and berries. There is no evidence that Brigham Young ever intended the house for himself, but it served other family members. In 1975 the Forest Farmhouse was removed from the original site and relocated to This is the Place State Park in the east bench area of Salt Lake City.

39. Max J. Evans, "William C. Staines: English Gentleman of Refinement and Culture," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 43 (fall 1975): 418–419; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 513–17.

40. Part of Jennings's motivation for a larger house was the size of his family. He had two wives and twenty-five children. Beatrice B. Malouf, comp., "Pioneer Buildings of Early Utah," *Chronicles of Courage*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Printing Co., 1992), pp. 115–17; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, p. 500–504; *Deseret News*, May 9, 1877.

41. *JD*, 25:267.

42. Gardo is thought to have been derived from the word *guard* because the building dominated its surroundings. It has also been referred to as "Amelia's Place" after one of Young's wives.

43. *Deseret News*, September 2, 1873.

44. Malouf, comp., "Pioneer Buildings of Early Utah," pp. 127–28.

Chapter 8

1. *DC*, 93:36.

2. *HC*, 2:368, 385–86, 390, 397–98, 402.

3. *HC*, 4:269–70.

4. Great care was taken to crate and ship the books contained in the Seventies Hall in preparation for the trek from Nauvoo to the mountain West.

5. Levi Edgar Young, "Education in Utah," *Improvement Era* 16 (July 1913): 879.

6. C. Merrill Hough, "Two School Systems in Conflict: 1867–1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (April 1960): 122–28; Charles S. Peterson, "A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah's Territorial Schools," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (summer 1980): 297–98.

7. *JD*, 16:18. Brigham Young and the church membership were reluctant to send their children away to school for fear of the influence of worldly teachings. However, Young tempered his views in later years. Two of his sons received degrees from West Point and the University of Michigan and two others accepted degrees from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. During the administration of

Church President John Taylor (1877–87), who himself was a man of letters, the church sponsored a group of Mormon artists to study in Paris so they could improve their skills to help in painting murals in the Utah temples. Giles H. Florence, Jr., "The 1890 Paris Art Mission, *Ensign* 18 (October 1988), 34–41; Linda Jones Gibbs, *Harvest the Light: The Paris Mission and Beginning of Utah Impressionism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987).

8. *JD*, 16:17–18.

9. *JD*, 11:182, 14:371–75, 16:238–39, 282. During this time Brigham Young solicited the help of the Relief Society in preparing educational materials for Mormon Church schools. His call came after years of the U.S. government refusing to fund the purchase of educational materials for the territory. Ibid., 16:18.

10. See chapter 1 for discussion of the Edmunds-Tucker Act.

11. *Deseret News*, November 27, 1850. It is interesting to note that the first order of business in each of the original nineteen wards in the Salt Lake Stake was the construction of a school that doubled as a meetinghouse. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 741–53.

12. Young, "Education in Utah," p. 879. Brigham Young first called for the establishment of ward schools while at Winter Quarters in 1846. *JH*, December 13, 1846.

13. *Deseret News*, November 9, 1854.

14. *JD*, 9:194–95. The main hall of the Salt Lake Fourteenth Ward Meetinghouse (1857) served as a meetinghouse while the side wings were used for instructional purposes. W. Randall Dixon, interview, March 28, 1994. The Salt Lake Seventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Wards built meetinghouses with single wings used for educational purposes. The Thirteenth Ward Meetinghouse was briefly used by the University of Deseret. *Deseret News*, November 29, 1851; Lynn M. Hilton, ed., *The Story of the Salt Lake City Stake, 1847–1972*, p. 81.

15. See chapter 5. Mildred Allred Mercer, ed., *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Publishers Press, 1961), p. 230.

16. Alma A. Gardiner, "The Founding and Development of Grantsville, Utah, 1850–1950" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), pp. 114–17, 419. There is an example of a former one-room schoolhouse in Pleasant Grove, Utah, which was constructed in 1864. The adobe building was enlarged twice in the 1880s, changing its original configuration.

17. It is the only surviving example of three that were built in Fillmore. *Utah: A Guide to Historic Sites*. p. 26.

18. *Through the Years, 1849–1955: A Brief History of the Sixth-Seventh Ward* (Salt Lake City, Utah: 1955), pp. 7–8; Hilton, ed., *Salt Lake Stake*, pp. 80–82.

19. Hilton, ed., *Salt Lake Stake*, Fruita Schoolhouse, Site N–43, Utah State Register, Utah Historical Society. Fruita was originally called Junction. The name was changed because there were too many towns of that name. The people gradually moved away, leaving behind the schoolhouse, a few other buildings, and their fruit orchards. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, p. 149.

20. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 752–53.

21. *JD*, 8:39.

22. In 1885 Church President John Taylor and a former superintendent of schools, asked Mormons from LDS communities in Arizona to establish settlements in northern Mexico. Eight colonies were founded during the 1880s to foster missionary work in Mexico and as a refuge from federal persecution. The Saints abandoned six of the settlements as a result of the Mexican Revolution (1910–12). Those who returned settled in Colonia Juarez and Colonia Dublin. LaVon B. Whetten and Don L. Searle, "The LDS Colonies in Mexico: Once a Heaven, Still a Home," *Ensign* 15 (August 1985): 40–45.

23. *Preston Citizen*, November 23, 1972; January 4, 1973; May 2, 1974; *Deseret News*, May 2, 1963; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 617–18. John Nuffer, a convert from Germany, was appointed superintendent of construction. He received his training as a builder-architect in Stuttgart before leaving for Utah in 1880. He was responsible for a number of buildings in southeast Idaho. Joel Edwards Ricks, ed., *History of the Valley* (Salt Lake City, Utah: *Deseret News* Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 290–95; Newell Scheib Hart, *Hometown Album: A Pictorial History of Franklin County Idaho* (Preston, Idaho: Cache Valley Newsletter Pub., Co., 1973), pp. 679–80, 842.

24. Spencer C. and Josie P. Condie, interview, June 24, 1994.

25. Young, "Education in Utah," p. 885.

26. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, p. 161. The building continued to be used off and on for classes after 1869. Ralph V. Chamberlain, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850–1950* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1960), pp. 17–18, 69–71.

27. The church established Young University (University of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in 1892 as a true university. Their other schools would become feeder institutions. After a successful first year, the church abandoned it because the state felt that it would lead to the collapse of the University of Utah (Deseret University). As an eventual result of this action, Brigham Young Academy became Brigham Young University. D. Michael Quinn, "The Brief Career of Young University at Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (winter 1973): 79–89.

28. Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 118–120. As of this writing the Academy Building is scheduled to be demolished and replaced by a condominium complex. Plans call for the restoration of the original facade.

29. Karl G. Maeser, "Farewell Address," Dedicatory Services Brigham Young Academy Building, January 4, 1892, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah. Maeser assumed the responsibilities of superintendent of church schools following the dedication of the Academy Building, a job he held until his death in 1901. Wilkinson and Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, pp. 52–65, 120–21.

30. The LDS Church maintains Brigham Young University with a student body of over 26,000 in Provo, Utah. It also sponsors two satellite campuses: Brigham Young University, Hawaii Campus, in Laie, Hawaii, and a two-year junior college (Ricks College) in Rexburg, Idaho, and maintains secondary schools in New Zea-

land, Samoa, and Tonga. Until the 1970s, the church maintained a number of schools in Mexico (see note 22). The church also supports institutes of religion on many college and university campuses worldwide and sponsors early morning and released time seminaries for Mormon students enrolled in secondary schools.

31. The Young Ladies' Retrenchment Society was founded in order to strengthen the testimonies of the young women of the church and to teach them self-reliance. This was part of President Young's effort to strengthen the church against the increasing influence of the outside world. The organization continues today under the name of Young Women. Janet Thomas and Lisa A. Johnson, "Young Women then and Now," *The New Era* 24 (November 1994): 38–43.

32. A few dances were held in the Nauvoo Temple just prior to its completion but Brigham Young stopped the practice on February 9, 1846, over concern that it might detract from the sanctity of the temple once the endowment service had been initiated. *HC*, 7:557, 566.

33. Ida Blum, *Nauvoo: Gateway to the West* (Carthage, Ill.: Journal Printing Co., 1974), p. 40. Lucius N. Scovil was the supervising mechanic on the building. *HC*, 6:287. The Nauvoo Lodge began holding meetings in Joseph Smith's store in 1842. They moved their meetings to the new hall after its completion in 1844. Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan, *Joseph Smith Jr.'s Red Brick Store* (Macomb Ill.: Western Illinois University, 1985), pp. 19–32.

34. Joseph Smith and the church became involved in Masonry in the hope that it would help ensure the acceptability of Mormonism. His attempt failed. Brigham Young closed the hall to further Masonic activities on April 10, 1845, because the Grand Lodge of Illinois had turned against the Mormons. Young later denounced anyone who would hide under the "mystic ties" of Masonry. *JH*, March 6, 1847. The feeling between the two organizations was mutual. When the first lodge was established in Utah in 1866, the Grand Master made the following statement: "I require from the petitioners a pledge that they would carefully exclude all who were of the Mormon Faith. . . . How are Mormons to be treated, who claim to be Masons, who present themselves and ask for the privilege of visiting? You will take notice that Mormons claiming to be Masons, be excluded from the right of visiting; and also that petitions for the degrees of Masonry shall not be received from any person who is known to be a Mormon." Quoted from E. Cecil McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft Publishers, 1956), pp. 185–86.

When Church President Taylor inquired about the origin of the symbols on the plans for the Salt Lake Temple, Truman O. Angell, Sr., assured him they were not derived from Masonry. Truman O. Angell, Sr., to President John Taylor, April 29, 1886, LDS Historical Department; C. Mark Hamilton, "Authorship of the Salt Lake Temple" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1972), pp. 50–69.

35. The Masonic Hall was touted to be "the most substantial and best finished" building of its type in the midwestern states. *HC*, 6:287. A drawing by William Weeks of a two-story building found in the Nauvoo Temple plans is perhaps an early proposal for the Masonic Hall. The proportions of the proposal are more in

keeping with the Greek Revival style. William Weeks's Drawings, LDS Historical Department. Mrs. Johnette Mulch purchased the building in 1884 and had the third story removed. The first floor was converted into a storehouse with a side entrance and the second floor was converted into family living quarters. Blum, *Nauvoo*, p. 39.

36. *Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, Juanita Brooks, ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1964), April 7, 1845.

37. *HC*, 4:535–41.

38. Minute Book 1852–53, Deseret Dramatic Association, LDS Historical Department, March 15, 1852; "Public Works Time Book, A, 1852–1855," LDS Historical Department, October 27–November 30, 1852.

39. *JD*, 9:194; Roberts, *CHC*, 4:13–14; Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 229. The replica is one of a number of representative pioneer buildings from the nineteenth century that were either restored or brought to This is the Place State Park.

40. Roberta Asahina, "Brigham Young and the Salt Lake Theatre, 1862–1877," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1980), pp. 86–87; Ila Fisher Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1961), pp. 76–77; Ronald W. Walker and Alexander M. Starr, "Shattering the Vase: The Razing of the Old Salt Lake Theatre," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (winter 1989): 66–69, 73.

41. *JD*, 9:244.

42. Ibid., 9:245.

43. Ibid.

44. Funds for the Seventies Hall of Science might have been used to help build the Salt Lake Theater. This could have been one of the factors leading to the demise of the priesthood halls.

45. Anderson, "Folsom: Pioneer Architect," 245–47; Roberts, *CHC*, 5:132.

46. London's Drury Lane Theatre is most often cited as the specific source for Harrison's design. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 762–63; *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1948. His strident differences in doctrine, spiritualist practices, and activities against the LDS Church led to his excommunication in 1869. He remained in Utah and did much to improve the level of architecture in the state. He died in 1900. Ronald W. Walker, "When the Spirits Did Abound: Nineteenth-Century Utah's Encounter with Free-Thought Radicalism," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (fall 1982): 306–9, 313, 324.

47. Walker and Starr, "Shattering the Vase," pp. 64–88; Dale L. Morgan, "The Changing Face of Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (summer 1959): 24; Heber J. Grant "Reminiscences of the Salt Lake Theatre—Introduction," *Improvement Era* 15 (April 1912): 529–30.

48. Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun*, pp. 320–25; Nellie M. Gubler, "The Opera House—later the Utah-Idaho Beet Seed Plant, Third Public Building in St. George" (unpublished paper, St. George, Utah, n.d.), p. 1.

49. The Nauvoo House would have been the second-largest building in the city had it been completed. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 179–82; *HC*, 4:276–86; Launius and McKiernan, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 12–18.

50. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 6–33, 323–49.

51. Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun*, pp. 243–44. The Washington Cotton Mill continued to operate until 1910. The building grew in size during the 1870s and 1880s to accommodate expanded production. Wool was substituted for cotton following the latter's decline in price. Prior to that, cotton had been successfully grown and processed. Dean L. May, "Economic Beginnings," *Utah's History*, Richard D. Poll, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), p. 210.

52. Present-day Cedar City was first called Little Muddy, followed by Coal Creek. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, p. 72.

53. Kerry William Bate, "Iron City: Mormon Mining Town," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (winter 1982): 47–56; Ray Haun Gleave, "The Effect of the Speaking of George A. Smith on the People of the Iron Mission of Southern Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957), p. 70.

54. Tenth Ward Complex, Site N–159, Utah State Register, Utah Historical Society. The Tenth Ward complex has undergone a number of changes. The school, designed by Richard Kletting, was remodeled and the store replaced by a parking lot. The remaining three buildings are connected by access halls and common wall entrances.

55. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, pp. 746–47, 750.

56. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 311–12; *Deseret News*, March 3, 1876; Martha Sonntag Bradley, *ZCMI: America's First Department Store* (Salt Lake City, Utah: ZCMI, 1991), p. 2.

57. Virginia K. Nielson, "Ephraim's United Order," *Saga of the Sanpitch* 22 (1990): 13–19.

58. Launius and McKiernan, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 19–32.

59. The Council House was originally referred to as the State House. *Deseret News*, September 28, 1850; February 22, 1851.

60. James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1971), vol. 1, p. 352. The Church Printing Office (*Deseret News*paper) occupied portions of the building for a period of time.

61. Chamberlain wrongly states that the upper story was made of "lighter sandstone." *University of Utah*, p. 69.

62. Wayne K. Hinton, "Millard Fillmore, Utah's Friend in the White House," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (spring 1980): 112, 114–28.

63. Richard W. Payne, *The Legacy of the Lone South Wing* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), p. 20.

64. The approximately thirty-year delay in constructing a new capitol building for the State of Utah was due to mistrust between Mormon and non-Mormons. The U.S. government was reluctant to budget money for the building because of

conflicting reports from the two groups. Conflict could be expected when the elected offices were held by the Mormons, and appointed federal positions by non-Mormons. Problems began in 1857–58, with the arrival of the first federal appointees in Salt Lake City. Everett L. Cooley, "Utah's Capitol," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (summer 1959): 81–95.

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