

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Perhaps more than any other building type, ecclesiastical buildings preserve a wealth of information about those who erected and used the structures. In terms of style, form, and function, religious architecture reflects a group's philosophies about the physical and metaphysical worlds, and the cultural traditions within their own community. This is particularly true of the religious architectural expressions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS or Mormon Church). The purpose of this study was to examine the history and development of the most common ecclesiastical building produced by the LDS Church, the ward meetinghouse. Using a research perspective grounded in functionalism, the study explored the relationship between the institution of Mormonism and meetinghouse design, and analyzed how various changes experienced by the LDS Church over time influenced the development of their meetinghouse architecture.

A representative sample of meetinghouses from each era in LDS Church history was selected. Information on the development of LDS architecture and

the representative examples used in the study was obtained through literature review, archival research, and field research. Supplemental information regarding the philosophy and history of the LDS Church was obtained through available publications.

In its more than 160 year history, the Mormon Church experienced a number of internal and external changes, many of which are reflected in the variety of meetinghouse designs that were produced. Yet, the data indicates that LDS meetinghouse architecture has come full circle. That is, many of the attitudes and ideas behind the Church's most recent meetinghouse designs are the same as those reflected in their earliest ecclesiastical buildings.

**Reflections of Mormonism:
The History and Development
of LDS Meetinghouse Architecture**

by

Daniel K. Newsome

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Daniel K. Newsome, Author

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
Previous Research	2
A More Synthesized Conception of Architecture.....	3
Scope of the Study	7
Research Methods	8
Significance of the Research	9
MORMONISM	11
Priesthood and Governance.....	12
Organization	14
Doctrine, Ethics, and Ritual	18
Mormonism and Non-Mormon America	26
FROM UTOPIAN SOCIETY TO A MODERN WORLD RELIGION	28
The Formative Years (1820-1846)	28
The New Zion and the State of Deseret (1847-1896).....	31
Growth and Prosperity: the Establishment of a World Church (1897-Present)	34
EARLY ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF THE MORMON CHURCH (1830-1846)	37
Influences	38
The Kirkland Temple.....	44
The Nauvoo Temple	48

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
THE PIONEER PERIOD (1847-1869)	54
The First Meetinghouses.....	55
The Development of More Substantial Structures.....	57
The Flowering of Architectural Style.....	65
THE POST RAILROAD PERIOD (1869-1896)	72
The Establishment of Auxiliary Organizations.....	72
Formal Developments in Meetinghouse Design.....	76
The Persistence of Classical Styling in Meetinghouse Architecture.....	78
The Rise of Gothic Revivalism.....	83
The New Individualism.....	91
EARLY STATEHOOD (1896-1936)	95
All Under One Roof.....	95
The Profusion of Styles.....	97
Gothic Motifs.....	97
Victorian Eclectic.....	109
Prairie Style.....	114
Colonial Revival.....	118
Neoclassical.....	125
English Tudor.....	127
Early Christian/Byzantine.....	129

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
Miscellaneous Styles.	132
THE EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD (1936-1945)	141
Correct Proportional Form.	141
Modernistic Tendencies	143
The Demise of the Experimental Period	150
POST-WAR CONSERVATISM (1945-1954)	153
STANDARDIZED PLAN ARCHITECTURE (1954-PRESENT)	160
Efficient, Economical, and Functional.	162
Stylistic Standardization	171
Standard Planning in Retrospect	182
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	189
BIBLIOGRAPHY	194

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. First Church of Christ, Congregational, New Haven, Connecticut (1814)	40
2. First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, New Jersey (1791).	41
3. Meetinghouse of the First Baptist Society, Delphi Falls, New York (1815-1818)	42
4. Congregational Church, Atwater, Ohio ((1838-1841)	43
5. LDS Kirkland Temple, Kirkland, Ohio (1833-1836)	45
6. Plan view of the LDS Kirkland Temple first floor assembly hall.	47
7. LDS Nauvoo Temple, Nauvoo, Illinois (1841-1846).	49
8. Cut away view showing the arrangement of floors in the LDS Nauvoo Temple	51
9. Artist rendition of Salt Lake City's first meetinghouse (1849-1854). . .	56
10. Plan view of a typical early stone or adobe ward meetinghouse.	59
11. LDS Sugar House Ward meetinghouse (1853).	60
12. West Jordan meetinghouse (1861-1867)	62
13. Farmington meetinghouse (1861-1863)	64
14. Bountiful Tabernacle (1857-1863).	67
15. Salt Lake City Fourteenth Ward meetinghouse (1857-1861)	70
16. Salt Lake City Seventh Ward meetinghouse (1862-1877).	71
17. Plan view of a typical post railroad period warehouse.	77
18. Old Salt Lake City Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1872)	79
19. Old Salt Lake City Second Ward meetinghouse (1882)	81

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
20.	Salt Lake City Tenth Ward meetinghouse (1873)	82
21.	Old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1879)	87
22.	Old Salt Lake City Twenty-first Ward meetinghouse (1877)	89
23.	Replica of the old Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse . . .	90
24.	Old Salt Lake City Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse (1890-1892)	93
25.	Old Murray First Ward meetinghouse (1907-1913)	99
26.	Salt Lake City Second Ward meetinghouse (1908)	101
27.	Liberty Ward meetinghouse (1908)	102
28.	Salt Lake City Tenth Ward chapel (1909)	104
29.	Old Provo Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1918)	106
30.	Old Salt Lake City Twenty-third Ward meetinghouse (1913)	107
31.	Salt Lake City Twenty-seventh Ward meetinghouse (1902)	108
32.	Old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1902-1904)	110
33.	Old Provo Third Ward meetinghouse (1901)	112
34.	Old Salt Lake City Twenty-fourth Ward meetinghouse (1907)	113
35.	Old Park First Ward meetinghouse (1913)	116
36.	Old Ensign Ward meetinghouse (1913)	117
37.	Central Park Ward meetinghouse (1926-1936)	119
38.	Plan view of a typical "Colonel's Twins" Colonial Style wardhouse. .	121
39.	Belvedere Ward meetinghouse (1925)	122

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
40. Nibley Park Ward meetinghouse (1925)	123
41. Salt Lake City Twenty-sixth Ward meetinghouse (1927)	124
42. Forest Dale Ward meetinghouse (1902-1905)	126
43. Yale Ward meetinghouse (1924).	128
44. Capital Hill Ward meetinghouse (1928).	130
45. Highland Park Ward meetinghouse (1924).	131
46. Granite Stake Center (1929).	133
47. Old Salt Lake City Thirty-first Ward meetinghouse (1902)	134
48. Wasatch Ward meetinghouse (1917-1928).	136
49. University Ward meetinghouse (1925).	137
50. Ogden Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1929-1930).	139
51. Typical plan of an experimental period warehouse showing the proportional massing of the three principal activity areas	142
52. Yalecrest Ward meetinghouse (1936).	144
53. Ogden Twenty-first Ward meetinghouse (1940)	145
54. Edgehill Ward meetinghouse (1936).	147
55. Grandview Ward meetinghouse as it appeared after its completion in 1937	148
56. Grandview Ward meetinghouse after major changes in the facade .	149
57. Salt Lake City Twelfth Ward meetinghouse (1941).	151
58. Plan view of a typical pseudo-Colonial Style warehouse	155

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
59.	Bonneville First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1949)	156
60.	Parley's Stake Center (1949)	157
61.	Parley's First and Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1952)	158
62.	Floor plan of the Beaumont expandable meetinghouse	164
63.	Floor plan of a typical single ward meetinghouse	165
64.	Multiple ward meetinghouse with a rectangular plan	167
65.	Multiple ward meetinghouse with a T-shaped plan	168
66.	Stake center with a rectangular plan	169
67.	Stake center with an H-shaped plan	170
68.	Crystal Heights First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1954)	173
69.	Winder Fourth and Eleventh Ward meetinghouse (1957)	174
70.	Valley Park Third, Fourth, and Fifth Ward meetinghouse (1958)	175
71.	Waterloo Ward meetinghouse (1963)	176
72.	Salt Lake City Seventeenth and Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse (1969)	177
73.	Murray First, Twelfth, and Twenty-fifth Ward meetinghouse (1976)	178
74.	Taylorsville Eighth and Thirteenth Ward meetinghouse (1977)	179
75.	Jordan Stake Center and Jordan Third and Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1980)	180
76.	Taylorsville Seventeenth, Twentieth, and Forty-third Ward meetinghouse (1988)	181

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
77.	Salt Lake City Thirty-first, Princeton, and LeGrand Ward meetinghouse (1987)	183
78.	Sugar House Stake Center and Sugar House, Bryan, Emerson, and Hillside Villa Ward meetinghouse (1994).	184
79.	University First and Fourth Stake meetinghouse (1995-1996)	185

REFLECTIONS OF MORMONISM: THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF LDS MEETINGHOUSE ARCHITECTURE

INTRODUCTION

For more than 160 years, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS or Mormon Church) have been building places of worship to honor the God they serve. Each place of worship represents one of several basic types of LDS ecclesiastical buildings, including temples, tabernacles, stake centers, seminaries, missions, and ward meetinghouses, each designed to fulfill a particular purpose or need in the Mormon religion. This study focuses on the architectural development of perhaps the most basic, certainly the most familiar, of the LDS ecclesiastical building types--the ward meetinghouse.

Ward meetinghouses comprise the bulk of Church building activity conducted over the years. Consequently, they exhibit a wider range of architectural designs than any other type of LDS religious building (Bradley 1981; Wilcox 1953). Moreover, the ward meetinghouse has been more closely related with the development of the majority of Church programs (Davis 1970). Activities conducted within the meetinghouse affect the lives of every member of the congregation and, aside from the family, the ward is the fundamental component upon which the Church is founded (Wilcox 1953; Frederick Buchanan, personal communication 1994). Therefore, an analysis of ward meetinghouses may offer the best opportunity for understanding LDS religious architecture in general.

Previous Research

A number of informative studies have been conducted of LDS meetinghouse architecture. However, most of the research conducted to date has been rather limited in scope. For example, some researchers have focused their attention on a particular building design, examining how the various design elements fit together to convey the spirit or feeling of the Church (Wilcox 1953), or how the elements are classified according to use (Fowler 1954). Others have focused their study on a specific time period (Anderson 1982; Bradley 1981). A few authors have taken a broader perspective by looking at changes in the stylistic attributes (Roberts 1974, 1975) or the form/function relationships (Davis 1970) of the architecture over time. Although more comprehensive than other research efforts, these studies are also limited.

The former suffer from what Henry Glassie calls “an optimistic sort of periodization,” in which architectural development is presented as a sequence of stylistic episodes that “give the reader the sensation of progress” rather than a record of what actually happened in the past (Glassie 1975:9). The latter, on the other hand, suffers from a “naïve functionalism” because it is not well formulated and lacks sufficient explanation of the mechanisms causing or enabling change (Glassie 1975:9). If the buildings are to become culturally and historically meaningful, architectural analysis must move beyond the buildings themselves and encompass the ideas and processes that affected their creation (Carter and Goss 1988; Glassie 1975).

A More Synthesized Conception of Architecture

In order for a study of LDS meetinghouse architecture to be truly comprehensive, it should be based on a more synthesized conception of architecture (Carter and Goss 1988; Glassie 1975). The first step toward such a synthesis involves determining which attributes of the architecture are to be the object of study. More often than not, the object of study is defined too narrowly, as in the case of a rigidly stylistic approach. As a consequence, architectural change is often reduced to "a series of unconnected revolutions" rather than the process of gradual development that would be observed if "architectural wholes" were examined (Glassie 1975:8). A synthesized conception of architecture also necessarily entails that the underlying social and cultural system and the various internal and external factors affecting that system be accounted for before architectural development can be explained in meaningful terms: "How can you study change before you know what is changing?" (Glassie 1975:8). Finally, the synthesis requires a research perspective that is capable of providing insights into the relationship between the social and cultural system and its architecture.

Although architecture possesses a number of inherent qualities, most of these qualities can be subsumed under the three interrelated attributes of style, form, and function. Architectural style has never really been defined in precise terms (Carter and Goss 1988; Poppeliers et al. 1976). However, to paraphrase Thomas Carter and Peter Goss (1988:1-2), style is generally used to indicate a particular design tradition that is distinguished by a set of aesthetic principles

and by the structures that result from the application of those principles. A style typically differs significantly from extant traditions and is often made popular by the work of an individual architect, an architectural firm, or school of architecture. While the stylistic principles that are in vogue significantly influence building design, other considerations, including the cultural background of the community, also affect the architectural landscape. Nevertheless, the repeated application of certain stylistic conventions tends to produce a visual unity that binds a set of buildings into an integrated whole.

While a building's style is generally based on a collection of specific aesthetic features, its form is based on primary and secondary characteristics (Carter and Goss 1988; Glassie 1968). Primary characteristics are those that determine the basic shape of the building, while secondary characteristics are those that may change without affecting the basic shape. For example, a building's floor plan and structural massing would be considered primary characteristics, and things such as wall materials and roof shape are secondary characteristics (Carter and Goss 1988; Glassie 1968). People tend to be more conservative when it comes to form than they are with style. Taste in style is constantly changing, but certain forms persist because they have proven themselves to be economical and functional (Carter and Goss 1988; Glassie 1968).

A building's form is frequently determined by its function, and the relationship between form and function is evident in buildings of virtually every

era and locale (Davis 1970). Although often overlooked, a strong relationship also exists between function and building style. Style is an art form that reflects the philosophies, hopes, and aspirations of its time (Poppeliers et al. 1976). The function that building style serves is particularly relevant in the study of religious architecture because ecclesiastical buildings incorporate stylistic qualities that “externalize the ideas [that a group holds] about the physical and metaphysical universes, and about the social relations within their own society” (Leach 1983:243).

All religions invoke symbols to sustain the view of nature that is complimentary to their institutional form (Douglas 1986), but perhaps no symbol is more tangible than their ecclesiastical architecture. Indeed, in terms of style, form, and function, LDS meetinghouse architecture reinforces Church teachings by channeling members' perceptions about the world they live in into categories that are compatible with the instituted norm. In effect, the architecture serves as a fulcrum on which the outside world and the Church come into equilibrium, each reflecting and sustaining the other.

Over time, however, a number of factors upset this equilibrium. Social, cultural, economic, and environmental pressures all threatened Church stability and, by extension, influenced the development of meetinghouse architecture. Growth patterns within the LDS Church also affected warehouse design. Increases in membership spawned new programs and refinements of doctrine which, in turn, led to the expansion of Church structure across all levels of

organization (Davis 1970; Roberts 1975). Hence, changes within the Church were as instrumental to the development of meetinghouse architecture as were outside variables.

In order to better understand how the LDS Church was able to effectively deal with these changes, and the role of meetinghouse architecture in helping to maintain Church stability, this study employs a research perspective based on Mary Douglas' (1986) model of institutional thinking. Grounded in functionalism, Douglas' (1986) model represents a refinement of the ideas of Emile Durkheim and Ludwik Fleck.

According to the model, institutions (including religions) are bodies of shared knowledge and shared beliefs (Douglas 1986). In other words, institutions are composed of a collection of thoughts, preferences, attitudes, etc., shared by their members. Institutions generally form around the ideas of an individual or small group of individuals. As more and more people with like ideas, goals, and agendas join the group, the institution becomes full blown, gaining momentum and influence with each new member. The process is analogous to the development of a theory (Douglas 1986).

Like theories, many institutions lose favor and are replaced by new paradigms. However, an institution that is able to not only survive, but also expand soon begins to control its own destiny and the lives of its members. This is not to say that institutions are able to think and contrive strategies. Rather,

such control is accorded to the institution by its members because it is to the members' benefit (Douglas 1986).

People tend to prefer order, coherence, and stability in their lives. Institutions reduce life's complexities by providing members with the classifications, rules, and metaphors with which to make sense of the world. The more completely an institution is able to put uncertainty under control, the more behavior will conform to the institutional matrix. "[When] this degree of coordination is achieved, disorder and confusion disappear" (Douglas 1986:48).

All of this is not enough, however, for an institution to persist. If an institution is to "secure the social edifice," it needs symbols that reify its legitimacy (Douglas 1986:112). Symbols "defend all the classifications and theories that uphold the institutions" (Douglas 1986:113). Furthermore, symbols provide something around which to rally when the institution is under attack by external forces. And, members jump to its defense because the institution provides them with a measure of security, it sets the terms for their own self-knowledge, and it provides them with a sense of identity (Douglas 1986).

Scope of the Study

The sheer number of meetinghouses that have been built over the years by the Mormon Church precludes that they all be included in this study. In the greater Salt Lake City metropolitan area alone, there are nearly 550 LDS meetinghouses, serving over 1200 wards. And, this number only includes those warehouses that are currently being used by the Church. It does not include

those that have been destroyed or are no longer in the Church's possession. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is not to analyze the architecture of every individual warehouse. Rather, the purpose is to examine trends in the development of meetinghouse architecture. Therefore, for this study, a sample of meetinghouses that are representative of each era in LDS Church history was selected. The sample includes both existing as well as destroyed warehouses built within the greater Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo, Utah, metropolitan areas.

By virtue of the long history of Mormon occupation, Salt Lake City and other communities along the Wasatch Front contain the greatest number and diversity of warehouse designs. Collectively, they represent an architectural whole that exhibits the evolution of LDS meetinghouse architecture. By examining the representative examples, questions as to why particular building designs were executed, how and why the designs changed, and how the various design elements fit together and make sense in terms of creating a functional space that also exhibits the particular spirit or feeling that the Church hoped to convey can be addressed.

Research Methods

As a highly public missionizing religion immensely proud of its history and cultural heritage, the LDS Church has amassed an extensive collection of writings and archival information documenting virtually every aspect of its existence. Moreover, the success of the Mormon Church has led to the

publication of a number of research efforts by authors not affiliated with the Church. Together, the Church materials and the independent research publications serve as the primary sources of information used in the discussion of Church organization, philosophy, and history. The purpose of the discussion is not to provide a substantive analysis of these aspects of the Mormon Church but, rather, to provide a framework for which to interpret the development of LDS meetinghouse architecture.

Although limited in scope, the previous research of ward meetinghouse architecture contains valuable information on various building designs. These sources serve as a foundation for the analysis of the architecture itself.

Supplemental information on the development of LDS meetinghouses and the examples used in this study was obtained through a number of sources including the LDS Church Archives, the Architectural Services Division of the LDS Church, the Utah State Historical Society Archives, the Historic American Buildings Survey (Goeldner 1969), and field research.

Significance of the Research

Throughout its history the Mormon Church experienced a number of changes as a result of such things as social and economic pressures, as well as phenomenal growth. And, many of these changes had a profound effect on the style, form, and function of LDS meetinghouse architecture. In essence, the complex process of cultural and religious change experienced by the Church is reflected in its meetinghouse architecture.

By viewing the development of LDS meetinghouse architecture within the context of the institution of Mormonism, this study has the potential to not only provide a better understanding of the relationship between this process of change and meetinghouse design, but also provide insights into the very nature of cultural change as reflected by architectural development.

MORMONISM

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is, as its name implies, “The Church of Jesus Christ restored to the earth in this day or ‘latter day’ to differentiate [it from] the Church of Jesus Christ of a ‘former day’” (Wilcox 1953:16). The Church maintains that this restoration was necessary because the Holy Priesthood and the authority to administer the ordinances of the Gospel of Christ were lost during the Dark Ages (Wilcox 1953). It believes that the Holy Priesthood has been restored to mankind through the modern Prophet, Joseph Smith, who was ministered by the angel Moroni. The angel delivered to Smith ancient records that he later translated into the Book of Mormon (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [LDS] 1981). The ancient records contained, said Smith by revelation, “the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ” (LDS 1965:20:9). In addition, Smith was given the authority to administer all of the prescribed ordinances of the gospel and for the building up of the Church of Jesus Christ in preparation for the second coming of the Messiah to reign on earth (LDS 1981).

In essence, the Mormon Church claims that all of its doctrines, ordinances, and structure were revealed through direct, divine revelation. As such, it is a unique organization, differing from both traditional Christianity and sectarian institutions in general (Wilcox 1953). Moreover, it presents researchers with an interesting set of paradoxes. Although the Church is literalistic in its interpretations of the sacred scriptures, it also promotes creedal independence

among its members; it is authoritarian, yet it seems to value individualism; and it is organizationally stable, but readily adapts to internal and external change (Dolgin 1974). Few religious institutions have managed to devise a system of organization and control as well-structured as that of the Mormon Church, and it is the nature of the seemingly paradoxical combination of being both literalistic and individualistic that is largely responsible for its phenomenal success (Dolgin 1974).

Priesthood and Governance

The Priesthood, the conferred power to act in God's name, serves as the basis of Church organization and government. Through the Priesthood, all of the component parts of the Church are administered including the preaching of the gospel (Wilcox 1953).

The Priesthood is divided into two orders--the Aaronic Priesthood and the Melchizedek Priesthood--and each order is composed of three offices. Deacons, Teachers, and Priests comprise the Aaronic Priesthood, and each office has specific cumulative responsibilities. The Melchizedek Priesthood is composed of Elders, Seventys, and High Priests, each office likewise having specific cumulative responsibilities (Whalen 1964; Wilcox 1953). It is common for males to be ordained Deacons at the age of twelve, Teachers at the age of fifteen, and Priests at seventeen. If "worthy," a Priest is able to advance to the Melchizedek Priesthood at the age of nineteen (Allen and Cowan 1964:70). In

short, the men and boys ordained into the various priesthood quorums constitute the ministry of the Church (Wilcox 1953).

Ultimate authority within the Church rests in the First Presidency, which consists of the President of the Church and his two Counselors. Assisting the First Presidency with its responsibilities is the Council of the Twelve Apostles. The Council not only acts in all matters pertaining to the Church, as ordained apostles they also have the important duty of being "special witnesses for Christ in all the world" (Wilcox 1953:25). Other members of the Church's General Authorities include the First Council of Seventy, responsible for operating the missionary system; the Presiding Bishopric, responsible for administering the temporal affairs of the Church; and the Patriarch of the Church, who oversees and assists the stake patriarchs in their duties (Whalen 1964; Wilcox 1953).

Except for the President of the Church, who is elected by the Council of the Twelve Apostles (usually he is the oldest member of the Council), all appointments are made from a higher authority within the Church. All of the General Authorities are sustained by supporting vote twice a year at the Church's General Conference and four times a year at each stake conference. Similarly, all those in charge of stake and ward organizations are appointed and sustained by supporting vote several times a year (Wilcox 1953).

Organization

Church membership is divided into geographic units called stakes and wards. A stake is composed of a group of wards, each with its own place of assembly and a membership of several hundred people (Leone 1974). The stake is responsible for supervising the various wards of which it is composed, and assisting the wards with a variety of religious and social activities. The ward, on the other hand, functions as a focal point of activity for every member of the congregation (Wilcox 1953).

The stake and ward organizations are similar in terms of presiding officers. Each organization is headed by a lay clergy, men who provide spiritual and moral leadership but coincidentally earn a living in some ordinary way (Leone 1974). The ward leadership is made up of a Bishop and two Counselors. The Ward Bishopric has prime authority within the local Priesthood and is directly responsible for the religious and temporal affairs of the people in the ward (Whalen 1964). The stake leadership is composed of a President and two Counselors, but differs from the ward organization in that it also has a High Council composed of twelve High Priests who act in an advisory and judicial capacity to the Stake Presidency and to the various wards (Wilcox 1953). The Stake Presidency and the High Council are responsible to the central bureaucracy and leadership in Salt Lake City (Leone 1974).

In addition to the stake and ward organizations, the Church also contains a number of auxiliary organizations that are entrusted with particular

responsibilities. The auxiliary organizations, which include the Relief Society, the Sunday School, the Mutual Improvement Associations, and the Primary Association, operate at the stake and ward levels and were organized and designed to assist the various priesthood quorums in realizing the changing needs and objectives of the Church (Allen and Cowan 1964).

The Relief Society was founded in 1842 by Joseph Smith as a spiritually oriented work organization for women. Women were charged with catering to the needs of the less fortunate, and working to correct the morals and strengthen the virtues of the community (Allen and Cowan 1964). The organization was later expanded to include educational instruction for women in areas such as theology, literature, social science, and homemaking (Wilcox 1953).

As the Relief Society grew, additional space was required for the various activities. However, the space was not always readily available in the ward meetinghouses. Consequently, Relief Society halls were constructed in many wards. Some wards used the Relief Society halls as meetinghouses because the halls often proved to be the best and most adequate meeting facilities in town (Deseret News Press 1966).

In 1921, the Church Authorities issued a statement discouraging the building of separate facilities for Relief Society activities and recommended that room be provided in the warehouse for the operation of the Relief Society. Relief Society rooms had been installed in warehouses as early as 1872. Now the Church made it clear that it was to become general practice (Deseret News Press 1966).

The Sunday School was the second Church auxiliary organization to be adopted (Allen and Cowan 1964). The LDS Sunday Schools had their start in Kirkland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois, in the 1830s and 1840s. However, the classes were held irregularly and the schools were not official Church-wide organizations. Once in the Salt Lake Valley though, the need for youth instruction became apparent and in 1867, the Sunday School became an official Church institution (Allen and Cowan 1964). The Sunday School remained largely an organization for children during the nineteenth century, but in 1906, the organization was expanded to include classes for adults as well (Allen and Cowan 1964). Today, the Sunday School provides theological instruction for all members of the ward (Wilcox 1953).

Young people's organizations have been a part of the Mormon Church since its days in Nauvoo. However, the beginnings of the present Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Associations came in the Great Basin under the direction of Brigham Young (Allen and Cowan 1964).

Throughout their history, the Mutual Improvement Associations have followed similar courses of development, engaging in various spiritual and educational activities designed to allow members to improve themselves. Originally, the meetings consisted primarily of talks dealing with theological, scientific, historical, and literary topics, which were the four designated areas of emphasis. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the talks were replaced with formal class work. In 1911, the Young Men's Association adopted

the Boy Scout program, and two years later the Young Women adopted the Campfire Girls summer activity program. The Campfire Girls program was later replaced with the Church's own Beehive Girl's program because it offered year-round activity (Allen and Cowan 1964).

Since their inception, the Mutual Improvement Associations have grown into well-rounded youth programs. Today it is customary for the associations to convene on Tuesday evenings. Following the class work, which includes instruction in scouting, drama, dance, speech, and the gospel, there is often recreational activities in the form of social dancing, speeches, and athletics. In addition, the associations are also responsible for general ward activities on other nights, such as dinners, parties, and ward entertainment (Wilcox 1953).

The Primary Association had a beginning similar to that of the Sunday School and has followed a course not unlike the other auxiliaries. The Primary Association was created in 1878 when the need for a more adequate system of teaching the gospel to children became apparent (Allen and Cowan 1964). The organization gave weekday religious and moral instruction to the children of the Church, and the children learned about practical ways to apply gospel teachings (Davis 1970). Initially, the program was quite unstructured. However, as the program expanded it became more focused. Today, children under twelve years of age receive spiritual training and education through course work that advances with the age group (Wilcox 1953). Upon leaving the Primary, the boys and girls enter the Mutual Improvement Associations.

The purpose of the various auxiliary organizations is to provide activity for everyone. From the very early days of the Church, the policy has been to provide social and educational opportunities as well as spiritual training for all its members (Wilcox 1953). As membership grew and the organizations expanded, however, Church buildings had to provide more and more facilities to accommodate the growing programs. Thus, the expansion of Church programs has had a significant influence on the development of LDS meetinghouse architecture.

Doctrine, Ethics, and Ritual

All religious institutions have the three common characteristics of doctrine, ethics, and ritual (cf. Wilcox 1953). Doctrine has to do with belief, ethics with conduct, and ritual with formal acts or action. The three domains are rarely comprehensible in isolation from each other, let alone from the wider social and cultural realm. Rather, it is precisely the modes of interrelation that imbue the whole system with meaning and transmit that meaning across the boundaries of person and community.

The cornerstone of the Mormon belief system is the notion of immediate revelation in this world. The actualization of a direct and continuous communicative link between God and human is the principal aspect of the Mormon Church that sets it apart from traditional Christianity (Dolgin 1974). Through revelation every Mormon is able to receive the word of God, thus procuring "the highest sanction for the certainty of his [or her] own knowledge"

(Dolgin 1974:524). The number of persons to whom a particular revelation applies, however, is based on the relative position of the receiver within the Church. For example, as the sustained Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, the President of the Church can receive revelations that apply to every Mormon; a ward bishop may receive revelations that only pertain to the members of his particular ward; the head of a household may be the recipient of revelations that are binding upon that family; and revelations received by an individual woman or child do not extend beyond that particular individual (Dolgin 1974).

Consequently, there is no member of the Church who does not have the potential to obtain divine knowledge. Moreover, the revelations received by say a young boy are not perceived as being qualitatively inferior to those received by the President of the Church. The Church structure as a whole may be as authoritarian as that of any other mainstream religion, but no one individual, or group of individuals, can become a repository for unmitigated truth (Dolgin 1974).

The ability of each individual to gain personal revelation and guidance produces belief systems that vary from person to person (Dolgin 1975; Leone 1974, 1977). However, while the Church's theological system promotes ideological diversity within the Mormon community, divergent beliefs are only tolerated to a certain degree. At critical moments the sources of authority (at the relevant level) are able to prevent Mormons from straying outside the network of institutional structure, often through the same mechanism that enables creedal

independence--revelation. Revelations received by higher authorities serve to sustain or introduce core concepts in the face of potential ideological shifts and they re-introduce isomorphism between the official theology and individuals' beliefs during periods when there are significant alterations in social reality (Dolgin 1974). Consequently, the divergence between official theology and individual beliefs is kept relatively static over time.

Probably the best example of the Church's use of revelation to propose and legitimize ideological adjustment in the community's theology and social organization is the case involving polygamy. Perhaps as early as 1836, Joseph Smith received a revelation that made the practice of polygamy a divinely-inspired form of family organization (Brodie 1995). In 1852, the revelation was publicly read and accepted during the Church's General Conference in Salt Lake City (Dolgin 1974). Then in 1890, Church President Wilford Woodruff issued the "Manifesto" announcing the abandonment of the practice of plural marriage. Woodruff claimed that the move was the result of a revelation in which he had been shown the future problems of the Church if the federal laws were not respected (Allen and Cowan 1964). To the non-Mormon, revelations received by one prophet may seem antithetical to those received by another. However, it does not pose an ideological problem for Church members. To the Mormon, conflicting messages received through divine revelation simply reflect altered conditions on earth (Dolgin 1974).

In addition to the notion of immediate revelation, the Mormon theological system views the atonement of Christ as having secured the possibility of salvation and resurrection for all men (Dolgin 1974). The implication of such a belief is that since Christ was once a man, every Mormon male also has the potential to become a god (Brodie 1995). Consequently, the "worthy" Mormon male is expected (and expects) to progress in the direction of godliness over time (Dolgin 1974).

It is not unusual for Mormons to assume that there is a direct correlation between spiritual progress and economic prosperity on earth. In other words, a man's material worth is often taken as a sign of his spiritual worth (Dolgin 1974). The notion of such a correlation is implicit in some official Church commentary on sacred scriptures. For example, in *Doctrines of Salvation*, Church President Joseph Fielding Smith wrote: "The Lord will bless Zion. He will pour out his Spirit upon the people. He will prosper them . . ." (Smith 1969:1:245). On a more inclusive plane, the growth and prosperity of the Church is seen as a sign of the impending millennium, a 1000 year period when Mormons believe the forces of good will overcome the forces of evil and Christ will come to reign on earth (Dolgin 1974).

In order to achieve a place in the Celestial Kingdom (the highest of the three kingdoms of glory in Mormon theology) and the potential for becoming a god, Mormons believe that one must not only exhibit the "right" behavior, but possess the "right" blood as well (Dolgin 1974:532). Unlike the non-Mormon, the Mormon

possesses the right blood because he is of "the seed of Abraham," a "descendant . . . of the House of Israel" (Smith 1966-1970:I:140). Mormons, the descendants of the House of Israel, " . . . were scattered among the Gentiles to be a blessing to the Gentile Nations" (Smith 1966-1970:I:140). A Gentile (i.e. non-Mormon) can obtain the right kind of blood by converting to Mormonism, in which case he or she is adopted into the House of Israel. The adoption involves a "literal change" in the blood of the convert (McConkie 1966:390). Joseph Smith described this blood transformation in the following way: "The effect of the Holy Ghost upon a Gentile, is to purge out the old blood, and make him actually of the seed of Abraham" (LDS 1965:150).

Although possessing House of Israel blood makes the Mormon community unisubstantial, "particular Mormons may be relatively 'good' or relatively 'bad'" (Dolgin 1974:532). Likewise, non-Mormons may be relatively good or bad. Nevertheless, Mormons generally view their conduct as superior to that of non-Mormons because "those with House of Israel blood [are more likely] to manifest appropriate (i.e., good) behavior" than those without (Dolgin 1974:533).

Like the non-Mormon, the Mormon lives in a world of categories. However, Mormon categories are exceptional in that not only are they often at odds with the categories of the surrounding society, they are often at odds with themselves (Leone 1977). This makes the Mormon more susceptible to the adjustments the world demands than the non-Mormon. After all, unlike the non-Mormon, the Mormon is forced at every turn to compare his or her philosophies to those of

some higher power (Leone 1977). Moreover, unlike members of other religious institutions, the Mormon must juggle discrepancies and contradictions, individual by individual, without professional theologians to construct syntheses from them. Consequently, what average non-Mormons face collectively, the Mormon must do individually (Leone 1977). Mormons have become very good at dealing with contradictions because they are given a lot of practice. The rituals enacted in their temples and wardhouses show the Mormon how to hold the world together.

Typically, a Mormon visits a temple once a year. He or she may go more or less frequently than once a year, but one "cannot be a 'good' Mormon and avoid the temple" (Leone 1977:46). While in the temple, Mormons take part in rituals that guarantee them and their relatives (both living and dead) a place in the Celestial Kingdom. Mark Leone summarizes the temple ordinances as follows:

The series of ceremonies in the temple which insure spiritual well-being fall into three categories: (1) baptism, (2) a series of ritual dramas unfolding the spiritual history of man and during which participants receive endowments which are gifts from the Holy Ghost concerning admission to and behavior in the most exalted sphere of the next life, and (3) sealing, during which living and dead relatives are joined to each other for all eternity (Leone 1977:46).

The ordinances are long and complex, centering on the individual and the family rather than the congregation or community. The purpose of the rites is not to create group unity. Instead, they are about order. The vicarious baptisms for the dead create a continuous line of relatives stretching back through time, and the endowment and sealing ceremonies project the family forward to infinity

(Leone 1977). In effect, "the temple guarantees order in history and reduces the future to a function of acts performed now" (Leone 1977:47).

To the Mormon, the temple rites are a deeply moving experience. The temple is a place where a Mormon can resolve the paradoxes created by the way he or she sees the world. In the temple the Mormon overcomes time to experience both past and future, and space to experience spirit-persons dwelling in another world. By experiencing such a melding of categories the Mormon is able to address what is particularly incoherent and arbitrary in his or her own life and to tolerate the incoherence and arbitrariness of the world, especially as it conflicts with Mormonism (Leone 1977).

Unlike the temple rites, within which the average Mormon participates only irregularly, participation in the activities of the local warehouses is done on an almost daily basis. The dramatic and colorful symbolisms of the temple rites are not found in the rituals enacted in the warehouse. Furthermore, the Mormon as an individual before God (emphasized in the temple rituals), is replaced by the unisubstantial community of fellow Mormons in the warehouse: "Blood, in short, displaces behavior as the relevant core symbol" (Dolgin 1974:540).

During a typical week, Mormons engage in a number of ward activities that promote group unity. On a typical Sunday morning, services begin with a general meeting of the priesthood quorums under the direction of the bishop, after which each quorum undertakes an educational or business activity (Wilcox 1953). Following the meeting, the Sunday School convenes in a general

assembly during which time hymns are sung, talks by members of the congregation are given, and the sacrament of white bread and water is administered. The general assembly is succeeded by the separation of the congregation into small groups for religious instruction (Dolgin 1974). The evening service is similar to the first part of the Sunday morning service and entails hymns, a second administration of the sacrament, and talks by members of the ward and/or members from other wards (Wilcox 1953).

Mormons participating in all of the ward programs find their time filled with activity. In addition to the Sunday services, the Primary Association usually conducts its activities on Monday or Tuesday afternoons; the Mutual Improvement Associations customarily convene on Tuesday evenings; and the Relief Society usually meets at least one afternoon a week. Moreover, members may also be involved in home teaching activities, missionary work in the stake, seminary activities provided near schools and colleges, temple work, or social, religious, and athletic activities within the ward or stake. In essence, the ward functions as an extension of the family unit and the wardhouse as a community center for members of the Church (Wilcox 1953).

The experiences gained from the rituals performed in the temple and the wardhouse provide the Mormon with a sense of his or her place as a specific individual in the broad family of Mormons. The interplay between the individual (emphasized in the temple rituals) and the group (emphasized in ward rituals) is expressed in Mormonism by the image of a beehive. The beehive image, which

was initiated by Joseph Smith, became the symbol of the Mormons' Great Basin Kingdom during the second half of the nineteenth century and, later, the state symbol of Utah. Deseret, the name originally used to refer to the Mormons' Great Basin Kingdom, meant honey bee in "Reformed Egyptian", according to Smith (Leone 1977:47).

Today, the beehive remains an important symbol to most Mormons because it expresses "the relationship of the individual to the ordered whole: the individual can realize himself [or herself] only through his [or her] place in the whole" (Leone 1977:47). It is a model that helps Mormons to successfully negotiate a world in which many of the people they are surrounded by in daily life remain steadfastly indifferent, not to mention opposed (Leone 1977).

Mormonism and Non-Mormon America

Both factually and conceptually, Mormonism is connected with the American continents and the sociopolitical forms of the United States. Mormonism is a product of nineteenth century America, and the importance of the Americas and its people is a constant theme in Mormon theology. It was in America that God restored His Priesthood on earth, and it is in America, more precisely Independence, Missouri (which, according to Mormon beliefs, was also the location of the Garden of Eden), that the Second Coming will take place (Leone 1977). Moreover, Mormons regard the United States Constitution as a divinely-inspired document, and if it is not a revealed document like the Bible, it is the next best thing to it (Dolgin 1974).

Much about Mormonism is typically American. In his book *Characteristically American*, Ralph Perry (1949) observed many similarities and described

Mormonism as:

a sort of Americanism in miniature; in its republicanism, its emphasis on compact in both church and politics, its associations of piety with conquest and adventure, its sense of destiny, its resourcefulness and capacity for organization (Perry 1949:97-98).

Yet despite the apparent homogenization of Mormonism and American culture, the two are not the same. By Mormon desire and American compliance, the two have remained distinct.

Mormons are very American and very Mormon, but to be Mormon is to be both suspicious of America and to be ultra-American (Leone 1977). The conflicts engendered by this dual identification have been a constant source of tension for the Mormon. The Mormon is perforce divided by living in a society and apart from it. The conflicts have, however, served to strengthen the very separation of the Church by "opposing it" to non-Mormon America (Dolgin 1974:540). If the close but mutually exclusive categories are not maintained, Mormon distinctiveness is eliminated and their identity along with it. Also lost, in the Mormons' eyes, would be their ability to show America the way (Leone 1977).

FROM UTOPIAN SOCIETY TO A MODERN WORLD RELIGION

Like many other nineteenth century American utopian societies, the historical origins of the LDS Church are characterized by a long struggle between alienation from the parent society and a desire to demonstrate to the parent society a better way and more perfect version of itself (Leone 1977). Tensions created by wanting to perfect America but being persecuted by it, wanting to be separate from it but never being independent of it, resulted in a religious system that adapted readily to change. Through the experiences gained in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mormonism became a successful religion because it fostered and handled variability (Leone 1974).

The Formative Years (1820-1846)

Mormonism had its beginning during a period of religious fervor in the early nineteenth century in western New York state, where sect vied with sect in promoting membership and belief (Allen and Leonard 1976). Confused over the multiplicity of churches, Joseph Smith sought an answer to the truthfulness of that which he heard. The answer came in the spring of 1820, when in response to a fervent prayer, Smith reputedly received a visitation from two heavenly beings who told him that there was no true church on earth, and that if he lived worthily he would become a power for good in the hands of the Lord (Bradley 1981; Wilcox 1953). Three years later Smith said he was visited by another heavenly being, the angel Moroni, who told him of a set of golden plates that

contained the history of the people who had inhabited the Americas in an ancient day, and the fullness of the ever-lasting Gospel as given by the Savior to these ancient inhabitants. Moroni told Smith that Mormon (Moroni's father), the great historian and leader of these ancient people, had placed the plates in a nearby hillside fourteen centuries before, and that Smith was to retrieve the plates and act as translator of this record (Wilcox 1953). Following Moroni's instructions, Smith completed the translation and in 1830, he and five other men formally established the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Allen and Leonard 1976).

The Church's formative years were dominated by the charismatic Smith (Bradley 1981; Brodie 1995). As the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, Smith directed both spiritual and temporal activities and suggested that there was little difference between the two: "All things unto me are spiritual," the Lord said, "and not at any time have I given unto you a law which is temporal" (LDS 1965:Section 29:Verse 34).

Many New Englanders identified with the new religion because it reflected typical Puritan ideals. For example, both ideologies described a personal, intimate God who directed the lives of his chosen few; both groups separated from society to serve as an example to the world; and both strained toward perfection convinced that the effort itself was a virtue (Davis 1953). Not everyone, however, welcomed the new religion, and it was not long before controversy and conflict began to follow the Mormons wherever they gathered.

Driven from their homes in New York state, Ohio, and Missouri, a large group of Mormons began to gather on the banks of the Mississippi River in Illinois.

Called Nauvoo by the Mormons, the town became, by 1845, one of the two largest cities in Illinois (Miller 1974).

At first the citizens of Illinois welcomed the new residents. As the number of Mormons grew, however, the economic, political, and military potential of Nauvoo caused grave concern among the non-Mormons of the state (Brodie 1995). The curious mixture of church and state, which centralized social, economic, and political power under one body, alarmed outsiders (Hansen 1967). Moreover, the new Mormon doctrines, rituals, and secret ceremonies that were revealed in Nauvoo outraged the non-Mormon residents. Of particular concern were the institution of polygamy and the notion of the millennium. Mormon millennialism is based in part on the expectations that the governments of men would fall and be replaced by the political Kingdom of God (Bradley 1981; Leone 1977). The Mormons interpreted this literally, and diligently attempted to produce visual evidence of their spiritual commitment (Bradley 1981).

The confrontation between the Mormons and the non-Mormons culminated in 1844 when Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were assassinated while being held prisoner in Carthage, Illinois (Wilcox 1953). Two years later, under the leadership of the new Prophet, Brigham Young, the Mormons left Nauvoo to

seek a new home in the west, beyond the confines of the United States (Bradley 1981).

The New Zion and the State of Deseret (1847-1896)

After over a year of travel, the first group of Mormons arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847. From a sickbed in the wagon of one of his counselors, Brigham Young uttered "It is enough. This is the right place. Drive on" (Nibley 1937:99). Young's famous pronouncement has since been abbreviated to "This is the Place", a saying that has become legend throughout much of the Intermountain West (Wilcox 1953).

Like his predecessor, Young dominated the Church during his tenure as President of the Church. Young sought to free the Mormons from the constraints that the dominant society had continually placed upon them, including the grips of competitive capitalism. Following Joseph Smith's lead, Young moved swiftly to establish a sacred, egalitarian society in the Great Basin by at first making all property, and then later one-tenth of one's property, communal (Leone 1974). Moreover, under his direction, colonizing efforts extended the Mormon sphere of control in order to achieve local autonomy and self-sufficiency (Poll et al. 1978).

Mormon expansion was supported by the doctrinal point of redeeming the earth. According to Young:

Man must assist God in the process of regeneration and make the earth a more fitting abode for himself and for the Redeemer of Man. . . The earth as the future abiding place of God's people, had to be made productive and fruitful . . . It is our business to mould these elements to our wants and necessities, according to the knowledge we now have and the wisdom we can obtain from the

Heavens through our faithfulness. In this way will the Lord bring Zion upon the earth, and in no other (Arrington 1958:25-26).

By the time Brigham Young died in 1877, over 360 settlements with a total population of approximately 140,000 Mormons had been established throughout the Great Basin (Allen and Cowan 1964). According to Leone, "Geographic isolation and economic independence were used with no small amount of genius [on Young's part] to set up what could be regarded from a federal view point as an independent state" (Leone 1974:745).

From the time the Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley the population was largely isolated from the rest of the country, which meant that the pull between being Mormon and being American was not particularly strong. Furthermore, it meant that in isolation, the differences that came to characterize Mormonism could and even had to be well developed (Leone 1977). However, the nature of the Mormons' relationship to the country as a whole began to change in 1869 with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The railroad brought with it not only a large and vocal anti-Mormon population, but also eastern capital and federal agencies which began to undermine the Church's economic institutions that had previously underwritten the area's self-sufficiency (Leone 1977). In essence, the position of the Mormon Kingdom was being reduced from a state of economic independence to one of colonial dependency.

To Brigham Young and his successors, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, preservation of the Mormon Kingdom appeared to be dependent on statehood. However, the twin issues of plural marriage and the close connection between

church and state delayed Utah's efforts to become a state. After six abortive attempts at statehood, a vigorous federal campaign to "Americanize" Utah, and the Church's "Manifesto" officially ending the practice of plural marriage, Utah became the 45th state in the union in 1896 (Bradley 1981:9).

The price of statehood was, however, dear for the Church. Many of the economic institutions the Church had built as a superstructure to support its population, including the ecclesiastical banks, boards of trade that had set universal prices, and the mercantile institutions that acted as wholesalers and retailers, were simultaneously secularized and decentralized (Arrington 1958; Leone 1974). Also decentralized to a certain degree was the Church's authority over its own members.

With statehood, the Church was forced to ease its political control in directing settlement of the Great Basin. Consequently, local wards were given greater autonomy in dealing with pragmatic matters. Moreover, the Church hierarchy eased its authority over doctrinal interpretation. Prior to statehood, economic and political stability was matched by stability in belief: "The Church provided against all disturbances to the system" (Leone 1974:764). However, the shift to a situation where the Church could no longer control all aspects of daily life, and where its members were forced to compete with other groups, necessitated that the individual be allowed a certain degree of creedal independence. Allowing flexibility in belief enabled individual Mormons to find

the guidance necessary to cope with rapidly changing and often contradictory situations (Leone 1974).

Growth and Prosperity: the Establishment of a World Church (1897-Present)

New challenges, other than conflict with the federal government, demanded the attention of Church leaders in the twentieth century. Where as in the nineteenth century redeeming the earth meant spatial expansion, in the twentieth century it meant expansion of membership (Leone 1974). Growth, more than any other single element, marked the development of the Church in the twentieth century.

The expansion of membership required that the internal organization of the Church be adapted for missionary work (Allen and Cowan 1964). Moreover, increased membership demanded unity, continuity, and uniformity, prompting Church officials to establish programs designed to create institutional cohesiveness and order (O'Dea 1957).

To match the growth in membership and the involvement of the Church in a growing number of business activities, Church administration grew to a size and complexity that would have been unrecognizable to Joseph Smith. Bradley (1981) describes Church administration as being "similar in scope to big business, in which the business of the Church was missionary work, temple work and the job of keeping Church members active and faithful" (Bradley 1981:11).

Today the LDS Church has become not only one of the more prosperous churches on earth, but one of the fastest growing. For example, at the turn of

the century, the Church consisted of 50 stakes with a total membership of about 250,000 people. By mid-century the number of stakes had grown to 191 and the membership numbered over 1,000,000 (Allen and Cowan 1964). Today the Church boasts 2000 stakes and a membership of well over 9,000,000 people.

The phenomenal success of the Mormon Church is due largely to the changes experienced around the turn of the century. Mormonism developed a capacity to absorb change and exist in a condition of continual renewal because it was able to pick up indices from its members and respond by amplifying an appropriate segment of belief or ritual in order to accommodate the change (Leone 1974). In other words, the Church has devised a set of regulators that Leone calls "deviation amplifying and counter-balancing devices" (Leone 1974:763). According to Leone:

Mormonism's growth is so rapid today as a result of the existence of both deviation amplifying and counter-balancing processes in the Church. The former affect change while the latter mask it. . . . Most orthodox Christian churches are top-heavy with deviation counter-acting mechanisms, while most metaphysical churches suffer the consequences of unchecked deviation amplifying mechanism. The former suffer from rigidity, the latter from schisms. By combining the two, Mormonism suffers only success (Leone 1974:763).

This does not mean that the core of Mormon doctrine has undergone radical alteration. Certainly, there are points of doctrine that no longer receive the emphasis that they once did, but the major change is not doctrinal, it is structural. The President of the Church is still the Prophet, Seer and Revelator, but doctrinal interpretation, once in the hands of the few responsible for

safeguarding the society, is now in the hands of all Mormons (Leone 1974). And this is what makes the Mormon Church a "Modern Religion," something it was not during the first 70 to 80 years of its existence (Leone 1974:765).

What the future holds for the Mormon Church remains to be seen. If the modern religious structure that promotes creedal independence was to be discarded and replaced with the more hierarchical, authoritarian, and literalistic form of nineteenth century Mormonism, much of what accounts for the current stability and success of the Church could be lost.

EARLY ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF THE MORMON CHURCH (1830-1846)

From the very beginning, the President of the Mormon Church has had a keen interest in the architecture of the Church. The two earliest expressions of LDS ecclesiastical architecture, the Kirkland and Nauvoo temples, were both conceived by Joseph Smith. Although Smith availed himself to the advice of professionals, his place in the building process actually became that of the architect (Wilcox 1953). His instructions left little doubt as to what form and appearance the buildings were to have. For example, in the first volume of *History of the Church* (Deseret Book Company 1946:I:359, 362), Smith provided explicit instructions as to all parts of the Kirkland Temple. The dimensions of the building, the locations and appearances of the pews and pulpits, door and window heights, roof pitch, and the location of the belfry were all described in detail. Likewise, in a conversation with the architect employed to design the Nauvoo Temple, Smith made it clear that the building was to be built according to his conception: "I wish you to carry out my designs. I have seen in a vision the splendid appearance of that building . . . and will have it built according to the pattern shown me" (Deseret Book Company 1946:IV:196-197).

Although Smith, acting upon "divine inspiration," gave complete instructions pertaining to all aspects of the Kirkland and Nauvoo temples, his designs were hardly unique. In fact, the early temples reflected the late Colonial (Georgian) and early Classical Revival (Federal or Adamesque) influence of late eighteenth

and early nineteenth century New England ecclesiastical architecture. That these designs should be influential with Smith may be explained through factors of heritage and geography (Wilcox 1953).

Influences

Many of the early leaders and converts of the Mormon Church were people from New England of Protestant descent (Wilcox 1953). Joseph Smith himself was a native of Vermont until the age of ten when his family moved to New York. His ancestors had emigrated from England in 1666, originally settling in Massachusetts (Wilcox 1953).

The Protestant denominations that settled much of New England brought with them from their countries of origin a strong bias against the practices and trappings of Catholicism. The Protestant dissenters not only rejected traditional church hierarchy and liturgy, they also rejected the basilica-type plan and swirling Baroque style common to Catholic architecture: "For all who sought to purify their religion, the simplicity of their architecture reflected the simplicity of their practice" (Rifkind 1984:117). Emphasizing the spoken word, Protestants contented themselves with designs that were largely void of ornamentation and a simple, rectangular plan with a central preaching area rather than a sanctuary that climaxed a long axis (Rifkind 1984). Moreover, rejecting the Catholic concept of the church edifice as an inviolate sanctuary, many denominations even refused to call their buildings churches. Rather, they were meetinghouses to be used for all occasions, both religious and secular (Davis 1970).

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, two factors began to change this earlier pattern of church construction; (1) congregations in the larger towns began to prosper and to feel themselves a society apart from their poorer country brethren and (2) the influx of other religions that built more pretentious churches (Davis 1970; Rifkind 1984). Simple meetinghouse designs continued to be built in a few of the smaller communities after the Revolutionary War but in the larger towns, many congregations turned to "vainer" designs (Davis 1970:23).

In prosperous New England, designs introduced into the colonies before the Revolution by English architects Christopher Wren, Sir James Gibbs, and Robert Adam were translated into American idiom (Rifkind 1984). Reviving Classic forms, the designs refined Georgian vigor by attenuating their proportions and multiplying and lightening their ornament (Rifkind 1984).

Federal ornament tended to be delicate, attractive, and repetitive. Characteristic features included complete Classical orders; arched door and window openings (Figure 1); elliptical openings in the gable or tower (Figures 2 and 3); and a steeple consisting of several stages that make the transition from a square base to a pointed spire, often including clock stage, belfry, and cupola (Rifkind 1984). Also relatively common were pointed-arch door and window openings typical of Gothic architecture (Figure 4).

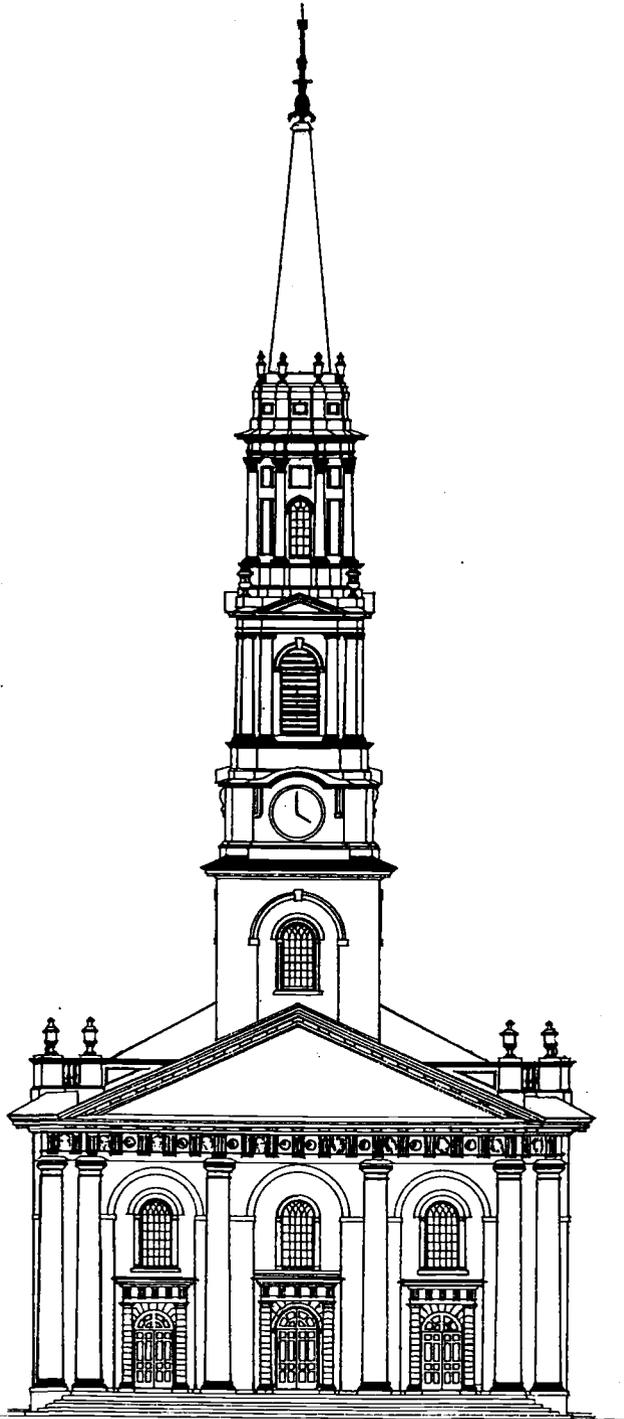


Figure 1. First Church of Christ, Congregational, New Haven, Connecticut (1814). Adapted from Rifkind (1984:127).

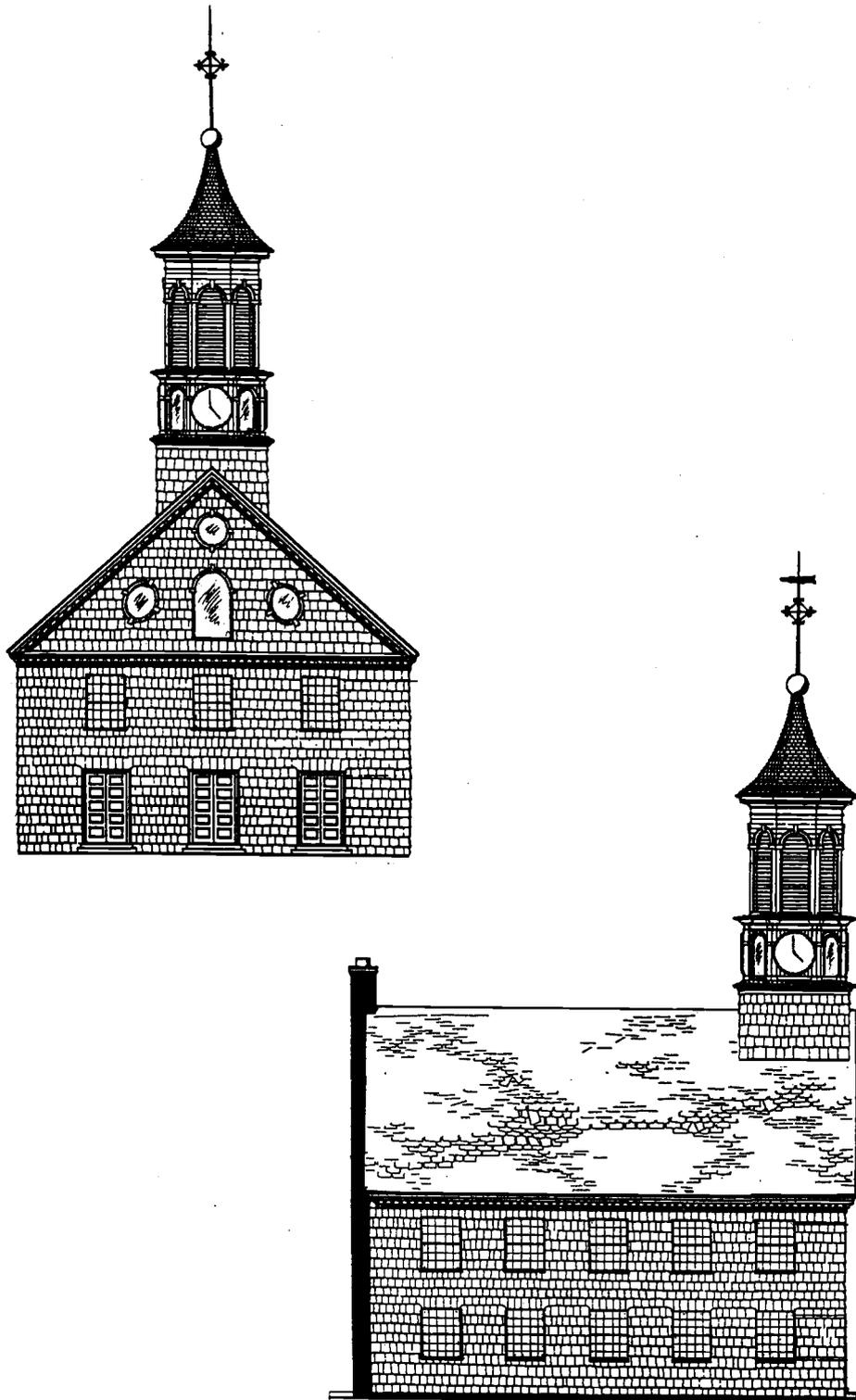


Figure 2. First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, New Jersey (1791). Adapted from Rifkind (1984:130).

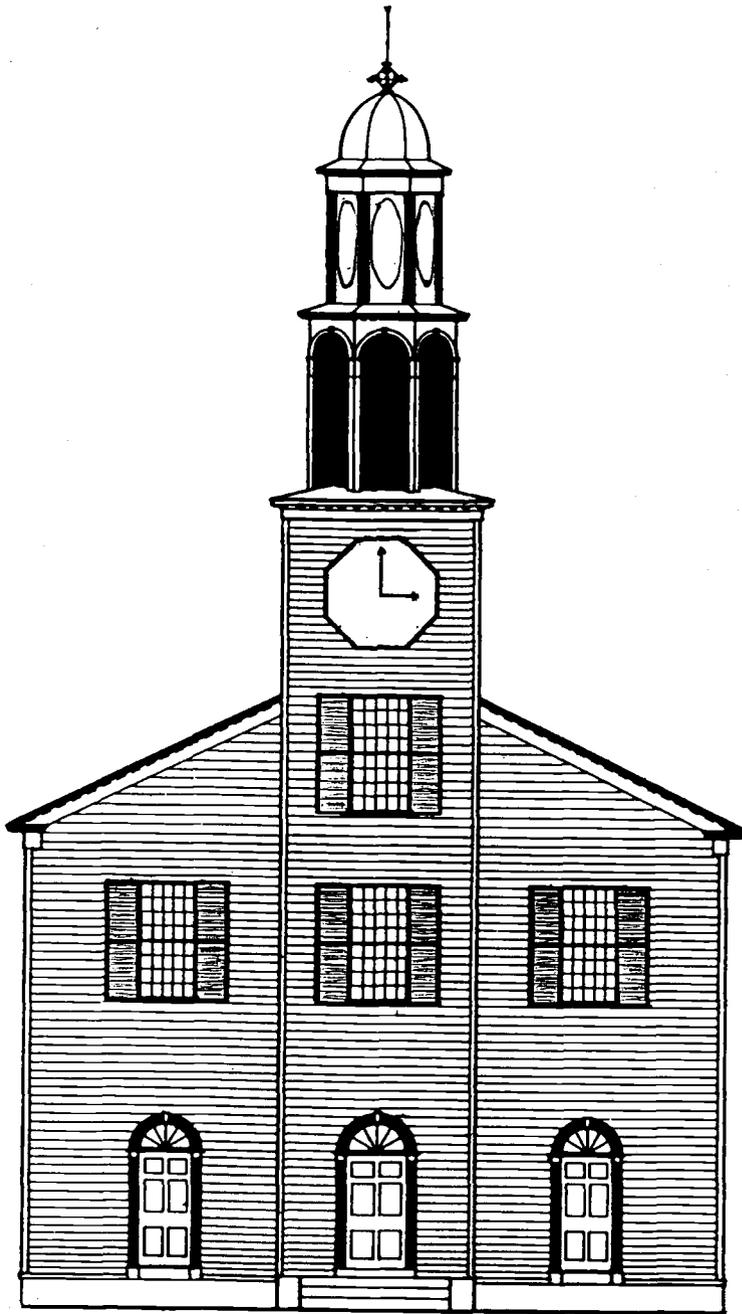


Figure 3. Meetinghouse of the First Baptist Society, Delphi Falls, New York (1815-1818). Adapted from Rifkind (1984:131).

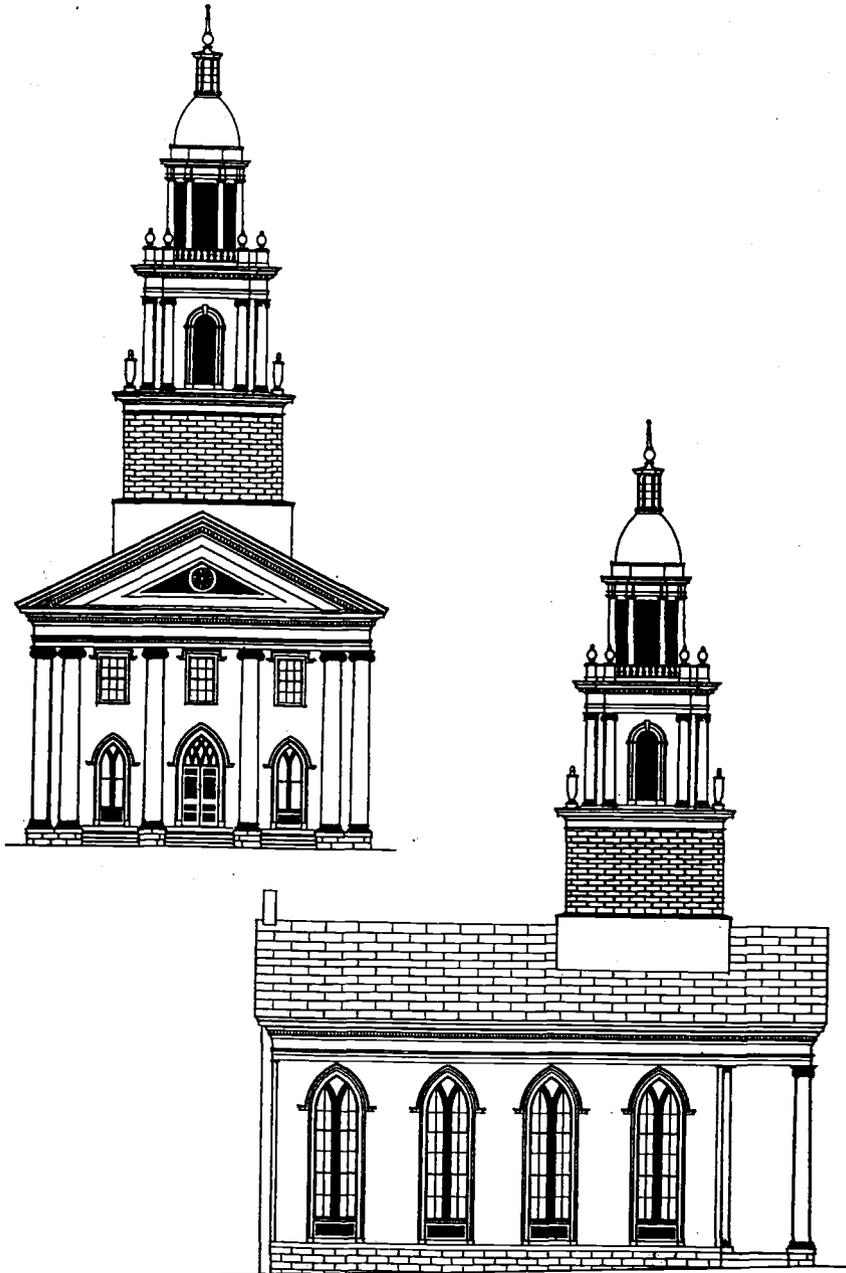


Figure 4. Congregational Church, Atwater, Ohio (1838-1841). Adapted from Rifkind (1984:129).

Modified by vernacular sensibilities, the designs spread north to Maine, south to rural Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and west to the Ohio frontier (Rifkind 1984). According to one author, this church type became “the principal American religious symbol not only in New England, but throughout the country” (Garvan 1951:130).

Thus, both factors of heritage and geography had a profound affect on the earliest architectural expressions of the Mormon Church. Moreover, although LDS Church architecture has been influenced by a variety of factors over the years, the influences of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New England ecclesiastical architecture have left perhaps the most lasting impression.

The Kirkland Temple

The first LDS temple was constructed in Kirkland, Ohio, between 1833 and 1836 (Talmage 1962). The large, rectangular structure measured 79 by 59 feet in plan, with 50-foot-high walls and a roof-mounted tower rising to a height of 110 feet above the ground (Lundwall 1965). Stylistically, the Kirkland Temple displayed an array of Classical characteristics including a symmetrical principal facade, a low-pitched roof, coursed ashlar walls, a pedimented gable with an elliptical opening, fanlights, and elliptical arched openings with pronounced keystones above several doors and windows (Figure 5). The temple also featured Gothic Style windows--a curious, but not uncommon type of window treatment for early Classical Revival ecclesiastic buildings (see Figure 4).

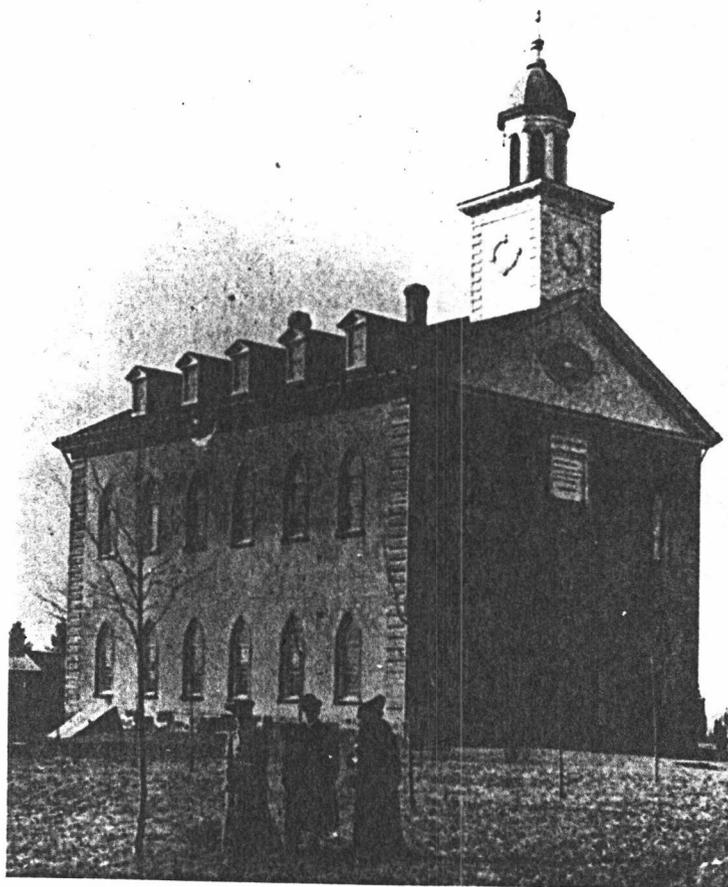


Figure 5. LDS Kirkland Temple, Kirkland, Ohio (1833-1836). Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

The structure was divided into three floors. Large assembly halls on the first and second floors were to be used for general church services and priesthood instruction, respectively. The third or attic floor contained several small rooms reserved for school and quorum meetings (Davis 1970).

The first and second floor assembly halls were laid out in a similar fashion (Figure 6). Two doors opened into each hall from the vestibule on the east side of the building. Aisles extended westward from the doors the full length of the hall, dividing the enclosed pews into three sections. Choir seats were placed in each of the four corners of the hall. The pulpit complex along the east wall consisted of three tiers of triple seats, symbolizing the three offices of the Aaronic Priesthood (Bradley 1981; Davis 1970). A similar pulpit complex was built on the west end of the hall, symbolizing the Melchizedek Priesthood and its three offices (Bradley 1981; Davis 1970). Because of these two centers of attention, the pews were designed to slide back and forth so the congregation could face speakers at either end of the hall (Davis 1970). Cloth curtains or "veils" could be lowered from the ceiling by hidden ropes and pulleys in order to divide the pulpit areas from the rest of the room for private meetings among Church leaders (Talmage 1962:116).

Although the Kirkland facility was called a temple, its function was actually more like that of a meetinghouse. The building was used for regular Sunday worship services, weekly priesthood meetings, conferences, and Church business meetings, rather than the ordinances and rituals practiced in later

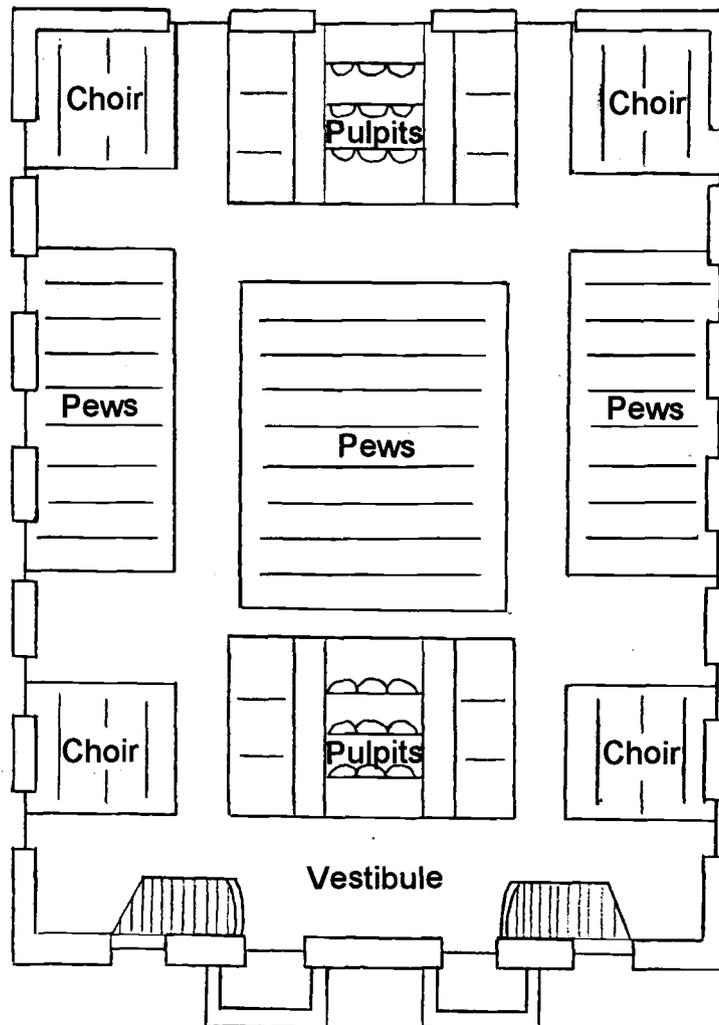


Figure 6. Plan view of the LDS Kirkland Temple first floor assembly hall.
Adapted from Davis (1970:40).

temples (Davis 1970). When the Kirkland Temple was built, many of the ordinances and rituals had not yet been revealed or were practiced only in very rudimentary form (Brigham Young University Press [BYU] 1967). Consequently, the Kirkland Temple did not provide special facilities for performing temple ordinances.

The building, which still stands today, served the Church's needs until 1838, when opposition caused Joseph Smith and his followers to transfer operations to Missouri (Davis 1970). It was not long, however, before conflict with non-Mormon forces resulted in the expulsion of the Mormons from that area as well. Driven from their homes in Ohio and Missouri, the Mormons found refuge along the banks of the Mississippi River in Nauvoo, Illinois, where the second major phase of Church organization and building took place.

The Nauvoo Temple

Constructed between 1841 and 1846, the Nauvoo Temple (Figure 7) was somewhat larger and more ornate than the Kirkland prototype. The temple measured 88 by 128 feet in plan, with 90-foot-high walls and a tower 165 feet high (Kimball 1963). The tower was placed on top of a semi-projecting portico, a feature typical of more highly advanced examples of early Classical Revival architecture (Rifkind 1984). Other Classical details included doors and windows set in round recessed arches, an uninterrupted cornice and parapet, and a series of pilasters climaxed with decorative capstones.

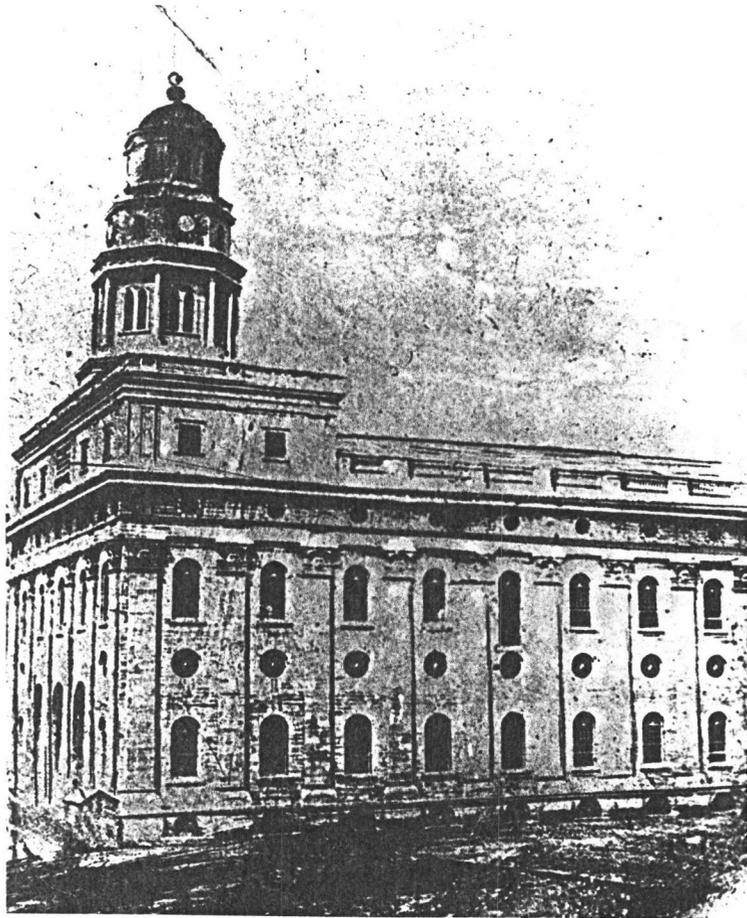


Figure 7. LDS Nauvoo Temple, Nauvoo, Illinois (1841-1846). Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

Inside, the building was divided into four major floors and two half-floors (Figure 8). The basement level contained a large baptismal font and dressing room facilities for the baptismal candidates (Davis 1970). The main or ground floor consisted of a large assembly hall similar to that of the Kirkland Temple with pews, choir seats, and pulpits (Kimball 1963). The level above the assembly hall was a half-story composed of a series of small rooms along the north and south sides of the building. The central portion of the half-story was occupied by the arched ceiling of the ground-floor assembly hall. Above the half-story was the second story assembly hall. The second story hall was planned to be like that of the hall on the ground floor. However, many of the furnishings were apparently never installed (Davis 1970). Above the second story auditorium was another half-story composed of two long hallways on either side of the arched second story hall ceiling. Above the second half-story was the attic floor containing a long hallway flanked with rooms to be used for Church offices and temple ordinances (Kimball 1963).

Like the Kirkland Temple, the Nauvoo Temple was a combination meetinghouse, Church office, and temple (Davis 1970). However, it was more closely related to later temples in that it had a baptismal font and rooms to be used specifically for the performance of temple ordinances. The ordinances had been "revealed" to Joseph Smith shortly after the Saint's arrival in Nauvoo (Brodie 1995). Smith felt that special facilities were absolutely necessary for the

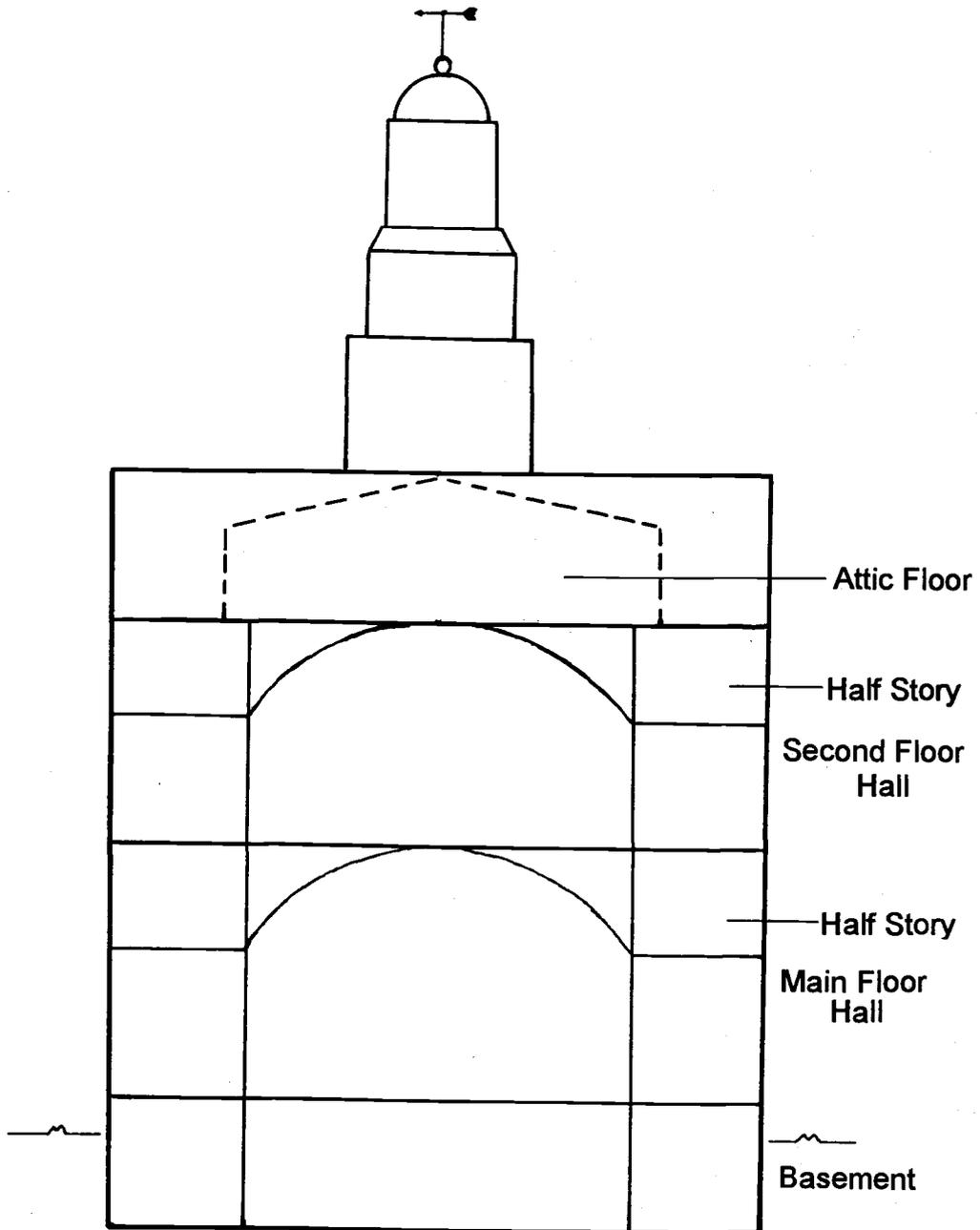


Figure 8. Cut away view showing the arrangement of floors in the LDS Nauvoo Temple. Adapted from Davis (1970:48).

proper execution of the new ordinances. Consequently, the facilities became an integral part of the Nauvoo design.

In 1844, in the midst of the temple construction, the Church lost their Prophet to an angry mob in Carthage, Illinois. Succeeding Smith as the new President of the Church, Brigham Young pressed on with the construction of the Nauvoo Temple in spite of escalating anti-Mormon sentiment. The situation in Illinois continued to deteriorate and it was not long before the decision was made to leave Nauvoo and seek a fresh start in the open spaces of the western America frontier (Nibley 1947). Feeling an urgent need to finish the temple and participate in the temple ordinances before going west, the Mormons pursued the construction project with renewed vigor (Kimball 1963). By October of 1845, the building was complete enough to be used for the Church's General Conference (Davis 1970). Formal dedication of the temple took place on May 1, 1846, as the Mormons were preparing for the journey west (Roberts 1930). Shortly thereafter, the last of the Mormons departed from Nauvoo leaving their beloved temple to the non-Mormons who eventually destroyed it.

Like Mormonism itself, LDS ecclesiastical architecture did not begin as a clearly articulated concept. In what essentially amounted to an ongoing process of experimentation, both the Church and its religious buildings were constantly elaborated throughout Joseph Smith's life.

In both form and style, the Kirkland Temple reflected the simplicity of the new religion. Like the liberal Protestants, emphasis was placed on the spoken

word. Special facilities and lavish ornamentation were not integral to the overall religious experience. Through revelations and refinements in doctrine, however, Mormonism became more complex and the Nauvoo Temple reflected these changes. Proper implementation of the new ordinances and rituals required the use of specialized facilities and, like the Catholic philosophy, an elaborate edifice was necessary to express the sacredness of the activities conducted inside. The experiment begun seventeen years earlier continued when the Mormons reached the Great Basin as the religion was further elaborated and the Church groped for functional and aesthetically pleasing building designs that reflected the true essence of Mormonism.

THE PIONEER PERIOD (1847-1869)

When the Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, their first concern was to select a temple site and establish their new city. Within four days, Church President Brigham Young selected the site of their new temple. The temple site or block would serve as the city center with the plat of the city extending from this location (Lundwall 1965).

Originally, the plan for the Salt Lake Temple was to be, as in Nauvoo, a multipurpose temple/meetinghouse. However, by the time work on the temple began, the design was modified to facilitate the practice of new temple rituals (Bradley 1981). Under Brigham Young's tenure as Church President, temple design was elaborated to the point that a clear dichotomy between a temple and a meetinghouse was established. The sacredness of the temple precluded that it continue to be used for general church services and secular activities. Consequently, henceforth community meetinghouses would be constructed to fulfill these needs.

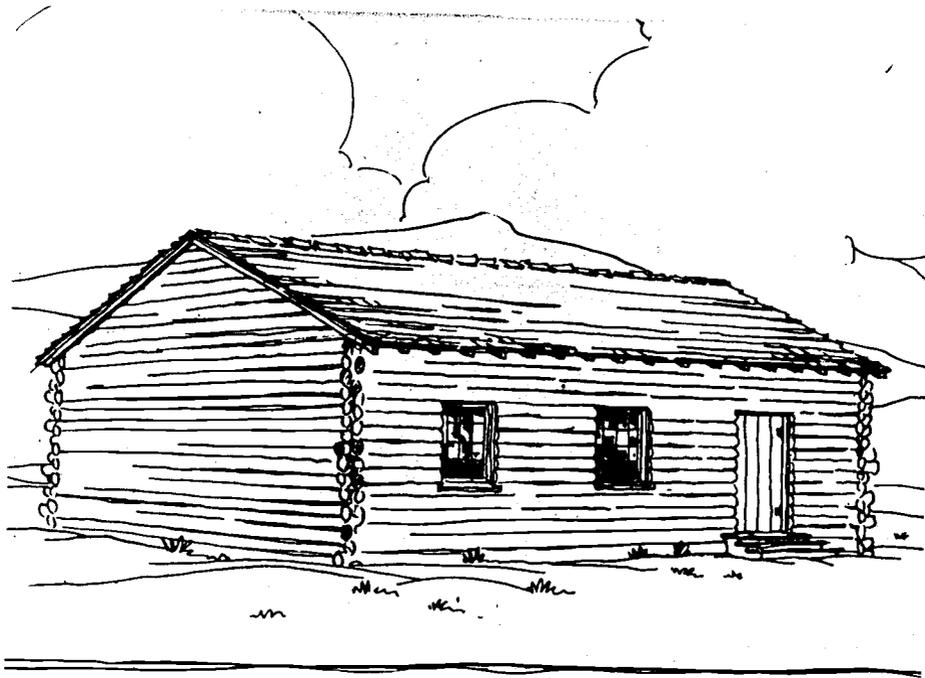
Although the construction of the Salt Lake Temple was of primary importance, another consideration that took precedence was to achieve the highest degree of self sufficiency possible for the new saintly kingdom. This entailed establishing support communities throughout the Salt Lake Valley and the region. An integral part of the colonization plan involved the organization of new ecclesiastical units (Davis 1970). Men with the appropriate leadership and spiritual qualities were appointed to each group called to colonize a new area.

Thus, when the group arrived at its predetermined destination, Church leaders were already in place to provide followers with the necessary temporal and spiritual guidance (Davis 1970).

In addition, provisions for the early construction of meetinghouse facilities were included in the colonization plan (Davis 1970). As soon as a town site had been selected, the program called for the construction of a fort or stockade for protection against hostiles. Once the area was secured and adequate roads, fences, canals, and homes were built, families moved out of the fort (Arrington 1958). A block in the center of each community was reserved for public buildings. Usually, the first public building erected was a meetinghouse that would serve as a town hall, a schoolhouse, a recreation hall, and the spiritual center of the community (Davis 1970).

The First Meetinghouses

The first meetinghouses constructed in each community followed no particular Church-wide design or building plan. The size, form, and style of early meetinghouses were dictated by local needs and availability of materials (Davis 1970; Roberts 1975). Typically the first meetinghouses constructed were small, rectangular, log buildings (Figure 9). Often erected in less than a day, these expedient structures were a far cry from the proud buildings that had been erected in Kirkland and Nauvoo: "Even the log meetinghouse, with its ground floor and earth roof, was more extensively patronized as a receptacle for bed bugs than for the assembly of saints" (Jenson n.d.).



*FIRST MEETING AND SCHOOLHOUSE 1849 TO 1854

Figure 9. Artist rendition of Salt Lake City's first meetinghouse (1849-1854).
Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

Few examples of the first log meetinghouses remain. Because they were intended to be temporary and since wood was scarce, most of these early buildings were razed and the materials reused as soon as a better, more permanent structure could be built (Roberts 1975).

The Development of More Substantial Structures

In spite of a few setbacks, including crop failures, isolated Indian raids, and the growing animosity between the Church and the federal government, a fair degree of stability had been achieved in many of the Mormon colonies by the early 1850s (Davis 1970). Moreover, the California gold rush of 1849-50 brought unexpected wealth to Salt Lake City, much of which was used by the Church to build more substantial meetinghouses in the Salt Lake Valley and outlying communities (Roberts 1975).

While log structures continued to be erected in some areas, adobe or stone became the building material of choice in most wards. Adobe was especially popular because it could be used to produce a building that most closely approximated the Mormon ideals of strength, beauty, and permanence (Arrington 1958). Brigham Young was so fond of adobe as a building material that he insisted "if the Salt Lake Temple could not be built of platina (crude native platinum) or pure gold, it should be made of adobe instead of rock" (Roberts 1975:306). In Young's mind, stone had already reached its peak in terms of hardness and durability whereas adobe would continue to petrify over the years into solid rock, therefore outlasting stone (BYU 1967). Although

Young's sense of geology was incorrect and the Salt Lake Temple was ultimately built of granite, his counsel was usually heeded faithfully. There is little doubt that his promotion of adobe was one of the primary reasons for the widespread use of the material in meetinghouse construction (Roberts 1975).

Like their log predecessors, the early adobe and stone meetinghouses were generally one room rectangular structures that could be used for Church or civic activities. A single door usually opened directly into the large assembly hall, which was fashioned with chairs or removable benches. At the far end of the hall was a platform, typically furnished with benches or chairs, a pulpit, and a table (Figure 10). Some of the meetinghouses also had basements that were used for a variety of purposes including grain and vegetable storage, class room space, municipal office space, or any Church meetings or functions that did not require the large upstairs assembly hall (Davis 1970).

Many of the early adobe and stone meetinghouses were vernacular structures with little to no styling. For example, the old Sugar House Ward meetinghouse (1853) exhibited subtle Georgian and Federal influences, but overall the building lacked artistic expression (Figure 11). Built of adobe and stone, the old Sugar House Ward had a side gabled, salt box type roof and an asymmetrical facade. In 1907, an addition was added to the structure resulting in a T-shaped plan (Roberts 1974). The old Sugar House meetinghouse served the ward until the early 1920s when it was razed and replaced by a new Sugar House Ward facility.

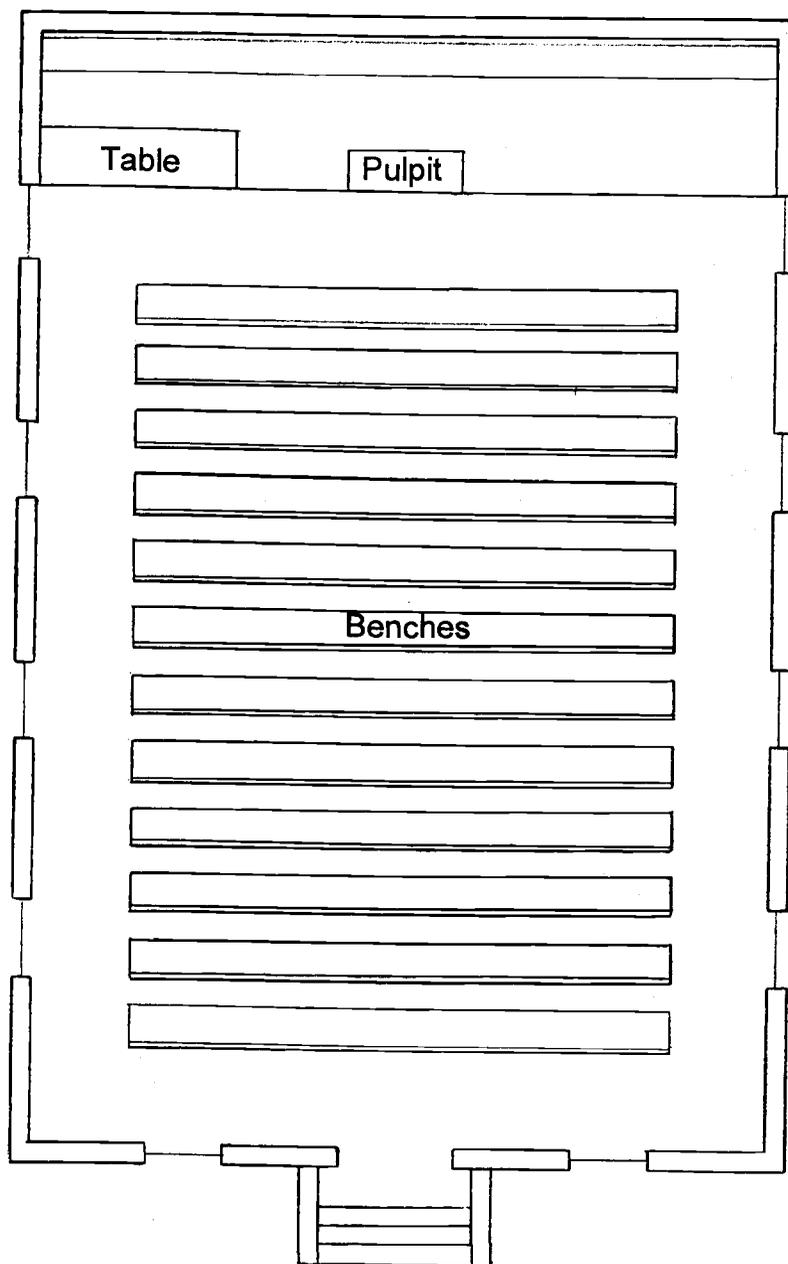
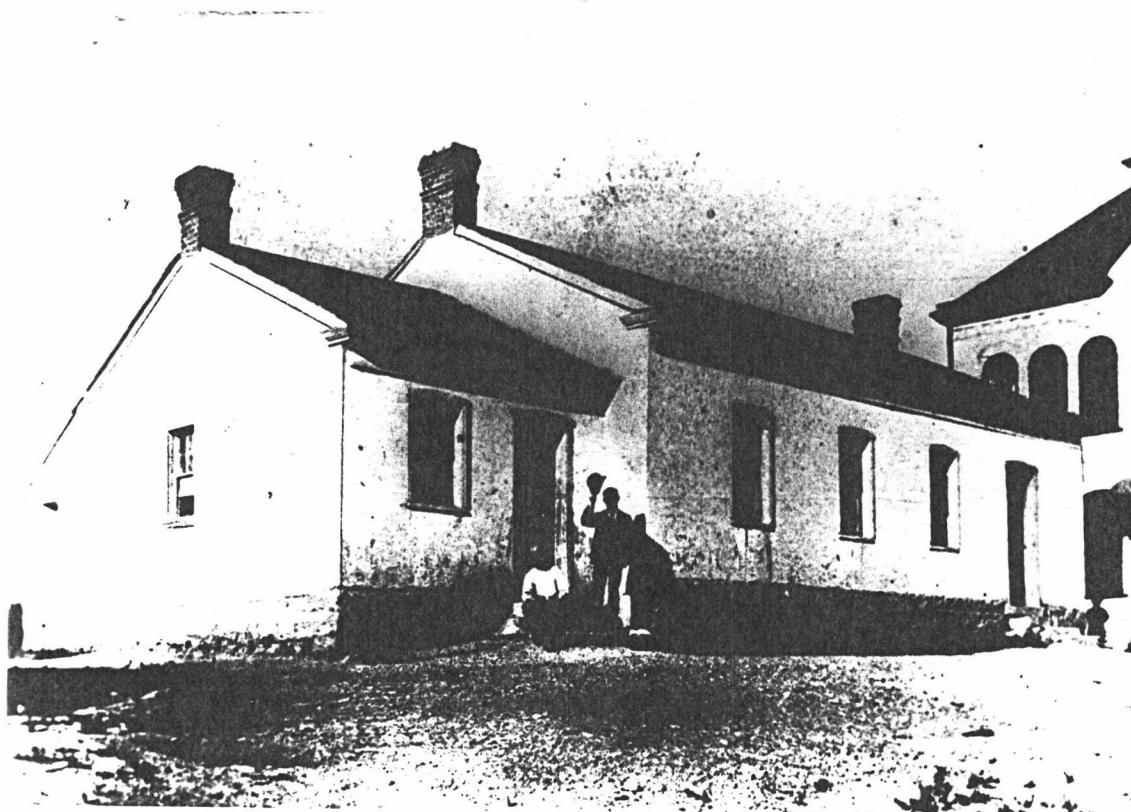


Figure 10. Plan view of a typical early stone or adobe ward meetinghouse. Adapted from Davis (1970:63).



Pioneer L.D.S. Sugar House Ward Meeting House and School House
Located at about 1139 East 21st South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.
— About 1853 —

Figure 11. LDS Sugar House Ward meetinghouse (1853). Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

Several examples of early stone meetinghouses still exist, but perhaps the two best examples in the Salt Lake Valley are the old West Jordan meetinghouse and the Farmington meetinghouse. Largely void of stylistic features, the West Jordan meetinghouse (1861-1867) is typical of many of the rock churches built by the Mormon Church before the coming of the railroad (Figure 12). The stone building features random rubble walls and a coursed ashlar facade. The sandstone for the walls was hauled from the Jordan Range six miles away and the granite trim (the same granite used in the Salt Lake Temple) was obtained from the mouth of Little Cottonwood Canyon. It took months to gather the necessary materials, but the cornerstone was eventually laid in 1861 and the building was completed in 1867 (Roberts 1974).

Over the years the old meetinghouse was used for a variety of purposes including as a chapel, a schoolhouse, and a social hall. In 1913, however, the building was abandoned and its condition quickly deteriorated. Then in 1937, the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers leased the ground and began renovating the building (Roberts 1974). Although some of the alterations and additions compromised the integrity of the building, their efforts saved the chapel from certain ruin.

Today the building is once again serving in the capacity for which it was originally built. However, rather than serving the Mormons, the building is now occupied by the Jordan Valley Baptist Church.



Figure 12. West Jordan meetinghouse (1861-1867). Photograph by author, 1995.

While the West Jordan church is representative of the more typical early stone meetinghouses erected before the coming of the railroad, the Farmington wardhouse (1861-1863) represents one of the more outstanding stone meetinghouses remaining from the pioneer era (Figure 13). Originally, the old meetinghouse measured 40 by 60 feet in plan and consisted of an assembly hall, two vestries, and a prayer room. Furnishings included handmade benches, nine tall oak chairs placed on an elevated stand, and a rostrum padded with red velvet and tassels (Roberts 1974).

Unlike many of its predecessors, the Farmington meetinghouse was adorned with an array of classical ornamentation including a pedimented gable, a moulded cornice and return, stone quoins, a projected entry with decorative wood columns, and an arched doorway with a fancy fanlight above. Through ornamentation and fine craftsmanship the Farmington wardhouse signified the arrival of the LDS church house as opposed to the meetinghouse:

While the [meetinghouse] was built merely to provide shelter, the [church house] attempted to give to structure a special character that symbolizes and hopefully inspires religion and worship. Thus to structure is given ornamentation which adds nothing to the function of the building mechanically, but fulfills a true functional need for beauty (Roberts 1974:83).

Moreover, the building also has the distinction of having been the birthplace of the LDS Primary Association. The Primary Association, organized by Aurelia Spencer Rogers on August 11, 1878, was designed to foster cultural, physical, and spiritual activity in children. Two hundred and twenty-four children were enrolled at the first meeting, which was held on August 25, 1878.



Figure 13. Farmington meetinghouse (1861-1863). Photograph by author, 1995.

Today the Farmington facility not only houses three wards, it also serves as the Farmington Stake Center. To accommodate the expanding role of the building, a two-story annex was constructed in 1941. Using the same type of stone and styling, the addition is tastefully done and is almost indistinguishable from that of the original meetinghouse.

The Flowering of Architectural Style

By the end of the 1850s, many communities had become firmly established as the Church's economic base continued to expand and threats from hostile Indians subsided. Another seeming threat to the Saint's survival, the United States Army, which had been sent to the area in 1857 to install new territorial officials and restore order, left the territory in 1861 leaving behind a windfall of four million dollars worth of goods including foodstuffs, wagons, teams, iron, and nails (Roberts 1975). Not surprisingly, much of this material found its way into meetinghouses in the Salt Lake Valley and outlying areas (Roberts 1975).

Coupled with the growing stability was a steady increase in Church membership. Missionaries in the eastern United States and abroad had been extremely successful in recruiting new members, which were instructed to purchase window glass, nails, tools, and other building materials from outfitting stations before leaving for Salt Lake City (Roberts 1975). Moreover, many of the new converts were talented professionals as the missionaries purposely targeted skilled craftsmen of all types and urged them to bring blueprints and the tools of their trade to Zion (Hunter 1973). In addition to materials and their talents, the

new converts brought with them a sense of religious architectural expression in the form of Greek detailing.

Since the 1820s, the architecture of ancient Greece had inspired Christians in the eastern United States because of its functional plan, its vigorous style, its sturdy proportions, and its honest simplicity (Rifkind 1984). Although the Greek Revival Style had begun to decline throughout most of the country by 1860 (Rifkind 1984), for the Mormons the style provided a suitable model for not only ward meetinghouses, but nearly every conceivable type of LDS building erected from the late 1850s until well into the post railroad period. Moreover, while most of the meetinghouses built in the decade before the completion of the transcontinental railroad continued to serve a variety of functions, many began to take on a particularly religious character in both form and style.

As school districts built their own schools and town halls were erected for civic functions, a general transition from multipurpose meetinghouse to church took place, and several LDS churches became nearly spectacular, if not in size, at least with respect to craftsmanship and detailing (Roberts 1975). The present Bountiful Tabernacle provides a case in point.

Built between 1857 and 1863, the Bountiful Tabernacle epitomizes the trend toward monumental, religious architecture and the Mormon's skillful application of the Greek Revival Style (Figure 14). The building was patterned after the Greek Revival churches of New England, and while the detailing is common in New England and the Midwest, it is unique for Utah. The building features a



Figure 14. Bountiful Tabernacle (1857-1863). Photograph by author, 1995.

pedimented portico supported by Doric orders, pedimented doors, a moulded cornice with dentil run and cornice return, a grand entry staircase, tall, rectangular window bays, and a roof-mounted tower topped with five small spires rather than a single attenuated spire.

The original structure measured 40 by 80 feet in plan with a 6-foot-thick stone foundation and adobe walls 4.5 feet thick. The roof timbers were obtained from Meeting House Canyon in nearby Holbrook Canyon and were fastened using wooden pegs. As it now stands, the building is remarkably close to its original condition. Although an addition was later added to the rear of the structure, it detracts little from the imposing, original building.

Today, the Bountiful Tabernacle is the oldest LDS meetinghouse in Utah to have experienced continuous use and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places--fortunate honors given that it was once slated for demolition. Built at a cost of \$60,000, the Bountiful Tabernacle was the finest chapel in the territory at the time of its completion, a distinction it has not relinquished as far as LDS pioneer period churches are concerned (Roberts 1974).

While the Bountiful Tabernacle represents the full flowering of the Greek Revival Style in both craftsmanship and detailing, the old Salt Lake City Fourteenth and Seventh wardhouses were much more typical of the Greek Revival meetinghouses erected by the Church during the pioneer period. Constructed of adobe, brick, and frame, the Salt Lake Fourteenth Ward (1857-1861) exhibited an end-gabled roof with moulded cornice and cornice return,

lintels over the doors and windows, transom lights above the doors, and a small bell tower placed back on the roof (Figure 15). Somewhat more elegant, the Salt Lake Seventh Ward (Figure 16) had an end gabled roof with a deep cornice and dentil mouldings, circular arched window openings in its red sandstone walls, and front doors more than eleven feet tall. Unlike the Fourteenth Ward, however, the Seventh Ward meetinghouse lacked a bell tower. Begun in 1862 the building was not used until 1877 (Goeldner 1969).

The Fourteenth and Seventh wards eventually suffered the same fate that affected most of the original Salt Lake City wards. As the city grew, the downtown area encroached on the residential sections resulting in a loss of ward population. Consequently, in 1966 the old Fourteenth Ward meetinghouse was razed and a year later the Seventh Ward was demolished.

Many of the trends in ward meetinghouse architecture that began to develop during the pioneer period proliferated after the arrival of the railroad to the territory. The idea of the warehouse being a sacred place of worship and religious instruction instead of a multipurpose facility used for spiritual as well as secular activities became the norm rather than the exception, and artistic expression in warehouse architecture became more refined. However, the railroad presented a variety of new challenges and changes for the Church, many of which contributed further to the development of meetinghouse architecture.



Figure 15. Salt Lake City Fourteenth Ward meetinghouse (1857-1861).
Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

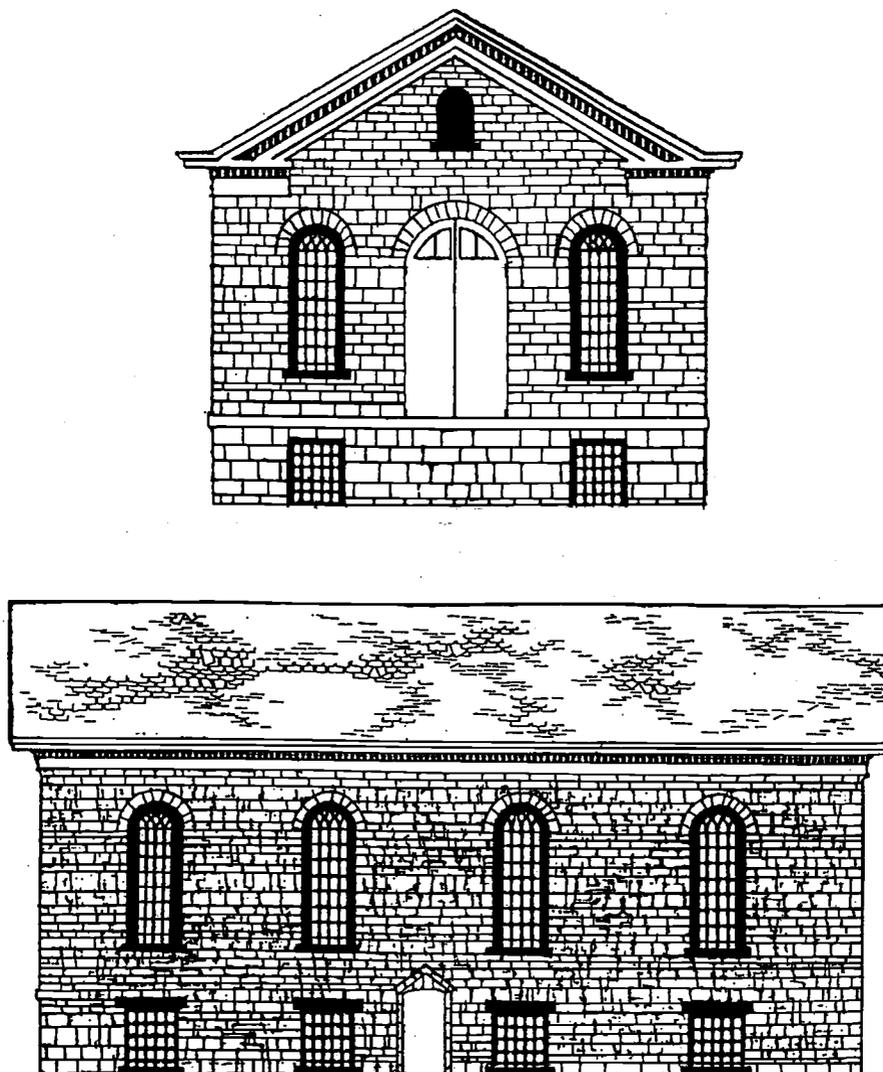


Figure 16. Salt Lake City Seventh Ward meetinghouse (1862-1877). Adapted from Goeldner (1969:18).

THE POST RAILROAD PERIOD (1869-1896)

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 marked a turning point in the history of the Mormon Church. Despite some misgivings, Church leaders welcomed the railroad. After all, the railroad would provide the Mormons with a substantially wider selection of materials and technology than they hitherto had. However, the railroad would also bring many worldly temptations as well as a large non-Mormon population whom Church leaders felt may have exploitative motives. Consequently, to strengthen the members against these temptations and to off-set any efforts on the part of the non-Mormons to secularize the kingdom and dilute theocratic control, LDS leaders made careful preparations to expand Church organization. The preparations, both spiritual and temporal, resulted in an extensive reordering of existing Church organizations and the establishment of several new ones during the post railroad period (Davis 1970).

The Establishment of Auxiliary Organizations

One of the first auxiliaries to be reestablished was the School of the Prophets. The School was first organized in 1833 with the purpose of instructing the members of the priesthood quorums in theology, secular knowledge, and their leadership responsibilities (Davis 1970). However, the organization was disbanded during the Church's exodus to the Salt Lake Valley. Church leaders reestablished the School in 1867, but this time it had a different purpose--to

engage in spiritual and economic endeavors designed to buffer the impact of the railroad. The organization was intended to be a short-term program and in 1874, the School was once again disbanded when Church leaders deemed that the organization had fulfilled its mission (Davis 1970).

A more permanent project was the reorganization of the Relief Society. Like the School of the Prophets, the Relief Society was first established during the early years of the Church, but became largely non-existent following the exodus west. A few Relief Society chapters were reestablished in scattered wards in the Salt Lake Valley as early as 1851 and 1852 (Wells 1903), but the auxiliary did not experience substantial growth until Brigham Young, prompted by the impending arrival of the railroad, instructed every bishop to establish a Relief Society in his ward (Deseret News Press 1966). By the end of 1867, all of the wards in Salt Lake City had active societies in operation (Wells 1903), and it was not long before other wards throughout the territory followed suit.

While a few of the warehouses built during the post railroad period incorporated meeting space for the auxiliary, most wards elected to build Relief Society halls that were separate from the warehouse facilities (Roberts 1975). However, the halls declined in importance in the early twentieth century when Church leaders began discouraging wards from building separate facilities and encouraged instead that Relief Society rooms be installed in the local warehouses (Deseret News Press 1966).

Another auxiliary that became a permanent Church organization with the arrival of the railroad was the Sunday School. LDS Sunday schools had been in existence since the 1830s and 1840s. However, they did not become an official Church institution until 1867, when Church leaders recognized the need for a concerted program of religious instruction for the youngest members of the Church (Allen and Cowan 1964). The Sunday School remained largely an organization for children during the nineteenth century, but in 1906, parent classes were also added (Allen and Cowan 1964). Over time, the Sunday School grew into an organization that involved the most people on the ward level, and required the use of more meetinghouse facilities than any other auxiliary (Davis 1970).

The Mutual Improvement Associations were the next auxiliaries to be created during the post railroad period. The women's association had its beginning in the late 1860s as the Young Ladies Department of the Cooperative Retrenchment Association. The mission of the association was to urge the young females of the Church to "retrench" from all forms of extravagance in dress, eating, and speech (Gates 1911:8). The young ladies organization grew rapidly and by the end of 1870, units had been established in almost every ward along the Wasatch Front (Gates 1911).

Some six years later, Brigham Young directed that a Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association be founded for the purpose of preparing young males for missionary work (Gates 1911). The meetings were similar to those of the

young ladies association except that the curriculum involved topics such as theology, science, history, and literature, rather than topics concerning retrenchment (Allen and Cowan 1964).

In 1877, the name and basic objectives of the young ladies association were changed. From then on the organization became known as the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, patterned after the young men's organization, and retrenchment was essentially abandoned in favor of self improvement (Arrington 1958).

At first the two organizations met separately, with the young women meeting in the afternoon and the young men meeting in the evening. However, as a result of pleading by the young men and the ward bishops, the meetings were subsequently combined to "help attendance" (Gates 1911:138).

For over two decades, the Mutual Improvement Associations maintained the same basic organization that had been established in the 1877 merger, requiring relatively modest meeting facilities. By the early twentieth century, however, larger, more specialized warehouse facilities were necessary to accommodate the needs and expanding scope of the associations (Davis 1970).

The last major auxiliary organization to be created was the Primary Association. Established in 1878, the organization was similar to the Sunday School in that it provided the children of the Church with a program of religious and moral instruction. Unlike the Sunday School, however, the Primary Association met during the week. Consequently, the two organizations did not

have to compete for meetinghouse space and the same facilities could be utilized by both programs (Davis 1970).

Formal Developments in Meetinghouse Design

The establishment and subsequent growth of the various auxiliary organizations required that adequate facilities be incorporated into meetinghouse design. In addition, the practice begun at the end of the pioneer period of constructing warehouses with an explicitly religious character continued to play an important role in meetinghouse form. Nevertheless, typical warehouses built during the post railroad period were not profoundly different in form from those built just prior to the coming of the railroad. The buildings were usually larger and the materials and craftsmanship were of higher quality, but the form was still basically the same (Davis 1970).

The most notable developments in the form of post railroad period meetinghouses included the common usage of stone and brick as the main building materials, larger and more varied window and door bays, and a split-level plan with a large assembly hall or chapel on the main floor and classrooms on the other floor (Davis 1970). The chapel level was usually composed of a vestry, a central aisle flanked on each side by pews, and a platform furnished with benches, a pulpit, an organ or piano, and a table (Figure 17). In addition, many chapels also had a vaulted ceiling, and a sloping floor for better viewing of the speaker (Roberts 1975). The classroom level typically consisted of a central corridor with a series of rooms situated on either side (Davis 1970; Roberts

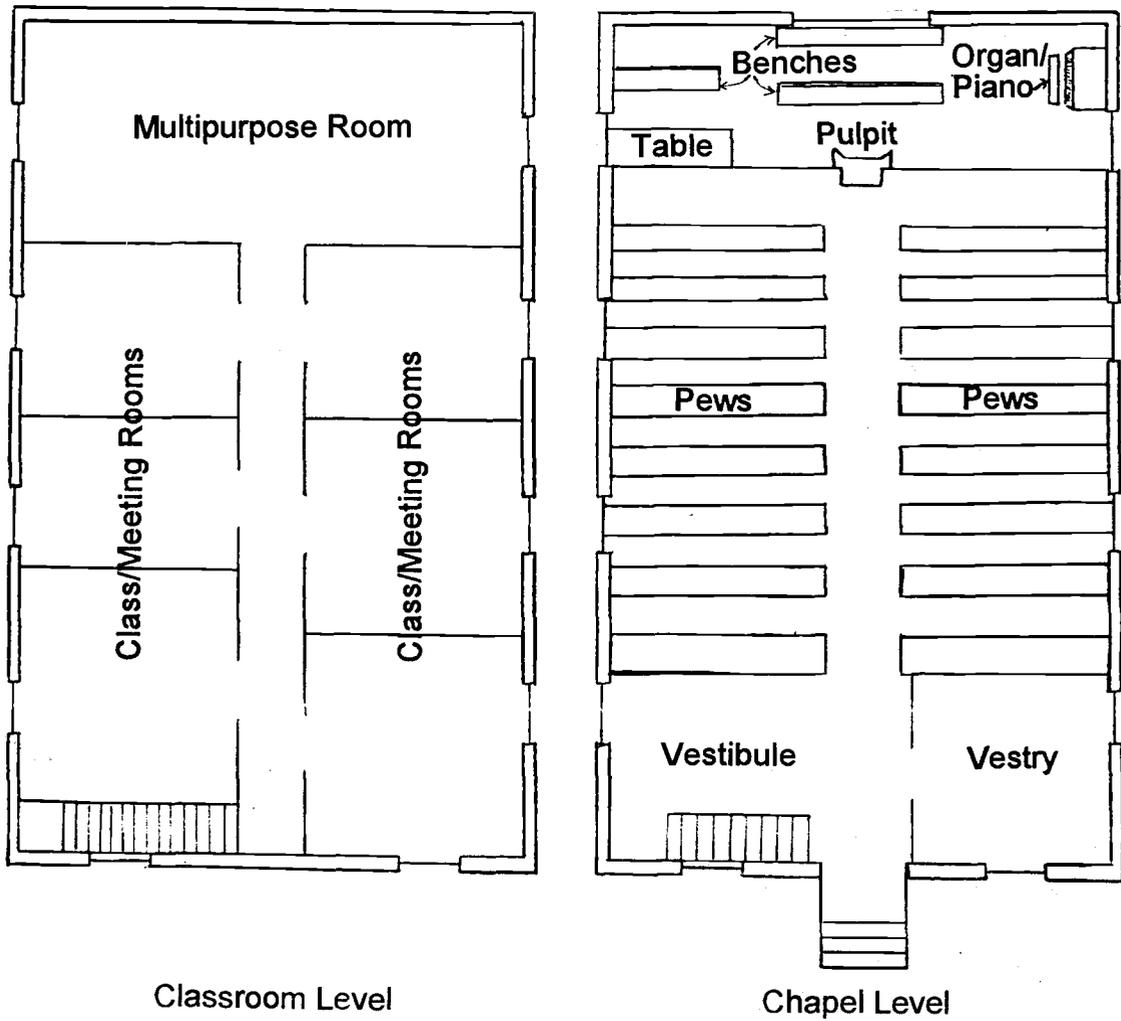


Figure 17. Plan view of a typical post railroad period warehouse. Adapted from Davis (1970:97).

1975). A large multipurpose room or amusement hall was often located at the end of the corridor (see Figure 17).

The Persistence of Classical Styling in Meetinghouse Architecture

Unlike meetinghouse form, meetinghouse style underwent radical changes during the post railroad period. The stylistic changes were not immediate, however. Classical decorative elements continued to persist, particularly in the more remote or recently settled towns (Roberts 1975). Even in the Salt Lake Valley, Classical styling, especially Greek Revival, dominated meetinghouse design for nearly a decade after the arrival of the railroad.

The old Salt Lake City Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1872) provides an example of a more eclectic combination of Classical detailing, including elements of both Greek Revival and Federal styles (Figure 18). The two-story frame structure featured a symmetrical principal facade, clapboard siding, round arched window and door openings, fan lights, a low-pitched roof, and a raking cornice and cornice return.

Although a brick addition was added to the structure in 1885, the use-life of the Sixth Ward meetinghouse was rather short. The encroachment of the downtown area eventually resulted in the demolition of the building and the members of the Sixth Ward moved to a different facility that they shared with the Seventh Ward.

A more typical example of the Classical detailing used in LDS meetinghouses of this period is the old Salt Lake City Second Ward

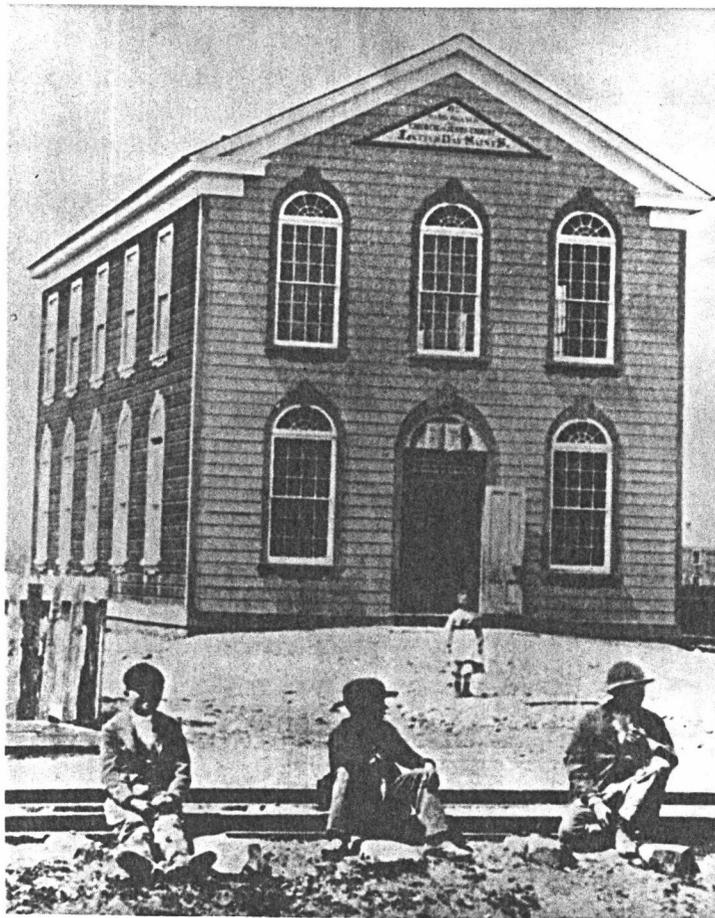


Figure 18. Old Salt Lake City Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1872). Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

meetinghouse (Figure 19). Built in 1882, the old Second Ward facility combined fine craftsmanship with subtle Greek Revival decorative elements for a simple yet stately appearance. The building features segmented arches over the windows and doors, a transom window above the main entry, double-hung, multi-pane windows with wood frames and sills, an ornate cornice skirting with plant-on moulding and paired brackets, a red sandstone foundation, and walls of brick covered with a thick stucco. A brick addition was later added to the rear of the building resulting in a T-shaped plan.

Today, the building remains virtually unchanged in exterior appearance with the exception of considerable deterioration. For a time the building was used by a food processing company (Roberts 1974). Currently, however, the old warehouse appears to be vacant.

Perhaps the best preserved example of Greek Revival architecture from this period in the Salt Lake Valley is the Salt Lake City Tenth Ward meetinghouse (1873). Similar in design to the old Salt Lake Second and Seventh Wards, the Tenth Ward features a number of Classical decorative elements including a symmetrical principal facade, segmentally arched windows and doors, and an ornate cornice with paired brackets (Figure 20). A semicircular plaque inscribed with "Tenth Ward Meeting House, Erected A.D. MDCCCLXXIII, John Proctor, Bishop" is situated on the gable above the entry.

Like the old Second and Seventh Ward meetinghouses, the Tenth Ward is simple but handsomely proportioned. The proper blend of detailing and



Figure 19. Old Salt Lake City Second Ward meetinghouse (1882). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 20. Salt Lake City Tenth Ward meetinghouse (1873). Photograph by author, 1995.

arrangement of shapes give the meetinghouse a pleasant, ordered appearance.

Without question, it is one of the finest of its kind remaining in the state.

Moreover, the Tenth Ward meetinghouse is also one of the most important in terms of historical significance as it is part of the only remaining LDS ward square or block of the original nineteen Salt Lake City wards created in 1849.

The squares housed the public buildings that served the ward's spiritual, economic, cultural, and educational needs. Still standing on the Tenth Ward square is the 1873 meetinghouse described above, a store built in 1880 that is connected to a house built in the 1890s by the ward bishop and proprietor of the store, a schoolhouse that was built in 1887, and the 1909 Gothic Revival church that currently serves as the Tenth Ward chapel.

The Rise of Gothic Revivalism

By the late 1870s, the popularity of Classical styles began to wane as the influence of Gothic Revivalism took hold in meetinghouse design, particularly in the burgeoning city of Salt Lake. However, reasons as to why the Mormon Church embraced the Gothic Revival Style when it did remain unclear.

Although Gothic windows were employed in the earliest LDS temple in Kirkland, Ohio, the Mormons avoided the style between 1840 and 1870, the period of its greatest popularity (Rifkind 1984). Not until 1870 was the castellated variety of the Gothic style used in temple construction in the Great Basin, and not until the end of the 1870s did Gothic detailing appear in meetinghouse architecture (Roberts 1975).

Allen Roberts (1975) suggests that the most likely explanation for the delay was that prior to the coming of the railroad, the Mormons lacked the materials and technology required to construct Gothic Revival buildings. As evidence, he points to the fact that Gothic Revivalism in LDS architecture did not take off until after the railroad entered the territory. While the lack of materials and technology were most certainly important factors, other reasons may have also influenced the Church's timing of adopting the style.

One possibility is that the Mormons chose to avoid the style because of its association with Catholic and Protestant churches (Roberts 1975). Gothic detailing was used extensively by Catholic and Protestant denominations alike between 1840 and 1870. However, the style's popularity declined in the 1870s (Rifkind 1984). Only after it had become outmoded was it finally accepted by the Mormons as a style suitable for LDS architecture.

Another possible reason is that with the arrival of the railroad, the style appealed to the Mormons in much the same way that it had to the Catholics and Protestants 20 to 30 years earlier. The rapid rate of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization in the eastern United States at mid-century had weakened family ties and caused rural isolation, public health and education problems, and labor exploitation (Rifkind 1984). Moreover, internal problems were as severe as those that attacked the church from the outside: "The popular acceptance of Darwinism, the development of 'higher criticism', and efforts to reconcile science and dogma raised serious doubts that historical Christianity could even survive

the century" (Rifkind 1984:146). In an effort to counter act the onslaught, Christians turned to the intensely religious Middle Ages for more appropriate models of behavior, thought, feeling, principle, and art. The medieval models answered to the fervor of mid-nineteenth-century beliefs, and the artistry of the Gothic Revival Style revived orthodoxy in religious practice by embodying this new intensity of religious attitude (Rifkind 1984).

In a similar vein, virtually every aspect of Mormondom came under attack with the arrival of the railroad. The influx of a large non-Mormon population and eastern capital threatened to secularize the kingdom and undermine the Church's theocratic control over its members and the institutions it had worked so hard to establish. Combined with the expanded Church organization, the Gothic Revival architecture, with its grand scale, intricate detailing, and vertical massing, helped buffet the affects of the railroad by reifying to the Mormon community the sanctity of the religion and the importance of the Church in everyday live. Moreover, the architecture may have served to send a message to the non-Mormon population as well--that Mormons were really not all that different from traditional Christian denominations.

Whatever the reason or reasons for adopting the style, once Gothic Revival forms were finally accepted they were not so easily cast aside. From the 1870s until the 1930s a thread of Gothicism, however thin, ran through the design products of many LDS architects (Roberts 1975).

Relatively typical of many of the Gothic Revival churches built by the Mormon Church during the post railroad period was the old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1879). The Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward echoed its medieval inspiration through decorative elements rather than through variety, irregularity, and contrasts of forms (Figure 21). Constructed of brick, the Fifteenth Ward had a rectangular plan measuring 32 by 50 feet (Roberts 1974). The building featured pointed arched window and door bays climaxed by brick corbelling, windows with wooden tracery, stepped wall buttresses, finals at the apex of the roof gables, and a gabled entry. Another decorative element common to many Gothic buildings erected by the Mormons during this and the following period was a circular window within the front gabled wall consisting of a pentacle formed by wooden muntins. The spectacular building served its ward until 1902 when it was replaced by another Gothic warehouse.

While the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward exhibited a more vernacular treatment of Gothic detailing, the Salt Lake City Twenty-first and Eighteenth ward meetinghouses demonstrated a more honest application of picturesque design principles. The old Twenty-first Ward (1877) was constructed of brick and measured 26 by 44 feet in plan (Roberts 1974). Decorative elements included pointed arched window and door bays, stained-glass windows with wooden tracery, brick belt courses, and stepped wall buttresses. In addition, the building had an engaged central tower and steeple, a feature as important as a symbol

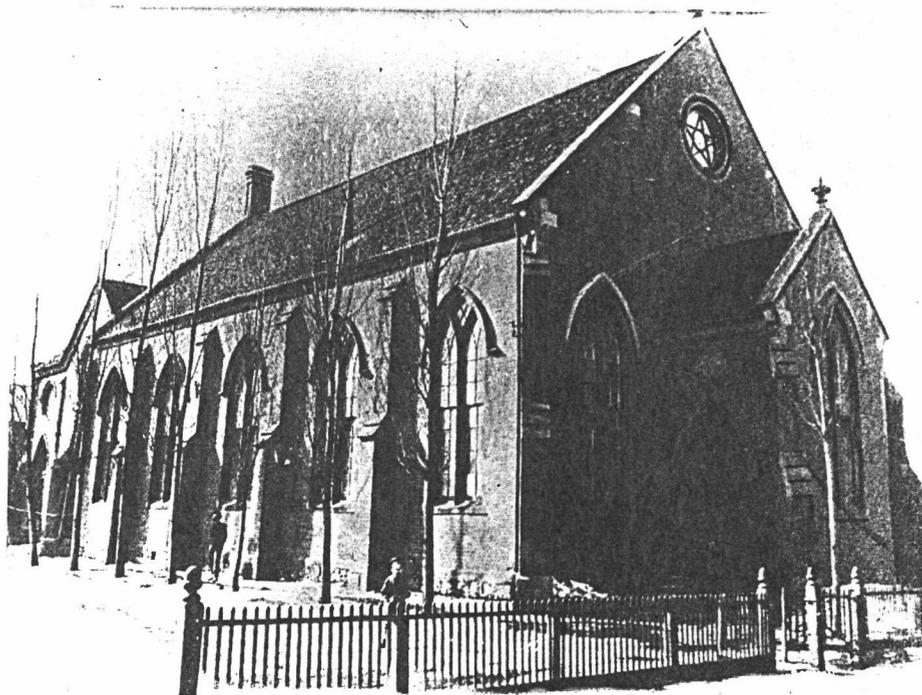


Figure 21. Old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1879).
Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.

as it is a design element (Figure 22). Constructed at a cost of \$3500.00, the Twenty-first Ward was a beautiful building that expressed the complexity of the era in its dynamic contrasts, complicated three-dimensionality, textural richness, and opulent detail. Unfortunately, looks alone were not enough to save the building from destruction. As has been the case with many outstanding warehouses built by the LDS Church during this and other periods, the Salt Lake Twenty-first Ward was later razed and replaced with a larger, more insipid facility.

The old Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse (1880-1881) was quite similar to the Twenty-first Ward meetinghouse. It too had an engaged central tower and steeple, pointed arched window bays, stained-glass windows with wooden tracery, and stepped wall buttresses. In addition, the building featured a crenellated parapet on the front gable, a decorative ridge cap, and a circular window in the tower with a pentacle design similar to that of the old Fifteenth Ward. In 1973, the old Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward met the same fate as the Twenty-first Ward. Fortunately, many parts of the Eighteenth Ward chapel, including the steeple, cornerstone, window frames, doors, benches, pulpit, and stained-glass windows, were salvaged and incorporated into a replica completed in 1980 (Figure 23). The replica currently serves as a memorial community chapel as well as a permanent example of early LDS Gothic architecture.



Figure 22. Old Salt Lake City Twenty-first Ward meetinghouse (1877).
Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.



Figure 23. Replica of the old Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward meetinghouse.
Photograph by author, 1995.

The New Individualism

Ever since the Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, the success of the Mormon system had depended on the unity of collectivism and the suppression of individuality. However, the federal polygamy raids of 1884-90 brought government intervention that resulted in the dissolution of the Mormon's Church-controlled society. For example, the Church's program of directing local and regional settlement was outlawed, Church properties were escheated, and schools were put under outside control. Moreover, an economic depression, coupled with a reduction in members' tithing payments, caused the Church to go into debt (Roberts 1975). The Mormons' woes affected their building program accordingly. During the second half of the 1880s, very few warehouses were constructed (Roberts 1975).

The situation began to change in 1890 when LDS President Wilford Woodruff issued the "Manifesto", which heralded the Church's move away from polygamy and adoption of national norms. As the Mormons began the painful transition from independent state to national commonwealth, and the Church eased its tight control in directing settlements and wards, a new sense of individualism began to emerge. This new feeling of individualism resulted in the production of a remarkable collection of architecture (Roberts 1975).

Prior to 1890, most meetinghouses were built primarily for practical and functional reasons. They were never intended to be status symbols. After 1890, however, several "monuments" were produced (Roberts 1975:321). While the

rest of the country pursued the expressions of the new modernism, the Mormons seemed to revert to an eclectic combination of styles as its contribution to modern architecture. The old Salt Lake City Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse is the embodiment of this trend.

The exotic Nineteenth Ward (1890-1882) reflects the eclecticism of the "gay nineties" in its onion dome positioned atop a small hipped roof tower, the Romanesque entry and round corbelled arch windows, and buttressed corners with pinnacles capped with onion dome finials (Figure 24). The building's original plan was basically rectangular. Much effort was made to hide the fact that the imposing tower connected to a lateral side-gabled wing. Like most warehouses constructed during the post railroad period, the building is a split-level with the main hall situated above classrooms. In 1928, a recreation hall and auxiliary rooms were added to the north side of the building giving it its current T-shaped plan. Other renovations and improvements were made in 1948 (Roberts 1974). Today, the old Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse is home to the Salt Lake Acting Company and the Utah Arts Festival directors.

While the old Nineteenth Ward is certainly unique, it was not necessarily progressive in terms of contemporary architecture. Rather, the building's appeal seemed to have been its novelty. Through architecture like that of the Nineteenth Ward, the Church appeared to be making an attempt to show that the Mormons wanted to forget their previous isolation and join hands with the



Figure 24. Old Salt Lake City Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse (1890-1892).
Photograph by author, 1995.

rest of the country. This union became a reality in 1896, when Utah became the country's 45th state.

EARLY STATEHOOD (1896-1936)

The attainment of statehood marked the end of official Mormon isolationism and the beginning of a new vision for the Church. Prior to statehood, the goal of redeeming the earth had been achieved through spatial expansion. With statehood, however, the Church was no longer able to direct and control settlement of the Great Basin. Consequently, the means of redemption shifted to expanding membership. The new emphasis on expanding Church membership created an increased demand for meetinghouses and the need for a more progressive attitude towards building. As a result, wards were given greater autonomy in directing local church construction. This new freedom, coupled with the growing sense of individualism, was reflected in the diverse styles and forms of meetinghouses constructed during the first few decades of statehood.

All Under One Roof

The basic functional demands put on wardhouses in the early statehood period had a significant effect on building form that would ultimately persist into the present. In the nineteenth century, separate facilities were often built to accommodate certain ward activities and Church auxiliary programs. After the turn of the century, however, the integration of facilities under one roof became the rule rather than the exception. This flexible attitude towards the nature of the

meetinghouse space foreshadowed a predilection for multiple uses of interior space that would increase throughout the twentieth century (Bradley 1981).

Without question, the facility that played the largest role in shaping the future form and function of LDS warehouses was the amusement hall (Davis 1970). Many of the larger nineteenth century meetinghouses contained an amusement hall or multi-purpose room that served as space for small Church meetings, Sunday and weekday classes, and parties, banquets, and other social activities. However, the small assembly room could not accommodate the rapidly expanding auxiliary programs of the early twentieth century. Moreover, because the hall was usually located in the basement, there was little possibility for expansion. The solution was to move the hall out of the basement and make it a companion module to the chapel on the ground level (Davis 1970). Over time, the hall evolved into a combination auditorium, gymnasium, and ballroom known as the recreation or cultural hall. Today, it is usually the largest single unit in any LDS warehouse (Davis 1970).

Another important innovation in meetinghouse form that developed during the early statehood period was the introduction of a variety of different floor plans distinguished by the arrangement of the two primary rooms--the chapel and the cultural hall. Through variation of the position of the primary rooms these plans reflected the shapes of the letters H, L, T, and U. Known as the "alphabet plans" (Bradley 1981:49), the forms were used extensively from about 1905 until the early 1930s. The alphabet plans were a remarkable improvement

over the old pioneer plan because they were easily adaptable to accommodate the needs and future growth of the congregation. Furthermore, they provided a better balance between worship, instructional, and recreational or social facilities (Davis 1970).

The Profusion of Styles

Probably no period in LDS architectural development saw greater profusion and reaching out for different styles than the early decades of the twentieth century (Roberts 1975). In addition to Gothic styles, which continued from the previous period, Romanesque, resurgent Neoclassical, Early Christian/Byzantine, and several other period revivals, even modern styles, were found by themselves or mixed together in the same building. The examples provided in the following sections illustrate the variety of styles used in LDS meetinghouse architecture during the early statehood period.

Gothic Motifs

As indicated above, the use of Gothic styling in warehouse design persisted into the twentieth century. However, the restless originality and eclectic daring of the Victorian era was much more pervasive in the Gothicism of the early statehood period than that of the preceding period.

Compared to the earlier Gothic Revival warehouses constructed by the Church, the Victorian Gothic architecture of the early twentieth century was more imposing and complicated. The buildings created an insistent verticality through

such elements as pointed arches, steep gables, spires, and pinnacles. Visual excitement was further achieved by increasing the quantity and originality of ornamentation, utilizing materials that varied in quality and texture, and incorporating projecting surfaces to create rich shadow patterns.

A number of fine examples of Gothic meetinghouse architecture remain from this period, including the old Murray First Ward, the Salt Lake Second Ward, the Liberty Ward, the Salt Lake Tenth Ward, the old Provo Fourth Ward, the old Salt Lake Twenty-third Ward, the Salt Lake Twenty-seventh Ward, and the old Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward. Collectively, these particular buildings demonstrate the variability of form and idiosyncratic application of Gothic styling during the early statehood period.

Constructed between 1907 and 1913, the old Murray First Ward meetinghouse exhibits subtle, yet distinctively Gothic detailing (Figure 25). The brick and concrete building features a square vestry tower with crenellations and horn-shaped projections near the top corners of the tower. The old chapel is front gabled and a small oval-shaped lantern or cupola was placed in the middle of the chapel roof. The major windows in the chapel and tower are almost Tudor in design, emphasizing width more than height.

The feature that sets this meetinghouse apart from its contemporaries, however, is the unique interior arrangement of the chapel, which departs from the usual nave in that it is T-shaped (Roberts 1975). Seating is provided adjacent to the trunk of the T as well as the flanking areas of the top of the T.



Figure 25. Old Murray First Ward meetinghouse (1907-1913). Photograph by author, 1995.

Consequently, the arrangement is able to accommodate a large audience within a relatively small space--an efficient design for not only church services, but also for the building's current use. Today the old Murray First Ward building serves as a community theater.

Perhaps one of the more impressive Gothic meetinghouses erected by the Church during this period is the Salt Lake City Second Ward meetinghouse (1908). The Second Ward features a yellow brick superstructure and a contrasting foundation of red sandstone, stepped buttresses, a steep gabled roof with a thin soffit and dentil run, and stained glass windows with elaborate tracery in the two major gabled ends (Figure 26). The most distinguishing decorative element, however, is the tall, square vestry tower with an engaged vestibule positioned at a 45-degree angle from the tower.

Originally, the building had a T-shaped plan. However, an harmonious addition was later added to the west side of the structure (Roberts 1974). The building still serves as the Second Ward meetinghouse and is a stately addition to the local neighborhood.

The current Liberty Ward meetinghouse (1908) represents a fine example of Gothic architecture as adapted for use in a small meetinghouse. Constructed of reddish-brown brick with concrete trim, the building features a square vestry tower at the southeast corner of the chapel, large, decoratively paned and stained Gothic windows in the major gables, and white painted buttresses that contrast with the dark brick (Figure 27).



Figure 26. Salt Lake City Second Ward meetinghouse (1908). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 27. Liberty Ward meetinghouse (1908). Photograph by author, 1995.

The building was originally T-shaped. However, three additions were later made to the west side of the building (Roberts 1974). Two of the additions are massed in a manner consistent with Medieval Gothic forms, but the diluted Gothic styling and different colored brick of the third addition is antithetical to the original design.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the current Salt Lake City Tenth Ward chapel (1909) is a constituent part of the only remaining LDS ward square or block of the original nineteen Salt Lake City wards. Although somewhat blocky, the Gothic chapel exhibits a number of unique decorative features (Figure 28). Rather than the more typical single tower, the Salt Lake Tenth Ward chapel has two crenellated towers, one at each corner of the principal facade. At the cornice above the large stained glass window of the front gable, an ornate dentil run is formed by the fine corbelled gable trim. In sharp contrast to the elaborate principal facade, the sides of the building are minimally decorated. Nevertheless, a series of square window bays separated by square pilasters do add relief to the otherwise plain side walls.

Another good example of Gothic styling as adapted for use in small meetinghouse architecture is the old Provo Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1918). Special features include a gabled roof with deep eaves and decorative brackets, large stained glass windows under a projecting concrete arch in the front gabled wall of the chapel, and a square vestry tower with stepped buttresses,



Figure 28. Salt Lake City Tenth Ward chapel (1909). Photograph by author, 1995.

crenellated top, louvered lancet bays, and a recessed arch entry (Figure 29). The T-shaped, split-level building remains essentially unaltered from its original condition, and currently serves as a non-denominational wedding reception center.

The former Salt Lake City Twenty-third Ward meetinghouse (1913) represents a more subtle, yet clean, application of the Gothic Style. This modest building features a gabled roof with deep eaves, a square vestry tower with stepped buttresses and a crenellated top, and Gothic windows, many of which have since been bricked in or covered with wood (Figure 30). In 1925, a recreation hall was added to the north side of the chapel giving the building its current L-shaped plan (Roberts 1974).

Over the years the old Twenty-third Ward has been used for a variety of purposes including storage and as a workshop for a general contractor (Roberts 1974). Today the building serves as warehouse space for a group of local race cars builders.

In addition to the square, crenellated tower styles, other Gothic styles more characteristic of mainstream ecclesiastical architecture were also popular with the Mormon Church during this period. One example of such architecture is the current Salt Lake City Twenty-seventh Ward meetinghouse (1902). This Victorian Gothic wardhouse features three major gabled ends, two of which wrap around a corner vestry tower (Figure 31). Stained glass windows in sets of three were incorporated into each of the gabled ends. The tower has a pointed



Figure 29. Old Provo Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1918). Photograph by author, 1995.

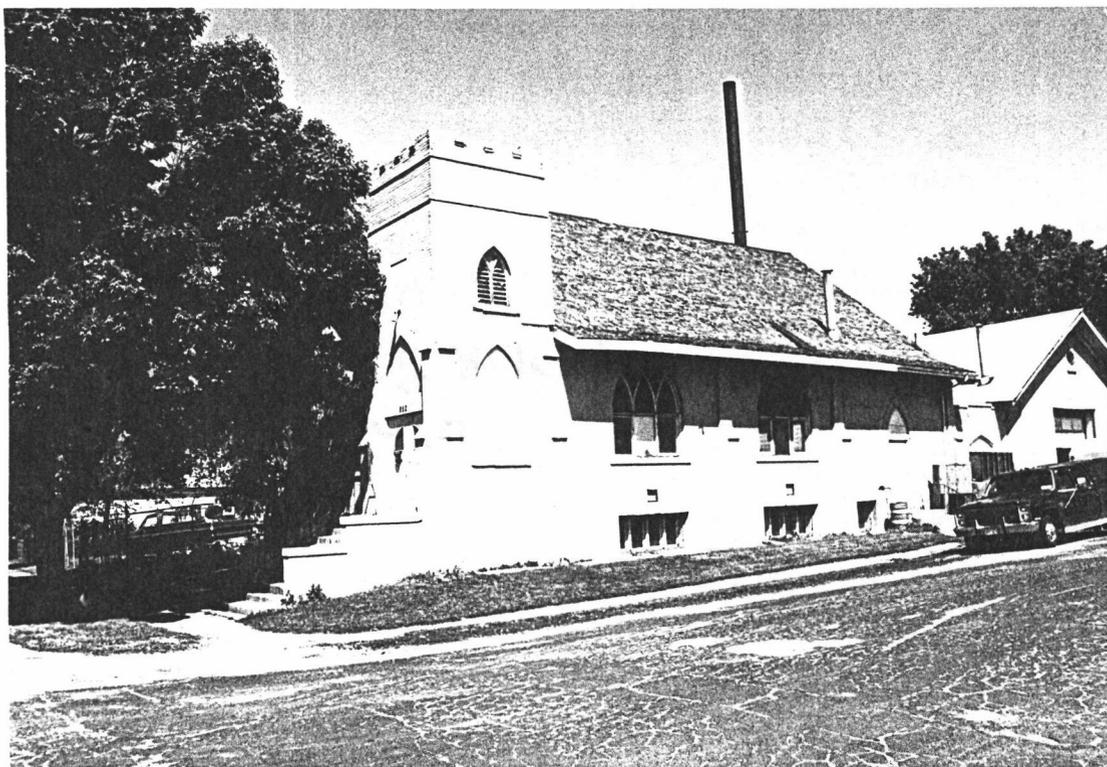


Figure 30. Old Salt Lake City Twenty-third Ward meetinghouse (1913).
Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 31. Salt Lake City Twenty-seventh Ward meetinghouse (1902).
Photograph by author, 1995.

steeple and is flanked on three sides by pinnacles capped in a fashion like that of the tower. Subsequent additions to the Twenty-seventh Ward were done in Tudor Style, but they do not detract significantly from the original Gothic building because of the latter's dominant form.

Another example of more typical Victorian Gothic ecclesiastical architecture is the old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1902-1904). The old Fifteenth Ward features many attributes similar to those of the Twenty-seventh Ward including the corner vestry tower with its pinnacles and pointed steeple (Figure 32). However, the Fifteenth Ward is also adorned with decorative bargeboards along several of the gables as well as two circular windows with wooden muntins that form pentacles. The original building was L-shaped, but a later addition changed the basic plan (Roberts 1974). The addition was in a fairly close Gothic style so that the two structures are in relative harmony with one another. Over the years the old Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward has been used for a number of purposes. The building once served as a motion picture studio (Roberts 1975) and, more recently, as a theater.

Victorian Eclectic

Rather than being a distinctive style, Victorian Eclectic is a term used to identify buildings that show a combination of elements from such popular styles as Italianate, Neoclassical, Romanesque Revival, Colonial Revival, as well as Gothic Revival (Carter and Goss 1988). A few warehouses built during the first decade of the twentieth century are best characterized by this term.

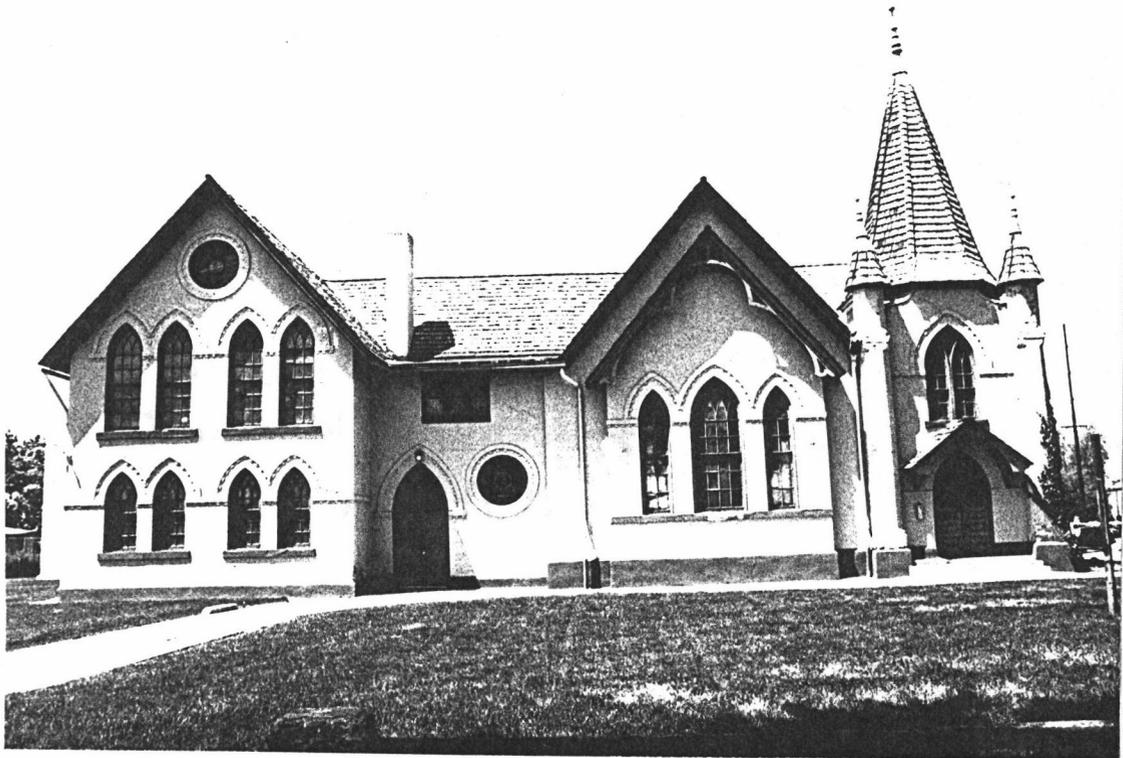


Figure 32. Old Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward meetinghouse (1902-1904).
Photograph by author, 1995.

One extant example of LDS Victorian Eclectic architecture is the old Provo Third Ward meetinghouse (1901). The front gable of the chapel features a large Romanesque bay window that has five pointed-arch mullions and lead-framed, stained glass panes. Above the large frontal window are three small louvered bays with round arches. The side of the building has Gothic windows with stained glass and corbelled arches. At the south end of the building is a semi-circular or apse-like staircase shell that extends three stories above grade. The most prominent feature, though, is the vestry tower at the southeast corner of the chapel (Figure 33). The tower has a series of rectangular and Romanesque windows, four pairs of open Romanesque bays that serve as the belfry, and a two-tiered conical steeple capped with a weathervane. Decorative pinnacles rise above the base of the steeple at the four corners of the tower.

In 1913, a recreation hall was added to the north side of the chapel (Roberts 1974). Although the stylistic attributes of the addition are inconsistent with that of the chapel, the addition detracts little from the excitement of the original structure. Currently, the old Provo Third Ward houses a private school.

Another example of warehouse architecture that fits the description of Victorian Eclectic is the old Salt Lake City Twenty-fourth Ward (1907). The building is essentially triangular in plan because of the unusual shape of the corner lot on which it sits. The front elevation is three stories high with entry made at the second floor via a ramped stairway (Figure 34). Due to the



Figure 33. Old Provo Third Ward meetinghouse (1901). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 34. Old Salt Lake City Twenty-fourth Ward meetinghouse (1907).
Photograph by author, 1995.

building's location on a hill slope, the rear entrances are also made at the second floor.

Stylistically, the building is striking. At the north end is a semi-circular apse with a conical hipped roof. Above the main entry is a large, square tower with corbelled Romanesque bays, brick quoins, and a hipped roof. On the south and west sides of the building are large gables with broad eaves. The eaves of each gable overhang the wall and then return to form a large, round arch. On the wall beneath each arch is a set of three windows with a Palladian-like arrangement. Other windows throughout the building are square and have stone sills and lintels. Stepped wall buttresses and roof dormers give the building additional relief.

Like most Victorian Eclectic buildings, the old Salt Lake Twenty-fourth Ward seems to lack unity. However, it does not lack interest. In fact, the building has been heralded as one of the more significant LDS warehouses of this period (Roberts 1974). Today, the former meetinghouse functions as a pre-school.

Prairie Style

At the turn of the century, America's renowned architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, and his associates began developing distinctively modern designs that reflected the sprawling, horizontal terrain of the Midwest (Carter and Goss 1988; Poppeliers et al. 1976). Known as Prairie Style, their designs influenced architects the world over, including a few that worked for the Mormon Church (Roberts 1975).

Marking one of the few times that the Mormon Church has been willing to experiment with new and innovative forms, it hired the young architectural team of Hyrum Pope and Harold Burton to design the Salt Lake Park First Ward (formerly the Liberty First Ward) meetinghouse in 1910 (Bradley 1981; Roberts 1975). Pope and Burton were cognizant of Wright's innovations and ideas, and the geometric details and mass of the Park First Ward reflected their familiarity with the Prairie School of Architecture (Figure 35).

Immediately after its completion in 1913, the building was praised in a Salt Lake City newspaper: "Its position is commanding and the unique style causes it to stand out from other edifices devoted to a similar purpose" (Deseret Evening News, 21 February 1913:10). The Park First Ward was the first truly modern piece of architecture in Utah, and it became the prototype for other religious and secular buildings erected throughout the state (Roberts 1975).

Unfortunately, the building's notoriety and innovative design were not enough for the Church to consider it worthy of preservation. The building was recently razed to make room for apartment buildings, which ironically exhibit subtle Prairie Style design elements.

As in the case of the Park First Ward, Salt Lake's Ensign Ward meetinghouse (1913) was designed by two architects familiar with the concepts of the Prairie School. True to form, the building emphasized horizontality through its hipped roof, overhanging eaves, and overall low profile (Figure 36).



Figure 35. Old Park First Ward meetinghouse (1913). Photographic Archives, Utah State Historical Society.



Figure 36. Old Ensign Ward meetinghouse (1913). Photograph by author, 1995.

In addition to its clean and precise appearance, the design team of Monson and Price went to great lengths to ensure that the building be as functional as possible (Roberts 1974). In spite of their thorough efforts, the Ensign Ward underwent major additions and alterations in 1927, 1933, and 1942 (Roberts 1974); and was razed in 1996.

Although Prairie Style architecture was used most extensively between 1910 and 1921, it continued to influence the design concepts of a few Church architects well into the 1930s. The current Central Park Ward was one of the last warehouses with Prairie Style motifs erected by the Church (Roberts 1974).

Constructed between 1926 and 1936, the Central Park Ward meetinghouse features the characteristic low-pitched roof, geometric patterns in the leaded glass windows, deep columns between the windows, and pre-cast concrete panels with ornate floral designs around several doors and the gable facades (Figure 37). The two main wings of the warehouse were built a few years apart, but their similar detailing makes them nearly indistinguishable.

Colonial Revival

Not all members approved of the modern designs produced by the likes of Pope and Burton. Without a tower, steeple, or other traditional church features, many saw the architecture as foreign and awkward (Roberts 1975).

Consequently, in the 1920s Church architects Colonel Joseph Don Carlos Young and Willard Young turned to the past for a more appropriate style for LDS

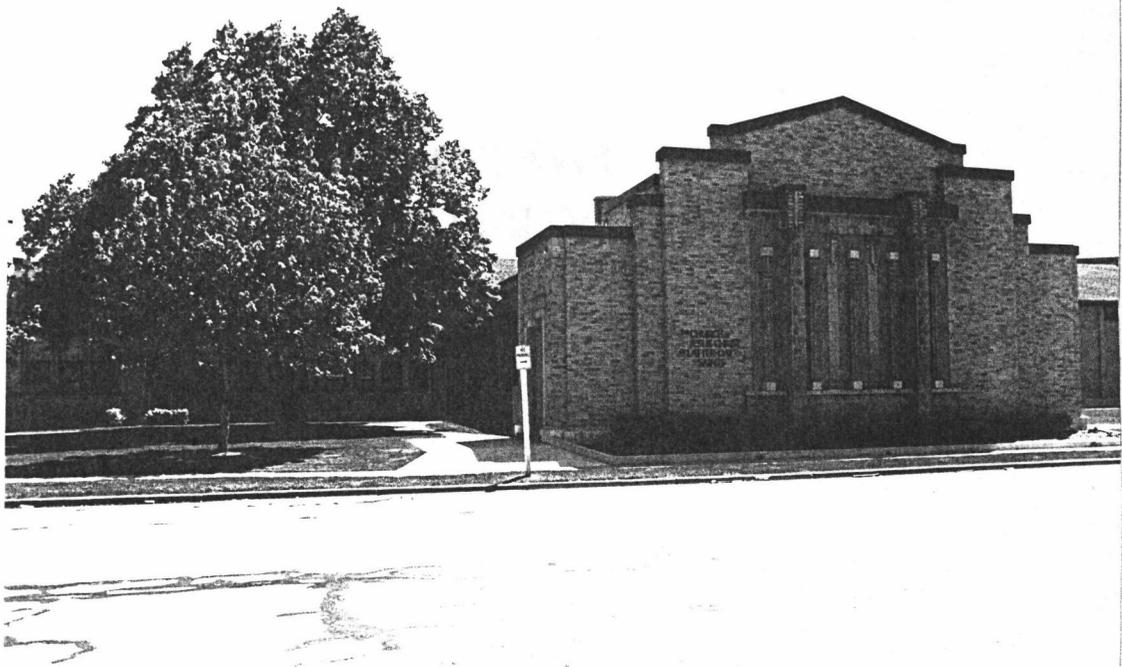
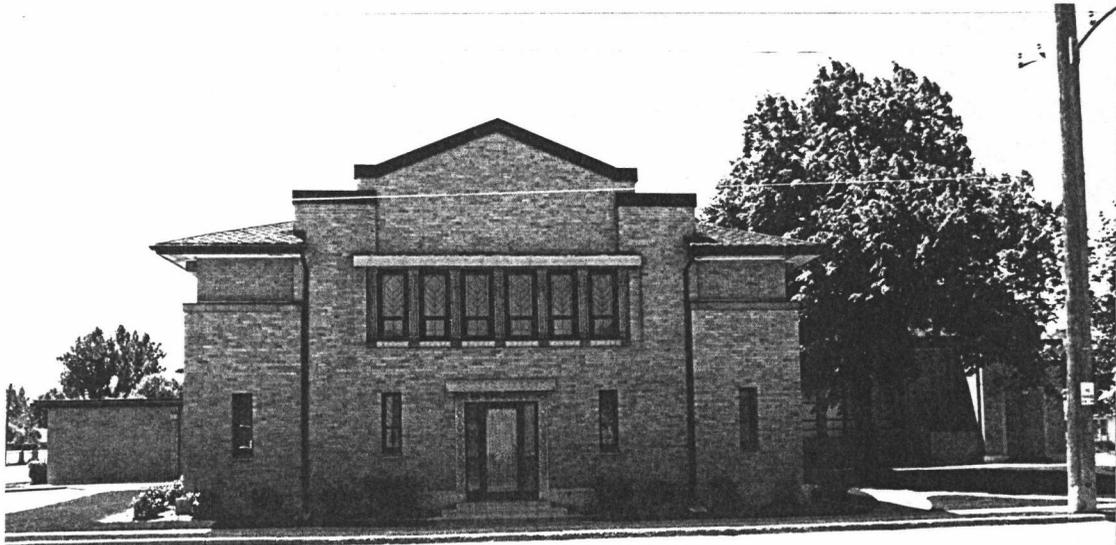


Figure 37. Central Park Ward meetinghouse (1926-1936). Photographs by author, 1995.

warehouses. The two architects felt that Colonial motifs were particularly well suited for Mormon architecture because the designs created not only a visual link to the Church's New England heritage, but also mainstream American culture (Bradley 1981).

The plans, which have been dubbed the "Colonel's Twins" (Bradley 1981:48), were H- or U-shaped. The chapel and recreation hall formed the two major wings with classrooms and auxiliary rooms located in the connecting wing and/or downstairs (Figure 38).

The Colonel's Twins became the first set of standardized plans used by the Church. However, unlike the standardized plans of later years, the Colonel's Twins were repetitive. Furthermore, many of these buildings were constructed from exactly the same set of plans (Bradley 1981). The Colonel's Twins were built throughout the Great Basin and California, and many examples still remain. Three excellent examples in the Salt Lake Valley that are still used by the Mormon Church are the Belvedere Ward (1925) (Figure 39), the Nibley Park Ward (1925) (Figure 40), and Salt Lake Twenty-sixth Ward (1927) (Figure 41). One thing that is particularly interesting about these buildings is that the facades of the two major wings are not exactly identical. The purpose for this slight variation is apparently to visually distinguish the chapel from the recreation hall, or the sacred from the secular.

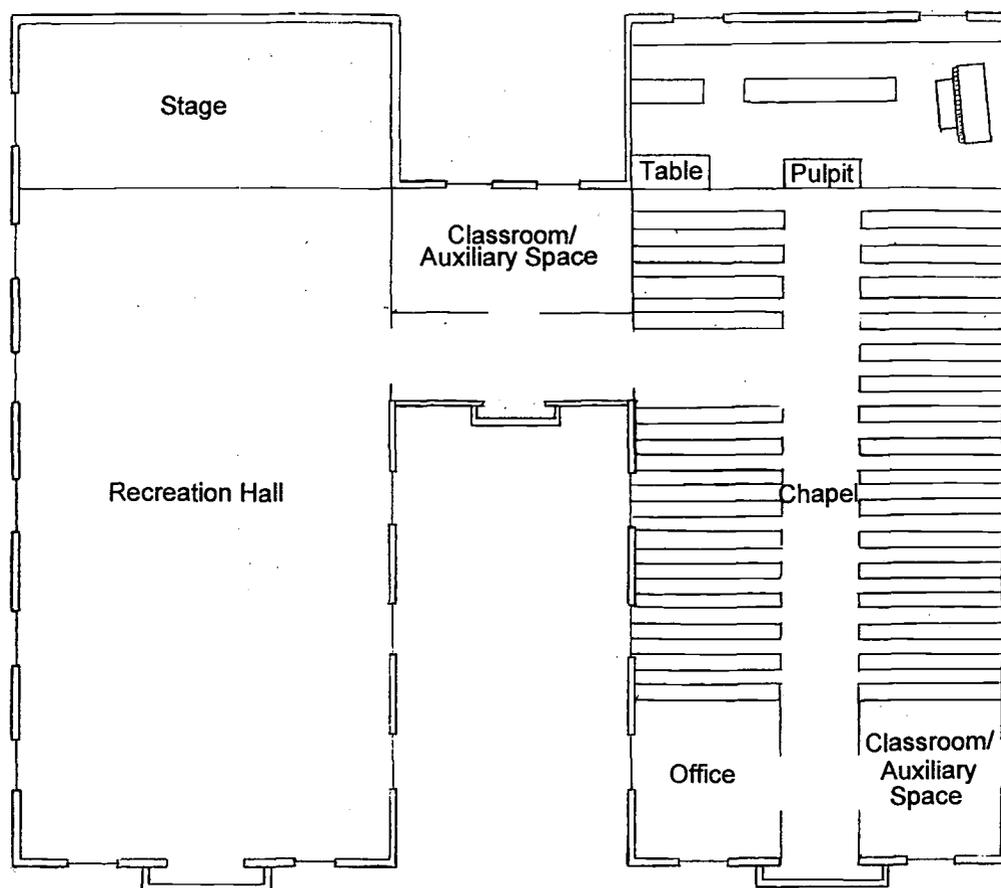


Figure 38. Plan view of a typical "Colonel's Twins" Colonial Style warehouse.
Adapted from Davis (1970:99).



Figure 39. Belvedere Ward meetinghouse (1925). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 40. Nibley Park Ward meetinghouse (1925). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 41. Salt Lake City Twenty-sixth Ward meetinghouse (1927). Photograph by author, 1995.

Neoclassical

Like Colonial Revival, many Church members found Neoclassical motifs appropriate for LDS meetinghouse architecture. Not only did Neoclassical architecture possess a certain ecclesiastical dignity, it too reflected the Church's roots. Typical of the wardhouses from this period with Neoclassical detailing are the Forest Dale Ward and the Yale Ward.

There is little doubt that the current Forest Dale Ward (1902-1905) is one of the most interesting Neoclassical meetinghouses built by the Church (Figure 42). The split-level building has a rock-faced ashlar foundation and a painted brick superstructure. The entrances are grandiose, with huge pedimented porticos supported by Corinthian orders. From the heavily moulded pediment, the cornice and dentil run continue around the entire structure at the ceiling line. Above the cornice, the brick wall continues as a facade and features thin pilasters and recessed panels. The major window bays have wide, round, arches and sills that have been painted white. Above each of the four entryways is a circular window flanked by two square windows, all of which have decorative concrete framing.

The building's most unusual feature, though, is its large domed cupola situated on the roof over the center of the chapel. Atop the dome is a metal cylinder with a conical steeple. Originally, the ceiling below the cupola was open, but the opening was later sealed off (Roberts 1974). Apparently, the feature was too much of a distraction for the congregation (Roberts 1974).

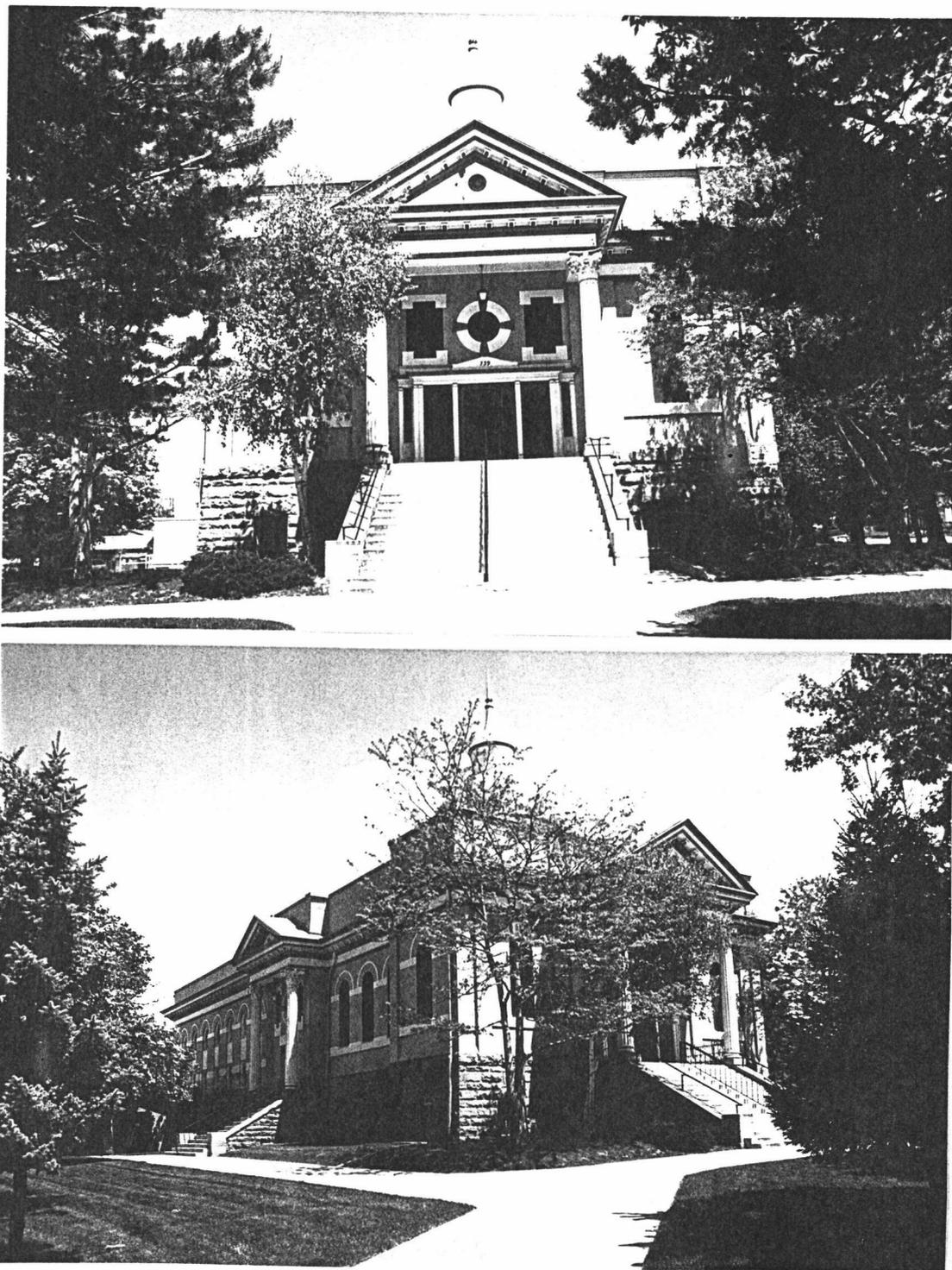


Figure 42. Forest Dale Ward meetinghouse (1902-1905). Photographs by author, 1995.

In 1913, a recreation hall was added to the north side of the chapel (Roberts 1974). Constructed of brick, the detailing of the addition is similar to that of the original structure.

While the style of the Forest Dale Ward is in a strict sense Neoclassical, that of the present Yale Ward meetinghouse (1924) is not. Certainly, the Yale Ward contains certain elements characteristic of Neoclassical architecture, including a colossal colonnade and an uninterrupted cornice. However, the building also exhibits several attributes commonly associated with Colonial Revival architecture, such as keystones at the apex of the round as well as several flat arched windows and fanlights over the entryways (Figure 43).

In effect, the Yale Ward was exactly what many Mormons at that time thought an LDS wardhouse should look like because, by combining classical and colonial features, the building captured the essence of the Church's early years. Motifs like that of the Yale Ward were so popular that they later became the inspiration behind the pseudo-Colonial designs of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

English Tudor

Although English Tudor motifs were more apt to be used by Protestant denominations in the Salt Lake Valley during this period, a few LDS wards also found the style acceptable. One particular LDS wardhouse that rivals any Protestant counterpart in design is the current Capital Hill Ward (1928).



Figure 43. Yale Ward meetinghouse (1924). Photograph by author, 1995.

The flamboyant Capital Hill Ward meetinghouse features a steep-pitched gable roof, imitation half-timbering with panels infilled with stucco, polychrome stone masonry, and a simulated thatched roof of asphalt shingles (Figure 44). The stone for the building was gathered from the local hills and the trim is of cast concrete.

The building has a T-shaped plan, which includes an addition to the north side of the structure. The detailing of the addition is almost indistinguishable from that of the original structure.

Another warehouse from this period that features design elements characteristic of English Tudor architecture is the present Highland Park Ward (1924). Unlike the Capital Hill Ward, however, the Highland Park Ward meetinghouse is unimpressive. Aside from the typical steep-pitched gable roof and simulated half-timber framing on the upper gables, the building is a pathetic attempt at English Tudor architecture (Figure 45).

Early Christian/Byzantine

While Early Christian/Byzantine architecture is most frequently seen in Utah's Greek Orthodox churches, the early Christian basilica form of a great hall naturally accommodated the functions of other religious groups, including the LDS Church (Carter and Goss 1988). Certainly, one of the most outstanding examples of this style of architecture produced by the Mormon Church is the Granite Stake Center (1929).

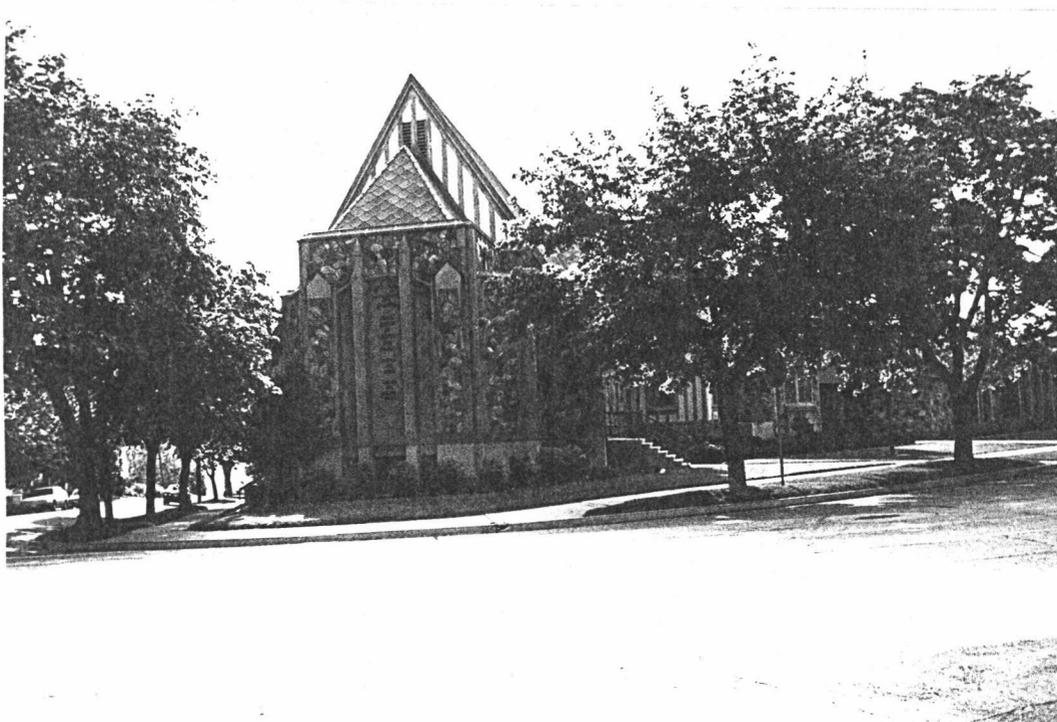
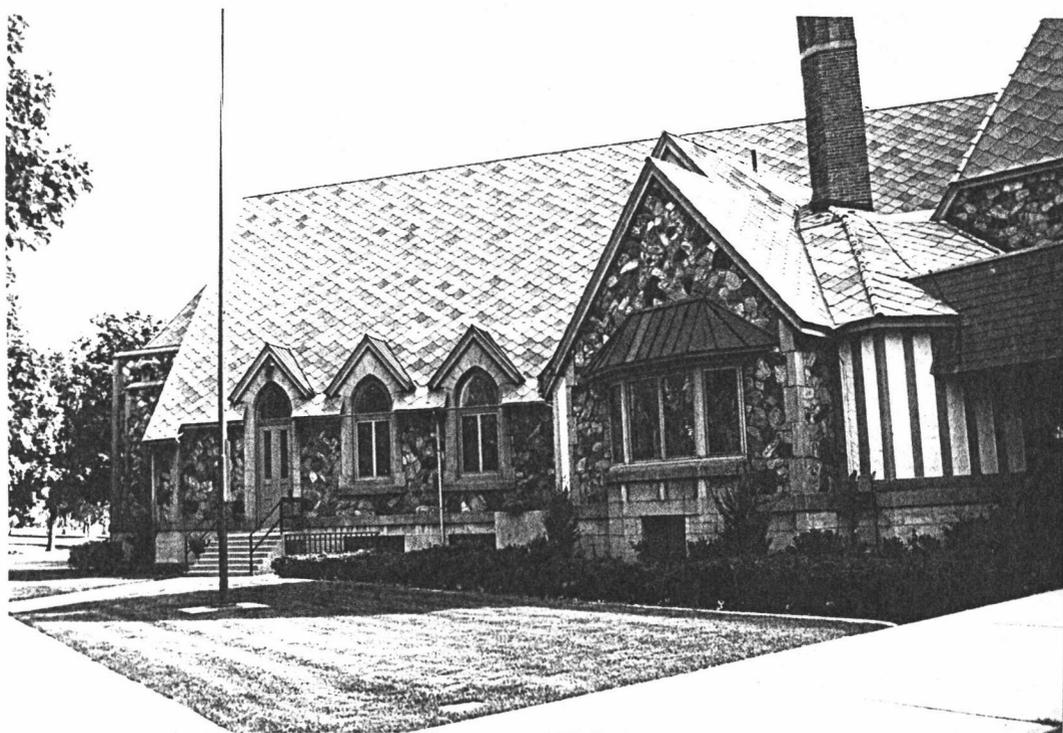


Figure 44. Capital Hill Ward meetinghouse (1928). Photographs by author, 1995.



Figure 45. Highland Park Ward meetinghouse (1924). Photograph by author, 1995.

Designed by architect Lorenzo Snow Young, the Granite Stake is in the shape of a basilican hall church (Carter and Goss 1988). The motif is enhanced by the stone masonry with brick belt courses at the building's base, the clay tile roof, and decorative terra-cotta details (Figure 46). Additional decorative elements include a scalloped dentil under several eaves, cast concrete panels set into the brick, entryway columns, some of which are spiraled, and a narrow, spire-like tower.

Huge in scale and lavishly decorated, the Granite Stake was one of the most expensive meetinghouses the Church had ever erected. The \$225,000 price tag was particularly remarkable given the fact that Utah was hit especially hard by the Depression (Roberts 1974). Today the building serves not only as the Granite Stake Center, it also houses the Lincoln Ward and the Dai-Ichi (Japanese) Ward.

Miscellaneous Styles

While many of the warehouses constructed during this period followed the design tenets of a single style, an equal (if not greater) number were an amalgam of styles. The following examples provide a glimpse of the different and often unusual ways styles were combined.

Built in 1902, the old Salt Lake City Thirty-first Ward meetinghouse, which is now a private school, is perhaps closest to Romanesque Revival. However, added to the Romanesque feel are design elements characteristic of other styles (Figure 47). Typical of Romanesque, the building is of substantial weight and



Figure 46. Granite Stake Center (1929). Photographs by author, 1995.



Figure 47. Old Salt Lake City Thirty-first Ward meetinghouse (1902).
Photograph by author, 1995.

mass and features semi-circular arches in several doors and windows, gabled ends terminating in parapets, and a rock-faced foundation. The stepped wall buttresses and pilasters are more common of Gothic architecture, while the transom lights and fanlights above the entries reflect a Colonial influence. The eclecticism of the old warehouse is unusual for this early period and is unparalleled by any other in the state (Roberts 1974).

Another warehouse that has no counterpart in Utah is the present Wasatch Ward (Figure 48). Originally designed in 1917 by Pope and Burton, the building reflected Prairie School principles of design (Anderson 1982). However, the duo's additions and alterations a decade later changed the meetinghouse into an exotic pavilion with a contemporary Spanish flair. Although the warehouse's stylistic combination was never repeated in Utah, similar buildings were produced in California where they were more apt to blend into the local architectural landscape (Roberts 1974).

Another Pope and Burton design is the University Ward (1925). This building reflects their experience with the architecture of Bertram Goodhue, an American architect whose modernism was less radical than that of Frank Lloyd Wright (Anderson 1982). Typical of a Goodhue design, the University Ward meetinghouse features a simplified historical motif (Figure 49). The basic form is Gothic, but the feel is most certainly modern. The building's most outstanding element is its large tympanum, deeply inset within the wall above the main entry.

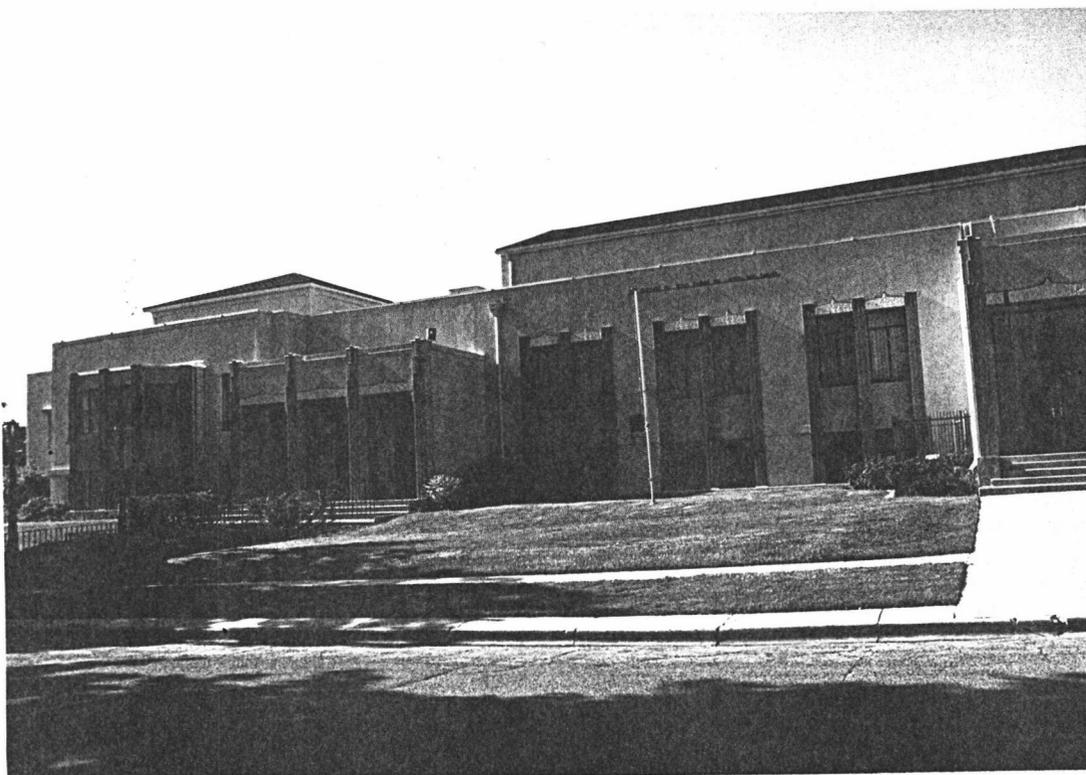


Figure 48. Wasatch Ward meetinghouse (1917-1928). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 49. University Ward meetinghouse (1925). Photograph by author, 1995.

The tympanum features a colorful depiction of Christ preaching to a congregation done in mosaic tiles.

The last warehouse to be discussed in this section and chapter is the Ogden Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1929-1930). This monumental building features an unusual melding of Gothic and Art Deco (Figure 50). The Gothic influence is evident in the pointed window arches and wall buttresses, while the angular geometric brick work and decorative parapet and cornice is indicative of Art Deco. The large entry tower separating the stepped wings brings the two styles together in a coherent manner.

The building, which still serves as the Ogden Fourth Ward as well as the Ogden Stake, is particularly interesting because it symbolizes the dilemma LDS leaders faced as the Church recovered from the Depression. Many of the warehouses erected during the height of the Depression, including the Ogden Fourth Ward, were some of the most handsome and well-built that the Church had ever produced. Furthermore, they were effective missionizing tools as they embodied the Church's strength as it survived the Depression. However, the costliness of these buildings was cause for concern among many Church leaders who felt that while warehouses should be beautiful, the Church could not continue spending money "extravagantly or unnecessarily" (Cannon 1937:46). Consequently, in a rather unusual move, the Church's General Authorities granted architects the freedom to pursue different designs that would solve the



Figure 50. Ogden Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1929-1930). Photograph by author, 1995.

Church's dilemma. The move helped usher in a new period of experimentation during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

THE EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD (1936-1945)

In a sense, virtually every period in LDS architectural development has been “experimental” as the Church groped for designs that expressed the true essence of Mormonism. However, this period was different in that Church architects did not look to the past for their designs, but rather to the future. The consequent group of buildings have been called Mormon monumental or Mormon moderne by various students of LDS religious architecture (e.g., Anderson 1982; Davis 1970; Roberts 1974).

Correct Proportional Form

In an attempt to create a form that would reflect the strength of the religion as well as contend with the problem of economically housing rapidly growing congregations, architects proposed the use of larger buildings with simple massing of the primary activity areas. The designs employed basically the same elements as the earlier alphabet plans. However, instead of the two distinct building masses typical of the preceding period (i.e., the chapel and recreation or cultural hall), the designs incorporated the classroom facilities into a third mass (Davis 1970; Roberts 1974). The classrooms, which typically had been located in the basement, were moved to the main floor and situated around the chapel and cultural hall to create a proportional architectural form that reflected the three principal activities conducted in the ward (Figure 51).

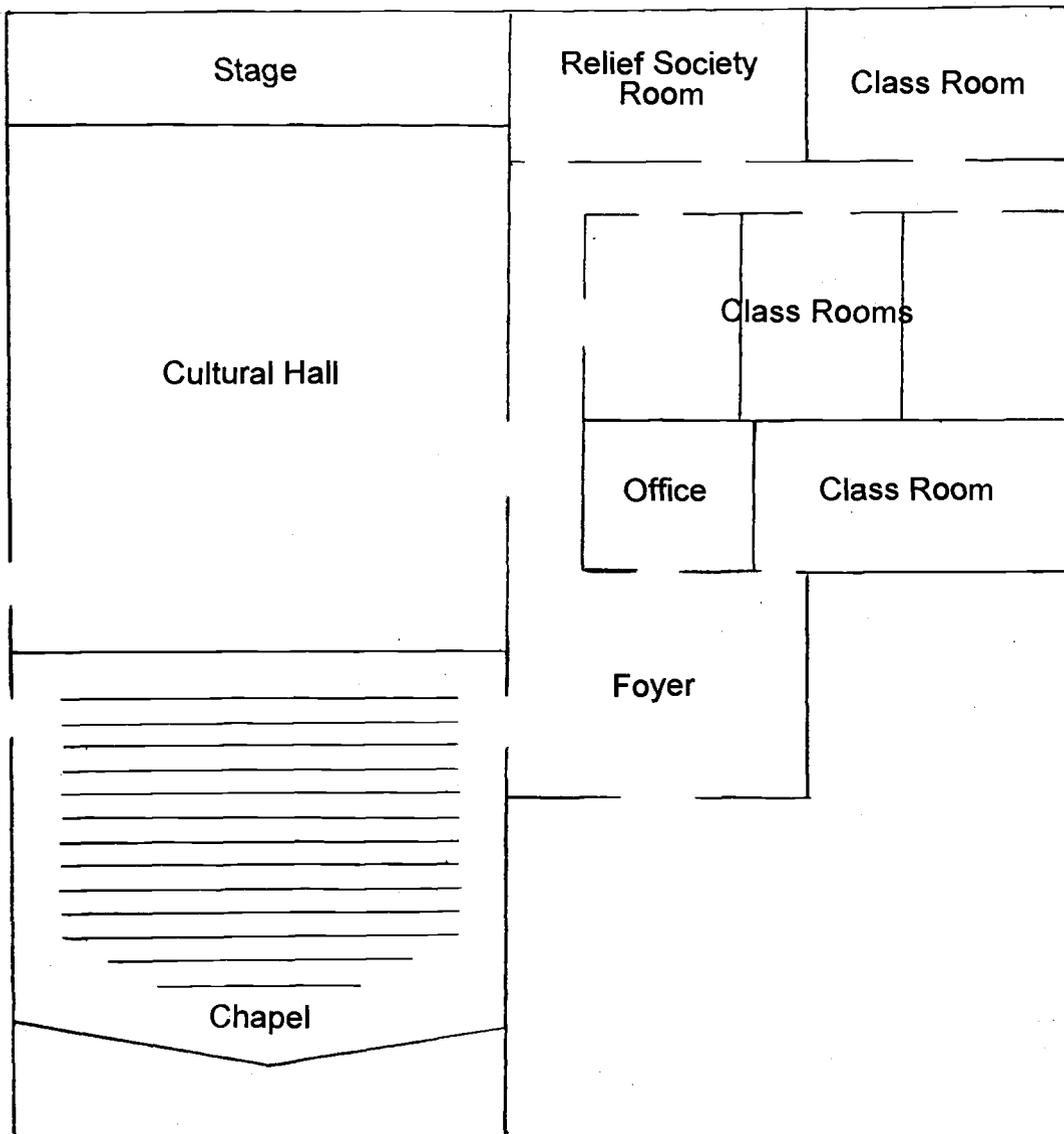


Figure 51. Typical plan of an experimental period warehouse showing the proportional massing of the three principal activity areas. Adapted from Davis (1970:100).

Modernistic Tendencies

Many of the old problems of cost were overcome as architects largely avoided traditional church motifs and instead partook of the more unpretentious modernistic tendencies sweeping the country. The dramatic silhouette and geometric decoration of Art Deco, the sleek lines of the International Style, and the streamlined look of Art Moderne were used to produce a startling departure from conventional LDS warehouse architecture (Anderson 1982). Some of the warehouses resulting from this stylistic shift were unique and exciting. Most, however, tended to be stark and austere.

Perhaps one of the more interesting designs from this period is that of the present Yalecrest Ward meetinghouse (1936). This Art Deco building is constructed of board-textured, reinforced concrete and features an octagonal tower decorated with a band of ceramic tile and topped with a metal lantern (Figure 52). The problem of incorporating the tower into the composition of this otherwise commercial-looking building was solved by keeping the tower low enough to blend with the horizontality of the building.

Another example of the elaborate modernism of Art Deco as applied to LDS warehouse architecture is the current Ogden Twenty-first Ward (1940). True to style, this building features blocky forms, a castellated parapet, and geometric ornamentation (Figure 53). Over the entrance is an unusual inscription panel with the name of the ward framed by two abstract American flags and a border of zigzags and curves.



Figure 52. Yalecrest Ward meetinghouse (1936). Photograph by author, 1995.



Figure 53. Ogden Twenty-first Ward meetinghouse (1940). Photograph by author, 1995.

Less radical than the Yalecrest and Ogden Twenty-first wards, the present Edgehill Ward meetinghouse (1936) represents a compromise between modern simplicity and traditional form. Designed by Pope and Burton, the Edgehill Ward is basically colonial in form, but carries a few modern touches including round windows and subtle Art Deco detailing (Figure 54). The building is typical of much of Pope and Burton's work during this period, which seemed to strive for a kind of romanticism that appealed to a wider audience (Anderson 1982).

While the purest Mormon examples of the International Style were built in California, several wardhouses in the Salt Lake Valley incorporated similar design ideas in more cautious ways (Anderson 1982). One such wardhouse was the Salt Lake City Grandview Ward (1937). The original design of the Grandview Ward recalled the machine aesthetic through its smooth-surfaced, flat-roofed volumes. The main feature of the building, though, was the curved front of the chapel that projected toward the street--a design element more typical of the aerodynamic imagery of Art Moderne (Figure 55). To some observers, the Grandview Ward was sleek and gleaming. However, the overall response of the ward membership was apparently negative as major changes were later made to the exterior of the building in order to give it a more "church-like" appearance (Figure 56).

Possibly one of the most simple designs produced during this period was that of the current Salt Lake City Twelfth Ward meetinghouse (1941). This Art Moderne building features an octagonal entry tower and a projecting facade

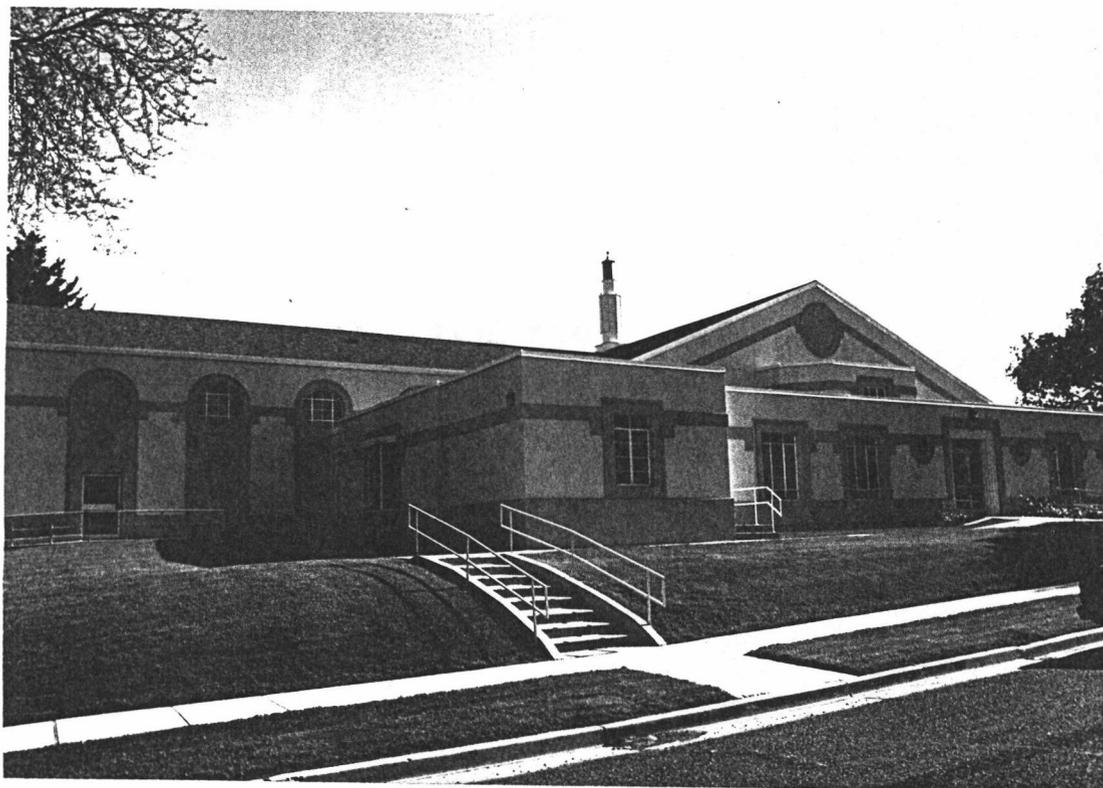


Figure 54. Edgehill Ward meetinghouse (1936). Photograph by author, 1995.

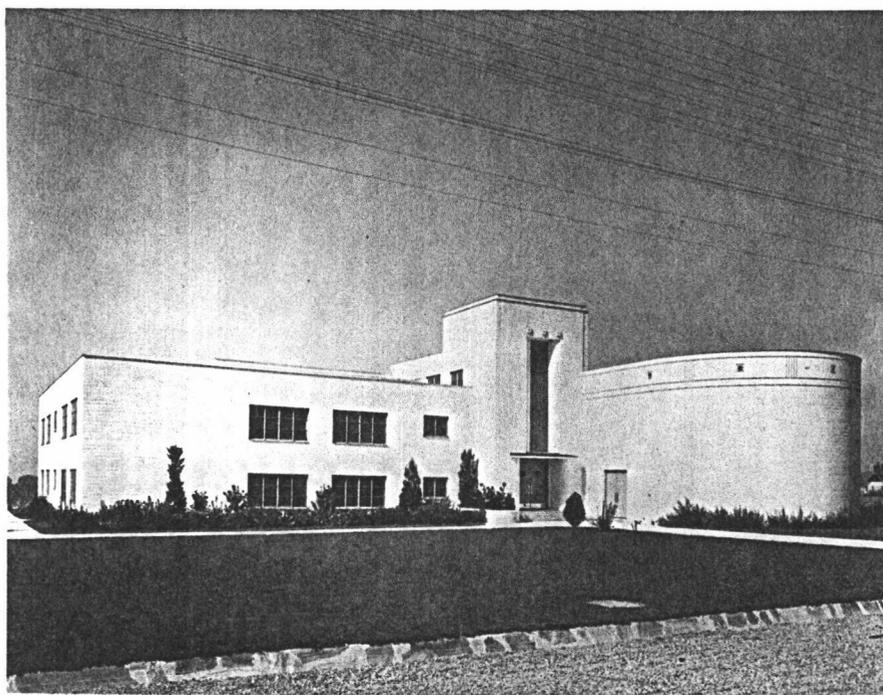


Figure 55. Grandview Ward meetinghouse as it appeared after its completion in 1937. Photographic Archives, LDS Church Historical Department.



Figure 56. Grandview Ward meetinghouse after major changes in the facade.
Photograph by author, 1995.

with an angled corner rather than the more typical aerodynamic rounded corner (Figure 57). Although skillfully composed, the Salt Lake Twelfth Ward illustrates the difficulty of creating a sense of religious aspiration with such a severe architectural vocabulary.

The Demise of the Experimental Period

In 1939, during the height of the experimental period, a convention of Church architects was held in Salt Lake City under Church auspices. During the convention, an address was given by Lowell Parrish, a leading LDS proponent of the modernist movement. His arguments seemed to have been aimed more at Church authorities and members than at his architect audience as he not only asserted that modern architecture was the only acceptable kind, he also went so far as to connect the intentions of the modernist movement with the ideals of the Church:

The essence of our latter day Church teachings is the development and the progress of our Church, and each member in it. If we are to progress in our Church Building Program we should employ the principles of this progressive new architecture which are the results of all the technical, economic, intellectual, and social advances of our times. To work in an historical style, to copy or adapt an archaeological art form is inconsistent with our present way of living and believing (Parrish 1939:7)

The conference reportedly passed a resolution encouraging the continued use of modern styles for Church buildings (Anderson 1982). However, by 1940 the LDS modernist movement was already on shaky ground. To many members and Church leaders alike, the styles that grew partly out of the glorification of the



Figure 57. Salt Lake City Twelfth Ward meetinghouse (1941). Photograph by author, 1995.

machine presented problems for buildings that glorified other aspects of the human spirit (Anderson 1982). As in the case of the Prairie Style designs of the preceding period, complaints that the modern buildings were "completely lacking in Church character" (Wilcox 1953:72) brought an end to the experimental period.

POST-WAR CONSERVATISM (1945-1954)

During the last couple years of World War II, Church building activity slowed dramatically. The lull gave Church officials the opportunity to rethink their position regarding the direction in which LDS architecture should be moving. Some of the warehouses produced just prior to the war had been successful experiments. However, many had failed to produce the feeling of a church structure, and the reaction of Church membership towards the modern architecture had not been favorable (Wilcox 1953). Instead of exerting greater effort to solve the problem, Church officials took the more conservative approach by once again turning to the past for more satisfactory designs. The reversion was made to traditional Colonial motifs, which possessed a certain ecclesiastical dignity appreciated by most Mormons (Roberts 1974). Beginning in 1949, Theodore Pope, through his private architectural firm, began to produce some pseudo-Colonial warehouse designs that became representative of LDS architecture for this period (Bradley 1981).

The plans that came out of Pope's office were used by the Church not only because of their popularity, but also because of their functional efficiency, the ease with which they could be duplicated, and the low fees Pope charged for his work (Bradley 1981). Pope, who was familiar with LDS ward activities and Church protocol, had an intuitive sense of what was required of warehouse spaces and the functional relationship of these spaces to Church programs. For example, some of Pope's buildings were the first to use the juxtaposition of the

cultural hall to the rear of the chapel in such a way to facilitate a flexible expansion of the assembly space for large gatherings (Figure 58). This and several other of his design concepts were subsequently incorporated into the Church's modern standard plan program (Bradley 1981).

In terms of style, a few of the buildings represented relatively serious explorations of traditional Colonial architecture, as is evident with the Bonneville First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1949) (Figure 59) and the Parley's Stake Center (1949). The Parley's Stake, which also houses the Parley's Second, Fourth, and Seventh wards, sports an excellent example of a swan's neck pediment over the main entryway (Figure 60). Most of the buildings, however, were little more than simple brick boxes that incorporated just enough Colonial stylistic elements to create a feeling of dignity, serenity, and formality. The Parley's First and Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1952) (Figure 61) is typical of the vast majority of pseudo-Colonial architecture produced by the Church during the decade following World War II.

To many in the Church, the pseudo-Colonial designs seemed to be appropriate symbols of their faith. The mainstream respectability of these buildings was so complete that many of them were distinguishable from typical Protestant churches only by the absence of crosses (Anderson 1982). It is somewhat ironic that the Mormon Church's return to traditional motifs coincided with the ascendancy of modern architecture over the old styles throughout most of the country. However, as Paul Anderson points out:

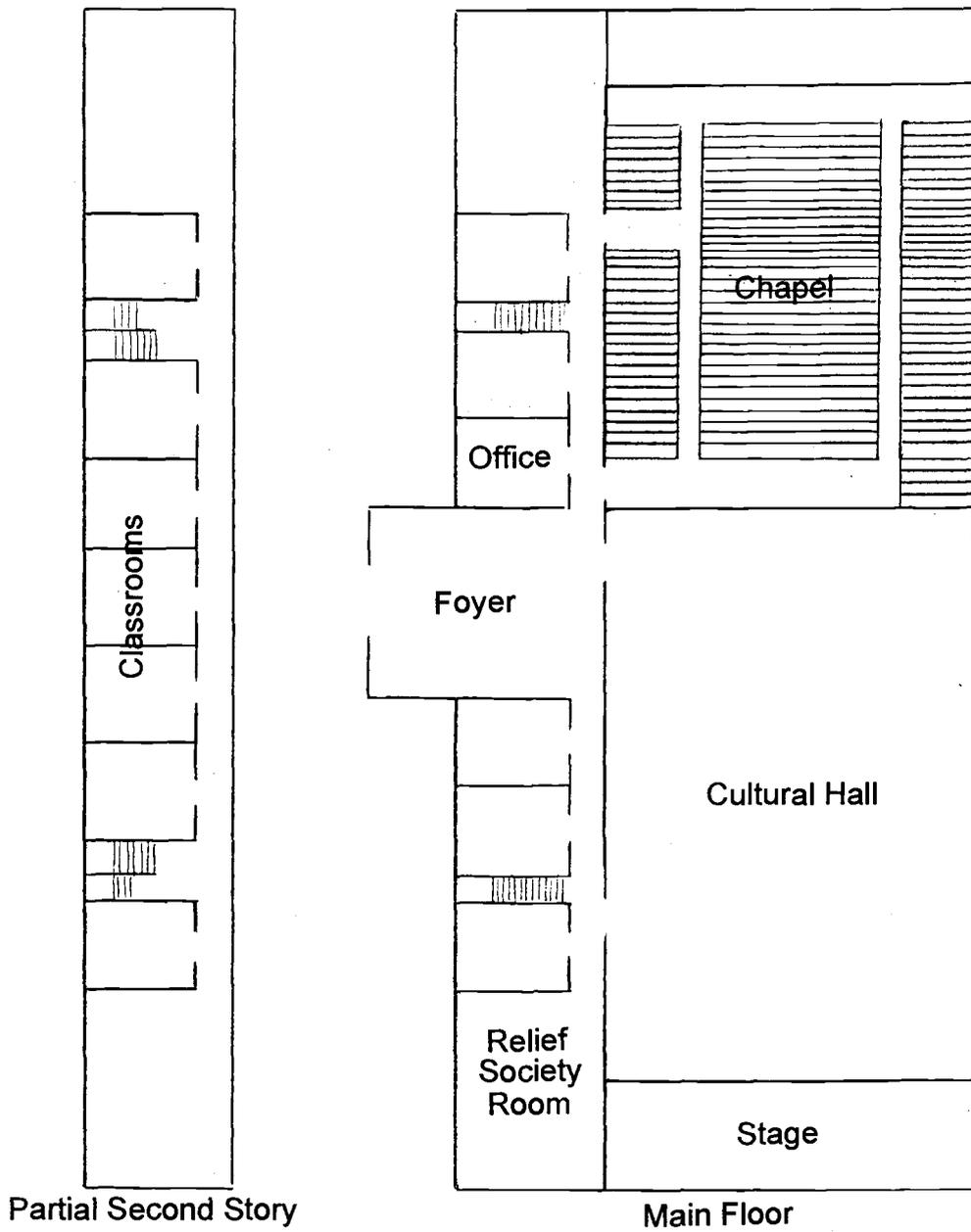


Figure 58. Plan view of a typical pseudo-Colonial Style warehouse. Adapted from Davis (1970:102).

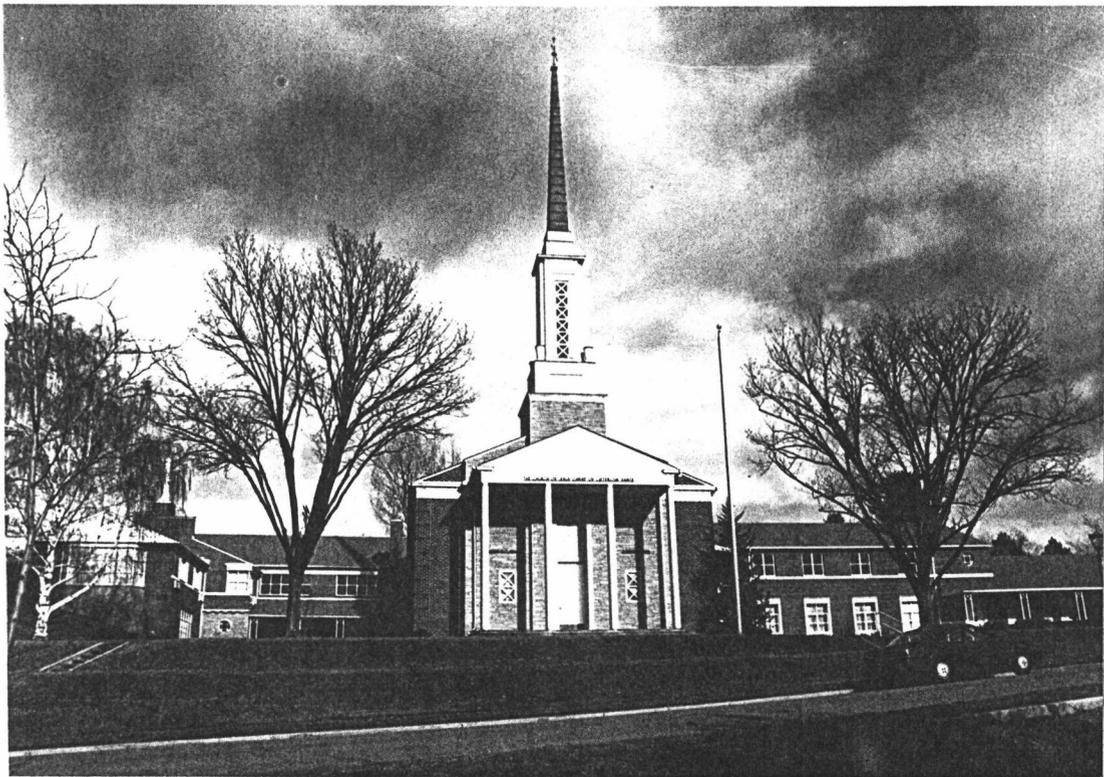


Figure 59. Bonneville First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1949).
Photograph by author, 1995.

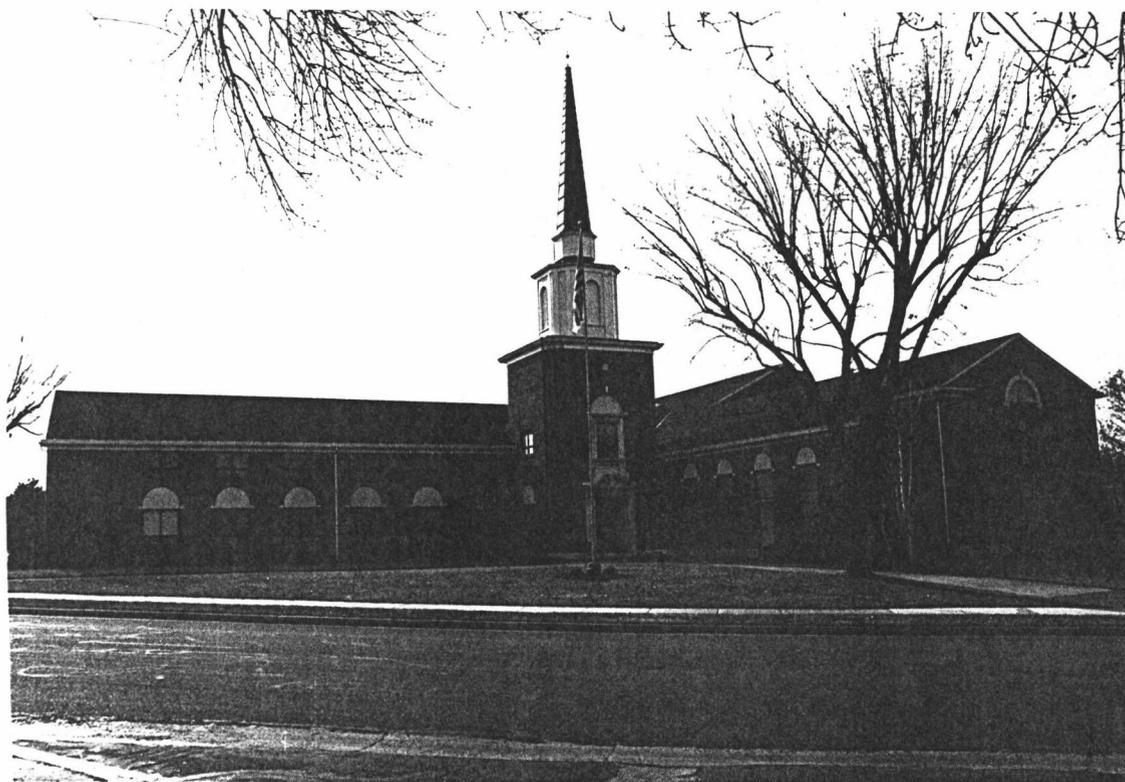


Figure 60. Parley's Stake Center (1949). Photograph by author, 1995.

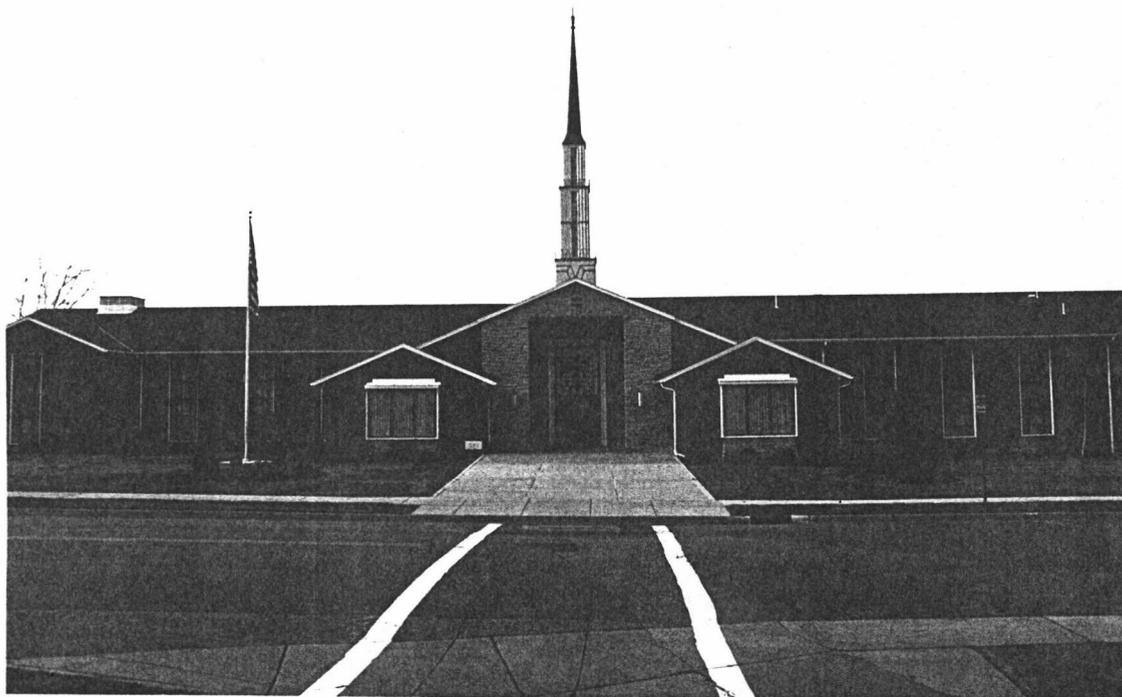


Figure 61. Parley's First and Sixth Ward meetinghouse (1952). Photograph by author, 1995.

It is relevant to observe . . . that post-War religious architecture took a more expressionistic turn, emphasizing towers and bold geometric forms that contrasted with the cool modernism of the previous decades (Anderson 1982:83).

Hundreds of the Colonial warehouses were built all across the country.

Pope himself designed an estimated 250-300 of the buildings in little more than six years (Bradley 1981). After about a ten-year vogue, however, the Colonial plans were phased out. The Church had becoming more international in nature and the Colonial designs were not particularly suitable outside of the United States (Roberts 1974). Moreover, the dramatic growth and spread of the Church put strenuous demands on the Church building program, demands that required an immediate and innovative response.

STANDARDIZED PLAN ARCHITECTURE (1954-PRESENT)

In the years from 1940 to 1960, the LDS Church nearly doubled in size, swelling to an estimated 1,673,000 members (Allen and Leonard 1976). This tremendous surge in membership was a major concern of Church officials, particularly in terms of the financial ramifications inherent in housing the new members. By the mid-1950s, for example, the Church was spending over half of its annual budget on building construction (Cummings 1961). Clearly, the building program had become a major business in which the funds of the Church were heavily involved. Consequently, Church officials sought a more economical and efficient means of coping with the growth.

The solution came in 1954 with the creation of the Church Building Committee. Control of the Church's building program had been scattered among a number of different offices. With the establishment of the Building Committee, however, all aspects of the program were brought under the control of one central agency (Bradley 1981).

The new agency was divided into several departments, each responsible for specific aspects of the building process. Ultimate authority over the program rested in the First Presidency through the Committee on Expenditures. Composed of the First Presidency, representatives of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, and the Presiding Bishopric, the Committee on Expenditures established basic policies, approved specific projects, and appropriated the necessary funds (Allen and Cowan 1964). It was through this bureaucratic

approach to building construction that the modern standard plan program was born, refined, and streamlined in order to accommodate the needs of the Church membership (Bradley 1981).

In 1954, the Building Committee issued the first official index of church plans. It was not until 1965, however, that the transition to complete in-house standardization was achieved. In that year, the Church's building program underwent major philosophical and organizational changes. Under the new program, standard planning was no longer considered an alternative approach to building but, rather, the official policy and exclusive approach to new church construction. To better facilitate the new directives, departments were restructured and streamlined (Bradley 1981).

Many Church architects became alarmed at the prospects of wholesale standard planning within the Church. Of particular concern was the low priority that the program placed on aesthetics and the lack of consideration for regionalism and local initiative in design (Bradley 1981). Despite the architects' objections, the men formulating the policy of standardization saw the orderly and systematic approach to building as the most expedient means of keeping pace with the phenomenal growth rate. Program directors and Church leaders took the responsibility of shepherding the Saints' tithing dollars so seriously that the exigency to be efficient and economical took precedence over all other considerations (Bradley 1981).

Efficient, Economical, and Functional

The standard plan program was able to thrive because of its apparent suitability to a variety of concerns. Not only did standard planning save time and money, it specifically delineated the functional necessities of the Mormon church building, thus facilitating the uniform procedures of worship activities in every ward around the world. Moreover, as the program matured, plans were developed to satisfy as many conditions as possible. In 1965, the Standard Plan Department was formed around a base of 10 or 12 standard plans. Over time, the cumulative experience of working on thousands of building projects enabled department designers to expand the base to the point that complete sets of working drawings are now available for dozens of different standard buildings, suitable for a variety of locals, climates, and congregations (Bradley 1981).

Perhaps the biggest challenge for the program was providing adequate buildings for the mission field, where allowing for spatial flexibility and anticipated growth was of utmost importance. A corollary concern was land availability. In some countries it was often difficult for the Church to procure enough land to build sprawling warehouses like those typically erected in Utah (Bradley 1981). In order to address the unique set of circumstances of the mission field, expandable buildings were developed.

The typical Mormon warehouse is composed of a chapel, a cultural hall, and classroom facilities. An expandable plan allows for variations on this basic scheme but provides for the eventual addition or expansion of the primary

activity areas to the initial building mass. For example, the basic mass of an expandable building typically consists of a chapel and some classrooms. As the size and financial capabilities of the congregation increases, a cultural hall, office space, auxiliary rooms, and additional classrooms can be added until the building has the appearance of a full plan construction. Each phase is designed to be esthetically pleasing by itself, and yet an integral part of the building's overall design. One of the more popular expandable plans developed by the Church is the "Beaumont" (Figure 62). The plan initially provides for a single ward structure with around 3000 square feet. Through successive phases, the building can be expanded to a three ward structure with nearly 16,000 square feet.

While expandable buildings are used extensively in the mission field, they are rarely built in the Great Basin (Bradley 1981). There, LDS membership totals are more tangible and sufficient land is available to build, at the outset, the type of meetinghouse that best meets the needs of the congregation. The smallest of these types is the single ward meetinghouse (Davis 1970).

The floor plan of a typical single ward building is simple yet functional, with the classrooms and auxiliary facilities arranged around the central mass of the chapel and cultural hall (Figure 63). Although the single ward meetinghouse is a complete facility, its scale is much smaller than the second type of LDS meetinghouse, the multiple ward building.

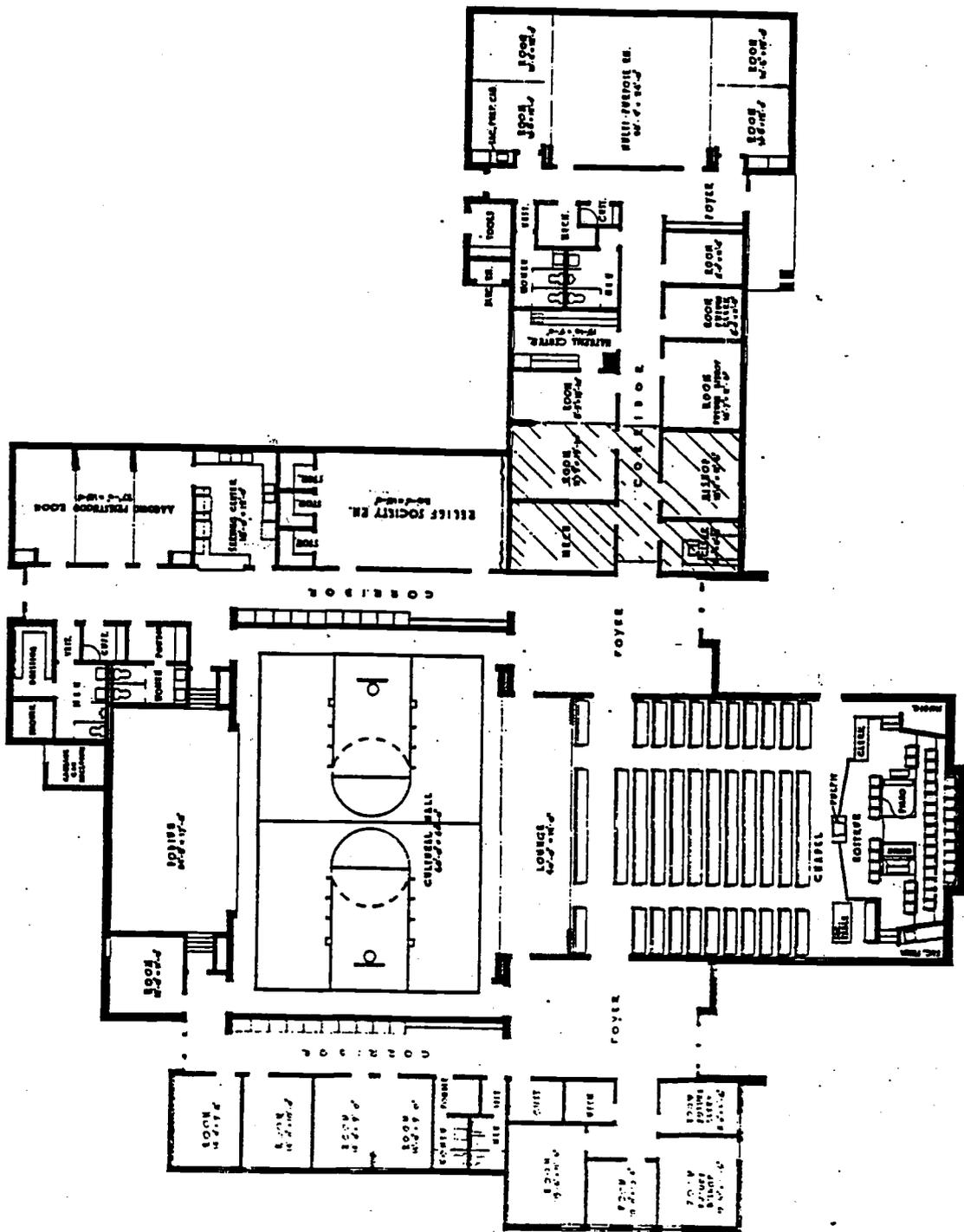


Figure 62. Floor plan of the Beaumont expandable meetinghouse. LDS Church Architectural Services Division.

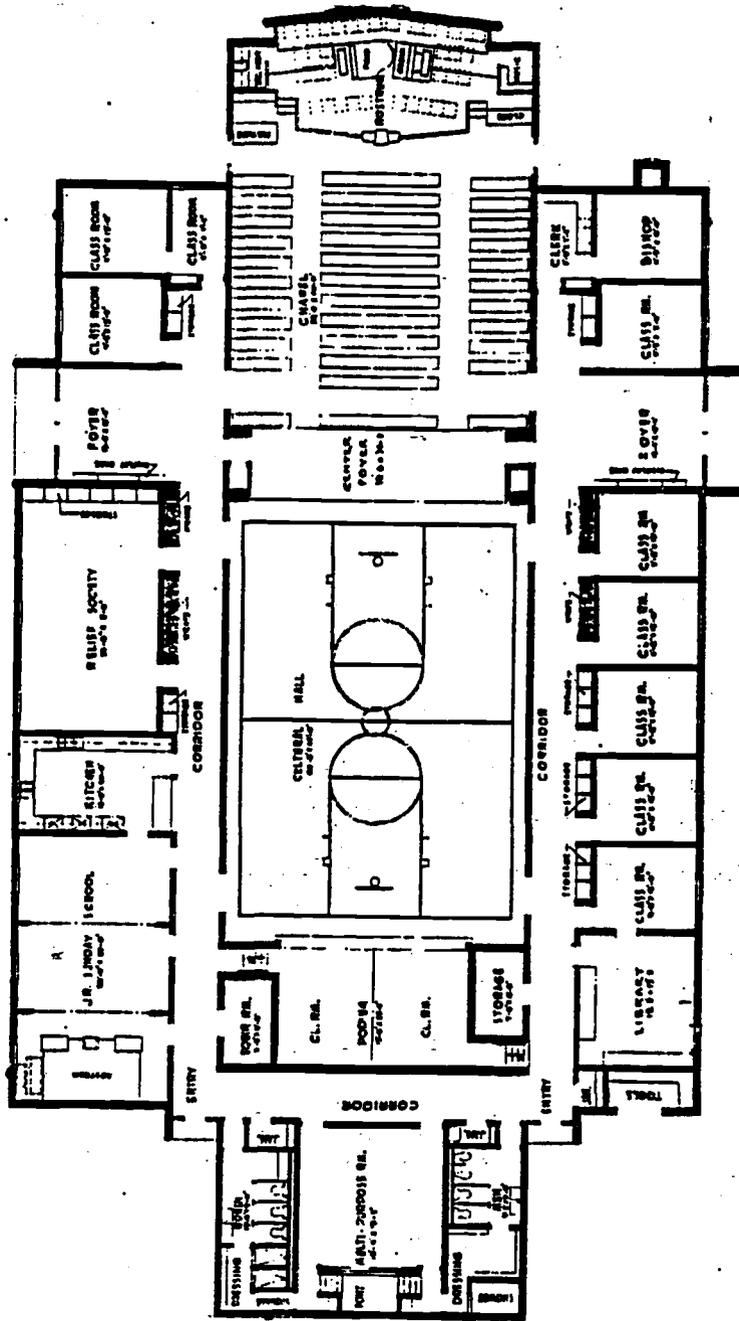


Figure 63. Floor plan of a typical single ward meetinghouse. LDS Church Architectural Services Division.

Multiple ward meetinghouses contain two to three wards and are most often built in well established areas with great prospective growth (Davis 1970). The floor plans of multiple ward meetinghouses are more varied than those of single ward structures, ranging from relatively simple configurations (Figure 64), to more complex forms (Figure 65). Regardless of the plan, however, all multiple ward buildings contain sufficient classroom and auxiliary facilities such that several sessions of activities can be conducted at the same time. To further accommodate the individual wards, the chapel and cultural hall are used on a staggered schedule. Because of real estate, construction, and maintenance costs, Church officials prefer that all buildings, if possible, be capable of housing at least two wards. Consequently, multiple ward meetinghouses are more common than single ward buildings (Davis 1970).

The largest of the standard plan meetinghouses is the stake center (Davis 1970). Stake centers are sometimes referred to as tabernacles, but there is a fundamental difference between the two types of buildings. Tabernacles were built primarily during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and served as the focal point of the stake. However, their auditorium-style designs were not practical for anything but stake conferences. Consequently, they were all but phased out and replaced by stake centers. In reality, stake centers are nothing more than multiple ward meetinghouses that also house the stake offices and conferences. As such, their forms are often similar to those of multiple ward facilities (Figures 66-67). In order to accommodate the needs of both the stake

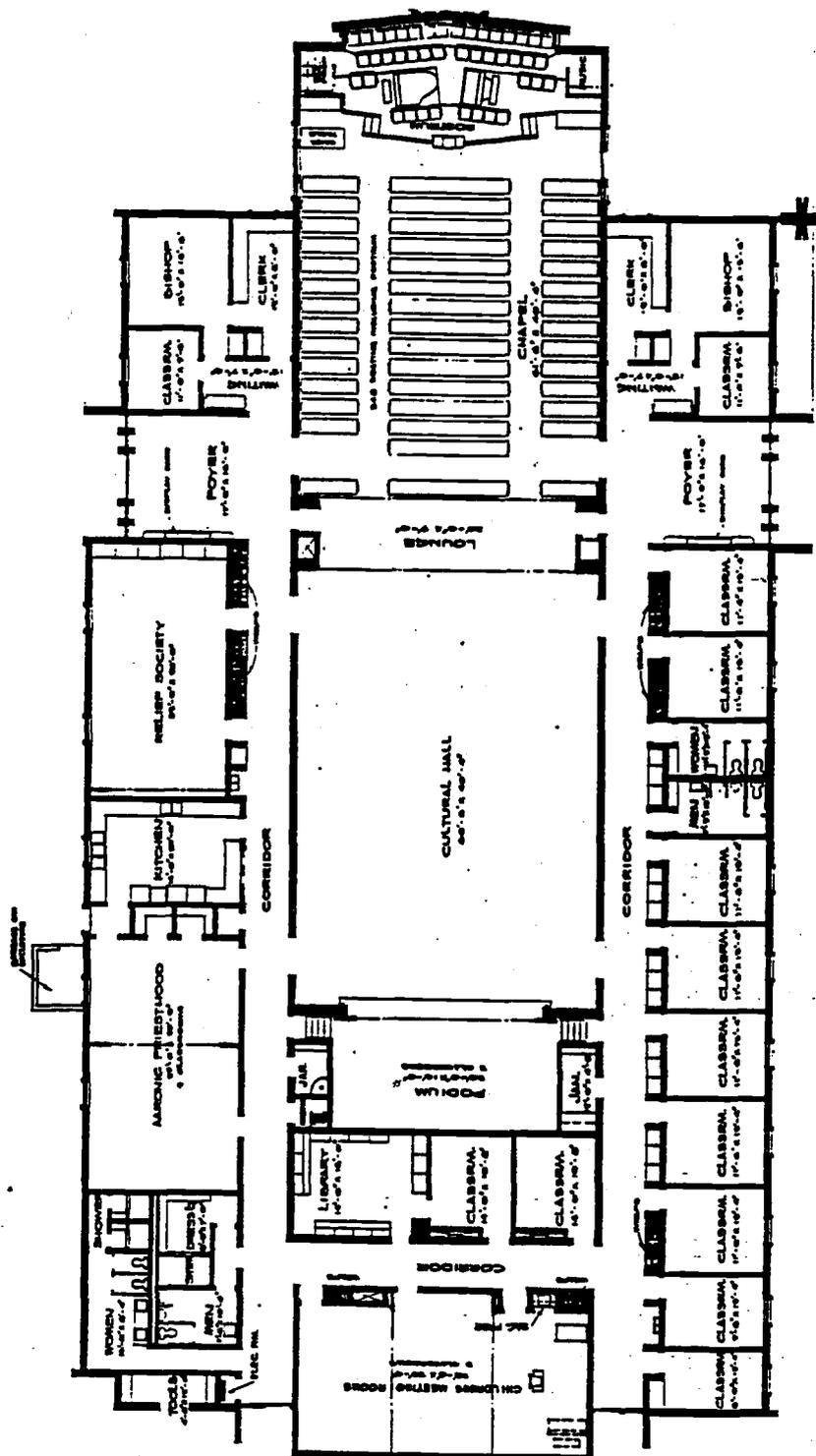


Figure 64. Multiple ward meetinghouse with a rectangular plan. LDS Church Architectural Services Division.

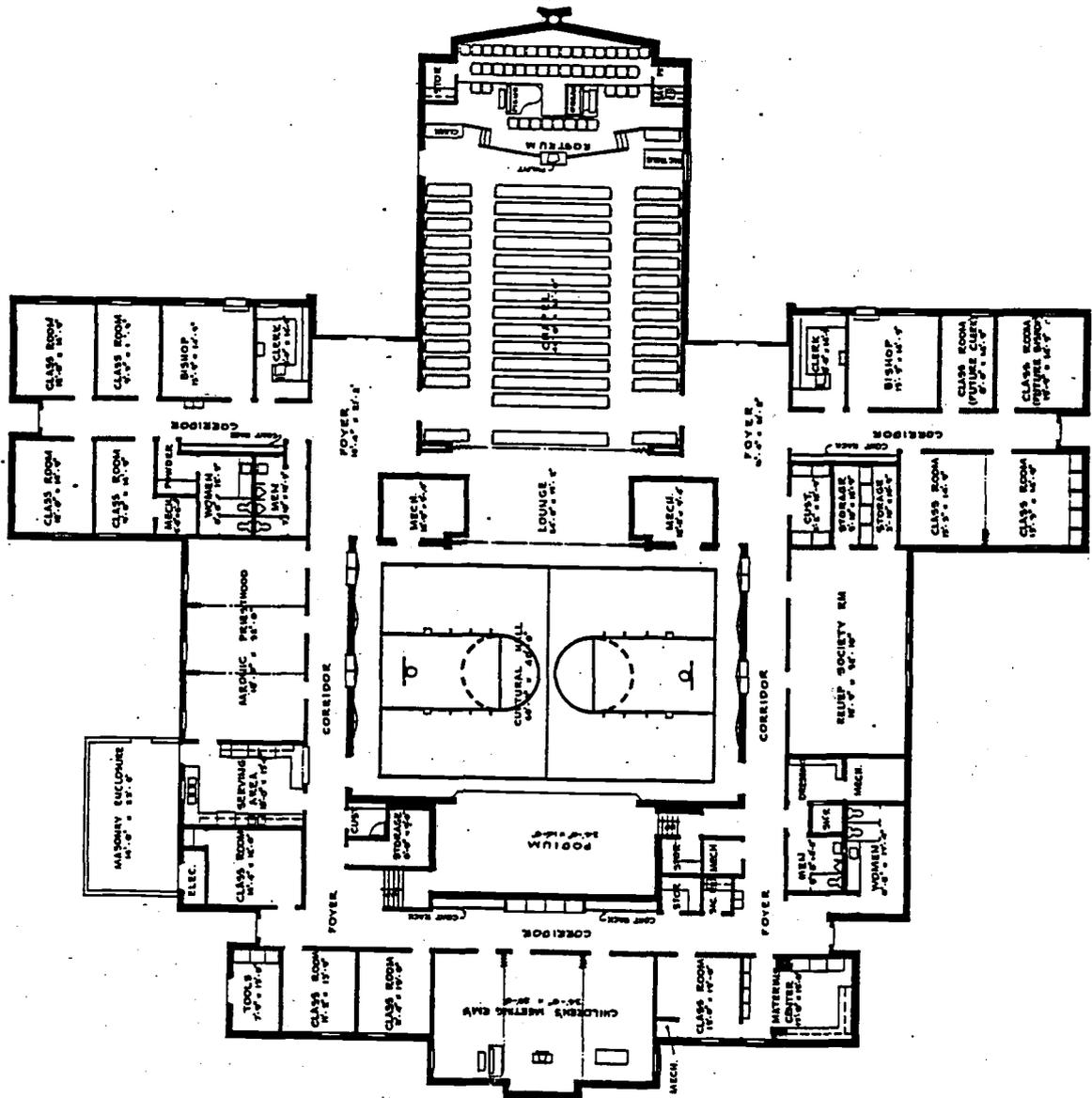


Figure 65. Multiple ward meetinghouse with a T-shaped plan. LDS Church Architectural Services Division.

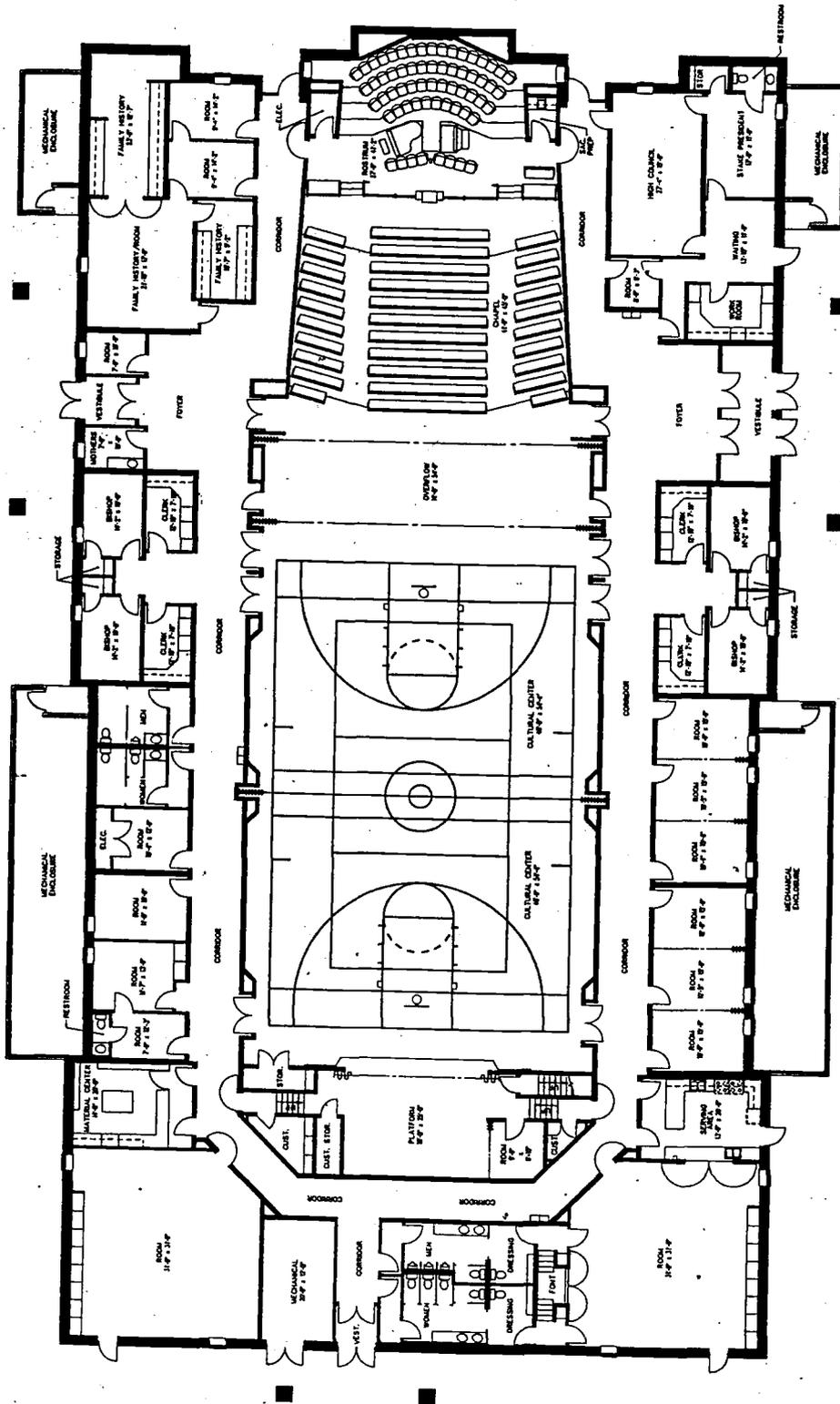


Figure 66. Stake center with a rectangular plan. LDS Church Architectural Services Division.

and the wards, the chapel and the cultural hall are separated by a sliding partition. The partition allows for a large conference assembly hall when opened and an small, ward-proportioned chapel when closed. Stake centers are commonly constructed in areas of intensely concentrated membership (Davis 1970).

Stylistic Standardization

As indicated above, efficiency, economics, and function formed the core principles of the Church's standard plan program. Subordinate to the core principles were aesthetic considerations. Such a focus may have fostered improvements in the formal attributes of the meetinghouse space, but it also fostered stylistic mediocrity. The symbolism and religious significance of earlier warehouses was reflected through shapes related to human proportions, decorative moldings, and attention to detail. Standard plan warehouses, on the other hand, were often completely void of artistic expression. With the building mass largely dictated by the methods of construction, and decoration based on industrial grade materials, standard plan buildings reflected the sterile architectural style of the machine age (Bradley 1981).

On some of the earliest standard plan meetinghouses, designers attempted to produce a sense of reverence and familiarity by incorporating decorative elements of the preceding period into the otherwise modern designs. For example, the entry tower of the Crystal Heights First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1954) clearly reflects a Colonial influence, while the remainder of

the building exhibits the rather innocuous modernism that has come to characterize the standard plan era (Figure 68). The pseudo-Colonial motifs were not particularly successful, however, as the designs were not only disjointed, but also more costly to build than strictly modern designs. Consequently, during the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, the Colonial Style was largely avoided. Nevertheless, it was not forgotten. By the late 1980s, Colonial motifs once again appeared in the LDS standard plan vocabulary.

One of the most common decorative techniques used in the modern standard plan designs was to repeat a particular theme across several elements of the building. Repetition of a decorative theme eliminated the possibility of discordant elements contradicting the basic unity of design (Bradley 1981). For example, repetition of similar angles accented by vertical lines was used on the Winder Fourth and Eleventh Ward meetinghouse (1957) to produce a feeling of repose (Figure 69). The building's steeple reflects the same rhythm. Likewise, the steeple of the Valley Park Third, Fourth, and Fifth Ward meetinghouse (1958) echoes the blocky forms of the chapel and classroom wings (Figure 70).

Although the steeple typically repeated some decorative element of the meetinghouse itself, steeple design was often capriciously unique and, thus, more individual than any other single element of the meetinghouse (Figures 71-76). Whether freestanding or attached, the steeple provided a degree of reverence to an otherwise secular-looking building. Indeed, the steeple was



Figure 68. Crystal Heights First and Second Ward meetinghouse (1954).
Photograph by author, 1996.

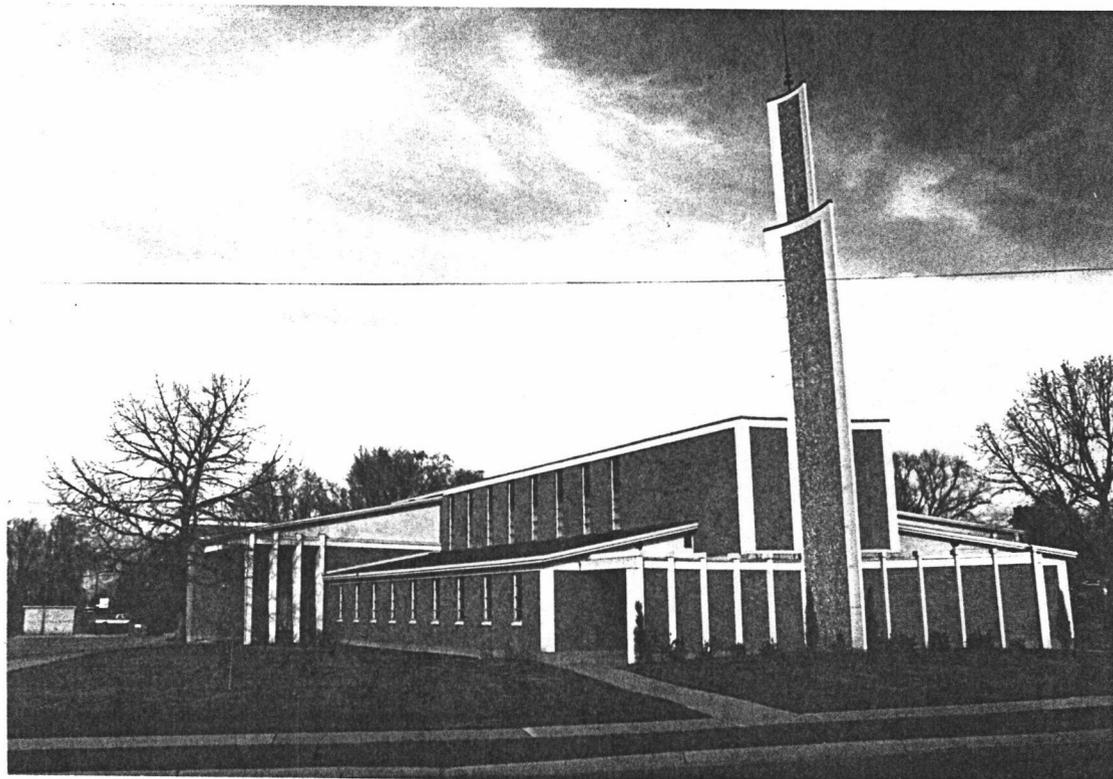


Figure 69. Winder Fourth and Eleventh Ward meetinghouse (1957).
Photograph by author, 1996.

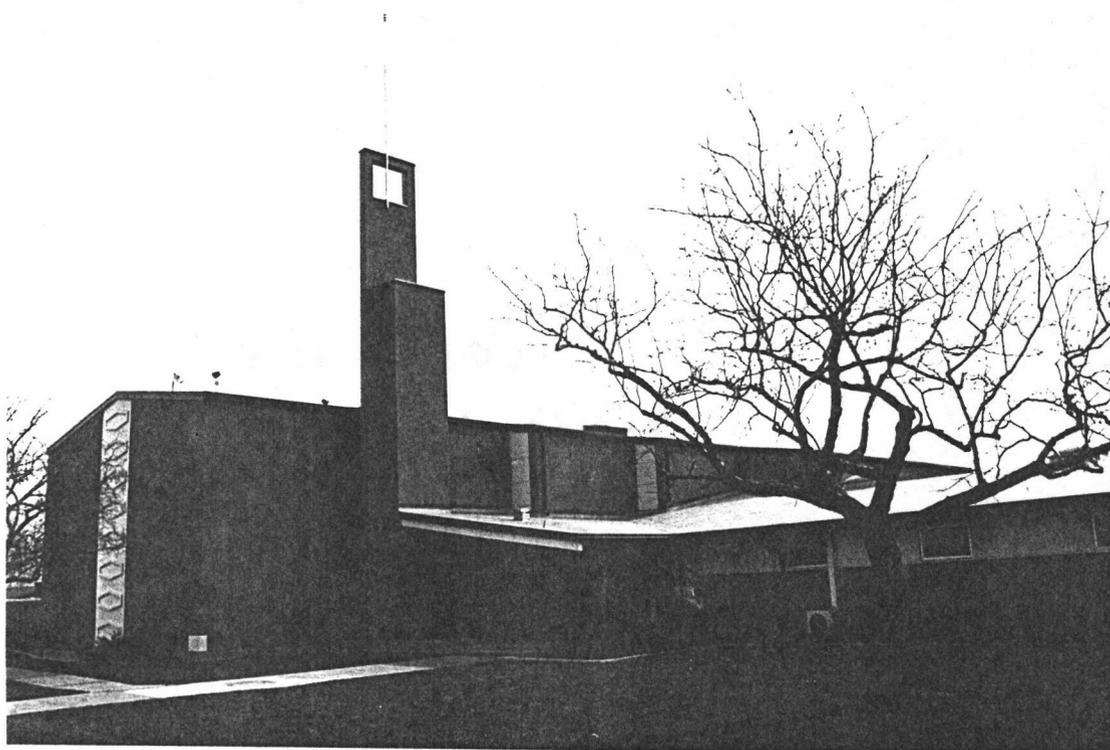


Figure 70. Valley Park Third, Fourth, and Fifth Ward meetinghouse (1958).
Photograph by author, 1996.

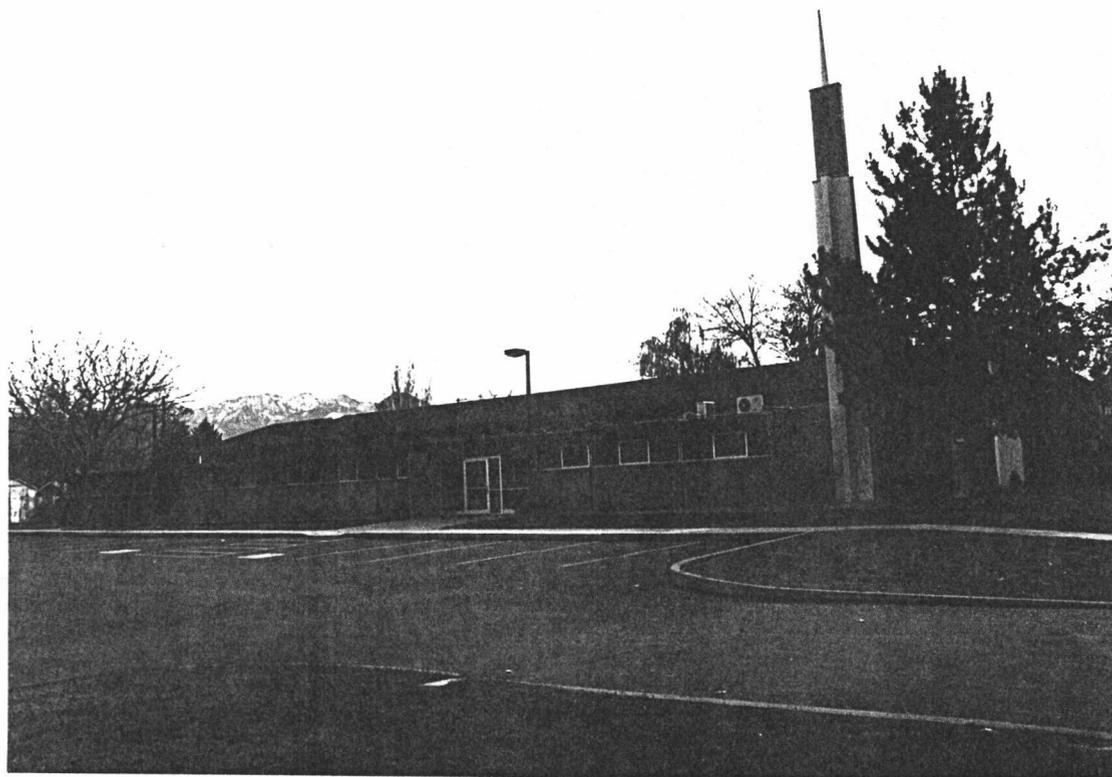


Figure 71. Waterloo Ward meetinghouse (1963). Photograph by author, 1996.

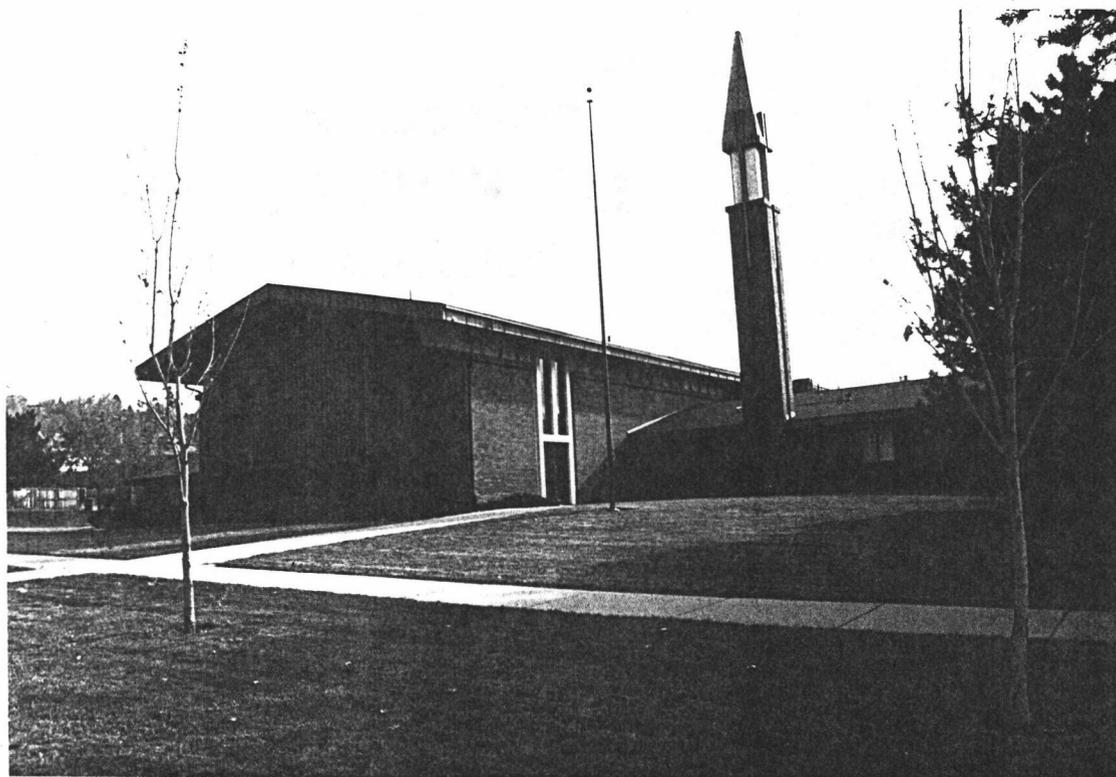


Figure 72. Salt Lake City Seventeenth and Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse (1969). Photograph by author, 1996.

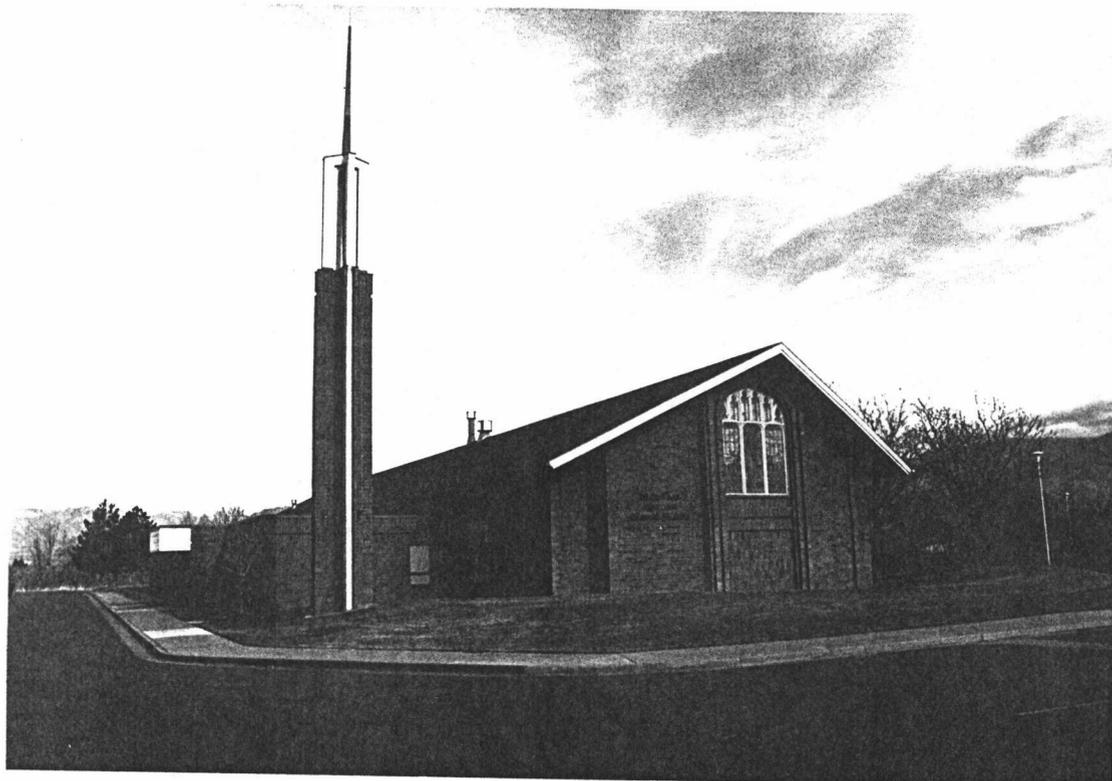


Figure 73. Murray First, Twelfth, and Twenty-fifth Ward meetinghouse (1976).
Photograph by author, 1996.

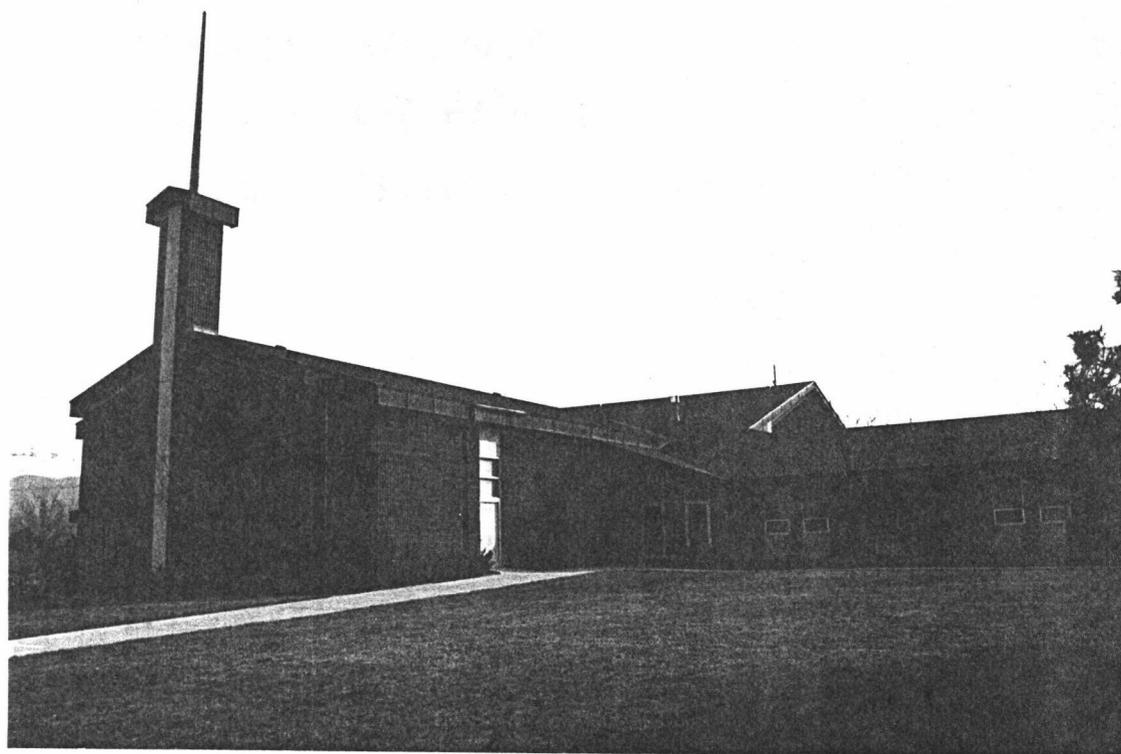


Figure 74. Taylorsville Eighth and Thirteenth Ward meetinghouse (1977).
Photograph by author, 1996.

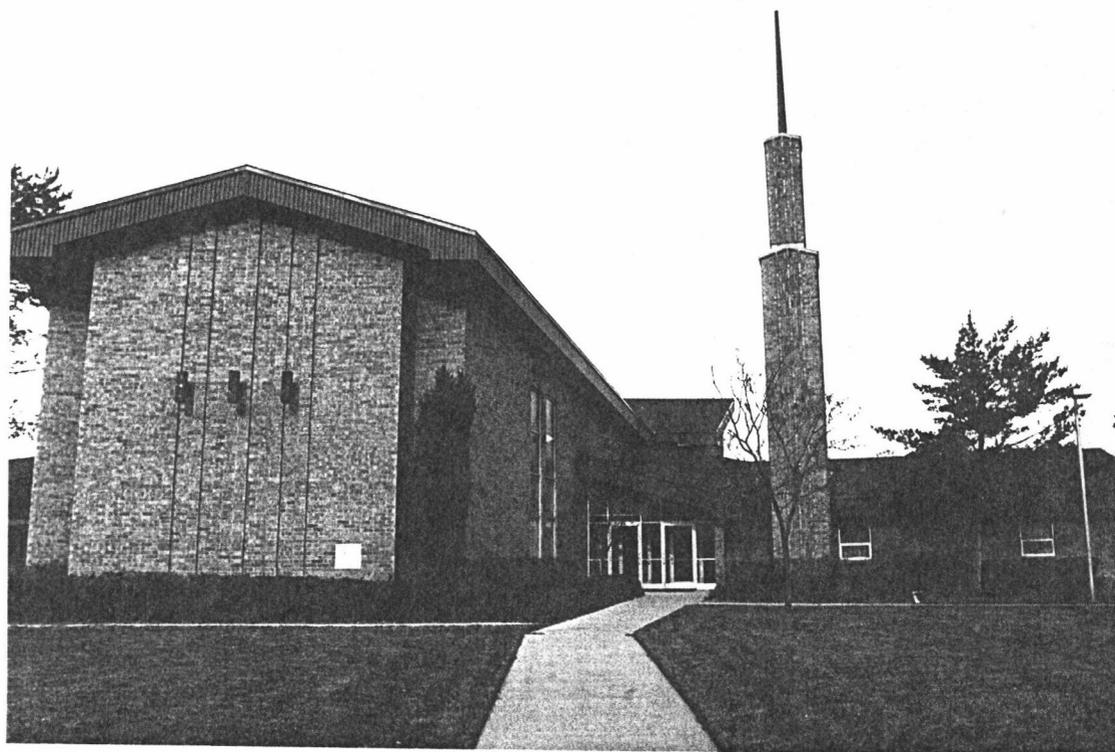


Figure 75. Jordan Stake Center and Jordan Third and Fourth Ward meetinghouse (1980). Photograph by author, 1996.



Figure 76. Taylorsville Seventeenth, Twentieth, and Forty-third Ward meetinghouse (1988). Photograph by author, 1996.

often the only thing keeping the standard plan warehouse from being mistaken for a school or office building.

No doubt prompted by complaints that warehouses had become as “. . . regular and predictable . . . as . . . the local supermarket” (Bradley 1981:143), designers once again turned to Colonial motifs in the late 1980s as a means of improving the image of LDS standard plan architecture. For the most part, the Colonial designs of the late 1980s and 1990s were more coherent and sophisticated than the uneasy designs of the mid-1950s, yet they clearly reflected the tenets of the standard plan program in their form, proportions, materials, and methods of construction (Figures 77-79). The Colonial motifs appear to be gaining in popularity, particularly within the Great Basin. Nevertheless, modern designs still dominate the LDS standard plan repertoire.

Standard Planning in Retrospect

The LDS standard plan program was born out of the Church's desire to quickly and economically house its growing membership. But there were additional benefits of standard planning besides saving time and money--benefits that Church officials most certainly recognized at an early stage. Standard planning meant that for the first time since the turn of the century, Church leaders were once again firmly in control of all building activity. This being the case, they were not only able to dictate the future of LDS architecture, but also use the architecture as a means of reinforcing certain philosophical



Figure 77. Salt Lake City Thirty-first, Princeton, and LeGrand Ward meetinghouse (1987). Photograph by author, 1996.



Figure 78. Sugar House Stake Center and Sugar House, Bryan, Emerson, and Hillside Villa Ward meetinghouse (1994). Photograph by author, 1996.



Figure 79. University First and Fourth Stake meetinghouse (1995-1996).
Photograph by author, 1996.

beliefs regarding the worship space, thereby affecting change in people's attitudes and perceptions of that space.

Many of the meetinghouses constructed prior to the inception of standard planning generated attitudes of exclusiveness and hierarchy between individual congregations. Because wealthier wards could afford to contribute more money toward the cost of construction, they often built more stately meetinghouses than wards that were less well-off. Standard plan buildings, on the other hand, eliminated the disparity and ensured a level of stylistic uniformity throughout the Church by emphasizing equality rather than hierarchy, conformity rather than individuality (Frederick Buchanan, personal communication 1994). More importantly, however, the standard plans all but guaranteed a similar experience for each and every Mormon as functional uniformity was dictated by the formal attributes of building design.

This uniformity gave Mormons worldwide a common identity and protected the ever more mobile population from an uncomfortable discontinuity in spaces and activities. If a Mormon moved, he or she could be assured that his/her new ward would not require a significant emotional adjustment. He or she would be surrounded by new faces, but the building, organizations, and activities would be familiar and non-threatening. One Mormon commented on this continuity by saying: "I can go anywhere in the Church and feel at home in a wardhouse. I can even find my classroom" (as cited in Bradley 1981:134). Another member said: "Coming upon a Mormon meetinghouse in a strange town is like finding

your favorite food franchise when you are traveling. Once you've located the church and Colonel Sanders it's as if you never left home" (as cited in Leone 1973:38). These common viewpoints reflect the in-group consciousness produced through the standardization of LDS Church buildings.

There was, however, a destructive element inherent in the philosophy of institutionalized uniformity. In the Church's exuberant pursuit of the objective, a feeling for the value of the building as more than structure was often lost. In an interview with Paul Anderson (1973), Georgius Y. Cannon, an architect who worked for the Church on several projects, lamented about this loss of reverential feeling: "I think most of our meetinghouses have no feeling, of church--no feeling of reverence. They're simply big rooms. This bothers me. I think we should have done more" (Georgius Y. Cannon as cited in Anderson 1973:9). Other Church architects shared Cannon's concern, but the vast majority of people involved in the program enthusiastically supported the principles and philosophy of standard planning arguing that the sanctity of the worship space was a consequence of the communion between the spirit and the member--not vice versa (Bradley 1981).

While the spirit of Mormonism does indeed pervade the many things done in a meetinghouse, occasional signs in the foyer and other entrances to the meetinghouse reminding the member "Reverence in the Lord's House" seem to indicate that the worship space may have become a little too sterile and neutral, promoting behavior that is a little too informal. Also contributing to this loss of

reverence has been the incorporation of secular activities into the area where formal worship occurs (Leone 1973). The Church had hoped to instill attitudes that all functions performed in the meetinghouse are sacred to some degree. However, in the attempt to make activities that are ordinarily secular more sacred, the Church has risked secularizing their own worship service and its locale: "In spreading out the effect of sacred space [the Church] has diluted its effect in [standard plan wardhouses]" (Leone 1973:37).

In spite of the drawbacks, the benefits of standard planning were much more significant, at least as far as Church officials were concerned. Standard plan buildings had proven to be efficient, economical, and functional. Moreover, they established a basic architectural standard for the Church that the majority of Mormons found acceptable. Given these factors, and a current growth rate of nearly one new member every 90 seconds, it is not likely that the LDS Church will abandon the standard plan program anytime soon.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Buildings are often “a strong reflection of the needs and minds of those who built [them]” (Deetz 1996:126). Furthermore, a building's design can impose a certain structure upon the occupants, thus shaping and directing behavior (Deetz 1977; 1996). This is especially true of LDS meetinghouse architecture.

As tangible symbols of Mormonism, meetinghouses reinforce Church philosophy and worldview. Yet, neither the Church's philosophy and worldview nor its meetinghouse architecture has not remained static. During its more than 160 year history, the LDS Church experienced a number of internal and external changes. And these changes are reflected in the style, form, and function of the institution's meetinghouse architecture. Nevertheless, as the saying goes “the more things change the more they stay the same.” The history and development of LDS meetinghouse architecture reveals a cyclical trend in which many of the attitudes and ideas behind the Church's most recent meetinghouses are the same as those manifested in some of their earliest ecclesiastical buildings.

The Church's first architectural expression, the Kirkland Temple, as well as many of the meetinghouses constructed during the pioneer period reflected a flexible informality towards the use of the sacred space. Moreover, with the emphasis placed on the worship activities, ornamentation was considered an extravagance that was unnecessary to the overall religious experience.

With the coming of the railroad in 1869, however, meetinghouses became more elaborate in design and sacred in character. These buildings were a clear

and conscientious effort on the Church's part to express the significance of Mormonism to not only its members, but also the growing non-Mormon population. This trend continued up through statehood and well into the twentieth century as wards exercised their freedom to experiment with even more aggressive manifestations of high style architecture.

Between the 1930s and mid-century, a gradual change occurred that altered basic assumptions about building for the Church. The Depression, World War II, and unprecedented growth in membership fostered more conservative attitudes within the Church building program, out of which the contemporary philosophies behind standard planning emerged.

Under the standard plan program, flexibility and adaptability of design were considered more important than the monumentality of the effort. Furthermore, it was believed that the sacredness of the worship space was a direct result of the experience of spirituality and dedication to the Lord, not the space itself. Thus, in terms of function and economy of design, standard plan wardhouses reflected attitudes not unlike those expressed in some of the Church's earliest religious buildings. Paradoxically, it was these same attitudes that contributed to the Church's current bias against historic preservation.

Over the last few decades, the LDS Church has demonstrated a propensity for tearing down old meetinghouses. Those left standing were usually renovated beyond recognition of their original style and craftsmanship, or sold to private individuals who converted them into schools, theaters, warehouses, and the like.

This willingness to rid itself of the visible remains of its past has brought the LDS Church nationwide notoriety and local criticism (Leone 1973; Turner 1971). The Church's attitude towards its own old buildings merits careful consideration, however, because what appears to many to be a blatant disregard for history and cultural heritage actually represents a calculated approach to architectural planning that dates back to the earliest days of the Church.

LDS architecture comes out of the tradition of nineteenth century utopian planning. Utopianists as a whole recognized the manipulative power of architecture, but it was the Mormons who used it most deftly to their advantage. The Church's effective use of architecture to bring about particular aims is, no doubt, part of the reason why it was more successful than other nineteenth century utopian groups, and why it is so successful today (Leone 1973). The key to LDS architectural planning lies in its ability to affect changes in attitudes and behavior when the need arises. The Church's treatment of its old buildings provides a case in point.

Warehouses built during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had become functionally and aesthetically obsolete as they symbolized a form of Mormonism that was gone and needed to be forgotten if the future was to be adjusted to adequately. In terms of space, flexibility, and convenience, the old chapels simply could not accommodate all of the meetings and activities currently conducted within the ward as efficiently as standard plan meetinghouses. Furthermore, adding on to an old chapel was generally not a

viable alternative because it produced a disjointed arrangement that prevented the member from easily seeing the unity of all the activities carried on within the warehouse: "that religion is in everything and everything is religion" (Leone 1973:34). Aesthetically, the monumental warehouses of the post railroad and early statehood periods symbolized the power and significance of the religion, fostering attitudes of passivity and conformity among the membership. Early Mormonism needed to reinforce such attitudes if it was to survive the rigors of settlement and maintain its identity in the non-Mormon American west. Modern Mormonism still demands an obedient population, but to many of today's members the old buildings were historical clichés that carried little meaning (Bradley 1981). As such, the old warehouses not only conflicted with the progressive image the Church wanted to project, but also impeded future development and growth. Clearly, new symbols that more Mormons could identify with were needed if the Church was to avoid disruption.

In promoting the universal scope of its doctrine, the LDS Church had expanded its boundaries and embraced a number of different cultures and peoples. In a move to emphasize the similarities between groups rather than the differences, the Church neutralized Mormon buildings by making them uniform and familiar. The designs allowed for less confusion of identities and facilitated a sense of community with fellow Mormons the world over (Bradley 1981; Leone 1973). In essence, the standard buildings reinforced the attitudes of conformity that the standardized Church programs and activities instilled.

Thus, in retrospect, the Church's approach to architectural planning is not as avant-garde as it may seem. Nor is it as callous in terms of selecting which aspects from the past are preserved and which are not. Certainly, a large number of old buildings have been sacrificed, but these buildings were not much more than illusions that did little to convey the true cultural heritage of Mormonism. The buildings that replaced them more accurately reflect the true essence of Mormonism and have actually brought the religion closer to its historical roots than it had been in nearly 100 years.

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