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**Dr. Martha Bradley-Evans**

Constructing Zion: Faith, Grit  
and the Realm of Possibilities



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# THE JUANITA BROOKS LECTURE SERIES

PRESENTS

## THE 37TH ANNUAL LECTURE

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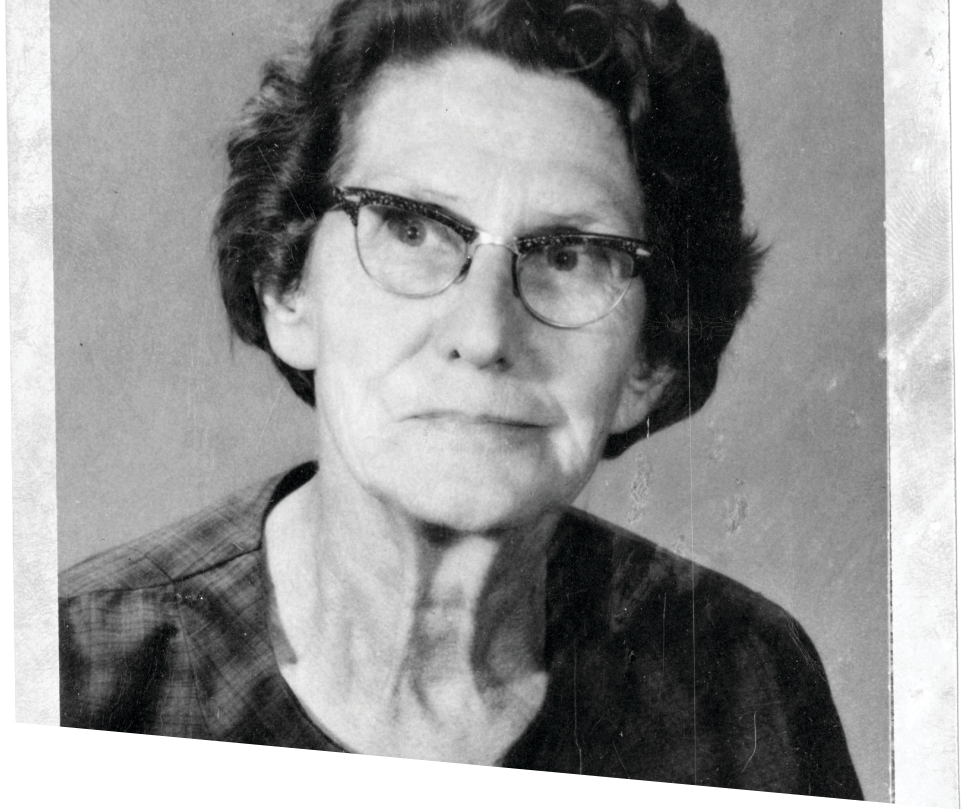
DIXIE STATE UNIVERSITY

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### Constructing Zion: Faith, Grit, and the Realm of Possibilities

By: Dr. Martha Bradley-Evans

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## Juanita Brooks

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Juanita Brooks was a professor at [then] Dixie College for many years and became a well-known author. She is recognized, by scholarly consensus, to be one of Utah's and Mormondom's most eminent historians. Her total honesty, unwavering courage, and perceptive interpretation of fact set more stringent standards of scholarship for her fellow historians to emulate. Dr. Obert C. and Grace Tanner had been lifelong friends of Mrs. Brooks and it was their wish to perpetuate her work through this lecture series. Dixie State University and the Brooks family express their thanks to the Tanner family.



the Honorary AIA Award from AIA Utah. In 2014 the Outstanding Achievement Award from the YWCA and was made a fellow of the Utah State Historical Society. She is the past vice chair of the Utah State Board of History, a former chair of the Utah Heritage Foundation.

Dr. Bradley's numerous publications include: *Kidnapped from that Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists*; *The Four Zinas: Mothers and Daughters on the Frontier*; *Pedastals and Podiums: Utah Women, Religious Authority and Equal Rights*; *Glorious in Persecution: Joseph Smith, American Prophet, 1839-1844*; *Plural Wife: The Autobiography of Mabel Finlayson Allred*, and *Glorious in Persecution: Joseph Smith, American Prophet 1839-44* among others. Her newest book, *An Architectural Guide to Utah* will be published Spring of 2020.

## Dr. Martha Bradley-Evans

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Dr. Martha Bradley-Evans is an administrator, a professor and scholar. She is a professor in the College of Architecture + Planning who teaches history and theory classes. Between 2002 and 2011, Dr. Bradley served as the Dean of the Honors College and in July 2011 became the Senior Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs and Dean of Undergraduate Studies. An award winning teacher, Bradley is the recipient of the University of Utah Distinguished Teaching Award, the University Professorship, the Student Choice Excellence in Teaching Award, the Bennion Center Service Learning Professorship, the Park Fellowship, the Borchard Fellowship and the Sweet Candy Distinguished Honors Professor Award. In 2008, she received

# Constructing Zion: Faith, Grit and the Realm of Possibilities

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## INTRODUCTION

Italo Calvino in *Invisible Cities* portrays a series of conversations between Marco Polo and Kublai Khan which reveal the complex intersection between "real" cities that we build and those that are imagined and exist only in the mind. Having traveled much of the world, Polo spins tales of grand and exotic cities. As he speaks, these cities begin to sound like each other and even like places Khan has himself visited or imagined. Khan pushes his colleague, asking, "Are these cities real?" And, then he describes a city from his own imagination. The line between reality and fantasy became incredibly confused. Once again, Khan's city is strikingly similar to one Polo has described. When Khan asks Polo to name the city, Polo responds:

It has neither name nor place. I shall repeat the reason why I was describing it to you: from the number of imaginable cities, we must exclude those whose elements are assembled without a connecting thread, an inner rule, a perspective, a discourse. With cities, it is as with dreams: everything imaginable can be dreamed, but even the most unexpected dream is a rebus that conceals a desire or, it's reverse, a fear. Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 1972), 37-38.

Zion, for the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, embodied both a desire for heaven and a profound fear of the alternative. This study seeks to understand the imaginative spaces of the Latter-day Saint world. I will use a single city block and its environs as a metaphor for core concepts that drove the construction of architecture, city spaces, and what the Mormons called Zion, both places and ideas. Block 88 in Salt Lake City displays the Mormon blueprint for the good society, for Zion. Located in the metaphoric rather than actual center of the city, it presents a series of templates for the perfect world as sketched out by the Latter-day Saints during the nineteenth century through the theoretical Plat of the City of Zion. The Plat, like Polo's imagined city, represented the hope for a better way of being in the world. It was an imagined utopian dream space that materialized in part in more than 400 rural towns in the Great Basin area.

This paper seeks meaning in the space at the center of Salt Lake City, beginning with an introduction to space theory and American planning history. The Plat of the City of Zion as a template for settlement was applied in a particular way in Salt Lake City. Block 88, the Block immediately to the east of Temple Square, illuminates Brigham Young's ideas about the family kingdom and the LDS Church's concepts about the components of a good and meaningful life.

## THEORY AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The analytical categories about space presented in Henry Lefebvre's seminal work, *The Production of Space* including spaces that are perceived, the conceived, and lived to inform this study. Lefebvre recommends an approach he calls

"spatiology" that identifies the link between physical space or natural space, mental space, or formal abstractions about space, the core concepts that generate form, with social space, which is the space of human action, conflict, and sensory phenomena.<sup>2</sup> The community-building efforts of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century reveal a series of conceptual maps: the idea of Zion, the interpretation of sacred space, and particular ideas about family and kingdom. Their millennial expectations heightened the significance of building efforts on the earth. They felt obligated to construct a world pleasing to God. The resulting sacred and profane spaces express particular ideas about community, about gender, about theology, and religious authority. Kitty-Korner from the most sacred space, the LDS Temple, was the Bishop's Storehouse, or the profane areas of the barns of Brigham's family compound, a visual and social paradox that played out in the spaces of the city. When the Latter-day Saints built towns, they constructed space that contained a sacred narrative.

The Mormon experience played out in the context of the nineteenth-century American landscape. The model set with the Puritan "city upon a hill" ran through nineteenth-century America. It inspired countless dreams of a new world, a world of the imagination no different from the one portrayed by Polo in Calvino's story. Endless miles of forests met pioneers carving their way through mountain ranges and valleys in between. Prairies stretched to the edge of the sky and

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<sup>2</sup> See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992).

beyond. Bodies of water, dark and raging through canyons or near the land's edge, threatened destruction. The complex American landscape formed the backdrop to numerous utopian experiments. Efforts to build "Zion" by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints exemplify this phenomenon. When the Latter-day Saints built towns, they were conceiving, constructing, and practicing sacred space.

The place-based Latter-day Saint version of the ideal society was positioned in the historical context of American town-building more broadly. Previous attachments, assumptions, and traditions colored attempts at designing something new. As important as their hopes for a future world were memories of the past. Historian Sylvia Doughty Fries suggests in her book, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, that this has always been true of the story of American cities. She writes, "The symbolic American landscape has included not only the edenic garden but the New Jerusalem."<sup>3</sup>

The idea of the American city originated in an aggregate of social, religious, economic, political forces, along with the aspirations of human beings for a better world. John W. Reps and Anthony N. B. Garvan, among others, have traced the underlying conceptions that sometimes produced plans that looked similar, a type of lineage of the idea and form of the city in the New World. The grid plan, for instance, in Philadelphia, formed a precedent for an endless stream of American towns laid out orthogonally. Most of the founding cities in the American experience were "planned in terms of its physical

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<sup>3</sup> Sylvia Doughty Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977): xiv.

appearance, as well as a social organization before actual settlement took place."<sup>4</sup>

Woven through the narrative of the Latter-day Saint attempt to build yet another new world, were purely American attitudes which conceived of an experimental landscape seeking the pattern for perfect living. Fries ties this to the act of remembering. She argues that "no less important than new environments to the formation of a society, and especially of its self-perception, is the role of memory and expectations formed of the past" in the conceptualization and construction of new places.<sup>5</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner argued that the frontier created a new type of individual and democratic ways of being together in community. But equally significant, city-building included the creation of political systems that distinguished the American landscape from that of Europe. The American city was the primary setting of the representation of imagination and was a social construction indigenous to this continent. As Fries argues, "what we say can not only be equated with what we make but alone adequately mirrors our conception of the world."<sup>6</sup>

In 1833, the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith presented a revelation to his people called the Plat of the City of Zion. The Plat outlined a template for the settlement of cities dedicated to God, what the Mormons would call Zion. Each town was to be laid out according to the cardinal points of the compass—North, South, East, and West—and proceed outward from a

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<sup>4</sup> Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, xvi.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, xv.

central square, the center of the Mormon world. Blocks were to be ten acres, each with individual lots at a half-acre. The cities of Zion would grow to more than 20,000 residents before the church would build another one, and in this way spreading the Mormon way of being in the world across the western United States. The Plat of the City of Zion was both a map—drawn by Frederick G. Williams with notes in margins describing a set of instructions about how to build cities that would be the setting for a religious drama.

Moreover, the Mormon grid plan reflected the most characteristic American town planning gesture, according to John Reps, "the widespread use of the gridiron or checkerboard pattern."<sup>7</sup> Orthogonal systems prevailed throughout the settlement of the American West. Reps argues convincingly that the grid was the quintessential pattern for American town-building regardless of where they appeared. "As in virtually all other periods of wholesale colonization in world history, early colonial and later frontier towns were planned mainly on a geometric pattern of rectangular blocks, straight streets, and right-angle intersections."<sup>8</sup>

The Mormon effort to build regular cities dedicated to God was firmly rooted in American traditions of urban planning. Settlers during the Colonial and frontier eras laid out towns with straight streets meeting at right angles, in geometric rectangular blocks. The Plat of the City of Zion resembled

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<sup>7</sup> John Reps, "Towns, Time and Tradition: The Legacy of Planning in Frontier America," in Jay M. Stein, ed. *Classic Readings in Urban Planning* (Chicago, Illinois: American Planning Association, Planners Press, 2001), 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Philadelphia's original plan, which contained five squares laid out by William Penn and Savannah, Georgia, with its gridded system of town squares and surrounding streets. The Mormon cities of Zion exemplified a preference for order and visible and tangible patterns of streets laid out without regard to geography, diversity, or sometimes even convenience. Richard Wade points to the practical advantages of the grid, which "simplified the problems of surveying and minimized legal disputes over lot boundaries. It also gave at least the illusion of orderliness which settlers associated with cities they had known in the East." But Wade suggests, the regularity runs deeper than this and represents the dominance of human beings over nature. For example, straight lines rather than curved ones demonstrated the difference between cities and the country.<sup>9</sup>

Fries suggests the power of the new American city was "in the search for order which was the psychological accompaniment of the experience of dislocation shared by those English men and women who, with a variety of purposes, ventured into the American wilderness."<sup>10</sup> This power was real in Massachusetts Bay Colony in the early eighteenth century and in Zion building in the middle of the nineteenth century. But the legacy of Colonial cities was "the more general one of a concern for the formal modeling of open spaces into complementary geometric forms which characterized the

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<sup>9</sup> Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of the Western Cities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, 28). 28

<sup>10</sup> Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, xvii.

architectural attitudes of their designers..."<sup>11</sup>

Joseph Smith packed his anecdote to the "experience of dislocation" in the rhetoric of revelation. In 1833 the Mormon prophet gave his people a pattern for settlement--The Plat of the City of Zion. The Plat mapped the Mormon world wherever the Latter-day Saints constructed them, laying out towns, connections, and commandments. It delineated boundaries deep as chasms that surrounded insiders and identified outsiders. In practice, the movements of the city's inhabitants defined what this meant in the space of Salt Lake City. In a complicated dance, pioneer men and women inhabited space and filled it with ordinary activities. They moved through streets and buildings, down alleys, or through fields. They practiced or lived the space and gave it a new meaning. Importantly, their lives consecrated the land and dedicated it to God. Salt Lake City was a sacred city made meaningful through a web of relationships that created a pattern of being on the earth and a physical connection to that of the heavens. From the 1830s, this venture at building the city of God had heightened significance for the Mormon Saints. For them, it was Zion, the fulfillment of prophecy, and proof positive that they were a righteous people obeying God's will.

Specific technical procedures dictate the creation of maps that depict topography or construction plans. Maps of Salt Lake City exhibit initial land distributions, the division into voting or ward districts, the placement of buildings, or other built features such as the public works wall that

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<sup>11</sup> Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, 30.



early on surrounded both temple square and Brigham Young's family compound to the east.<sup>12</sup> The resulting patterns or morphologies function as signs, signifying what the Mormons believed was possible in their lives upon the earth. Moreover, they reflect value systems, answers to questions about ethnicity, politics, religion, and social class in the world of the Latter-day Saints.

## THE LATTER-DAY SAINT CITY IMAGINED

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints emerged out of the Second Great Awakening, a period of religious ferment, which seized religious authority and distributed it among a general population of believers in personal revelation. The Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, delivered a message of the restoration of ancient teachings of authentic religious ideas and priesthood authority from God.

The Mormon city that Saints idealistically called Zion helped critique the social alterations taking place in the world around them. Social disorder changed traditional social structures and moral control mechanisms for the city, devices initially

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<sup>12</sup> One visitor to the city described the wall in 1858: "The reader will not fail to notice the splendid wall of cobble-stone, laid in cement, which surrounds the whole block (Block Eighty-eight). This wall is three feet thick at the base, ten feet high, and a foot in thickness at the top. It is divided into sections of about twenty feet by round abutments rising two feet above the remainder of the structure... which are designed to be surmounted at some future time with marble busts of the prominent men in the Church. The wall itself is to be finished off with a coating of cement. Very strong, double gates are placed at convenient points---." "Salt Lake City," *Harper's Weekly*, September 4, 1858: 565.

designed to preserve traditional values and a way of life rooted in the rural landscape. The narration of the Mormon exodus out of the Midwest describes conflict or persecution that drove them out of Ohio and Missouri, then Illinois, and into the West. The Mormon pioneers saw the potential of the West of becoming another manifestation of God's kingdom. Like Polo's imagined city, they saw future towns and farm fields fertile with crops ready to sustain a growing population of Saints. The settlement process centralized in both the person of Brigham Young and in the church center of Salt Lake City. The Latter-day Saints surveyed and distributed land, planted crops and dug irrigation canals, building what they considered to be sacred cities after the model of the Plat of the City of Zion. Initially, theological ideas shaped space and influenced decisions that they made about the placement of streets, houses, the relationship between community institutions, and the way the city embraced the landscape. The Plat created an explanatory narrative that wove history, theology, and social life into one. The Plat helped it make sense, constructed meaning. Religious people, for Mircea Eliade in his book, *The Sacred and Profane*, often attempt to reside as long as possible in a sacred universe, space made over to mirror their sense of a wholly different order, "a reality that does not belong to our world."<sup>13</sup> The image of the Plat, when built by the Latter-day Saints, had a metaphoric quality, which contributed to identity and perpetuated a particular interpretation of history.

The paradox between sacred and secular power was articulated in virtually all aspects of life. In a way, a city like

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<sup>13</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc., 1957), 11.

Salt Lake City represented the cosmos, the center place of the Mormon world, evidence of what was possible. For Latter-day Saints, the Plat became a sort of memory device that helped them remember a particular past and imagine a bright future. Its physical lines reflected theological concepts and everyday realities. The church was central to the lives of the Mormon people, and it was made evident by the outlines of the plat, articulating connections, and materializing commandments that worked as boundaries surrounding insiders and identifying outsiders.

Part of the explanatory narrative was about persecution, but it was also about hope and resilience, persistence, and the willingness to try anew. Although Smith used the Plat as a pattern for the building of communities in both Missouri and Illinois, the Saints never built a town that was entirely true to the prescriptions of the Plat, including Salt Lake City. Zion, consecration and stewardship or cooperation, community and proximity to one's neighbors, the centrality of religion in group life were embedded in the details of the Plat--the town square, the orchards and gardens of family homesteads, of irrigation canals that ran parallel to most streets in the city. Together, they formed a discourse about what it meant to be a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a member of this particular community of Zion. The Plat contained detailed instructions about how Zion should be located, constructed, and lived. Physically the Plat designed a city with a population capped at 20,000 individuals. Covering an area of 640 acres, or the equivalent of a single square mile, it mirrored the township prescribed by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and first laid out in the Northwest Territory. Homes were

found on ample sized lots (half an acre) on ten-acre blocks in town, with houses uniformly set twenty-five feet back from the street, and farm buildings located on the north and south sides of the city in strips of land 330 feet wide and one-mile long. The land extending beyond was originally shared farmland. Farmers would populate Zion, and the original plat had no provision for a commercial zone. Again, private homes and public spheres were separate.

## **SALT LAKE CITY**

As the prototype for the settlement of the region, and conceived initially first as a sacred city, Salt Lake City was an intentional center place. It communicated a clear identifiable, tangible as well as metaphorical nexus of literal ideas about Zion. Rather than aesthetic considerations, regularity or order were premiere values represented in the plan. As was true of most frontier towns, according to historian Richard C. Wade, "regularity of plan was thought more important than beauty or utility."<sup>14</sup> This version of Zion extended the center in a movement in each direction from the sacred to the profane in the process, endowing space with new meaning and connection to this essential core idea. Mormon social interaction with this space and with each other added a third dimension to this montage. Distinctive doctrines such as consecration or cooperation wove a web—a city that mapped ideas about the community in space. Sacred spaces were the

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<sup>14</sup> Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of the Western Cities*, 24.

space of ritual or space interpreted as significant because of its association with religious beliefs or practices. The profane space of the city was that of every day and secular life.

Salt Lake City's central orientation created the point from which everything in the Great Basin evolved. Critical in the formation of identity, meaning, and practice, the establishment of Temple Square and Salt Lake City as the center place had profound significance for the settlement of Utah. The pervasiveness of cardinal imagery in Zion was to extend from the Midwest to the West. Once the Latter-day Saints laid off and built a village, their leaders told the Saints to "lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion."<sup>15</sup> As soon as the first city reached 20,000 inhabitants, a new one would be needed. Smith in his directions, "When this square [the center place] is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city, for this is the city of Zion."<sup>16</sup> Smith's vision was broad and sweeping, envisaging nothing short of the continuous settlement of the American West.

Unarguably the sacred city was legible in the parlance of Kevin Lynch in *Image of the City*, in the strict grid oriented to the lines of the compass at the heart of the plat, the centrality of the temple block, and close coordination of settlement and religious activities.<sup>17</sup> Zion would expand across the continent in a systematic, orderly manner. Each new city would, ideally, be

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Doctrine & Covenants, 29:8; 33:6; 45:46.

<sup>17</sup> Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960).

a perfect semblance of the first. Congruent with immigration into the West and the peopling of the frontier, the settlement of Zion mirrored the American dream, the belief that God chose this land for a special mission. Importantly, it was the responsibility of God's people to settle it. In that, the Plat was both theology—church doctrine and teaching—and a vision or dream of the "good society."

For the Mormon settlers of Salt Lake City, distinctive doctrines such as consecration or cooperation wove a web—a city that mapped ideas in space. Salt Lake City became a city virtually overnight when wagon trains of Mormon pioneers began to descend into the valley after July 1847. The fact that they were a group, that they had a clear sense of plan, and an influential leader in Brigham Young facilitated the rapid settlement of the region.

Church leaders established the basic organizational system of the city as soon as they had chosen the site by dividing it into nineteen wards.<sup>18</sup> These wards were ecclesiastical units but also organizational units used for the census. The map detailing these ward agreements states an argument about life in the city, employing familiar rhetorical devices. The pioneer concept about a "ward," was a religious idea as well as a pattern of organizing relationships in Zion. Each ward contained nine blocks that functioned as a small community and were controlled by a bishop. The Saints imposed order on the geography wherever they built. Orthogonality, regularity, and

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<sup>18</sup> The original plat included three blocks east, nine blocks south, five blocks west, and approximately five blocks north. The blocks were ten acres, each divided into lots of about one and one-eighth acres each.

cardinality characterized the way they platted the ground and distributed land. The allocation of land failed to be equal from the first. Church leaders, especially those with large families and plural wives, received the largest allotments of land and in prime locations. The twelve apostles selected prime lots for their wives, families, and friends. After the first division of property, they divided the other blocks into units "as they saw fit."<sup>19</sup>

In towns based on the Plat, buildings ran parallel to the street and streets met at right angles. Streets radiated out from the axis mundi, or center place, in particular the Southwest corner of Temple Square. What resulted was a hierarchy of spaces with the most sacred, religious core at the center, and the cooperatively farmed "big fields" at the periphery. Families lived in town lots, according to the Plat of the City of Zion, on half-acre lots and traveled a distance to farm together. The Plat spoke to the importance of community, of the coming and living together thus expressed spatially, clearly delineated on both maps and in life practices. Wide orthogonal streets which met at right angles, imposed order on the earth, defying natural landscape forms, to gentrify or accommodate the direction to live ordered lives according to God's teachings. As was true of the numbering system centered in Temple Square, views to the temple from family homes throughout the city would have oriented individual members toward the center. Temple Square was not literally at the center of the plat of Salt Lake City. Still, the centrality of religion in the lives of believers regardless of whether they were working in their fields, picking fruit in the

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<sup>19</sup> Ronald R. Boyce, "An Historical Geography of Greater Salt Lake City, Utah," M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1957.

family orchard, or hanging wash out to dry on clotheslines was made concrete through the lines of the city.

## **BLOCK 88 AS A FAMILY KINGDOM**

In Utah, Brigham Young interpreted his understanding of Zion when he built his family kingdom on Block 88 in the center of Salt Lake City adjacent to Temple Square. With the first distribution of land, Brigham Young secured his family's position at the center of Salt Lake City. Young owned the majority of land on Block 88, the block immediately east of Temple Square, bordering South Temple and State Streets. There he carved out the components of the good life—the complex architecture of plurality, a schoolhouse, and out-buildings to supply his large family with food, education, and recreation. Distinctive as the homes of the church president and leader of a territorial government, the Beehive House and Lion House represented an unusual family dynamic and adaptation to a particular way of being together in a family.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This same social structuring of space was evident in plantation landscapes as well—the landscape of power and authority. See: John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture & Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1993). "Plantation White slave owners made choices about their plantations. At every turn in 'the world the slaveholders made,' one encountered the results of their decisions. Planters selected the types of structures to be built, their locations, size, mode of construction, and style of decoration and not only the look of the land around them but also, to a great extent, the conditions and circumstances where their slaves lived and worked. We can regard the physical settings that they established then, as a direct material expression of their social power." 228. A wall was built around Young's estate, defining the edge between his world and that outside. His daughter, Clarissa

Salt Lake City depicted Zion with its strong central space—the temple and tabernacle, its cooperative mercantile home store, and commercial structures that lined Main Street. Similarly, Brigham Young's family compound on Block 88 illustrated the core ingredients of a family kingdom. There were houses for his multiple families, other structures designed to ensure their self-sufficiency, and an ambiance that reassured them that their lives would be meaningful and safe. Block 88 explains the evolution of the city from its start as a sacred city, the headquarters of a church, to a more secular, cosmopolitan city that valued the arts, public life, and education. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Block 88 has been oriented in physical and metaphoric ways to Temple Square by housing visitors to the temple, or for church conferences held at the Tabernacle. Both church administration buildings were located on South Temple in Block 88, as were the headquarters of the church's tithing system (the Bishop's Storehouse), the tithing yards spread messily to the center of the block until the early twentieth century. They marked the dedication of pioneer settlers who gave to the church despite their poverty.

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[20 cont.] Young Spencer, described it in 1940: "The entire estate was surrounded by a cobblestone wall nine feet high, with gates placed at convenient intervals. Father had a threefold purpose in having this wall constructed. In the first place it was built as a protection against floods. The stream from near-by City Creek Canyon at times swept down the street...The second reason was that employment might be furnished for the emigrants..., and finally the wall was useful as a protection against the Indians who were still troublesome during the fifties and sixties." Clarissa Young Spencer and Mable Harmer, *One Who Was Valiant* (Caldwell, Idaho: The CAXTON PRINTERS, Ltd, 1940), 55.

The Bishop's Storehouse and Tithing Office was the most potent symbol of the Mormon law of consecration and stewardship. Here devoted members made "in-kind" contributions ranging from dairy products to farm equipment. Livestock corrals located behind to the north and east became known as the tithing yard. Some members produced tithing in the form of labor. Public works projects like the wall that would eventually surround temple square or Brigham Young's own home, irrigation canals, road systems, or work on the temple itself gave willing workers plenty to do.<sup>21</sup> Work on the wall that would surround the temple began in 1851. The church built the Bishop's Storehouse in 1850 on the southeast corner; a two-story structure formed out of adobe bricks covered with plaster scored to imitate stone.<sup>22</sup> The symmetrical arrangement of the Bishop's Storehouse's elevations suggests a Greek Revival influence, although the building is a simple vernacular structure. Besides the words "DESERET STORE" proudly displayed above the entrance door, "HOME MANUFACTURE" above that signified Young's mantra about the importance of self-sufficiency. The 1862 veranda created a comfortable waiting area, providing a unique vantage point on Salt Lake City's growing Main Street.

To the east of the block, the Eagle Gate pronounced arrival at State Street and South Temple. Initially a wood eagle and

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<sup>21</sup> Some men worked on a wall around the periphery of the city intended to be twenty-one miles long, twelve feet high, six feet thick on the bottom and two and a half feet thick at its rounded top (they only completed about half of the wall).

<sup>22</sup> "Salt Lake City," *Harper's Weekly*, September 4, 1858: 564.

beehive, designed by Hiram B. Clawson, and put in place in 1859, it was replaced with a new design by Joseph Don Carlos Young in 1891. This time, covered in copper, the structure spanned a newly widened street and more grandly presented this symbol to the city.<sup>23</sup> The Eagle Gate and the Bishop's Storehouse served as bookends of the street that held the headquarters of the church, and the homes of the church president.

Young's primary residence was the Beehive House on South Temple, the centerpiece of his family complex. Next door, the Lion House housed many of his plural wives and their children. The White House located east of Block 88 on First Avenue was where one of his wives lived. Other structures included the President's Office and various out-buildings on the block.

Construction began on the Beehive House in 1852-1853. The adobe brick walls were completed by fall, and the roof completely shingled. By the next spring, the Young family moved into this Georgian style house complete with classical Greek Revival features—a boxed cornice, roof parapet, and widow's walk—reminiscent of homes built in New England. The elaborate plan of the house and its connections to both the President's office and a family store toward the back mirrored the complexity of Young's personal life and his role in the community. The first floor included the most public spaces--two parlors, a family

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<sup>23</sup> Richard F. Burton described it in the early 1860s: "The gateway was surmounted by a plaster group, consisting of a huge vulturine eagle, perched, with wings outspread, neck bended as if snuffing the breeze of carrion from afar, and talons clinging upon a yellow beehive—a most uncomfortable and unnatural position for the poor animal. The device is doubtless highly symbolical, emblematical, typical-in fact, everything but appropriate and commonsensical." Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 234.

breakfast room, a sewing room, a pantry, and storage rooms. On the second floor, a room with elaborate ceiling molding housed formal parties. The rear wing that stretched to the North had a kitchen and dining room for workers on the first level and storage above. For this complex living arrangement to work, members of the family had to be flexible. Brigham's first wife, Mary Ann Angell, and her children were the first to move into the home with Brigham. In 1860, Mary Ann and her children moved to the White House nearby to the east on First Avenue. Brigham's other plural wife, Lucy Ann Decker, and her children moved into the President's residence. Lucy's role expanded with the entertaining that went on in this house, which was Brigham's most public residence, and the management of the staff of workers who helped the family and its complicated network of persons. In 1889, the house doubled in size with an addition to the rear. The spaces of this cluster of homes near the absolute center of the city's system of town blocks, their physical dimensions, and materiality, and visual prominence in positional terms, expressed a desired social order and Brigham Young's position in it. The architectural and design decisions concerning the structures on Block 88 reinforced the church president's authority, his centrality to the kingdom-building enterprise, and his free practice of the principle of plural marriage. Although other church leaders owned more than one lot in the city, this consolidation of prime real estate in the block immediately east of Temple Square gave Young the chance to build the key components of a family homestead for a plural household.

The west elevation of the Lion House is the most provocative and suggestive architectural emblem of plurality in Utah territory. Built-in 1854, family members sometimes called the

Lion House the "Big House," not so much a reference to its total square footage as the number of family members who lived there. Named for the stone lion that was put in place over the front porch when Young completed and occupied the house in 1855, the Lion House was Gothic Revival in style and consisted of three primary levels, including a basement. In terms of architectural types, the Lion House's rooms are more reminiscent of a small hotel than a family home and included in the basement a large dining room, kitchen and laundry facilities, and sufficient storage for the enormous amounts of milk, fruit, and other foodstuffs required to feed this large family. The family used one room as a school and met nightly for family prayer in the large parlor or prayer room on the main level. Some childless wives occupied the bedrooms located to the rear of this level. The top floor, the most intriguing floor, included twenty small rooms, each marked on the exterior by a peaked gable window reserved for wives with no children or some of the older children who lived at home or helped with the house. The attic above that was used for storage as well. Behind the building, and again attesting to the complicated family situation and the significant number of family members living in the house was a two-story outhouse facility. The number of wives or children who lived in the Lion House at any given time varied considerably. As children grew up, or the needs of wives changed, families moved in or out of the house. Wives who lived elsewhere in the territory or the city visited from time to time.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See Colleen Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2002).

It was requisite that Brigham Young's wives learn to cohabit whether in the same house or nearby. Those who were sealed to him before they traveled to Utah, bonded in Winter Quarters, and formed relationships that connected them throughout their lives. Polygamy put limits on individual privacy and required women to exercise considerable flexibility in their claims on different spaces or homes. Most often moved and at times, determined by their husbands rather than their personal preference. Although Brigham Young's family is an extreme example, it highlights spatial issues that would have been magnified by the demands of plurality.

When the Mormons first arrived in Utah Territory, they erected an adobe brick fort just west of the center of the city and temple square. Brigham's wives who crossed the plains the first summer lived in the fort in shared quarters or single rooms with their children and were rarely alone. Nevertheless, Brigham visited them upon occasion, and in fact, some of them became pregnant from those visits. Although none of his wives specifically mention in their journals or letters how they made these arrangements, it is clear that the expectation was that they be accessible, to welcome his visit, and to make whatever accommodations were necessary to make him feel comfortable. The small chambers in the fort were the worst of all possible worlds for cohabitation, but plurality was about procreation and the building of family kingdoms. Making babies was the Lords work, in this way of thinking, and accessibility of both person and space was an essential ingredient.

Tom Carter recommends we consider the architecture of polygamy as the "architecture of accessibility—an architecture that helped make women available to men," an assumption that

was very much of this moment. Like the slave plantation or even the company town, ready access to women or slaves or workers was critical to the satisfaction of, in this case, ecclesiastical goals, the fulfillment of both prophecy and religious obligation.<sup>25</sup>

Once land distribution began and town lots were distributed to the various family heads (including each of the plural wives), some wives moved out of the fort to log houses in other parts of the downtown area. Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young, for one, moved into the old "Log Row" (which included seven or eight rooms in a row) along with her sister wife, Louisa Beaman, among others. Zina next moved into a small adobe home, and then to the Lion House with her daughter with Brigham, Zina Presendia. She conceived and bore Zina Presendia while living with her sister wives in the limited spaces of the log row, as had several other wives and children. The architecture of the pioneer fort, the log row, and even Zina's final adobe cabin failed to communicate the language of accessibility through hallways, thresholds or doorways, and other mediators that controlled interaction or conveyed a particular message about who was welcome and who was not. Instead, in this phase of settlement, life practices represented this concept and its importance in theology and belief. The Mormon doctrine of plurality played out in a patriarchal world where husbands (and priesthood holders) ruled, but also held ultimate responsibility for the satisfaction of a religious mandate.

One can only imagine the complicated life practices of Brigham's life with his fifty-six wives, although it is possible

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<sup>25</sup> See Thomas Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth Century Utah," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Winter 2000): 233-251.

to find patterns in birth dates and rates, the locations where women lived (in St. George, at the Farm House, or in other areas), or when. Brigham spent the most time with the women who were in their childbearing years, or who had small children. Other women like Eliza R. Snow or Zina Diantha, who had been the wives of Joseph Smith, were also important to him as leaders in the women's auxiliaries and significant home industry enterprises, many of which played out in the buildings on his family block.

## SACRED SPACE

An architecture of accessibility interpreted is one that communicates the "right to make use of" something particular. But the space embodied in Mormon temples is exclusionary space, or space accessible only to the most elite.<sup>26</sup> The architecture of accessibility is a built environment that makes it possible for one group to make use of a particular place. Those in power have free access to all spaces, whereas those without power or secondary in the ranking have limited access or controlled access to the spaces of either buildings or environments. Access defined or monitored with a series of thresholds, understandings about who can and cannot enter and when helped individuals comprehend the parameters of their lives and how they could practice the doctrine of a plurality of wives. The incidental result of such limits on those of secondary status is that it holds them suspended in a ready position—always available, or accessible to the male figures in the LDS hierarchy. In the Mormon polygamous household, this

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



was true for polygamous women despite considerable variation in how it played out in everyday life.

Joseph Smith first described temple worship in revelation, but its practice by the Mormon people became central to group identity, cementing social relationships which for them had significance both on the earth and in heaven, and rooted shared understandings of theology in the sacred spaces of temples. An “eminently social thing” in every way.<sup>27</sup> First in private homes, in temples, then in Utah also in Endowment Houses, sacred ordinances that became temple worship and the sacred spaces of

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<sup>27</sup> Emile Durkheim continues on the issue of spatial representation, saying that it “essentially consists in a primary coordination of given sense experience. But this coordination would be impossible if the parts were qualitatively equivalent, if they really were mutually interchangeable. To have a spatial ordering of things is to be able to situate them differently: to place some on the right, others on the left, these above, those below, north or south, east or west, and so forth, just as, to arrange states of consciousness temporally, it must be possible to locate them at definite dates. That is, space would not be itself if, like time, it was not divided and differentiated. But where do these divisions that are essential to space come forth? In itself, it has no right, no left, no high or low, no north or south, etc. All these distinctions evidently arise from the fact that they assigned different affective colorings to regions. And since all men of the same civilization conceive of space in the same manner, it is necessary that these affective colorings and the distinctions that arise from them also be held in common—which implies almost necessarily that they are of social origin.” 10-11. This analysis of religious community space supports Emile Durkheim’s thesis that religion is an “eminently social thing.” “Religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities; rites are ways of acting that are born only in the midst of assembled groups and whose purpose is to evoke, maintain, or recreate certain mental states of those groups. But if the categories are of religious origin, then they must participate in what is common to all religion: They, too, must be social things, products of collective thought.” Emile Durkheim, trans. Carol Cosman, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 13.

temple interiors were practiced by the Mormons through ritual, performed religious ideas and held the Saints in a liminal space where they could imagine more for their lives than the dusty streets of the frontier city of Salt Lake.

It was the sacred spaces of temples that gave permanency to the idea of Zion and the Kingdom of God on the earth and importantly carried them forward for future generations. The temple operated as a system of signs and symbols that embodied the imagined discourse between earth and heaven. Joseph Smith often used the imagery of construction or architecture to enthuse his followers about the importance of building the Kingdom of God, giving them something tangible that they could easily comprehend in terms of the work that lay before them. The temple was a centerpiece in this rhetoric.

The temple endowment or key ritual involved a series of stages, a performance of a spiritual journey toward salvation. Believers moved through a series of rooms that signified the different levels of the Mormon concept of heaven, culminating in the “Celestial” room. First, the individual worshipper was “washed and anointed,” draped with a robe embroidered with sacred symbols. They were sworn to secrecy because of the sacred nature of the ordinance itself and then watched as “actors” performed the story of the creation and fall of man, with Joseph himself in Nauvoo playing the role of God the Father. Passwords, special handshakes and grips, and secret names became a series of thresholds where believers moved from their temporal or secular lives outside the temple walls to this liminal space, which transported them to imagined possibilities. Baptism for the dead and the washing and anointing, as is true in many religious sacred spaces, took on a

new significance in the context of temple ritual, preparing the supplicant for a confrontation with deity. Ritual and symbolism transformed the temple and differentiated it from the meetinghouse or church and set it aside from the daily lives of the people.

The interior space created by the Mormon temple tested and interpreted accessibility, inclusion or exclusion, or the sacralization process. The temple was exclusive, sacred, and intended for the use of only the most faithful. It revealed social hierarchies that distinguished between insiders and outsiders, as well as priesthood hierarchies that guaranteed certain conditions in the afterlife for members. The temple became a sort of challenge to the world outside Mormonism, a proud claim to truth, access to God, and boundary around the Mormon vision of heaven and life on the earth. The temple was a sacred landscape where the performance of ideas about heaven and earth drew lines between the most faithful and those without faith. Temple worship played out beyond view, was inaccessible to non-believers, and was available to only the most devoted followers of Joseph Smith. Temple worship included movement through a series of spaces and thresholds, accompanying passwords and new names, and a requirement to suspend belief and move from one sphere into another.

Moreover, the temple created liminal space, a “realm of pure possibility [or potentiality] when novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise.<sup>28</sup> According to Victor Turner, “Liminality is not only transition ... but also potentiality, not only ‘going

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<sup>28</sup> Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 97.

to be’ but also ‘what may be,’ a formulable domain in which all that is not manifest in the normal day-to-day operation of social structures (whether on account of social repression or because it is rendered cognitively ‘invisible’ by prestigious paradigmatic denial) can be studied.”<sup>29</sup> The space of the Salt Lake Temple was a hierarchical space. Participants moved through a series of thresholds and spaces, ascending to the pinnacle of spiritual experience through ritual. In the process, worshipers shed secular influence and concerns to commune more fully with God, in the company of others, to share a vision of heaven. In the temple, anything seemed possible and within reach.

The experience of the Temple was not available to those outside Mormonism but reserved for the faithful believers. The ordinances performed there, ushered Mormons into a particular heaven that excluded others. In the highly symbolic and liminal environment of the temple, space negotiated access to heaven, controlled by physical and tangible thresholds and markers along the path. Still, more important it required a changed mind, or consciousness to embrace the potentialities of heaven. Worshipers moved literally and figuratively into not only the “Celestial Room”, the final and most holy chamber in the temple, but also the imagined celestial realm of heaven. Temple ritual mirrored the experience believing Mormons assumed would be their fate upon death and movement into the afterlife.

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<sup>29</sup> Victor Turner and Edith L.B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 3.

The Mormon concept of the Kingdom of God materialized in spaces that brought people together in the community. The Mormon town helped define their relationships with each other, explained their connection with God and heaven, and participated in boundary-making and the interpretation of difference. Ritualized spaces brought people together for lectures or sermons, for spiritual manifestations and sacred ordinances, and the performance of religious identity and idea. These spaces created geometric patterns or gestures which characterize religious belief.

### **SALT LAKE CITY BECOMES A GENTEEL CITY**

Within a decade of Salt Lake City's initial land distribution and when the Saints erected homes and businesses near the city core, it began to evolve. It has been convincingly argued by historian Richard Bushman and others that the pioneers were familiar with the "Genteel" city, or the city of culture and proper society. The Genteel city demonstrated civility and the desire to create a "good society" in physical terms.

Not long after settlement, Brigham Young felt the Saints needed a grander setting for theatrical performances. When completed, the Salt Lake Theater was considered one of the most architecturally significant buildings constructed during Brigham Young's lifetime. Young encouraged his people to live righteous lives but also to enjoy themselves. Theater, dance, and music became enticing escapes from the grind of community building. First, in the Social Hall, and then the more elaborate Salt Lake Theatre they joined for culture activity, a welcome counterpoint to the seriousness of living righteous lives. The Salt

Lake Theater was located a block south of President Young's Beehive House and was financed in part by the sale of surplus goods acquired from Johnston's army when it vacated the territory. The eighty by 144-foot adobe and stone structure was by far the largest in the territory at the time. Designed by Church Architect William Folsom, the Church completed and opened it not long after in March 1862. Architect and British convert, E.L.T. Harrison designed the interior in the best tradition of contemporary English styling. The Greek Revival style, complete with a tripartite façade, freestanding fluted Doric columns, peripteral design with pilasters, wrapped around the building's central block. Beneath the cornice was an entablature with metope-and-triglyph motifs. A low-pitched hipped roof capped by an attic clerestory window provided lighting for the interior.<sup>30</sup>

The center of governmental and other public functions was the Council House. Designed by Truman Angell, Sr. in 1849, this distinctive territorial building originally sat on the southwest corner of South Temple and Main Streets. The primary entrance to this two-story four-square building was on South Temple. Sturdy, unpretentious, and formal, this multi-purpose facility provided the physical location for the organizational meetings of Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution, the Territorial Legislature, and the space served as the *Deseret News* printshop for several years (until 1883 when it was destroyed by fire). The LDS Church used the upper floor for endowment ceremonies

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<sup>30</sup> For more discussion about how western towns tried to establish their American and Victorian credibility, see: Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846-1906*, (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2007).

before they built Endowment House on Temple Square. The building was quite simple in conception, forty-five feet square. A delicate stringcourse aesthetically separated and defined the two stories and distinguished the line between the sandstone first level from nearby Red Butte and adobe brick second. Overall the design was based on square proportions, featuring a significant cornice, low-hipped roof, and cupola, all fully in line with the Greek Revival style. Rather than continue the symmetry of the exterior, the interior had an asymmetrical arrangement of the assembly hall and two rooms on each floor.

Brigham Young's son, Joseph Don Carlos, drafted a proposed redesign of the Main Street and South Temple elevations of Block 88 in 1887. His vision included a commercial zone developed along Main Street that was conscious of the centrality of the block and its varied functions to the religious and temporal life of the city. The streetscapes reflect a curious mixture, true to the theocracy that existed at the time, between the sacred and profane vocabularies of distinctive Mormon spatial and social practices. The proposed Philharmonic Hall sits broadly in the center of the block in the plan for public meetings. Still, to the north the "Temple Hotel" provides easy access to the temple block for travelers intent on attending Temple rituals. Immigrants still gathering to "Zion" could find rest in the hostel designed for those with less money to stay as they acclimated to the new environment. Reflecting the Victorian rather than the Neo-Classical style of the next generation of buildings, and moving away from the strict regularity of the Greek Revival buildings of the first generation of structures. The streetscape reveals a turning toward more cosmopolitan and sophisticated styles at the same time the

building types and purposes were squarely in the nineteenth century Mormon mix of church and contemporary life. Generally, Mormon architectural styles ran parallel to or lagged slightly behind national trends.

The redesign of Block 88's West and South streetscapes illustrates the tension between the old and the new, a yearning toward greater sophistication and style, more like a Genteel city than the frontier city of earlier decades. Still, an amalgam of the sacred and secular, this proposal nevertheless speaks volumes about where they hoped to go next, a city of the imagination like that in Calvino's story. Amelia's Palace, constructed between 1873 and 1881 for a favored younger wife of Brigham Young in the Second Empire mansion-style across the street on South Temple, exhibited a different kind of yearning for sophisticated, a more cosmopolitan recognition of wealth and influence.

Michel deCerteau's work helps us understand space like those of Block 88 and Temple Square that is filled with meaning. He defines space as a "practiced place," which holds meaning based on the relationship between place/memory/ and circumstance.<sup>31</sup> "Walking is present, discrete, and "phatic" within a spatial system; as the walker actualizes some of the possibilities of the system, he also increases the possibilities and prohibitions and can "initiate, maintain, or interrupt contact" with the system based on the choices made."<sup>32</sup> Such spaces are defined as totalizing displays of knowledge

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<sup>31</sup> Michel deCerteau, trans. Steven Rendall, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984): 98.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

about and expectations of particular religious beliefs and are thus strategies for communing with God. Through buildings, towns, and built landscapes, religious ideas are practiced and interpreted through life experiences, making belief and faith, tangible, observable, and understandable.

## **THE MORMON CITY CONFRONTS THE WORLD**

After the turn-of-the-century, architecture continued to reveal the evolution and maturation of the LDS Church. The Hotel Utah, LDS Administration Building and the act of tearing down the remaining remnants of the tithing yard and cooperative world resulted in the performance of a very particular type of religious identity or the worldwide church. The Lion House remains on Block 88 as a quaint curiosity rather than as a centerpiece. The Hotel Utah built in 1911 and designed by Parkinson and Barnstorm of Salt Lake City and Los Angeles was in style a Neo-Classical or Italian Renaissance modern building made of concrete and steel with a sheath of white matte glazed enameled brick and decorative white matte glazed enameled terra cotta. A roof garden found on the concrete roof above ten stories, three hundred fifteen hotel rooms, provided a view of both Temple Square and Block 88 itself. Hotel Utah had an eighty-eight square lobby and grand mezzanine level balcony. Next door, Young and Son Architects designed the 1917 LDS Church Office Building as a steel frame structure fireproofed with reinforced concrete. The building is five-stories, sitting on a solid granite basement with a dominant projecting plinth of granite and reinforced concrete.

Neo-Classical in style, twenty-four Ionic columns surround the building. A prominent entablature, including lion heads carved in granite tops the wall. In 1962, the church built the headquarters of the Relief Society designed by George Cannon Young on the site of the LDS Business College, in a classic modern style.

Completing this suite of self-consciously public buildings is the LDS Church Office Building built in 1975 and designed by George Cannon Young, influenced by the work of Corbusier. This welded steel skyscraper moves twenty-eight stories into the sky and has a three-story parking garage. Entered from both the north and the south, the building's dominant central vertical tower is flanked by two four-story wings. These prominent wings are adorned with bas relief sculpture depicting a map of the world, emphasizing that Mormonism had transcended the intense locality of Block 88 to become a worldwide church.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Plat of the City of Zion was a practical device for the colonization of the Great Basin Kingdom. Still, it was also a narrative device that embodied the vision or dream of the "good society." At the same time, it was an idea about a city of God. As in Calvino's conversation between Khan and Polo, cities are more than material or even spaces that are inhabited, but reside in part in the imagination and are the representation of desires and fears. At once conscious and unconscious, cities reveal rationality and emotion that sweeps them toward an uncertain future. The Plat was conceived of as a setting for Zion, a specific set of life practices, and expressed a millennial

vision. It helped constrain the imagination and consolidate it in tradition and authority.

The messages maps and images give about the meaning of Salt Lake City's central spaces reveal a series of paradoxes between the sacred and profane, between the communal and the individual. The lines drawn through space ran deep. Salt Lake City changed in form and meaning from a sacred city to one with genteel character, to a commercial city secular in ways more like other western cities than different. The original definition inscribed in its center space by the temple, wide streets, and the grid plan created a discourse, a sort of point-counterpoint. Salt Lake City was unique among American cities in its explicit orientation to the group, its origin as a religious idea, and its location at the edge of a mountain range.<sup>33</sup> The resulting paradoxes that characterize its evolution only served to augment or magnify those original characteristics. Added to the earliest paradigm were layers traced by generations of newcomers, changed economic and political conditions, the impact of technology, and the spatiality of social life. Block 88 and the city it illuminates is in a way, a canvas, not blank but malleable, a palimpsest that can be erased and altered to create linkages rather than blockages, common ground instead of exclusion. It is a discourse that continues to the present.

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<sup>33</sup> For additional insights into the roots of Western cities see: Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

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