Perception and Land Use: the Case of the Mormon Culture Region

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PERCEPTION AND LAND USE: THE CASE
OF THE MORMON CULTURE REGION

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Geography
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Lester D. Campbell
August 1974
This thesis, by Lester D. Campbell, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Geography of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the Master of Science.

Richard H. Jackson
Richard H. Jackson, Committee Chairman

Lloyd Hudman
Lloyd Hudman, Committee Member

July 10, 1974
Date

Robert L. Layton, Department Chairman

Typed by: Patricia Oler
The purpose of Geography is to locate, describe, analyze, and explain the interrelationships of man and his environment, and insofar as possible, explain the origin of these spatial relationships.

Geography is not limited to a cubicle of the world's knowledge. Because of its basic tool, the map, it is free to enter other scientific fields. Geography is perhaps the most widely used science and yet the least understood. It would be easier to say what geography is not than what it is. It is not just the naming of capitol cities and rivers, or the listing of exports from and imports to a remote country. It is more than discussing soils and climates and vegetation. It is the study of man's relationship to the earth and to other men. It is the study of processes and changes upon the earth's surface wrought by both man and environment. Essentially it asks what happened? where did it happen? how did it happen? why did it happen? when did it happen? who did it happen to? and what was his response to the happening? After answering these questions, the geographer attempts to relate them to other events that have happened or are happening.
I am not certain that anyone can define geography into a neat and universally acceptable concept. For with the rapid expansion of knowledge in the present age, the definition of geography will probably also expand. Certainly many things are yet to be discovered in this world and in the realm of geography. It would be sad indeed to think that we had arrived at the end of knowledge!

For certain, geography is one of the most eclectic fields of study in the sciences. One may select almost any phenomenon. If it is mappable, it is geographical. It was this eclecticism which allowed me to complete this study.

As a "geographer" and a Mormon, I felt that previous studies related to the relic Mormon Culture Region were only telling part of the story. Previous work has dealt mostly with the visual landscape features and location of the relic Mormon Culture Region. Though this is appropriate, I felt things were geographically out of balance. I concluded that a study of the origin of the relic region would contribute to understanding and help to complete the picture.

Preliminary investigation suggested few studies of the nature I wanted to do. I wanted to bring perception into geography, which of course was acceptable. But I also wanted to bring religion into the field of perceptual
geography. This was questionable. The paucity of studies in this area made the challenge even more enticing, and I succumbed.

It is my intent in this study not only to discuss the landscape features of the relic Mormon Culture Region, but also the origin of these features. When a man enters a region and uses the land, he affects changes of a great variety upon the land. These result in cultural landscape, as compared to the original (before man) natural landscape. Since man's use of the land depends to a great degree on how he perceives the land, we must consider his environmental perception if we are to delve into origins.

Perception as it is used herein includes all those things of a social, psychological, and physical nature which affect the man's attitude about and use of his environment. In the case of the Mormon Culture Region, I believe most of these items were influenced by religious doctrines and attitudes. The hypothesis, then, of this study was that the landscape in the relic Mormon Culture Region had its origin in the religious perception of the Mormon people. That the study fulfilled its purpose remains for the reader to answer.

A debt of gratitude is offered to the geographers who have been instrumental in guiding me through this achievement: Melvin Asmott, Allan H. Gray, Russell
Horiuchi, Lloyd Hudman, Richard Jackson, Robert Layton, Dale Stevens, and Elliot Tuttle. Each in his own way has been a part of this work, if not directly then indirectly through his teachings and influence on me. To them I am most grateful.

Special thanks go to Russell Horiuchi for his original spark of inspiration which opened the way for this work. I am especially indebted to Richard Jackson for: his constant interest and direction; the liberal use of his personal library; his permission to use his manland system in my study; and especially his friendship, for he was a friend first and a teacher second.

Thanks also go to Rex Wadham and Lloyd Pack III for their motivation and continual encouragement during the preparatory writing. Also appreciation is extended to George Southern and Wendel Wheeler for their technical help on the preparation of the maps and air photos, and to Don E. Norton for proofreading the thesis. Thanks also to Laurtiz Peterson of the Church Historians Office for his assistance in providing resource material for this study.

Special thanks go to my wife, Linda, and to my children, Aaron and Laura Lyn, for their inspiration and support, and for their willingness to forego time with me that I might complete this study. For without their sacrifice, this thesis never would have been completed.
Material presented herein has been carefully selected from reliable sources. If, however, there is inaccurate information or erroneous interpretation or judgment, I alone am responsible.
Dedicated to those of my pioneer heritage who helped establish the Mormon Culture Region; to my parents David Odell Campbell and Leah Harker Campbell; and to my wife Linda; my son Aaron; and my daughter Laura Lyn with love and gratitude for their influence in my life.
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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEMS AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

The Mormon Culture Region is perhaps one of the most recent examples of an evolutionary culture region.\(^1\) As a result of its recent development (1847-1880) and its overall homogeneity in geographic features, it has been the object of many studies.

According to one author,

\begin{quote}
\ldots the colonists of North America were motivated by a variety of considerations—religious, social, political, economic, and idiosyncratic. With some notable exceptions, however, they traveled as individuals or single families, gravitating toward those places perceived as best filling their aspirations.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

The case of the Mormon pioneers, as one of those exceptions, exemplifies the development of an evolutionary culture region.

There we see a thoroughly self-conscious (and amply documented) routing into a remote, empty tract

\(^1\) The evolutionary culture region deals with those that have originated independently from the traditional culture. The people were free to set their own goals and establish their own culture patterns in an area that was not dominated by an older culture.

of like-minded persons of highly diverse background bent upon building a tightly structured, homogeneous society.

Once the American area had been effectively settled and had achieved some semblance of economic and social stability, there began a series of processes analogous to, but less intense than, those typical of the traditional region. Emotional and social roots were sunk into the land; man and habitat interacted in an endlessly complex fashion; diverse people met and merged their ideas and ways of life; influences were given to and received from the outside. In short, a new culture area had crystallized.¹

It is the purpose of this thesis to study specific aspects of the evolutionary culture associated with the Mormon Culture Region. Of specific interest in this study is the origin of certain perceptual attitudes of the Mormon people and the resultant landscape features which occurred after the Mormon interaction with the habitat of the West.

The major hypothesis of this study is that the Saints' perception of and use of the environment were dominated by their religious background. These three factors—man, religious perception, and the environment—were responsible for the development of the relic Mormon Culture Region.

Consideration of the Problems

Research concerning the factors affecting the development of the Mormon Culture Region has focused on a number of problems. The most critical ones are discussed

¹Ibid., p. iii.
in the following pages, serving as a basis for background introduction and formulation of the hypothesis.

Some of the problems to be considered in man's relationship to the earth are summarized by Preston James.

Nature itself is quite indifferent to human aspirations. A land is neither friendly nor unfriendly, except as man has always personified the natural forces about him and given them human attributes. Human perception makes the difference in how land is used and responds . . . . The influence of the natural environment on human activity is chiefly one of limitation and hindrance. The stimulus to such action as will overcome obstacles or take advantage of opportunities is provided by man himself. Yet most of the basic conditions of life are beyond his control; he is still a product of the earth and dependent on it.¹

The following pages will consider these questions relating to the man-land relationship:

1. What is the role of man in relationship to the land?

2. What is the role of perception in directing man's activities on the earth?

3. What is the relationship between religious phenomena and geography?

Obviously a study of such limited scale cannot completely answer these questions, but it is hoped that in the following pages, the work can be justified and that some light can be shed which will increase understanding of these problems.

The Question of The Man-Land Relationship

History and Philosophy

Since the first man appeared on the earth there has existed a strong bond between man and the land upon which he lived. From that first man have evolved billions of other men and thousands of relationships with the land. It is primarily the business of the geographer to locate, describe and explain these relationships. It is no easy task and in all probability will never be completed. However, these problems afford the opportunity to review the role of various categories of man-land relationships, and perhaps to clarify their position in geography.

Ancient

Early geographic efforts associated with the man-land relationships were restricted mostly to the descriptive phase of geography, with some attempts to map and explain various phenomena. Such efforts would include Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), who described places and their inhabitants; Eratoshenes (276-194 B.C.), who devised maps with latitude and longitude; Agarthacides (64 B.C.-20 A.D.), who classified the Ethiopian tribes; Strabo (64 B.C.-20 A.D.),


who compiled seventeen volumes describing the *ecumene*;\(^1\) and Ptolemy, who dealt with the location of places in about 150 A.D. Included in this latter work were map projections and gazetteers. Posidonius described the mountain folk of Galicia, and Macataeus of Miletus conducted a general survey of the inhabited world on a regional basis.\(^2\)

All of these works were primarily descriptive rather than interpretive.

**Medieval**

During the Middle Ages such men as Ibn Batuta (1304-1368), Edrisi (1099-1166), and Ibn Kholdun worked on classification of people, climatic influence on man, and the role of the city in geography, respectively.\(^3\) The greatest geographical contribution dealing with the man-land relationship during the Medieval Period came from Cluverius and Varanius. Cluverius' work, *Introduction To Universal Geography*, was posthumously published in 1626. In 1650, Varenius, in his *Geographia Generalis*, organized geographic knowledge, stressing the dualism of the physical and cultural aspects of the earth. He fathered the systematic

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 29.

\(^3\)Broek, *Geography Its Scope and Spirit*, p. 12.
and regional approach that is prevalent in geographic concept and methodology today.¹ Both works marked the transition from the medieval to the modern period in geography.

**Modern**

According to Hartshorne, the "real" studies involving the man-land relationship did not come into focus until the nineteenth century.² However, several valuable contributions were made in the period between Varenius and the modern geographers which improved upon the cultural concept of geography. Achenwal, 1748, and Sussmilch, 1747, completed statistical studies of population.³ Montesquieu studied the effects of nature on man. The Forster combination of father (Johann R.) and son (Johann G.), who traveled to the South Seas with Cook, recognized the close tie between man and his environment.⁴ They studied such problems as mobility, settlement, sequent occupance and population density.

Immanuel Kant was not a geographer, nor did he claim to be.⁵ But because of his profound influence on

¹Taylor, *Geography in the Twentieth Century*, p. 32.
³Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
Alexander von Humboldt and Carl Ritter, the founders of modern geography, he is included in this review. Kant, through his philosophical contribution, broadened the scope of geography to include all the present methodological discussion. He also broke down much of the traditional thought then a part of geography. Hartshorne and Hettner have given his views fresh currency in recent times.

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) was one of the great figures in Classical Geography. His work is difficult to summarize, for he researched in botany, geology, physics, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, history, and all aspects of geography. Some of his major contributions were associated with the following geographical concepts: empirical research, comparative study, cartography and note taking, vegetation regions, unity and causality in nature, and systematic studies. Needless to say, his work had a great deal of influence on the knowledge of man-land relationships.

Carl Ritter (1779-1859) was the other great figure in Classical Geography. A friend of von Humboldt, he too made voluminous contributions to the fields of science. Geographical contributions generally associated with Ritter were regional studies, the teleological viewpoint,

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1 Taylor, op. cit., p. 38.
2 Ibid., p. 48.
3 Ibid., pp. 48-59, passim.
the role of observation in empirical science, papers on methodology, and geography as man-centered.¹ Von Humbolt's and Ritter's work complemented each other's and provided an almost complete and modern framework for modern geography.

Friedrick Ratzel, perhaps reacting to the physical and morphological emphasis given to geography by Frobel and Peschel, clearly and firmly established the man-land relationship in his books, Anthropogeographie and Die Erde und das Leben, Eine Vergleichende Erdkunde. Following the Darwinian point of view, Ratzel expanded on Ritter's work, thus establishing Human Geography as the study of all those features of the earth's surface related to man.² Ratzel's greatest contributions were to establish a more balanced viewpoint between the physical and human aspects of geography and to motivate many younger students into studies relating to the man-land relationship.

Recent

"Human Geographers" of recent times are far too numerous to list, but those most influential in the man-land area of geography should be mentioned. Since 1900 most of the geographical work has centered in three countries. The French School included such people as

¹Ibid., pp. 42-48.
²Ibid., pp. 63-67.
Vidal de la Blache, Brunhes, Sorre, Blanchard, and Demangeon. German geographers include von Richthofen, Hettner, and Phillipson. The American school had such students as W. M. Davis, G. P. Marshe, R. Hartshorne, E. Huntington, E. Semple, and C. Sauer, among others.¹

Studies of the relationship between man and the land have historically been one focus of geography. Early attempts to explain this relationship were cause and effect oriented. Students involved in these early attempts included Ratzel, whose deterministic viewpoint influenced Haeckel, Buckle, Huntington, Demolins and Semple.² From their work and philosophies, especially from Semple's, the school of environmental determinism evolved, which defined the man-land relationship as a simplistic cause-effect relationship in which the environment dictated what man would do.

Because of the deterministic theories and Davis' work on processes in land forms, there has been, until recently, a paucity of studies on the man-land relationship. The last decade has seen renewed interest in various aspects of this relationship. The difference in older and

¹For a detailed discussion on the contributions of the three schools mentioned, see Griffith Taylor, op. cit., pp. 70-162.

present work is that the recent studies do not ascribe a cause-effect relationship.¹

The Dualism Conflict

Originally the concept of a cleavage between man and nature was extraneous to geography.² But Varenius' general and special geographies, Ritter's teleological viewpoint, Darwin's theory of evolution and Ratzel's determinism helped widen the cleavage. Because of geography's special place astride the physical and social sciences, it was called upon to "bridge the gap" between man and the land.³

If geography is the study of the earth as the home of man (environmentalism), then Hartshorne argues that the environed man is the key to such studies. He says,

We cannot know what elements of nature need to be examined until we have a thorough knowledge of physical and social reactions... we cannot start with nature, but rather must first analyze human and social processes before we can think of the relationships to nature.⁴

¹See pages 11-14 for a discussion of these newer approaches.

²Hartshorne, Perspective on the Nature of Geography, Rand-McNally Company, Chicago, 1959, p. 60. (Hereinafter referred to as "Perspective." )

³Ibid., p. 61.

⁴Ibid.
Concerning the present view of most geographers towards the conflict, Hartshorne, in his *Perspective*,
says

that geography is under no obligation to science in general to distinguish among the factors inter-related in the phenomena it studies between those of human origin and those of natural origin. . . . In describing and analyzing individual features and elements, we are free to utilize whatever categories of classifications are empirically significant to the study of their interrelationships without concern for the abstract distinction between those of human origin and those of natural origin.\(^1\)

Though the foregoing may not be satisfactory to all geographers, especially the determinists, it does bring the problem into focus. If there is a problem with the man-nature dualism, it is an individual one, and it is not inherent in the field of geography as a whole. In short, man-land studies are indeed an integral part of geography, perhaps even a central part, because man as the environed and the studier cannot exclude himself, or his attitudes, biases, and perceptions from his study.\(^2\)

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

\(^2\) This idea is suggested by Taylor, op. cit., pp. 463-465; Hartshorne, *Perspective*, pp. 48-54; and Dr. Alon Grey of the Brigham Young University Geography Department, in a class lecture October 5, 1970. Taken from lecture notes for History and Philosophy of Geography.
The Question of Man's Perception and
The Man-Land Relationship

Perception: Definition and Theory

As is the case with culture, landscape, region, and numerous other terms, perception is extremely complex and difficult to define. The *New International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* devotes more than fifty pages to a discussion of its meaning. As it applies to the field of social perception, one expert defines it as "generally concerned with the effects of social and cultural factors on man's cognitive structuring of his physical and social environment."  

In a sense, environmental perception is a misnomer, according to Saarinen, because the stage of research in environmental perception is still in its infancy; therefore, no real body of theory or same has developed. However, a survey of recent contributions does disclose some general areas of development and methodology which have been expanded within the last fifteen years.

A review of recent research would include the locational analysts such as Peter Hagget and David

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Harvey. 1 Ian Burton, 2 Robert Kates, 3 Gilbert White, 4 Thomas Saarinen, 5 David Lowenthal, 6 and others 7 have made


and are making significant contributions in their perceptual studies and probability theories. Still other contributions in the areas of computer use, ecology, model theories, systems, urban aesthetics, remote sensing and planning are joining with perception studies to increase and sophisticate the knowledge of man's perceptual relationship with his environment.

Environmental perception is not new. In fact, it is as old as man, though the study as such is much more recent. During the past several years, there has been a great deal of discussion about environmental quality, i.e., pollution, pesticides, recreation, aesthetic features, and use of resources. Several such studies have centered on perception of environment.

Many of the ideas in environmental perception are not new. The term cultural appraisal has long been used by cultural geographers who have noted many cases in which different culture groups have seen and utilized the same environment in variable ways. The term regional consciousness used by regional geographers expresses an aspect of

environmental perception which appeals at all levels, from a small locality to a nation.¹

However, as previously noted, there has been a change in emphasis in environmental studies. Geographers interested in perception of environment are no longer studying it only in broad, general, subjective ways, or in cultures far away in time or distance. Instead, the main focus is the direct investigation of people to determine their perception and use of their environment.² Research dealing in environmental perception can now be grouped into categories including:

1. Perception of Landscapes Past and Present
2. Perception of Natural Hazards
3. Perception of Urban Problems
4. Perception of Ecological Dangers
5. Perception of Resource Use and Management
6. Perception of Individual Space
7. Perception of Aesthetic Design and Architecture
8. Perception of Recreation and Leisure³

According to one student of environmental perception, man changes or controls his environment to meet his peculiar needs.

¹Saarinen, Perception of Environment, p. 2.
²Ibid.
³Richard Jackson, Personal Interview, June, 1973, Provo, Utah.
Man began to alter his environment to his needs when, in his primitive state, he found himself a shelter to keep out rain, wind, and sun; when he discovered fire to warm himself; when he herded animals and cultivated plants instead of merely hunting and gathering them; when he stored fresh water against times of drought and thirst. . . . We now control to our liking. . . cold and heat, darkness and light, noise and sound, and odors.¹

It will be noted that all the primary activities of man mentioned by Spilhaus affected the man-land relationship to some degree.

An adaption of a system devised by a geography professor illustrates the role of perception in the man-land relationship. See Fig. 1 on the following page.

It is not within the scope of this study to deal with the sociological and psychological aspects of this system, but only the geographical implications. However, Parsons,² Wohlwill, and Kates³ do consider some aspects of the system from a sociological and psychological point of view.

The System

Man in the preceding system is considered to be the key factor in the man-land relationship. Though he does

Fig. 1.—Proposed Model of Man-Land Relationship
(Adapted from a model originated by Richard Jackson of BYU Geography Department)
not control the entire relationship, he does dominate, through his several abilities to reason, change, and adjust.

A basic nature or drive of man is to fulfill his needs—hunger, thirst, comfort, and security. His needs are fulfilled by reaching goals which he has set for that purpose; i.e., goals are set to satisfy needs. Generally an individual's needs are dictated or at least shaped by his culture and past experience, including such things as beliefs, education, technology, etc. Once the needs are created and the goals set to satisfy them, means are required to achieve the goals. This requirement is filled by tools; i.e., tools are the instruments or activities whereby goals are reached and needs are fulfilled.

As man begins to employ the tools, he comes in contact with the physical environment as well as the social environment. These frequently require him to change his tools or adjust his goals. After the interaction between man and environment, an evaluation is made and feedback is received. Upon reception of feedback the man's goals are either satisfied or dissatisfied, which in either case affects a change in man's perception; and the ongoing cycle or system continues with new needs.

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1By physical environment is meant not only the land, but also such things as water, air, climate, etc. The social environment includes such phenomena as individuals, groups, and their institutions.
Saarinen clarifies the concept when he says, "Perception depends on more than the stimulus present and the capabilities of the sense organs. It varies with the individual's past history and present 'set' or attitude acting through values, needs, memories, moods, social circumstances, and expectations."¹ Expressing similar views, Gilbert White writes: "At the heart of managing a natural resource is the manager's perception of the resource and of the choices open to him in dealing with it. At the heart of decisions on environmental quality are a manager's views of what he and others value in the environment and can preserve or cultivate."²

The system as described above contributes to a clarification of the influence which man, through his perception and activities, has on the land. It also shows the part played by the land in the man-land relationship. This scheme could be adapted to fit most aspects of the physical-human relationship.

The Perceiver

Though the environment, as James states, does limit or control man's use of the land, it is still man who

¹Saarinen, op. cit., p. 5.

remains the instigator of most changes in land use and landscapes.¹

All men are provided to some degree with the ability to perceive, reason, decide, act and react. It is with these endowments and others that man has successfully perpetuated himself upon the land.

Because no two people or groups of people have the same terra cognita, different patterns of behavior have developed. It was through the associations and attraction of similar group behavior that cultures came into existence.² According to Lowenthal, after societies and cultures were established, the individual and group perceptions were shaped by the cultural milieu.³ (See the cultural filter concept on page 17.) It must be remembered that one's terra cognita is based on physical environment as well as social environment. It is through both these environments that man perceives opportunities and possibilities to use the land. This use appears in a

¹This is not to say that earthquakes, floods, fires, and other natural hazards do not cause some changes in land use and landscape.


great variety of means and for an equally great variety of ends.

Man's action towards his environment presumes perception of that environment. Perhaps the perceptual aspect of the man-land relationship can best be summarized in the words of David Lowenthal as he describes the relationship between environmental perception and human behavior.

In daily practice, we all subordinate reality to the world we perceive, experience, and act in. We respond to and affect the environment not directly, but through the medium of a personally apprehended milieu. This milieu differs for each of us according to his personal history; and for each of us it varies also with mood, with purpose, and with attentiveness. What we see, what we study, and the way we shape and build in the land is selected and structured for each of us by custom, culture, desire, and faith. To understand perceptual processes requires examination of all these facets of human behavior.

In many cases an individual's personal milieu is affected by his faith, as was suggested by Lowenthal. It is to this religious aspect of perception that we now turn our attention.

1 White, op. cit., p. 110.

Question of the Relationship Between Geography and Religion

Justification

In Geography of Religions, Sopher justifies the geography-religion relationship in the following words:

Cultural geography is concerned with man as a sharer and bearer of culture. Its particular concern is with two kinds of relationships—the interaction between a culture and its complex earth environment, and the spatial interaction among different cultures. The geography of religion investigates these relationships, concentrating its attention on the religious component in culture... Geography cannot deal with the personal religious experience... but geography can study organized religious systems and culturally molded and institutionalized religious behavior.¹

Others interested in justifying and defining the geography-religion relationship include Erich Isaac,² Paul Fickelee,³ and Christopher Salter.⁴


Isaac concludes that the fact that religion has a geographic dimension is obvious; equally obvious is the fact that different religions have had greater or lesser impact upon the landscape, and that areas dominated today by one religion show significant differences in the religious mark on the land.

The task of the geography of religion, as I conceive it, is to separate the religious from the social, economic and ethnic matrix in which it is embedded, and to determine its relative weight in relation to other forces in transforming the landscape.\(^1\)

Fickeler justifies a relationship between geography and religion in the following terms:

Since all religions in the course of development have created a more or less manifest cultus that is spatially and temporarily perceptible in the form of magical and symbolic events, objects, and behavior, religious phenomena appear in a real relationship with the earth's surface, and so can be studied geographically.\(^2\)

Christopher Salter states that the forces which compel man to create a particular and unique landscape are generally attributed to either economic or religious motives. Though ultimate genesis for many of our landscape patterns lie in the pre-literate past, it is reasonable to assume that these two driving forces have been the artisans of our sculptured earth.\(^3\)

Even though each of the above geographers expressed a similar concept in different ways, the same concept was still apparent in each citation. Perhaps the concept could be stated in these words: Religion does have a part in

\(^1\) Isaac, "The Act and the Covenant," p. 148.


\(^3\) Salter, The Cultural Landscape, p. 148.
geography in that it explains religious motives in man's use of the land, which use creates landscapes which are a concern of the cultural geographer. Simply put, if a man-originated phenomenon affects the land, regardless of its origin, including religion, then it is an area of interest to geography.

The Relationship

In 1961, Wilbur Zelinsky posed some problems which face future studies dealing with the relationship between religion and geography. More specifically, the problems dealt with the role of religious influence on areal patterns and the development of cultural regions.

In 1962, Fickeler's work was translated into English. Though it did not provide answers to Zelinsky's questions, it did suggest a list of religious phenomena which did influence land use and consequent landscapes. The interesting phenomena which follow are the major contributions of Fickeler:

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<tr>
<td>sacred lights</td>
<td>waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colors</td>
<td>groves</td>
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<td>tones</td>
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<td>fragrances</td>
<td>plants</td>
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<tr>
<td>directions</td>
<td>animals(^2)</td>
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<td>numbers</td>
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<td>motions(^2)</td>
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\(^2\)Fickeler, op. cit., p. 98.  

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 108-109.
Following each of these topics, Fickeler discussed how it affected land use and landscape.

David Sopher, in 1967, published material which contributed a great deal toward the solution of Zelinsky's questions.¹ His contribution in this area can be divided into three distinct areas.

Sopher's first area established a framework for religious studies within the field of geography:

1. The significance of the setting for the evolution of religious systems and particular religious institutions,
2. The way religious systems and institutions modify their environments,
3. The different ways whereby religious systems occupy and organize segments of earth space,
4. The geographic distribution of religions and the way religious systems spread and interact with each other.²

His second major contribution was established to provide an arrangement of general geographic characteristics which would help distinguish religious systems. The main divisions that follow contain other subdivisions in the original text:

1. distribution, i.e., both geographic pattern and social extent
2. structure in space, the machinery whereby a religious system organizes all its adherents
3. the means used by a system to grow numerically and territorially.³

¹Sopher, op. cit., p. 2.
²Ibid., p. 2.
³Ibid., p. 4.
The third contribution by Sopher was his incomplete list of specific religious features which transform the land.

1. form of structure
2. orientation of structures
3. density of structures
4. cemetery use
5. toponyms
6. food taboos
7. work taboos
8. birth rate
9. vegetation

It is acknowledged that the geography of religions is only in its infancy, much the same as environmental perception. But in spite of the paucity of work in the area of geography-religion relationships, some general conclusions can be drawn from the present literature:

1. Geography does have a place for religious studies, provided they deal with geographical concepts such as land use, landscape, perception, or other geographical phenomena.

2. The entire geography-religion relationship has not been researched; therefore, there are no set limits to related studies.

3. Geography cannot deal with the personal, abstract, religious experience.

4. Some religions have more effect on the land than others, and therefore, they are of more interest to geographers.

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1Ibid., pp. 24-47, passim.
5. More research is needed in the area of Geography of Religions, to create a clearer picture of the field of study and to help in the formulation of theory and methodology.

A Case Study: The Mormon Culture Region

In this chapter three major questions in cultural geography have been considered as a justification for this study:

1. What is the role of the man-land studies in geography, both past and present?
2. What is the role of man's perception of his environment in developing patterns and relationships on the earth's surface?
3. What is the relationship between religious phenomena and geographical concepts and studies?

Obviously, much more could be written to answer these questions. The next task at hand is to ask these questions in relationship to a specific culture, to further enhance their role in geography. The case of the Mormons' settlement in the Western United States affords an excellent opportunity for such a project. Because of its recent development (since 1847) the features and processes are still young in relationship to most other cultures. In fact, some geographers suggest that the Mormon Culture
is the only modern culture indigenous to the United States.¹

In the words of Sopher,

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Mormon culture developed certain cultural attributes which have given the Mormon country in Utah and parts of Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico its character of a distinctive religious landscape. Under the guidance of a religious hierarchy that for a while maintained a true theocracy, the Mormon settlement was built as a religiously inspired representation of the City of Zion, with square blocks, wide streets, fields bordered by Lombardy poplar, frame churches of unpainted cedar, and a compact arrangement of irrigated land around the nuclear settlement.²

It is to this culture, then, that we turn attention to for the remainder of this study.

¹Zelinsky, pp. 161, 162, 165; Sopher, op. cit., p. 64.

²Sopher, p. 45.
Chapter Two

WHAT AND WHERE IS THE MORMON CULTURE REGION

Framework and Background

Few geographers or others have attempted to delineate the relic Mormon Culture Region in the American West. Several major studies have analyzed various aspects of the region. The following pages will critically analyze the works of Lowry Nelson, Joel Ricks, Thomas O. Dea, D. W. Meinig, and Richard Francaviglia. These works are representative of research related to the Mormon Culture Region. It is not intended to suggest that these are the only works on the Mormon Culture Region. On the contrary, other numerous and valuable studies lend understanding to the concept of a Mormon Culture Region. These authors are those who made major attempts to delineate the Mormon Culture Region either verbally or cartographically. Others making notable contributions will be discussed later.¹

Each of the authors had his own purpose in researching this topic. Each came to his own conclusions. It is unlikely that all the geographical problems dealing with the

¹See pages 29-30 for a discussion of other studies which provided a reference background for the serious student.
Mormon Culture were solved in these studies. Therefore, it is important to consider the methods used and the extent of each major study, that we might better understand the results and merits of each study.

To aid in clarification and to provide consistency, each study is considered in the following framework.

1. Purpose--Often what one finds or concludes in a study is influenced by what one's purpose was in conducting the study. It is therefore helpful to know why a certain study was undertaken.

2. Limitation--Some studies may be restricted to certain aspects or approaches in research. To allow the reader to gain an accurate picture of the scope of each study, the author has mentioned cautions that could be considered relative to each work.

3. Methods--The reliability, value and outcome of any research is to some degree determined by the methods incorporated in the study. For this reason, the methods employed by each author will be described.

4. Contribution--Hopefully one of the reasons for doing research is to add to the body of knowledge related to a given field. A summary of significant contributions will accompany each of the major works.

5. Conclusion--To avoid repetition and confusion, it is necessary to refer briefly to the basic conclusions of each work.
In summarizing the framework, it is the purpose of this chapter to consider the major contributions dealing with various geographical aspects of the Mormon Culture Region. However, before focusing on the major works related to the Mormon Culture Region it is important to review other significant contributions which provide background material dealing with aspects and approaches to a study of the relic Mormon Culture Region.¹


The six-volume work of B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1930, gives a very detailed account of the Church's history from its very earliest beginning up to 1930. The historical movement of the Mormon settlement is the topic of Nels Anderson's, Deseret Saints, The Mormon Frontier in Utah, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). Also in 1942, W. Stegner published Mormon Country (New York: Dwell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), which discussed the Mormon culture as it developed in the West.


Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900, written by L. J. Arrington, is a meticulous work on the development of the Mormon economic system. The one hundred pages of references and
For a more comprehensive list of related studies, see Hill and Taylor\(^1\) and the bibliographic section of this thesis which deals with Mormons.

Early attempts to map the Mormon Culture Region were very general in outline and explanation. Fig. 2 on the following page shows three of these early attempts to map the Mormon Culture Region.

Mangus' map of 1940 was based on county units and dealt with characteristics rather than numbers. These included farm-village pattern, birth rate, standard of living, and family size. Goustad's map of 1952 also used county units; however, he used percentages of Church memberships instead of sociological features, as did Mangus. Zelinsky, also in 1952, used the same data as Goustad did.\(^2\)

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\(^2\)Both are based upon the data in the bulletins on Churches and Church Membership in the United States: *An Enumeration and Analysis by Counties, States, and Regions* (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1956-1958), as cited in Meinig.
Fig. 2.--Early attempts to delineate the Mormon Culture Region. Taken from Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55, No. 2 (1965), p. 196.
but he neglected political units and made only a generalized boundary around the Mormon region.\(^1\)

The following pages will summarize the major studies on the Mormon Culture Region in order to allow the reader to gain a background knowledge of what the region is, and what work has been done in regard to it. The summaries appear in the order that they appeared in the printed literature, the oldest first.

**The Mormon Village\(^2\)**

**Purpose**

In Nelson's own words, the purpose of his study was to account for the existence in America of the peculiar community structure which characterized the Mormon settlements in the Great Basin. His work was to be a study in social origins.

During the western expansion period in American history, the prevalent mode of settlement was by isolated farmsteads, not the collective method of the nucleated farm-town policy adopted by the Mormons in the Great Basin.


Nelson refutes the then popular explanations as a complete answer to the origin of the Mormon village. Those explanations were danger of Indian attack, lonesomeness, irrigation agriculture, Brigham Young's prescience,\(^1\) accessibility to the meeting house, and an idea borrowed from the New England village.\(^2\) Nelson felt the major factors of origin lay within the areas of certain social and religious concepts. The most important of these concepts were nationalism, communism, and millennialism.\(^3\)

**Limitation**

Lowry Nelson was a sociologist. The fact that there is little description or mapping of geographical phenomena is no fault of the author. Nelson's purpose was to explain processes of development, not visual features. A reader should also know that Nelson's work dealt with selected villages within the Great Basin. This does not justify the application of Lowry's work to all Mormon villages or to an entire region.

**Methods**

Nelson's basic method was the examination of literature on community development accompanied by a

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\(^3\)Nelson, p. 16.
comparison of various schemes with the Mormon village development. Nelson's approach was historical, oriented to evolution. He considered the village to be an inevitable and universal stage in the social evolution of communities. Included in his work were various photographic reproductions and maps of single villages.

Contributions

As mentioned previously, Nelson stressed the processes of development more than the resultant features. He listed the characteristics unique to the Mormon village, then proceeded to discuss the developmental processes involved. The features he listed are wide streets intersecting each other at right angles, running in north-south and east-west directions; the square blocks thus formed were the locations of the resident establishments of the farmers who cultivated the farm land adjacent to the village proper.

Since Nelson's main contributions are in the processes responsible for the unique Mormon village situation, it is fitting to mention them. He judges that the social environment of the early nineteenth century in the United States was a dominant influence in the development of the Mormon village. The social environment consisted of the following conditions, according to Nelson:
1. The spirit of nationalism.
2. Economic disorganization and industrial unrest which promoted discussion about future economic policy and gave rise to many utopian schemes and experiments.
3. The doctrine of free land, based upon the theoretical importance ascribed to agriculture by the Physiocrats of France and promulgated in this country by Jefferson and later by Horace Greeley and others.
4. Preponderance of agriculture in the economic life.
5. The ascendency of the revival period in religion. The millenial hope was the overwhelming religious motivation of this period.
6. Intellectually, a time of extreme unrest. Old institutions and organizations were no longer to be regarded as adequate.
7. Emotional instability, literal acceptance of the Bible as revelation, renewed interest in the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, characterized the peoples of the sections of New York and Ohio, in which Mormonism had its formative years.¹

Nelson maintains that three of these concepts were essential in bringing into existence the Plat of the City of Zion,² which he claims is, in reality, the foundation of the Mormon village. These concepts are nationalism, communism, and millenialism.

Nationalism

Associated with the political mood of manifest destiny and territorial expansion were two religious beliefs of the Mormons. First, the Mormons felt that America was a


²See Fig. 3. It contains a photocopy of the original City of Zion Plat which was developed by Joseph Smith in 1833. Details are found on pp. 64-65.
Fig. 3.—Joseph Smith's City of Zion plat.
promised land prepared for them by God.\textsuperscript{1} Second, the Mormons had a close identification with ancient Israel and considered themselves to be a chosen people in the eye of the Lord.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Communism}

The communistic doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was essentially an expression of Christian communism embodied in the system called the United Order. The earth is the Lord's, and as His agent, man is given stewardships over portions of the earth. Each man was entitled to as much land as he needed to support his family. If a surplus accrued from his operation, it was returned to the bishop's storehouse to be distributed to others in need. The title of the land was held by the bishop, who represented the Lord as an agent. Primary emphasis was upon equality of participation in the economic goods of the group.

\textbf{Millenialism}

The concept of Millenialism dealt mostly with events centered around the second coming of the Savior. These included the gathering to Zion, the return of the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}\textit{Book of Mormon}, I Nephi 2:20, and \textit{Doctrine & Covenants} 57:2.
  \item \textsuperscript{2}\textit{Book of Mormon}, II Nephi 29:1, and \textit{Doctrine & Covenants} 103:17.
\end{itemize}
City of Enoch, and the preparation of a people and city to meet the Lord.\textsuperscript{1} Though attempts were made at Kirtland, Ohio; Far West, Missouri; Adam-ondi-Ahman; and Nauvoo, Illinois, to incorporate the City of Zion concept, each experience failed to establish Zion.

Other factors Nelson mentions as influencing the development of the Mormon village pattern were the plat of the City of Zion, Biblical scriptures describing the city of Zion, and the new rectangular survey which had been adopted by Congress in 1875,\textsuperscript{2} which had the mile-square section as the unit.

Some of Nelson's study was concerned with answering the following questions:

1. What were the social processes involved in the formation and solidarity of the Mormon Group?

2. Why was this city plan adopted by the Mormon Group and no other?

3. How was the Mormon village pattern perpetuated in the West?

He finds his solutions to these questions in the following socio-geographical concepts.


Leadership

Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both had a high degree of prestige among the Saints. Both leaders were associated with other Biblical dispensation leaders such as Adam, Noah, Moses, etc. These men were considered by their followers to be literal spokesmen for God. This prestige came not only as a consequence of their prophetic callings, but was also a result of superiority in language, power, and learning. They also had the control of public opinion through the testimony of others and through the press. Both had a deep sympathy for and an identification with group sentiments and ideals. According to Nelson, Joseph Smith was the dreamer and architect of the Mormon Village, while Brigham Young was the engineer.

Integrating Role of Ideas

The following concepts, practiced very devoutly by the Mormons, helped maintain group solidarity and gave momentum to the Mormon Village:

1. "As God is man may become."
2. The common man is important because of his priesthood.
3. It's not where he works but how he works that determines his heavenly reward.
4. The more experience and knowledge a man can gain in this life the more advantage it will give him in the life to come.
5. The gospel (teachings, doctrines, and beliefs) encompasses all truth, regardless of its source or discoverer.

6. One should not cast pearls before swine; certain things are sacred and are not to be shared with the unworthy or unbelieving.

**Role of Conflict**

Nelson felt that conflict from without intensified group loyalty within. Persecution followed the Saints through New York, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah. This persecution developed a love and loyalty for the "in-group," and fear and mistrust for the "out-group." Nelson said this tended to prepare the Mormon group for compact and clustered residence rather than dispersed occupance.

**Cooperation**

Because the Mormons felt their leaders were inspired spokesmen for God, an intense emotional feeling resulted. This led to a strong cooperative bond among the members. Persecution was another positive factor that encouraged cooperative efforts. Also contributing to a cooperative spirit was the need to be economically self-sufficient, especially in the Great Basin environment. For some time after their arrival in the Great Basin, Brigham Young counseled the Saints to "withdraw from Babylon." In
other words, leave the things of the world alone. This emphasis forced the Saints to depend upon each other.

Favorable Environment

Nelson believed that the geographic and social environment of the Great Basin were favorable to the village plan. The village facilitated settlement because it met the following needs:

1. it provided security,
2. it encouraged cooperative efficiency by placing the members of the community in ready touch with officers and leaders,
3. it made for contentment in that social intercourse was facilitated,
4. it provided for religious, educational, and other social institutions,
5. and by separation of residence area from the arable land, it made possible a more advantageous utilization of the land.

Conclusion

Lowry Nelson concludes that

the Mormon village in the West is the result of the convergence of the following influences:
1. The plan of the City of Zion.
2. The development of the extraordinary group solidarity.
The plan of the City of Zion is accounted for, not in terms of environmental conditioning, so much as in terms of the ideologies of the Mormon group, which were derived from the foras of communism, millenialism and nationalism of the early nineteenth century in America.

The development of intense group solidarity is explained on the basis of the operation of the social procedures of leadership and prestige, ideals, conflict, and cooperation.

The Great Basin environment was such that the village tended to fit the needs of the settlers, and since the plan carried with it, to this group, something of the force of revelation, it became colonization device in the West.¹

**Early Mormon Settlement**²

**Purpose**

The primary purpose of Ricks' study was to delineate the procedures in founding Mormon settlements and to describe the stages through which Mormon settlements passed. In short, it was an original historical survey of Mormon settlements in Utah.

**Limitations**

Ricks, along with Lowry Nelson, was among the early students of Mormon settlement. At the time of their work (1930), published material was limited; therefore, these studies may appear to be lacking in supporting library research. The reader should know that Ricks' approach was

¹Nelson, op. cit., p. 29.

mostly historical and not geographical. For the most part, Ricks limited his study to those communities that were settled under the leadership of Brigham Young, 1847-1877. Many towns which are a part of the Mormon Culture Region were settled after Brigham Young's death.

Contributions

Ricks, being a professor of history, was naturally interested in the historical aspects of Mormon settlement rather than the geographical. Nevertheless, he did make valuable contributions in understanding the form and evolution of the Mormon settlement. Following is a review of his major contributions.

1. He discusses the ecclesiastical developments and positions in the Church and includes an explanation of the ward and stake concept.

2. He points out the use of the City of Zion plat in laying out Salt Lake City and discusses the economic factors leading to the industrialization of the region.

3. He gives the background on regional centers which developed outside of Salt Lake Valley: Provo, Manti, Parawan, San Bernardino, and others.

4. After the regional centers had developed, he accounts for the growth of communities in between the centers.
5. Ricks also discusses the Mormon attempts to become self-sufficient, including the gentile boycott and the home industries that developed.

Conclusions

Ricks presents a review and summarization of the foregoing material. He does not make a proposition or advance any theories. Since it would be repetitious to give his summary, it is not included in this text.

The Mormons

Purpose

In the beginning paragraph of his preface, O'Dea puts forth the purpose for this study:

This book is a study of the Mormons by a non-Mormon. It is an attempt to say what Mormonism is as a religious movement and to explore what conditions and events, what kinds of human decisions and effort, have made it that. Moreover, it sets forth the religious world view of the Mormons, showing what Mormons believe and how they see the world, as well as the relationship of this world view to the conditions of life under which Mormonism originated and developed. Finally, it tries to point up particular problems and dilemmas that have attacked the Mormon development.

Limitations

Most of O'Dea's work is based upon the historical, social, religious, and philosophical background of the


2Ibid., p. vii of the preface.
Mormons and on how these factors helped shape the Mormon way of life. Only briefly in his book does he include geographic concepts. Such characteristics as town layouts, urban-rural relationships and other visual factors related to the Mormon landscape are not readily apparent. He does not include any maps, photographs or charts in his work.

Methods

After extended travels throughout the "Mormon West," O'Dea lived in Salt Lake and an unnamed Mormon community for six months. Here he gained first-hand observation through personal interviews and experience. He supports his work with extensive library research. The seventeen pages of notes are a witness to his work and provide some excellent sources for the student interested in Mormonism.

Contributions

O'Dea's major contributions to an understanding of the Mormon Culture Region deal mostly with problems related to sociology. He accounts briefly some of the Mormon beliefs and events which have brought about changes in the Mormon society:

1. plural marriage
2. law of consecration
3. gentile intrusion
4. the Utah War
5. civil government
6. authoritarian leadership
7. rural to urban transition
8. zionism
9. chosen people concept
10. Mormon isolationism

Conclusion

He sees each of these as a point of stress which caused changes in the Mormon Church. He concludes that the Mormon Culture will continue to be a distinct subculture if it can continue to handle these adjustments effectively.

The Mormon Culture Region¹

Purpose

Meinig felt that the extent of the Mormon Culture Region and the geographic relationships between Mormons and gentiles had never been satisfactorily presented. He concluded that because of expansions and contractions of Mormons and concurrent gentile movements into and around Mormon colonies, it was time for a refined definition of the Mormon Culture Region. Actually, his work was a remapping of Mormon population centers, not a redescription of landscape aspects associated with the Mormon Culture Region.

¹Meinig, op. cit.
Limitation

Mainig's work certainly is one of the most thorough and comprehensive geographical studies of the Mormon Culture Region. His presentation of the problem and his historical background give one a sound basis on which to understand the Mormon situation in the West. Aside from his historical development, he is mostly concerned with where the Mormons are located instead of with what the Mormon landscape looked like.

Methods

Mainig's review of pertinent literature is not lacking. He not only adequately researched his topic but gained valuable insight through years of living in the "Mormon West." His work also contains several excellent maps further depicting patterns and relationships in the Mormon Culture Region. See Fig. 4 for his map of the Mormon Culture Region.

Contributions

Mainig develops the origin of the Church in New England and its movement to the West. Included in his historical background are key Mormon concepts and practices which affected the development of the region. Such ideas as "gathering" and "callings" are discussed as they relate to Mormon settlement.
Fig. 4.—The Mormon Culture Region according to Meinig. See *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 55, No. 2 (1965), p. 214.
The author also describes the environment of the Great Basin by detailing the physical setting as the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.

After Salt Lake City was established the Saints began to spread out and settle other nearby areas. Meinig discusses this outward movement, giving the names, location and purposes behind each settlement. He discusses the "mission" aspect of Mormon settlement and the gradual development of a distinctive region completely dominated by the Mormon Culture.

The author cites changes in the region boundaries and within the region itself. During the Utah War several outlying communities were abandoned by the Mormons, causing a contraction in the region boundaries. Because of pressure from increased gentile intrusion around and within the region, the Mormons began "filling in" between the original communities. This is referred to as tier expansion by Meinig, as the communities "advanced" up the Utah canyons in waves. Effects of the gentile presence on the Mormon Zion are described by the author. Meinig also comments on the final expansion of the Saints into Mexico, Idaho, and Canada.

In his treatment of the Mormon Culture Region and adjacent areas, Meinig uses three terms to describe the locations and graduations of Mormon population density.
The following are his own definitions as they appear in his text.

A core area, as a generic, is taken to mean a centralized zone of concentration, displaying the greatest density of occupancy, intensity of organization, strength and homogeneity of the particular features characteristic of the culture under study. It is the most vital center, the seat of power, the focus of circulation.

Meinig's core of the Mormon region is clearly the Wasatch Oasis, that densely occupied strip along the base of the mountain wall, pivoted upon Salt Lake City and extending about sixty-five miles to the North and to the South.

The domain refers to those areas in which the particular culture under study is dominant, but with markedly less intensity and complexity of development than in the core, where the bonds of connections are fewer and more tenacious and where regional peculiarities are clearly evident. The domain of the Mormon region extends from the upper Snake River country of South-eastern Idaho to the lower Virgin River area in South-eastern Nevada.

The sphere of a culture may be defined as the zone of outer influence and, often, peripheral acculturation, wherein that culture is represented only by certain of its elements or where its people reside as minorities among those of a different culture. The Mormon Culture sphere is defined as including these areas where Mormons live as nucleated groups enclaved within Gentile country or where they are of long standing major local numerical significance. Geographically the Mormon sphere is composed of a fringe, greatly elongated in the south, encompassing the domain, and of a long salient and some outliers on the north and east, each with a special history. The majority of the Mormons within this sphere live in urban areas, such as Phoenix, Tucson, Las Vegas, Elko, Twin Falls, Boise, and Lethbridge. In some of these areas are they dominant as they are in the cities of their domain, but in every case they are recognized as a very important social and religious group.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 213-216, passim.
Meinig feels that these three generic categories—core, domain, and sphere—complete his re-definition of the Mormon Culture Region. However, he does mention a fourth category but cautions that it does not represent a gradation outward from the other three. This fourth category he refers to as *isolates*; it includes such areas as Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area, Portland, and Puget Sound.

**Conclusion**

Meinig concludes that the core of the Mormon region is well stabilized in area, character, and significance. He foresees an influx of Mormons and gentiles into the core area but feels the Mormon-gentile ratio will remain stable because of the Mormons' vigorous rate of natural increase.\(^1\)

Meinig sees a change in the domain boundary as the population shifts from the domain to the sphere and core cities. He predicts that the sphere cities will survive and increase their proportionate position more than will the domain.

Because of limited opportunities within the Mormon Cultural Region, Meinig sees the isolates as growing rapidly both in number and importance in the changing patterns of Mormonism. This growth is not a capturing or dominating process but rather one of adjustment.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 219.
Meinig sees a new geographical pattern in the Mormon Culture symbolized as a Salt Lake City-Los Angeles axis. He calls it a link between the old core and the new frontier, a new style Mormon Corridor.

The Mormon Landscape

Purpose

In his abstract, Francaviglia states that the purpose of his work was "to identify and define the "Mormon Landscape" through the mapping of visual characteristics."  

Limitations

A major concern associated with this study is its representativeness, whether it represents the landscape of the Mormon Culture Region only or the western rural agricultural areas in general.

Two cautions should be suggested. First, the reader should be aware that the study by Francaviglia does not include the core of the Mormon Culture Region, the urban area extending from Ogden south to Provo. The majority of Mormons live and work in this core area. The reader should also know that this work was based almost entirely on observation in the field.


2Ibid., p. 59.
Methods

Francaviglia used two methods in his study, visual observation in the field and mapping.

Contributions

The majority of this text was a discussion of ten visual characteristics which the author used to identify the Mormon Landscape in the West:¹

1. Wide streets - Mormon streets are always more than sixty-five feet wide and often are as wide as 120 feet. In smaller towns the street is usually seventy-five feet wide, with a dirt or gravel center strip about twenty feet wide with weedy shoulders, each thirty feet in width.

2. Roadside irrigation ditches - Alongside the wide and weedy roads can be found "the ditch." These are functional irrigation ditches rather than deep gutters seen in non-Mormon towns. They often appear as weed-grown slots.

3. Barns and granaries right in town - Mormon towns, in contrast to non-Mormon towns, are a series of small farms within "city limits." Many houses have large 1-1/2 to 2-1/2 acre lots devoted to farm use. Stock barns, haybarns, sheds, granaries, and other farm structures are seen toward the center of town.

4. Unpainted farm buildings - Whether in dispersed settlement or in nucleated villages, a large percentage of farm buildings which are unpainted, say over 80 percent, points towards a Mormon area. Old leaning barns with silvered or burnished wood surfaces which have never seen a paint brush are common.

5. Open field landscape around town - If cultivated fields are devoid of farmsteads, windmills, and other structures (or nearly so), then a Mormon town may lie but a few miles away. In these rectangular farm and pasturelands one often sees crooked cedar post and barbed wire fences, lines of Lombardy poplars, hay derricks, etc.

¹See also a second discussion on this topic by the author in The Improvement Era, LXXII (1969), pp. 10-17.
6. The hay derrick - A curious wooden post and boom implement used to swing and load hay with, is closely associated with Mormon settlement, both dispersed and nucleated.

7. The "Mormon Fence" - Crude, unpainted fencing is characteristic of many Mormon settlements. Old slabs, planks, cedar post, poles and even regular trimmed pickets are used. All are unpainted. It is a result of a rural frugality and solves a problem, fencing large areas with little money or materials.

8. Domestic architectural style - Mormon towns tend to have a higher percentage of I-style homes. These are substantial 1-1/2 to 2 story dwellings, with symmetrical facade and with a chimney at each end. These are rare in non-Mormon towns, but many Mormon towns have over a third of their houses built of this style.

9. Dominant use of brick - Mormon towns have a higher percentage of brick dwellings. In fact, farming towns west of the Great Plains with more than half of their houses built of brick are almost certain to be Mormon. The use of brick was related to religious doctrine--City of Zion plans called for all houses to be built of brick and stone.

10. Mormon ward chapels - Usually located toward the center of town, the substantial brick or stone chapel has a distinctive architectural style. Virtually all Mormon chapels are built of masonry, and never have crosses, in contrast to the wooden, often Gothic, older churches in non-Mormon towns.¹

Conclusion

Simply stated, if any town has five or more of the above elements, it will be a Mormon town. The elements are reliable and dominant. Their presence is related to areas settled before 1900 by the Mormons, coupled with continuing occupancy by Mormons today. It is felt that the clues cited above are significant demarcators in the West. "It is indeed possible, because Mormon settlement is so unique, 

¹Ibid., pp. 59-61.
to effectively map it by visual characteristics alone. Mormon settlements can be easily detected, but the Mormon area becomes in reality several zones based on the quantity and quality of elements present.\(^1\)

Based on the intensity of the ten characteristics listed, Francaviglia distinguishes three zones of Mormon landscape. Moving from the intense to less intense they are: visual nucleus, visual orb, visual fringe, and non-Mormon. See Fig. 5 for a representation of these zones.

In the visual nucleus, one finds the classic Mormon landscape best developed. The visual orb is a larger area; the impressions here are Mormon, but mitigated. Certain important elements are usually missing, but the landscape still has many of the characteristics mentioned and the Mormon people are dominant. The visual fringe is a diluted, visually disorienting zone in which both Mormon and non-Mormon traits occur mixed. Surrounding this fringe area is the non-Mormon West. Only rarely will anything Mormon be encountered, usually out of association or highly modified.\(^2\)

Francaviglia concludes, "thus, by using visual elements it becomes possible to differentiate a very special landscape and people."\(^3\)

\(^{1}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. }61.\)
\(^{2}\text{Ibid.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Ibid.}\)
THE MORMON LANDSCAPE:

Fig. 5.--The Mormon Landscape Region according to Francaviglia. See Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 2 (1970), p. 61.
Summary

The preceding pages have analyzed the work of sociologists, historians, travelers, and geographers. It is obvious that there would be some variance and overlap in the work by such a disparate group. It is also probable that certain areas related to the Mormon Culture Region have been passed over or underemphasized. Therefore, it would be useful to compare and categorize the major contributions cited herein.

Six categorical aspects which pertain to the Mormon Culture Region have been selected by the author. Each study is evaluated in light of these six criteria to determine those areas of overlap and those areas of neglect, if any. The categories are defined as follows:

1. Historical background - This topic concerns itself with the background and historical setting of the Church. It recounts the environmental situation and subsequent events leading to the development of the Mormon Culture Region.

2. Social origin and processes - Though partially historical, this criterion deals mostly with the social phenomena, i.e., ideals, concepts, relationships, and processes which are related to the Mormon Culture.

3. Religious origins and influence - This category is partially related to the historical and social aspects,
but lends itself more to the doctrines, beliefs, and practices of the Church which had their origin from so-called divine sources such as revelation and scripture.

4. Location - Though mostly geographic in scope, this topic also is related to the historical background. It describes the site and situations of various attempts by the Mormons to establish settlements.

5. Description and delineation - Again, this standard is closely associated with the location of settlements. However, it deals mainly with visual characteristics of the individual communities and groups of communities as they form patterns on the earth's surface.

6. Relic or modern culture - This criterion deals with the time aspect of the studies. Is the relic Mormon Culture Region the focal point, or does the modern Mormon Culture receive the emphasis?

The chart on the following page summarizes the five major studies discussed in this chapter in light of the six criteria suggested above.

As pointed out, most of the work done on the Mormon Culture Region deals specifically with the description of the relic region and its establishment. Nelson and others briefly mention some religious beliefs behind the origin of the culture, but they do not expand on them to any length. The origin and processes which influenced the growth of the Mormon Culture Region are generally discussed from an
TABLE 1

A COMPARATIVE CHART SHOWING THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE
FIVE MAJOR WORKS STUDIED IN THIS CHAPTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Historical Background</th>
<th>Social Origin and Processes</th>
<th>Religious Origin and Processes</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description Delineation</th>
<th>Relic or Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowrey Nelson</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Detailed</td>
<td>General Overview</td>
<td>Very General</td>
<td>Brief Description Selected maps of specific towns</td>
<td>Mostly relic and some modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel Ricks</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Very Brief</td>
<td>General Overview</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>General Description No maps</td>
<td>Relic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas O'Dea</td>
<td>Very Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Very Little</td>
<td>General Coverage of Region</td>
<td>Brief Description No maps</td>
<td>Partially Relic Partially Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. W. Meinig</td>
<td>Most Complete</td>
<td>Very Brief</td>
<td>Very Little</td>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>Detailed Delineation Little Description</td>
<td>Mostly Relic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Francaviglia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Limited Selection to Specific Towns</td>
<td>Most Detailed Description Some Delineation</td>
<td>Relic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
historical or sociological viewpoint. These approaches have largely ignored, or analyzed only superficially, the role of the settlers' perception and assessment of the region. The succeeding pages will analyze the effects of environmental perception of the Saints on their use of the land and resultant cultural landscape which developed.

The relic Mormon Culture Region is used in this thesis on the following page. It is compared with Meinig's Mormon Culture Region and Francaviglia's Mormon Landscape Region. The boundary was drawn around the area which had the most homogeneous and continuous area of early Mormon features. Some areas in the region were originally established by the Mormons, but are now dominated by non-Mormons. Others have been excluded because of the presence of extensive non-Mormon settlements between them and the compact region; these are considered to be isolates. The relic region was considered to be established by 1890.
Fig. 6.—The Relic Mormon Culture Region as compared to Meinig's and Francaviglia's regions.
Chapter Three

THE MORMON IMPACT UPON THE LAND

A Cultural Landscape

In the words of Sopher, the Mormon church "is the only Church which has organized, fully and almost exclusively, the territory of a true religious homeland in the United States."¹ Zelinsky seemed to share the same sentiments when he recently wrote, "The Mormon way of life is expressed in many recognizable ways in the settlement of landscape and economic activities within a region that is more homogeneous internally than any other American culture area."² Why is it that the Mormon Culture area is considered to be unique? After all, other religious and political groups established societies, and cultural landscapes developed from them. These groups include the Owenites, Amanaites, Zoarites, Shakers, Rappites, Icarians, the communities at Oneida, New York; Aurora, Oregon; and Bethel,

¹Sopher, op. cit., p. 64.

Missouri, and the followers of Fourier.¹ And why is the Mormon Culture Region so internally homogeneous, when originally it was extremely heterogeneous in natural and cultural make-up?²

The following pages will give answers to these and other questions. Sopher's general framework for religious studies and his suggestions dealing with land transformation will be used as a basis for this chapter, insofar as they are applicable. However, since Sopher's concepts are geographical, it is necessary to give a cursory account of the historical events which eventually led to the establishment of the Mormon Culture Region.

Historical Background

Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), was born on December 23, 1805, at Sharon, Vermont. Smith spent his boyhood in Vermont, New Hampshire and New York, helping to clear the land and establish homesteads for the Smith family.

During his boyhood, several moods and movements characterized the entire Western Reserve. Among these were


the strong feeling of nationalism and manifest destiny and
the desire to make all of the frontier the "garden of the
world."¹ The first movement was not restricted to New York
State; it was a drive to settle and expand the frontier
areas. (In 1815, Rochester had three log houses.)² The
second general movement was the great religious revival
occurring at the time, which was widespread and caused much
emotional agitation.³ It was under these circumstances in
1820 that the teenage boy claimed to have a heavenly mani-
festation which eventually led to the organization of the
Mormon Church in 1830.

During the ten-year interim (1820-1830) several
events occurred which set firmly the direction and mood of
the new movement. First, there was intense persecution of
Smith and his followers because of certain claims they were
making concerning heavenly manifestation and divine edicts.
Second, the Book of Mormon was translated from gold plates
which had been delivered to Joseph by an angel. It should
be noted that the Book of Mormon contained several doctrines
which later affected the Mormon perception and their use of

¹ Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land, Vintage Books,

² B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Deseret News
Press, 1930, Vol. 1, p. 36 (hereafter referred to as
Comprehensive History).

³ William G. McLaughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism,
the land. \(^1\) Third, many converts were converted and gathered, many of whom played significant roles in shaping the history of the Church.

The Church was officially organized on April 6, 1830, with a membership of six; it grew to ninety by June 9, 1830. In January, 1831, the Church was commanded to move westward from Colesville, New York, to a promised land. \(^2\) Though no definite place was designated as the promised land, the church membership settled around Kirtland, Ohio. It was there that the Saints first attempted to live the law of consecration. \(^3\) This episode in Mormon history had distinct effects on the establishment and characteristics of the Mormon Culture Region of the west.

From Kirtland, Ohio, the Saints moved into Missouri. There the Prophet Joseph Smith designated the city of Independence as the center place of Zion. A temple site was located, and the surrounding land was dedicated as the

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\(^1\) *Book of Mormon*, II Ether 13; II Nephi 30; III Nephi 16. Note: The Mormons accept the *Book of Mormon* as scripture. It contains an account of early American civilizations.

\(^2\) *Doctrine and Covenants*, 38:18-20. The Mormons accept the *Doctrine and Covenants* as scripture. This book contains revelations and doctrines given to the Saints through their prophets. Many teachings contained in it influenced and directed the establishment of the Mormon Culture Region.

\(^3\) This law required the deeding of all property over to the Church. A stewardship was appropriated back to the member which he worked or improved upon. If a steward realized his needs, the excess was given to the Church.
land of Zion. During this period of "gathering to Zion" the Saints experienced open opposition and physical persecution. Joseph also gave instructions which helped crystallize the city of Zion concept, including the city of Zion plat.¹

In June, 1833, the Prophet sent to Independence from Kirtland the city of Zion plat. Independence was the first Mormon city to incorporate this concept; with some adaptations and omissions it served as a general model for the rest of the cities which the Saints built. The following description is taken from Smith's History of the Church.

An explanation of the plot of the city of Zion, sent to the brethren in Zion, the 25th of June, 1833, follows:

The plot contains one mile square; all the squares in the plot contain two acres each, being forty rods square. You will observe that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in one square running from the south and north to the lane through the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from east and west to the center line. Each lot is four perches in front and twenty back, making one half of an acre in each lot, so that no one street will be built on entirely through the street, and on the next one, another, except the middle range of squares, which runs north and south, in which range are the painted squares. The lots are laid off in the squares, north and south, all of them; because these squares are forty perches by sixty, being twenty perches larger than the others, their greatest

¹The original city of Zion plat with accompanying instructions are in the Church Historians Office in Salt Lake City.
length being east and west, and by running all these squares, north and south, it makes all the lots in the city of one size.

The painted squares in the middle are for public buildings. The one without any figures is for storehouses for the Bishop, and to be devoted to his use. Figure first is for temples for the use of the presidency; the circles inside of the squares, are the places for the temples. You will see it contains twelve figures, two are for the temples of the lesser Priesthood. It is also to contain twelve temples.

The whole plot is supposed to contain from fifteen to twenty thousand people; you will therefore see that it will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses of worship, schools, etc.; and none of these temples are to be smaller than the one of which we send you a draft. This temple is to be built in the square marked figure 1; and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it on the north end.

South of the plot where the line is drawn, is to be laid off for farms, stables, etc., for the use of the city; so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses; the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom. On the north and south are to be laid off the farms for the agriculturist, and sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot; and if it cannot be laid off without going too great a distance from the city, there must also be some laid off on the east and west.

When this square is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days; and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion. All the streets are of one width, being eight perches wide. Also the space around the outer edge of the painted squares, is to be eight perches between the temple and the street on every side. No one lot, in this city, is to contain more than one house, and that to be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick and stone. The scale of the plot is forty perches to the inch.¹

Before the temple could be built in Independence, and the plans for the Zion city incorporated, the Saints were driven from the area by mob persecution.

The Saints moved from Independence, Missouri, to Adam-ondi-Ahman and Far West, the latter becoming the principal settlement in upper Missouri. Again, a temple site was located at Far West and the surrounding land was laid out in a modified plan of the City of Zion plat. From 1836 to 1838 the Saints attempted to build the city of Zion in their new place of gathering, but they failed, because of mob violence and internal strife. While the Saints were in Far West, Governor Lillburn W. Boggs issued the Extermination Order on October 27, 1838. Thus the Saints were forced into a fourth exodus.

The fifth major Mormon settlement was on the Mississippi River at Commerce, Illinois and Montrose, Iowa. Commerce later became known as Nauvoo; it was the Saints' most successful attempt at establishing Zion before their expulsion westward to the Great Basin. It was here that the social conditions culminated in the exodus. Three major events led to the movement west. One, the doctrine of plural marriage was made official. Two, the Mormons stood to dominate the state political scene. Three, the Prophet was martyred. This martyrdom precipitated

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uncontrolled persecution of the Saints and their eventual departure for the west.

At the time of the exodus, the population of Nauvoo was estimated at from 12,000 to 20,000, depending on the source. It was larger than Chicago and was one of the principal cities of the western frontier. Though not completely succeeding in the building of Zion at Nauvoo, the Saints had their best success. They laid out Nauvoo with modification of the plan given by Joseph Smith in the city of Zion plat. The members were trying to establish peace when recurrent problems with non-members and apostates caused them to leave. The Saints saw the Great Basin as the answer to their prayers, a chosen land, preserved by God for them, a place where enemies would not threaten and Zion could be established.

The first encampment after leaving Nauvoo was in Iowa Territory at Sugar Creek. The second camp was established in April, about 150 miles from Nauvoo at a place called Garden Grove. The pioneers moved from Garden Grove to Mt. Pisgah during the spring of 1846. Council Bluffs (Florence, Nebraska) and Winter Quarters became another permanent camp for the Saints on their westward trek. It was here that the Mormon Battalion, consisting of 500 men, was called into government service to aid in the war with Mexico. After wintering in the Council Bluffs area, the
Saints moved to Salt Lake Valley, stopping at Fort Laramie in route.

On July 24, 1847, Brigham Young and the pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley. After four days of irrigating, plowing and planting, the leaders of the Church officially laid out the first city of Zion. The following account of this important event is taken from Berrett:

The results of the brief explorations satisfied the Saints with the selection of the site of the city and filled them with optimism for the future. July 28, the members of the twelve met and designated the site for a temple block between the two forks of City Creek. By motion of Orson Pratt it was unanimously voted that the temple should be built upon the site so designated. The Apostles, at the same time, voted to lay out the city in blocks of ten acres each with streets eight rods wide running at right angles. The blocks were to be divided into lots containing one and one-quarter acres each. One house was to be built on a lot and must be twenty feet back from the street line, 'that there might be uniformity throughout the city.' Upon every alternate block, four houses were to be built on the west and four on the east. The intervening blocks were to have four houses on the north and four on the south. Thus, no houses confronted each other across the street and those on the same side were eight rods apart. This plan followed that laid down by Joseph Smith for cities of Zion.

Four squares of ten acres each were designated for public grounds. The plans for the city were presented to the whole camp and unanimously accepted.¹

This was the beginning of the Mormon Culture Region in the West.

Two days after his arrival, Brigham Young organized exploring parties for the purpose of locating future cities

for settlement.¹ Within two years most of the Great Basin had been explored and twenty-six Mormon colonies had begun establishment;² scores of future cities were selected for future settlement.³ Hunter's book contains a list of forty-nine communities established by 1877; several were established later, but they had been planned under the leadership of Brigham Young before he died in 1877.⁴

The foregoing, though brief, provides an historical overview of the events related to the establishment of the Mormon Culture Region.⁵

Geographical Framework

One framework for analyzing religious themes in geographical studies consists of

1. the significance of the environmental setting for the evolution of religious systems and particular religious institutions;

¹Wilford Woodruff, Journal July 26, 1847, Ms.

²Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, Deseret News Press, 1940, p. 361.


⁵For additional studies see the bibliographic listing under Mormons.
2. the way religious systems and institutions modify their environment;
3. the different ways whereby religious systems occupy and organize segments of earth space;
4. the geographic distribution of religions and the way religious systems spread and interact with each other.¹

Environmental Setting

The Mormons, along with many other Americans, considered North America to be a special land prepared for them by God. Henry Nash Smith emphasizes the feeling of the Americans as one of "building the world's garden." The people saw the fertile valleys and broad plains as specially designed for this purpose.²

The Saints carried this attitude with them into the West. The words of the beloved Mormon hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints," epitomize this feeling.

Come, Come Ye Saints

Come, Come ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear;
But with joy wend your way.
Though hard to you this journey may appear,
Grace shall be as your day.
'Tis better far for us to strive our useless cares from us to drive;
Do this, and joy your hearts will swell--
All is well! All is well!

¹David Sopher, Geography of Religions, op. cit., p. 2.
²Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land, pp. 138-150.
Why should we mourn or think our lot is hard?
'Tis not so; All is right.
Why should we think to earn a great reward,
If we now shun the fight?
Gird up your loins; fresh courage take; Our God
will never us forsake;
And soon we'll have this tale to tell—
All is well! All is well!

We'll find the place which God for us prepared,
Far away in the West,
Where none should come to hurt or make afraid;
There the Saints will be blessed.
We'll make the air with music ring, Shout praises to our God and King;
Above the rest these words we'll tell—
All is well! All is well!

And should we die before our journey's through,
Happy day! All is well!
We then are free from toil and sorrow, too;
With the just we shall dwell!
But if our lives are spared again to see the Saints their rest obtain,
O how we'll make this chorus swell—
All is well! All is well!1

In each place they attempted to settle, Mormons saw physical features which encouraged them. In the Great Basin they saw the many valleys, streams, and small alluvial deposits as ideal locations for their Zion cities. The high mountains surrounding them were seen as barriers between them and their enemies. The expanse of wilderness encouraged them to spread out into many smaller communities rather than congregate in a large settlement.2

1Hymns, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Deseret News Press, 1948, second edition, pp. 13-14.

Modification of Environment

The Mormons, aside from a few trappers and some small Indian tribes, were the first people to make a permanent impact upon the land of the Great Basin. The changes on the land came in many ways, but they can generally be grouped into the following categories: features of

1. settlement
2. agriculture
3. irrigation
4. animal husbandry
5. transportation and communication
6. industry and commerce
7. exploitation

Occupation and Organization of Earth Space

It was in this area of land use that the Mormons deviated from the traditional methods of settlement, and as a consequence, the unique Mormon Culture Region developed. Essentially the Saints accomplished the same thing that other pioneers and groups did, i.e., they built cities, cultivated the land, etc. This alone did not make them unique; it was how they did it, with which this section deals.
Arrington attributes the development of the Mormon Corridor\textsuperscript{1} to a three-phase colonization process:

1. preliminary exploration
2. calling of companies to found the settlements
3. the Salt Lake City community pattern\textsuperscript{2}

Settlement features

In correspondence from the First Presidency to William B. Preston, one gains insight into the attitudes of the Church leaders concerning settlement policies:

In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather in villages, as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in those mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan, instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country, are many and obvious to all those who have a desire to the Lord. By this means the people can retain ecclesiastical organizations, have regular meetings of the quorum of the Priesthood and establish and maintain day and Sunday schools, Improvement Associations, and Relief Societies. They can also cooperate for the good of all in financial and secular necessary improvements. Further than this they are a mutual protection and source of strength against horse and cattle thieves, land jumpers, and

\textsuperscript{1}The Mormon Corridor is a term used to describe the Mormon settlement pattern. It consists of the core communities located along the Wasatch Mountains from Ogden south to Payson, and the scattered communities which extend northward into southeastern Idaho and southward through Utah into Arizona and Nevada. This north-south extension of Mormon Communities is referred to as the Mormon Corridor.

against hostile Indians, should there be any. While their compact organization gives them many advantages of a social and civil character which might be lost, misapplied, or frittered away by spreading out so thinly that inter-communication is difficult, dangerous, inconvenient, or expensive. . . .

We know of no reason why the methods that have been pursued in the past on these matters are any less applicable to the Saints in Idaho and Wyoming than they have proved to those in Utah and Arizona. While the families are gathered in settlements there can be no disadvantage in having the farms outside, within easy reach, as the peculiarities of the country may admit, the same as in our older settlements. A spirit to spread far and wide out of sight and reach of the authorities of the Church, must be discountenanced, as all Latter-day Saints must yield obedience to the laws of the Gospel, and the order of the Kingdom of God, and a methodical comprehension and intelligent system be inaugurated that we may gain influence (and not lose strength) by strengthening the cords of the Stakes of Zion. . . .

The Twelve (apostles) have this matter in hand and will see that things are conducted right. . . .

This quote not only shows the benefits of the Mormon settlement pattern, but also the possible reasons why the Saints continued this pattern, i.e., out of obligation to follow counsel of their leaders. This decree by John Taylor is nothing short of a commandment.

Many aspects of the Mormon settlement are associated with the man-land relationship. Some of the more important features are discussed below.

1. Streets: The street orientation of the communities generally followed the grid system corresponding to the cardinal points of the compass. Their width varied,

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1Fremont Stake Manuscript History, December 26, 1882, Church Historians Office.
but they were usually from six to eight rods wide. This feature was somewhat different from that of the city streets of the East Coast and European cities from which the Saints came, in that they were wider.

2. Houses: The houses were made of adobe, brick, stone, or wood, depending on the availability of building materials and the cultural preference of the people. Originally each house was built on a large lot with room for gardens, orchards, etc. Roberts says the original lots were one and one quarter acre each. The houses were so alternated on the blocks that no houses fronted each other across the street, and adjacent houses were eight rods apart. The house styles, though not entirely original, also became a recognizable feature in early Mormon settlements. 3


2 B. H. Roberts, op. cit., p. 280 and footnote number 27 on same page.

3. Other Structures: Buildings were often constructed to serve dual purposes, particularly in the case of chapels and schools. These were usually brick or unpainted wood structures. A most distinctive building in some Mormon towns was the temple. It commanded a site that could be seen from the surrounding countryside. Its presence was a definite factor in the local landscape. Early temple communities included St. George, Manti, Salt Lake, and Logan.

4. Walls and Fences: Great emphasis was placed on the building of mud and stone walls around communities and individual properties.\(^1\) The wall surrounding present-day Temple Square, though rebuilt, is a remnant of early pioneer work.\(^2\) Often, wall building was a point of contention between slackers and their leaders.\(^3\)

5. Cemeteries: Though not necessarily distinctive, the Mormon use of the land for this purpose was another alteration of the land caused by man.

6. Vegetation: Excluding the agricultural crops, the Saints were encouraged to plant shade trees to line the city streets and country roads. Most obvious of these were

\(^1\)Arrington, op. cit., pp. 112, 154.


\(^3\)Arrington, op. cit., p. 154.
the Lombardy poplars, which are still obvious in certain locales.

7. Boundaries: Though usually not visual, the ward and stake boundaries were and are another significant feature brought by the Mormons.

8. Toponyms: Preliminary studies in this area indicate the Mormons not only left a visual physical imprint on the West, but many proper names in the region also had their origin from Mormon religious and cultural backgrounds. Such names as Lehi, Nephi, Moroni, Manti, Smithfield, and Huntsville are examples of Mormon toponyms. Though incomplete, this list does indicate the widespread effect of the Mormon religion on the settlement of the Great Basin.

**Agricultural features**

As previously noted, the City of Zion plat called for all pastures and agricultural land, with the exception of personal gardens and orchards, to be on the outside of the city limits. Creer points out that "fields of five, ten and twenty acres were laid out, the smallest being nearest the city and the others graded according to size beyond."¹ It was the intention to have all Saints live in the city and commute back and forth to the farm lots each

¹Creer, op. cit., p. 307.
day. This is the basis for the urban-rural pattern found in the Mormon West.

Other features resulting from the Mormon agricultural scheme were land policy, field size, fencing, visual patterns, crop and horticulture introduction.

Land policy

The day following Brigham Young's entrance into Salt Lake Valley, he established what became known as the Mormon Land Law. In a Sabbath speech he said that "no man who comes here should buy land, but every man should have his land measured out for him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till it as he pleased, but must be industrious and take care of it." ¹ It was the Church's responsibility to distribute the lots, etc. Brigham Young, earlier at Garden Grove, emphasized the point that men should not take more land than they could cultivate, and if a man took more land than he could work, it would be taken from him.

The Church officials considered land to be a gift from God; therefore, it could not be bought or sold. Furthermore, because the Saints were trying to establish Zion, it would not do for some Saints to control the land at the expense or discomfort of other church members. Usually, the

¹ Wilford Woodruff, Journal, July 25, 1847, MS.
land was distributed to members by the drawing of lots, and they were to treat these as stewardships from God.

Field size

In comparison to other agricultural areas in the United States, the Mormon farms were small.¹ Several reasons are suggested for this. From the following statements of the leaders, it seems the small-farm concept was almost considered doctrine. Brigham Young advised the people of Richmond: "Do not be anxious to have large farms, more than you can till; but divide your lands with your brethren and make yourselves humble and happy." Referring to Orson Hyde's teaching, a Richfield settler remarked, "We believe in Elder Hyde's doctrine that ten acres of good land, well cultivated, is better than twenty or thirty or more acres skimmed over and producing weeds." Henry Lunt taught in Cedar City: "A little farm well cultivated near homes, I know, is your doctrine, and it is mine and ever was."² Though it could be concluded that small farms were encouraged to keep the Saints from greed and speculation, still there were other reasons.

¹Hunter, op. cit., p. 141.
²Ibid., p. 140.
In the desert region, water was a premium and could not be monopolized or used by a few. To insure an equitable use, the land holdings were kept in small lots. A third reason was a matter of economics. Because of the cooperation required in the establishment of new settlements, men did not have time to till large lots. To stay in harmony with church doctrines and the land law policy, the Saints had to help in community fencing, building ditches, building schools, churches and private homes, construction of roads, as well as tilling of one's own farm. A fourth reason for the small farms was the church policy in regards to immigrants coming into the region. Brigham taught that they should have equal opportunities with their gospel brothers. In order to insure farm lots for thousands of incoming pioneers, it was necessary to restrict the size of lots. A fifth reason was because of the technology available; most power was by animal draft, human labor and a little water power. A final reason was the farm-village system which the Mormons used. Brigham Young intended that settlements be established every few miles, wherever possible. This fixed the distance of the most remote farms at little more than seven miles from the village. Larger lot sizes would have substantially increased the traveling distance.  

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 140-143.}\]
Today, farms in the Mormon Culture Region are generally larger, because of the joining of smaller plots into one. Many farmers or part-time farmers still travel daily from a home in the city to the country farm.

**Fencing**

The Saints were always encouraged to fence or wall in their communities and farms. In some villages, a single fence would be constructed around the entire farming area. In the case of Salt Lake, the original adobe wall turned into a pole fence encompassing 5,133 acres. The eleven-mile fence was completed in 1848, constructed from various building materials. Many such fences are still recognizable in the rural areas of Utah. One author notes that the "old Mormon fence is a colorful and shabby part of Mormon landscape" which "reflects the attitudes of the Mormon farmers." To this author the fence is one of the factors that helps one to recognize the region of influence by the Mormon Culture.

1. Visual patterns: When one contrasts the acres of sagebrush and other desert features to the agricultural patterns established by the Saints, he concludes that indeed there is a relationship between man's perception and his use

1 Creer, op. cit., p. 305.

of the environment. Such concepts as land use, texture, orientation, and size are readily applied by the geographer, and each brings a change on the original landscape. (See the air photo on page 134 for an example of visual patterns in the Mormon Culture Region.)

2. Crop and horticulture introduction: Scarcely had a base of operations been established in Salt Lake when calls\(^1\) to gather and bring contributions to build up Zion were issued. The following instructions issued to prospective emigrants show how these calls affected the crop and horticulture of the region. "To all Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and adjacent island and countries, we say emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity. . . bringing with you all kinds of choice seeds, or grain, vegetables, fruit, shrubbery, trees and vines, everything that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man, also the best stock of beast, bird and fowl of every kind. . . ."\(^2\)

The following list gives an indication of how the Saints responded. These plants were introduced by the Mormon Pioneers:\(^3\)

---

\(^1\) Calls were issued to the Saints by their Church leaders. It was the duty of each person to accept and fulfill these calls, if he was to be considered a good church member. Calls came to settle new lands, open mines, farm cotton, etc.


Crops and Horticulture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Fruits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wheat (winter and spring)</td>
<td>beets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barley</td>
<td>carrots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oats</td>
<td>carrots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potatoes</td>
<td>currents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar beets</td>
<td>parsnips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alfalfa</td>
<td>apples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>peaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sericulture - mulberry</td>
<td>apricots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flax</td>
<td>cherries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peas</td>
<td>pears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beans</td>
<td>plums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucumbers</td>
<td>berries (variety)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melons</td>
<td>grapes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetables</th>
<th>Ornamental Plants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>potatoes</td>
<td>numerous ornamental trees and bushes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>parsnips</td>
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<td>apples</td>
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<td>peaches</td>
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<td>berries (variety)</td>
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<td>grapes</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This is perhaps one of the greatest and most distinctive contributions the Mormons made in the Western United States. They considered everything possible until they found out otherwise. Even today, there are remnants of these original attempts in horticulture, i.e., Lombardy poplars, shady streets, mulberry trees used in the silk industry, sugar beets, and fruit orchards.

Irrigation features

The Saints, contrary to some beliefs, were not the originators of irrigation in the west. However, they did scientifically develop the system in the west.¹

The Mormons' use of water was based on the policy of "appropriation," in opposition to the "common-law doctrine of riparian rights," and as usual the policies were carried out by ecclesiastical authorities or their appointees. The

¹Creer, op. cit., p. 306.
same principle applied in the Mormon water law as in the land law: the water was not to be owned or controlled by individuals; it belonged to God and as such belonged to all his people.¹

Within three years the territorial legislature had established irrigation companies, which were planning a very extensive canal and reservoir system under the direction of President Young.² Though early records are incomplete, Thomas estimates that almost 3,000 miles in canal systems had been constructed in Utah by 1910.³

Many of the original water works constructed by early settlers were continued and have been improved up to the present time. These canals and other features remain as another indication of man's impact upon the land.

Animal husbandry features

William Kelley, an English traveler in Utah during the 1850's, made the following statement regarding Mormon livestock operations.

"The Mormons have numerous herds of the finest cattle, droves of excellent sheep, with horses and mules enough to spare. . . . They have legions of superior


²Creer, op. cit., pp. 343-344.

³Thomas, op. cit., p. 17.
poultry so that they live in the most plentiful manner possible."¹ Other statements about the livestock potential of Utah were made by a variety of visitors: Greele, Gunnison, Stansbury, Fremont, Chandless and Ferris.²

In spite of the problems found by the Saints--fencing, market competition, Indians, and climate--they still established a noteworthy livestock industry. Also associated with the livestock industry were other features which developed as a result of the animals brought into the region. Such features as fences, corrals, sheds, barns, and food storage facilities appeared to accommodate the business. Again, some of these features still are visible and attest to the wide range of influence wherein the Mormons changed the land.

Transportation and communication features

This aspect of Mormon land use and influence is one of the most recognizable and enduring features in the Mormon Culture Region. Though these contributions were usually not unique, they were extensive, and for the most part they served as forerunners of present day systems. The most obvious impact on the land was the road network connecting the scattered settlements to each other and to the

¹William Kelly, Across the Mountains from New York to California, passim cited by Neff, op. cit., p. 268.
²Creer, op. cit., p. 345.
individual farms, mines, forests, and the urban streets. Streets in the towns range from 80 to 120 feet, compared to the normal, narrow streets of many older communities in the United States.¹ The bridges constructed over the many streams and canals were another contribution in the landscape change.

The Mormons made another significant contribution when the railroads came to Utah. They not only helped build the major railroads in the area, but they also constructed many local spurs leading from their communities to anticipated sites of future railroad lines.² An interesting sidelight to the construction of transportation routes in Utah is given in the Millenial Star³ and also in the Journal History.⁴ A wooden railroad several miles long was under construction for the purpose of securing red sandstone from Red Butte Canyon for the temple, when it was decided to use granite from Little Cottonwood Canyon instead. The graded railroad was abandoned and the next two years were spent in building a transportation canal from Little Cottonwood Canyon to the Temple Block, a distance of twenty

² Arrington, op. cit., p. 258.
³ Millenial Star, XN (1852), p. 18.
⁴ Journal History, Feb. 1, April 27, Aug. 31, 1855.
miles. This experiment proved impractical and was abandoned; however, it does give an indication of the Saints' perception of environmental possibilities.

Other features associated with early communication and transportation features were the early telegraph lines of the Salt Lake City Deseret Telegraph Company connecting the numerous communities, and the construction of the Salt Lake City street car rails. During the 1870's the Church acquired possession of the Salt Lake City Railroad Company, and by 1883 had constructed nine miles of track leading to all important sectors of the city.\(^1\)

**Industrial and commercial features**

As was the case with plants and animals, the Saints were encouraged to bring

the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, dressing cotton, wools, and flax, and silk, etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shelters, grain threshers and cleavers, smut machines, mills, and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of the people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will sure great expense

\(^1\) *Journal History*, Oct. 17, 1861; Arrington suggests the Deseret Telegraph line was built so as to keep the Church membership unified against Babylon; also the leaders could better administer to far away towns and it helped secure settlements from Indian attacks; Arrington, op. cit., p. 230.

in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tool and implements generally.¹

These instructions were motivated by the desire of the church leaders to be self-sustaining and independent of Babylon, and to provide employment for all.

Missionaries were instructed to seek out and encourage the skilled members to emigrate to Utah. That they did not fail is attested to in a record kept of immigration occupation by James Linforth. Between 1850 and 1854 he recorded "96 boot and shoemakers, 8 printers, 225 spinners, 9 weavers, and some 300 other specialized skills and occupations."² This input of skilled labor, matched with the resources, resulted in a significant change in land use and landscape: factories and mills began to appear along the streams and in the communities. By 1854, the following industries had been established, some short-lived or later displaced, but nevertheless, a part of the man-land relationship: wool factory, cotton mills, paper mill, tanneries, textile mills, a pottery factory, iron mill, silk factory, numerous flour and lumber mills (27 in Salt Lake by 1856), and sugar factories.³

¹Brigham Young, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, Second general Epistle... to the Saints," Manuscript No. 080-8, No. 7394, Dec. 23, 1847, MS.

²James Linforth, Route from Liverpool, pp. 16-17.

Aside from the larger enterprises, the Saints were also encouraged to establish "home industries." These had a great influence on economics and commercialism in the state of Deseret, until the coming of the railroad.¹

**Exploitation features**

Contrary to many beliefs, Brigham Young was not opposed to mining, as is shown in the first general epistle to the Saints in September, 1847. His opposition was to gold, not to minerals which were needed in building up the kingdom.

Should the brethren at any time discover any specimens or beds of chalk, lime, coal, iron, lead, copper, or any other minerals, we wish they would report the same to the council, who will keep a record of the same with the specimens, the place where found, and by whom, which record may be of great worth hereafter.²

Young's true feelings about mining gold, which is not an essential mineral, are expressed in this entry in the **Millenial Star**.

When the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough, the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of his people; unto them, let them not be over-anxious for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's storehouse, and he will open the doors thereof when and where he pleases.³

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¹Arrington, op. cit., pp. 295; and Hunter, op. cit., pp. 158-166.

²Journal History, September 8, 1847, MS.

That Brigham Young favored mining, in its time and place, is indicated in the organization of the Iron and Land "Missions" which were organized under his jurisdiction.¹

Generally, the Mormons' impact on the land in relationship to exploitation appeared in four major areas: mining, lumbering, quarrying, and grazing. These four activities brought obvious changes on the land: perhaps their most significant influence on man-land relationships was in conjunction with related factors. Certainly the roads, tracks, the mills, factories for processing, and buildings which resulted from the mines, forests, and quarries were and still are a great evidence of man's use of resources. For example, when one thinks of Cottonwood Granite, does he think of a quarry or the Salt Lake Temple. An exception to this might be the more recent Kennecott Copper Pit at Bingham, Utah. The destruction of timber and overgrazing also caused changes in vegetation, resulting in floods because of erosion due to misuse of the land. Though the visual impact might not be as great as with other features mentioned, certainly the exploitation processes of early Mormondom did drastically affect the man-land relationship, even if indirectly.

¹Arrington, op. cit., pp. 127-129.
Distribution Speed and Interaction of Religious Systems

This aspect of the geography of the religious played only a minor role during the first fifteen years of Mormon occupation in the West. With the exceptions of the Indians and a few prospectors, settlers, and travelers, the Mormon religion was the only significant system in the region. Religious systems as a category will be modified to include other groups of people, not necessarily religious systems. When gold was discovered in California, attitudes and relationships began to change. The Utah War brought many people to the West. The spread of mining and the subsequent building of the railroad marked the end of an era of domination and solitude for the Mormons.¹

The general attitude and policy of the Church leaders and most members toward gold seeking are expressed in these sentiments:

Fourteen or fifteen of the brethren arrived from the gold country, some of whom were very comfortably supplied with the precious metal. . . . That there is plenty of gold in western California is beyond doubt, but the valley of the Sacramento is an unhealthy place, and the Saints can be better employed in raising grain and building houses in this vicinity.

than in digging gold in Sacramento, unless they were counselled to do so.¹

Brigham Young continually repeated the policy of the church in regard to gold seeking. He said,

"You will do better right here than you will by going to the gold mines. . . . Those who stop here and are faithful to God and his people will make more money and get richer than you that run after the god of this world. . . . Some of you will come back but your friends who remain here will have to help you; and the rest of you who are spared to return will not make as much money as your brethren do who stay here; they will prosper and be able to buy you twice over. Here's the place God has appointed for his people.²"

In October of 1848, the President's comments take a strong approach, for Saints were selling their farms and moving to the gold fields:

"If we were to go to San Francisco and dig up chunks of gold, or find it here in the valley, it would ruin us. Many want to unite Babylon and Zion, but it is the love of money that hurts them. If we find gold and silver, we are in bondage directly. To talk of going away from this valley for anything is like vinegar to my eyes. They who love the world have not their affections placed upon the Lord.³"

In spite of the church counsel, a few Saints gave into the "gold rush fever" and made preparations to leave for California. To those, Brigham made the following remark: "I hope the gold mines will be no nearer than

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¹History of Brigham Young, MS. (1849), September 28, 1849.
²James Brown, Autobiography, MS., pp. 119, 123.
³Brigham Young, Journal History, October, 1848.
eight hundred miles. If you Elders of Israel want to go to the gold mines, go, and be damned."¹ According to Daniel Tyler, not many Elders of Israel went, but those who did were asked not to return.²

Though the Church had substantial control over its membership, it could not stop the forty-niners or their influence on Mormondom as they traveled through Utah to California. It has been suggested that the following changes and trends were a result of the gold rush:

1. It increased the population as many gold seekers stayed in Utah or returned after they made or lost their fortunes.

2. Because of the influx of people with different attitudes, etc., the democracy of the Church became outmoded and a more practical government was created in the State of Deseret.

3. The gentile intrusion into Mormon country seemed to accentuate this unification and cooperation of the sect.

4. The moral code of the Saints was weakened as the Salt Lake City became a major supply point, where merchandise could be sold, bought, bartered, or stolen. Racketeering and profiteering among the Saints became a great concern for the leaders of the Church.

¹Brigham Young, Journal History, July 8, 1849, MS.
²Daniel Tyler, History of the Mormon Battalion, p. 354.
The gold rush had favorable effects as well as adverse.

1. The gold brought into Utah was made into coins, and a system of exchange was established.

2. Commerce and trade increased substantially as buying and selling acquainted the Saints with profits to be made by the middleman.

3. Farm commodities produced a monopoly by the farmers which lasted for twenty years. This led directly to colonization of new lands for agricultural purposes.

4. Because of oversupplies of fabrics and leather goods, the tannery and clothing industries suffered adversely.

5. These and other related occurrences caused the whole Mormon economy to undergo an abrupt and marked change.

6. A final circumstance resulting from the increased gold in the region was the expansion of foreign missionary activity and the improved efforts of the Perpetual Emigration Company. Both of these resulted in increased Mormon population in the Great Basin.¹

It can be seen from the preceding factors that the discovery of gold and subsequent events had a definite geographical effect in many areas of the man–land relationship. The

mining policy of the Mormons was important in the landscape development because Mormon mining towns did not develop.

The Utah War in 1857-58 brought Johnston's army of 2,500 enlisted men and officers with enough civilian employees and camp-followers to build a city of 7,000 people at Fairfield. Many of these people became permanent residents of Utah. After the Civil War other military groups came in from California. It was these men who developed Utah's mining industry.

The increased mining activities were instrumental in speeding up the arrival of the railroad and the end of so-called Mormon isolation.

During the seventies, Utah underwent a major economic transition. Originally the Mormon economy was based on agriculture, but by 1880 mining had become a major factor in Utah's economy.

During this transition period, many developments occurred which had a distinct impact upon the Mormons' use of the environment:

1. the development of "boom" mining towns that are now ghost towns;
2. organization of Mining Companies;
3. the growth of claims, stakes, and other mining features;

1 Larson, Outline History, p. 147.
2 Ibid., pp. 241-250.
4. construction of factories;
5. construction of railroad lines to the scattered mines.

The change that occurred in the economic aspects of Mormondom reflected a like change in the attitudes of the Church, which in turn influenced their relationship with other groups emerging in the area. These changes can best be shown in a statement made by the leaders. "We say to the Latter-day Saints work for these capitalists and work honestly and faithfully... If they have the means and are determined to risk it in opening mines you work for them by day. Haul their ores, build their furnaces, and take your pay for it, and enter your lands, build houses, improve your farms, buy your stock, and make yourselves better off."¹ The church leaders could see the positive benefits that would result from these changes, and they encouraged the Saints to take advantage of them as long as they were honest and did not let "Babylon" lead them astray.

During this transition period, many developments occurred which had a definite impact on the environment of the region, but most developments were not initiated by the Mormons. Among these were

¹Neff, op. cit., p. 642.
1. the development of "boom" mining towns that are now dwindling into ghost towns,

2. organization of Mining Companies and the development of legal procedures related to mining,

3. the appearance of claims and other related features such as mines, tailing dumps, etc.

4. construction of factories and associated buildings,

5. construction of railroad lines.¹

Some of these features might have developed differently had the Mormons been actively involved.

The cattle ranches of the southeast section of the state grew up separate from the mining industry but still relied heavily on the accessibility of the railroads. All of these served as encouragement for more and more people to come to Utah. It is acknowledged that this aspect of Sopher's framework was not entirely the result of the Mormon influence. In fact, some communities were and still are dominated by non-Mormon groups: Stockton, Bingham, Fairfield, Ophir, Eureka, Park City, Price, Helper, and Corinne. All but Corrinne were based on the mining endeavors of "outsiders" or apostate Mormons. Corrinne during the confrontation period between the Mormons and

¹These aspects and others are considered in G. O. Larson's Outline History of Utah and The Americanization of Utah for Statehood, by the same author.
non-Mormons became the "gentile capital" of Utah.¹ A comparison of these common landscapes with the Mormon town will reveal how the land was used differently by each group.

The interaction between Mormons and other religious systems did not materialize until education became an issue. The Jews, Protestants, and Catholics were not willing for children to be educated (converted) in the ubiquitous Mormon school. A second confrontation came on the issues related to the Mormon doctrine of plural marriage. These two issues became the focus of a bitter political campaign for statehood, which resulted in many changes in government, religious doctrine, social life, and the construction of numerous non-Mormon schools, churches, and hospitals. Speaking of these issues, one author noted,

Transcending religious and moral issues it became a smoke screen in a bitter struggle for political power. Home rule to the entrenched Mormons, with all its blessings of self-determination, was an ideal to be attained through statehood and therefore, worth fighting for. But statehood, with Mormon church domination, was unthinkable to Gentiles clinging to Federal controls for protection and patronage. There was a fight to prevent local state government (then democracy) until the Mormon church could be rendered politically impotent.²

This conflict eventually led to a cancellation of many Mormon policies which had previously been practiced in the colonization period.


²Larson, op. cit., Outline History, pp. 147-149.
Conclusion

Though the scheme for studying the impact of religion on geography as discussed earlier would apply more readily to a general religious study, it can be used in a more specific study, such as the case of the Mormon religion. Admittedly, some of the features suggested by the religious framework do not pertain to the Mormons. However, this framework does allow for a more complete and systematic understanding of religious phenomena which fall within the area of geographical interest.

Now that a general survey of the Mormon's impact on land use has been presented, it is important to understand some of the specific origins and causes behind the Mormons' behavior in regard to land use.

As pointed out, most of the geographical work done on the Mormon Culture Region dealt specifically with the description of the relic region and its establishment. Nelson and others briefly mention some religious beliefs behind the origin of the culture, but they do not expand on them to any length. The origin and processes which influenced the growth of the Mormon Culture Region are generally discussed from an historical or sociological viewpoint. These approaches, though proper and beneficial, leave at least one approach to be considered, that of perception, contained in the field of cultural geography.
The environmental perceptionist might ask, "What effect did the perceptions of the Saints have on land use and resultant patterns and relationships? And what was the origin of those perceptions which dictated their use of the land? In the following chapters, answers to these questions will be considered.

All of the foregoing features of the Mormon Culture Region have either directly or indirectly been associated with the Mormons' occupation and organization of land. It can readily be seen that the Mormon influence was more than the rural-urban relationship and the unique village patterns. Though the material presented does concern itself with what happened and how it came about, the total answer is found in the answer to the question "Why?"
Chapter Four

ORIGIN OF EARLY MORMON PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR
ROLE IN THE MAN-LAND RELATIONSHIP

The Man-Lane System

There are many approaches open in the study of man-land relationships. Geographers have devised models, formulas and systems to permit better understanding of the reciprocal relationship between man and his environment. The man-land system was discussed earlier. This system will be applied to the Mormon Culture as it existed in the nineteenth century, to determine the role of Mormon perception in the man-land relationship.

The Man

As discussed previously, man is considered the key figure in this system. In spite of the limiting role played by the physical environment, man is generally the initiator of action. This action is within the possibilities and opportunities man perceives in the environment. This perception is, in turn, tested by his experience, goals, and technology—his cultural milieu. In the case of Utah, man is a Mormon, and the cultural milieu includes the
religious beliefs, attitudes and doctrines which were a part of that religion during the 1880's.

The Perceptual Filter

The perceptual filter is defined as the psychological, social and geographical aspects of the individual or group which have their origin in the culture. For the purpose of this study, these aspects are generalized into four main categories:

1. experience
2. attitudes
3. technology
4. needs.

This numbering is not intended to suggest that these categories are always ordered and separate; quite the contrary, usually they are simultaneously intermixed. The ranking is for convenience in explanation and discussion.

Experience

It will be recalled that when thousands of pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley in 1847, the church had been in existence for seventeen years. The cultural and vocational backgrounds were very diverse.1 Zion in the west was indeed a "cultural melting pot." In spite of the Saints' heterogeneity, most had undergone at least three common experiences:

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1Larson, Outline History, op. cit., pp. 116-120.
1. acceptance of new religious doctrines and practices,
2. severe persecutions and hardships,
3. the rigors and trials of the exodus to the west.

These experiences and others not only created a unified and cooperative atmosphere among the Mormon settlers; it also helped shape the attitudes and beliefs of the Saints—about themselves, others, and their environment.

**Attitudes**

The Mormons had numerous attitudes regarding every aspect of life. Many of these were shared with other religions of the day; others were unique to Mormons. Many of these religious concepts had great influence on the Mormons' use of their environment, as was shown in the preceding chapter. The following are suggested as concepts which played a vital part in shaping the Mormons' perception of their environment and, consequently, their land use.

**A chosen people**

This belief can best be explained by a scripture from the *Doctrine and Covenants*. "Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins,—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph. . . . This promise is yours also because ye are of Abraham, and the
promise was made unto Abraham. . . ."1 The Saints considered
themselves to be descendants of Abraham, entitled to all of
the blessings promised to him in Genesis 17:1-10.

The promised land

Another section of the *Doctrine and Covenants*
clarifies this concept:

And I hold forth and deign to give unto you greater
riches, even a land of promise, a land flowing with
milk and honey, upon which there shall be no curse
when the Lord cometh;
And I will give it unto you for the land of your
inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children
forever, while the earth shall stand. . . .\(^2\)

This instruction was given in 1831 at Fayette, New York; it
had reference to land in Missouri which was later accepted
as the place of gathering and land of Zion.\(^3\) But because of
persecution, the Saints left it and eventually went to Utah,
which became the "promised land."\(^4\) It should be noted that
the Mormons still believe that Missouri is their promised
land of inheritance.

The gathering of Israel

Joseph Smith was given the following revelation
concerning the gathering of the Saints while at Kirtland

\[^1\] *Doctrine and Covenants*, 132:30-31.
in 1833. 'That the work of the gathering together of the Saints may continue,. . . I must gather together my people, according to the parable of the wheat and the tares,. . . Therefore, a commandment I give unto all the churches, that they shall continue to gather together unto the places which I appointed;,. . . observe the commandments which I have given concerning these things, which, saith, or teacheth, to purchase all the lands by money,. . . All the land which can be purchased in Jackson County and the counties round about. . . And let honorable men be appointed, even wise men, and send them to purchase these lands; And every church in the eastern countries when they are built up, if they will hearken unto this counsel, they may buy lands and gather together upon them, and in this way they may establish Zion.'

After the Mormons were driven from Illinois and went to the Great Basin, Brigham Young's decree, "This is the place," fixed it in the hearts of the people that Salt Lake Valley was the new site for the gathering of the Saints. The feeling about the gathering is expressed in these two statements by Church leaders, representative of many others which could be cited.

"The gathering of this people is as necessary to be observed by believers as faith, repentance, baptism, or any other ordinance. It is an essential part of the gospel of this dispensation, as much so as the necessity of building an ark by Noah. . . ." Brigham Young made this statement in one of his sermons eight years after the

1 Doctrines and Covenants 101:64-74.
Saints arrived in the Great Basin. "Among the first principles that were revealed to the children of men in the last days was the gathering; the first revelations that were given to the Church were to command them to gather, and send Elders to seek a place for the gathering of the Saints."¹

Zionism

Closely related to the three preceding beliefs is the concept of Zionism. As indicated in the following scriptures from the Doctrine and Covenants, the Zion concept was not only a place, but also a spiritual state of being or condition to be obtained by obedience to God's commandments.

"And now, behold, this is the will of the Lord your God concerning his Saints, that they should assemble themselves together unto the land of Zion;" and "Now as you have asked, behold I say unto you, keep my commandments, and seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion..." "For this is Zion--The pure in heart."² This vital and underlying concept is adequately summarized in this statement:

We are here to build up the Church of God, the Zion of God, and the kingdom of God and to be on hand to do whatever God requires... to build up this

¹ Brigham Young, Journal History, MS., March 18, 1855.
² Doctrine and Covenants 63:24; 11:6; and 97:21.
kingdom; to beautify Zion and have pleasant habitations, and pleasant gardens and orchards, until Zion shall be the most beautiful place there is on the earth. And by and by the kings of the earth shall come to gaze upon the glory of Zion, and we are here to build it up under the instruction of God our Heavenly Father. Zion shall yet become the praise and the glory of the whole earth.¹

Priesthood

John Taylor defined priesthood in 1853 as "the role and government of God... the only legitimate power, the only authority that is acknowledged by Him to rule and regulate the affairs of His Kingdom."² In essence, the Mormon concept of priesthood was the authority and power of God given to man to act in God's name. This priesthood was given to all lay male members over the age of twelve who were worthy and desired to bear it. At the time of ordination, a covenant and promise was made by the candidate with God, that he would be obedient to all callings and responsibilities that came to him through the priesthood leaders. That this responsibility was taken seriously is indicated in the following statements by Church leaders: "O, ye elders of Israel, who have received the Holy Priesthood, we have this work laid upon our shoulders, we have to take hold and build up this kingdom or be


²Ibid., Vol. 24, p. 224.
damned. This is our condition; we cannot get away from it. . . ."¹ John Taylor concurred with Wilford Woodruff: "I tell you, ye Elders of Israel, who neglect these things (priesthood duties) and who shirk your duties, God will remove your candlestick out of its place. . . . God has placed an important mission upon us; he expects us to fulfill it. If we treat it lightly and neglect our duties, he will remove us and others will take our crown."²

According to the Saints, this priesthood power was not limited to religious functions alone. Because of their belief in the unity of spiritual and temporal affairs, the priesthood played a significant role in the daily physical activities of the Saints. Such things as building fences, digging canals, cutting timber, and planting crops were often associated with priesthood callings or missions.³

Following the leaders

This concept is very closely related to the priesthood obligations formerly mentioned. But because of its direct influence upon the Mormons' use of the land, it

³William Mulder, Homeward to Zion, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1957, pp. 229-231; See also, Hunter, op. cit., pp. 301-341. He discussed various missions wherein people were called through the priesthood to settle certain areas.
deserves separate treatment. The Mormon scriptures clearly show the role of Church leaders in the lives of the Saints:

And the arm of the Lord shall be revealed; and the day cometh that they who will not hear the voice of the Lord, neither the voice of his servants, neither give heed to the words of the prophets and apostles, shall be cut off from among the people. . . . What I the Lord have spoken, I have spoken, and I excuse not myself; and though the heavens and the earth pass away, my word shall not pass away, but shall all be fulfilled, whether by mine own voice or by the voice of my servants, it is the same.¹

In the Church government hierarchy, sixteen men are considered to be prophets by the members. As has been shown, these leaders often spoke about temporal or mundane activities and ideas. This is demonstrated again in a comment made by Brigham Young in one of his religious discourses:

The Latter-day Saints realize that there is no period of man's existence not incorporated with the plan of salvation, and directly pointing to a future existence. Consequently, when we stand here to speak to the people, let every man speak what is in his heart. . . . It matters not what the subject be, if it tends to improve the mind, exalt the feelings, and enlarge the capacity. The truth that is in all the arts and sciences forms a part of our religion. . . . Were I to give you a lecture today upon farming, would I be speaking upon a matter that transcends the bounds of our religion? Agriculture is a part of it as well as any other truth. Were I to lecture on business principles of any kind, our religion embraces it; and what it does not circumscribe, it would be well for us to dispense with it once and forever.²

¹Doctrine and Covenants 1:14, 38.
²Brigham Young, Discourses, Vol. 1, p. 334.
Obviously, if the Saints were obedient to their leaders' teachings, the Saints' perceptions of their duties would be profoundly affected. Such instructions as where to build a new community, how large the lots should be, what crop was to be planted, where the canals were to be, what industries were to be established—if given by the leaders—were accepted by the Saints as binding upon them. This acceptance greatly affected land use.

Second coming and millenialism

This aspect of Mormonism was shared with numerous other religious sects of the day. The Saints believed that they were the Lord's chosen people; therefore, it was their responsibility to prepare the earth for His Second Coming and to usher in the millenium. "Gird up your loins and be watchful and be sober, looking forth for the coming of the Son of Man, for he cometh in an hour you think not," was a standard cry among the Saints. Joseph Smith, before his martyrdom, encouraged the Saints to prepare. "When I contemplate the rapidity with which the great and glorious day of the coming of the Son of Man advances, when he shall come to receive his Saints unto himself, where they shall dwell in his presence, and be crowned with glory and immortality... I cry out in my heart. What manner of persons ought we to be...?"¹ Concerning the Millenium,

¹Joseph Smith, Documentary History of the Church, Vol. 1, p. 442.
John Taylor said: "The Millenium is dawning upon the world, we are at the end of the sixth thousand years; and the great day of rest; the Millenium of which the Lord has spoken, will soon dawn and the Savior will come in the clouds of heaven to reign over this people on the earth one thousand years."¹ To the Saints, the second coming was imminent, and their major responsibility was to build up Zion. This was to be accomplished by obedience to the prophets' directives, which included the establishment of the city of Zion plan as it was given by Joseph Smith. The concept of the city of Zion plan is one of the basic physical and visual factors associated with the unique Mormon Culture landscape in the west, even though it was never incorporated exactly as Joseph Smith gave it.

Many other religious doctrines influenced the establishment of the visual Mormon landscape. Some of these, because they were used as a means to accomplish the goals of the Saints, will be considered as tools and will be discussed later. It can be seen how the previously mentioned attitudes of the Saints did contribute to the Mormons' perceptions, and subsequently their use, of the land.

¹John Taylor, Discourses, Vol. 18, p. 113.
Technology

The technological aspect of the perceptual filter deals with the technical ability of the group being analyzed. In the case of the Mormons, the technology was limited. Most of the work and production was done by animal draft power or cooperative human labor; there was some water power use. The technological equipment which the Mormons had access to still required animal or man-power. It can be concluded, however, that this lack of machinery did not seriously affect the eventual outcome of the Mormon Culture Region.

As soon as the leaders were aware of machines and inventions that would help them in their cause, they made every effort to obtain it. This is exemplified in development of the sugar factory, sericulture, iron, railroad, telegraph, and many others.¹ The Saints were certainly not limited in their imaginative use of machinery, as is evidenced in a situation related by Arrington where a single piece of machinery was adapted to be used in three separate industries.²

Needs

After one has filtered his ideas or perceptions through the experience, attitudes, and available technology, 

¹Larson, Outline History, pp. 175-178, 188. See also Creer, op. cit., pp. 348-58; and Hunter, op. cit., pp. 158-94.
²Arrington, op. cit., p. 115.
he then must formulate his need. The order of consideration may differ, but the needs of the group must be considered in relationship to the other aspects of the perceptual filter. Needs are a result of the cultural environment.

The basic needs of the Mormons as they arrived in the Great Basin can be grouped into the following categories.

1. Physical needs: The immediate need of the pioneers was to secure food, clothing and shelter for their first year in the wilderness. According to Thomas Bullock, Brigham Young's secretary, the Saints started to farm the day after they entered the valley.

On this spot... the pioneers arrived on Thursday 23rd of July last, at five p.m.; the next morning removed to the spot where the city will be built; at noon consecrated and dedicated the place to the Lord; the same afternoon four ploughs were tearing up the ground; next day the brethren had planted five acres of potatoes and irrigated all the land at night. ... During the short space between the 23rd of July and 28th of August we ploughed and planted about eighty-four acres with corn, potatoes, beans, buckwheat, turnips, and a variety of garden sauce. We irrigated all the land. ...¹

Shortly thereafter, the area was surveyed and the land laid out in accordance with the city of Zion plat. As some plowed and planted, others constructed a fort as a temporary settlement. Within a month, twenty-nine log houses had

¹Andrew Neff, History of Utah, p. 104, as cited in Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom, p. 74.
been built in the walled fort, each eight or nine feet high, sixteen feet long, and fourteen feet wide.\textsuperscript{1} According to Arrington, it was these vital activities and plans in the initial settlement which set the mold for future cities and the convergence of the Mormon Culture Region.\textsuperscript{2}

2. Secular needs: These needs were associated with the economic and social needs of the pioneers. They included such things as the establishment of schools, roads, industrial and commercial buildings, protection from Indian raids, communication, recreation, etc. The Saints lost no time in establishing themselves in cooperative groups to accomplish these needs. Each group had its own responsibilities. Some constructed roads and dams; other groups built bridges and fences; while still others made adobe bricks and cut lumber. One group was sent to explore future sites for incoming Saints. Two groups were sent for supplies, one to California and the other to Fort Hall.\textsuperscript{3} Many of these activities which filled the needs of the Saints had a direct physical and visual impact on the land.

3. Religious needs: According to Creer, the religious needs of the Saints were twofold. "The founding

\textsuperscript{1}Arrington, op. cit., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{3}Arrington, op. cit., pp. 45-50, and Creer, op. cit., pp. 303-312.
of Utah was distinctly the result of a religious appeal. The pioneers went to the Great Basin not from choice but necessity. Their motive in going there was twofold: to rid themselves of violent persecutions by determined enemies; and to establish a commonwealth where they could worship their God unmolested and build up his Kingdom upon the earth.⁴ Associated with the latter were such features as the city of Zion plan, the churches, and the temples, all of which directly affected the landscape and all of which are still evident today.

Though the discussion of the perception filter has been brief, it has been sufficient to show that many, if not all, of the early Mormon activities in the West were influenced by the Mormons' perception of themselves, their environment, and their potential.

Goals

As the foregoing needs were created in the minds and lives of the Saints, they began to set goals in order to fulfill these needs. Often, as in the case of building the city of Zion and eliminating persecution, the need and the goals are similar. Practically everything the Saints did after they arrived in the West was related to the motives which Creer cites. After the persecutions had been

⁴Creer, op. cit., p. 304.
alleviated, the Saints directed all their efforts to building the physical and spiritual Kingdom of God. Aspects of this goal may be classified as temporal, geographical or spiritual, or religious. But the fact remains, the basic original motivation was religious. Persecution had little to do with the establishment of the unique Mormon Culture landscape. The persecution was mostly past after the Mormons left Illinois. After they arrived in the Great Basin, they could settle anywhere and in any way they wanted; because of their religious beliefs, they established communities instead of isolated farmsteads.

Tools

Tools, as defined in the earlier discussion of the man-land system, are those instruments or activities which are used to fulfill goals and satisfy needs. They need not be physical devices; they may include anything that is a means used to accomplish a goal.

Some of the more notable tools used by the Saints in their conquering of the desert include the

1. city of Zion plat,
2. irrigation,
3. unity and cooperation,
4. work,
5. sacrifice and consecration.
It should be noted that the latter tools, though they are discussed as tools, also reflect the feelings and beliefs of the Saints, which affected their attitudes as they relate to the perceptual filter.

City of Zion plat

In the following quote, no fewer than eight reasons are given by John Taylor for the use of the City of Zion concept in establishing Mormon communities.

In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather in Villages, as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlements in these mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country, are many and obvious to all those who have a desire to serve the Lord. By this means the people can retain ecclesiastical organization. . . . They can also cooperate for the good of all in financial and secular necessary improvements. Further than this they are a mutual protection and source of strength against horse and cattle thieves, land jumpers, and against hostile Indians should there be any, while their compact organization gives them many advantages of a social and civil character which might be lost, misapplied, or frittered away by spreading out so thinly that intercommunication is difficult, dangerous, inconvenient or expensive.¹

From some statements by Brigham Young, we can see that there were other reasons for the incorporation of the city of Zion, "... We will build strongholds against the mobs."

This was spoken while the Saints were still being persecuted

¹John Taylor, Correspondence to William B. Preston of Logan, Utah, Fremont Stake Manuscript History, December 26, 1882.
by their enemies. Another reason given by the leader, and obviously to his and the Saints' benefit was "to assimilate and cement them together that they become subject to rule and order."  

Irrigation

Brigham Young was acquainted with irrigation before the Saints ever arrived in the basin, as is evident in this statement from Brigham Young's Manuscript History, written at Winter Quarters, February 26, 1847:

I spent the afternoon and evening in council with Elders H. C. Kimball, D. Pratt, E. T. Benson, W. Woodruff, George H. Smith, A. Lyman, N. K. Whitney, William Clayton, and J. M. Grant. Conversation ensued relative to the journey westward, the construction of boats, pioneer traveling, location, seeds, irrigation, science, etc.  

Bancroft and Hunter give us the following statistics concerning the Mormon irrigation system. Cooperative canal building continued until by 1865 there were 277 canals in the Kingdom, totaling 1,043 miles and built at the cost of $1,766,939. These canals together with equally expensive ditches brought life-giving water to over 150,000 acres of ground which by then sustained approximately 65,000 people.  

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2 History of Brigham Young, MS. February 26, 1847.

3 Larson, Outline History, p. 173.
The Mormons were not the first to introduce the practice of irrigation in the West, but according to Creer, they were the first to scientifically develop the system.\textsuperscript{1} Bolton felt that "Irrigation was one of the single contributions of the Mormons to the upbuilding of the great West. . . ."\textsuperscript{2} To be sure, the Mormons' use of irrigation assisted them a great deal in providing for their agricultural needs. It also had a definite impact on land use and landscape.

\textit{Unity and cooperation}

One of the basic premises of the United Order was unity among the Saints. This order or law was established before the Saints were forced to move West. "One of the first steps taken by the Prophet, after the establishment of headquarters in Kirtland, was the institution of what Latter-day Saints called the 'United Order,' a religious-social system, communal in its character, designed to abolish poverty, monopoly, and kindred evils, and to bring about unity and equality in temporal and spiritual things. . . ."\textsuperscript{3} The Mormon scriptures also emphasize the issue of unity:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Creer, op. cit., p. 342.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Herbert E. Bolton, "Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine," Vol. 17, p. 69.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Joseph F. Smith, \textit{Millenial Star}, Vol. 67, p. 628.
\end{itemize}
"I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one ye are not mine."¹ The cooperative spirit was essential if the Saints were to reach their goal in establishing Zion; it could not be done by individual effort or in divided ranks. Arrington describes this vital spirit in these words,

The participants in the sublime task of building the Kingdom were to submit themselves to the direction of God's leaders and to display a spirit of willing cooperation. Cooperation, as a technique of organization by which migrations were affected, forts erected, ditches dug, and mills constructed, came to be an integral part of this principle. Cooperation meant that every man's labor was subject to call by Church authority to work under supervised direction in a cause deemed essential to the prosperity of the Kingdom.

These causes and calls included cooperative arrangements for migration, colonization, construction, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, merchandising—and, in fact, for every realm of economic activity.²

Though this tool cannot be seen, the effects of it on land use are everywhere to be seen in the Mormon Culture Region. Virtually every relic feature of the Mormon Culture owes part of its existence to these two tools.

Work

A basic doctrine of the Church was that every man should contribute his share of labor or he was considered an idler, and "he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer"; furthermore, he was to

¹Doctrine and Covenants 38:29.
²Arrington, op. cit., p. 27.
be cut off from the Church. ¹ Brigham Young strongly adhered to this doctrine, as demonstrated in this statement: "My policy is to keep every man, woman, and child busily employed. . . . My policy is to keep everybody busy in building up this kingdom; in building houses, in breaking up land; in setting out fruit and ornamental trees; in laying out fine gardens, pleasant walks, and beautiful groves, and in building academies, and other places of learning."² He insisted that the Saints be kept busy at all times. If he detected idleness, he had ways to stop it, as is indicated in this humorous but sobering incident. One afternoon about two hundred of the brethren were standing around a government building observing a court trial. As they were discussing the eventual outcome, Brigham saw them from his office window. He sent his clerk over to write down all the names of the idlers. The next Sunday in a Church service, without forewarning, Brigham called off the names of the 211 drones and sent them on missions.³ That the Saints accomplished what they did, with less than the best environmental conditions, and in such a short time, is a monument to their willingness to work.

¹ Doctrine and Covenants 42:42; 75:29.
² Brigham Young, Discourses, Vol. 2, p. 144.
³ Correspondence of Heber C. Kimball, cited in Arrington, op. cit., p. 155.
Sacrifice and consecration

Other aspects of the United Order were sacrifice and the law of consecration. The former is made sufficiently clear in these two statements by Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith, both of whom became church presidents. "We have the same priesthood that Jesus had, and we have got to do as He did, but we have got to make sacrifices in order to carry out the purposes of God. . . ."¹ Two years before Lorenzo Snow's statement, Joseph F. Smith made this comment in regard to the Saints' obligation to sacrifice.

We cannot build up Zion except upon the principles of righteousness. Men must forsake their wickedness, their lusts, covetousness, greed, and love of the pleasures of the world, or they never will partake of the blessings and glory of Zion. It is said in the book of Doctrine and Covenants, that we must be willing to make a sacrifice of everything that we possess in the world for the kingdom of God's sake, and the man or woman that presumes to lay claim to the gift of eternal life, who is unwilling to make this sacrifice, will be offering an insult to the dignity of the Creator.²

On this principle, hundreds left new homes and farms in Salt Lake Valley to answer calls to colonize new areas in the Great Basin, thus extending the Mormon Culture Region.

The law of consecration is defined in the Doctrine and Covenants:

¹Lorenzo Snow, Discourses, Vol. 23, pp. 341-342.
²Joseph F. Smith, Conference Report, April, 1880, p. 35.
Nevertheless, inasmuch as they receive more than is needful for their necessities and their wants, it shall be given into my storehouse;
And the benefits shall be consecrated unto the inhabitants of Zion, and unto their generations, inasmuch as they become heirs according to the laws of the kingdom.
Behold, this is what the Lord requires of every man in his stewardship, even as I, the Lord, have appointed or shall hereafter appoint unto any man.
And behold, none are exempt from this law who belong to the Church of the living God.1

Emphasizing the necessity of obedience to this law, John Taylor said,

Referring to the United Order, the Lord has given us to understand that whosoever refuses to comply with the requirements of that law (consecration), his name shall not be known in the records of the Church but shall be blotted out; neither shall his children have an inheritance in Zion.2

It is the feeling of some that without these tools mentioned, the Saints never would have created a distinctive cultivate region and landscape.3

Though numerous other tools were used by the Saints in establishing their Great Basin Kingdom, the foregoing are sufficient to show the role of tools in the man-land system.

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants* 70:1-10.
Environment

It has been noted\(^1\) that the natural environment existed independent of man and was indifferent to his activities. The land plays a role of limitation in the man-land relationship. It provides certain potentials and opportunities to be used by the man according to his own perceptions and desires.

As has been demonstrated, man's use of the physical environment is filtered by his cultural perception, and is directed by his goals and the tools available to him. Man's role in the system has thus far been considered. The physical environment now requires attention.

Physical setting

According to Fenneman's physiographic classification of the United States, the Mormon Culture Region as outlined in Chapter Two lies within three different physical providences: the Columbia Plateau on the north; the Basin and Range providence on the west; and the Colorado Plateau on the east.\(^2\) This makes the physical features of the Mormon Culture Region very heterogeneous. The physiography varies from mountain ranges, 11,000 feet in elevation, to

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\(^1\)Preston James, *Physiography of Man*, p. 6.

plains and deserts. As would be expected, the climate, soil, vegetation and topography offered great variety to the options of the Saints as they began to use the land.

**Location**

As shown on the map, the Mormon Culture Region includes all of the state of Utah, part of the Snake River Plain in Idaho, and Oregon. The western edge of the region is within the state of Nevada. The eastern portion of the region includes a little of southwestern Wyoming, then follows the Colorado-Utah border southward. The southern limits extend into Nevada as far as Las Vegas and also include a strip of northern Arizona and a small section of northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado. Though the Mormon Culture is dominant in the region outlined above, it is recognized that there are isolated areas within it that are not totally characteristic of the Mormon Culture Region.

**Climate**

Because of the nature of the physiographic region, it is difficult to deal with specific climatic factors. It is generally acknowledged that for the most part, the areas settled by the Mormons were dominated by a dry climate. Annual rainfall is less than fifteen inches, the majority of moisture coming in winter snowfalls. Summer temperatures
often reach 100°, while winter temperatures usually are freezing or below. There are exceptions, especially in the southern portion of the region; there, winters are mild and snow is infrequent.

Soils

Again, soils vary according to site and situation. Along the mountain ranges, the alluvial fans and delta plains consist of Sicrozem, Brown, and Chestnut soils, which produce abundant crops. Generally, the desert soil consists of lacustrine deposits which give way to alkaline soil and poorly drained sediments. These soils along with the mountain soils were used mostly for grazing purposes.

Vegetation

When the Saints first arrived in the valley they were greeted with a vista of sagebrush, greasewood, rabbitbrush, and salt grass dotted with cottonwoods and willows along the streams. Grass and meadows were adjacent to the lakes. The mountain vegetation offered a greater variety, consisting of conifers, aspen, oak, etc.¹

¹The preceding physiographic sketch was adapted from Fenneman, and a masters thesis for the Department of Geography at Brigham Young University by John Haws Baum entitled, "Geographical Characteristics of Early Mormon Settlements," submitted in 1967.
Topography

The topography of the Mormon Culture Region is as diverse as the culture features are similar. According to Fenneman, the following characteristics are typical of this region: mountains, hills, plateaus, ravines, deserts, dunes, mesas, plains, terraces, etc. One who has visited the region or has seen pictures of it knows how difficult it is to describe the topography. Generally the Saints settled along the mountain ranges where the valley streams entered the basins or plains areas.

In consideration of the environment and its influence on Mormon land use, it should be remembered that many areas lying within the boundaries of the region, because of its physical condition, were not affected to any great extent. For the most part, the main areas that this study is concerned with are the settlements themselves and surrounding landscape for agriculture, forestry, mining, and grazing. Some of these areas, though used by the Saints, may not bear any physical landscape features.

Interaction

It is in this aspect of the system that the real man-land relationship is established. Some of the initial contact areas have been discussed earlier. The visual

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1Fenneman, op. cit., pp. 238-244; 274-278, 305, 330-333.
results of interaction between man and the environment occur in the following categories:

1. urban patterns,
2. rural patterns,
3. exploitation patterns,
4. transportation and communication patterns.

Each of these categories consists of numerous subdivisions and minor categories, some of which often overlap.

The following examples illustrate various aspects of the Mormon interaction with the physical environment in the West. It will be noticed in each case how the perception of the man played a significant role in the development of the Mormon Culture Region.

Weather

During the last decade of Brigham Young's life, areas for expansion were rapidly disappearing. The only real possibility was north into the Snake River Valley of Idaho, where there were still unoccupied valleys. But because of a previous visit northward, Brigham Young declined to encourage settlement because of the fear of frost and short growing seasons. His perception of the Idaho country is shown in this account of his trip north:

The farther north we go the less good characteristics are connected with the valleys, except in

\[1\] Meinig, op. cit., p. 204.
articles of fish, water, and in some instances, timber; and when the people are obliged to live in the north country, that will be high time for them to go there.¹

It was not until after Brigham Young's death that a concerted move was made to settle this area, and this was done by individual Mormon families without Church sponsorship. But it was too late. In 1863, Idaho was organized as a territory by gentile ranchers, miners, and federal officials who had little sympathy for the Mormons. The Mormon pioneers had to settle where they could.²

It is obvious how the Mormon Culture Region might be different today had it not been for the perception of President Young. Though the Mormons are dominant throughout most of southern Idaho, the landscape clearly shows a change, particularly in the rural-urban relationship and the field patterns. Many farmsteads are more isolated and the farms are generally larger and more spread out. The compact rural-urban picture as seen in the air photo of Spanish Fork (Fig. 7) is not as evident in southern Idaho.

Water

Although the Mormons were familiar with the riparian rights system for water use, they preferred to adopt a new

²Meinig, op. cit., p. 204.
Fig. 7.—Air photo of Spanish Fork showing the Mormon village and urban-rural relationship and agricultural patterns (1959).
law which was more in keeping with the ideals of the Zion society they were trying to create. This new policy became known as appropriation, based and operated on religious features within the Church. It was presented and voted upon by the Saints within three days of their arrival in the Basin. It consisted of the following features:

1. No one was to own water, because it belonged to God and was the stewardship of the Saints.

2. Early settlers were to be concerned for and were to assist the late arrivals in regard to their water needs.

3. The water system required a cooperative effort to build and maintain.

4. Each individual water system was controlled by a high council composed of ecclesiastical heads and their appointees, and it was to be operated in accordance with priesthood government.\(^1\)

The outcome of this policy can still be visualized throughout the Culture Region. What might have been different in the landscape if the Saints had used the riparian law is not hard to imagine. There would have been fewer canals, larger and fewer fields; homesteads would appear near water ways; and there probably would be fewer compact communities. And certainly the field patterns and

\(^1\)Hunter, op. cit., pp. 148-157; and Arrington, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
some industrial sites would be considerably different. Again, owing to perception of the environment as well as the social aspect, a unique feature was created.

Field patterns

This is a direct result of the land law laid down by the Church leadership. It is very similar to the water law in origin and purpose. Because this feature has been considered previously in the text, it is only necessary to point out that this policy was also a result of Mormon perception, which had its origin in religious doctrine. For an illustration of its impact on the land, one need only to compare it with most other agricultural areas of the United States. The small lots of five, ten, twenty, forty acres form a real contrast when compared with the 100- and 180-acre farms and dry farms found in other sections of the country.

Buildings

The most distinctive feature about Mormon buildings is their architectural style. Most significant, of course, is the Mormon temple, one of which has become a world-wide symbol of Mormonism. Along with the famous Salt Lake Temple, the others play a prominent role in the visual landscape of the Mormon Culture. Each is located in a prominent geographical position which immediately draws attention to it.
Early Mormon chapels are also important contributors to the urban landscape, especially in the small rural communities. Possibly they are becoming more prominent in the region as they become fewer in number, and as they are removed to make way for modern edifices.

A third building is the relic Mormon house. Though not as widespread, these old stone, brick, adobe, and wood homes remind one of the cultural origins of the Church in New England, with its stone buildings.

A last building which is a prominent landscape feature in Salt Lake is the Mormon Tabernacle on Temple Square. Though many Mormon towns have them, none are so distinctive and recognizable as the Tabernacle in Salt Lake.

All of these buildings are associated with religious phenomena. The temples, chapels and tabernacles were designed for religious worship and activity. The Mormon home owes part of its origin to the City of Zion plan, because its builder was instructed to use stone or brick whenever possible.

Rural-urban scheme

This aspect of the Mormon Culture Region is perhaps the most significant of all the features discussed in this thesis. It too had its origin and subsequent emphasis in the area of religious phenomena. The Saints considered the City of Zion plan a revelation from God. (And it was their
duty under covenant to build Zion according to those instructions. For this reason, the country farmstead is absent in the relic Mormon Culture Region.) A statement by Wilford Woodruff confirms this emphasis. While speaking of the Prophet Joseph Smith, he said,

He also presented us in some degree with the plot of the city of Kirtland, which is the stronghold of the daughter of Zion. The plan which he presented was given him by vision, and the future will prove that the visions of Joseph concerning Jackson County, and all the various stakes of Zion and the redemption of Israel will be fulfilled in the time appointed of the Lord.¹

It was considered the duty of every Saint under covenant to build Zion according to his leader's instructions, i.e., live in the town and not on the farm site. For this reason the isolated country farmstead is absent from the relic Mormon Region, as was previously cited in a correspondence of John Taylor to Church officials in Logan (see page 121).

**Missions**

In the early Mormon period in the West, people were often called to go on "missions" for the Church. These missions were of three types:

1. a mission to proselyte,²

¹*Journal History*, April 6, 1837.

2. a mission to establish new settlements,\(^1\)
3. and an economic mission.\(^2\)

All of these missions had some impact on the land. Some brought thousands of converts to Utah; others established the rural-urban pattern and associated settlement features; and still others changed the landscape through mining and farming operations.

Two aspects related to the mission concept should be collaborated. First, the Indians of North and South America are considered by the Mormons to be fellow members of the House of Israel. Therefore, they are entitled to all the blessings enjoyed by the covenant children of Abraham. The Saints considered it their duty to teach the natives of their heritage and religious opportunities. This was especially important because the Book of Mormon contained an account of the ancestry of many Indian groups and God's dealings with these ancient peoples.\(^3\)

A second, and most critical point, was that all callings, regardless of their nature, from the church leaders were callings from God. They must be obeyed or punishment would result. Most people were called without previous

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\(^{1}\text{Ibid.},\ pp.\ 322-341.\ Here\ he\ discussed\ the\ Las\ Vegas\ and\ Fort\ Lemhi\ settlements.\)

\(^{2}\text{Arrington, op. cit., pp. 87, 122-127; 33, 127-129; 216-222.}\)

\(^{3}\text{Hunter, op. cit., pp. 290-300.}\)
notification and were expected to accept the call and be prepared to depart within the week.\textsuperscript{1} Again it will be noted, in both instances, the influence of Mormon religious beliefs on activities which directly affected the man-land relationship.

The list of examples that could be cited, showing the effect of religious directed perception on the land, is almost endless. These few should be sufficient to emphasize the point. Certainly the religious background and orientation of the Mormons had a major influence in their use of the land and on the development of a unique cultural landscape.

Reaction and Evaluation

In the man-land system, the reaction and evaluation follows the aspect of interaction, though often they may be concurrent. After man has interacted with the environment, some kind of response is called forth. Either the experience was beneficial or it was not, thus allowing the man to continue, alter, or discontinue the specific activities being evaluated.

As is the case in most "large" undertakings, the Mormon experience produced some positive results and some negative results, which caused the activity to be discarded,\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1} Arrington, op. cit., p. 33.
altered, or delayed. (The fact that the Mormons stayed, after the first few years of hardship and disappointment, is an indication that the over-all experience was favorable, in spite of the setbacks.)

Most of the positive factors resulting from the "Mormon-Great Basin" experience is a matter of history and has been mentioned continually throughout this study. They need only be mentioned briefly here. Such features as the freedom from mobs, self-sufficiency, successful agriculture through irrigation, religious freedom, and the rural-urban plan, and many other endeavors and goals had been reached successfully.

However, there were other efforts, mostly economic in nature, that required the Saints to readjust or delay their activities. In some cases the activities came to a complete halt. A list of the "failures" resulting from Mormons' interaction of the environment might include the following incidents. The cotton industry was closed in 1871 because it was found to be in Nevada instead of Utah; there was also an outbreak of malaria which caused Brigham Young to move the settlers. It was revived sporadically until 1910.\textsuperscript{1} The sericulture declined when the railroad came to Utah, when commercial ties with the outside world

\textsuperscript{1}Arrington, op. cit., p. 222.
increased. Brigham Young had personally invested over $25,000.00 in the silk industry.¹

The iron and lead industries failed for several reasons; among them the lack of capital, a shortage of good coal and of labor. Another reason for their failure was the lack of technical know how. Brigham thought the failures were due to a self-seeking spirit among the missionaries called to labor at the smelters.²

The sugar beet industry had difficulties from the very beginning. The unexpected $5,000.00 tariff at New Orleans, the expenditure for the construction of forty wagons which later had to be abandoned, were only the initial setbacks. Bad weather in crossing the plains, the purchase of new wagons, food and cattle, causing great indebtedness from which the Deseret Manufacturing Company never recovered, contributed to the failure. Lack of needed machinery (retorts) and the skilled labor caused the final failure of the sugar industry in early Utah.³

The early attempts to construct a wooden railroad and later a barge canal both resulted in costly expenditures in tithing, labor, and money. The original intent was to provide transportation for building materials for

¹Ibid., p. 254.
²Ibid., pp. 128-129.
the Salt Lake Temple. At the end of three years and at a cost of thousands of dollars, the efforts were abandoned.¹

Other disappointments which the Saints had to evaluate included natural disasters such as early frosts, the cricket invasion, and floods. Two factors, caused by political issues, had a great influence on the relic Mormon Culture Region: the Utah War in 1857² and the polygamy, which brought federal intervention and "control of the Church properties."³ Many towns were abandoned after original Mormon settlement.

The threatening invasion of U. S. troops caused Brigham Young to gather his Saints from the outpost communities in preparation for a mass exodus south. Two communities, Fort Bridger and Fort Supply, recently established by the Saints, were burned to the ground. Others were abandoned and were never resettled by the Mormons: San Bernardino, Carson City, Fort Lemhi, and the Elk Mountain Mission at Moab. Several thousand missionaries were called home, and immigration stopped during this period.

¹ Arrington, op. cit., p. 112.
² Roberts, op. cit., pp. 198-303 especially, see also Arrington, pp. 170-182.
³ G. O. Larson, Americanization of Utah, op. cit.; the entire book deals with this issue and its effect on Mormon Kingdom.
The polygamy issue precipitated events which had far-reaching effects on the Mormon Culture Region. Most of these were associated with political maneuvers of gentile and government officials which in turn influenced settlement, immigration, church government, and Mormon economic efforts.

All of the preceding occurrences and many others had to be evaluated by the Mormon community in order to adjust its activities. A review of Mormon history would show where many of these readjusted interactions with the environment later became successful where they had originally failed. The fact that the Mormons stayed in the area after the first few years of hardship and disappointments is an indication that the over-all experience in the West was favorable, that the Saints were reaching their goals in spite of the setbacks.

Feedback

Once the evaluation has been made of the interaction with the environment and adjustments have been considered, this feedback is received by the individual or group. In a sense, it is a summary of the activities and feelings in regard to the success of the endeavor.

In the case of the Mormons, this feedback process usually took place in conferences and by correspondence. The Church leaders would report the success or failures of
the colonization efforts. These reports are demonstrated in the following excerpts from the leaders' communications.

Less than a year after the Saints arrived in the Great Basin, this article appeared in Europe in a Church publication.

Emigration! The channel of Saints' emigration to the land of Zion, is now opened. The long-wished for time of gathering has come. The resting place of Israel, for the last days, has been discovered. Beautiful for situations and the ultimate joy of the whole earth is the Stake of Zion established in the mountains. In the elevated valley of the Salt and Entau (Utah) Lakes, with beautiful river Jordan running through it, . . . There pregnant clouds introduce their fertilizing contents. . . . The streams and rivers are enriched by valuable waterfalls, . . . The various timber of lofty mountains wait in proud readiness to bow at the signal of the axe. Mills, factories, hamlets, mansions, houses, and cities, can be supplied with building materials from the unculled forests of many ages.

This great basin is adequate to sustain many millions of people, . . . Now rejoice and lift up your heads. . . . The day of release dawns, all that can, gather up their effects and set their faces as a flint to go Zionward. The word of the Lord comes forth from Zion to the upright of all the earth, 'Gather yourselves to the place of your rest. . . .' 1

In 1852 at a July 24th celebration, Brigham Young gave this message of feedback:

Five years ago this day, the Pioneers approached this valley, with their implements of husbandry. We came for the purpose of finding a place to set our feet, where we could dwell in peace. That place we have found. . . . Where could a place have been found where we might enjoy freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of worship? If not in these mountains, I am ignorant of the place. We have

enjoyed perfect peace here for five years; and I
trust we shall for many fives to come.¹

After making a five-week trip through the southern settle-
ments of the territory, Parley P. Pratt gave this report
to the Saints at Salt Lake in 1856:

I know of no particular drawback in any large
portion of the settlements. . . . In every settlement
a peculiar spirit of industry characterizes the
Saints; there is every prospect of good crops, good
gardens, and good grain. . . .

He refers to the Mormon success as a miracle:

Here are a people congregated in the capacity of
civil and religious governments in the valleys of
Utah, made up of almost all nations and languages
. . . having brought with them a variety of manners
and customs, as well as many peculiar opinions and
nationalities. And besides these. . . they have been
gathered out from almost every sect and creed under
heaven. . . . A miracle, a sign, and a wonder is
this!²

This feedback was essential to Saints. It helped
them overcome discouragement and depression. But more
important, they were successful in their efforts to estab-
lish the Kingdom of God, which was the driving force
behind all their endeavors.

Goal Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

In the man-land system, the goal satisfaction was
an indication to the man that his interaction with the
environment had been successful and that he had been

¹Brigham Young, Discourses, Vol. 1, p. 144.
²Parley Pratt, Discourses, Vol. 4, pp. 9-10.
rewarded for his efforts. If goal dissatisfaction was the result, a change in the perceptual filter, goals, and tools was affected and the cycle began again, based upon the previous experiences.

In spite of the success of the Mormons in establishing their Kingdom of God in the West, many of the original plans had to be altered or discarded. Overall, the goal of the Saints had been reached; they had been relieved from mob persecutions and they had laid the foundation for a Zion society. Many subsequent goals and tools and interactions have occurred, but the relic landscape of the Mormon Culture Region remains as evidence of the man-land relationship.

It has been demonstrated that through the man-land system, the relationships between man and his environment can be effectively studied in specific situations. To be sure, there are refinements and adjustments to be made in this system, but in spite of its weaknesses, it can be a useful tool to the geographer in studying the man-land relationship.
Chapter Five

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As man today perceives the surrounding environment as his home, and consequently alters that environment to suit his needs, he becomes a major agent in the development of landscape. So it has been through history. Man, guided by his cultural milieu, has perceived opportunities or limitations in his environment and has acted accordingly. He either changed the environment to suit his needs or he changed his needs to suit the environment. This triad relationship—man, perception, and environment—is the key issue in the man-land relationship. Often, man and his perception have been overlooked in geographical studies.

The relic Mormon Culture Region of the American West provides an opportunity to study how man's perception of his environment affected physical changes in that environment. This study is not only concerned with the resultant visual features of the region, but also with how the Mormon perception influenced the development of landscape features.

Through the study of geographical, historical and religious literature, it was shown that the Mormons did
create unique geographical features in the west. Many of these features were direct results of the Mormons' perception of themselves and their environment. Furthermore, it was shown that many of the Mormon perceptions originated in religious principles. Some of these religious teachings or attitudes were traced in specific situations to a landscape feature which had been created by the Mormons.

The results of this research can be summarized into two categories, one dealing with the physical landscape features, and the other dealing with the perceptions and their origin that led to the development of the landscape which make the distinctive Mormon Culture Region.

**Physical Landscape Features**

The features of the relic Mormon landscape can be grouped into seven categories, each consisting of several subcategories. It should be noted that the geographical phenomena which make the Mormon Culture Region distinctive are contained in the features, i.e., streets, urban-rural pattern, and buildings.

**Settlement Features**

a. streets

b. houses

c. temples, tabernacles, chapels

d. government buildings, schools, academies
e. walls and fences
f. cemeteries
g. horticulture
h. ecclesiastical boundaries (not "visual")
i. toponyms

Agricultural Features
a. field size
b. field patterns
c. fences
d. crops
e. implements

Irrigation Features
a. dams
b. reservoirs
c. canals
d. ditches
e. furrows

Animal Husbandry Features
a. livestock
b. fences
c. corrals
d. sheds
e. barns
f. storage features
Transportation and Communication Features

a. roads - rural
b. streets - urban
c. bridges
d. railroads
e. telegraph lines
f. street car tracks

Industrial and Commercial Features

a. machinery
b. mills
c. factories
d. stores
e. related buildings

Exploitation Features

a. mining
b. lumbering
c. quarrying
d. grazing

It is concluded that the Mormons, through the activities and features mentioned above, had a profound impact upon the landscape of the American West. Nearly every aspect of the man-land relationship in the Mormon Culture Region bears some indication of Mormon influence.
Perception and Its Origin

The following beliefs and attitudes had direct influence on specific aspects of the Mormons' perception and use of their environment:

**Chosen people**

The Mormons considered themselves to be Israelite descendants from Abraham; therefore, as a chosen people they were entitled to certain special blessings from God. They considered themselves to be a blessing to the earth's inhabitants.

And behold, ye are the children of the prophets; and ye are of the house of Israel; and ye are of the covenant which the Father made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham: And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.¹

**Promised land**

All of North America was considered to be a land of promise by the Mormons.² After their expulsion from the center place of Zion (Jackson County, Missouri), the Saints came to accept the intermountain west as a place especially prepared and saved for them by God. The Great Basin region was their stewardship from God. It was they who must subdue the wilderness and make the desert "blossom as a rose." This belief led to the establishment of Mormon

¹*Book of Mormon*, III Nephi 20:25.

communities throughout a widespread area, rather than few large concentrations of Saints.

**Gathering of Israel**

The Saints perceived it to be their religious obligation to secure a place and then gather all the righteous people of the earth to that place. After they were exiled from the Mid-West, Salt Lake Valley and the surrounding Great Basin area became the gathering site. Through proselyting activities overseas, tens of thousands of converts to Mormonism came to the American West in response to the call to gather.¹

**Zionism**

Because of their being the chosen children of God, the Mormons thought it their religious duty to establish a physical Zion as well as a spiritual Zion. This was accomplished through the establishment of cities and farms throughout the Great Basin. Brigham Young makes this statement regarding the Saints' responsibility to build up Zion.

Do we realize that if we enjoy a Zion in time or in eternity, we must make it for ourselves? Were we to send a hundred families of Saints into a valley not yet inhabited, being acquainted with its climate, soil, and general capabilities for productiveness, in the vision

¹See William Mulder's *Homeward to Zion* and James Linforth's *Route from Liverpool* for detailed accounts of the gathering of Saints to Utah from Europe.
of our minds we could see in the future comfortable and commodious houses for the people to dwell in, buildings for religious worship and education; temples, tabernacles, and academies; also houses for amusement and State purposes, barns, and stables, yards for the accommodation of animals, well-fenced farms, granaries filled with grain, orchards and gardens, wine, fruit, meat, silk, woolen, and cotton fabrics. . . . The Lord has done his share of the work; he has surrounded us with the elements containing wheat, meat, flax, wool, silk, fruit, and everything with which to build up, beautify and glorify Zion of the last days, and 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. . . . In this way will the Lord bring again Zion upon the earth, and in no other. . . . We are not going to wait for angels or for Enoch and his company to come and build up Zion, but we are going to build it. We will raise our wheat, build our houses, fence our farms, plant our vineyards and orchards, and produce everything that will make our bodies comfortable and happy, and in this manner we intend to build up Zion on the earth. . . .

Priesthood

The priesthood was that organization or government in the Church through which all activities were controlled. The priesthood duties were binding upon all male members who participated in it. Many relic features of the Mormon Region were established through priesthood programs of the Church. In a Church meeting one might receive a priesthood call from his leaders to dig a canal, build a road, construct a wall, or fence, or erect a chapel. In discussing the role of the priesthood in the early history of the Mormon west, Wilford Woodruff stated:

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1Brigham Young, Discourses, Vol. 9, pp. 282-284.
We have labored upon this principle for fifty years. You cast your eyes and you see a tabernacle in the desert; you see a city; and you may travel for a thousand miles and you will find this Territory filled with cities, towns and villages. By what power have these things been accomplished? How has this desert been made to blossom as the rose? I will tell you. . . .

It is by that power (priesthood) that we administer in this day and generation. The Lord has preserved His people, and they still live here in the valleys of the mountains.¹

Following the leaders

The Saints looked upon their ecclesiastical leaders as being inspired spokesmen for God. Each Church member had a responsibility to follow and obey any counsel or instructions given to him by his Church leaders. The Church officials could command in temporal things as well as spiritual.² Brigham Young and others could command to build a road or ditch as well as they could command to keep the Sabbath holy. The leaders could receive a revelation on where to start a settlement or build a railroad as well as they could receive a revelation on charity or plural marriage.

Heber C. Kimball, while talking about the role of the Church leaders in the lives of the Saints, said this: "I have told you, a great many times, that the word of our Leader and Prophet is the word of God to this people."³

²John Taylor, Discourses, Vol. 21, pp. 29-38.
³Heber C. Kimball, Discourses, Vol. 4, p. 46.
To disobey a leader was certain to bring disapproval and to risk excommunication from the Church and the loss of one's inheritance and blessings in Zion.

Second coming and millenialism

Closely associated with the preceding concepts was the belief that Christ's coming was imminent. And, as a result of their stewardship, it was the Saints' obligation to prepare the world for this great event. This was to be accomplished by building up Zion, both physically and spiritually. The following admonition was given to the Saints by Wilford Woodruff:

What other people on the face of the earth are preparing for Jesus Christ? The Lord Jesus Christ is coming to reign on earth. The Latter-day Saints cannot become stereotyped. God has decreed that his Zion must progress. . . . It becomes us, as Latter-day Saints, to realize these things as they are, and also our position and calling before God. We must build up the Zion and Kingdom of God in these latter days. The full set time has come, which the Lord decreed before the foundation of the world,--the great dispensation of the last days, and a people must be prepared for the coming of the Son of Man.1

This preparation included the spreading out and establishing towns and farms and all other related features.

Sacrifice

The fact that the Saints were willing to give up or forego many personal possessions and aspirations, as well as valuable time, was a key factor in the establishment of

1Wilford Woodruff, Discourses, Vol. 16, p. 35.
the Mormon Culture Region. The impact of this doctrine is demonstrated in the following statement,

It is written—and it is as true as that the sun shines—that except a man is willing to sacrifice every earthly tie or consideration for the Gospel's sake, he is not worthy of the kingdom, nor of Christ. . . . Any man who is not willing to sacrifice everything else for the Gospel's sake is not worthy of it, and the day will come when he will come short; so that the sooner we are converted to the truth, the better for us and our posterity.¹

Many times an individual's farming or fence mending or building had to take second priority because the Church needed a canal dug or a road built.

Work and cooperation

Generally speaking, most of the initial features of the Mormon Culture Region were built by cooperative endeavors rather than by individual attempts. The leaders placed great emphasis on eliminating idleness and working cooperatively for the good of the entire Church.

Yes, cooperation was referred to by Brother Taylor. The man or woman who is opposed to this is opposed to God. I say, that they who are opposed to cooperation are opposed to heaven, to their own welfare, to the welfare of their neighbors. . . . We do not wish to cooperate in mercantile affairs only, but we wish to bring the minds of the people to consider the benefit of uniting and labor together, to make this long and strong pull all together. If we are not one, we are not the Lord's. We cannot do his will, nor be his disciples unless we are one. Now take hold with union and bring the rock, lumber, and all other material that is necessary. . . . I would like to see this store finished, the meeting house built, the railroad completed through

here, our roads built through the mountains; I would like to see your farms fenced up, and to see good buildings in this and other towns. . . . Follow the spirit of improvement and labor. All the capital there is upon the earth is the bone and sinew of working men and women. Were it not for that, the gold and the silver and the precious stones would remain in the mountains, upon the plains and in the valleys, and never would be gathered or brought into use. Labor builds our meeting houses, temples, court houses, fine halls for music and fine school houses. . . .

These beliefs on cooperation and work affected all phases in the establishment of the early Mormon Culture Region.

Though one may reject these beliefs and attitudes in his own life, the point still remains that the Mormon pioneers devoutly believed and practiced them. Many Saints during the early decades of the Church literally gave their lives in trying to accomplish their perceived responsibilities to God, themselves and their fellow men. This dedication and commitment to their religious beliefs is perhaps the key issue in the development of the Mormon Culture Region. After all, it was the religious beliefs that precipitated their coming West. All they had to do to stay in Missouri was give up their religious practices and attitudes.

Whether we agree or not with the religious effect on the Mormons' perception of their environment, it must be concluded that the Mormon Culture Region was established by a religiously motivated group. Furthermore, it is difficult

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1Brigham Young, Discourses, Vol. 16, pp. 65-66.
if not impossible to separate one's religious attitudes from his daily activities, especially in the case of the Mormons, who consistently tried to bind their religious and temporal phenomena together.

There is little question that the Mormons did change the landscape in their nineteenth century colonizing activities. The unique culture region is known the world over for its distinctive features. One question answered by this study was the origin of some Mormon perceptions which influenced land use and developed these distinctive features. There is sufficient evidence as has been shown that many characteristics of the relic Mormon Culture Region had their origin in religious doctrine believed and practiced by the early Mormon pioneers who settled in the West.

This thesis can best be concluded with this statement:

The cultural landscape represents more than simply the visible, physical remains of human activity on the land; it provides insight into human value systems, defines complex relationships between environmental attitudes and environmental behavior, and documents the preferences of a people with respect to their surroundings. . . . Those imprints which man has left on nature, therefore, reveal the thinking of a people about the world around them.2

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1 See Meinig, pp. 191-195.

Certainly one can learn much about a landscape by studying the people who created it. And one can also learn much about a people by studying the landscape which they created. Such has been the case for at least one student during this study.
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PERCEPTION AND LAND USE: THE CASE
OF THE MORMON CULTURE REGION

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ABSTRACT

Since the first man perceived and used his environment, there has existed a reciprocal man-land relationship. The physical environment provides opportunities for man's use, and also sets limitations. Man's perception and use of his environment is greatly influenced by his culture, which consists of past experience, technology, attitudes, and needs. It is these factors that determine what a man will see as possibilities in land use, and how he will use his environment.

In the case of the relic Mormon Culture Region, Mormon religious beliefs highly influenced perception of the environment. Most visual geographical features of the landscape in the relic Mormon Culture Region were influenced by religious doctrines and practices. General examples of such landscape features in the region are: rural-urban pattern, agriculture activities and patterns, urban landscape, vegetation, irrigation systems, buildings, settlement patterns, and natural resource exploitation.

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