

A SURVEY OF MORMON HOUSING TRADITIONS IN UTAH

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Because of its vast area, relatively late settlement, the heterogeneous culture of settlers, a high degree of technological development, and wide influence of mass communications, the United States of America is a difficult field for ethnographic studies among its major population groups. No nationwide atlases of folklife materials comparable to those of Europe have been developed, although gathering data for such works is now beginning in the American Folklore Society. Earlier attempts to describe and catalog artifacts of traditional cultures in America were usually limited to Native Americans (Indians) or to small enclaves set apart from the majority by occupation, ethnic background, or geography. Most aspects of general American history and culture tended towards early homogeneity or a random distribution of such features as housetypes. Descriptive terms like "Cape Cod cottage", "New England salt-box house", "Ranch house", or "Spanish mission style" no longer have much geographic validity; most types of houses once associated with certain regions may now be found almost anywhere, both in city and country. Even so, some folklife scholars urge us to find out what can be learned from the surviving traditions of regional housing¹. They buttress their arguments with special studies², and have given us one impressive attempt at synthesis over a broad sweep of the United States³.

The present survey is restricted to housing traditions of the Mormon inhabitants of Utah, who were the most ambitious and successful settlers of the harsh desert environment of what is called the "Great Basin Province". Drawing on my own observations and the studies of folklorists, architects, geographers, historians, sociologists and others who have taken an interest in Utah housing, I present this subject only in summary form, indicating some general influences from Eastern traditions, point-

ing to a few specific Western features, and outlining housing traditions that developed among the Utah Mormons.

Political boundaries, such as those of an individual state, usually have little significance for cultural patterns. Utah is an exception to this rule, because the Mormon culture has dominated here ever since its mass introduction dating from 1847 into this then nearly uninhabited region. Although Mormon settlement patterns eventually extended outside of Utah, and "Gentile" (here meaning "non-Mormon") influences have crept in, to a great extent Utah still is unique "Mormon country"⁴. Before examining how folk housing is a key to these developments, we will describe the region and its dominant culture⁵.

The Great Basin Province is roughly heart-shaped, including all of the state of Nevada, the western half of Utah, a thin slice of southern Idaho and Oregon, and a corner of southern California (see fig. 1). It is bounded on the east by the Wasatch mountains and on the west, 600 miles away, by the Sierra Nevada mountains. The northern border is the Columbia Plateau Province, through which all the great northwestern rivers drain to the Pacific; but from here south for some 900 miles, between the two parallel

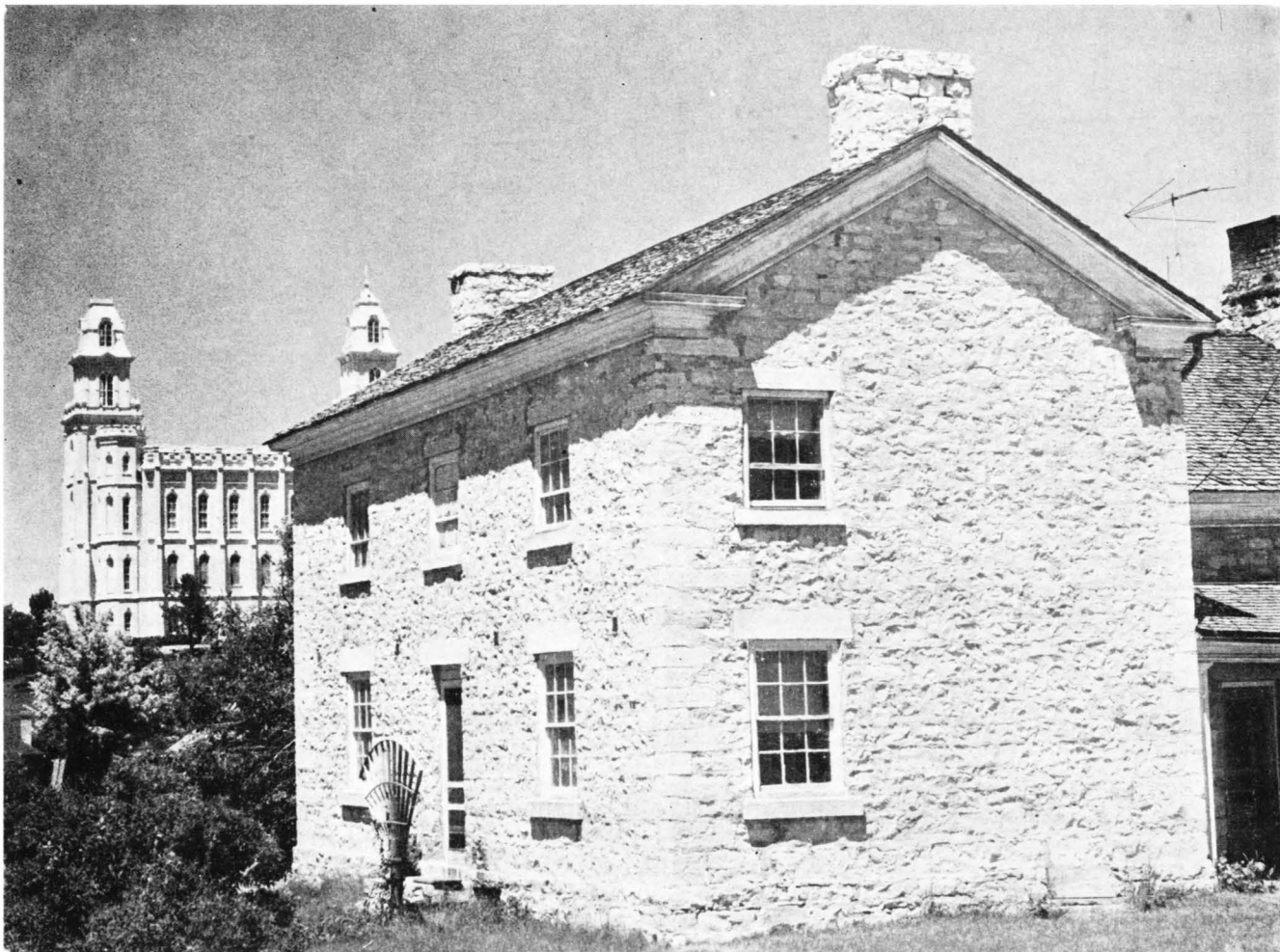


Fig. 3. — Limestone
"I" house and LDS
temple, Manti. (Photo-
graph by Jan Brun-
vand)

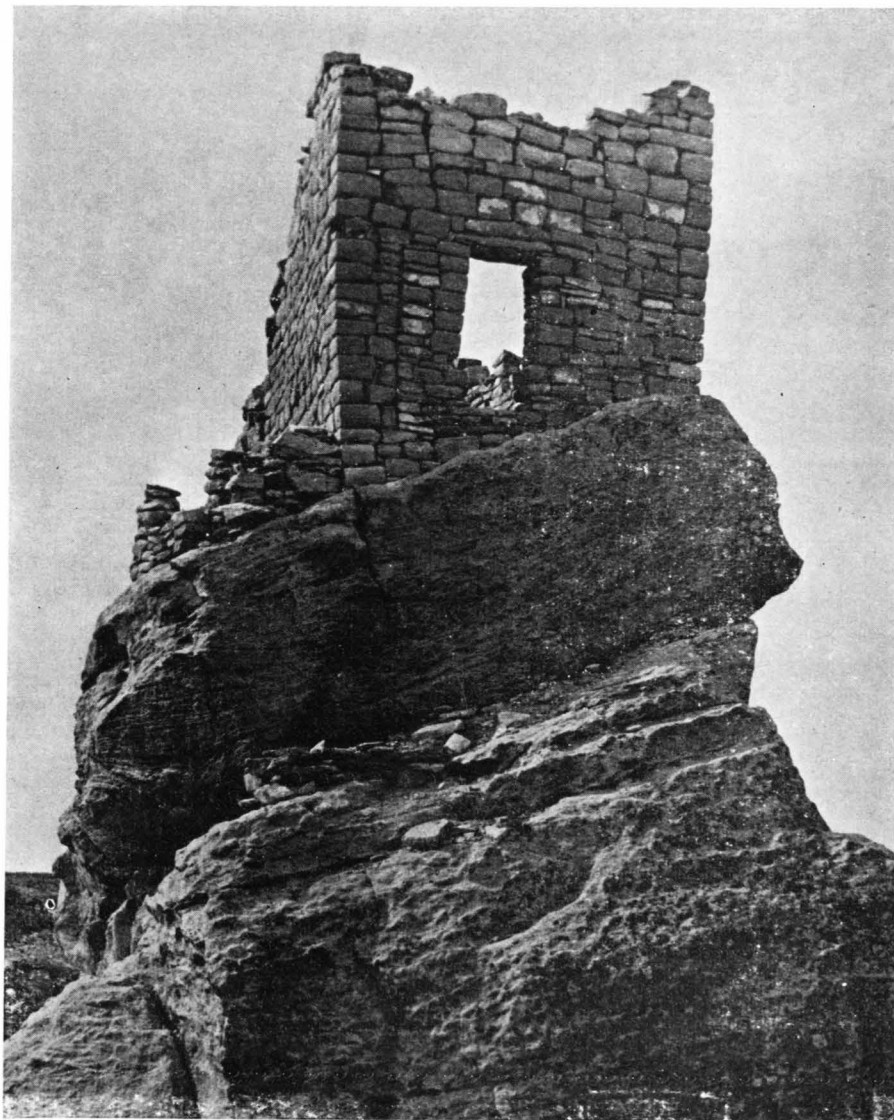
For a stone that keeps rolling will gather
no moss^{11 12}.

An historical study poses the same contrast between two settlements in southern Utah, "St. George, a Mormon agricultural town, and Silver Reef <west of Leeds>, a Gentile mining camp. The two were about twenty miles apart. The year of comparison was 1880... Silver Reef was *worldly* — a treeless, grassless, red-sand location. St. George was *other-worldly* — a community of fields, gardens, and flowers. Silver Reef was a shack town, its main street lined with saloons, gambling places, and other conveniences for sinners. St. George was a moral family town, where the humble domestic virtues were glorified"¹³.

Besides a general philosophy of settle-

ment, the Mormons brought with them a complete plan of village layout for the "City of Zion" which had been developed in 1833 by Joseph Smith and was first applied in the far west to Salt Lake City¹⁴. Smith's ideal pattern was based on a city to be laid out one mile square and divided into ten acre blocks, then subdivided into individual lots of 1 1/4 acres, all using a gridiron pattern of wide streets crossing at right angles and oriented to the cardinal compass points. Farmland and agricultural buildings were to be on the outskirts of these villages with major public buildings (including an LDS meeting house) in a central square. Homes were to be substantially built of brick or stone, and the maximum population of a single village was set at around one

Fig. 4. — Indian stone tower, Hovenweep National Monument. (Photograph from Utah State Historical Society)



thousand families. The Mormon village plan and typical community spirit may be exemplified today in such a setting as Manti, Utah, with its impressive temple on a hill overlooking a compact town of solid homes constructed of the same native limestone (fig. 3).

A combination of this original concept in city planning with certain geographic and climatic features of Utah, plus the folklife traditions of Mormonism (based on frugality, conservatism, the work ethic, etc.) have resulted in the visual formula of a distinctive "Mormon landscape" which a cultural geographer

has identified with these ten specific features ¹⁵:

1. Wide streets;
2. Roadside irrigation ditches;
3. Barns and granaries right in town;
4. Unpainted farm buildings;
5. Open field landscape around the town;
6. The hay derrick. <"Wooden post and boom implement used to swing and load hay with".>
7. The "Mormon fence". <Crude, unpainted fencing of vertical palings in a variety of widths all in one fence. See fig. 28.>

8. Domestic architectural style. <To be explained below.>
9. Dominant use of brick.
10. Mormon ward chapels. <The Mormon "ward" corresponds to the Protestant "congregation" or the Catholic "parish". See figs. 27 and 29.>

Pre-Mormon housing in Utah had been minimal, indeed almost non-existent. Indians of the northern Wasatch area left no lasting dwellings whatever, while the prehistoric Pueblo Indians who had been in southeastern Utah since about A.D. 400 left only ruins of massive stone homes and towers which they had constructed from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries before abandoning them after a twenty-four year drought that began in the San Juan river area about 1276¹⁶. Many sizeable portions of these remarkable structures still stand, the best of them in Hovenweep National Monument near Bluff, Utah, despite the disappearance of most of their mortar long ago (fig. 4). When the Mormon pioneers arrived in northern Utah they found only a single previous settler, Miles Goodyear, a fur trapper and trader, who had erected a crude log cabin on the Weber River in 1845 (fig. 5). A restoration of his cabin stands now in Temple Square, Ogden, Utah¹⁷. Thus, in 1847 there was virtually no shelter for the Mormon pioneers other than the wagons they arrived in and whatever they built for themselves.

The first dwellings constructed in the Salt Lake Valley and elsewhere as the Mormons spread through the region were crude temporary structures, most of which have long since disappeared. On this desert and mountain land there were probably few if any sod houses built, such as were first used by homesteaders on the Great Plains where grass was plentiful. "Dugout" homes were excavated into the sides of hills and given a stone or log entrance wall; pictures or ruins of a few such dwellings

still survive (fig. 6). The earliest settlers took land near the mountains where water and timber were available, and their first houses usually were basic log cabins; as the words of one of their folksongs describe:

Oh, of logs we've built our houses, of dirt we have for floors,
Of sods we've built our chimneys and shakes we have for doors.
Sing tittery-irie-aye, sing tittery-irie-o¹⁸.

One of the first homes erected in the Salt Lake Valley is preserved today in Temple Square, Salt Lake City. It is a rustic log cabin with one room measuring 15 by 20 feet, having an internal rock and adobe chimney at one gable end, and (like most other Utah cabins) a window directly adjoining the offset front door. It was built in 1847 by Osmyn Deuel near the entrance to the first pioneer fort (fig. 7). Several other log cabins of Utah have been similarly preserved, generally by a local chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers organization, and often located in a city park or the grounds of an LDS ward chapel and having a commemorative plaque, but unfortunately usually with careless or inaccurate restoration work and inauthentic furnishings. A typical example is the George Lamar Wood cabin built in 1851 in Parowan, moved four times, and now displayed in the City Park in Cedar City (fig. 8)¹⁹.

The typical southwestern building material, sun dried brick of adobe (mud mixed with straw), was soon being made in Utah for the construction of protective forts and then for homes. Many adobe barns and houses are still standing in Utah, a good example being the Jesse N. Smith's home in Parowan which was built in 1856-1857 as a simple four-room house (two rooms over two) and with a lean-to extension (or "salt box" addition) containing four smaller rooms added in 1865 (fig. 9). Native building stone in Utah is plentiful and varied,

Fig. 5. — Miles Goodyear cabin.
(After HABS Catalog)

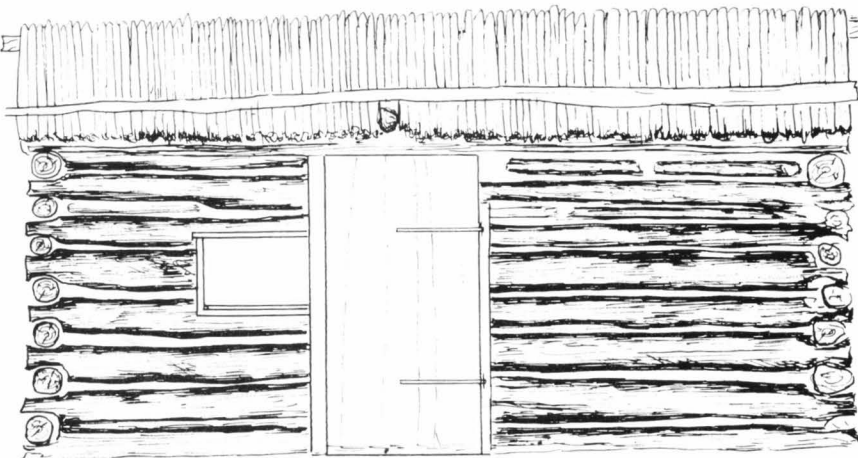
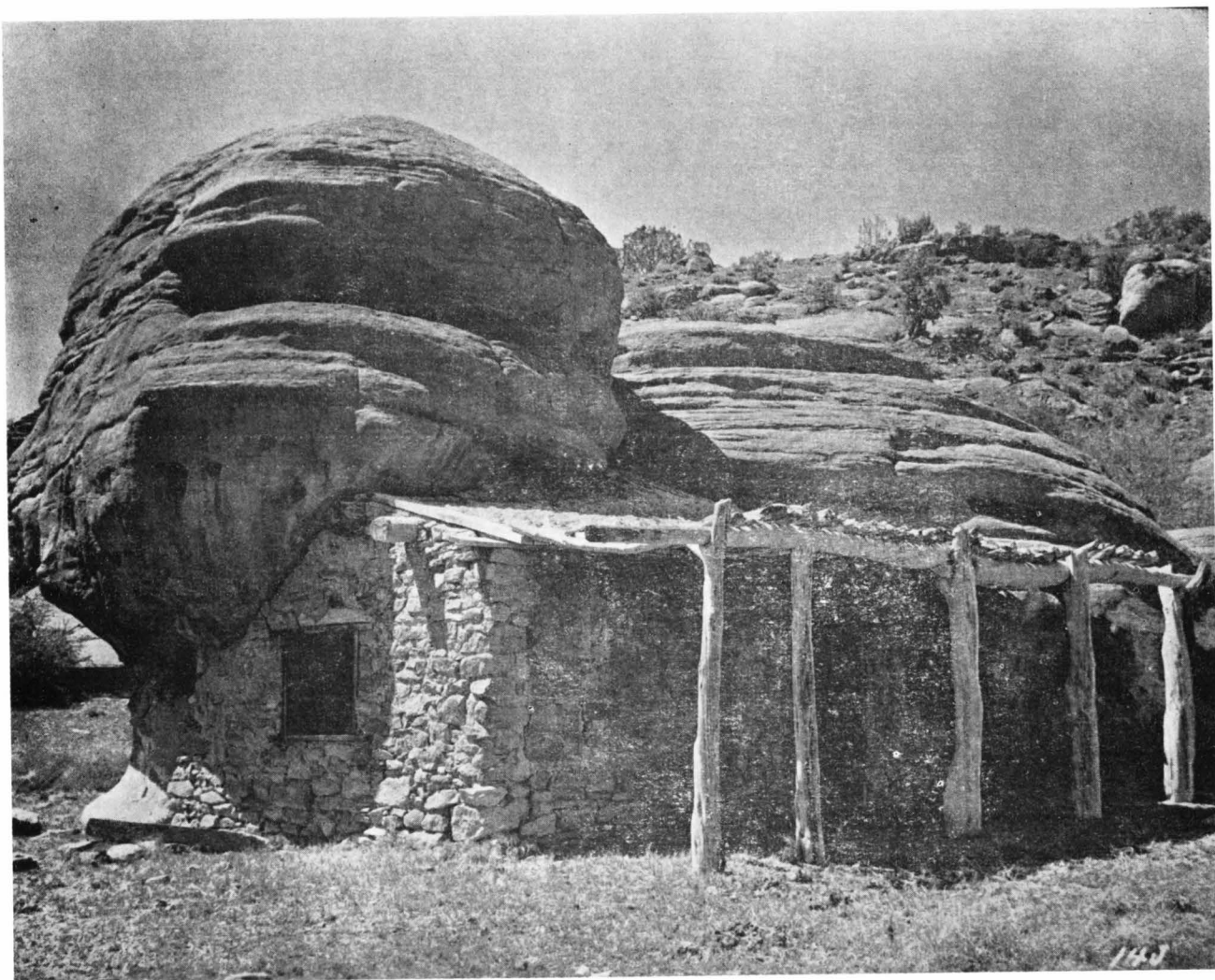


Fig. 6. — Dugout house on a ranch, upper
Paria River. (Photograph from Utah State
Historical Society)



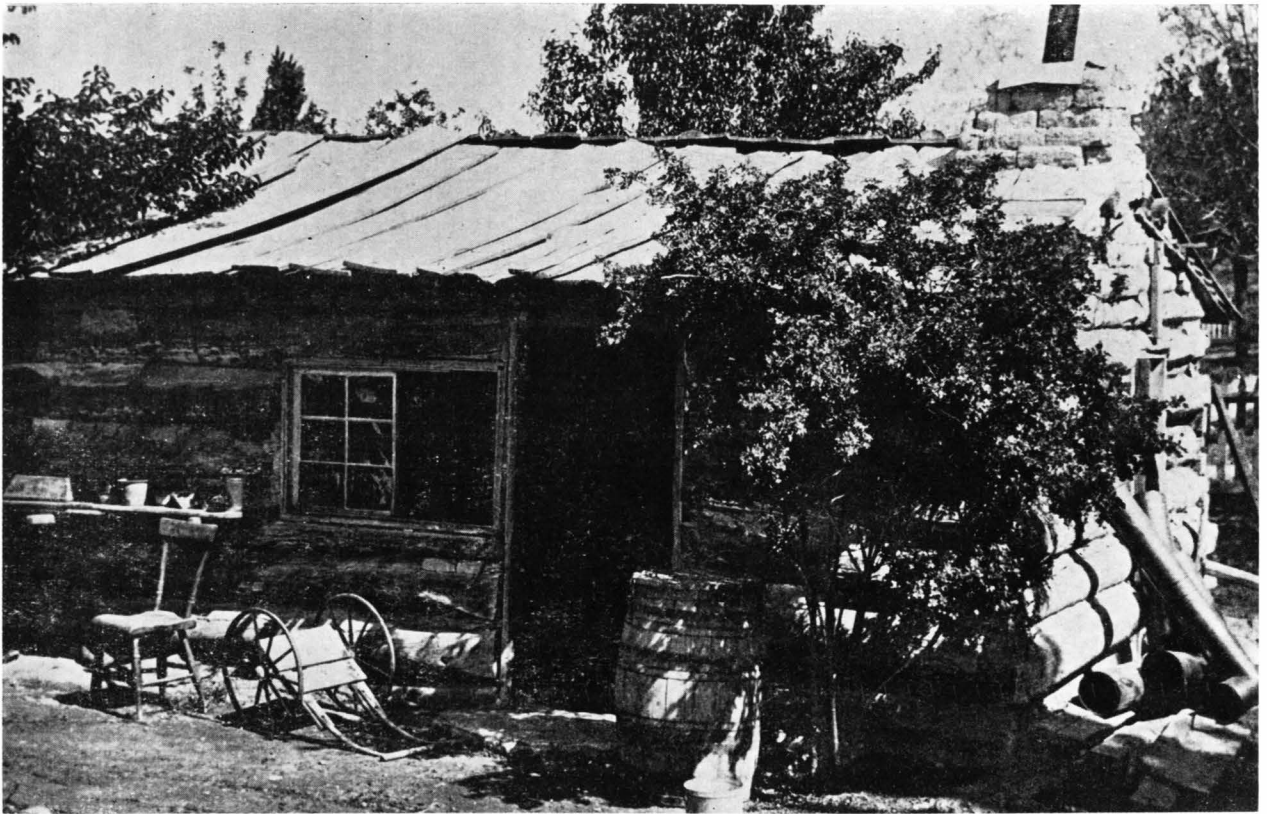


Fig. 7. — Osmyn Deuel cabin, Salt Lake City. (Photograph from Utah State Historical Society)

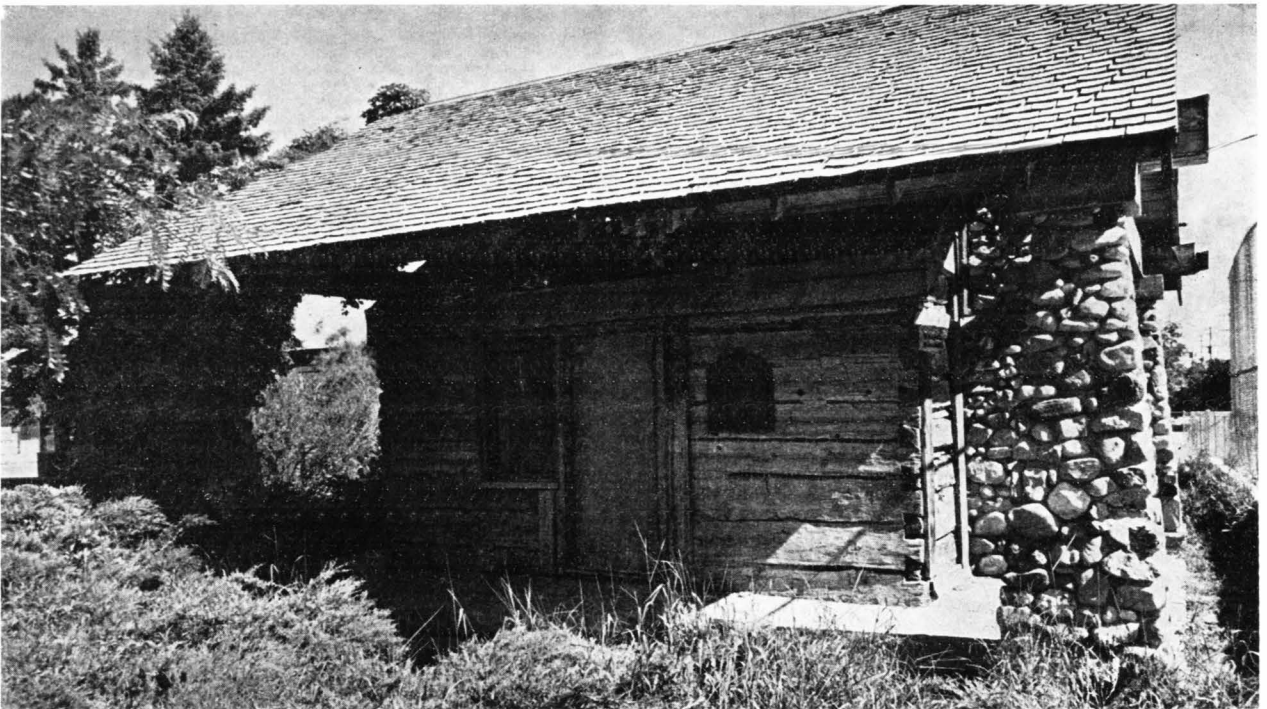


Fig. 8. — George Lamar Wood cabin, Cedar City. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 9. — Jesse N. Smith adobe house, Parowan. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 10. — Remains of Moyle stone tower, Alpine. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 11. — Stone house, Toquerville. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

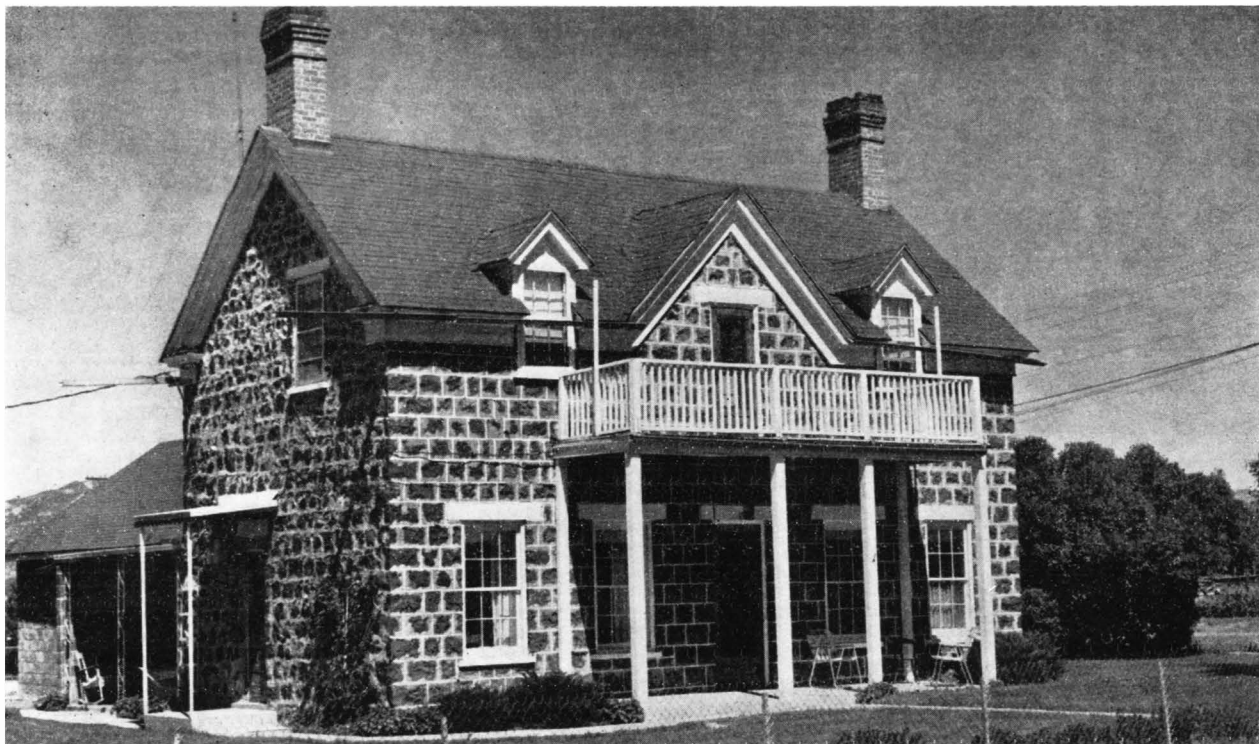


Fig. 12. — Volcanic stone "I" house, Beaver. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 13. — Brick house, Fountain Green. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 14. — Log cabin, Grafton, with half-dovetail corners. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

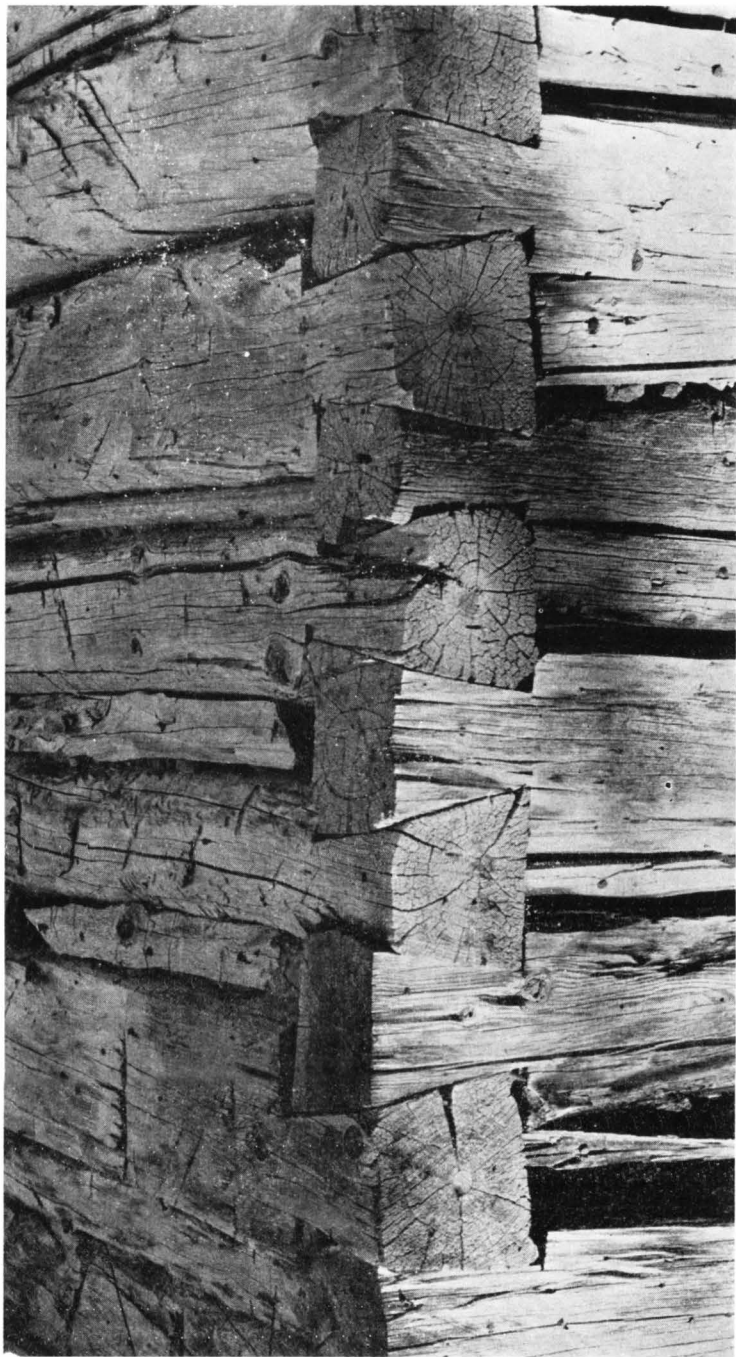


Fig. 15. — Dovetail log cabin corners, Grafton. (Photograph by Jan Brundvand)

ranging from granite washed out of fields and canyons and quarried in the north to limestone found in central Utah and sandstone in the south. Rather crude stone construction, reminiscent of the Hovenweep towers in everything but craftsmanship, is seen in the ruins of a defensive tower built about 1858 by a

settler named Moyle in Alpine (fig. 10). Substantial houses, both large and small ones (see figs. 3, 11, 18, 25 and 26) were made of native stones, often utilizing the skills of foreign craftsmen who were converted to Mormonism and brought to Utah. They showed great ingenuity, not only in adapting traditional house designs, but also in their use of such special native materials as volcanic rock (fig. 12). Kiln-fired brick was made in Utah from the 1860's and quickly put into use for houses (figs. 13, 23, and 24), ranging from the classically simple to the palatial, and also for public buildings. During the recent period in Utah such manufactured or imported building materials as mill-cut shingles and trim, marble, concrete, steel, tempered glass,

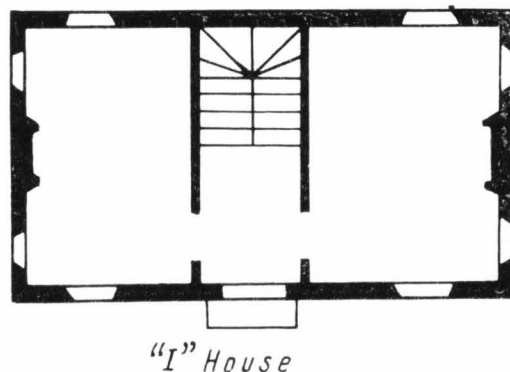


Fig. 16. — Floor plan of "I" house. (After Richard Francaviglia, *Mormon Central-Hall Houses*, 1971)

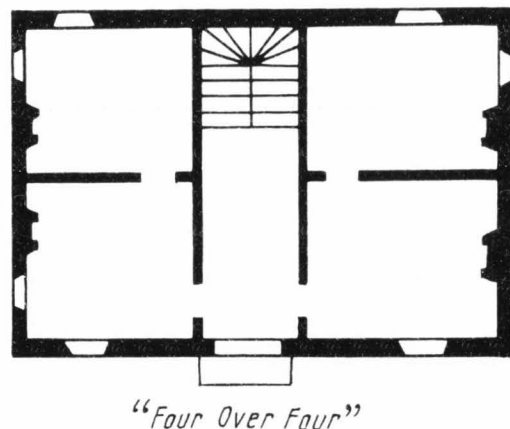


Fig. 17. — Floor plan of "Four over Four" house. (After Richard Francaviglia, *Mormon Central-Hall Houses*, 1971)

asbestos or metal siding, and plywood have come into wide use, but these have little or not bearing on folk housing except sometimes as coverings over original materials²⁰.

Whereas at first the forms of houses built by Utah settlers were simple and traditional, gradually contemporary fashions in architecture penetrated from the outside, although these were often modified by local conditions or tastes. Log dwellings, for example, were almost completely traditional, being the simple rectangular one-room cabin with a chimney at one gable end, constructed of horizontal hewn logs joined with V-notching or (most often) dovetail or half-dovetail notching which are found commonly in the southern mountains and the eastern part of the country²¹. In Utah the only distinctions these cabins may have is a tendency to place chimneys inside the gable-end wall, to position a front window directly against the main door, and sometimes to attach classical-styled lintels over windows and doors (figs. 7, 8, 14, 15, 27, and 28).

Both because of the relative scarcity of timber in Utah and the Mormon leaders' specific directives, brick and stone were used almost exclusively for the construction of larger more permanent homes as soon as the pioneers were able to provide them for their families. The domestic architectural style prevailing in Utah is one of two variants of a central-hall house with a symmetrical façade and a chimney at each end which derived from the strong influence of Georgian architecture on the eastern United States by the time of Mormon beginnings there²². The smaller form of this house type is one and one-half to two stories high but only one room deep (figs. 3, 12, and 16). It has been called an "I" house, presumably because its narrow floorplan resemble the capital letter "I". The larger variant, the "Four over Four" plan, is two rooms rather than one room deep

but otherwise with the same symmetrical plan (figs. 17, 18, 19, and 26). Although an outdated fashion by the time of Westward expansion, central-hall houses continued to be built by Mormons after Victorian and later styles were being preferred by others, including the Gentile settlers in Utah. In the folk speech of the region this house type is sometimes called a "Nauvoo-style house", an "Old Mormon house" or (with reference to a former church practice) a "Polygamy house". Even the larger Mormon houses in Utah were often made simply as combinations of two or more central-hall houses in a "T", "I", "U" or other shape.

The brick and stone central-hall houses of Utah embody virtues of solidity, simplicity, and practicality that well characterize the Saints themselves. Perhaps nowhere is this illustrated so well as in the architectural responses to the peculiar Mormon doctrine of polygamy which was publicly announced in Salt Lake City in 1852 and ended in 1890 when the church bowed to national pressure and issued a "Manifesto" against the temporal practice of polygamy. To provide their wives with "equal comforts" the husband in polygamy might create a house which divided itself as a mirror image, or he could subdivide his second storey into nearly equal connecting bedrooms. Another result of plural wives was the placing of a secret "polygamy pit" under a house for the husband to hide in when federal marshals came searching for him (fig. 19)²³. Popular usage in Utah tends to attribute any instance of symmetry in house types to polygamy, especially the fairly common phenomena of two front doors on houses. As an outstanding example of a genuine polygamy house, the flamboyant Watkins-Coleman house of Midway can be pointed to with its perfect symmetry, its dramatic red and white adobe brick work, and the lacey bargeboards created by a local carpenter named Moroni Blood

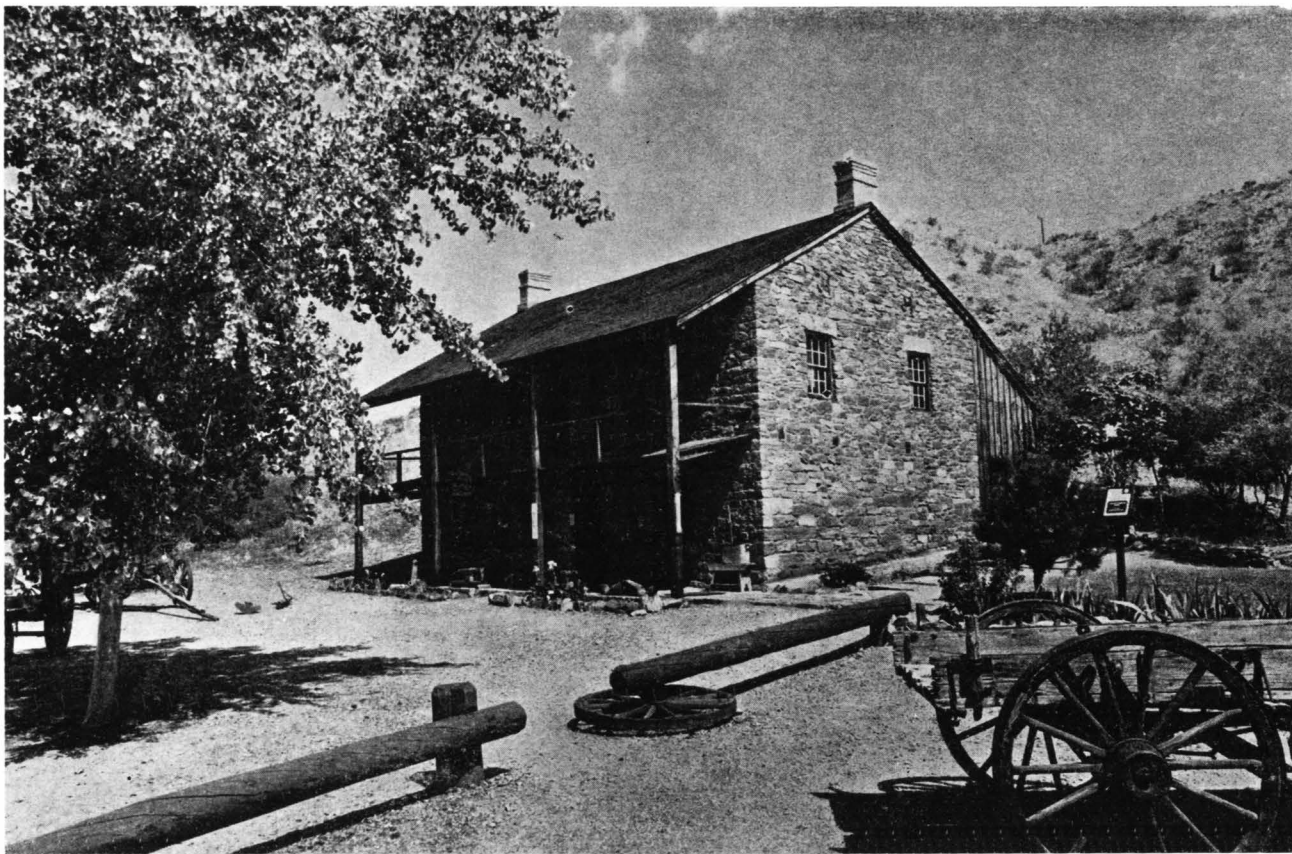


Fig. 18. — Jacob Hamblin stone „Four over Four” house, Santa Clara. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

(fig. 20). The basic plan of this house, however, came from a design for a timber cottage in a published house pattern book. The symmetrical sandstone dwellings at Fort Douglas erected in 1875–1876 overlooking Salt Lake City are, of course, not polygamy dwellings (although they may have inspired some copies). These are duplex houses each designed for two separate officer’s families (fig. 21). In later urban architecture the William Dougall home in Salt Lake City seems to suggest harmony in a polygamous family with its symmetry of construction slightly broken by different drapings of the front windows, but joined together by the oval sweep of the porch decorations (fig. 22).

Besides the mirror-image polygamy houses, a Utah architectural historian identifies three other features as indigenous to the state’s domestic vernacular architecture²⁴. One is a second storey door

and balcony (sometimes without the balcony!) placed directly above the main entry to the house (figs. 11, 12, 13, 23, and 24). Second, he points to wooden lintels suggesting the shape of a triangular pediment (figs. 20 and 27). The third feature is the so-called “Dixie dormer”, an effect achieved by carrying the cornice up and around dormer windows and eaves in a single continuous line (figs. 23 and 24). “Dixie”, it should be understood, generally refers to the southern part of the United States, but by extension was applied (because of the warm climate) to southern Utah which was first colonized in the 1860’s. Dixie dormers are found mainly in settlements south of Cedar City.

Certain regional developments in Utah housing deserve attention, such as the several houses in Midway decorated by Moroni Blood already mentioned (fig. 20). Another small town with a special

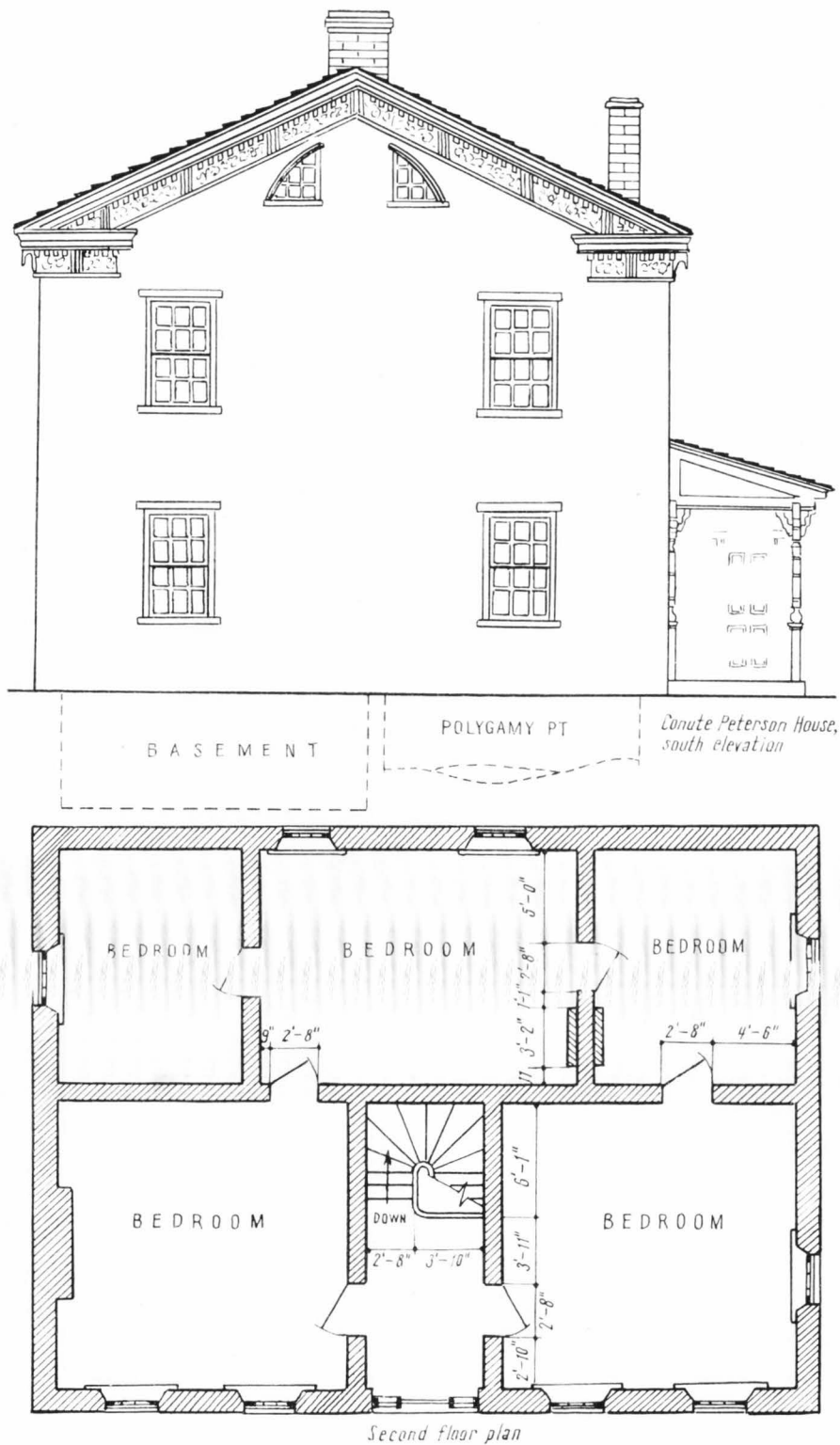


Fig. 19. — Side elevation and second floor plan of Canute Peterson house, Ephraim.
(After HABS Catalog)



Fig. 20. — Watkins-Coleman house, Midway. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

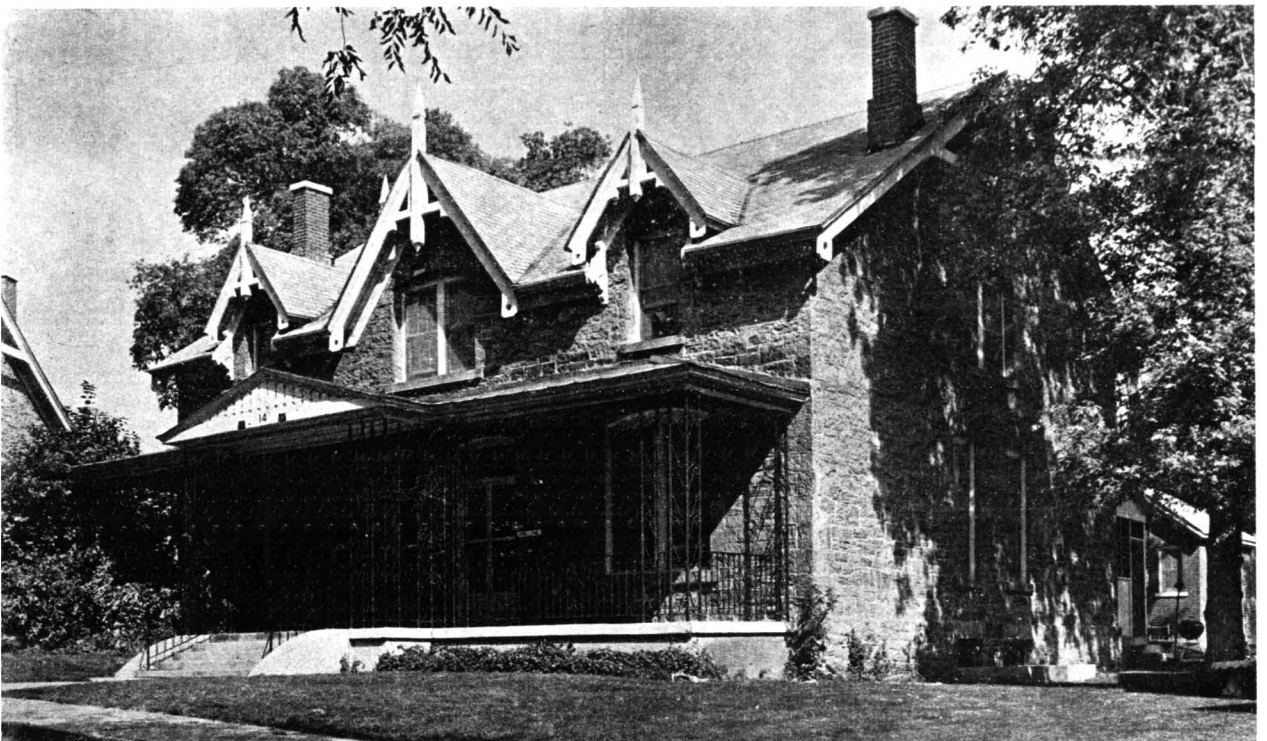


Fig. 21. — Fort Douglas officers duplex, Salt Lake City. (Photograph from Utah Heritage Foundation)

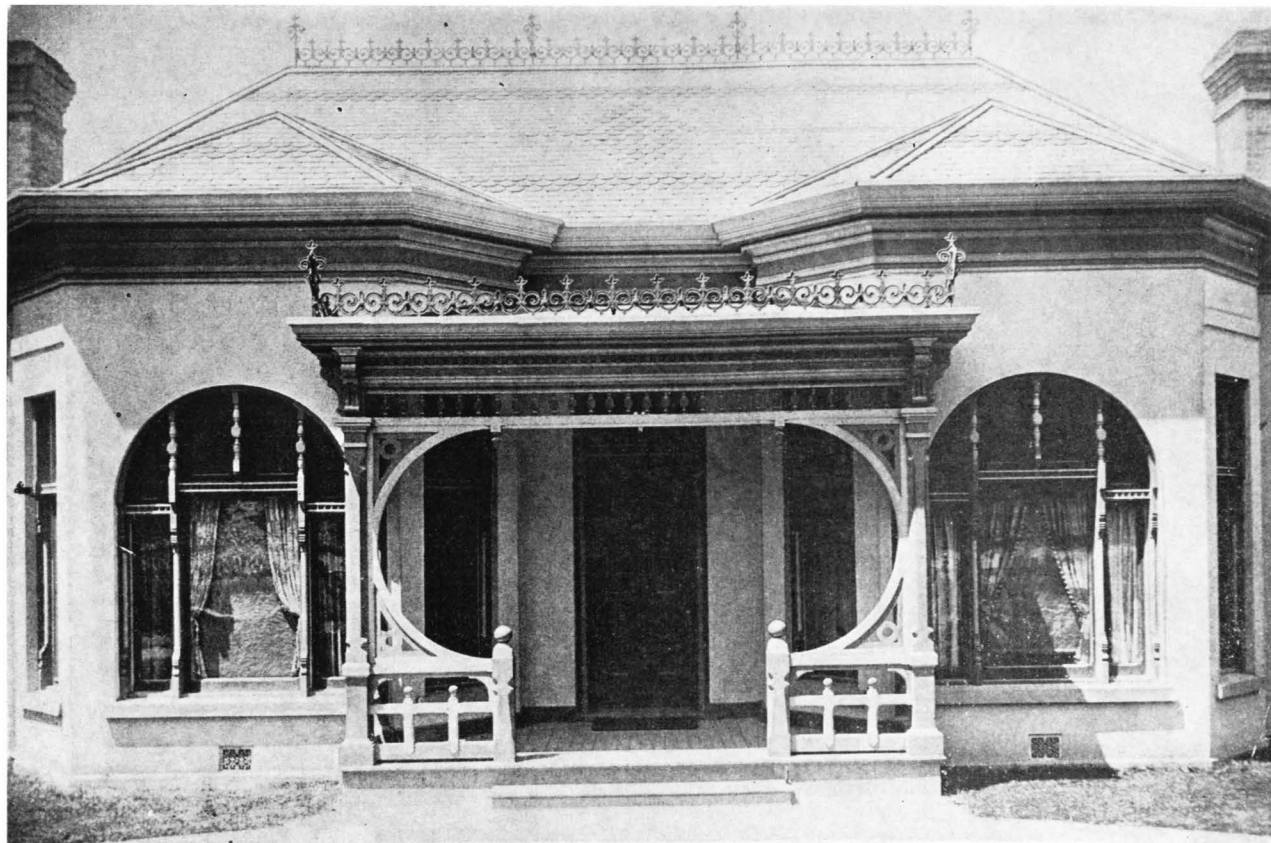


Fig. 22. — William B. Dougall house, Salt Lake City. (Photograph from Utah State Historical Society)



Fig. 23. — William Stirling house with Dixie dormers, Leeds. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 24. — Charles Wilkinson house with Dixie dormers, Leeds, now demolished. (Photograph from Utah Heritage Foundation)

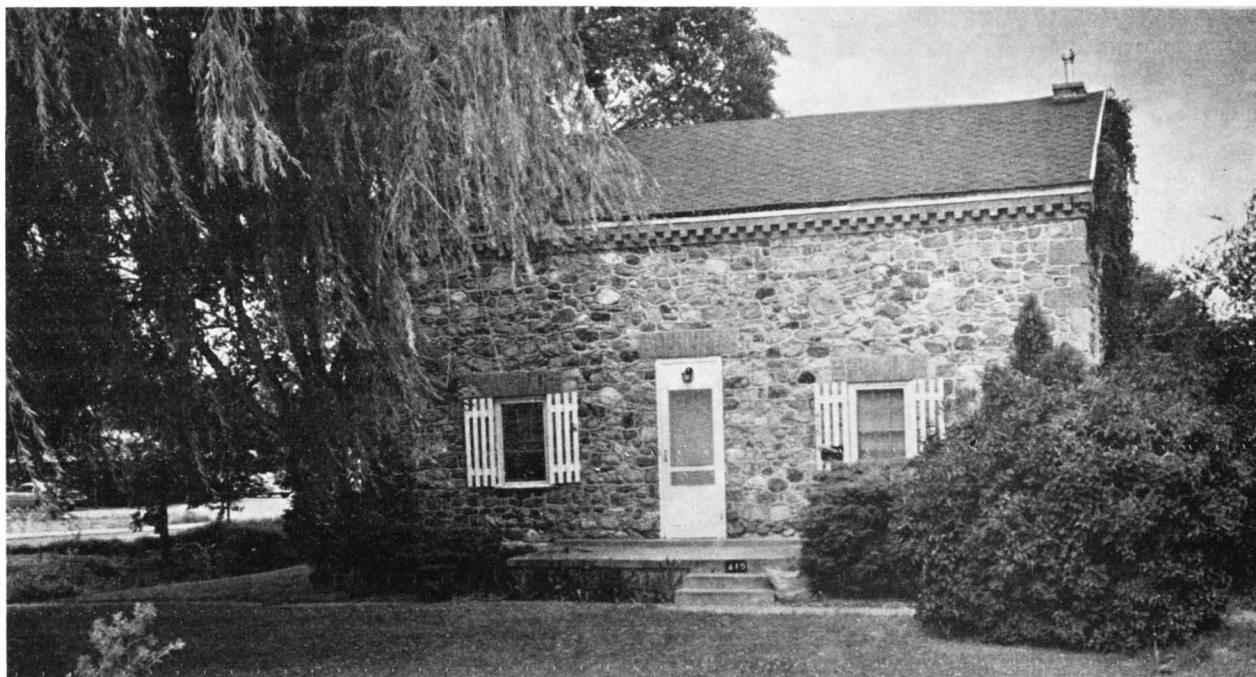


Fig. 25. — Small stone house with decorative brick work, Bountiful. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 26. — Shadrach Jones stone “Four over Four” house, Willard. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

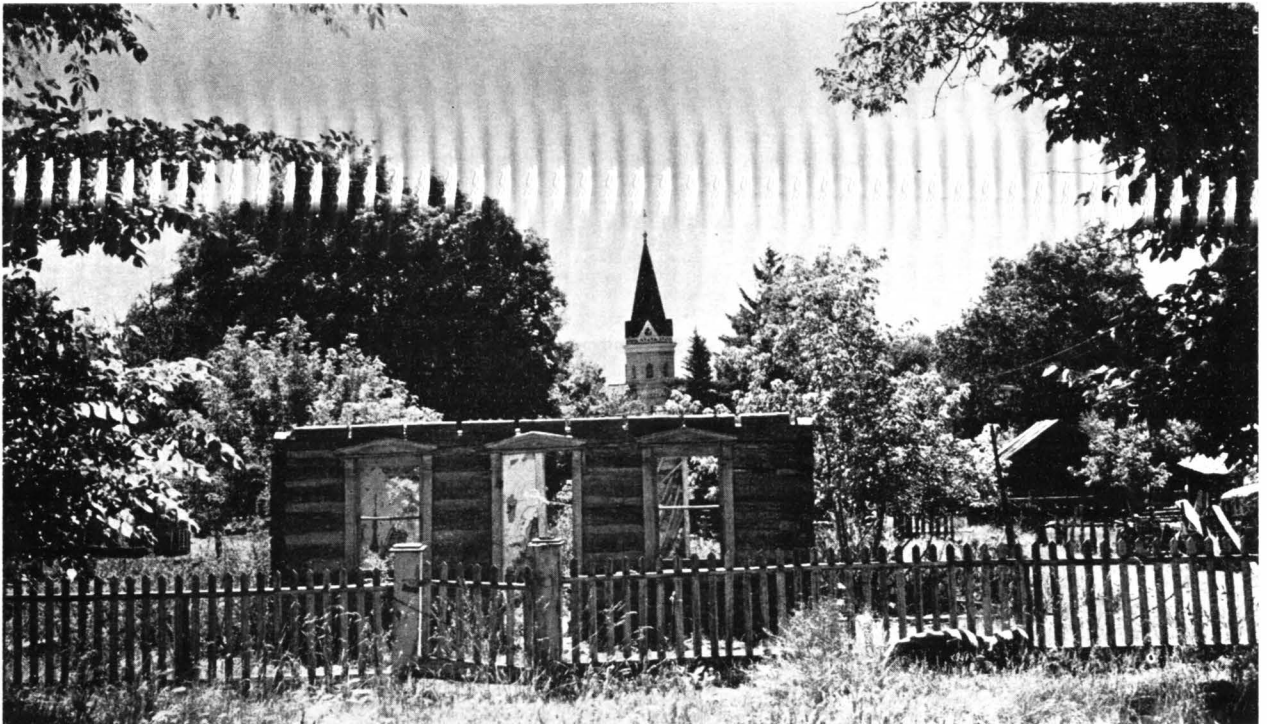


Fig. 27. — Ruins of log cabin with triangular wood lintels and LDS ward chapel steeple in background, Spring City. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

tradition is Escalante with its variety of fine old houses made of local brick in varying shades of pink and red. Stone houses of Utah are particularly notable for their solid construction and simple beauty; good examples of these exist in central Utah in towns such as Beaver, Parowan, Fillmore (the original territorial capital), and Manti.

The region of prime interest for stone houses is northern Utah from around Bountiful north to Brigham City and further east to Logan (figs. 25 and 26). Here good supplies of building stones were quarried from the nearby mountains, and expert stonemasons and builders converted to Mormonism in Great Britain came to northern Utah where they established a local house tradition developing the basic central hall design in different forms. A prolific and talented builder was the Welshman Shadrach Jones whose own home still stands surrounded by many other examples of his work in the town of Willard, north of Ogden²⁵. In Spring City, settled in 1859, may still be seen the typical Mormon village with a complete variety of nineteenth century housing styles made of log, adobe, stone, and brick²⁶. From its gridiron street plan with public buildings in the center to its agricultural character and the house designs, Spring City is perhaps the surviving Mormon village par excellence, and it deserves closer documentation and well-informed preservation (figs. 27 and 28).

The present condition of many of the traditional houses of Utah is quite good, owing largely to the relatively short history of the state and the rather mild climate. However, modernization is an ever-growing trend, and all too often owners of old houses prefer to remodel them extensively or even destroy them rather than to restore them tastefully for present living. An effective group fostering enlightened restoration and continued appropriate use of old and historic

buildings is the Utah Heritage Foundation, sponsor of the Historic American Buildings Survey for Utah and recently publisher of a folklore collectors' guide and a tour guide²⁷. A few older traditional houses of Utah have had continuous use as dwellings in fairly unchanged condition; a good example is the small stuccoed adobe house built in 1854 in Provo by Bishop James W. Loveless (fig. 29). Many other houses have stood vacant for years, were used for storage or commercial purposes, or were altered drastically by modernizers (see figs. 9 and 13). The remains of many fine old houses stand today only as ruins (figs. 24 and 30), especially some of the once-lavish homes of the very wealthy, such as the palatial Staines-Jennings mansion on South Temple Street, Salt Lake City (fig. 31). This imposing structure, where guests of national prominence once slept, is now an empty shell used only for the office of a construction company²⁸. An example of appropriate new use for a similar home is found several blocks east on the same street -- a wide avenue of stately old houses -- where the Utah State Historical Society now occupies the Kearns Mansion built by a mining executive and used as the gubernatorial residence from 1937 to 1957 (fig. 32)²⁹.

Concluding this brief survey we may list some main features of the folk housing of Utah that seem to reflect conditions that are geographic, historic, or folk traditional. The geographic determinants of Great Basin settlement are the side-by-side mountain and desert terrain providing limited wood for construction but virtually unlimited sources of stone -- granite and limestone in the north and central region, limestone and sandstone in the south. Volcanic rock was also available, as were varieties of earth suitable for adobe or fired brick. The moderate rainfall and relatively mild winters of the region helped buildings to survive well, although the scorching sun did



Fig. 28. — Log cabin with adobe addition at chimney-gable end and "Mormon fence", Spring City.
(Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

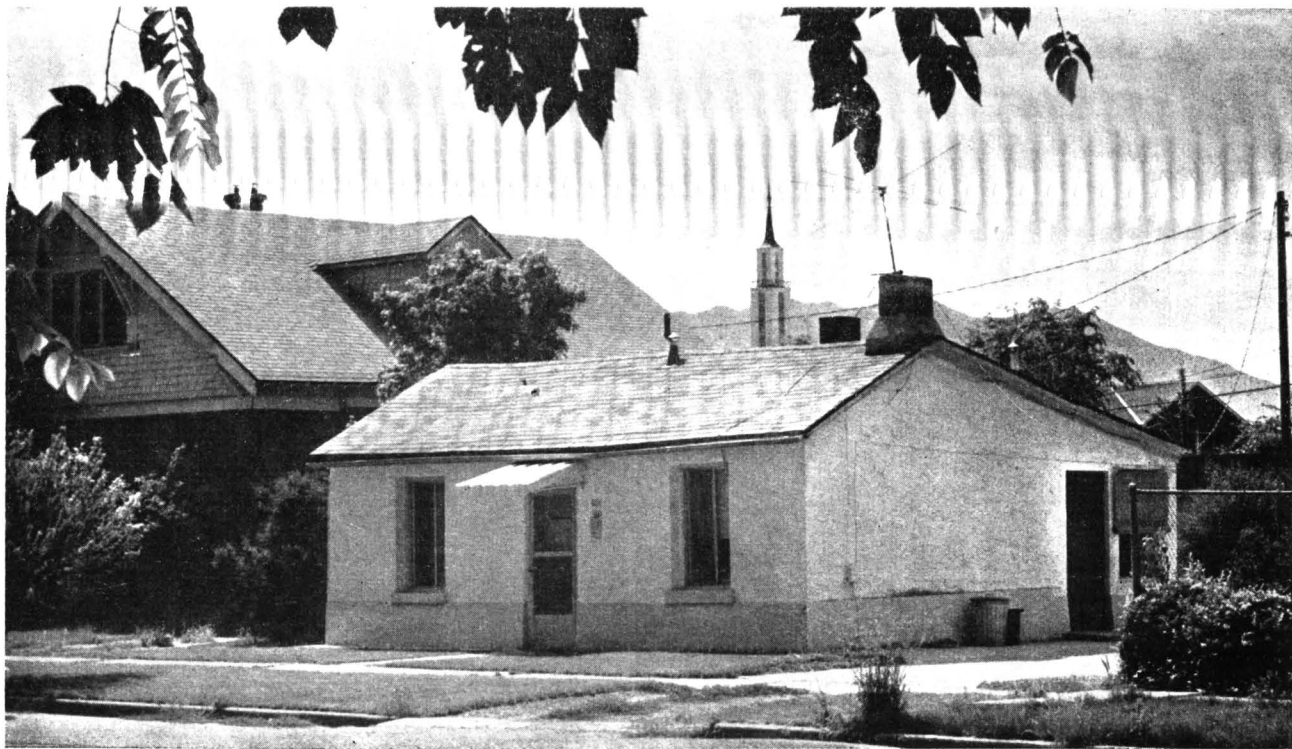


Fig. 29. — Bishop Loveless adobe house, steeple of LDS ward chapel in background, Provo.
(Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 30. — Stone house ruin, Harpers Ward, north of Brigham City. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 31. — Staines-Jennings mansion, Salt Lake City. (Photograph by Jan Brunvand)



Fig. 32. — Kearns mansion, housing Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
(Photograph by Jan Brunvand)

weather wood buildings in desert zones. Hot summer temperatures encouraged building stone and brick houses with thick walls and thick eaves. Irrigation was necessary to sustain agriculture, so that roadside ditches became a feature of the rural and smalltown landscape.

The predominant historical fact about Utah is the original settlement and continuing high percentage in the population of Mormon people. (LDS members constitute over half the total population of modern Utah, and the percentage rises to 80 or 90 in small towns.) Mormon influences on housing and community planning have been outlined; these include the "City of Zion" layout, polygamy, settlement in small agricultural villages, preferring houses of brick or stone, and the presence of imported craftsmen from the eastern United States and Europe. Mormons are frugal, conservative, pious

folk whose ideals are reflected in orderly, solid, symmetrical houses as well as in their temples, tabernacles, and ward chapels that follow a few basic designs. Only in isolated examples — such as the bargeboards on Midway houses — did Mormons decorate their homes elaborately. The local elements of design are few and simple, sometimes even rather pointless such as the doors placed above the main entrance leading nowhere except perhaps to a tiny balcony. Other Utah characteristics are mirror-image symmetry (two front doors, etc.), triangular wooden lintels over windows, and Dixie dormers.

The effects of wider American folk traditions on Utah housing are evident especially in the earliest homes when the settlers had just arrived and no indigenous architecture had developed. It was then that the purely traditional log and adobe cabins were erected with

the familiar rectangular floorplan and technology of dovetailed log corners. Later Mormon houses tended to repeat the popular designs of the East years after they had passed from fashion there; the prevailing form was the central-hall house, either an "I" or a "Four over Four" type, and sometimes a "salt box" shape (see fig. 9)³⁰. These houses usually

had two gable-end chimneys rather than the one central chimney typical of the East. Aspects of Greek Revival architecture, such as return cornices (see figs. 3, 9, 12, 13, and 19) were popular among Utah folk, as were other fashionable elements and even whole house designs taken from published builders' handbooks and house pattern books.

Notes

¹ FRED KNIFFEN, *Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion*, in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55 (1965), p. 549-577.

² FRED KNIFFEN and HENRY GLASSIE, *Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective*, in *The Geographical Review*, 56 (1966), p. 40-66.

³ HENRY GLASSIE, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, Philadelphia, 1969.

⁴ The distinguished fiction writer, historian, and former Utahian WALLACE STEGNER dubbed Utah Mormon Country in his guidebook of that title published in New York in 1942.

⁵ These descriptions of the Great Basin and of the Mormons are paraphrased and partly quoted from my lecture "Folklore of the Great Basin" delivered at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon, in 1967 and subsequently printed in *Northwest Folklore*, 3 (1968), p. 17-32.

⁶ See GLORIA GRIFFEN CLINE, *Exploring the Great Basin*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963.

⁷ The basic historical study is LEONARD L. ARRINGTON's *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.

⁸ "Deseret" is a word from *The Book of Mormon* meaning "honeybee" and standing for community cooperation in production. The symbol of the state of Utah is a beehive.

⁹ THOMAS F. O'DEA, *The Mormons*, Chicago, 1957.

¹⁰ AUSTIN and ALTA FIFE, *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1956.

¹¹ JAN HAROLD BRUNVAND, *As the Saints Go Marching By: Modern Jokelore Concerning Mormons*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970), p. 53-60.

¹² LESTER A. HUBBARD, *Ballads and Songs from Utah*, Salt Lake City, 1961, p. 307.

¹³ NELS ANDERSON, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah*, Chicago, 1942, p. 428-429. Today SILVER REEF is a deserted "ghost town"

while St. George is a thriving city containing one of the six Mormon temples in Utah.

¹⁴ LOWRY NELSON, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement*, Salt Lake City, 1952. NELSON studied the communities of Escalante, Ephraim, and American Fork in Utah and compared them with three Mormon-settled villages in Alberta, Canada. See also PETER L. GOSS, *Utah's Architectural Heritage: An Overview*, in *Utah Architect*, No. 52 (Spring, 1973), p. 14-17.

¹⁵ See RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA, *The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West*, in *Proceedings in the Association of American Geographers*, 2 (1970), p. 59-61; and in a popularized format in an LDS periodical, Francaviglia's *The City of Zion in the Mountain West*, in *The Improvement Era*, 72 (December, 1969), p. 10-17.

¹⁶ PAUL GOELDNER, *Utah Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey*, Salt Lake City, 1969, p. 1. This work, which lists and describes buildings placed on the state Register of Historic Buildings, will hereafter be referred to as *HABS Catalog*.

¹⁷ *HABS Catalog*, p. 3, 58.

¹⁸ THOMAS E. CHENEY, *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains*, Memoir 53, American Folklore Society, Austin, Texas, 1968, p. 32-33.

¹⁹ *HABS Catalog*, p. 3.

²⁰ A useful survey of housetypes in one area of Utah organized chronologically and according to building materials is J.E. SPENCER, *House Types of Southern Utah*, in *The Geographical Review*, 35 (1945), p. 444-457.

²¹ HENRY GLASSIE, *The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin*, in JAN HAROLD BRUNVAND, *The Study of American Folklore*, New York, 1968, p. 338-370.

²² RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA, *Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West*, in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61 (1971), p. 65-71.

²³ PAUL GOELDNER, *The Architecture of Equal Comforts: Polygamists in Utah*, in *Historic Preservation*, 24, (January-March 1972), p. 14–17.

²⁴ PETER L. GOSS, *Utah's Architectural Heritage: An Overview*, in *Utah Architect*, No 52 (Spring, 1973), p. 15.

²⁵ AUSTIN E. FIFE, *Stone Houses of Northern Utah*, in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1972), p. 6–23.

²⁶ HABS Catalog, p. 65–66.

²⁷ JAN HAROLD BRUNVAND, *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah*, Salt Lake City, 1971;

STEPHANIE D. CHURCHILL, *Utah: A Guide to 11 Tours of Historic Sites*, Salt Lake City, 1972.

²⁸ HABS Catalog, p. 64.

²⁹ HABS Catalog, p. 48.

³⁰ A "salt box" or "lean to" house has a central hall floor plan and is one and one-half or two stories in front with a long rear roofline sloping to one storey in back. It takes its name from the similar style of old wooden salt boxes once mounted on the wall over stoves. The longer roofline corresponds to the hinged front lid of the salt box.