

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: SACRED PRESERVATION: APPROACHING RELIGIOUS AND SACRED
HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH APPROPRIATE RECOGNITION AS
CULTURAL HERITAGE

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This study examines current preservation criteria and treatment considerations specific to sacred and religious properties and identifies opportunities to increase understanding of religious importance as cultural heritage. Cultural heritage, the ability to worship, and teach a culture or belief to the next generation, is inherently living. It is future-oriented with deep roots in the past. It cannot be separated from the reason for the existence and history of a site, as is now common. The current interest in cultural heritage is an opportunity to recover the religious and sacred meanings of buildings and sites throughout the United States. This study presents examples across many cultures, and uses the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a case study for sacred preservation due to the organization's many religious historic sites, preservation efforts, and application of treatments in varying ways.

Much of the history in the United States of America is closely tied with religion. Yet, from Native American cultures to all aspects of Euro-American communities, religion is often underrepresented in the evaluation and interpretation of historic sites. Due to the National Register guidance, preservationists recognize churches for architecture, famous speeches or social movements, or even as a contribution to a larger district rather than its primary purpose.

This study exposes the contradictions in how we evaluate sites with religious and sacred meanings and how preservation treatments focus only on tangible aspects of sites and often do not support cultural heritage. Specifically, for properties affiliated with religious and sacred value, a three-part categorization of meaning is introduced and applied to existing historic religious sites. The relationships between the meanings, sites, and preservation treatments are explained through examples at Nauvoo. The application of the categorization illustrates value with regards to belief, and correlates the preservation treatments that are most appropriate to those values. Additions and slight alterations to the current Criteria for Evaluation and Criteria Considerations with regards to cultural heritage sites, specifically those sites that are religious or sacred, are proposed to create appropriate recognition.

Subject Headings: Nauvoo, Preservation treatments, Religious significance, Cultural significance, Revered sites, Sacred sites, Site evaluation, Criteria Consideration A, collective memory, religious tourism

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RECOGNITION AS CULTURAL HERITAGE

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CHAPTER I
A NEW APPROACH TO HISTORIC RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES

In 1965, the report, *With Heritage so Rich*, was presented to the United States Congress. In that same year the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, had a meeting regarding the historic buildings across the nation. The results of this meeting were featured in a Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) report that was not flattering, but it helped create a sense of urgency, as did the report to Congress, to create law to preserve America's history. The new law, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), provides specific guidelines for identifying and evaluating historic properties, districts, landmarks, landscapes, and archaeological sites for national recognition. It also provided requirements for federal projects that might affect historic properties. The National Register of Historic Places (National Register) was created, along with criteria for evaluating historic properties.¹ The law includes in its objectives that, "the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage."² The NHPA was designed to protect and preserve historic heritage in the United States of America and continues to be administered by the National Park Service (NPS).

¹ "National Historic Preservation Act," *National Park Service*, NPS.gov, accessed April 8, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/national-historic-preservation-act.htm>.

² National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, amended 1992, Public Law 102-575, 16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*, and E.O. 11593.

The first fifty years of the NHPA made a dramatic impact on the preservation and recognition of the properties of historic value in the United States. Since 1966, over 94,000 properties have been listed in the National Register.³ To nominate a property, an individual, group, or agency must submit a nomination form to the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). This nomination form must include information about the property, such as: architectural style, period(s) of significance, a building survey or description, and the reason(s) for significance based on the Criteria for Evaluation. The Criteria for Evaluation, established four areas of significance:

- Criterion A. has association with broad patterns of our history;
- Criterion B. has association with significant persons;
- Criterion C. has architecture or engineering that is distinctive of type, construction methods, or a significant architect; or
- Criterion D. yields important information on history or prehistory.⁴

There are also seven considerations in connection with the Criteria for Evaluation listed as Consideration A-G. The National Park Service developed the considerations to validate national recognition and to accommodate extraordinary situations that are now applied to properties of local, state and national significance. These criteria considerations address common property types, such as cemeteries and properties less than 50 years of age. Criteria Consideration A states that if a site is “owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes... [it] shall not be considered eligible for the National Register.”⁵ Because of this,

³ “National Register Database and Research,” *National Park Service*, NPS.gov, accessed September 28, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/database-research.htm>.

⁴ “National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Park Service*, NPS.gov, accessed September 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

religious sites have been underrepresented in America's history when compared to their cultural significance. Historic preservationists have found ways to get around the religious restriction and many religious properties have been listed in the National Register for other reasons, such as distinctive architecture, Criterion C, or civil rights movement associations, Criterion A.

While the architecture and historical associations are worthy of recognition, it is the religious value that was the impetus for the property construction and use. Churches, in particular, have a strong presence in the urban and rural landscapes of America. They are the central place of religious practice in American culture. Moreover, religion was a major factor in the settlement and founding governments of the country. Because of this, America's religious history is America's history. Many Europeans emigrated for religious reasons which led to the establishment of religious affiliated settlements, towns, and even entire colonies in American history. The Dutch Reform faith settled New York and New Jersey; the Quakers settled Pennsylvania. Baptist, Presbyterians, and Anglicans settled across the southern states; Catholics settled Maryland, the Gulf of Mexico, and across the southwest into California. Other Calvinist/Protestant congregations settled the New England states. Jews settled areas in New England and Mid-Atlantic. Both before and during European settlement, many Native Americans had sacred landscapes throughout North America that were places of pilgrimage,

⁵ "National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," *National Park Service*, NPS.gov, accessed September 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

settlement, and worship. The history of civilization and colonization in the United States includes religion in ways that cannot be separated from both history and heritage.

Nevertheless, the NPS through the National Register program recognizes that there is a distinct difference between secular and religious historic properties, particularly those of Euro-Americans. Criteria Consideration A requires an approach to these properties that avoids their reason for construction and use. The difference is that a historic secular property can be recognized for its primary significance, but a religious property cannot. However, there is a movement within the preservation profession to recognize heritage often described as “intangible” or “cultural.” This trend allows for new theories and methods of preservation, including the approaches that will be discussed in this study. The recognition of cultural value requires different considerations—and often new approaches—from those effective for the traditional secular historic site. American culture includes education and entertainment—which have been recognized in the National Register—but it also includes religion. Why have some culturally significant aspects of our culture been recognized while others have been neglected?

This study assumes that the acceptance of representing culture more fully will continue, and relies on the premise that religion, as a cultural practice, will also be recognized more fully in the historic preservation program of the United States. This study argues that religious sites should be treated differently from secular ones so that the physical reality does not alter the spiritual one at the site.

Cultural Heritage Preservation Efforts

One of the stated purposes of the NHPA is to preserve “historical and cultural foundations,” which religion would be a part of.⁶ However, in practice, the cultural part of that statement has been left out. This situation is being addressed through more discussions about the role of culture and what or how it can be preserved.

Cultural heritage, the ability to worship, and teach a culture or belief to the next generation, is inherently living. It is future-oriented with deep roots in the past. It cannot be separated from the reason for the existence and history of a site, as is now common. The discussion of cultural heritage within the professional field and academic study of Historic Preservation is ongoing. Regional practice in preservation is often influenced by interpretation of the federal guidelines. This interpretation can be seen in preservation approaches to religious properties compared to secular ones. While the preservation of the secular and the religious are often separated, each are stronger when combined. In addition, approaches need to incorporate both place and culture, as one without the other does not represent the full range of possible historical and cultural meanings. The goal of preservation is to represent and remember the important aspects of the past. Recognized history is a product of the public and, therefore, is influenced by cultural values. We are currently separating religious history from public history at the expense of recognizing our religious cultural history in our preserved resources.

⁶ National Historic Preservation Act, 16 U.S.C 470 (1966).

The importance of any site is cultural above all, in part because it is the relationship between people and that site. The recognized importance is often descriptive of a people and their use of place. If that importance is passed on to subsequent generations it becomes cultural. In a recently published article, Suzanne Scheld, Dana H. Taplin, and Setha M. Low describe this generational cultural importance as “Cultural Value.” They advocate for approaching heritage preservation based on cultural values. They separate value and cultural value, using the previous as a preservationist’s justification for preservation—based on the Criteria for Evaluation—and the latter as the cultural or community reason for preservation.⁷ Their argument still justifies the separation of a religious value and a historic value. The term used to indicate value within historic preservation is significance. In deciding what is significant, the professional must take into account the desirability of having a property listed in the National Register and eligibility for any public assistance.

Eligibility for listing in the National Register is a prerequisite to receiving federal matching grant funds and tax incentives that operate through the SHPO. However, not all culturally-valued properties can be listed for their cultural value and are therefore blocked from such incentives. Without proper recognition—and available funding—such properties can be lost to history. Preservationist Holly Taylor proposes an additional criterion as part of the Criteria for Evaluation to include cultural heritage, particularly social value.⁸ Taylor includes

⁷ Suzanne Scheld, Dana H. Taplin, and Setha M. Low, “The Values-Based Approach for Cultural-Heritage Preservation in U.S. Public Parks,” *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* 45, no. 2/3 (Special Issue 2014): 51-52, accessed March 14, 2019, www.jstor.org/stable/23799527.

⁸ Holly Taylor, “Recognizing the Contemporary Cultural Significance of Historic Places: A Proposal to Amend National Register Criteria to Include Social Value,” U.S. National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.usicomos.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Taylor.pdf>.

religion as part of social value, but does not go into detail of the role that religion has in cultural heritage. The lack of representation may leave religious properties without preservation. An example of this is the Abbey of Our Lady of the Holy Trinity, located in Huntsville, Utah. The Abbey was the only Trappist monastery of monks in Utah and closed in 2017. The property once contained ranching, dairy, farming, apiaries, as well as a store, housing, and a chapel. After closure, it was sold to a private owner who is currently working with a non-profit group—Utah Open Lands—in an effort to preserve the property for its land. The owner has even attempted to work with a state representative to legislate funds for this purpose. Its significance, however, is religious and therefore, has yet to receive the funds needed to preserve it.⁹ The monastery may not be recognized for its religious order, nor be recognized for any other aspect of worship. For the monks, the agrarian use of the monastery was a part of their worship. Without the recognition of this cultural value, it has a high potential of development and the erasure of the monastery's history.

Religion in Preservation Today

The decisions about what should be preserved, and how it gets preserved, have been established in the United States in increments. With each expansion, additional resources are considered, such as the inclusion of cultural landscapes and Traditional Cultural Properties to the recognized property types. As the value of the secular properties developed, the cultural

⁹ "Huntsville Man on a Mission to Preserve Monastery as Open Space," *Standard Examiner*, UTAHOPENLANDS.ORG, modified April 12, 2017, accessed April 17, 2019, <https://utahopenlands.org/huntsville-monastery/>.

value of religious properties was pushed aside. The religious value remains and has been there from the first use of a property as religious, but the representation of a religious property for that cultural value has been denied due, in part, to what is referred to as the Separation Clause of the U.S. Constitution. As current preservation trends are becoming more inclusive of cultural and heritage properties, there needs to be a treatment outlined to approach these properties with the dignity and nature of their significance.

How to address historic religious and sacred properties is a discussion that, while not new, needs to expand, particularly for Euro-American resources. Much of the consideration of sacred sites is in terms of Native Americans. Guidance for Traditional Cultural Properties in The National Park Service Bulletin 38 has an inherent bias towards Native Americans sites for recognition in the National Register for religious and sacred reasons. Belden C. Lane, a professor of theological studies, has spent his career studying sacred landscapes. His approach to preserving the sacredness of the landscape is to stay aloof from formal recognition and active preservation and focus on the continuing human interaction with landscape. While his approach can bring understanding to cultural significance and the historic human/landscape relationships, it does not preserve or protect historic cultural value, only continual use. This approach risks loss by avoiding eligibility for the National Register and related recognition and assistance.¹⁰

Archaeologist Thomas King, however, is a proponent of using the currently established programs, particularly through the Traditional Cultural Property, a program that he and his late

¹⁰ Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

wife, Patricia Parker King, first defined and authored guidance for in Bulletin 38. King concedes that the current programs are not the issue with a lack of support for religious sites, but rather with those nominating them. King blames consultation problems, lack of community involvement and planning as the reasons that sacred properties and sites are often overlooked or underrepresented within existing designation, regulatory, and treatment programs. Furthermore, King advocates for the federal government removing sacred properties from public land use and selling them via acquisition grants to the appropriate Native American tribes. He believes the only way to truly protect and preserve these sacred lands is to privatize them. That being said, this method addresses only Native American sacred sites that are on public lands.¹¹

Historian John H. Sprinkle, Jr. provides an explanation for why the Park Service has treated historical religious properties as it has when considering national historic significance. Sprinkle devotes a chapter in his book, *Crafting Preservation Criteria*, to explaining the separation. He explains the history of removing the religious focus of the property and mitigating the consideration that disqualifies religious properties for listing in the National Register based on religious meaning and value during the broad middle of the 20th century. Sprinkle points to the ways to get around Criteria Consideration A by focusing on one of the other types of significances without suggesting anything is missing in the approaches. His examples are exclusively architectural.¹²

¹¹ Thomas F. King, *Places That Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management* (Walnut Creek, CA.: AltaMira Press, 2003) chap. 13.

¹² John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 130-143.

Michael A. Tomlan, who has long directed the Historic Preservation Program at Cornell University, takes a broader approach by addressing the religious properties of Euro-Americans. Tomlan discusses the usefulness of remembering religious properties and practices due to the effect religion has on culture and wonders:

How can a country that has such a rich set of traditions, with a [sic] amazing range of historic faith-based sites, and such a vibrant religious life, put at arm's length the public recognition of so much of what characterizes the life of its people?¹³

He is sympathetic to the Separation Clause of the U.S. Constitution when it comes to preservation of religious properties, but contends that the government is already involved via tax exemptions and other interaction with such properties. Rather than propose preservation address religion as a significant cultural practice, he turns to recognizing the role that religious properties can have in preservation and revitalization programs. He believes that the revitalization programs can be examples of secular programs that help save church buildings. Tomlan places preservationists as the buffer between government involvement in religion and the use of preservation funds by religious institutions. These preservationists, then, have the responsibility for implementing the government's standards at the site.¹⁴

This study extends the importance of religion in American culture that Tomlan asserts by addressing what preservationists can do with new practices and policies. Conversations about

¹³ Michael A. Tomlan, *Historic Preservation: Caring for Our Expanding Legacy* (New York, Springer Cham, 2015), 307.

¹⁴ Tomlan, *Historic Preservation*, chap. 8.

and advocacy for Native American religious sites are prevalent in United States preservation. This may be due to the alternative approach to recognizing significance, including the use of the Traditional Cultural Property category. Just as Native American properties deserve recognition and preservation, so do the religious properties of other cultures. With a growing interest in cultural heritage, the conversation and advocacy for Euro-American properties must find acceptable criteria and move away from the work-around of ignoring primary significance, religious, for secondary, secular.

New Understandings, New Treatments

To understand religious and sacred properties, then, we must distinguish them from other types of historic properties and identify their special needs. This distinction is important when it is a historic sacred property currently being used as such; this situation will dictate the preservation of the site. This means that a historic preservationist's recommendations based on professional standards and treatments may be rejected in favor of sacred emphasis or religious practice. This emphasis on the primary cultural value extends to preserving other types of cultural heritage with significance that is intangible.

Stewards of sacred sites will often have to wrestle with the tension between their empirical, experienced reality, and the believed, spiritual reality, or what can be seen and what can be believed. The preservationist's recommendations should include religious emphasis, practice, or use when they are clearly present. It is that emphasis that connects the religious relationship to cultural heritage. This approach must be based on understanding the intangible

significance and connection to sites that religions claim. It is this connection that should be preserved. Preservationists can be agnostic about belief and promoting religion while advocating for the preservation of sacred and religious properties, as can the appropriate criteria.

An Example of Religious Preservation Practices

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (The Church of Jesus Christ)¹⁵ maintains many historic sites, some of which are considered sacred. The members of the Church of Jesus Christ (Latter-day Saints) make distinctions between historic and religious sites, yet sometimes find these values inseparable. This study addresses important questions, using these resources as examples. What implications does the historical/religious distinction have for preserving and interpreting their sites? How can these distinctions be useful in considering theory and practices to use for sacred sites in general? The Church of Jesus Christ considers many sites sacred, but some are respected for their religious significance, while others are revered and recognized as primarily historical. As a result, its sacred sites have undergone preservation treatments that serve a culturally-specific purpose to represent both history and sacred value. The preservation methods of the Church of Jesus Christ do not always reflect the established standards of historic preservation practice and can cause some non-Latter-day Saint preservationists to question the decisions. This study shows that perceived or believed spiritual

¹⁵ Out of respect for the preferences of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I will be using the terms for referencing the organization and its membership outlined in the style guide. The style guide was published and encouraged by the church's leadership for use by media, academia, as well as socially. To align my writing with their request I will not be shortening their name into the previously used LDS or Mormon. <https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/style-guide>.

reality of the visitors to a property, as well as the property owners, dictate the preservation treatments of a sacred property so that the physical reality does not alter the spiritual. In other words, an owner (a church organization) and property patrons can influence the preservation practice in ways that can alter current best practices in order to preserve the intangible cultural/religious values of a site.

Preservation of its history is part of the doctrinal tenets of the Church of Jesus Christ. Site preservation is an extension of that belief and consequently the Church of Jesus Christ has many historic sites that have direct ties to its history and doctrinal development. Historic preservation within the Church of Jesus Christ officially started alongside the Antiquities Act of 1906, and has developed with greater effort and detail as preservation treatment and understanding of the value in historic resources increased. As the national preservation movement matured, so did the preservation program of the Church of Jesus Christ with one key difference. While the nation separated religious significance from its historic properties, the Church of Jesus Christ emphasized it, recognizing early on that the history and the religious significance cannot be separated. With so many examples, these sites can be looked at as references for preservation practices of religious sites. The Church of Jesus Christ's approaches could be applied to other sites of religious or otherwise sacred values where applicable.

A New Approach

Approaching the sacred site in a secular world necessitates recognition of its combined meanings. Notre Dame de Paris, a World Heritage site, recently had a devastating fire. The

federal government of France immediately started planning a restoration. The significance in this decision lies in the fact that France is officially secular, yet the government owns all the cathedrals in the country. The Notre Dame is a Catholic Cathedral: a seat of the Catholic governing body, and a site of active worship.¹⁶ Preserving the heritage of this site preserves not only its historic secular and religious history, but also its current use as a place of worship. That is, the sacred value cannot be separated from the heritage value. This is the analytical premise that underlies this study. While there is no single definition that encompasses all religious and secular views, I suggest that the greatest combination of the two can only be described in one word, belief. Belief in a sacred place that is historical produces heritage, and creates an interaction of the patron with the property—whether believer or tourist.

The purpose of this treatise is to argue the validity of religious and sacred properties as historic properties, and as an essential aspect of United States history. The preservation and recognition of such properties should be in the interest of all cultures passing intangible values to successive generations. Due to the desire for the preservation and protection efforts that historic recognition can offer, this study addresses the specific challenges inherent in the Separation Clause and the owners of religious properties having access to historic preservation funding programs. A newer grant, the Save America's Treasures Grant, allows for preservation grants for properties with active religious use. However, the grant still requires National

¹⁶ "Services and Mass at Notre-Dame-de-Paris," *PARISCityVISION*, accessed May 28, 2019, <https://www.pariscityvision.com/en/paris/landmarks/notre-dame-de-paris/mass-notre-dame-de-paris>.

Register eligibility.¹⁷ Receiving a grant for preservation of a religious property, recognized officially for other reasons, indicates the conflicts of the current situation.

To understand better the cultural and religious use of properties with intrinsic values, I introduce a tripartite heuristic framework in which I divide sites into categories of revered, religious, and sacred. This categorization illustrates different approaches to preservation and interpretation based on religious significance and involvement. I use the historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ throughout, but this is not necessarily the categorization or approach that the organization uses for its properties. The Church of Jesus Christ does not publicize any particular hierarchy or categorization of importance of its historic sites, only that the historic sites are important to its history, faith, and doctrinal development. The tripartite approach that I propose will illustrate how this categorization is useful at the largest and most complex site owned by the Church of Jesus Christ: Historic Nauvoo, Illinois. This is a significant historic site to the Church of Jesus Christ, the state of Illinois, and to the United States of America as a National Historic Landmark.

Historic preservation in Nauvoo exhibits the contested nature of religious sites, because religious and secular parties want to preserve the historic city for different reasons and using different, often competing or contradictory, approaches. Moreover, because of the religious value in the sacred, the site is approached in ways that are often outside of common historic

¹⁷ "Saving America's Treasures Grants," *National Park Service*, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/preservation-grants/sat/index.html>.

preservation practice and introduce the concept of a new understanding and preservation methods.

This treatise offers a new approach to site recognition, management, and historic preservation treatment with guiding principles on how to manage preservation of a religious site. This new approach is instrumental for the recognition of cultural heritage. As preservation interest in the United States increases attention of cultural values, opportunity to give recognition will also increase. The increase will align the United States with that of global and local organizations alike.

Even as historic preservationists may alter their approaches to religious and sacred properties, legal issues will continue to be contentious. One issue that the court system is addressing is whether federal funds dedicated to projects or programs not directly affiliated with a religious mission can be used by religious organizations for secular needs. A recent court case addresses government assistance for a religious property. As of March 2019, the Supreme Court of the United States of America has not made an official ruling on the funding and recognition of religious and sacred sites by the government. However, the court did rule that a church can receive federal funds for non-religious use. An often-cited case involved the application for funds for a new playground surface. The ruling expresses that if a religious property is qualified for the funds in all other ways, other than religious affiliation, it would be discriminatory against religion to not grant the funds. The United States Constitution protects against the government promoting one religion over another, but also protects against discrimination based on religion. The court ruling states in part,

The State in this case expressly requires Trinity Lutheran to renounce its religious character in order to participate in an otherwise generally available public benefit program, for which it is fully qualified. Our cases make clear that such a condition imposes a penalty on the free exercise of religion that must be subjected to the ‘most rigorous’ scrutiny.¹⁸

This ruling gives religious-affiliated properties with public benefit programs access to certain funds that were previously unavailable. This particular case was for playground groundcover, but it could be the launching point for a more inclusive Historic Preservation Fund Grant program—a federally-funded program with disbursement authority delegated to individual State Historic Preservation Offices. The topic remains contentious, as do state rulings. The New Jersey State Supreme Court in April 2018 ruled it unconstitutional for public funds to go to churches.¹⁹

The NPS must reconsider the meaning and effects of the Separation Clause in light of the desire for a more inclusive representation of the history of the United States of America. This starts with a change in the significance criteria and Criteria Consideration A for listing in the National Register. The above court case may offer hope for religious property owners, but it does not guarantee inclusivity. I argue that, for the same reason the Trinity Lutheran Church qualifies for the playground grant, religious and sacred sites should qualify for preservation grants. A stipulation must be made to prevent funds used to promote and proselytize or propagate the religion. In a similar manner, the owner of an historic warehouse that uses

¹⁸ *Trinity Lutheran Church of Columbia, Inc. v. Comer, Director, Missouri Department of Natural Resources*, US 15-577 (2017).

¹⁹ *Freedom From Religion Foundation v Morris County Board of Chosen Freeholders*, A-71-16 (2018).

preservation grants and incentives to rehabilitate office spaces cannot spend the funds to purchase office or business materials.

To understand how the NPS program can change to be more inclusive and represent more fully the history of the United States of America, continued updates in the historic preservation programs must take place. Simply acknowledging the importance or the significance of historic religious properties is not enough. This change must begin in the National Register Criteria for Evaluation and the Criteria Consideration A. Following a more inclusive standard, Historic Preservation Fund grants guidelines must also be amended. However, to understand where and how the current programs are used, this study discusses their current use by the NPS. It then outlines how a religious organization has developed its historic sites, an approach to understanding religious and sacred use, and a case study where the new approach is used. The treatise also outlines the needed NPS changes and acceptance. Cultural heritage, including religious history, is perhaps the most important factor in understanding history. It is time the historic preservation field recognizes it.

CHAPTER II SACRED SITES: A VIEW OF PRESERVATION APPROACHES

One of the aspects of the 1966 NHPA that has influenced nearly all historic preservation programs is the set of criteria for significance to be applied to properties. The criteria were intended to identify significance across the many cultures and communities of the United States. National Park Service historians, based on their experience in considering properties for national significance developed seven criteria considerations.²⁰ While this set of rules has helped evaluate many properties, it established strong limits on properties affiliated with religion through Criteria Consideration A.

Bulletin 15, Section VII, of the National Register Bulletin, dissects Criteria Consideration A, as well as others. Based on a strict interpretation of the Separation Clause, it states that properties must “be judged in purely secular terms.” Religious properties must be recognized by secular scholarly studies; they must be part of a significant historical theme, which includes “exploration, settlement, social philanthropy, or education; or have significant considerations for TCP eligibility.”²¹ Every religious property I use in this treatise can be argued to fit within any of these considerations as explained; however, not one of these considerations address the cultural value of religion. The four areas of significance are a byproduct of the cultural

²⁰ Refer to Sprinkle

²¹ National Park Service, “National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.”

attachment to acknowledge an important and impactful intrinsic value. By avoiding the acknowledgement of religion, portions of history, religion and/or the acceptance of sacred themes as part of culture and history, is being omitted.

As seen in Criteria Consideration A, the NPS-promulgated policies of the program recognize that there is a distinction between secular historic sites and religious historic sites. The distinction is made by stating that a property must meet secular requirements, not religious. Mentioning both the secular and religious acknowledges that these distinctions may be mutually exclusive. This dichotomy must be overcome in the official criteria. Many religious sites are listed in the National Register, but not for their religious value. They are listed in connection with architecture, civil rights movements, or in a connection to a historic district. The recognition of cultural value requires a different approach than the traditional historic property. A cultural shift is needed to recognize intangible culture to fully represent our history. The difference in approaches are the necessary responses to recognize religious and sacred properties in a system that does not allow for it.

A wide variety of sacred sites are examined in this paper to determine current historic preservation practices. The sacredness of the sites is not in question, only the preservation practices and interpretation of them are. The sites presented in this study are considered sacred by the followers of the faiths represented, or patrons. In the case of popular sacred sites, like battlegrounds, the significance is established by popular opinion, often recognized, revered, and respected nationally. There are sites which are recognized for their historical significance and are considered sacred, i.e., they are not directly associated with any religion. The preservation and interpretation of these sites are typically quite extensive. Often the

reverence for these sites lies in lives lost and sacrifices made. Some of these sites may have been sacred for religious reasons, but the religious sacred reverence has morphed into non-sectarian reverence; an example of this is The Alamo.

The foundation for the preservation and recognition of sacred sites is research and understanding of the cultural value represented at a property and the culture that claims it. Since 1966, NHPA focuses on finding “distinctive character of old architecture and historic districts [to] become a powerful draw for many Americans, and [an] antidote to anonymous suburbs and strip malls.”²² The continued effort to better preserve historic resources is the fulfillment of that law. The 1966 Act has been amended several times, and federal regulations, bulletins, and legislation continue to support and clarify the original wording of the Act. It must also be recognized that a portion of the program and its policies pertain only to federal properties. Private property owners can choose to participate in programs by agreeing to have their properties listed in the National Register and participate in incentive programs with federal standards. Section 106 of the NHPA and National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) review serve as safety nets for preservation in communities on large projects in that they require the identification of historic and cultural properties that might be affected by the project and the impacts that the project might have.

²² “National Historic Preservation Act,” *Historic Preservation*, National Park Service, accessed October 31, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/national-historic-preservation-act.htm>.

National Parks, Monuments, and Landmarks

Three major developments in United States preservation law were created incrementally. In 1906, under the Antiquities Act the United States Congress gave the President of the United States authority to create National Monuments. Declaring a monument creates a preservation effort for properties and landscapes that the federal government already owns, but has not set aside for preservation or conservation. Ten years later, in 1916, Congress passed the National Park Service Act (also known as the “Organic Act”). This law created National Parks, protecting natural landscapes, cultural resources, and values deemed important enough to remain unimpaired for the use of the American people.²³ The presidential power to create National Monuments eventually expanded to include the power to declare National Historic Landmarks (NHL), which are evaluated with more scrutiny than the National Register and represent a national significance, not just local or state significance. When comparing NHL to National Register program listings, the NHL must also “possess a high degree of historic integrity, instead of just enough.”²⁴

The NHL and the National Register programs are public, and each property has been evaluated and found to merit preservation and recognition due to integrity and historic significance. With regards to the National Register, each property is evaluated against the National Register’s Criteria for Evaluation. The NPS does not list any property as significant

²³ “Our Mission” *About Us*, National Park Service, accessed January 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/index.htm>.

²⁴ “The National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Landmarks Program,” *National Historic Landmarks*, National Park Service, accessed January 1, 2019, last modified August 31, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nr-and-nhl.htm>.

based on religious significance. However, that does not mean the preservation of sacred elements is lacking. The Grand Canyon National Park, for example, is a very sacred site for the Havasupai and Dine peoples. When the U.S. military was sent to survey the Southwest, particularly the Grand Canyon, preservation of Native American sacred sites was not a priority. Settlement was then opened to non-Native Americans, particularly those settlers who wanted to exploit the natural resources. Native American resistance was “swept away” for European American use.²⁵ The Grand Canyon is among the nation’s first monuments. President Theodore Roosevelt used the power given him by the Antiquities Act to set the canyon aside for its preservation in 1908; it became a National park in 1919.

The Grand Canyon was not initially preserved as a sacred site. The groups of people that believed in its religious sacredness were removed from their ancestral lands. Their faith and religious rituals were not considered. The Havasupai, for example, were assigned a reservation making up just ten percent of their traditional lands. This change removed their seasonal practices in both food harvesting and religious practice that took place in areas taken from them. Their ability to live according to their cultural beliefs and practices was extremely limited. Much of their ancestral land was preserved including religious sites within the Monument designation. It must be understood that the preservation of the sacred sites is a byproduct of preserving the landscape. The NPS currently acknowledges its sacredness and the claim by Native peoples that it is their heritage and religious lands. Due to the national protection that comes with National Monument and National Park designations, the site and the many heritage

²⁵ Michael F. Anderson, *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2000), 1-10.

sites within the park boundaries are preserved. Much like with National Register-listed properties, the sacredness of the Grand Canyon is a secondary factor. In the case of the Havasupai, they were given large portions of their ancestral lands back, allowing for cultural use and preservation.²⁶ That its sacredness is acknowledged and taught now is due to the shifting trends in historic preservation to include cultural heritage. Even so, the consideration to start including cultural heritage sites stops short of designation based on sacred uses, particularly for Euro-Americans.

Over the years, preservation and conservation programs developed for many reasons. Some of these reasons were to protect natural resources, to promote commerce and tourism, and even to set aside public hunting land. In fact, early conservation attempts preserved many archeology sites. A more recent program was launched by the NPS to better protect and promote cultural heritage: Traditional Cultural Properties.

Traditional Cultural Properties

In 1990, Congress amended the NHP to include a new historic property type: Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). These are cultural landscapes, districts, and sites which have a deep cultural meaning, including religious, to a specific culture. This concept was explained when the NPS issued the National Register Bulletin #38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties."²⁷ While this bulletin is not specific to Native Americans, Native

²⁶ "History at the Grand Canyon: Havasupai," *Arizona State University*, accessed April 10, 2019, <http://grcahistory.org/history/native-cultures/havasupai/>.

²⁷ "Guideline for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," *National Register Bulletin*, National Park Service, accessed October 31, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb38.pdf>.

Hawaiians, and Native Alaskans, properties related to these groups comprise nearly all of the TCPs. This addition to the NHPA allows for the cultural/religious preservation of a site by recognizing its intangible connections to a culture or religion. It is through the TCP program that the NPS has become open to the idea of preservation of a site with ongoing religious use, thus allowing for alterations based on religious use.

The idea of a religious use that is ongoing, and ever-changing, is exemplified by what takes place at the Bighorn Medicine Wheel in Wyoming. The site has been used by Native Americans for generations and is a location atop a mountain peak on National Forest lands. The U.S. Forest Service (Forest Service) is the agency responsible for the protection of natural public forests. Unlike the NPS, the Forest Service is not preserving monuments, national parks, or sites associated with national history. In 1969, the Bighorn Medicine Wheel was recognized as a significant asset in understanding the history of Native Americans in the western United States by its acceptance as a National Historic Landmark. While this recognition was important, it limited the traditional religious use of the site. The Forest Service “misunderstood the site and thought of it only as an interesting archaeological site with no contemporary significance.”²⁸ Plans were made for further preservation and public use, but these plans would have distracted from the sacred use by Native Americans. A seven-party consultation took place in the mid-1990s, and after several meetings a consensus was reached that allows for public viewing by way of a one and one-half mile hiking trail. The trail keeps modern vehicles, conveniences, and trash away from the site. The agreement includes a twelve-day voluntary closure to non-Native

²⁸ Andrew Gulliford, *Sacred Objects and Sacred Places: Preserving Tribal Traditions* (University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, 2000), 139.

Americans to allow for traditional religious observances. In perhaps the greatest and most significant addition to preservation practice, this plan for access allows for the ceremonies to take place and be observed in an ongoing and continual “creation, renewal, or modification of these sites.”²⁹ The Medicine Wheel is not a TCP, but it did create the standard for allowing observance of culture and religious practices (Figure 1.) to be ongoing and changing while still being protected, which reflects the thinking of the TCP program.



Figure 1. Bighorn Medicine Wheel as it Looks Today
Source: Wyoming State Historical Society,
<https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/medicine-wheel>.

While the TCP program allows for changes and adaptations to continued use and cultural influences, the general standard for maintaining historic integrity has focused on one clearly defined period of significance in the past and, therefore, a site must represent that period without major alteration. A period of significance allows for continued use of a site, but

²⁹ Gulliford, “Sacred Objects and Sacred Places,” 142.

not much flexibility for cultural needs. Private owners of buildings and sites have the freedom to do as they wish with the sites. However, in doing so they may eliminate the possibility for any federal or state incentives for the preservation of the site, and may evoke criticism. This identification of a period of significance in the past complicates the concept of ongoing changes at a site related to its cultural meanings and use, including religious use.

The disjuncture between recognizing religious significance and other, secular qualities and expectations for unchanging conditions over time come to the forefront when considering the Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is one of the oldest African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) congregations in the United States and has been listed in both the National Register and as an NHL since 1972 and 1974 respectively. The property (Figure 2.) is listed



Figure 2. Mother Bethel A.M.E.

Source: AOS Architects,

http://www.aosarchitects.com/uploads/01_MotherBethel_midcolumn.jpg

in the National Register under criteria which are now affiliated with Criteria A, B, and C—having applicability to an event, architecture, and a person.³⁰ Mother Bethel A.M.E. could be considered a candidate for a criterion that would specifically apply to religious development.

The Mother Bethel A.M.E. played a significant role in the development of the A.M.E. denomination and worship services. The doctrine is not different from that of other Methodist churches; it is different in the way it was developed and in who practices the religion. The development of worship is cultural heritage. Mother Bethel A.M.E. developed a worship service, along with the Methodist religious tenets, appealing to an African-American congregation. At the denomination's inception, Mother Bethel allowed a place for preaching and gathering of freedmen—African Americans who were not enslaved. Many who were enslaved found comfort in a legal gathering of people of color without white interference or surveillance, as such gatherings were rare before the American Civil War. Though the A.M.E. denomination was founded at Mother Bethel after the Revolutionary War by free people of color, it became a national denomination by the end of the nineteenth century and grew to include many congregations throughout the United States.³¹

After the emancipation of the enslaved population of the South, A.M.E. missionary activity created many church congregations. The A.M.E. denomination “encourages worship in ways that many Africans found to be similar, or at least adaptable, to African worship patterns, with enthusiastic singing, clapping, dancing, and even spirit-possession.”³² Mother Bethel

³⁰ “Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church,” National Register of Historic Places, Nation Park Service, accessed November 6, 2018, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=08a9df69-2a92-48a5-b960-6eada33f646b>.

³¹ “Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church,” *Independence Hall Association*, [ushistory.org](http://www.ushistory.org), accessed November 4, 2018, <http://www.ushistory.org/tour/mother-bethel.htm>.

A.M.E. was not the only location of A.M.E. during these religious developments, but it was the place of inception, a type of anchor to the spiritual and ritual establishment of the A.M.E. faith. The congregation's methods of worship have been expanding since 1786. The concept of a period of significance was adapted for a site of Mother Bethel A.M.E. and several have been recognized as the church has a long history and its building has changed over time since 1794, when a religious structure was adapted from a blacksmith shop. The congregation continued to transform its church building and the denomination with developments of religious practice and worship until the mid-twentieth century. While the location has always remained constant, the church building itself has changed four times. These changes are known as: First Church, Second Church, Third Church, and Fourth Church. Each of the churches were built anew on the site of the previous church. The needs of the congregation for worship, and in response to growth, justified new construction. The Fourth Church has been in use since its dedication in October, 1890.³³

The Mother Bethel A.M.E. was listed in the National Register for the architecture of the Fourth Church. The architecture, though splendid and appealing, is not the valued significance of the site by any means. Its five periods of significance span more than a century. Its National Register listing focuses on the building's Romanesque architecture. This is a narrowed focus which disregards the cultural values that are important to its congregation and many other

³² Laurie F. Maffly-Kip, "The Church in the Sothern Black Community," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May 2001, accessed November 4, 2018, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/intro.html>.

³³ "Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church Records," *Philadelphia Area Archives Research Portal*, UPENN.EDU, accessed April 20, 2019, http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/ead.html?fq=top_repository_facet%3A%22Richard%20Allen%20Museum%20Archives%22&id=PACSCL_HSP_RAMAO1.

members of the denomination. Thus, the primary significance of Mother Bethel A.M.E. and many additional religious sites in the United States goes under recognized. Many of these sites have found an aspect of the site which more closely fits with the current National Register criteria just to get the listing, knowing that the intangible significance is often set aside for the physical.

A 2013 nomination of another Bethel A.M.E. church in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is an example of religious meanings and values that continue to be set aside, or downplayed, for secular significance. Although the secular significance listed for the Cedar Rapids Bethel A.M.E. church is deserving of recognition, the building would not exist without its attachment to a religious value. The religious meanings and means of worship are what established a congregation that encourages the secular significances that are listed under social and ethnic history: civic duty, racial pride, education, and improved welfare of African Americans. While crediting the religious function of the church, the nomination does not credit meanings or values of the religious congregation. A religious function of a church is just to supply a place for values and meanings to be taught and expressed.³⁴

A 2011 nomination of the Carlton Community Church in Florence, Montana, is an example of a church that is nominated and recognized under the area of religion. The nomination uses Criteria A and C, being associated with broad patterns in our history and architecture. Stating religion as contributing to significance is not uncommon, but the Carlton Community Church not only uses it as primary significance, but recognizes religious influence,

³⁴ "Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places, Nation Park Service, accessed May 10, 2019, www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/13000927.htm.

missionary work, and religious settlement as qualifying under Criterion A. The Carlton Community Church nomination acceptance creates precedence that religious significance can be a primary significance as well as contributing to broad patterns in United States history.³⁵

Environmental Review and Sacred Properties

Recognizing religious aspects of historic resources really does matter, as environmental review processes address changes to them and loss of them. As noted above, environmental review ensures that historic properties are considered when federally-funded projects are in the planning stages. This review does not safeguard historic sites in the ever-changing modernization of our cities, but creates awareness of the impact that changes could create. The NHPA, Section 106, and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) require the study of effects or impacts in areas where proposed projects will take place. Section 106 consultation considers properties eligible for or listed in the National Register and the direct and indirect effects of the proposed project on historic properties, if they are federal undertakings. NEPA considers impacts on cultural resources. These processes are heavily influenced by the National Register's criteria for significance, and therefore secular reasons for historic and cultural significance. Consequently, religious and sacred properties and practices are overlooked and underrepresented.

³⁵ "Carlton Community Church," National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed May 30, 2019, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=6ee16f3b-72a8-495b-ada5-c5c7c4b772fb>.

One such case is the proposed Purple Line construction project for the Maryland Transit Authority. The environmental review study found no social impact. However, after the consultation and studies were completed and approved it was discovered that the area affected has social and religious heritage. There is a shared memory of segregation and the civil rights movement in Silver Spring and adjacent Lyttonsville. The Talbot Avenue Bridge (Figure 3.), proposed to be demolished and replaced, is the physical connection between historically segregated white and black neighborhoods. The bridge over the historic railroad tracks gave the Black community access to commerce and other societal amenities in Silver Spring. The demolition of this bridge is seen as the removal of the history of the community. After the community brought the additional significance to the attention of the Purple Line project leaders, the State of Maryland proposed that pieces of the bridge be incorporated into the design of a nearby new bridge.³⁶

³⁶ "Purple Line: Social Effects and Land Use Planning Technical Report," MTA Maryland, August 2013, accessed November 19, 2018, [cimages/studies_reports/feis/volume_03/06_PL-Tech-Report_Social%20Effects%20and%20Land%20Use%20Planning_August%202013.pdf](https://www.mta.com/cimages/studies_reports/feis/volume_03/06_PL-Tech-Report_Social%20Effects%20and%20Land%20Use%20Planning_August%202013.pdf)



Figure 3. Talbot Bridge

Source: David Rotenstein, http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org/page-1821693/7170060?fbclid=IwAR3Q9hZw_Xq2SB7KMGL0NcWsgsGv-iaJA8wdCeooYDxla82taF-t0-M-VMI.

One of the effects of the project will impact the religious use of the bridge—an aspect brought to light by independent research conducted after all environmental studies were completed. The local Jewish population has used the century-old bridge for the last fifty years as part of its religious observances. The bridge, used for pedestrian travel from houses to the synagogue, made it possible for Jewish residents to keep their law of the Sabbath by not driving or carrying items. The *eruv*, singular or *eruvim*, plural, is the space created within an unbroken line, usually a cable suspended from existing power, phone, or light poles. The unbroken boundary, created by rabbis, is a symbolic space that enables observant Jews to carry items like keys, prayer books, food, and medical devices; it allows for families to push baby strollers and wheel chairs, all of which is prohibited under Jewish law. Living within the *eruv* is important to many Jewish families, and the *eruv* allows for movement on the Sabbath which would not

otherwise be permissible by the tenets of their faith. The demolition, even temporarily, would alter the *eruv* and the ability to walk to their synagogue by creating undue hardship with a drastically longer and more difficult walk to synagogue. This may affect the elderly and young children's worship. Other bridges are within driving distance, and are used when driving is permissible; however, on the Jewish Sabbath, driving is not permitted and these other bridges are outside of the *eruv*, making walking to the synagogue inconvenient or prohibited.³⁷

The Talbot Avenue Bridge is an example of a site which has a deep religious value inside an *eruv* that is overlooked or unrepresented in the preservation field. The *eruvim*, particularly in the eastern states of the United States, have been used culturally and religiously since the 1890s and are an integral part of life in Jewish communities. The question arises of whether a long-established *eruv* could be considered a TCP. If *eruvim* could be recognized as TCPs, then the Talbot Avenue Bridge would be an integral element of the TCP district and recognized as a cultural resource for that reason. Or, if it was standard practice to recognize religion as an area of significance and Criterion Consideration A was revised, the bridge may have been found to be significant in the area of religion as well as social history.

The Talbot Avenue Bridge is a small, but powerful example of what environmental reviews should bring to light. It is a resource with multicultural connections and contributes to the lives and heritage of multiple communities, both secular and religious. The bridge demonstrates the importance that a single structure can have on history and the history that

³⁷ David Rotenstein, "Is Interrupting the Walk to Synagogue a Social Impact?," *History Sidebar: Writings on History and the Production of History*, October 28, 2018, accessed November 1, 2018, <http://blog.historian4hire.net/2018/10/28/the-walk-to-synagogue/>.

can be lost if it were not for the environmental review process. While the process was recently finished, the religious significance of the bridge is yet to be officially recognized.

Secularization of Sacred Properties

Cultures all around the world preserve historical religious sites. Many have been turned into tourist sites. Preservation of religious significance cannot begin until it is recognized, therefore, recognition of a site is key to its preservation. Religious sites are often amazing examples of architecture and have associations with significant events in human history. It is easy to attach non-religious attributes to these sites because of these factors. This practice, however, often leads to the suppression of the religious meaning. The primary purpose of many of these properties is religious and they would not have been built or used without the religious aspect. Religious properties often exemplify the best architecture and materials that the society had because of the devotion to the religion. Religions were often a crucial binder in communities, and religious properties became the gathering place for communities as a secondary type of use. Hence, for the recognition of sacred sites in American historic preservation, secularization often occurs—like that of Mother Bethel A.M.E. The secularization of religious properties completely changes the focus and narrative of history with regards to the property.

Religious sites can be considered sacred for non-religious reasons. This happens when the secular significance of the site is greater than the religious, as is the case at the Alamo in the state of Texas (Figure 4.). The Alamo, a Catholic Mission of the 1830s, was influential in religion and settlement patterns. Catholic missionaries traveled across the American Southwest

establishing congregations via religious conversion. A mission was often built as a place for the newly converted to congregate and worship. The mission is, first, a place of worship, and second, a place of learning as European culture was disseminated through the missions. However, it is the battle between Texans and Mexico in 1836 that sanctified the church. It is believed to be “the most sacred place and artifact in Texas” according to the State of Texas. During the battle, Santa Anna of the Mexican Army killed all the Texan “Defenders” as they are called. For Texans, the fight for Texas independence is what makes the site sacred in a secular way. It was not just the lives lost, but the reason for which they fought. It is their memory, both as a sacrifice in death and their lively and fiercely defended independence that was demanded. The event is a defining principle to the state of Texas, and is even considered to be the one site that testifies the most to the world the concepts of courage and liberty. With that reputation, the battle and lives lost create a sacred nature which trumps the important roles that the old mission had.³⁸

³⁸ George P. Bush, “Restoring, Reinforcing and Remembering the Alamo is Our Mission,” Texas Land Commissioner, *Save the Alamo*, accessed November 15, 2018, <http://savethealamo.com/mission.html>.



Figure 4. The Alamo
Source: San Antonio,
<https://www.sanantonio.gov/historic/historicsites/HistoricDistricts/AlamoPlaza>.

The secular sacred nature of the Alamo influenced professionals during the creation and implementation of the most recent master plan that also alters the site ownership—to allow multiple properties to become a single property. A plaza has been redesigned, traffic rerouted, and the surrounding area reinterpreted. A large museum is being built on the other end of the plaza so as not to detract from the site. This large-scale preservation plan is only being accomplished because of the public support and widespread recognition of its sacred significance. The site management team issued “Rules of Reverence,” similar to other sacred sites around the world such as the Vatican, various temples, and other counterparts in many religions. Some of these are preservation-minded, and others are requirements for showing respect and sacred observance. The barring of pets, tobacco, food, and drinks are common rules among historic sites, but requiring the removal of hats, prohibiting photography, offensive

language, and unauthorized firearms are reserved for the Alamo in order to support the concept of reverence and respect.³⁹

America's battlefields are often preserved for their historic value and in respect for the lives lost during battle. Gettysburg National Military Park, as an example, is considered by many to be a sacred site. Similar to the Alamo, that sacredness is now independent of religion. However, like the Alamo, a portion of Gettysburg was once religious. Lutherans have been attending Seminary since the 1830s on the same hilltop that became the focus of the battle. Like the Alamo, the military campaign has trumped the religious value and secularized the site while creating a new sacredness. That being said, there have been religious rituals there, including the dedication prayer—which is heavily Christian.⁴⁰ However, the sacredness of Gettysburg National Military Park goes beyond religion. Its sacredness, as with the Alamo's current presentation of sacredness, lies in the lives lost, the power, the struggle, the horror, and the eventual peace that came about because of the events that occurred there.

Conclusion: A Turn to Cultural Heritage

The nation's historic preservation program is clear on the distinction between secular and religious properties. Due the Separation Clause, and through decades of practice, it overlooks the religious significance, while encouraging the secular significances of the same

³⁹ "Rules of Reverence," *The Alamo*, THEALAMO.ORG, accessed November 15, 2018, <http://www.thealamo.org/visit/grounds/rules/index.html>.

⁴⁰ W. S. & A. Martien, Booksellers "Prayer at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Thursday, November 19th, 1863.," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1863, Library of Congress, accessed September 19, 2018. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lprbscsm.scs0451/?st=text>.

property. While separating the religious from the secular removes key meanings from the property, the secular recognition allows for participation in the preservation program, which often contributes to the continued use of the property. There is no current emphasis on religious properties in the United States, but cultural heritage is becoming a recognizable aspect of preservation both within the United States and the world, and this broad category must include continued religious heritage and sacred observances to capture society's cultural significances.

Sacred sites are considered significant for various reasons and the desire to preserve the sacred is universal, as suggested by secular sacred sites. The concept of sacred preservation should be better understood by historic preservationists. Anthropologists and folklorists have traditionally been the professionals and academics concerned with the intrinsic aspects of culture while preservationists focus on the physical site and built environments. With sacredness being observed across religions and the secular properties, it is time that historic preservationists better understand the connection between the two.

Other nations with historic preservation programs have included cultural values and religious observance into their preservation. Australia's Burra Charter, adopted in 1979 and revised in 1999, is one example. This new policy protected many sites, including Aboriginal Australian sites, which have historic and current sacred significance. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has also recognized sites around the world that have historic and current religious importance. Yet, preservationist Ned Kaufman reminds us there is work to do:

But official thinking, at least within UNESCO, has not sought to underline or indeed to understand the linkages between intangible heritage and place. As a result, though the conservation of intangible heritage has added a new range of important specializations to the field, it has not yet fulfilled its potential to enrich our understanding of place or augment the tools available for protecting places.⁴¹

The United States' first attempt is the TCP; however, the TCP still leaves gaps of interpretation on what is of cultural value and how to document and preserve it. How then do American preservation professionals achieve an objective, like UNESCO promotes, to better understand and protect properties with significance beyond secular associations and architectural value? Cultural heritage is the answer. Cultural heritage is more than the built environment. Cultural heritage is the combination of history, place, and understanding of a site and how it developed. Cultural heritage explores the morals, beliefs, and culture left behind for our use and remembrance—with a connection to those who built and originally used the very places we preserve. The Alamo is a set of buildings from a Catholic mission, but the cultural heritage embedded within is a story of independence, loyalty, bravery, strength, courage, and liberty. That legacy is what the generations since 1836 have received and revered as their heritage and has defined the culture of an entire state. Without understanding the culture, the Alamo would be a good example of Spanish Mission architecture, as well as early frontier forts. That approach, however, does not tell the whole story.

Sacred sites don't become sacred without context found within the story, legacy, and heritage particular to a specific site. The work of the historic preservation field is to preserve the aspects that make a place special. Religious and sacred sites are among the most special

⁴¹ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York City, Routledge, 2011), 5.

places we can preserve because of the intangible connections that draw individuals and entire peoples to them. Finding that connection is crucial to the continued professional development of historic preservation as it serves the greater culture and community. The NPS characterizes its role as creating a comprehensive American history textbook by compiling “principal themes, stories, persons and events.”⁴² That textbook is incomplete without the addition of the recognition and preservation of religious and other sacred sites.

⁴² “Surveying American History,” *National Park Service*, last modified August 29, 2018, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/surveying-american-history.htm>.

CHAPTER III AN EVOLVING AND ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH TO SACRED SITES

Historic sites are the physical representation of memorable events, movements, and people throughout history. These sites are indicative of what is important to the culture and people who remain after the initial period of significance has passed. In an attempt to keep the memory of these important historic places from fading, governments introduced programs to fund their preservation and interpretation. Americans are finding, recognizing, and encouraging these sites through applying expertise and understanding within these programs. As the historic preservation profession in the United States matured, so did the recognition of social history and broad patterns of significance. Until recently, cultural significance has been left out of the discussion. Consideration of cultural aspects is increasingly impacting the professional field of preservation. As religious meanings are attached to culture, the emphasis on cultural values provides the opportunity to include the religious.

Throughout the world there are religious historic sites, and each individual site has a specific religious affiliation and an expected behavior—both from the faithful observer and the tourist. For example, the Vatican has a dress code;⁴³ Buddhist monasteries have patrons

⁴³ “Visit the Museums,” Musei Vaticani, accessed October 22, 2018, <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/visita-i-musei/consigli-utili.html>.

remove their shoes, hats, and cover their shoulders;⁴⁴ and many chapels across religions ask for hushed tones when conversing. By heeding these instructions, visitors show a level of respect towards the belief system, its followers, and the site itself. The same things should be taken into account in regards to a historic preservation approach. Finding the precious, special, appreciated, or sacred aspects of a historic site reveals significance that transcends the physical connection alone. Preserving historic sites, particularly religious sites, should be approached with reverence to that belief, even if it is not one's own. This type of understanding may impact decisions about the priority of contemporary preservation practices by including the cultural, heritage, and religious uses and considerations of a site.

This chapter, as well as Chapter 4, uses examples from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church of Jesus Christ). Reasons for using the Church of Jesus Christ as an example of historic preservation of religious sites include the following: The Church of Jesus Christ is an American religion—meaning it started in the United States and has foundations throughout the northeastern and central states. In addition, the Church of Jesus Christ has been actively preserving early religious sites for over a century. Because of this, the preservation methods used have evolved as a reflection of the national efforts for preservation, but always with a focus on the religious and not the secular. Finally, the Church of Jesus Christ has a large number of diverse sites that have varied preservation histories and plans.

⁴⁴ Suemedha Sood, "Do's and Don'ts for Visiting Temples, Mosques, and Churches." *Religious Tourism Etiquette*, BBC.com, June 17, 2011, accessed October 22, 2018, <http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20110616-travelwise-religious-tourism-etiquette>.

The Church of Jesus Christ is not the only religious organization actively preserving religious sites. Yet the complexity and quantity of its sites, as well as its preservation methods and purposes are worth noting.. Some sites represent the history of significant people like Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Others preserve the broad patterns of history, like 19th century settlements in frontier Midwest America, or settlements based on congregational affiliation. Still other sites are preserved for their significance to the doctrines specific to members of the faith which are based in intangible beliefs. These sites, considered to be sacred, dictate a different approach because, to church members, significance is faith based while also being historical.

As part of this treatise, I examined the history and development of the Church of Jesus Christ's various preservation plans over the last century and developed an approach for categorizing the sites so that their significance and preservation methods can be aligned, and, in turn, lead to new approaches in understanding and preserving sacred sites. A history of the site alone cannot express the sacred, and the sacred alone cannot express the history. The Church of Jesus Christ has, on occasion, taken a preservation approach that may seem inconsistent with some preservation standards, due to the church's worship practices. Upon closer examination, understanding these practices adds to the preservation of culture, heritage, and religion, which is the goal of both the church and historic preservation in general.

Evolution of the Historic Sites of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ has a vested interest in preserving the history of the organization and membership as part of its doctrines, traditions, and heritage. To that end, the organization makes efforts to preserve locations where the church was organized and developed in its early years. Many of these sites were abandoned by the church when its members traveled overland from New England to the Midwest and, eventually, on to the Rocky Mountains. The records and stories of these settlements along the path of migration have been carried on in various ways by the church and its membership. Many sites were tended to, first by local congregations, with a member acting as a steward for the site. Missionaries who volunteered to serve the Church by teaching the gospel and doing service would use these locations as teaching tools, if they happened to be serving in the area. These missions encompassed multiple states, which meant that these sites were used infrequently. Mission presidents and fellow missionaries also used the sites as locations for missionary meetings.

Temple Square, in Salt Lake City, Utah, became an important example for missionary use of historic sites beginning in 1902. To people across the country and in many other nations, Temple Square is the most well-known set of structures representing the Church of Jesus Christ. It is the site of the Salt Lake Temple and the Tabernacle, the latter being the home of the Tabernacle Choir at Temple Square, known more commonly as the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

The Historic Sites team—a team of preservationists, archaeologists, historians, and curators working for the Church of Jesus Christ—and the Church’s Missionary Department have operated the historic sites collaboratively since the 1970s. The physical relationship that the church and its membership has had with historic properties has changed over time. With each

development, new approaches to preservation have been introduced. A similar pattern can be seen with many American historic sites. A key difference is that the Church's Historic Sites team developed with an increasing emphasis on preserving sacred connections. Reviewing the church's history of preservation is useful to understand its current approaches. The development of the relationship, preservation, and presentation of religious sites has not been written on extensively, and this review is intended to lead to a more thorough understanding of the issues involved.

In his dissertation and a subsequent article, Michael H. Madsen traces the evolution of historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ from a Point of Interest to a Sacred Site. Madsen argues that the Church of Jesus Christ was successful at the World's Fairs of the 1960s and 1970s, in attracting visitors to its venues, displays, and events. After people from all over the world visited the Church of Jesus Christ's venues at the World's Fairs, church leaders concluded that visitors, who were not members of the church, would also visit church historic sites. The Church of Jesus Christ then constructed buildings—termed Visitors' Centers—and staffed them with proselytizing missionaries.⁴⁵ While Madsen focused on an important expansion of the interpretation of site development, his work does not include the sixty years prior to the World's Fair that included missionaries' use of these same sites as part of mission and preservation efforts. It was not at the World's Fairs that the Church of Jesus Christ first found success in spreading information and proselytization at important venues; Temple Square had been a proselytizing venue since 1902. Since the roles of missionaries and proselytizing were so

⁴⁵ Michael H. Madsen, "Mormon Meccas: The Spiritual Transformation of Mormon Historical Sites from Points of Interest to Sacred Space" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 2003), 96.

important to the approach of their sites, this background is important to better understand the preservation and presentation development of the sacred sites of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Madsen highlighted the development of the Visitors' Centers, staffed by missionaries, built in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Initially, there was a hope that tourism at historic sites would be a missionary tool to bring people to these centers and increase rates of conversion. In fact, these centers became the Church's first response to tourism. This section addresses the missing years and development of these sites and at the same time reviews the preservation efforts at these religious sites.

The public use of the Church's historic sites has evolved for over a century. Even today it continues to change to better meet perceived needs of church members, tourists, missionaries, and the preservation profession. Points of Interest were developed by the Church of Jesus Christ on land that they obtained (or otherwise, when land owners granted permission) to install monuments and other informational plaques. Due to the significance of the locations of the Restoration, the Church thought it wise to purchase more of the various sites. The Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, known by Latter-day Saints (members of the Church of Jesus Christ) as "the Restoration," was the series of events that created the organization and its theology.⁴⁶ Key components of the Restoration are angelic visitations, heavenly

⁴⁶ The concept of restoring the Gospel comes from the belief that in the centuries following Jesus Christ's crucifixion, the gospel that Jesus taught, and the church that He organized, was slowly lost or changed. This change in Jesus's church is the reason that Latter-day Saints believe a restoration of the gospel and church that Jesus organized needed to happen, complete with a prophet, apostles, revelation, and scripture. Though the Latter-day Saints believe that the Restoration is an ongoing development, the initial twenty-five years are thought of as having many sacred events, revelations, and ideals. The following twenty years can be looked at as the implementation of those revelations and ideals. Collectively the forty-five years is generally, but not officially, called "the Restoration."

manifestations, translation of scripture, and new revelations.⁴⁷ The places where these events took place are considered sacred.

Eventually the Bureau of Information, a department of the Church of Jesus Christ which used information kiosks, accompanied these efforts in the first half of the twentieth century, and Visitors' Centers replaced the Bureaus in the second half. Last year, 2018, marked another stage in the evolution and preservation practice of these sites with the transfer of principal management responsibility from the Missionary Department to the Church History Department. The records of the Missionary Department are not available for public use. However, based on observable practice, three goals seem central to that department's program: proselytizing, teaching the history of the church, and increasing its popularity.

Recognizing that its sites are not merely historic, nor merely religious, a transition is currently underway as the Historic Sites team oversees the day-to-day operations as well as interpretations, exhibits, and programs. The new approach removes proselytizing as the primary goal, and instead uses the sites for encompassing more of what Latter-day Saint historic sites truly are: physical examples of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The new approach will do the same within Visitors' Centers. The evolution of the historic sites is summarized in Table 1. This evolution starts with Points of interest, which led to pageantry, then Bureaus of Information, followed by Visitors' Centers for the last forty years. The evolution took place over 130 years, each having many years of overlap, including the continuation of certain programs throughout.

⁴⁷ Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 2005) 635-636.

<u>Unit</u>	<u>Function</u>
<p data-bbox="386 352 613 386"><u>Points of Interest</u></p> <p data-bbox="396 430 604 464">ca. 1847 – 1960</p>	<p data-bbox="824 312 1414 464">A revered site specifically associated with the history of Latter-day Saints. Generally, lightly marked or interpreted. Somewhat popular as tourist sites for church members.</p>
<p data-bbox="347 590 651 623"><u>Bureaus of Information</u></p> <p data-bbox="412 667 587 701">1902 – 1970s</p>	<p data-bbox="824 590 1411 741">Information kiosks built at Points of Interests to enhance the site and give more information to the visitors. Site information was two part: secular and religious.</p>
<p data-bbox="440 846 558 879"><u>Pageants</u></p> <p data-bbox="404 919 594 953">1923 - present</p>	<p data-bbox="824 861 1414 970">Stage performances, usually at significant sites, celebrating doctrines or histories of the church.</p>
<p data-bbox="391 1136 607 1169"><u>Visitors' Centers</u></p> <p data-bbox="404 1213 594 1247">1962 - present</p>	<p data-bbox="837 1094 1401 1245">Replaced Bureaus of Information. Designed to create a more spiritual venue for missionary proselytizing. Secular tourist information was decreased.</p> <p data-bbox="837 1289 1401 1360">New approach makes the history of the site and its religious application a priority.</p>

Table 1: Summary of evolution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints historic sites.

Points of Interest

Site preservation and missionary use for the Church of Jesus Christ started as interesting locations for members to visit. Interaction at these properties, at the time, was often limited to its membership due of a lack of property ownership and preservation funds. These sites are claimed by the Church of Jesus Christ and referred to as evidences of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

In the past, when possible, missionaries would travel to towns and sites that are tied to the early days of the religion to experience the sites for themselves. Some of these missionaries used photography at these locations to create their own keepsakes, but also to use for teaching. The early photos were useful to teach those who did not live in the area of these early sites (Figure 5). The points of interest, like Nauvoo, Independence, Kirtland, and Palmyra are the physical sites of the Restoration. It is no wonder then that missionaries would try to visit these sites during their travels to and from the areas in which they were called to serve.



Figure 5. Kimball Home (Heber C. Kimball)

Source: B.H. Roberts, 1886, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

The trend to travel to these sites as part of or in preparation for a mission began the same year that Latter-day Saints were entering Salt Lake Valley. Starting in 1847, missionaries like John Scott were called from Great Salt Lake City to Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois to help church members prepare to go west.⁴⁸ This trend continued at least through 1877 per a statement given by Nels Madsen in 1931. Madsen claims that, on his way to and during his missionary service, he went to Nauvoo and even visited with Joseph Smith's widow, Emma Smith.⁴⁹ In preparation for his mission to England, George Anderson traveled across the United States in 1907 taking photographs of Restoration sites.

Joseph F. Smith, the president of the Church of Jesus Christ at the turn of the century and nephew of Joseph Smith, found a way to honor the history of the church, control the historical and religious narrative, and create a connection for the younger generations of the church membership. Smith had the Church of Jesus Christ purchase the site of Joseph Smith's birth, near Sharon, Vermont, as well as the site of his death, Carthage Jail in Carthage, Illinois. Monuments were quickly made along with informational plaques, signs, and Bureaus of Information—which will be discussed later in this chapter.

As early as 1923, missionaries in New England and Canada would meet at the Hill Cumorah for conferences. These experiences allowed for a personal connection to their ancestry, a personal story for their posterity, and a deepening connection to the beliefs and

⁴⁸ John Scott, "John Scott Journal, 1847-1848 and 1855-1856," MS 5984, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴⁹ Nels Madsen, "Visit to Mrs. Emma Smith Bidemon [sic], 1931," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ. In that way, it allowed for the connection to the Restoration to become personal and tangible. Latter-day Saints' interest in, and eventual church ownership of, early Restoration sites allowed for story sharing, testimonies of their faith, and religious tourism. One of these expressions came in the form of Pageants, which is the next phase of preservation.



Figure 6. Hill Cumorah Pageant 1950

Source: Toi Clawson, <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/865582917/Hill-Cumorah-Pageant-holds-history-of-missionary-work.html>.

Pageants

Pageants at Restoration sites began as a celebration at the Hill Cumorah site (Figure 6.) of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon via the Gold Plates given to Joseph Smith by

Moroni.⁵⁰ While this celebration started in 1923 during mission conferences, the pageant was thought to be a way to attract an audience as a teaching tool and took place periodically over the next six years. In 1929, the first formal Hill Cumorah Pageant was directed by Florence Bushman, a missionary, with local Latter-day Saints and other missionaries serving in the surrounding areas as cast members. Bushman directed another pageant in 1930, after her mission, at the Joseph Smith Sr. family farm, another historic Point of Interest. This event became a yearly gathering for missionaries and members. In 1933, an annual pageant was started at Cumorah.

Around that same time pageants were becoming more popular in Utah. A youth program for learning the gospel and history of the Church called Seminary often held pageants as part of Seminary graduation. A particular graduation pageant at the Cache Valley, Utah, seminary became very popular. Even President David O. McKay (a member of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ) and President Don B. Colton (Eastern States Mission President) attended a showing. Crowds continued to grow, and pageants continually added more showings. Colton wanted the same results for the Hill Cumorah Pageant, as did McKay. By 1939, J. Karl Wood, the Cache Valley seminary pageant director, was directing the Hill Cumorah Pageant. The Mission Department took advantage of this version of the pageant and welcomed the spotlight of local newspapers. Spectators came in droves. 35,000 people came to see the

⁵⁰ The story of Moroni giving Joseph Smith the Gold Plates is one of the foundations of the Latter-day Saint faith. Joseph Smith claimed to receive an ancient scripture that an angel, named Moroni, had given him. This ancient record was a book that appeared to be made of gold—known as the Gold Plates. He continues to claim that through the power of God he was able to translate the ancient book into the Book of Mormon. Along with the Holy Bible, the Book of Mormon is a book of scripture to the Latter-day Saints. This story is so important to the Latter-day Saints that it was canonized and added to another book of scripture called the Pearl of Great Price.

show in 1939. In 1940 that number increased to 50,000. In 1941, missionaries handed out 11,000 tracts.⁵¹ These visitation numbers necessitated a more permanent presence for sharing the Gospel message of the Church of Jesus Christ and the history of the Latter-day Saints. The permanence that was being sought cemented the further use and preservation of historic sites. This permanent presence came in the form of Bureaus of Information which were already being used in Salt Lake City.

Bureaus of Information

The first Bureau of Information was created to curb misinformation. There were many rumors and false claims during the attempts for Utah to become a state. The Utah Territory was denied statehood from 1849-1896, due to the disobedience to federal laws, namely polygamy. Statehood was achieved in 1896, and over the next eight years tourism grew, but so did the rumors and falsehoods about the Church of Jesus Christ and the state of Utah. The Church of Jesus Christ established an information booth that was open to all Temple Square visitors. This first Bureau of Information started as a booth just inside the south gate of Temple Square to serve a growing number of tourists (Figure 7.). In 1902, men and women of the respective Men's Mutual Improvement Association and Women's Mutual Improvement Association were asked to serve willingly, unpaid, and all day for multiple days a week.⁵² One hundred and five men and women operated the Bureau. The main job of these volunteers was similar to a state

⁵¹ John Karl Wood, "Hill Cumorah Pageant Files, 1932-1993," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵² Melvin Kay Johnson, "A History of the Temple Square Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to 1970" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971), 17.

Visitors' Information office, along with providing tours of Temple Square and lessons on Latter-day Saint theology.



Figure 7. Utah Pioneers of 1847
Source: C.R. Savage. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

It was at this time that the Reed Smoot hearings started. Smoot was an elected senator for Utah, but was not able to take office until after a series of trials took place in Washington, D.C. due to the fact that Smoot was a leader in the Church of Jesus Christ, a church that was known for breaking federal laws against polygamy. The popularity of the trials also gave rise to many false claims. The Church wanted the correct information about the organization and the state to be given, not inaccuracies that were cropping up around the country. The newly established Bureau of Information took on this role.

Just two years later, Temple Square had grown enough in tourist visitation and volunteers that a new building was built to replace the booth. The building received additions in

1910 and 1918. The office also housed a few exhibits and artifacts, creating a small museum.⁵³

In 1921, the prophet and president of the Church, Heber J. Grant, made the Bureau of Information into a mission. He referred to the staff prior to the change as aides, and post-change as missionaries. He instructed the missionaries to teach doctrine and history in the tours. The missionaries were expected to be educated in topics ranging from archaeology and Native Americans to pioneer settlement and irrigation. They were also expected to understand the Book of Mormon and Holy Bible.⁵⁴ This long-running Bureau of Information was replaced in 1978 with the South Visitors' Center, built on the location of the Bureau of Information.

With the success of the Temple Square Bureau of Information, other Bureaus were built at historic sites based on the hopes of increasing visitation. The Bureaus were used as an attempt to educate the general public about what the Church is and what its followers believe. Much like the Bureau at Temple Square, the Bureaus at different sites were also staffed with a volunteer force of local missionaries as well as any proselytizing missionary that the mission president asked to serve in the Bureau. The first Bureau outside of Utah was built at Hill Cumorah in 1936. Washington, D.C., had a Bureau in the 1940s.⁵⁵ Hawaii's Bureau was on the grounds of the Church of Jesus Christ's temple on Oahu's north shore. In 1961, during a restoration and addition project at the birthplace of Joseph Smith in Sharon, Vermont, a Bureau of Information was included in the plans.⁵⁶ Just as the Bureaus were in response to increased

⁵³ H. Wallace Goddard, "Temple Square's Early Warm Welcome," *Ensign* (February 1996). Accessed August 30, 2018. https://www.lds.org/ensign/1996/02/temple-squares-early-warm-welcome?lang=eng&_r=1.

⁵⁴ Johnson, "A History of the Temple Square Mission," 27.

⁵⁵ Nancy Cureton, *Roy Darley: Missionary Work is His Forte*, *Ensign*, July 1985, accessed September 3, 2018, <https://www.lds.org/ensign/1985/07/portraits/roy-darley-missionary-work-is-his-forte?lang=eng>.

visitation and tourism, the continued interest can logically be linked to the World's Fairs, as Michael Madsen argues.⁵⁷ This increase in volume of visitors was the justification for the Church to increase the size and purpose of the Bureaus. Effectively, the perceived interest outgrew the Bureau in the 1960s and 1970s. The response was the established Visitors' Centers.

Visitors' Centers

Following the same pattern as the Bureaus of Information at different sites, Temple Square was the first to use the Visitors' Center model. This was not a replacement of the ideas of the Bureaus, but more of an addition to their functions. The idea behind building the Visitors' Center was to create "an ever increasing [sic] spiritual atmosphere to influence visitors."⁵⁸ The North Visitors' Center of Temple Square was built in 1962. The South Visitors' Center was built a decade later, replacing the Bureau of Information. The two Temple Square Visitors' Center show an interesting interpretive model. The North Center focuses on the life and gospel of Jesus Christ. The main attraction is the Christus statue, an eleven-foot tall replica of the white Italian marble figure that Bertel Thorvaldsen sculpted in the mid-nineteenth century, on display in Denmark.⁵⁹ The paintings, attractions, and exhibits are of Jesus's life, death, and resurrection.

⁵⁶ "Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial" *Church History*, LDS.org, accessed September 3, 2018, <https://history.lds.org/exhibit/historic-sites/vermont/joseph-smith-birthplace/birthplace?lang=eng>

⁵⁷ Madsen, *Mormon Meccas*.

⁵⁸ Johnson, "A History of the Temple Square Mission," 86.

⁵⁹ "Temple Square North Visitors' Center," *Visitors' Centers*, LDS.org, accessed January 25, 2019, https://www.lds.org/locations/temple-square-north-visitors-center?lang=eng&_r=1.

The rotunda in the Visitors' Center featuring the Christus has murals depicting the heavens, and the audio recording depicts the role of Christ as the Savior and Redeemer—the Christian belief of the New Testament role of Jesus Christ. This building is filled with missionaries who testify of Christ. The South Visitors' Center took on the responsibility of exhibiting the Restored Gospel. Through exhibits, this center focuses on the building of the Salt Lake Temple. The main attraction in this center is the large window framing the entire Salt Lake Temple. This location also houses the scale model of the Salt Lake Temple with cut-out walls so that the temple interior can be seen within the model. The missionaries here discuss the Restoration and the roles of temples.



Figure 8. Independence, Missouri Visitors' Center
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

In 1971, the Independence, Missouri, Bureau was replaced by a large Visitors' Center that had pillars wrapping around its exterior (Figure 8.). These pillars caused a local controversy

due to the building's resemblance of ancient Greek temples. The fear was that if it looked similar to a temple, then it must be a temple.⁶⁰ It was not built to be a temple, nor to scare the local residents. It was, in fact, built to be inviting to the local residents and travelers alike. A pamphlet was created in support of a pageant that was to be put on after the Visitors' Center was built. It describes the new Visitors' Center and the objective with constructing the building:

“The primary message of the center concerns the second coming of Jesus Christ who made known to the prophet Joseph Smith that he would appear suddenly in the temple of the new Jerusalem which will be erected in the same area where the visitors center now stands.”⁶¹

During this same time there was a second Visitors' Center being built in Missouri at Liberty Jail in Liberty, Missouri.

This same model of replacing the smaller Bureaus with larger Visitors' Centers with more spiritual emphasis continued at many of the historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ and all have similar purposes. The Hill Cumorah, Independence, Liberty Jail, Laie, Nauvoo, St. George, and Washington D.C. Visitors' Centers were built in the fifteen years following the Temple Square projects. The Visitors' Center became more focused on the messages of the missionaries and less on the history of the site. Increasingly the historic site became only the backdrop at which the missionaries hoped to speak to visitors. What actually happened was that as travel became easier and the historic sites of the church became more developed, preserved, and interpreted, more Latter-day Saints visited these sites. Member visitation

⁶⁰ “Missouri Independence Mission History, 1963-2003,” *Missouri Independence Mission*, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶¹ Ibid.

continually increased until they became the clear majority of visitors. A new model for the sites was needed to attract visitors, preserve the history, and teach the gospel.

Historic Sites New Approach

After forty years of the Missionary Department and the Historic Sites team working in tandem, the historic sites of the Church are being given to the Historic Sites team of the Church History Department. This transition was announced in 2018, and will bring day-to-day operations, programs, and training of missionaries under the direction of the Historic Sites team. It is unclear at this time what the change of leadership will mean for visitors' experiences of the sites. It is logical to assume that the teaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, particularly at Restoration sites, will become more immersive in the historic experience of the life of early Latter-day Saints—in other words, the sacred aspect of each of the sites. With this, exhibits and experiences will change too. Instead of the program focusing on teaching visitors who are not members of the Church of Jesus Christ about the faith, it might focus on strengthening the faith of the Latter-day Saint visitors.

A focus on the history and spiritual nature of the sites will need different preservation plans that support different experiences. The new plans should no longer separate the secular history (societal development) and the sacred (religious development). The combination of the two has been what Latter-day Saints have been seeking since the early days of missionary tourists of the nineteenth century. For the visitor who is not a Latter-day Saint, the combination of religious representation and secular history will present an accurate interpretation of the

colonies, townships, and settlements that the early Latter-day Saints created. Even so, there are no church historic sites that are not in response to religious development or experience.

Despite the religious or secular affiliation, a visitor to these sites would gain a better understanding of the Church of Jesus Christ, as well as nineteenth century religious movements in the United States of America.

The Expressive Development of the Latter-day Saint Preservation Program

Latter-day Saints have always admired and respected the historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ. The sites have been the tangible evidences of their beliefs. This respect and admiration come in the form of Sunday School lessons that help members understand how the Restoration developed. It comes also in the form of ancestral connections due to certain doctrines of the Church. There is a tie that seems to be irrevocably connected between each successive generation and that first generation of members and their sites. Steven Olsen, the Assistant Director of the Museum of Church History and Art at the time of the Madsen interview, articulates that if this connection was just about the trees of the Sacred Grove site, we would be able to take those species of plants and recreate the site wherever we wanted, but it is not just about the trees. He asserted that it's the trees and the story that create an immersive historic site experience at the Sacred Grove, near Palmyra, New York. The immersive experience is the spiritual and the tangible, united.⁶²

⁶² Madsen, *Mormon Meccas*.

The specialness of the story, lessons, and experience of the Restoration attracts visitation. Missionaries have been trying to use this appeal for the spreading of their messages. While the messages have not changed, the vehicles have. It seems that each generation has had a different experience at historic sites. These experiences build on each other as attraction grows. What started out as Points of Interest developed into site specific programs and Bureaus of Information. Continued site development brought Visitors' Centers, and now the newest transition to the Historic Sites team will provide yet different experiences. The missionaries are the teachers of the Church of Jesus Christ; it has always been their responsibility to teach. The Historic Sites team will have to balance the long valued and respected roles of missionaries at historic sites and the intent to provide immersive experiences in their new programs in the newest transition of the missionary-and-sites relationship. One of the ways to provide continuity and balance is through an organizational approach to understanding the levels of religious use or affiliation in order to better represent their non-secular meanings accurately.

An Heuristic Approach to Understanding Religious Historic Sites

To better understand the sites connected to the Restoration through a culturally informed approach to preservation, I divided the historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ into three levels or degrees of prioritization based on the investment of resources—time, labor, money, and lessons in church history courses and worship services. Like the concept of “primary and secondary areas” within the Historic Preservation profession, it provides a working organization pattern of preservation priorities of a given religion. There will be sites that do not fit perfectly within the three levels of prioritization, but it is still useful in organizing

many sites. The usefulness of this approach is not strictly classificatory, but rather illustrative of how to frame research and understanding of religion-affiliated properties and how that level of understanding can dictate preservation approaches. Examples of each of the three levels will convey their differences. The sites are also examples of the presentation of Latter-day Saint culture, identity, and belief. There are sites that may fit in one level, but may receive the treatment of another one. Another variance are sites that have elements of all three levels. Even so, I argue that, aside from a few abnormalities, there is a clear distinction being made by the Church of Jesus Christ and its members which effect preservation approaches.

The three divisions use terms used within Latter-day Saint culture. Similar terms are found in many cultures and may carry different connotations within others. However, there are similarities to the concepts the terms embody. The three categories I place the Church of Jesus Christ historic sites are listed here and summarized in Table 2.

Revered Sites. These sites have ties to the early generations of the church. They have stories attached to their history, but they may not be the stories that are spoken of in worship services. They are often related to the lives of those first generation of believers in the religion, and the places that they lived, worked, or traveled as part of their religious beliefs. Due to the ties that members of the church feel to their ancestry, certain sites offer examples of important lives, and often the sacrifices their ancestors made. In many cases, the sacrifice is the story. The sacrifices of the early members came by way of being harassed in many aspects of life: money, goods, destruction of property, assault, and even loss of life. Such experiences often led the members to travel great distances in weather and conditions not ideal or conducive to traveling. It is these

circumstances and stories that cause reverence to be observed by modern generations of church membership. Revered sites are not necessarily religious or spiritual, and sometimes are revered only by Latter-day Saints.

Religious Sites. These sites have significance to the religion or doctrinal development, as well as the sacrifices and other faith-driven actions of the Latter-day Saints. There are many sites in this category because of the constancy of relocation among the first two generations of the Church. The relocations themselves are considered sacrifices and actions of faith. However, religious sites will include a significant religious development, such as an organizational change, a doctrinal development, or a doctrinal implementation, in particular, one that affects worship in temples.⁶³ These religious developments and organizational changes that took place at many religious buildings at various communities the early Latter-day Saints built before their various exiles.

Sacred Sites. These are places where the highest tenets of the faith are expressed through worship. These sites are often a landscape or buildings called temples. These are also the places where the grand moments in doctrinal and religious development were revealed via heavenly manifestations, visions, and revelations. Sacred sites can also include places of great sacrifice made by members to live their belief. They can be viewed as the sites where foundational truths to the Latter-day Saint faith were established or experienced. Therefore, a delicate balance must be achieved in the

⁶³ "Brigham Young Winter Home and Office: St. George, Utah," *Washington County Historical Society*, accessed October 16, 2018, <http://wchsutah.org/homes/brigham-young-home.php>.

interpretation and visitation of such sites as to not distract from the experience of a visitor while protecting the sacred nature of the site.

Category	Meanings and Values
Revered Site	Cultural reverence for site but does not necessarily contribute to religious practice or beliefs.
Religious Site	Significant religious and doctrinal development, or faith-driven actions or sacrifices took place here.
Sacred Site	Highest tenets of faith expressed through worship, revelation, or heavenly manifestations occurred. Greatest impact on religion and followers.

Table 2. The categories of religion-related sites of the Church of Jesus Christ.

This tripartite approach hinges on an understanding that not all religious sites are sacred and not all sacred sites are religious. However, to members of the Church of Jesus Christ, their sacred sites are deeply religious and revered.⁶⁴ Preservation and interpretation at the church’s sites typically consist of signs of interpretation, information centers, and/or restored buildings. Much like historic sites outside of religious affiliations, most of these sites will include modern

⁶⁴ A list of sites that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have been actively involved in the historic preservation of can be found at <https://www.lds.org/locations/historical-sites?lang=eng>.

conveniences such as lavatories and drinking fountains. Even these facilities can reflect the prioritization and investment of the sites by creating services that do not distract from the historic structures or space. Support buildings are often built with like materials and constructed in a way that blends in with the surroundings. In Nauvoo, Illinois, for example, the lavatories are built to look like barns and other outbuildings of the 1840s.

Understanding each of the three levels comes secondary to understanding the organization of the three levels. It is in ascending order, or building upon the level before. A diagram, (Figure 9), shows a large circle that encompasses all the sites—this is the Revered Sites. The Church of Jesus Christ would not put forth the resources to preserve a site if it was not revered by the church and its members. It would serve no need or purpose to the church. Therefore, it can be assumed that all the sites of the Church, despite how many resources go into its preservation, are revered. Within the large revered circle are two overlapping circles, one is the Religious Sites, and the other is the Sacred Sites. While each is revered, only one is independent of the other. All Sacred Sites, within the Church of Jesus Christ, are Religious, however, not all Religious sites are necessarily sacred.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Steven L. Olsen, class discussion with author, Independent Study, Goucher College, October 2, 2018.

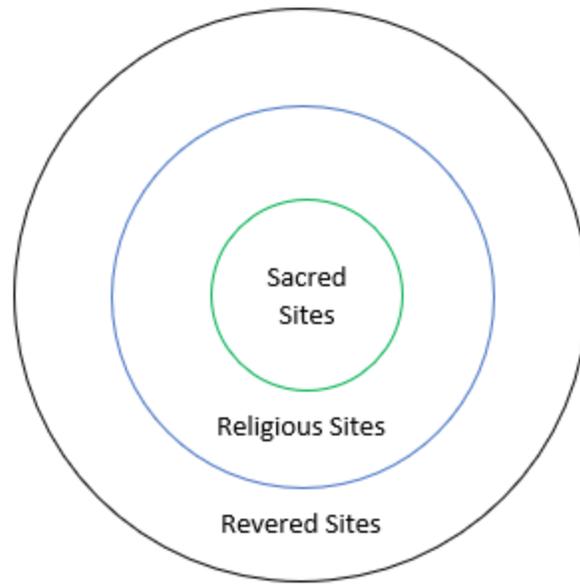


Figure 9. Diagram of Historic Site Divisions
Source: Steven L. Olsen

Revered Sites

This is the largest circle in the diagram of the Church of Jesus Christ's historic sites. As shown in Figure 9, all church sites are revered sites that are profoundly respected by the Church and can be elaborately preserved, maintained, and interpreted. That being said—interpretation could be as simple as a sign or a plaque.

The Sixth Crossing, a church-owned historic site near Lander, Wyoming, is an example of a revered site. It is located on the Oregon Trail, used by settlers traveling to Oregon, Idaho, California, and Utah. A tragic experience for a group of pioneers has been shared for generations among Latter-day Saints. This story tells of church members traveling in companies from the Iowa Territory to the Utah Territory by foot, pushing and pulling all their belongings in carts. A late in the year start and an early winter forced these companies to continue their

journey in severe weather with few provisions and supplies, which caused many deaths. At the location of the Sixth Crossing, which is the sixth time the travelers had to cross the Sweetwater River in Wyoming, nine individuals were buried. The day after these deaths, a supply train with food, provisions, and help arrived.

Golden Linford, a descendant of one of the deceased, wanted a greater connection to his ancestor. After contacting an Oregon Trail guide, Linford found the location of the Sixth Crossing in 1992. The Church of Jesus Christ later purchased the privately-owned property and placed a marker in 1998 to honor and acknowledge the sacrifice of the pioneers that traveled through and died at that location.⁶⁶

The story of the Sixth Crossing is more important than the site. For this reason, even though the location was lost for a time, Latter-day Saints continued to tell it. However, once the location was rediscovered with its pristine wagon ruts, Gordon B. Hinckley, the president of the Church of Jesus Christ at the time, became very interested in owning and controlling the land.⁶⁷ The story of the Sixth Crossing is a faith-promoting story of the collective ancestry of the church sacrificing shelter, food, water, warmth, and comforts and risking life to find a safe place to practice their faith. As the story is told and internalized, it creates deeper meanings for members' own devotion to faith and religion. The site created a tangible connection to a faith-building story. It is the tangible connections to stories of faith that makes a site revered to the membership of the Church of Jesus Christ.

⁶⁶ Golden C. Linford, "Sixth Crossing of the Sweetwater River", MS 22886, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁷ Linford, "Sixth Crossing," Ibid.

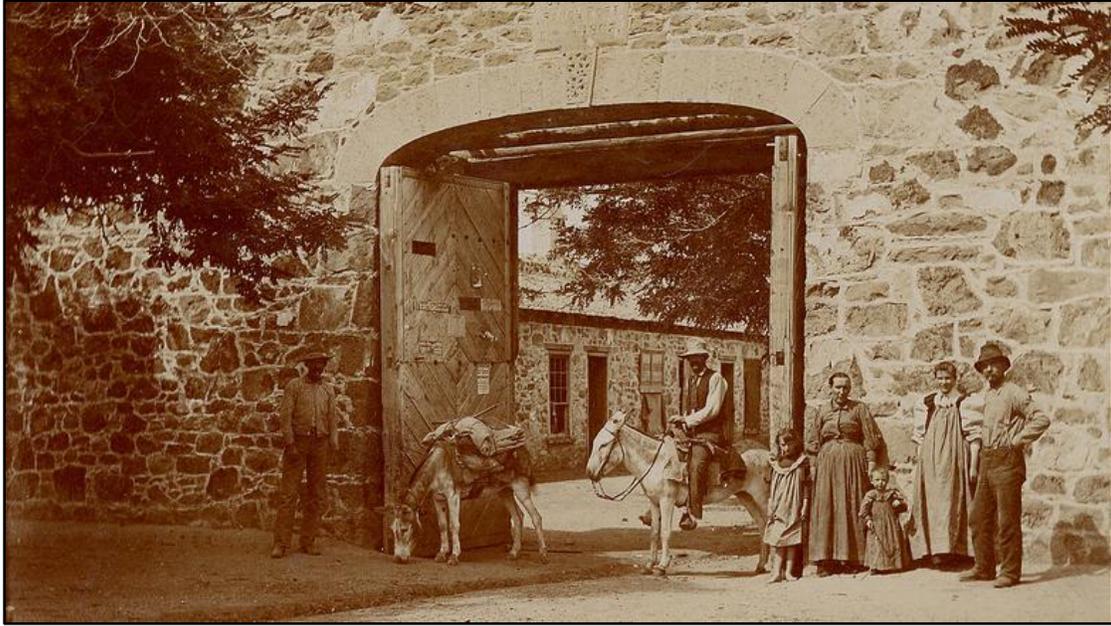


Figure 10. Cove Fort

Source: LDS.org, <https://history.lds.org/timeline/historic-sites/utah/cove-fort/1847-1890-time-line?lang=eng>.

Another example of tangible connections to a revered site is found at Cove Fort (Figure 10.). Due to the location's advantages as a stopping point on the trail from Salt Lake City to St. George, Utah, Brigham Young, the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints asked for the purchase of the land. The church acquired the land in 1867, after which Young assigned Ira Hinckley to build a fort to protect church members and others from Native American attacks while on their travels. This fort was called Cove Fort. It was used as a way station by many Latter-day Saints, including Brigham Young, who traveled the route yearly. It was also a relay station for the telegraph, once that technology was established in Utah.

The church stopped using Cove Fort in 1902, and it sat abandoned for eighteen months until W. H. Kesler leased it and the land from the church in 1903 as a home for his family. Over the next fourteen years, Kesler restored the heavily damaged north wall of the fort. The north

and south walls are lined with individual sleeping quarters, offices, and storage rooms. Along with the fortress wall itself, the Keslers also restored the sleeping quarters. While the family used the fort as a home, the Keslers opened it to travelers and curious church members seeking to find this historic site. Four generations of Keslers operated the fort as a historic site and home. Across the property to the east of the fort, the Keslers built modern conveniences for the site's visitors including "curios, service station, groceries, soft drinks, and travel information."⁶⁸ During a time when conveniences were few on long stretches of rural Utah highways, Cove Fort continued in its original purpose which was to offer travelers an oasis, with the addition now as a tourist experience.

The Church of Jesus Christ purchased the fort and land back from the Kesler family and a preservation team conducted extensive research and work on the fort to restore the fort to the period of Ira Hinckley's use. The descendants of Ira Hinckley presented a dedication program on May 9, 1992, another demonstration of a family's long connection with a revered site.⁶⁹ That feeling can be shared with the rest of church membership and those who do not ascribe to the religion at Cove Fort.

It should be noted that an ancestral attachment to a site is not mandatory for site to be revered by Latter-day Saints. There is a collective memory with regards to the sites of the church. This memory comes with a belief in the religion itself. A deep part of the religion is its history. Therefore, a new convert to the religion develops a reverence to the history, just as a

⁶⁸ "Brigham Young's old Cove Fort built 1867", M277.9245 B855 197-?, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁹ "Cove Fort Dedication, Saturday, May 9, 1992", M277.9245 C873c 1992, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

lifelong or multi-generational member does. This practice is encouraged by Dieter F. Uchtdorf, formerly a counselor in the First Presidency of the church, who was born and raised in Germany. He states,

“My own ancestors were living an ocean away at the time. None were among those who lived in Nauvoo or Winter Quarters, and none made the journey across the plains. But as a member of the Church, I claim with gratitude and pride this pioneer legacy as my own.”⁷⁰

This statement is emblematic of the attitude and the reverence of the membership of the church towards the revered historic sites. The sites represent the pride and gratitude for those who built the church and performed their various duties and works in faith.

Religious Sites

The Church of Jesus Christ has sites that are deeply religious that are not places of worship. If a site is going to be considered religious without a worship connection, then the story, as Belden Lane put it, must be rich.⁷¹ A rich story, steeped in religious themes affecting the religion, makes a site religious.

One such site is the Brigham Young Winter Home in St. George, Utah. The home itself is easily in the Revered category of the Church of Jesus Christ’s historic sites for its connection with a church president and prophet. The property and the buildings on the lot are historic in many aspects. The significance of the property is recognized through the Criterion B of the

⁷⁰ Dieter F. Uchtdorf, “Faith of our Father,” LDS.org, General Conference, April 2008, accessed October 2, 2018, <https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2008/04/faith-of-our-father?lang=eng>.

⁷¹ Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred*.

National Register Criteria for Evaluation for being “associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.”⁷² The reason I classify the Brigham Young Home in the Religious category in this new organization method is because of the office which was built adjacent to the home. It is in this office that Young met with his counselors and other leaders of the church to discuss not only administrative needs, but most importantly, the discussion and planning of the temple and temple ritual. In Criterion B, the association is actual use and activity by Young and other prominent Latter-day Saints and Utahns. The category of Religious is specific to the temple worship discussions. This office has been described by church historians as being a place for the leaders of the church to become “prepared”⁷³ and “institute”⁷⁴ temple ordinances. It is this connection with the temple worship that solidifies the property to the Religious level. The historic leaders who played a role in the use of the office changed, developed, and solidified key rituals, doctrines, and principles to Latter-day Saint worship in that office.⁷⁵

Another site that was a location of great change in the organization of the church was the Kaneshville, Iowa (now part of Council Bluffs, Iowa) Tabernacle. This was the first tabernacle of the church, built in 1847, and the prototype for the many tabernacles which have been created since that time,⁷⁶ creating a standard for church buildings for the next century. To the

⁷² “Criteria for Evaluation”, National Park Service.

⁷³ “What to Expect When You Visit the Church’s Historic Sites in Southern Utah,” *Historic Sites*, LDS.org, May 29, 2018, accessed October 6, 2018, <https://history.lds.org/article/historic-sites/utah/what-to-expect-when-you-visit-the-church-historic-sites-in-southern-utah?lang=eng>.

⁷⁴ “Brigham Young Winter Home,” *Church History*, LDS.org, accessed October 6, 2018, <https://history.lds.org/subsection/historic-sites/utah/st-george/brigham-young-winter-home?lang=eng>.

⁷⁵ Tour of Brigham Young Winter Home and Office, 2017.

Latter-day Saints, the tabernacle was not only a place to worship, but a community center, or a hall for cultural activities like plays, dances, and concerts. The tabernacle in Kanesville was built very quickly to accommodate the annual conference of the church. So quickly, in fact, that the materials did not have time to dry before use. The tabernacle only lasted for two years due to the shrinking of the structural timbers as they dried. It was during the conference held there that Brigham Young was voted in and sustained as the second President of the Church and as the Prophet. It was this event that developed the succession pattern that has been followed from Brigham Young in 1847 to Russell M. Nelson in 2018.⁷⁷ It is an important site because it is part of “the heritage of every Latter-day Saint who has ever sustained a President of the Church and his counselors in the First Presidency as prophets, seers, and revelators.”⁷⁸ The Kanesville Tabernacle is so important to the Latter-day Saints that it is still visited, even though it is neither on the original site, nor rebuilt with complete accuracy (Figure 11). In its current location and form, it acts more like a Visitors’ Center for the many Latter-day Saint activities that happened in the area. The Mormon Battalion—a famous United States army battalion that had a direct impact on creating and improving overland travel routes in the southwestern United States—volunteered for military service and assembled nearby under some trepidation based on previous encounters with the United States military. The importance of the events in

⁷⁶ “Dedication of the Rebuilt Kanesville Tabernacle and Visitor Center by President Gordon B. Hinckley,” M277.77 D299 1996, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷⁷ Aaron L. West, “Sustaining a New First Presidency in 1847: Why We Remember the Kanesville Tabernacle,” *Church History*, LDS.org, November 20, 2017, accessed October 3, 2018, <https://history.lds.org/article/historic-sites/iowa/kanesville/why-we-remember-the-kanesville-tabernacle?lang=eng&groupid=38353020407301540170-eng#mv1>.

⁷⁸ West, “Sustaining a New First Presidency.”

the Kanesville Tabernacle clearly take precedence over what might be described as inauthenticity of the site.



Figure 11. Kanesville Tabernacle

Source: LDS.org, <https://history.lds.org/article/historic-sites/iowa/kanesville/why-we-remember-the-kanesville-tabernacle?lang=eng&groupid=38353020407301540170-eng>.

Religious sites are more significant than those where church members worshiped. They are where leaders of the Church have created patterns and doctrines that have been followed and seen as key developments in the Church of Jesus Christ's religion. These sites are deeply revered as religious historic sites due to the developments of doctrine, use, and structural patterns that establish these sites as needing to be more than simply revered. For this reason, the church has meticulously reconstructed many of the Religious sites as close to the original as modern building code will allow. These efforts include original material types and often original building techniques. The Whitmer Farm in Fayette, New York—the site of the official organizing of the church—is an example of meticulous reconstruction. Religious sites have visitor centers,

full-time missionaries, materials to distribute, histories, and interpretations ranging from print material and signage to video. Religious sites are often included in Sunday School curriculum and other forms of church education so that they become widely known and understood.

Sacred Sites

There are a few sacred sites owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that leave the interpretation up to the visitors, allowing for personal experiences. The sacredness of the site, as well as historical interpretation, is shared via signs or visitor centers surrounding the site. But the site itself is left for personal thoughts and reflections. Two sites where this method has been adopted are the Sacred Grove and the Priesthood Restoration sites in order to create opportunities for visitors to have sacred personal experiences.⁷⁹

The Sacred Grove, near Palmyra, New York, is the place where Joseph Smith, and subsequently his followers, claim that God and Jesus Christ appeared to him and taught him fundamental truths. This claim creates a location that God has appeared to humans. The Priesthood Restoration site in the historic township of Harmony, Pennsylvania (presently known as Oakland Township, Pennsylvania) is the location where Joseph Smith claims to have received the authority to perform gospel ordinances, nine years after the Sacred Grove experience. This authority is known as the priesthood and is believed to be the power of God. Smith claims that he went into the woods near his home in Harmony, and received a visitation and the Aaronic Priesthood from John the Baptist, as a heavenly messenger. A short time later, Smith went to

⁷⁹ Steven L. Olsen, Lecture, October 2, 2018.

an unknown location in the general vicinity and met with Christ's original apostles, Peter, James, and John, also heavenly messengers. The three divine beings gave Smith the keys of Apostleship. These sites are considered sacred because such heavenly manifestations established doctrine, authority, and practice, as well as the physical connection between heaven and earth.⁸⁰

The Sacred Grove is a place to the Latter-day Saints where doctrines were established and their leaders began a restoration of the very church that Jesus Christ established during his mortality depicted in the New Testament, as well as one of the few places on the earth that God has appeared to humans. Members have been visiting the site, a ten-acre grove of trees, for over a century. The earliest efforts to preserve the site included marking the area with signage. Later approaches to preservation removed signs from the grove and placed them outside of the grove in order to give visitors uninterrupted experiences and views of the grove. Recently more attention has been paid to the grove itself. The Missionary Department as well as the Church History Department hired a full-time horticulturist to remove invasive species of plants and those that would otherwise harm the grove.⁸¹ Also, paths were created to control foot traffic, minimizing damage to the vegetation and preventing further erosion. The site may be ten acres of natural growth, but it is intentional space—meaning that it is maintained, cared

⁸⁰ Joseph Smith—History, verse 17, *Pearl of Great Price*, LDS.org, accessed October 27, 2018, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/pgp/js-h/1?lang=eng>.

⁸¹ “Robert F. Parrott Interview: Palmyra, New York,” OH 10226, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

for, and worked by design to represent the historical period of significance of the grove and its sacred nature.

An example of a Sacred Site within the built environment is the Carthage Jail in Carthage, Illinois (Figure 12). This is the site where both Joseph Smith—the President of the church and the Prophet to his followers—and Hyrum Smith—Joseph’s brother, Patriarch (an office within the church hierarchy), and counselor in the first presidency—were killed. While they awaited trial, a mob stormed the jail and shot the prisoners. This site is sacred not only for the lives lost, but the concept of martyrdom for the church that it embodies. It is this example of devotion to Jesus Christ that is used in Sunday School lessons, devotionals, speeches, and even church education programs. To paraphrase Dieter F. Uchtdorf, it has become his and all members’ history. This site and the events that took place had a great impact on the church both immediately after and for almost two centuries.

The Carthage Jail was the second site that the Church of Jesus Christ acquired for preservation purposes. It was restored in stages between the 1930s and the 1980s. The goal of the projects was to restore the jail to its 1844 appearance—aside from the visitor center and adjoining landscape and garden which were designed and implemented in the late 20th century. To create a place of solemnity for visitors to ponder the life and death of a man they call a prophet, the church purchased the whole city block, creating an intentional landscape and parking lot for visitors. Tours, given by missionaries, start in the visitor center, a non-historic building, and progress through the historic living quarters of the jailor and into the debtors’ cell. It then continues up the stairs to the prison cell. Both the debtors’ cell and the prison cell have been restored with prison bars. While in the prison cell, the missionary gives personal

testimony of Joseph Smith and ask that reverence be used in the next room as to not distract from any feelings that visitors might have. While reverence, a quiet and polite disposition, is expected, there is some historic context given by tour guides, which differs from the previous mentioned sacred sites. That next room is also the last on the tour. It is the room where the Smiths were killed.⁸²



Figure 12. Carthage Jail
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

Both the Sacred Grove and the Carthage Jail have had over a century of preservation and interpretation. While both are sacred, they contrast each other. Carthage is a built structure, while the Sacred Grove near Palmyra is primeval growth, meaning never harvested. Carthage and the Sacred Grove are bookends to the prophetic role of Joseph Smith. The grove is a place of peace and prayer and the jail is a place of chaos and bloodshed. What is similar

⁸² Tour of site taken by author, June 27, 2018.

about these two sites, and all sites considered sacred to the Latter-day Saints, is that they are places to ponder the gospel, personal faith, ancestral faith, devotion, and God's connection with mankind.

The Church of Jesus Christ has invested heavily in both of these sacred sites. The resources of time, money, and a workforce have been put into both sites to restore, landscape, and maintain them. Perhaps the greatest resource of all has been the use of each for cultural and religious storytelling and practice. Generations have passed, but the events and locations are included in the telling of how the religion began. It is told again and again during discussions about Joseph Smith, and perhaps more often than anything, proselytizing missionaries around the globe use them to teach about the Restoration. The monetary and physical investments into the Sacred sites are reflections of the membership's devotion to such sites and the feelings they provide as a connection to God.

The application of this organizing approach to non-Latter-day Saint religious properties is illustrated by applying Figure 2, as a basis, to each religious property. Mother Bethel A.M.E. has the meanings and values attributed to Religious sites. Many Amish communities meet the Revered sites criteria. Cathedrals across the United States, and throughout the world, are Sacred sites not only for being a place of prayer, of the Eucharist, and of relics thought to be holy, but they are the seat of the Bishop, the local representative of the Pope. Basilicas also are sacred to Catholics as they are designated as such by the Pope for the very meanings and values, I have attributed to the Sacred sites category.

Additions in Revered, Religious, and Sacred Sites

Making additions to historic sites for various reasons has long been accepted. Gift shops or museums are generally accepted at or near historic sites if they do not distract visitors from the history of the site by diminishing the integrity of the site including the viewshed. Many historic sites throughout the United States have built information centers, museums, and gift shops. The Church of Jesus Christ has followed that trend by building modern Visitors' Centers and temples at a few of their sites. The Visitors' Centers could be compared to the information centers and museums of other sites, but The Church of Jesus Christ often constructs them as part of the sites. This is different from standard practice of historic preservation in the United States because the Visitor Centers have a religious purpose.

Moreover, Sacred buildings and those to be used for sacred purposes, have been built at a few historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ. To the Latter-day Saints, temples are the most sacred buildings on earth. Therefore, a temple does not detract from, but adds to, the sacredness of a site. It is in these buildings that members of the Church attempt to connect with God, and a sacred site is considered a place where God has previously connected with man. An example of this type of addition to a sacred site is the Palmyra Temple built in 1999 next to the Sacred Grove. Another temple was built sharing a fence with a pioneer cemetery at the historic temporary Latter-day Saint settlement, Winter Quarters, Nebraska (currently in the northern portion of Omaha, Nebraska). These modern buildings stand apart from any architectural or historical relationship to the area. While having such large contemporary structures might be seen by non-church members to shift the emphasis in historic settings, to

the Latter-day Saints, their presence is not about visual compatibility. Rather the temples increase the sacredness of the sites exponentially and hence are appropriately placed.

Aligning categories with preservation treatments

The division of sites into the categories described here is presented heuristically as an organizational framework to consider an idea of prioritization of sites based on the faith of a denomination and its membership, illustrated by the Church of Jesus Christ and its beliefs and sites. This categorization does not reflect necessarily a hierarchy of sites, nor how many resources should be invested into its preservations, but a parsing out of beliefs, approaches, and expectations so that readers and historic preservation professionals may understand why different preservation approaches based on appropriateness to the religion are needed.

The four treatments of historic properties, as outlined by the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, are preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction. Preservation sustains existing forms generally through maintenance and repair. Rehabilitation is saving defining historical features, while altering portions of the property for compatible use. Restoration removes all periods of history that do not contribute to the period of significance, while taking necessary steps to depict the property as it was during the significant period. Similarly, reconstruction replicates a historic property during a significant period through new construction.⁸³

⁸³ "The Treatment of Historic Properties," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

Each treatment must be approached with three levels of preservation standard exceptions. The nature of Revered sites suggests that current effective and standard practices will maintain such sites' history and heritage. The likelihood that religious sites are still in use, must have some leniency for continued use within a standard preservation treatment, as often takes place with the management of TCPs. However, sacred sites must be approached in a different way. The physical attributes of a historic sacred site are not foremost for the patrons of the site. The buildings, settlements, or setting are secondary characteristics. Rather, the reasons that makes it sacred should take precedence. The sacredness of a site is what makes it worthy of preservation, the physical environment is secondary. This difference may seem subtle in the profession of historic preservation, but it is a marked difference as a religious and sociocultural approach. The field of preservation is in its early phase of more emphasis study of cultural and religious heritage recognition. But, as it develops, there will need to be approaches to the religious and sacred meanings of more sites. Understanding a sacred meaning, in particular, will make all the difference when preserving a site.

The sites of the Church of Jesus Christ serve as examples of religiously affiliated historic sites. The sites also show a recognition that there are different landscapes of other faiths that require different approaches and demand different behaviors. The preservationists will need to include a broader range of approaches in professional planning for religious and sacred sites. The behavior of visitors will reflect the representation of the beliefs presented. When presented as a place to appreciate the history of the church or its membership, a revered and respectful, but not a worshipful, attitude is expected. A site that is religious to its followers should be represented in preservation and presentation, and should therefore be approached

by the visitor with an understanding of the specialness that an organizational and doctrinal significant site creates for believers. The sites in the sacred category need to be approached by both visitors and preservationists with utmost respect for the site and those who find it sacred. It is considered holy ground and often a place of connection to God. That connection is the strongest and most precious aspect of a religious practice and should be reflected in attitude, behavior, and professional preservation methods of religious historic sites.

An organizational approach offers a new priority to preservation professionals: recognizing and maintaining religious integrity. This religious integrity is both the religious significance, and the integrity of experience—and not necessarily the physical components of a site. Traditionally there has been a separation of the religious and the secular, disregarding the two forms of integrity. This separation and dismissal of religious integrity must be removed to preserve a religious site, especially that of a sacred site. After all, a religious site would not exist if it were not for the religious use even as it might have social and cultural heritage associations as well. This revised approach will be a difficult task, as the tangible is far easier to approach and preserve than intrinsic values and experiences. With this organizational approach, a preservationist can prioritize characteristics more easily and will be better able to plan for preservation needs based on these priorities.

CHAPTER IV PRESERVATION IN A SACRED CITY: UNDERSTANDING NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

There are several cities in the world that are recognized by many to be sacred, including Jerusalem, Mecca, and the Vatican. It is well understood that each of these cities is sacred to the followers of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. However, Americans may be less familiar with the sacred cities of Banaras, India; Angkor, Cambodia; and Miyajima Island, Japan. Each of these sacred cities has a rich history of religious observance, community engagement, and development of doctrine or practice. Often the important sites in these cities are in use currently or have been used for spiritual pilgrimages.⁸⁴ Sacred cities are set apart from sacred sites because an entire community was built around and in support of something sacred—be it a site, an event, or a belief or practice.

There is a sacred city in the United States of America that was founded in 1839 for the purpose of a community built around a religious belief and practice. The city of Nauvoo is a sacred city for the followers of the Church of Jesus Christ. Due to the doctrine and tenets of their faith requiring the preservation of Latter-day Saint history, few places are more historically significant to the Latter-day Saints than Nauvoo. This significance makes Nauvoo a place thought of fondly, but not without heartache. It was the setting where many of the foundational doctrines, processes, and the continued organization of the church developed. It

⁸⁴ "Sacred Sites," SacredSites.com accessed December 2, 2018, <https://sacredsites.com/>.

was the city of their prophet Joseph Smith and is often referred to as “The City of Joseph.”⁸⁵

They also believe that genealogical research and work must be done, building a relationship between the living and their dead. Due to this relationship, in part, many Latter-day Saints have traced their lineage to the 1840s in Nauvoo, thus creating a familial connection to the city as well. This is a practice that is not unique to the Church of Jesus Christ and can be seen in many religions and cultures.

The temple in Nauvoo is the crowning achievement of the Latter-day Saints in that city and is the reason for the existence of that settlement. The ability to worship in the temple is what makes Nauvoo a temple city. It is the place where many of the doctrines and ordinances that they follow take place and is regarded as an *axis mundi*,⁸⁶ or a location where heaven and earth unite, much like a conduit for heavenly contact with humans. Though a temple had been built in a previous city, Kirtland, Ohio, the temple doctrines, rituals, and beliefs were not fully established until the Nauvoo temple construction began. Building the temple was a community-wide effort. The men gave funds and tithed their time; the women gave of their sewing and cooking skills, and in some cases what little funds they had.

Due to the history of Nauvoo, the family connections, the doctrines, the temple, the revelations, the translations, and the many publications that came out of Nauvoo, the Church of Jesus Christ discusses Nauvoo, both as a setting and a period of time (1839-46) in its worship

⁸⁵ Smith founded the city, called for the gathering of the Latter-day Saints to the area. He arranged for lands to add to the city, instructed how the city should be planned and streets laid out. He became the mayor and the Lieutenant General of the state sanctioned militia: the Nauvoo Legion.

⁸⁶ Steven L. Olsen, “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Sacred Sites: Context, History, and Planning for the Future” (Independent Study course through Goucher College Fall 2018), September 27, 2018.

services. Nauvoo has become part of the curriculum for Sunday School lessons, speeches and addresses to large audiences, as well as classroom curriculum in the Church Education System for the Church of Jesus Christ, a series of religious courses and schools that are run by the Church of Jesus Christ. These are generally for teenage students and young adults and are known as seminary and institute, respectively. There are also a few colleges that operate within that system. All of these educational institutions use Nauvoo in their curriculum. The current Seminary manual teaches students about Joseph Smith receiving revelations for the temple, the city name, other city buildings, and different organizations. It also teaches of the heartbreak of sacrifice and the exodus from Nauvoo.⁸⁷

Nauvoo is also the site of much affliction, heartache, and anger. It is the city where Joseph Smith and his family are buried. It is a city where the Latter-day Saints lost their homes. It is the city where Smith was thought to have been leading a theocratic kingdom. It was a place that protected Smith from trial and prosecution due to the legion of militants protecting him. It was the setting of abuse of power and illegal activity by a few high-ranking individuals in the community, both within and without church membership. The Nauvoo era associated with the Church of Jesus Christ ended in a military battle—a state militia siege on the town—and the eventual exodus of the Latter-day Saints at the point of a cannon. It continues to be a place of tension between the descendants of the Latter-day Saints who left, and those who stayed—the

⁸⁷ *Doctrine and Covenants and Church History Study Guide for Home-Study Seminary Students*, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.lds.org/manual/doctrine-and-covenants-and-church-history-study-guide-for-home-study-seminary-students-2014?lang=eng>.

latter naming their organization the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and again in the 20th century, the Community of Christ (COC).

Still, there are others that may think of Nauvoo as the town of the Icarian movement in the United States and affiliate Nauvoo with Etienne Cabet. After the majority of the Latter-day Saints left the area, the empty city was an inexpensive place to relocate thousands of people wanting to create a utopia. The infrastructure was already complete, as were the houses and shops. Cabet moved his followers into Nauvoo and created the society he had been writing about and developing. Most of his followers were from France and Germany, and when the Icarian movement came to a point of division, many of the Icarians moved to Iowa to continue their community. Those who stayed mostly spoke German, which remained both an accepted spoken and written language of Nauvoo until World War I.⁸⁸ Nauvoo has a rich agricultural heritage in wine and cheese based on this German heritage that is part of its tourism appeal with wine and cheese festivals.

No matter how it is viewed, Nauvoo is a place to be preserved. The experience of religious and secular organizations created a history that has significance addressed by the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. In addition to its religious history are sites associated with cultural movements, major state military battles, and national migration. Both local and national organizations have attempted to preserve historic Nauvoo to varying degrees. Nauvoo was designated a National Landmark in 1966, by the NPS.⁸⁹ Ownership of land in historic

⁸⁸ "Nauvoo German – Icarian History," *Nauvoo History*, BeautifulNauvoo.com, accessed November 26, 2018, <https://www.beautifulnauvoo.com/nauvoo-german-icarian-history.html>.

⁸⁹ "National Historic Landmarks in Illinois," *Historic Preservation Division, State of Illinois*, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/Pages/NHL.aspx>.

Nauvoo has been a race to purchase prime properties; interpretation of many sites has varied per interested parties, and standard National Park Service (NPS) preservation methods have been used, altered, and even rejected. Even with multiple parties and purposes, both secular and religious, the most significant preservation efforts have been those associated with religion. The effort and resources that the COC and, especially, the Church of Jesus Christ, invest in the preservation and presentation of the historic city is a testament to the importance of the city to their respective religious beliefs.

This chapter will analyze the development of preservation in Nauvoo as a Sacred City, including interpretation, current treatments, and what can be learned from the different approaches at this sacred city with various types of sites within it. Nauvoo, being the largest and most complex preservation project for the Church of Jesus Christ, is an excellent case study that exemplifies the categories presented in Chapter 3 and will demonstrate how they can be used to direct preservation practices. Nauvoo will also demonstrate how all three categories can exist at one large site and work together.

In preparation for this chapter, I traveled to Nauvoo to learn about the buildings and sites, participate in the tours and other engagement activities, and to experience the preservation, interpretation, and presentation of Nauvoo. I toured each building to experience the presentation, and photographed each building to better understand which treatments were used in their preservation. I went to the cultural presentations: games, plays, musicals, performances, and memorial ceremonies. I approached each property as a historic preservation student. However, since Nauvoo is a place of familial connection, I also brought my family to experience Nauvoo, as many visiting Latter-day Saints would. Many of my experiences and

observances are used in this chapter. My desire was to experience the results of the many preservation efforts that were used, and how desired visitor experiences influenced the historic site program. Most of the preservation methods, costs, and plans are not open to public research. However, a large amount of individual building information is available from public documents and pamphlets. As revised preservation practices replaced previous ones, published information was updated to include new information.

Taking the heuristic categorizing approach to organizing historic religious properties and applying it to Nauvoo will not only provide a better understanding as to why individual buildings receive different treatments and approaches, but also how the three divisions can work together.

Evolution and Future

The main body of the Church of Jesus Christ arrived in Nauvoo in 1839 and later, after staying in Quincy, Illinois. These church members were refugees after being forced out of their homes and state of Missouri under the state's expulsion decree, Executive Order 44, known as the Extermination Order. The Extermination Order allowed Missouri militia to violently force Latter-day Saints from their property and out of the state, or be exterminated—executed.⁹⁰ The largest body of Latter-day Saints left Nauvoo to head west in 1846 under circumstances similar to the exodus from Missouri seven years earlier, but the love for Nauvoo didn't end with their

⁹⁰ Lilburn W. Boggs to General John B. Clark, October 27, 1838, in "Governor Boggs' Extermination Order and Governor Bond's Rescission Order," *Mormon War Papers*, (Jefferson City: MO: Missouri State Archives), accessed June 18, 2019, <https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/findingaids/miscMormonRecords/eo>.

tenure there. One year later, missionaries were sent to Nauvoo. John Scott was sent to help prepare Latter-day Saints in the Midwest to make the trek to the Great Salt Lake Valley. While he served the Latter-day Saints in that capacity, he made the effort to explore the city that the members once knew. His visit to the temple site was a priority.⁹¹ Well into the twentieth century, Latter-day Saint missionaries stopped in Nauvoo as part of the journey to their fields of service in the eastern coast states, midwest states, and eastern Canada.⁹²

Prior to the turn of the 20th century, tourist groups of Latter-day Saints would take history tours to the sites of the church's early history. Tour participants began to photograph Nauvoo in earnest in 1903. As noted earlier, photographers were active as early as the 1870s, and many of these early photographs still exist.⁹³ This photographic documentation of the buildings is truly one of the first preservation attempts of Nauvoo. This recording did not include an active preservation effort, meaning that the early documentation did not include physical preservation or intervention. The images, later given to the Church of Jesus Christ's archives, supported the collective memory of the membership. It is because these early photographs were preserved in the archives that modern preservation efforts have any early imagery to refer to.

⁹¹ John Scott, "John Scott Journal, 1847-1848 and 1855-1856," MS 5984, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹² Nels Madsen, "Visit to Mrs. Emma Smith Bidemon [sic], 1931," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹³ Junius F. Wells, "Junius F. Wells Photograph Collection: Nauvoo, circa 1870," PH 6873, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The popularity of these tours eventually grew to include leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ, as well as a new generation of Latter-day Saints born after the Nauvoo exodus. Nauvoo was grouped with other sites that represented the locations of doctrinal development, religious organization, and the faith of early church membership: Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri, are two others. Religious tourism was often the motivation of visitors, who wanted to experience where events from early church history took place. The religious tourism was not a required tenet of the religion, or even necessarily a journey for a type of divine inspiration, but was religiously stimulated. This religious tourist movement piqued the interest of religious leaders, encouraging them to gain better access, information, and control of these sites.

In a purchasing race for control of the religious narrative, as mentioned earlier, the second largest body of Joseph Smith's followers—COC—purchased the Smith properties located in Nauvoo. The Church of Jesus Christ did not purchase any Nauvoo sites during the time. Joseph F. Smith was purchasing other sites in its history and development. The absence of Nauvoo property acquisitions is multifaceted. When the Church of Jesus Christ was purchasing properties with a Joseph Smith significance, the Nauvoo properties had already been purchased. A second reason for not actively purchasing is to limit the rumors of a mass migration back to Nauvoo. Lastly, it was not until the 1930s that the Church of Jesus Christ membership showed active interest in the reconstruction and preservation, as opposed to new development and settlement.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Benjamin C. Pykles, *Excavating Nauvoo: The Mormons and the Rise of Historical Archaeology in America* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2010) 22-29.

Many church members who journeyed to Nauvoo, either as a destination or a stopping point on a longer trip, had interest in their ancestors' properties that were still standing. A Latter-day Saint named Wilford C. Wood passed through the area on his way to serving his mission in the Northeastern states in 1918. He decided that he would purchase early church sites someday. By the 1930s he was doing just that. Over a thirty-year period, Wood purchased a few of the historic sites which are significant to the Church of Jesus Christ. He then sold or donated them to the church. Some of these sites include the temple site in Nauvoo, a sacred site known as Adam-ondi-Ahman in Missouri, the Liberty Jail in Missouri, and the old Smith and Hale farms in Pennsylvania. These properties have become major sites in the historic preservation efforts of the Church of Jesus Christ.⁹⁵

J. LeRoy Kimball, the great grandson of Heber C. Kimball who was an original member of the Quorum of the Twelve (the highest governing body of the Church of Jesus Christ under the President) under Joseph Smith, also purchased property in Nauvoo. J. LeRoy Kimball visited the city on his way to Utah, returning from college. He purchased the Heber C. Kimball house in 1954 and spent the next few years restoring it for use as a family vacation home (Figure 13.). The restored Nauvoo structure gathered interest and became a tourist site for the Latter-day Saints, so much so that Kimball decided to donate the house to the Church of Jesus Christ.⁹⁶ This was not the first property to be purchased for the purpose of preserving significant

⁹⁵ "Wilford C. Wood: 1893-1968," *WildfordWoodMuseum.com* accessed November 30, 2018, <http://wilfordwoodmuseum.com/WilfordC.Wood.htm>.

⁹⁶ Pykles, *Excavating Nauvoo*, 45.

properties, but it was the first restored building in Nauvoo that was owned by the Church of Jesus Christ and was the impetus to the building restoration projects in the city.



Figure 13. Heber C. Kimball Home
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

The purchasing and presentation of the Church of Jesus Christ's sites reflected the importance of them and the information regarding the history of the church. Owning and interpreting sites was one way that the Church of Jesus Christ was able to teach its members, as well as visitors to the site, and in this way, control the narrative about the church's history and theology. Private Latter-day Saint individuals continued to purchase properties—a reflection of the importance of the sites to the members. Their personal ancestral histories are often intertwined with that of the Church of Jesus Christ and a preservation of either one is the preservation of the other.

In the early 1960s, prior to the passing of the NHPA, the Church of Jesus Christ had a greater desire for the historic preservation of Nauvoo and created an organization to preserve Nauvoo sites in 1962. This new organization, Nauvoo Restoration Inc. (NRI), was not strictly a Latter-day Saint organization, but was certainly heavily influenced by the Church of Jesus Christ. The NRI was developed with an influential board of individuals who concerned themselves with the preservation of Nauvoo. Some were concerned with the religious aspects, some were interested in the tourist potential, while others were convinced of its national significance as an example of settlement in the frontier and western migration. This board had both members of the Church of Jesus Christ and individuals that did not belong to that organization.⁹⁷

NRI was a testament to the concerns of the leaders of the church to more accurately and professionally preserve the history of the organization and its membership. As a reflection of the success of NRI, a new team of professionals was created within the Church History Department beginning in 2011. The new Historic Sites team took the preservation of all the historic sites of the church to a professional level of preservation and interpretation. The Historic Sites team took on the responsibility of the four treatments of preservation as outlined in the NHPA: preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. However, for the most part, the responsibility for the day-to-day management and the interpretation of properties remained with the Missionary Department of the Church of Jesus Christ. The missionaries acted as tour guides as well as proselytizers. While this method is beneficial for a

⁹⁷ Pykles, *Excavating Nauvoo*, 78-85.

gospel-centered history, it does not represent a complete history and often ignores cultural influence and tendencies outside of religious worship.

The Historic Sites team gained more professional respect among the church's other departments and slowly became an organization that would be included not only in the conversations about larger historic sites, but also with smaller ones and local historic buildings. Its role continued to grow and eventually replaced the NRI completely in 2011 in overseeing the work in Nauvoo. The benefits of the Historic Sites team taking over the sites of the Church of Jesus Christ include a more professional approach to preservation without the influence of non-Latter-day Saint board members that may have different motivations. This is not to say that the views of non-Latter-day Saint aren't considered. They are still often used for consultation and professional opinions, but when it comes to a sacred approach, conflict will often manifest. The most important aspect of the Historic Sites team replacing NRI was its ability to create a new master plan⁹⁸ in line with the sacred nature and message of Nauvoo, but also with the professional approach of historic preservation.

The master plans of Nauvoo have been plentiful from the creation of the NRI to the current plan, which was implemented in 2014 and spans the next twenty-five years. The major difference is that the previous NRI master plans often focused on Nauvoo as the tourist attraction and less on it as the sacred site. One of the many NRI master plans included a golf

⁹⁸ The new 25-year master plan for Nauvoo is called *Historic Nauvoo Master Plan: Place, Presentation, Management* and was adopted in 2014. Though the plan has been presented to and approved by the Nauvoo city council, the plan in a bound copy has not been made public. Individual projects have been published in various mediums. The plan in its entirety is contained within the records of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and received permission to access it in July, 2018.

course and a large resort-style hotel.⁹⁹ The NRI even marketed Nauvoo as the Williamsburg of the Midwest.¹⁰⁰ Using Williamsburg as an image expressed the desire to have the tourism success of Williamsburg after the restoration projects were completed and incorporating experiences that included period actors, tours, and recreation (like golf courses). Nauvoo never achieved the successful tourism or atmosphere of Williamsburg. However, Nauvoo was still a destination of the general membership of the Church of Jesus Christ.

The new master plan, created by the Historic Sites team, shifted the focus from a historic tourist site to a religious site. This team considered this change necessary as the very concept of Nauvoo as sacred was in the collective memory of the membership, but not in the presentation of the site. The new master plan has the same focus as the historic Latter-day Saint inhabitants of Nauvoo: the temple. The temple was the center point of Nauvoo worship and settlement, and it is the central point of Latter-day Saint doctrine today. The reconstruction of the temple in Nauvoo preceded this plan, but is the focus of the plan.¹⁰¹ This project is discussed below.

The new master plan also emphasizes the temple through the restoration of individual sites that had a role in the development of the temple doctrine. These sites include the home

⁹⁹ Steven L. Olsen, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Sacred Sites: Context, History, and Planning for the Future," October 22, 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, *Historic Sites in Old Nauvoo Illinois: "The Williamsburg of the Midwest"* Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁰¹ Benjamin C. Pykles, "The Temple Rises: Refocusing on the centerpiece of Historic Nauvoo," History Illinois, January 2, 2016, accessed December 1, 2018, <http://www.historyillinois.org/Portals/HistoricalSociety/HeritageArticles/20160102-TempleRises-ArticleV2.pdf>.

office of temple architect William Weeks, the display of temple building techniques and tools, a reconstruction of the baptismal font—via 3D printer and original font stones—the west grove, and other resources. The new focus on the temple is intended to strengthen the faith of the current membership while showcasing the faith of the Nauvoo generation.

The new master plan separates historic Nauvoo into districts allowing for a more focused preservation treatment and presentation. Not every building or site in Nauvoo is sacred, even as the collective sites create a sacred place for the Latter-day Saints and therefore can be approached differently. This topic will be further discussed in later section. The districts will allow for different tourist experiences. If a visitor would like to focus on 19th century commerce, there will be a district for that. If a visitor wants to see frontier subsistence gardening, or a natural prairie landscape, there will also be districts to experience these aspects of the sacred city. The districts will allow for a more personalized tourist experience while still creating an environment that can express how each district reflects how historic Nauvoo's inhabitants worked towards building a temple city.

Contested Preservation

The preservation efforts of Nauvoo have been in a contested state for over one hundred years. Nauvoo is the site of many historic significances and resources with varying aspects of the revered, religious, and sacred meanings. It encompasses a site of a prophet and the doctrinal establishment and sites relating to a leader who led thousands as part of a 19th century religious awakening, as it is a revered, religious, and sacred site for the Church of Jesus

Christ. It is an example of frontier and religious settlements in the mid-nineteenth century. It is an example of social movements and European migration to agrarian America. It is also one of the launching points for western migration for the United States. Nauvoo is not one of these significant pieces of history, but rather, it is all of them. Not surprisingly, questions arise. Who gets to control the interpretation of significance in the preservation of the city? Would one view overshadow all others? While there are many entities advocating for their interpretations of the significance of the historic city, the control of the site goes to the land owner. Property ownership was the original competition in the first half of the 20th century, and has long-lasting effects in Nauvoo.

It started with the ownership and interpretation of the Joseph Smith properties. The COC purchased the Smith Mansion, Smith Homestead, Nauvoo House, Smith Cemetery, and the site of Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store—all properties that were once owned by Joseph Smith. Concerned with the presentation of Joseph Smith by the Church of Jesus Christ, the COC purchased the sites as a way of securing its interpretation of the historic religious leader.¹⁰² One of the focuses was the practice of polygyny—a form of polygamy that specifies a single male with multiple female partners considered wives by the Latter-day Saints. The Church of Jesus Christ supported polygyny for sixty years.

The COC did not want Smith represented as a polygynous leader, even as the Church of Jesus Christ claims that it was Smith that began the practice.¹⁰³ There is no doubt that the

¹⁰² "Tour Nauvoo" *Community of Christ*, cofchrist.org, accessed December 1, 2018, <https://www.cofchrist.org/tour-nauvoo>.

¹⁰³ Pykles, *Excavating Nauvoo*, 23.

interpretation of the deceased Smith was not the only motivation at the time that the COC acquired the properties. The religion that Smith founded splintered after his death and each faction declared their own leadership as the successor of Smith's. The factions were contesting which organization was to be the "true" church that Smith started at the time of property purchases. In recent years the two churches have become allies for the preservation of shared history. The tour given of the Red Brick Store by the COC includes its significance, but also a brief explanation of the significance of the site to the Church of Jesus Christ. Latter-day Saints believe the upper floor of the Red Brick Store is the location that temple ordinances were performed prior to the temple being finished (Figure 14.).



Figure 14. Red Brick Store Upper Room
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

Groves, Buildings, and Spaces

At its foundational level, historic preservation can be divided into two segments: built environments and natural environments. I will refer to these as buildings and landscapes. The ways these are approached are different. Preserving buildings is intervening in the useful lives of man-made structures. The preservation of a landscape is intervening in a living and changing portion of the natural environment. In Nauvoo, both of these types of resources are present and create an interpretive challenge. How does the natural space, or setting, of historic Nauvoo get represented amidst the built environment? After all, the historic boundaries of Nauvoo did not have the “natural open spaces” that occur there today. The peninsula that is present-day Nauvoo was once a swampy forested area with a few cleared acres. In the seven years that the Latter-day Saints lived there, the land was cleared, the swamp was drained, and streets, homes, and other buildings replaced the forested lands in the majority of the area. The farm lands, above historic Nauvoo on the bluff east of the city, were covered in prairie grasses and plants, but those prairie lands have been cultivated from the 1830s to the present. An accurate and natural look to the area cannot be achieved without the reconstruction of the thousands of buildings in Nauvoo, replanting of local groves, or the restoration of prairie lands after the abandonment of cultivated farms. Some of these measures have been taken in the preservation efforts of Nauvoo. Buildings have and continue to be reconstructed, groves replanted (Figure 15.), and areas set aside for prairie vegetation to grow.



Figure 15. West Grove Regenerating
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

The groves of Nauvoo were not only useful as gathering places for political or social events; they were also sacred. They were the locations of congregational gatherings for religious worship, the voting and sustaining of leaders, and the places where new doctrines, revelations, and other religious practices were shared. One such grove is the West Grove, called such for its proximity and relationship to the temple. It was in this grove that one of the most sacred doctrines in the Church of Jesus Christ was read to the congregation. This is the doctrine regarding baptisms for the dead. It is believed among the Latter-day Saints that baptism is the only way to return to God and that it must be done physically. Therefore, all those who have died without that ordinance would not be able to return to God. It was in this grove that the Church of Jesus Christ accepted the doctrine and practice of baptisms for the dead, which were then performed in the Mississippi River. The ordinance of baptisms for the dead was accomplished via a physical baptism of an individual acting as proxy for the dead. Once the

temple was completed enough, the proxy baptisms were restricted to be done only within temples. The West Grove was cut down for the use of the land and lumber after the Latter-day Saints left the area. The sacred nature of the West Grove is the basis of its preservation treatment. The Historic Sites team of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has meticulously researched the grove, including sampling the soil, to find out which exact plant species once grew there, and worked with local horticulturalists to replace the historic grove with those specific species.¹⁰⁴

Much of the built environment of Nauvoo has been demolished both intentionally and passively through neglect, and plots of land have reverted back to nature. There are now acres of such land within historic Nauvoo that have been set aside for the conservation of prairie vegetation. The signage and manicured landscape border express to the viewer that it was wild by design, an intentional landscape. Another area that is intentionally wild is a forested area on the north side of the peninsula. This area is accessed by a horse drawn carriage through different viewsheds and cultivated land. The section of the ride through a forested area is an example of what the peninsula is believed to have looked like when the Latter-day Saints arrived. The Church of Jesus Christ presents this area as specific to the landscape that the early settlers would have seen. It gives a physical and tangible example of the work it took to create a city out of the wilderness, but also testifies of the faith in a religious movement of these settlers, enduring such a place to build a temple community. The forested area is a Revered landscape due to the historic example it gives and as purposefully presented to visitors.

¹⁰⁴ Steven L. Olsen, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Sacred Sites: Context, History, and Planning for the Future" October 22, 2018.

The historic community once had thousands of buildings, but now there are only a few dozen, most of which the Church of Jesus Christ owns and operates. The buildings that the Church of Jesus Christ owns serve one of three purposes: Sacred, tourist, and familial. This division is a way to look at how the organization manages the site. All three purposes are categorized as Revered. If this were not so, the Church of Jesus Christ would not use its resources to preserve them. The sacred properties are religious buildings or landscapes that the Church of Jesus Christ values for the doctrine development and history of worship. Tourist sites are the buildings and spaces used for tourist attractions and interactions. Lastly, the familial buildings are the homes that were owned by families and donated or sold to the Church of Jesus Christ for further preservation.

The preservation of a grouping of historic buildings creating a historic site will often have certain buildings restored or reconstructed before others, especially when being used as a tourist destination. The first buildings are generally buildings that were still standing or have a specific message to convey. Trades were a major factor in the communities of the frontier. Bakeries, bootmakers, blacksmiths, tin shops, general stores, and shops of other trades were commonplace and significant in the growth of a community and its economic vitality. To represent a frontier town in the 1840s, Nauvoo must have these buildings. Beyond the standard businesses and trades of the frontier, Nauvoo was set apart from other towns due to tithes of goods, labor, and money for the construction of the temple. The Latter-day Saints were required to give a portion of their funds, goods, and even their time to labor on the temple. For these reasons the trades and most stores are Revered properties. The NRI oversaw the reconstruction of several trade shops. A visitor can take tours of these trade shops and even

see how they operated. Some of the trades in Nauvoo are still being done by period actors. These buildings are family oriented and include interactions like tasting bread or cookies, making rope, or receiving bricks and nails.

Familial buildings come into the Church of Jesus Christ's ownership either through donation or purchase. Many have had private preservation work already completed. I use the term familial buildings due to the fact that many have been owned by descendants of the original inhabitants of these buildings. The familial connection is a strong one among Latter-day Saints, and a few of the buildings have been purchased privately for that connection. Even after the Church of Jesus Christ received ownership and stewardship of these buildings, descendants will still congregate and tour the houses. A Revered property is the Jonathan Browning Nauvoo Home and Gun Shop, as it is called now (Figure 16.). It was the location of what would become the Browning Arms company (one of the largest firearms companies in the United States). The gun shop and the house are connected and can be toured. In this home is a binder that is a record for the descendants of Jonathan Browning to sign as they come and tour the building.



Figure 16. Jonathan Browning Home and Gun Shop
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

The Sacred properties are buildings and landscapes that exemplify highest forms of worship, i.e. the temple, Seventies Hall—a building constructed for the gathering of priesthood holders to learn the doctrine, their duties, and prepare for missionary work—and the West Grove. These are the sites that have significant doctrinal or organizational events key to the religious understanding and operations of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Not all of the Sacred properties in Nauvoo are owned by the Church of Jesus Christ. As discussed earlier, the Red Brick Store is a sacred site to Latter-day Saints because of the temple ordinances, but it is not a Church of Jesus Christ property. There is a clear distinction in which organization owns and operates the properties signaled by signage, volunteers, or missionaries to conveying the role of the property in history. This obvious differentiation will be removed by consent of both the COC and the Church of Jesus Christ in the new master plan. Although

signage with still be used, it will not create obvious boundaries between the COC Nauvoo and the Church of Jesus Christ Nauvoo.

Many of the buildings of Nauvoo have been reconstructed or restored based on the availability of the building. As many of the buildings of historic Nauvoo were demolished, the few that were left standing were the first to have a preservation treatment applied. The Nauvoo Cultural Hall is one of these buildings. While its importance is without question in the lives of the historic inhabitants, the building has been in private ownership since 1846 and has experienced alterations. When the Church of Jesus Christ acquired it, the third story of the building had to be reconstructed. The basement and first two stories had been altered for private use. The Church of Jesus Christ reconstructed the third story and reversed most of the changes to the building's interior. The building, open to the public, is often used for some of its original purposes, including socials, meetings, and artistic productions.

While each of these buildings and sites have different uses, they collectively show the life of frontier America in the 1840s. The new master plan focuses on the initial vision for the city—a temple city—as well as the presentation of a frontier town and how some trades that every town had, like a boot shop, contributed to the economy of the religious community and worship as a millenarian utopia. If it were not for these intentions, there would be no point in a religious organization controlling such a large historic site, especially amidst the additional important secular interpretations of the city. The master plan includes the guidance that the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* discusses in varying degrees. The Standards will be used to facilitate the different preservation approaches of each property.

National Park Service Treatments and Standards

The NPS identified four treatments as a general guide for acceptable preservation: Standards for Preservation, Standards for Rehabilitation, Standards for Restoration, and Standards for Reconstruction. Each of these treatments have guidelines to further explain how to use them. While the NPS makes the disclaimer that these standards are advisory and not to be used as regulatory requirements, they have functioned as such in many cases. The Utah SHPO, for example, requires adherence to these standards in order to qualify for grant-in-aid or tax incentives and even calls them regulatory.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, these standards have been adopted for historic properties at the local, state, and federal levels. Consequently, they have become the expected approaches for all types of acceptable private preservation projects.¹⁰⁶

These standards, even when considered advisory, do not apply perfectly to every site or building. Religious sites and buildings are significant because of intangible cultural and religious meaning. While the standards do not make this distinction, the understanding of sites means that, for some preservationists, the accepted approaches cannot restrict cultural and religious values and uses to the point that the site or building loses what makes it meaningful and sacred. Some steps in this direction are evident in the TCP concept and agreements made for their use based on intangible significance, as was agreed upon for the Bighorn Medicine Wheel

¹⁰⁵ "Financial Assistance for Historic Preservation," Utah State Historic Preservation Office, Utah Division of State History, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://history.utah.gov/preservation/financial-incentives/>.

¹⁰⁶ "The Secretary for the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties: With Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings," *National Park Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, last modified 2017, accessed December 4, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf>.

in Wyoming.¹⁰⁷ Just as for TCPs, there needs to be freedom to alter a religious and sacred historic site to conform to the needs of the religious observance in order to keep the sites significant.

Private owners of historic sites have the right do as they want with them, including any alterations. However, when the standards are not followed in the treatment of privately-owned historic properties, historic preservationists respond differently to those sites. This can result in their omission from local, state, or federal historic registers and incentives. On the other hand, many sites depend on the incentives to afford preservation treatments and are, therefore, essentially bound to the guidelines. Properties owned by religious entities are already receiving tax benefits and therefore do not qualify for tax credit incentives. A greater incentive for religious properties is recognition and legitimization. The Church of Jesus Christ invests a great deal of money into its sites in order to preserve them without being in conflict with the standards. Even so, its Historic Sites team approaches the standards in three ways: wholesale adoption, negotiated acceptance, and rejection.

Wholesale adoption of the standards is the most common of the three approaches. The Historic Sites team used the Standards for Rehabilitation for buildings used for living quarters for the volunteers and missionaries serving as tour guides and period actors in Nauvoo. The team used the Standards for Reconstruction for the Seventies Hall.¹⁰⁸ The hall was originally

¹⁰⁷ Andrew Gulliford, "Sacred Objects and Sacred Places: Preserving Tribal Traditions," (University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, 2000), 142.

¹⁰⁸ The NRI records are not open to research, but are located at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah. The details of the documentation on the Seventies Hall and many properties in Nauvoo were confirmed to be in the NRI records by author and archaeologist for the Historic Sites team—Benjamin C. Pykles—in the notes of *Excavating Nauvoo*. The only known historic photo is after the second floor was demolished and the lower half was made into a school ca. 40 years after use by the Latter-day Saints.

built to be a gathering place for men belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ's organization called the Seventies. The Seventies were missionaries and stewards of teaching the doctrines of the religion both locally and wherever they were asked to proselyte. The Seventies Hall reconstruction was based on documentation and used in-kind materials. The Church of Jesus Christ changed the use of the upper floor from offices of priesthood leaders to a museum of the items found during archaeological excavations. The Church also used the Standards for Restoration on homes that can be toured, and not being used to house the missionaries. Some shops, the Cultural Hall and, most recently, the West Grove have been restored.

Historic stone foundations in Nauvoo have multiple meanings that are incorporated into preservation treatments. NRI oversaw the reconstruction of many buildings in Nauvoo on original foundations that remained after the buildings on them were demolished. The use of an original foundation in a reconstruction is a negotiated acceptance of the reconstruction treatment. The reuse of foundations places the reconstructed buildings on authentic locations. On the other hand, foundation materials and construction are often used to subtly, yet visually, distinguish historic buildings from reconstructed ones. Without access to the NRI records, it is impossible to know why the decision was made to build directly on historic foundations; however, the effort to reconstruct these historic buildings and incorporate historic material in them is a message of significance. Due to their reconstructed conditions, I categorize these buildings as Revered, while others simply have exposed foundations with signage as markers of a former building. Many times, the foundations are ruinous, and to reconstruct on the property, the last remnants of the original building—the foundations—would need to be removed. Where historic foundations associated with original residents still exists, it is common practice

to preserve the integrity of the original building by exposing it and identifying them through interpretation and presentation as a means to convey authenticity.

Negotiated acceptance is the basis for accepting in part-and-parcel certain terms of the guidelines. An example of this is the Wilford Woodruff home (Figure 17.). The Woodruff family left the house during the exodus from Nauvoo when it was partially unfinished. As the house was lived in for 150 years after Woodruff left, it had been completed and then updated. When the Church of Jesus Christ became the owner of the home, a restoration was underway. It could not be a true restoration due to its complicated history. If restored to the period of significance, the Woodruff occupancy, it would be unfinished. The public could not have access to the house in this condition due to modern safety codes.¹⁰⁹



Figure 17. Wilford Woodruff Home
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Emily Utt, conversation on deciding between accurate restoration without use, or use without accuracy. July 2018.

NRI decided to restore the home to the era that it was built, but post-Woodruff's residency for interpretation reasons. The house was mostly finished when the Woodruff family lived there and would have been finished by the next owners. It was not restored to how Woodruff would have seen it because the Church of Jesus Christ wanted visitors to go there and hear the stories about Woodruff as a Nauvoo resident. Woodruff became the fourth president of the church and was considered to be a prophet. The house was restored to the closest finished product to Woodruff's ownership. I categorize the house as Revered, as it does not have any major impact on the religious or sacred meanings of Nauvoo, yet it is associated with an influential person in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ. It also represents components, as do all of the residences to some degree, of religious stories and lessons of the Nauvoo era, as well as familial connections. The decision to present it as Woodruff's home makes sense for many reasons, even though the building does not exactly represent Woodruff's residency. The Woodruff house, as do most of the historic buildings in Nauvoo, have modern climate control via air conditioning and a furnace. The modern amenities are always hidden from view and disguised in secondary spaces as to not distract from the historic settings.

The Historic Sites team has rejected various Standards and guidelines for a small number of the properties that the Church of Jesus Christ owns in Nauvoo, as well as other sites. These sites exemplify the tension between the best ways to approach the treatments while preserving what is considered sacred. They are also the properties I categorize as Sacred. Two examples of this are: adding modern temples to historic properties as seen in Palmyra, NY and

Omaha, NE; and reconstruction on original foundations or replacing the foundations as seen in the Priesthood Restoration Site in Pennsylvania.¹¹⁰

The reconstruction of the Smith home in historic Harmony, Pennsylvania (part of the Priesthood Restoration site) included another decision about a historic foundation. The project entailing removed existing foundation ruins and reconstructed the building on the site, and then incorporating the original foundation stones in stone walls immediately surrounding the home and property. The decision is justified by the assertion that the absolute integrity of this reconstruction is secondary to the primary message of the site involving sacred matters: heavenly manifestations, translation of scripture, revelations, and the personal lives of Joseph and Emma Smith. Signage or other forms of information would have asked visitors to imagine a building, then imagine a heavenly personage in the building. It was thought that it would be difficult enough to try to understand angelic visits, but to do that while adding a second level of separation without a physical representation of where it happened would distance the visitor too far from the story that is represented. In short, the decision renders the property more sacred than authentic. These decisions were not made lightly and involve committees and, often, outside consultation. The end result is the prerogative of the Church of Jesus Christ as a private property owner. In these cases, the Church of Jesus Christ decided that the sacred message could not be conveyed effectively without rejecting certain historic preservation standard practices.

¹¹⁰ Steven L. Olsen, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Sacred Sites: Context, History, and Planning for the Future," October 22, 2018.



Figure 18. Grove at Priesthood Restoration Site
Source: LDS.org, <https://history.lds.org/maps/historic-sites/pennsylvania/priesthood-restoration-site/interactive-map?lang=eng>.

The use of or removal of original foundations is a not taken lightly. The Historic Sites team debated this as it approached the reconstruction of an important Nauvoo house that had been demolished decades ago. The Edward Hunter home was on the edge of the West Grove. The foundations remain there and the desire to reconstruct the house at that location is great. Being in the house that became a hidden refuge, as well as a place of revelation, would better illustrate and create a tangible experience related to a beloved doctrine. It was there that Smith claimed to receive the revelation of Baptisms for the Dead. Upon writing the revelation down, Smith had the letter read to the congregation in the West Grove. Smith was in hiding in the Hunter home after learning of the accusations that he was involved with the assassination attempt on the former Missouri Governor, Lilburn Boggs.

The Hunter home is set to be reconstructed as part of the master plan and will be furnished and interpreted as the place where Smith wrote the baptisms for the dead letter as well as where he hid. The Historic Sites team proposed to use a technique that will construct a new foundation and structural bracing that surrounds the original foundation, preserving the original foundation within the new walls of the reconstruction. Housing the original foundation adds another layer of protection, as it suffered water damage from a spring or irrigation during excavation. Prior to the plan for the new foundation and bracing method, the Historic Sites team was considering building on the foundation, or removing the foundation if it could not safely be part of the reconstruction. The new method removes a portion of the tension of compliance and rejection. This plan creates a slightly larger footprint, but the Historic Sites team's argument for reconstruction on the exact site is that it conveys the idea that building is more important for understanding the sacred doctrines of the church than if the original foundation were to be left exposed like those of many other buildings in Nauvoo.¹¹¹ This is a similar concept to that of the Priesthood Restoration site.

Temples are the most holy places and type of building for the Latter-day Saints and are key to their worship and doctrine. They believe temples to be a place for people to commune with God and for God to commune with people. Each of the many temples is an *axis mundi* to the Church of Jesus Christ. While Latter-day Saints do not worship at the historic sites, they do worship in temples. Many Latter-day Saints pushed for the reconstruction of the temple in

¹¹¹ Steven L. Olsen, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Sacred Sites: Context, History, and Planning for the Future," October 22, 2018.

Nauvoo. The Church of Jesus Christ had owned the original temple lot for decades but did not decide to build on it until the 1990s.

The decision to reconstruct the temple in the 1990s included not only the design of the exterior of the building that would be faithfully replicated, but also the craftsmanship would be the same. This included hand-built windows and artisan sculpted stonework. The façade of the temple is almost a perfect match to the original (Figure 19.). However, the project was not a reconstruction that conforms to the Secretary of Interior’s Standards for Reconstruction. Much like the Priesthood Restoration site, the Church of Jesus Christ chose to highlight the sacred experience over historical accuracy on the interior of the building. In choosing this approach, it created a sacred connection for the Latter-day Saints—which is a form of authenticity in itself.



Figure 19. Nauvoo Temple

Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

While the exterior was so faithfully replicated and constructed, it is a skin outside of a modern building with a reinforced concrete structure and walls. The temple ceremonies and worship have been in continual development from their genesis in the Red Brick Store by Joseph Smith to the modern age. It was decided that if the Nauvoo Temple was to be built again, it would have to function as a modern temple for the Latter-day Saints to worship in, which the original could no longer do. For these reasons, the floor plan is that of a modern temple, rather than the one of the original 1846 temple.

Learning from Nauvoo: More Approaches to Religious Properties

Much can be learned from Nauvoo when it comes to preservation of religious and sacred properties, and how individual properties can be used together to create a large site that preserves its culture, a religion, and secular history.

Applying the Heuristic Categorization to Nauvoo

Nauvoo is an exciting anomaly for many reasons, including that it has all three categories of properties related to religion—Revered, Religious, and Sacred—as well as it being a collective of individual properties combined in one cohesive site. There are many properties in Nauvoo that would be considered Sacred and Religious, as well as Revered. While there are entire historic sites of the Church of Jesus Christ that can fit into each of these divisions

individually, there are also sites that are anomalies and cannot fit into this organizational pattern. The Revered sites are numerous and have been discussed in the chapter, i.e. trade shops and many homes and therefore will not be discussed further.

Religious properties have a wide range of property types in Nauvoo. The Sarah Kimball home is an example of a home within the religious category. The name alone designates this home as different from the others. During the time Nauvoo was occupied, the home would have been referred to as her husband's. Mrs. Kimball is the founder of a group that would do service for the temple construction workers and others in need. This group developed into a world-wide female service organization that remains in operation today, known as the Relief Society. Mrs. Kimball is also an example of devotion towards the temple construction in other ways. In her home, now restored to the period of significance, missionaries share stories of the different efforts she made to keep the work on the temple going. These included gathering funds, clothing, food, and even land for the use of the temple work.

Another example of a religious property that is often talked about in stories about Nauvoo, but not always by name, is the Webb Blacksmith Shop. This site is a dual trade structure: a blacksmith shop, used similarly to the other shops of the city, and a wagon building shop. The exodus from Nauvoo remains a very emotional experience for Latter-day Saints, even after 173 years. The Webb shop is one of the locations that built the wagons that families would use to pack whatever possessions they could, leaving the rest, and traveling into an unknown wilderness. Hence, it is directly related to the sacrifice and exodus of Nauvoo in order to that the Latter-day Saints could continue to worship. As the missionary tour guide/tradesmen shows a visitor how wheel hubs were built, along with the rest of the wheel

and wagon, the story of sacrifice for religious belief and freedom is inescapable and is often used in speeches, lessons, and other faith building interactions among Latter-day Saints.

The sacred sites in Nauvoo demonstrate the wide range of sites with such meanings—from the temple to the West Grove. This group even includes a site that is commemorative, though grounded in the physical history. The Trail of Hope, which builds off of the significance of the Webb wagon-making and blacksmith shop, extends along one of the streets that were used in the westward migration and the exodus from Nauvoo (Figure 20.). It starts in town and leads to the Mississippi River. Along the street is a pathway lined with journal entries from Latter-day Saints being forced to leave their temple city. Some of the entries discuss the beauty or love for the city, while others express feelings of sadness. All express their faith to the viewer. The termination point of the street and path is a wagon facing west on the edge of the Mississippi River (Figure 21.). It is at this termination point that three important events can be expressed. One is the Trail of Hope, and the religious view of the Nauvoo exodus. A second is a tributary display of names of those who started the great Westward Migration from Nauvoo. The third is underrepresented, but still a meaningful aspect of the river to Nauvoo. It was the site of many religious baptisms, both for the convert and for the dead—baptisms for the dead only took place here prior to the relocation of the practice to the temple. The Trail of Hope express the ongoing nature of religious culture as the desire for connection with progenitors of the culture leads to an emotional connection expressed through action, stories, and the physical attributes of places. Most importantly, though, is the need to understand that without the sacred sites, Nauvoo would just be a historic frontier city. With the temple and the belief in

a temple city, Nauvoo was the site of a religious movement and way of life and has remained sacred for the members of the Church of Jesus Christ.



Figure 20. Trail of Hope
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.



Figure 21. Wagons Going West
Source: Woodrow Johnson, 2018.

Sacred Meaning and Value as Primary Space

Separating these sites into the tripartite categorization is useful in a preservation approach by creating a primary space vs. secondary space type of argument for properties that have religious and sacred significance. This approach is used when considering the rehabilitation of historic buildings; not surprisingly, the understanding is that few changes will be made to primary spaces, and changes necessary for the continued or new use of the buildings will be made in secondary spaces.¹¹² This differentiation of spaces acknowledges our

¹¹² US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, last modified 2017, accessed February 18, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf>, 19.

understanding of the meaning of places, and allows for portions of historic properties to be adapted to support modern use.

By understanding which properties have a sacred and intangible significance, the priority of the sacred spaces and where sacred use continues can be considered the primary space of a large site, or a specific resource, and will dictate an approach that is sensitive to that use and the value it has. Within the Sacred Sites category, the primary space is that which is used for worship, or where sacred significance took place. For sites with religious significance, the portions still used for worship would be primary. Interpretive space becomes secondary in importance. With the Nauvoo temple re-construction, the primary space—the interior—was adapted for current worship practices, while the restored exterior emphasized the historical message.

Considering existing preservation programs and types of properties, it is important to consider whether Nauvoo could be understood and treated as a TCP. There is argument for the continued use as a religious and sacred site due to the religious travels of the Latter-day Saints to Nauvoo starting in 1847. It may be a good fit with the sacred and cultural importance of the site passed down through generations of a particular group. Nauvoo as a TCP would make it possible to protect sites further by allowing changes for continued use. Precedent for continued use and alterations for religious expression have been made with the Bighorn Medicine Wheel.

Conclusion

The handling of Nauvoo by the Church of Jesus Christ comprises a good example of a complex religious site and one that now has a plan for cultural preservation by placing the sacred nature of the site as a priority. The Church of Jesus Christ has been working on this task for over one hundred years and have many properties in which these considerations have been applied. Its sites are preserved for members' use in teaching the doctrines, sharing the beliefs, and enabling further worship. Without the ability to do this, it would not be worth the time and money for the organization to preserve its sites. After all, the reason for the settlement of Nauvoo is first and foremost that it was to be a temple city, just as religious buildings are for religious use and are not just architectural artifacts.

Historic Preservation program recognition for religious properties means legitimization. While the religious and sacred meanings are important to followers of that particular religion, the recognition of religion in American culture is a display of understanding multiple aspects that make up a culture—all of which play an important role. The lack of religious recognition minimizes and marginalizes the cultures and communities that cannot participate in the national program. The Historic Sites team, as well as professionals outside of the Church of Jesus Christ, are increasing awareness of the need for the preservation of cultural heritage, specifically religious heritage.

Nauvoo offers an example of different approaches to historic preservation with an emphasis on religious and sacred sites. It is an example of how private property owners develop practices that serve their needs. It is also an example of approaching religious and sacred sites differently. Perhaps most importantly, it models how the professional field of historic preservation is shifting to include an intangible cultural heritage approach. As historic

preservation moves in that direction, examples of historic sites that have included it will be the standards or examples. Nauvoo will be one of those pioneering sites, demonstrating that there are more meaningful aspects to preserve than the physical.

The preservation of something more than physical, nevertheless, is strongly associated with the distinction between primary and secondary physical spaces based on cultural significance. The extension of this distinction could allow for religious buildings to be recognized on the basis of their religious use and the role that they play in a culture.

CHAPTER V WHY A NEW APPROACH MATTERS AND HOW TO APPLY IT

Religious and Sacred properties are at a disadvantage in American historic preservation practice for several reasons. The first is the Criteria for Evaluation for listing in the National Register and practice influenced by the Separation Clause. The Criteria explicitly state that religious properties will not be considered, except for non-religious reasons such as architecture or social history, or for reasons not directly related to doctrine and value. Many religious buildings and sites are listed now, but not for their religious affiliation. This practice has ensured acceptance of religious properties in the Historic Preservation field—but removes the intrinsic value from the properties. It is that cultural and religious value that makes the resources special. If it were not for the religious need and use, sacred sites and buildings would not exist. This denial of religious significance has resulted in our poor understanding of various types of religion-related properties and hence the need for the categories of Revered, Religious, and Sacred. As we ignore religious significance, proposed treatments focus only on physical attributes and not sacred meanings and experiences.

This aloofness towards the significance of religious and sacred sites alters our understanding of the history of those places. The more careful consideration of properties associated with religion in the three categories presented in Chapter 3 and used in a large-scale application in Chapter 4, can guide our understanding of religions' cultures; they have some

applicability for other denominations and could start a national conversation about religious, as cultural, significance and how to address it in our national and local programs. Another important aspect is that not all religious and cultural organizations can afford historic preservation treatments using their own funds, and therefore, often forego preservation activities. These types of organizations need recognition and support in historic preservation activities. At the same time, historic preservationists can continue to provide expertise on certain matters, but need to begin to think more broadly about preserving intrinsic values.

The secular orientation toward religious properties extends to efforts for funding maintenance and repair work to ensure their continued use. Partners for Sacred Places is an organization that helps religious spaces be utilized for secular needs. Often the funding comes from using the site for other purposes than that which makes it sacred or religious. Without funding, properties often suffer from deferred maintenance. The community also suffers without proper presentation of its history in cultural and religious areas. When historic resources do not receive the necessary maintenance, buildings fall into disrepair which can lead to the demolition of the building. Partners for Sacred Places hopes to mitigate that by connecting the secular community with the available space often under used in religious buildings.¹¹³

It is understandable why the NPS has not revisited Criteria Consideration A since it was first published and addressed the contradiction of the National Register program including religion as an area of significance and the broad statements in the Criteria Considerations. The

¹¹³ "Sacred Places/Civic Spaces," *Partners for Sacred Places*, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://sacredplaces.org/reimagine-your-community>.

First Amendment to the United States Constitution restricts government from favoring a religion. The interpretation of this amendment has become so restrictive that the government has shied away from acknowledging religion as a significant heritage for any Euro-American culture or community. However, the two extremes are at odds with American history, resulting in the neglect of a broad and deep aspect of American culture. I argue that it is not a promotion of a particular religion, to include religion as an important cultural practice and component of our country's history, including a particular religion or religious view. In short, recognition and promotion are not the same.

I propose the creation of a Cultural Heritage criterion to be added to the other four Criteria for Evaluation, as it is not yet represented fully. A new criterion to recognize cultural heritage should include various forms of culture, including religion. It would not favor, nor restrict, religious belief and practice, just as stated in the Constitution. If a particular religious or sacred site meets the qualifications or criteria, as any other historic site would, it is a part of the national programs and government incentives and recognition should not be withheld.

What then should be the qualifications for a criterion recognizing cultural heritage? How would it work? What aspects of cultural heritage should be recognized? While there are many aspects of cultural heritage to address, I focus on recognizing religious and sacred meanings as part of cultural heritage.

A Cultural Approach

Cultural Heritage has been a growing topic in historic preservation after the field has, for decades, essentially, left it for folklore and similar programs. It has been difficult to address in a national program in the United States due to culture often being regional. There are also tangible and intangible cultural aspects to heritage that are passed on from one generation to another. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been studying Cultural Heritage and even holds conferences to better understand its importance. Sometimes referred to as heritage studies, this approach differs from traditional historic preservation in that it is more human-centered, not object-centered, focusing on culture—including the tangible and the intangible. The tangible is often the physical legacy of the intangible. This can manifest through art, architecture, sites, museum objects, festivals, etc. It is important to preserve these manifestations, but equally important is the “why” they exist.¹¹⁴ UNESCO is promoting the consideration of cultural and intangible heritage as an aspect of preservation. The United States practice still remains rooted in both the physical and secular.

Within the United States, local CLGs are trying new approaches to preserving intangible heritage. The San Francisco Planning Department, which is the agency overseeing the Historic Preservation Commission, has made the decision to include Cultural Heritage in the city’s preservation efforts. Historic Preservation Commission Resolution 0698 gives the commission the ability to accept social and cultural intangible heritage as valid designations on the city’s

¹¹⁴ “Heritage,” *UNESCO*, accessed February 10, 2019, http://www.unesco.org/culture/culture-sector-knowledge-management-tools/01_Info%20Sheet_Heritage.pdf.

historic property inventory. This qualifies cultural heritage for incentives, documentation, and designation. With that qualification, further protection can be provided by the city.

In order to provide the benefits of designation, heritage has to be defined and qualifications have to be met. San Francisco adapted the survey approach to extend beyond the identification of just buildings and structures. The cultural resources survey included several other types of assets, including art, events, and practices. Another method was to create a district with a boundary, linking the cultural practices to a specific location. As a district, heritage can be protected through district regulation through the review and approval of changes, such as demolition and new construction. One benefit of district designation is eligibility for grants offered by the state of California to help heritage projects in cultural construction, housing, and businesses. The first of these heritage districts was the Japantown Cultural District which became a precedent for cultural heritage designation, creating a strategy to achieve qualifications. The Japantown Cultural Heritage and Economic Sustainability Strategy (JCHES) became the new standard for other communities to consider.¹¹⁵

Since Japantown's designation, San Francisco has completed inventories of three cultural heritage districts. The city continues looking at heritage and ways to represent its values with recognition and incentive programs. San Francisco added two programs for the preservation of heritage: Cultural Heritage Districts and Legacy Business Registry, while still promoting the NPS Traditional Cultural Properties program.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ "Japantown Cultural Heritage & Economic Sustainability Strategy," *San Francisco Planning Department*, accessed February January 16, 2019, http://www.unesco.org/culture/culture-sector-knowledge-management-tools/01_Info%20Sheet_Heritage.pdf.

San Francisco's new districts have created protections for cultures and the structures related to it. Construction grants can be awarded to both new and historic buildings to be invested in and ensure architecture specific to culture continues. This is a preservation grant that allows for new construction in a culturally significant way. What this implies is that the intangible connection of cultural traditional design, though preserved as historic, can actually be contemporary. The only way for this to work is the recognition that at heritage sites intangible cultural heritage is the primary significance, and that it continues to be active and to influence people's preferences and practices.

The Legacy Business Registry is a program that recognizes significant businesses that have been community oriented and locally owned for many years.¹¹⁷ These businesses have continued in the original trade and must contribute to the community in one or more of many forms within the overall concept that they significantly contribute to the identity or history of the community. What heritage does the Legacy Business Registry preserve? The qualifying business must maintain traditions that define the business such as craft, art, and culinary forms. An exceptional feature of this program is that the business does not have to be tied to a property. The businesses on the registry have the ability to move to different locations as long as they have been and are currently in the very community that they are historically connected to.¹¹⁸ Again, this creates the standard for cultural heritage to clearly be the primary significance

¹¹⁶ "Cultural Heritage," *San Francisco Planning Department*, accessed January 16, 2019, <https://sfplanning.org/cultural-heritage>.

¹¹⁷ "Legacy Business Registry," Planning Department, City and County of San Francisco, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://sfgov.org/sfplanningarchive/legacy-business-registry>.

¹¹⁸ "Cultural Heritage," *San Francisco Planning Department*.

and be recognized as ongoing. From the foundations set for recognizing cultural heritage as primary significances, new approaches to evaluation have and will continue to be created.

While the Legacy Business Registry does not directly apply to religious organizations, it does demonstrate that there are intangible connections between community and heritage. The creation of cultural districts not only recognizes intangible culture, but encourages its continuation by creating special grants to ensure architecture and tradition continues. These grants allow for continued change and adaptations that cultures go through in many communities. This thinking can be applied to religious cultures as they are an easily recognizable culture. The same grants can ensure that religious buildings continue to contribute to their communities' identity and heritage.

Just as San Francisco proposed new principles and practices to support cultural heritage, I propose a program with four components to address the inclusion of cultural heritage, specifically religious heritage, on the National Register through two sets of changes. The first two address how we evaluate the significance of properties. First, creating a new Criterion of Evaluation for cultural heritage, including religious heritage, allows this type of significance to be recognized. Then, eliminating Criterion Consideration A and adding the recognition of cultural heritage in the discussion of the other Considerations would complete the new highlighting of cultural heritage. The second two address the ways we understand properties with cultural, specifically, religious significance and respond with more options within the four standard treatments for properties with cultural, religious and sacred significance.

A New Criterion and Considerations

The addition of a new criterion is necessary to include aspects of history and heritage that are becoming more popular to accept and preserve: Cultural Heritage. A fifth criterion for the evaluation of the significance of historic places in the United States of America in Cultural Heritage could be listed as Criterion E: Property has current and historical use or significance in worship, ritual, or heritage practice and value. This new criterion uses a language that is not exclusively religious, but rather inclusive of all intangible intrinsic values of culture. This criterion would also give a greater and more diverse significance to many of the properties currently listed on the register. It would also create a larger pool of historic places, creating meaningful preservation and documentation of the history and heritage of the United States.

The guidance for the new criterion would address common types of cultural practice, including religious and ritual ones. It would emphasize how freedom of religion is part of the American identity and many other areas of significance used in the National Register program and make it clear that recognizing religion is not favoring any one religion over another. Lastly it would explain how arguments for any level of significance for a religion and its followers as more important than any other in beliefs or spiritual qualities are *not* appropriate.

This new criterion would require two more significant changes to the Criteria for Evaluation bulletin.¹¹⁹ The revised opening paragraph to Criteria Considerations would remove the phrase, “properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes,” from the

¹¹⁹ “National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Park Service*.

list of property omissions. Consideration A, which only qualifies religious properties if the primary significance is secular, must be eliminated altogether. If religious properties are recognized, there is no need for Criterion Consideration A.

While Criteria Consideration B-G address other types of properties, they address cultural associations, but not continuous cultural practices. They acknowledge that some properties in the categories of special consideration may qualify if they are in close association with certain aspects of cultural value, but there is no guidance for cultural value and religious value is not included as an aspect of culture anywhere in the program guidance. Cemeteries, birthplaces, gravesites, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties less than fifty years of age can all have close religious or cultural associations and may have deep intrinsic values to a religion.

Proposed Principles for Revised Treatments

The addition of a new treatment or the revision of current treatments within the NPS is essential if cultural heritage is to be approached with the intent of preservation. The four current treatments are admirable and extremely useful for the historic preservation of the tangible, built environment. There are many benefits to these standards. One is the creation of a universal foundation in which all preservation at the private, federal, state, and local levels can build upon. The four treatments and flexibility in interpretation allow for some latitude in the wants and needs of the property owner while using the standards.

The guidelines within each Standard provides “recommended” and “not-recommended” treatments, were updated in 1995 to include the most recent practices. Since that time, the city

of San Francisco and UNESCO have updated their preservation programs to include a broader definition of what qualifies as historic preservation. It is time that the Standards and Guidelines -- the treatment approaches -- reflect a growing and important significance: cultural heritage, and specifically, the religious. A revision to include this in the Standards and Guidelines for the treatments would not need a major revision, just some additions. The three approaches to their use for religious properties that I discuss earlier—acceptance, negotiated acceptance, and rejection—fit well within the guidelines for treatments for continued use religious properties, except for rejection. Rejection would be negated with the acceptance of religious properties, for religious value, on the National Register and the rationale for adaptive Religious and Sacred use.

The introduction of the tripartite organizational method presented and applied in previous chapters is the framework for connecting intangible religious preservation with the tangible, built environment that the Standards currently focus on. A new evaluation method must be applied, or preservation encompassing a fuller description of history and cultural heritage cannot exist. For instance, the Guidelines section entitled, “Choosing an Appropriate Treatment for the Historic Building,” should include the evaluation of cultural and intangible values and current uses of properties with cultural significance. The addition to the section would not remove the treatments from a focus on the physical preservation, it would only expand the approach and evaluation, including identifying primary and secondary cultural space. The evaluation would follow the three levels outlined in the previous chapters: Revered, Religious, and Sacred.

Revered Properties

Revered properties, upon evaluation, have meanings that are the balance between secular and cultural, religious, heritage. The revered property would be treated with one of the established treatments and cultural/religious significance would be expressed during the recognition of significance on the National Register registration form and in interpretation. The religious organization's ownership, treatment, and interpretation of revered sites would become recognized as part of how we understand properties with cultural value. Revered properties are not limited to religious use. Many historic properties are revered for varying cultural reasons. These must be fleshed out in significance statements and applied to interpretations, as they are not likely to necessitate alterations to treatment.

Religious Properties

Religious properties, which may or may not be owned by religious entities, require careful consideration of how to be recognized for their cultural/religious significance and an appropriate approach to treatment. The religious uses of and beliefs associated with a property may not be known prior to initial evaluation, or may be evident but overlooked in official recognition in the National Register. Updated documentation with an emphasis on religious meanings might well have to be undertaken. A property in this category is likely to be a church, and therefore the religious affiliation should be in the forefront when approaching the research. Once documented, religious significance in a historically religious property must take priority in the evaluation process. Current religious use must be evaluated as significant, and areas used for that would be primary cultural spaces.

An example of a religious property no longer in use is the Ancestral Puebloan site Mule Canyon Ruin. Due to the environment of this desert site, not much has been done for the active preservation of the majority of the site. Archaeologists determined that the main feature of this small settlement was the religious structure, the kiva, a type of underground religious structure. It was the most intact of all the buildings and therefore allowed for the most complete archaeological excavation and interpretation.¹²⁰ During the evaluation it was discovered that the kiva had entrance tunnels in addition to the standard roof entrance. This is rare among ancient Puebloan underground kivas. Archaeologists evaluated the site and determined the greatest significance was that the religious structure was the primary space, and the foundations of the tower/storage and the housing was secondary. Due to this evaluation, and with the minimal intervention for historic preservation needed, the two secondary structures remained open to the environment and human interaction. Site managers decided to erect a canopy above ground and large enough that it does not dominate the experience of the kiva structure. This structure shields the Kiva from the slow erosive effects of the environment.¹²¹

The Mule Canyon Ruin illustrates how including religious significance resulted in a different approach to preservation. The kiva ritual use of the kiva was a high priority for the ancient inhabitants and therefore, should be the focus of contemporary preservation. The same

¹²⁰ My visit to the site shows worn and fragmented structures for both the tower building and the living quarters. The kiva is in remarkable shape, only missing the roof, which would have been level with the ground. The kiva has the greatest amount of modern intervention in the form of a wooden canopy. The canopy also signifies to the view that the building it houses is somehow set apart from the rest of the settlement.

¹²¹ "Mule Canyon Ruins," Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.blm.gov/visit/mule-canyon-ruins>.

approach should be taken for religious properties that are still used for religious purposes. The primary focus is the religious use of the tangible.

Another treatment issue regarding religious properties is changes within religious use. An example of this is the removal of the baptismal font at the Salt Lake Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. The Tabernacle is a religious building that has been in continual use for over 160 years. It was used for the religious gatherings of large meetings, religious concerts, speeches and instruction, and baptisms. With many congregational buildings being constructed with baptismal fonts, the need for one at the Tabernacle lessened, resulting with the removal of the font during a seismic retrofit project.¹²² The font is a significant religious feature and part of a primary cultural/religious space. But, during the project, the current use of the religious property dictated the alteration. Religious property managers are more likely to deliberate between the needs of current religious and standard guidelines, in this case the avoidance of removing a character-defining feature of the interior. This decision is an example of negotiated acceptance—the adoption of a treatment with exceptions. Yet for a cultural property, the decision would be more straight-forward and require less justification, as it would be based on current cultural use.

¹²² Jennifer Dobner, “Mormon Tabernacle Reopens After Renovations, Seismic Upgrade,” *Casper Star Tribune*, April 1, 2007, accessed February 18, 2019, https://trib.com/news/state-and-regional/mormon-tabernacle-reopens-after-renovations-seismic-upgrade/article_b755f993-9faf-5bd6-b7d7-463c2f9e4ff0.html.

Sacred Properties

Sacred properties differ from Religious properties in important ways. For the Sacred property, foundational to belief and practice, the intangible meanings and sacred use are the highest priority. Much of a property may be a primary cultural space. The current treatments may not be sufficient or appropriate to accommodate sacred meanings and uses as they focus on the tangible, physical fabric of a building or site.

The treatment approach for a property, once it is evaluated as sacred and its primary cultural space identified, must be preservation of belief and practice. The property, if it is a building or structure, would not exist for the users if it were not for the intangible importance. Even so, with all properties, there are a few considerations that must not be negotiated or rejected. The first is safety compliance, since the current-day users would not be able to use the property for their purposes without safety compliance. Safety provisions have the potential to alter or otherwise influence the sacred space. However, for a space to be used, it must be in compliance with at least the minimal life safety protocols.

Other considerations covered in the Secretary of Interior's Standards for new elements or considering the effects of proposed changes during Section 106 evaluations, while helpful to preserving the tangible, do not take into account sacredness and sacred use. The construction of a modern Church of Jesus Christ temples at Nauvoo, at a property adjacent to the Sacred Grove near Palmyra, New York, and at Winter Quarters—sharing a border with the historic Latter-day Saint cemetery—are cases in point. These temples are new, highly-visible modern elements in historic religious and sacred sites. In a secular sense, they are completely out of place due to their location, modernity, size, and materials. However, in a sacred sense,

believers find them to increase the sacred nature of the sites exponentially, even creating a greater appreciation, use, and belief while experiencing the site.

The Mother Bethel A.M.E. church is a property with cultural/religious significance that could benefit greatly from this approach. It was the location of a religious movement. Its methods of worship started as an answer to cultural needs. Under the proposed Criterion E, Mother Bethel A.M.E. would receive recognition for the cultural development of both secular aspects of African American communities, but also religious ones by combining Methodist worship with many African expressions of worship. This would be the case despite the fact that much of this work took place prior to the construction of the current building. And carrying this concept forward, if the congregation decided to rebuild on the same location again, the most important aspect of the property – its Religious significance – would not be reduced. This recognition for many Religious and Sacred properties would be a capstone to appreciating and understanding the importance of religious culture and heritage in the history of the United States.

Proposed Additions to the Treatments Standards

After categorizing a property as Revered, Religious, or Sacred, primary features must be evaluated. Using the tripartite organizational approach, the evaluator can then better understand which of the four treatments to use. The following illustrates the proposed additions or alterations to the Standards of the NPS' four treatments of historic properties:

Standards for Preservation

The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* lists eight standards that should be followed for proper and acceptable preservation. The recognition of intangible cultural heritage, particularly the religious significance of a property, is not addressed by most of the eight standards. However, Standard four, "Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved,"¹²³ allows for flexibility in considering changes over time and their relationship to the significance of the property. This approach opens the door for consideration of the longer life of a property—beyond that of a period of significance. But for the purposes of this study, it may be complicated when considering historic religious and sacred use with contemporary use. The Beehive House in Salt Lake City, once the main residence of Brigham Young, was built for his large family and was his primary residence during his lifetime. Once Young died, his son purchased it and added a space used as a store, as well as extending servant areas, the kitchen, and a very large dining area. In 1893, the Church of Jesus Christ acquired it for use as the President of the church's residence. The President of the Church of Jesus Christ is considered a prophet, and it was the second president/prophet who lived there that received a doctrine-building revelation for the church. While the home is far more famous for Young than any other use, the additions have been preserved for the significance achieved post Young's occupancy and demonstrates the application of "acquired historic and sacred significance."

¹²³ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 28.

Standard four does not represent historic religious use, but also does not represent well the issues surrounding periods of significance. A revision of the sentence should include period of significance and/or continued use: Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved, depending on their relationship to the significance of the property. In addition, changes related to the significance of the property can be accommodated in a preservation treatment program.

Standards for Rehabilitation

Much like the Preservation Standard four, the Rehabilitation Standard four complicates the thinking around period of significance, historic use, and continued use. Rehabilitation is an often-used treatment for religious properties that are no longer used as such. The Alamo is an example of this change in use, and there are many churches that have been rehabilitated and adapted to housing and business uses. With respect to these properties, the Standards for Rehabilitation address well the physical attributes by including spatial use and relationships.

Rehabilitation cannot preserve the intangible use of a property. Intangible attributes of a property are not something that can be repackaged in a different use. As rehabilitation is strictly a physical treatment, though, it can pay particular attention to character-defining features of historic religious use in an attempt to link the tangible with the intangible. However, Rehabilitation Standard one that addresses use, states that a property be used as it was historically, or in a use that requires minimal changes. If a property that was religious in nature was to be rehabilitated for continued or a religious use by a different denomination or faith,

that is the closest that this treatment can get to rehabilitation of the intangible meaning and use.¹²⁴ And even if a church is used by another denomination, some changes might be introduced for that groups religious practices.

An example of the rehabilitation of the intangible religious use is the Washington D.C. Unification Church on Columbia Road. This chapel was once a symbol of the Church of Jesus Christ in the nation's capital. That role was replaced when the Washington, D.C., temple was completed. Certain religious items specific to Latter-day Saint faith were removed prior to selling the chapel to Reverend Moon's Unification Church. However, the spaces and spatial relationships for a distinct and separate religion remain. What also remains are the stained-glass images that are specific to the Latter-day Saint faith but are not part of religious observance of the later occupant. This defining feature, though not related to the Unification worship, remains in place illustrating the guidance in standard two which states that the removal of character defining features—of the physical property—should be avoided.¹²⁵

Standards for Restoration

The Standards for Restoration do not need alteration. As the standards are written, they can easily include spaces that were historically and currently used with intangible value as well as tangible value. The adoption of cultural heritage in its many forms would not affect the

¹²⁴ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 76.

¹²⁵ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 76.

Standards for Restoration. As the ten standards for restoration are written, they fully support historic use, as well as continued use.¹²⁶

An example of how the existing restoration standards work well is the Woodruff home, in Nauvoo discussed in Chapter 4. In the Woodruff home, the Historic Sites team debated whether or not to remove 160 years of occupied history in order to restore the home to the period of significance. The result was the removal of most of the 160 years—most because of the safety code. The home was not completed during the period of significance, and if it were to be restored to that, it would not be in compliance of modern safety codes, and therefore closed for public visits. The initial debate of removing the history of continually used buildings to date back to a specific period is a common one among historic sites that are not concerned with livability, modern amenities, or adaptive uses. Like with the other treatments, Restoration Standard four does not represent historic religious use, but also does not represent well the issues surrounding periods of significance.

Standards for Reconstruction

The current six standards listed are carefully written to emphasize the use of documentation and physical accuracy. They allow cultural heritage to be included in the use of this treatment with regards to the physical property and space. What must also be added to this treatment is the interpretation. Standard three states that it must be a physical

¹²⁶ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 164.

representation of historical use and that adding features or elements that did not exist historically for the property should be avoided.¹²⁷

The purpose of a reconstruction, as stated in the Standards, is to depict the “form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object.”¹²⁸ With the inclusion of cultural heritage, the word features should be also be interpreted as intangible characteristics and uses, or in other words, that which was a featured use of the property. With the new adoption of the meaning of features, the treatment of reconstruction would fall in line closely without change.

The reconstruction of the Nauvoo temple is an example of reconstruction with applied interpretation. In all efforts that were allowed with modern construction, the exterior of the Nauvoo temple was a faithful restoration. In contrast, the interior was not restored. While the temple is used for the same purposes as the original, the methods of worship have changed. The interpretation of the interior allows for current use and value based in the historic use, while not fully reconstructing the temple. The windows were hand built and painted; the carved stone was worked by hand. The reconstruction was as accurate as modern construction and worship would allow, including purpose and meanings. The adoption of the new interior interpretation allowing for the modern continuation of the historic meanings and values is the

¹²⁷ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 226.

¹²⁸ US Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 225.

feature of the temple for Latter-day Saints, which would be permissible under the new treatment guidelines.

Conclusion

There are many buildings which have a deep religious cultural significance that has been neglected and underrepresented in the national historic preservation program. An example of underrepresentation is the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, more commonly known as the Baltimore Basilica. The church is beautifully preserved, open to the public, and still used as a religious facility. It has received the visit of world religious leaders, like the Pope. The Baltimore Basilica is one of the only buildings to receive the designation and recognition of the three major titles given to sacred buildings within Catholicism—Basilica, Cathedral, and Shrine. Basilica is the designation of a sacred building by the religion’s highest leader, the Pope. Cathedral is the designation as the seat of the diocese and is still used as a parish. A shrine is the place that houses a holy relic.¹²⁹ Baltimore Basilica was the first Catholic Cathedral built after the United States Constitution was adopted, and was thought to be a symbol of the freedom of religion that the constitution guarantees. It is considered the mother church of over two-thirds of the Catholic parishes in the United States today. The Basilica is truly a foundation for Catholicism in America today.

¹²⁹ Fr. William Saunders, “Cathedrals, Shrines and Basilicas,” *Catholic Education Resource Center*, accessed May 13, 2019, <https://www.catholiceducation.org/en/culture/catholic-contributions/cathedrals-shrines-and-basilicas.html>.

However, the Baltimore Basilica is not recognized fully for its influence on Catholic worship in America, Papal importance, or as a house of worship. The Basilica has received far more recognition for its architecture and architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The Basilica was declared a National Landmark in 1972. It is a contributor to the Mount Vernon Cultural District.¹³⁰ While it is true, the Basilica has religious recognition on both the National Landmark nomination and the Cultural District nomination, both fail to emphasize the primary significance to one of the most sacred buildings in America. The reason for constructing such a building, when a more standard parish church would suffice, was to emphasize the ability to worship as one chooses.

This example illustrates the how the current processes emphasize the secular leaving religious properties underrecognized. Secular history at religious properties is worth recognition. Secular history is valuable and worth saving. However, in places of religious value, the secular history is only part of what makes those places significant. The Separation Clause has caused the avoidance of religious or sacred value as a primary significance. The four treatments as written do not support decisions based on sacred, religious, or cultural meanings and uses, even though they are significant parts of American history and heritage.

Four standard treatments guide historic preservation in the United States of all types of sites and therefore, must represent the preservation needs of the country. A current need is the expansion of the treatments to include cultural heritage. While cultural heritage has been neglected for much of America's history, it does not need to be. The physical preservation of

¹³⁰ "Basilica History," *The Baltimore Basilica*, accessed May 13, 2019, <https://www.americasfirstcathedral.org/History/>.

places, both built and natural landscapes, is being accomplished. There are numerous examples of both religious and secular properties. But with the adoption of the attributes of cultural heritage, a fuller representation of our collective history can be preserved and shared.

Stories, motivations, communities, peoples, and movements have been underrepresented due to the dominant emphasis on architecture. While I am not advocating that the architecture of the nation's great historic properties be ignored or neglected, I do claim that even the greatest architecture is second to the cultural impetus to create and use what has been designed and built. I also argue that the agnostic approach towards the sacred, religious, or otherwise, dismisses key factors in the settlement of this country, starting with the indigenous people to those currently settling. The religious and cultural intangible elements are especially critical when people are immigrating. This is demonstrated throughout settlement history with the construction of religious buildings or settlements around sacred sites. The time has come to recognize the importance of intrinsic attachment and cultural heritage, not as a singular factor, but as a part of the numerous strands of the history of the United States. The recognition of cultural heritage as an integral part of this country's history would not only be easy to include with the current preservation practices, but is necessary as cultural attributes are increasing in importance and identity.

Recommendation for Further Study

The categorization of religious and sacred sites introduced in chapter 4 can be further tested on more historic religious properties. As used in this thesis, it has been applied to many Church of Jesus Christ historic sites due the many sites to use as examples. Applying them to the properties of other denominations would validate the categorization method and rubric. Further, as some denominations do not use the concept of sacred space, the differences between revered and religious might also have different meanings.

A topic for further study is how religious properties that have been rehabilitated and whether it retains the primary significance. Understanding and representing this topic would be beneficial for properties across many religious denominations. Many churches have been rehabilitated into houses, apartment complexes, etc. What should be preserved on an historical church, if it has no religious meaning or use? Is it expectable to rehabilitate a space, like the nave, into something secular like office space? A further study here will benefit preservationist, religious use, and rehabilitation interested parties.

Fleshing out guidance for the proposed Criterion E would require further explanations of religious and cultural practices and related properties, working with multiple periods of significance or the abandonment of that concept, and how to assess the aspects of integrity and address if a further category is needed. The issue of level of significance might also need discussion as neither state or national levels are appropriate for regional cultural practices and religious denominations. Also, guidance for the development of cultural heritage contexts will be needed; some would be primarily cultural, while others would be a blend of religious and secular topics, such as settlement and religion, and ethnicity and religion.

The local use of criteria, not included at the federal level, could further the argument for adopting more criteria at the national level. In the case of religious recognition, the local level of criteria might be successful as many religious properties often start out with local importance. Perhaps this can be easily adopted through the Certified Local Government program.

An exploration in how religious properties have more than one level of attachment: to members of the faith and to the larger community in which they are situated and part of the cultural landscape. If religious meanings are foremost in significance, where does that leave the significance to the community? Community significance can present itself through landscape definition, cultural expressions, and even monetarily via tourism or property value.

APPENDIX

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties

Standards for Preservation

The Standards will be applied taking into consideration the economic and technical feasibility of each project.

1. A property will be used as it was historically, or be given a new use that maximizes the retention of distinctive materials, features, spaces and spatial relationships. Where a treatment and use have not been identified, a property will be protected and, if necessary, stabilized until additional work may be undertaken.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The replacement of intact or repairable historic materials or alteration of features, spaces and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate and conserve existing historic materials and features will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection and properly documented for future research.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
6. The existing condition of historic features will be evaluated to determine the appropriate level of intervention needed. Where the severity of deterioration requires repair or limited replacement of a distinctive feature, the new material will match the old in composition, design, color and texture.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

Preservation as a treatment

When the property's distinctive materials, features, and spaces are essentially intact and thus convey the historic significance without extensive repair or replacement; when depiction at a particular period of time is not appropriate; and when a continuing or new use does not require additions or extensive alterations, Preservation may be considered as a treatment.¹³¹

¹³¹ "The Treatment of Historic Properties," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

Standards for Rehabilitation

The Standards will be applied taking into consideration the economic and technical feasibility of each project.

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

Rehabilitation as a treatment

When repair and replacement of deteriorated features are necessary; when alterations or additions to the property are planned for a new or continued use; and when its depiction at a particular period of time is not appropriate, Rehabilitation may be considered as a treatment.¹³²

¹³² "The Treatment of Historic Properties," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

Standards for Restoration

The Standards will be applied taking into consideration the economic and technical feasibility of each project.

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that interprets the property and its restoration period.
2. Materials and features from the restoration period will be retained and preserved. The removal of materials or alteration of features, spaces and spatial relationships that characterize the period will not be undertaken.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate and conserve materials and features from the restoration period will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection and properly documented for future research.
4. Materials, features, spaces and finishes that characterize other historical periods will be documented prior to their alteration or removal.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize the restoration period will be preserved.
6. Deteriorated features from the restoration period will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture and, where possible, materials.
7. Replacement of missing features from the restoration period will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence. A false sense of history will not be created by adding conjectural features, features from other properties, or by combining features that never existed together historically.
8. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
9. Archeological resources affected by a project will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
10. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Restoration as a treatment

When the property's design, architectural, or historical significance during a particular period of time outweighs the potential loss of extant materials, features, spaces, and finishes that characterize other historical periods; when there is substantial physical and documentary evidence for the work; and when contemporary alterations and additions are not planned, Restoration may be considered as a treatment. Prior to undertaking work, a particular period of

time, i.e., the restoration period, should be selected and justified, and a documentation plan for Restoration developed.¹³³

¹³³ “The Treatment of Historic Properties,” National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

Standards for Reconstruction

The Standards will be applied taking into consideration the economic and technical feasibility of each project.

1. Reconstruction will be used to depict vanished or non-surviving portions of a property when documentary and physical evidence is available to permit accurate reconstruction with minimal conjecture, and such reconstruction is essential to the public understanding of the property.
2. Reconstruction of a landscape, building, structure or object in its historic location will be preceded by a thorough archeological investigation to identify and evaluate those features and artifacts that are essential to an accurate reconstruction. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
3. Reconstruction will include measures to preserve any remaining historic materials, features and spatial relationships.
4. Reconstruction will be based on the accurate duplication of historic features and elements substantiated by documentary or physical evidence rather than on conjectural designs or the availability of different features from other historic properties. A reconstructed property will re-create the appearance of the non-surviving historic property in materials, design, color and texture.
5. A reconstruction will be clearly identified as a contemporary re-creation.
6. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Reconstruction as a treatment

When a contemporary depiction is required to understand and interpret a property's historic value (including the re-creation of missing components in a historic district or site); when no other property with the same associative value has survived; and when sufficient historical documentation exists to ensure an accurate reproduction, Reconstruction may be considered as a treatment.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ "The Treatment of Historic Properties," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

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