Chapter 3 -- Religious Landscapes

Religion is one of the most deeply seated characteristics of human life, personally and institutionally; thus, religion leaves distinctive imprints on the cultural landscapes of North America. The immigration laws of Canada and United States, in particular, have embraced diversity of religion as a hallmark of human rights. The United States makes the most explicit guarantee of religious freedom. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”

Although religious freedom is practiced in northern European countries today, the Lutheran Church is still the only officially recognized religion, in Germany and Sweden for example, for which the government collects church taxes. Freedom to practice religion as a legal right is a relatively new idea and rarely codified in law. Only in 1948 did the United Nations declare religious freedom to be a universal human right.

Despite the lack of a constitution protecting religious freedom in Canada, the federal government has generally been more tolerant of religious groups than the USA, certainly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most Hutterites fled the USA when the U.S. government required them to fight in World War I. Other political pacifists have found a home in Canada, such as the Dukabors in British Columbia who periodically burn all their possessions: clothing, houses, and barns. Even when religious beliefs are in conflict, the government shows great tolerance, as was the case with the first Sikh Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer who was permitted to wear a turban instead of the regulation hat.

Historically (from 1917 to 1991), Mexico’s Constitution discriminated against the Roman Catholic Church as an institution, but not against individual Catholics, because the Church not only did not support the Revolution of 1917 but also was associated with the oppression of the peasants by the landed elites. The 1917 Constitution prohibited religious instruction in schools (Article 3), prohibited religious instruction outside of churches (Article 24), withheld legal recognition from churches, denied clergy members political rights, and regulated religious political activity (Article 130). But by 1988 the Constitution of the Mexico had been changed: “Every person is free to profess the religious beliefs that please him/her and to practice the respective ceremonies, devotions or worship acts in temples or churches (Article 24).” In 1992, the Mexican government even re-established diplomatic relations with the Holy See (the Vatican in Rome). Despite the anti- and pro-Catholic events throughout Mexico’s history, Mexicans remain overwhelmingly practicing Roman Catholics and their cultural landscapes reflect this in the form of churches, from modest to grand, pilgrimage sites, and religious celebrations throughout the year.

Religious freedom is the raison d’etre of Canada and the United States today, expressed in their laws and the practices of the many religious groups which characterized these two settler colonies, in contrast to the homogeneous Spanish land empire in Mexico. Religious landscapes are critical in two ways: how specific religious groups interact with each other and how governments enforce tolerance or practice discrimination and persecution.

In the USA, Christians represent 85 percent of the population of which Roman Catholics are 21 percent; in Canada, Christians account for 80 percent of all people of which 42 percent are Roman Catholics; in Mexico, Christians represent 96 percent of the population of which 94 percent are Roman Catholics (University of Virginia Library, Religious Freedom, 2005).

Religious group tolerance of others. Religious freedom means
freedom to worship and practice religion without restricting the freedom of other groups. Placing specific religious icons, for example, on personal and institutional private properties is in keeping with such a concept of religious freedom. But placing specific religious icons, such as crosses on mountain tops and tablets of the Ten Commandments on public grounds (city, county, and national parks) and in public buildings (city halls, courthouses, and schools) is not in keeping with religious freedom. For religious freedom to have any real meaning, people must at least tolerate, and ideally, appreciate, other religious views, behaviors, and landscapes. **Tolerance is about accepting differences; domination is about persecution and simplification.** Ironically, the historical intolerance towards Roman Catholics by many Protestant groups in the United States has re-emerged in new forms. Since the 1970s, Far Right Evangelical groups have tried to impose their religious views about life and death on others -- regarding abortion, family planning, divorce, teenage pregnancy, medical research, and euthanasia. Noah Feldman (2005) argues that the debate today is between two groups: “legal secularists,” who want the law to make government Godless, and “values evangelicals,” who insist the religion is relevant to political life. Initially, nobody objected to public schools teaching the Bible, but when the Irish immigrants wanted to use their Catholic version, Republicans came up with a series of provisions to ban public money from helping teach “popish nonsense.” As so often happens, groups who seek freedom for themselves often destroy this freedom for others once they have power -- becoming the very persecutors from whom they escaped in the past. Religious groups must exercise “principled tolerance” -- practicing their religious beliefs while allowing others to do so as well.

**Government (in)tolerance of religious groups.** Religious freedom is always defined within circumscribed cultural contexts. Governments play critical roles in creating the laws and practices as they relate to religious groups. Governments normally impose dominant views of religious acceptance -- whether during the Reformation in Europe or nineteenth century USA. The persecution of Anabaptists by the Lutheran Church, which itself had fought battles with the Roman Catholic Church, resulted in groups like the Amish and Hutterites seeking religious freedom in the USA and Canada. Some religious practices -- full-body and adult baptisms -- are tolerated. However, during times of war, governments usually will not accept other religious practices, such as passivism to refuse service in the military. Governments also systematically violate other religious practices when they pertain to such practices as polygamy and refuse health care services for minors (blood transfusions, e.g.). In this chapter, two very different religious groups, Mormons and Roman Catholics, are examined for their imprints on the cultural landscapes of North America.

**Part I. Utopian Religious Groups in the United States**

The *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, or Mormon Church, is the most successful of the many U. S. separatist religious and utopian communities from the nineteenth century, measured by endurance, number of members, and wealth. During the early nineteenth century, Western New York was a hot bed of many religious personalities and their followers (Cross 1950). Although Joseph Smith was a minor figure among the evangelistic groups in this Burned-Over Region, he convinced his family members and others to join him in creating a new religion, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints -- even though Joseph’s father was a Methodist, and his mother and elder brother were Presbyterians.

Joseph Smith, despite his religious visions, was an eminently practical man. He combined appeals to reason and self-interest and expected all laymen to participate in the priesthood of the church. This democratic conception paralleled the controversies over clerical influence in most of the sects of Western New York. And while other evangelists emphasized salvation through personal suffering, Smith’s ideas about earthly and heavenly society were based on physical comfort and earthly abundance (Cross 1950). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or the LDS Church for short, was officially established in 1830. The term Mormon is more commonly used by outsiders.

The first of many sacred places for the Saints, as Mormons also call themselves, is **Palmyra, New York**, where the Smith family lived and where in 1827 the **Angel Moroni** gave Joseph Smith golden tablets which he translated from Reform Egyptian into the Book of Mormon, another testament of Jesus Christ. Fourteen centuries earlier the Angel Moroni had written down the history of the New World wars between the Nephites (who lost) and the Lamanites (the Indians of North America today) who slaughtered 230,000 Nephites. Mormons believe that this gigantic battle took place on Hill Cumorah, near Palmyra. A U.S. flag and a large statue of the Angel Moroni (Photo: Ingolf Vogeler) stand on top of this glacial drumlin. Since 1937, for seven nights...
in July, more than 100,000 Saints and a few curious assemble on the slope below this statute for “The Cumorah Pageant: America’s Witness for Christ.” For two hours, the audience is shown a dramatic reenactment of the Book of Mormon. An enormous 10-level stage, twelve-tower lighting, state-of-the-art sound system, and a costumed cast of over 650 volunteers perform. It claims to be the world’s greatest outdoor theatrical productions with upwards of 100,000 visitors per year.

Figure 3-1-1. Major historic Mormon sites are spread across the United States, as Mormons voluntarily and forcibly moved from Upstate New York to the Utah Territory.

Compared with other Christians, Mormons had/have rather unusual beliefs and practices, among them the restoration of Christianity, baptism of the dead, eternal families, mandatory tithing (10 percent of gross personal incomes), the Book of Mormon, living prophets, all males are priests, two-year missionary work, and in the past, polygamy. They also drink no alcohol and “hot” drinks (coffee and tea) nor do they use tobacco products. The revelations of Joseph Smith and of other Mormon leaders are contained in The Doctrine and Covenants -- the unique set of principles to which Mormons must adhere (Mormons 2005). The distinctive views and practices of Mormons led to religious and political confrontations with their neighbors and resulted in a series of moves from Western New York to Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and finally, for most of the Mormons, to the Great Basin in what would become the state of Utah (Figure 3-1-1).

Only a few of these distinctive aspects of Mormonism resulted in special cultural landscapes. The Kirtland Temple in Ohio and the master plan and Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois, were the earliest cultural landscape markers of the Mormon Church. Joseph Smith and others designed the Kirtland Temple and layout of Nauvoo, which was based on Smith’s concept of the City of Zion with grid-iron streets and houses with adjoining gardens. The highest hill was reserved for the temple which visually expressed Nauvoo’s religious and social priorities. From 1839 until 1846, Nauvoo grew to over 2,500 homes and about 12,000 people. Streets were surveyed three rods wide within city boundaries. Gardens on city lots produced vegetables, herbs, fruits, and berries. But in 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother were assassinated and the Mormon Temple was burned. By 1846, the largest group of Mormons (70,000 or 40 percent), led by Brigham Young, migrated to the Great Basin in the Mexican territory, later to become the Utah Territory in 1850 with Young being appointed governor. The Saints wanted to name the territory Deseret, meaning honeybee, from the Book of Mormon. Here, Mormons hoped to insulate themselves from further harassment, antagonism, and persecution and establish their utopian religious kingdom. Earlier and in the Midwest, Mormons had created temples and even a city, Nauvoo, but only when they arrived in Utah did they create extensive regional cultural landscapes.

Smith’s wife and children and their followers remained in Nauvoo, IL, where they formed the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints -- note the different spelling. It is now called the Community of Christ with 250,000 followers and is headquartered in Independence, Missouri (Figure 3-1-1). For outsiders, Mormons are synonymous with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and most are unaware of other Mormon sects, such as the Community of Christ and polygamist groups like the True and Living Church of Jesus Christ of Saints of the Last Days in the Western United States.

Polygamy, or plural marriage as the LDS Church called it, has always been the most distinctive feature of Mormons, especially as perceived by outsiders. Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church, married at least 33 women, and probably 48 -- he was very secretive about his practice in the beginning. The youngest of his wives was just 14 years old when Smith explained to her that God had commanded that she marry him or face
eternal damnation. When Smith was murdered in Nauvoo, IL, most (95 percent) of the Mormons did not know that their prophet had married more than one wife and that he believed plural marriage to be one of the most crucial keys to gaining entry into the Kingdom of Heaven. His revelation of plural marriage was only communicated many years after he had received instruction from God. In his lifetime, Smith received 135 revelations that were canonized in The Doctrine and Covenants. In Section 132 of The Doctrine and Covenants, Smith revealed his 1843 revelation about plural marriage. Brigham Young, on the other hand, had only one revelation: how to organize the wagon train for their migration to Utah.

Within the Church, the anti-polygamists and polygamists were split over the successor. Brigham Young, who represented the polygamists, convinced a large number of the Mormons to move to Utah. Brigham Young had at least 20 wives, perhaps as many as 57 wives, and he sired an estimated 57 children.

Anti-Mormon writers viewed polygamy as one of the greatest social ills affecting the U.S. in the nineteenth century, as significant as slavery. Although the Utah Territory met the requirement for statehood within a few years after initial settlement, Congress used the "polygamy question" to deny statehood until 1896. By then the Mormon Church had officially rescinded polygamy. Utah gave women the vote in 1870, but it was taken away from them by the federal Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1882. This Act allowed the federal government to prosecute Mormons not only for engaging in polygamy but also for "unlawful" cohabitation. In addition, the Act stated that the "right to vote, hold office and sit on juries in the Territory of Utah be confined to those who neither practice nor uphold polygamy." The federal government actively prosecuted polygamists throughout the 1880s. According to Shipps (2000), "So many Mormon men were brought to trial and imprisoned that Mormon culture almost collapsed." Federal lawyers initiated a series of legal actions which were meant to bankrupt the Mormon Church. With a favorable 19 May 1890 Supreme Court ruling concerning the Act, the federal government could seize church property legally! Many Mormon leaders left their wives and families to fend for themselves and hide out in the mountains or fled to Mexico or Canada (Morin and Guelke 1998).

For people in nineteenth-century United States, Mormons and polygamists were essentially synonymous. For Mormons, polygamy was never a majority practice, but a matter of religious faith. Mormon settlers in Utah, who lived in isolated autonomy, were able to construct a legal, social, and economic society that allowed polygamy to flourish. It was the centerpiece of Mormon society, around which everything else -- marriage law, economic interaction, social hierarchy, inheritance, and local politics -- was built. The U. S. government felt threatened by polygamy. Despite the unconditional constitutional freedom of religion, U. S. government used polygamy to keep Utah out of the Union (until 1896) and to destroy Mormon political power. In seeking to end the practice of and support for polygamy, the federal government wanted to remove a defining element of Mormon religion and bring Mormons into the mainstream and under its control. The U.S. Supreme Court, Congress, and popular opinion approved of such discriminatory tactics as harsh criminal prosecutions, disenfranchisement, and disincorporation of the LDS Church (Kokiasmenos 2004). In response to the federal government’s persecution, the Mormon Church was faced with two options: 1) maintain polygamy and have the Church exterminated and its properties seized, or 2) eliminate polygamy and survive. Conveniently, in 1890 the fourth president of the Church had a revelation that polygamy should be suspended -- known as the "Great Accommodation." Despite their public statements to the contrary, for the next two decades Mormons were advised by their leaders to continue their practice of plural marriages. Top leaders secretly performed numerous polygamous marriages.

An estimated 30,000 to 100,000 Mormon polygamists still live in Western Canada, U.S. West, and Mexico (Krakauer 2003). Although the LDS Church has rejected plural marriages, antique, fundamentalist, or original Mormons, as they call themselves, live in and around Bountiful, British Columbia, Manti and Hildale in Utah, and in Colorado City, on the Arizona-Utah line, where 10,000 people are almost exclusively members of Mormon polygamous communities. The largest polygamous community is the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Saints (FLDS), which owns most of the land in the town. They continue to believe that Section 132 of The Doctrine and Covenants requires the practice of plural marriages to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Colorado City has no hotel, bar, or café, only a post office and a small store. The clothing of members is different from non-members. Men wear long-sleeve shirts and women wear long dresses. Because of legal disputes, FLDS houses are distinguished by high fences and "No Trespassing" signs.

Despite the Mormon’s much maligned belief and practice of polygamy, other aspects of their social beliefs and practices were not attacked by the media and the federal government. Brigham Young institutionalized racism within the LDS. Under his leadership, Utah became a slave territory and supported the Confederacy during the Civil War.
Blacks were banned from the priesthood and inter-racial marriages were prohibited. Only in 1978 did the President of the Church have a revelation that the LDS was open to all races!

The LDS provides a good example of a religious group which transformed itself from a mid-nineteenth-century progressive utopian religious group to a contemporary mainstream conservative establishment church. The early Mormon Church believed in and encouraged “plural marriage,” minted their own money, and made their own laws -- all of which are forbidden by the LDS Church today.

The specific beliefs and practices of religious groups -- in this case, polygamy and racism within the LDS Church -- raise the thorny issue of the limits of religious freedom. What kinds and how many religious freedoms, for that matter any kind of freedoms, should a society allow and tolerate? The LDS Church provides a critical case study of the actual versus the espoused values and meanings of U.S. legal and social history. Such discussions and debates must be on-going in pluralistic and democratic societies.

**Mormon Landscapes in Utah**

As a nineteenth-century utopian religious group, the Mormons created their initial distinctive cultural landscape in Nauvoo, Illinois. But only when they settled in the Salt Lake Valley could they create their idealized religious place on earth. Here they created the most extensive and longest-lived cultural landscapes, full of religious meanings and practical needs. Despite their quest for a safe religious homeland, many of the distinctive Mormon landscape features were the results of practical considerations in their new environments: lack of water for homes and fields, spatial isolation, and natural catastrophes of weather and pests. Although Mormon families, practicing single or plural marriages, lived in their own farmsteads in villages, they worked cooperatively when needed to bring in the harvest or help their neighbors.

Although the U.S. Census does not collect data on religion, the Glenmary Research Center (2005) does. Figure 3-1-2 shows that the initial concentration of Mormon settlers in Utah still persists. But since World War II, a significant number of non-Mormons have settled in the largest urban areas of Utah, such as Salt Lake County, where the percentage of Mormons is now lower than in the past and in the surrounding counties, north and south of Salt Lake City (Figure 3-1-3).

Approximately 73 percent of the people in Utah are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City is less than 40 percent Mormon. In 1996, the eight Intermountain States contained less than 6 percent of the nation's total population, but included 52 percent of U.S. Mormons. Weekly church attendance for Mormons in the Intermountain West is much higher (70 percent) than for Mormons elsewhere in the nation -- 40 percent, similar to other conservative churches.

**Salt Lake City, Utah: Center of the LDS Church**

In the past and today, the LDS Church dominates Salt Lake City -- economically, politically, and certainly visually -- illustrated particularly well by **Temple Square** (Figure 3-1-4). The spatial layout of Salt Lake City was similar to the master plan for Nauvoo. Shortly after Brigham Young arrived, the Saints began to lay out **Salt Lake City**, using a pattern that they would follow in subsequent settlements. A ten-acre block just west of Brigham's house was designated the Temple Block (Temple Square) where the Saints first held religious services, and built the tabernacle and various public buildings. Construction of the Salt Lake Temple was begun in 1853. Commencing at the southeast corner of Temple Square (currently South Temple and Main Street), the base line and principal meridian for all

![Figure 3-1-2. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is still concentrated in and around Utah (in 2000), its original nineteenth-century core, despite it now being a world-wide religion with about 11 million members (as of 2004). Source: Jon Kilpinen (2005), Valparaiso University, drew this map based on data from the Glenmary Research Center (2005).](image)
surveys in most of Utah, the pioneers marked out the city in **ten-acre city blocks**, which in turn were subdivided into **one-and-a-quarter-acre town lots**. Each family was allotted one of these lots where livestock were kept and gardens tended. Reflecting New England and European settlement models, Mormons lived in compact villages, where they built houses, barns and sheds for domestic animals, and planted vegetable, fruit, and flower gardens. They dug ditches to direct mountain streams along streets for irrigation and household use (Utah History To Go 2005). The width of streets was determined by Brigham Young who wanted a team of oxen to turn around on a street without backing them up; hence, **forty-four-yard wide streets**.

Under Brigham Young’s direction, **cooperative teams** were assigned to dig ditches and canals to irrigate crops and to furnish water to homes. Other brigades fenced residential areas, built roads, cut timber, and set up shops. Other groups selected new locations for settlements and helped place people in the best areas. Still others were sent on missions to proselytize in the United States, Europe, or the Pacific (Arrington 2005).

In 1870 more than 90 percent of Salt Lake's 12,000 residents were Mormons. Whether Mormons converts came from the Midwest or from Western Europe (England or Denmark), they came to the Great Basin not as individualists committed to the capitalistic ethos but as communally-oriented Latter-day Saints ready to build Zion.
The LDS Church has two welfare programs for providing food and jobs. First, Mormons are expected to forgo two meals a month and donate the cost of the food to a local fund for the needy -- “fast-offering.” This gives each (relatively small) congregation over $50,000 to spend a year. With 3,600 congregations in Utah alone, the system produces nearly $200 million annually; about a fifth of what Utah's state government spends on welfare, and almost as much as it spends on health. All the money stays with the congregations and is distributed by bishops, who are volunteer laymen. Second, the Church runs a number of farms, canneries, and other commercial companies in Utah. Welfare Square in Salt Lake City epitomizes the Mormon welfare system (Figure 3-I-5). Instituted during the Great Depression, Welfare Square contains a grain elevator (Figure 3-I-6), storehouse, bakery, cannery, dairy processing plant, thrift store, and employment center – all of which are based on the Mormon principles of self-reliance, helping its members, and the poor. As of 2000, the LDS Church operated 109 storehouses, 102 canneries, 167 employment resource centers, 47 Deseret Industries thrift stores, 63 family services offices, 73 priesthood-managed production projects, and 20 processing and distribution facilities (LDS, Newsroom 2005). No other church has been as directly involved in providing material supplies to its members in time of need. These activities create distinctive land uses and landscape features unique to the LDS Church.

Mormons believe that religious calamities will occur and that they need to be prepared for this by having a year's supply of food and water in their homes. “Self-reliance” stores in Utah offer such supplies (Figure 3-I-7).
The LDS Church is strongly hierarchical, mirrored in its personal and spatial organizational structure -- temples, stakes, and wards. In addition, the LDS has a professional staff of architects and designers, headquartered in Salt Lake City, who have created standard building plans, designs, and specifications, and established procedures for construction and expenditures. Consequently, LDS temples and chapels have very recognizable designs. In 1923 the Church Architectural Department began furnishing plans for meetinghouses and seminary buildings. Over the next decade, about 350 chapels and 35 seminary buildings were constructed from these plans, mostly red-brick buildings with colonial style features. By 1965, a new Church Building Committee continued to prepare detailed standardized plans and specifications, including color schemes and landscape designs, for virtually all new buildings (Anderson 2005).

**Temples** are sacred buildings where only the most sacred rites and rituals are performed. After their dedication only faithful members of the Church may enter to participate in religious ceremonies that reach beyond mortality, such as baptisms on behalf of deceased ancestors and eternal marriage (LDS, Temples 2005; LDS Church Temples 2005). Temples are always built out of the finest materials. Currently, the LDS Church has 117 temples world-wide, with 11 in Utah alone (Figure 3-I-8), and another 10 planned in 40 countries.

The geographical center of the LDS Church is Temple Square in Salt Lake City, the site of the most important Mormon temple in the world. Mormons from around the world make “pilgrimages” to this temple. Gentiles, as Mormons call non-Mormons, cannot enter this holiest of places nor any of the other temples. Ideally, Mormons would like to get married here, and many do. Temple Square also houses, in separate buildings, the genealogy library for Mormons to find people who have died but who can still be converted to the Church after their death. These conversions take place in temples. Officially, after-death baptisms are now restricted to immediate family members, although reports of “famous” people (e.g., Albert Einstein) and Jewish holocaust victims being converted continues.

**Stake houses** hold the offices of the Stake Presidency and High Council, and facilities that individual Wards cannot afford, for example, baptismal fonts. Stakes contain five to seven wards and about 2,000 people. Stakes are roughly equivalent to Catholic dioceses.

In **ward chapels**, Mormons hold Sunday services, and throughout the week, social and recreational activities such as Boy Scout meetings. A Ward is roughly equivalent to a Catholic parish. Wards usually have 75 to 100 families, or about 300 people. Membership in a ward or stake is usually decided geographically, although special wards and stakes for singles, servicemen, and students also exist. **Chapels or meetinghouses** are plain, secular buildings, open to members and non-members alike. These buildings have very similar designs, because they have been designed by church architects, although they do vary over time. In keeping with Mormon beliefs, chapels lack all the common religious icons and images of Protestant and Catholic churches: no crosses, no sacred paintings, no stained windows, and no bell towers, although most chapels do have small, simple steeples.

The historical Mormon settlements in Utah were distinctive in U.S. history and remain so today, in ever diminishing expressions. The major Mormon landscape elements in Utah are identify and illustrated here.
Figure 3-I-8. Utah alone has 11 Mormon temples; some dating back to pioneer times and other just recently built. Although the Mormon Church had its origin in the United States, its temples resemble architectural styles of Northern Europe. Photos: Ingolf Vogeler.

Cardinally-oriented grid-patterned farm villages are still very evident. Typical of Mormon villages and towns, the city blocks in St. George are uniformly square with a north-south orientation (Figure 3-I-9). St. George, the largest town in southern Utah, was named after the Mormon Apostle George A. Smith, first cousin of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church. This Mormon settlement has six chapels (one for each ward) and one temple (built in 1871). The oldest temple in Utah is the Salt Lake Temple dating from 1893.

Figure 3-I-9. On topographic maps, the USGS marks all religious buildings with crosses, whether or not they actually have crosses on them. Mormon religious buildings have no crosses on the outside and inside. Source: St. George Quad, 1:24,000.

Wide streets in settlements -- whether in Salt Lake City, small towns, or rural villages -- are still very evident. Streets are unusually wide, sometimes as much as 88 feet (Figure 3-I-10).

Figure 3-I-10. Spring City’s wide streets are typical of nineteenth-century planned Mormon agricultural and small-town settlements.
throughout Utah and adjacent states. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Large square blocks in villages are still very evident. Ideally, each block has four farms with irrigation ditches running alongside the wide roads (Figure 3-I-11).

I-style farmhouses (or “Nauvoohouses”) -- common in the Midwestern states of Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana during pioneer times -- are now largely relic; replaced by white clapboard ranch-style houses. In the past, two-story, one-room-wide farmhouses were built of fired red or yellow bricks, or earlier from adobe, with symmetric floor plans, of the central-hall type (Figure 3-I-12).

Figure 3-I-11. An idealized block shows the major buildings and land uses in a Mormon village. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 3-I-12. I-style houses were commonly called “Mormon” or “polygamy” houses because of the two front doors: one for each wife! Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Unpainted farm buildings are almost completely gone, because the specialization of farming renders most farm buildings useless (Figure 3-I-13). Simple rectangular pitched-roof barns with adjoining sheds on one or both sides were common, as were open hay-barns.
Inside-out granaries are being replaced with metal storage bins (Figure 3-I-14). With two-by-fours on the outside of the buildings, the smooth-facings inside the building are well-suited for grain storage.

Unpainted, weathered, wooden fences (often called "Mormon fences") are almost completely gone (Figure 3-I-15).

Bishops' storehouses in villages are almost completely gone or are unused now, although a few remain (Figure 3-I-17). The one in Welfare Square, Salt Lake City, is very prominent and functional. Although the function of the bishop’s storehouse continues wherever the LDS Church exists, the distinctive buildings to store food and other supplies for times of need are no longer being constructed.

Mormon ward chapels (Figure 3-I-18) -- whether a modest 1904 chapel or an affluent 2001 chapel -- and temples are still visible (Figure 3-I-8). Because both of these structures are directly necessary for worship and religious services, these buildings are the most persistent of Mormon landscape features, although their architectural styles have changed over the decades.

Hay derricks are almost completely gone because they have been replaced by power machinery: elevators and cranes. Historically, Mormon’s were associated with hay derricks -- often called Mormon derricks -- because they were the first agriculturalists in Utah (Figure 3-I-16).
Figure 3-I-17. The bishop’s storehouse in Spring City is one of the best preserved. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 3-I-18. This suburban Salt Lake City ward chapel is typical of contemporary designs. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler

Irrigation ditches in the fields and along village streets are still in existence because they continue to be used (Figure 3-I-19).

Figure 3-I-19. Mormons were the first to dig irrigation ditches in Utah. All crop farming in the arid West now relies on irrigation. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Large grid-patterned fields outside villages were historically associated with Mormon settlements in the West. With the industrialization of crop production, large-scale field sizes have become common for Mormon and non-Mormon farmers alike (Figure 3-I-20).

Figure 3-I-20. Although large irrigated fields are now the norm in the West, Mormons were the first to create such fields here. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Lombardy poplars along village roads and ditches in the open fields are largely relic (Figure 3-I-21).
Place Names and Business Names

Names of places, businesses, and images come from the Book of Mormon and/or are associated with Mormons in general. Names such as Deseret, Lehi, Nephi, Moroni, and Manti come directly from the Book of Mormon; Brigham Young personally gave Manti its name. Zion is referred to by the founding prophet Joseph Smith. Brigham City, Utah, was named after the leader Brigham Young. Other settlements use names from the Bible and pioneer Mormon leaders (Emmett 2003). Throughout Utah, businesses commonly use Mormon-associated names (Figure 3-I-22).

Deseret is the name Mormon pioneers gave to the land they first settled in the West. Brigham Young and the other prophets wanted to create an independent country with the name Deseret. The U.S. Congress had a different idea: they wanted to prevent a religious state from being created in the West and so named the new state Utah. Zion is another name associated with Mormons and Christians and Jews as well. In 1834, Joseph Smith said he received a revelation from God, calling for a militia to be raised in Kirtland which would then march to Missouri and "redeem Zion." About 200 men and a number of women and children volunteered to join this militia which became known as "Zion's Camp" (Wikipedia 2005).

Deseret is the Mormon term for honey bee and the beehive is the most familiar symbol of Mormonism. It was used in Brigham Young's home (known as the Beehive House) in Salt Lake City and is displayed on the doorknobs of the Salt Lake Temple. The beehive was adopted in 1847 as the official emblem representing industry, perseverance, thrift, stability, and self-reliance. The beehive is included in the Utah Great Seal, Utah State Flag, Utah state highway signs, and the second-largest newspaper in Utah, Deseret News, which is owned by the LDS Church (Sandra Tanner 2005).

Brigham Young University (BYU), in Provo, Utah, and another campus in Laie, Hawaii, is the major institution of higher learning of the LDS Church, although it also operates Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho. Despite the anti-establishment practices of the early LDS Church (e.g., Book of Mormon, polygamy, baptizing the dead, "secret" ceremonies in temples, sacred undergarments, etc.), Mormons have become one of the most conservative (some would even say reactionary) groups in the USA today, while still maintaining some of their more peculiar practices. Ideologically, 62 percent of Mormon men and 58 percent of LDS women are Republicans -- well above the U.S. averages of 35 percent and 33 percent, respectively. The dress and grooming standards of BYU institutionalize the conservative ideology of the present church:
“Clothing should be modest in fabric, fit, and style, and appropriate for the occasion. Clothing should be knee-length or longer. Clothing which is sleeveless, strapless or revealing is not acceptable. Shoes should be worn in public campus areas. A clean and well-cared-for appearance should be maintained. Hairstyles should be clean and neat, avoiding extreme styles or colors. Men’s hair should be trimmed above the collar, leaving the ear uncovered. Men’s sideburns should not extend below the earlobe or onto the cheek. If worn, mustaches should be neatly trimmed. Men are expected to be clean-shaven; beards are not acceptable, except for documented medical or religious reasons. Earrings for men are unacceptable” (Brigham Young University 2005).

Ironically, Jesus Christ and Brigham Young would not be allowed to attend BYU: they both wore beards (although Young is often shown without a beard); Jesus also had long hair and walked barefoot! Yet, both are prominently displayed in Temple Square, Salt Lake City, and LDS literature. Provo, Utah, where BYU is located, is a very Mormon city. Because Mormons do not drink alcohol, coffee, or tea, Mormon towns reflect this in their retail stores. With a population of 105,166, Provo has only one bar and one coffee shop, but has seven ice cream parlors because when men and women go on dates they don’t go to bars but eat ice cream. Utah still sells 3.2 percent (light) alcohol beer, which Wisconsin once also sold to young people. Compare this to another college town like Eau Claire, Wisconsin (population 61,704), which has 62 bars, eight coffee and nine tea shops, and ten ice cream parlors (Switchboard 2005).

Spatial Comparison of Mormon and Non-Mormon Settlements in Utah
Although only 150,000 Mormons initially settled in Utah, their exclusive presence created a distinctive Mormon landscape. Francaviglia (1978) surveyed the distribution and concentration of ten Mormon landscape elements in 1969 (Figure 3-I-24):

1. wide streets,
2. roadside irrigation ditches,
3. central-hall house styles,
4. brick houses,
5. unpainted farm buildings,
6. barns and granaries,
7. unpainted wooden fences,
8. large fields around settlements,
9. hay derricks, and
10. LDS chapels.

The Mormon landscape can be classified into three regions of intensity by the number of landscape features present: core, 10-9 elements; domain, 8-4 elements; and sphere, 3-1 elements. In 2000, Hurd and Larson (2003) re-surveyed the settlements that Francaviglia had classified in 1969. A comparison of the two maps (Figure 3-I-24) shows the rapid decline in Mormon landscape features in the last 31 years throughout the West, yet Mormon characteristics persist, especially in the core region of Utah while disappearing rapidly in the surrounding states. Hurd and Larson show that while some historic Mormon landscape elements have rapidly declined and almost disappeared, others are actually increasing, such as the number of large, open-fields reflecting large-scale agriculture in general; conventional white houses indicating contemporary architectural tastes; and new LDS chapels indicating the growth in LDS membership in Utah (Figure 3-I-25).

Change in Utah Mormon Landscape Elements, 1969-2000

Figure 3-I-25. All landscape features traditionally associated with Mormon settlements have declined, except for two. “White houses” are from the earlier twentieth century and are common among Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on data from Hurd and Larson 2003.
As an historic-designated Mormon village, Spring City illustrates some of the most enduring aspects of Mormon landscapes in Utah (Figure 3-I-25). The topographic map shows that the village is laid out with **cardinal block squares**, many of which still only have four farmsteads on each block. The **pioneer cemetery** (1), from 1857, is in the shape of Utah. Originally, it had many wooden grave markers; today, only sandstone tombstones are present. Crosses and other religious markings are always absent from Mormon cemeteries. The **bishop's storehouse** (2) dates from 1905. The 1889 **school** (3) is no longer used. The 1902 LDS meeting hall (4) is still used. Two **pioneer sandstone houses** (5 and 6) and a **nineteenth-century red brick house** (7) are typical of house styles in Mormon villages (Figure 3-I-26).
Critical Cultural Landscapes

Chapter 3 -- Religious Landscapes

European-Origin Religious Groups in North America

All religions are offshoots of particular established religions or independent sects based on earlier general religious ideas and ideals. Although the LDS Church developed in Upstate New York in the 1820s, its roots lay in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Of course, Christianity had already split into the Western and Eastern Catholic Church in the eleventh century.

While Lower Canada was controlled by the Roman Catholic French and Catholic Spain dominated what later became Mexico and the southwestern United States, the Protestant British controlled Upper Canada and the Thirteen Colonies on the East Coast of the United States. With the British Conquest of French Canada in 1760 and the initial British presence in the United States, Protestantism dominated religious institutions in Canada and the USA, while in Mexico, Roman Catholicism continued despite independence from Spain.

The dominance of WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) elites and ideologies in Canada and the USA had negative consequences for settlers and for the earliest wave of nineteenth century non-Protestant immigrants. In the USA, this Old Immigration, which peaked by the 1880s with about 7.5 million people, consisted mostly of Protestants from Western Europe (e.g., English and Germans), except for the Irish Catholics. With the New Immigration, which peaked in 1907 with about 23.5 million people, about as many Protestant Western European immigrants arrived as in the earlier years but for the first time, very large numbers of Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish Eastern (e.g., Polish and Russian) and Southern (e.g., Italian and Greek) Europeans arrived.

The cultural landscape of Protestant religions is confined to churches and cemeteries. True, established religious denominations have their own seminaries for the training of their ministers and educational institutions ranging from elementary and high schools to colleges and universities, but the centrally-organized and hierarchical Roman Catholic Church has maintained strong historical religious practices and icons which Protestant groups largely rejected with the Reformation. Indeed, some religious groups, such as the Amish and Bahai, use no churches or even meeting halls, whereas others, e.g., the Hutterites and Quakers use only plain meeting halls without any religious images or symbols.

Roman Catholic Landscapes

Of the world’s religions, Roman Catholicism is the most extensive and oldest spatially organized religion (Sopher, 1967, 64). While most of North
America has a Catholic minority, Catholicism predominated in French-speaking Quebec, in the highly urbanized and industrialized northeastern United States and, of course, in Mexico. In the United States, Catholic concentrations are also found in the Midwest, including northern Illinois, much of Wisconsin, and major portions of Minnesota; the Cajon region of Southern Louisiana; and the Mexican parts of Texas and the Southwest (figure 1- big map in Chapter 1).

The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church with its pope, cardinals, bishops, and priests is reflected in the size and ornamental details of churches from St. Peter’s Basilica in the Vatican to simple parish churches and chapels to buildings used for monasteries, nunneries, seminaries, private colleges and universities, parochial elementary and secondary schools, and cemeteries. The Church is organizationally and spatially divided into archdioceses, dioceses (174 in the USA), and parishes. The importance of the crucifix, saints, and miracles in specific places in Catholicism results in easily-recognizable cultural icons and cultural landscape features. Catholics tend to wear crosses as necklaces, place crucifixes in their homes, and plastic statues of Christ, Mary, and their favorite saints on the dashboards of their cars, and of course, “cross” themselves before entering and exiting Catholic churches, and even when passing Catholic churches on roads – as some do in Kerala where most of India’s Syrian and Roman Catholics live.

Part II. Roman Catholic Landscapes in Quebec

French Canada is distinctive in several profound ways from the rest of Canada and the United States. French colonization implanted French culture in Lower Canada, of which the most distinctive geographical features were the French language, Roman Catholicism, and long-lot survey system. "The priest visioned the whole of French-Canada as a seed-bed for God, a seminary of French parishes speaking plain old French of their Norman forefathers, continuing the battle of the Counter-Reformation" (MacLennan 1986).

French Language

French-speaking Canadians are largely concentrated in the Province of Quebec which represents about 27 percent of Canada's total population. Eighty-four percent of all French speakers live in Quebec and 81 percent of the people in Quebec speak French. Language defines national identify in Canada. Separatists want Quebec to become an independent country. In October 1995, the Quebec government held a referendum whether or not Quebec should secede from Canada and become an independent country. The overall vote was 50.58 percent "NO" and 49.42 percent "YES" -- a switch of only 25,000 votes would have led to possible separation. French-speaking Whites voted 60 percent for independence -- mostly in the countryside and smaller cities and Quebec City. English-speakers and immigrants -- about 18 percent of the population -- voted solidly "No." They live disproportionately in Montreal and on the Ile de Montreal. By 1910, the first French-only language law had been passed. The 1977 Charter of the French language was the most far-reaching in applying French as the only official language in the legislature, courts, civil administration, semipublic agencies, labor relations, commerce and business, and language of instruction in schools. French became a fundamental language right of every person in Quebec.

The landscape consequences were several: 1) English only and bilingual commercial signs were replaced by French-only signs. 2) English names of settlements and physical places were replaced with French ones. By 1982, some of the provisions of the 1977 Charter were modified: English language signs were now acceptable provided that French be given priority. In 1988, the court said that English could not be prohibited altogether, but that requiring the predominance of French on commercial signs was a reasonable limit on freedom of expression. At one point, only French could be used on exterior signs while English sings would be allowed inside commercial establishments. The United Nations Human Rights Committee ruled that Quebec's sign laws broke an international covenant on civil and political rights. Yet in 1993, a new bill allowed English on outdoor commercial signs only if French lettering was at least twice as large as English. Fines of $500 fines could be imposed on owners of signs with the same size of lettering for the two languages. The Quebec Superior Court supported this latest language sign provision citing Quebec's unique geographical situation as an enclave of French speakers on an English-speaking continent (CBC News Online 2005). Opinion polls in 2005 indicate that about half of Quebeckers favored sovereignty for Quebec.

Quebec City

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quebec City was the center of New France and its enormous territory covered all of what is known today as Eastern Canada, the Eastern United States, and the Great Lakes south to almost Louisiana (Figure 3-II-1). As the political and traditional cultural capital of French Canada today, Quebec City still retains
its “Old World” charm and is a major tourist destination because it is the most European city in North America with fortified walls, gates, and stone houses on narrow, irregular streets (Figure 3-II-2).

Figure 3-II-1. Source: Library and Archives Canada, http://www.collectionscanada.ca/confederation/h18-2101.1-e.html (accessed 4/15/05).

Figure 3-II-2. Quebec City’s stone walls and gates preserve its “Old World” appearance and feeling. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, established a base at Quebec City in 1608 for French exploration and trade up the St. Lawrence and into the Great Lakes. By the 1620s, Quebec City became an active fur trading center. Although Quebec City’s role in the fur trade began to wane (from the 1660s when Montreal became the major fur trading center), the city’s importance was secured by the presence of the Governor of New France, ecclesiastical institutions, and the merchant class. Quebec City was divided into a Lower Town and Upper Town separated by a 300-foot cliff. The Lower Town had port facilities and warehouses. The Upper Town housed the governor, the militia, and the religious orders. The French built a massive citadel, typical of French military construction elsewhere in the New World, atop Cap aux Diamants (Figure 3-II-3).
After a major fire in 1682, building codes for Quebec City required changes in the building construction of houses which resulted in the distinctive double-sloped roofs of French Canadian houses with inclines of about 52 degrees.

Tourists are drawn to the Lower and Upper Towns and the French cultural activities and artifacts. The Rue du Trésor illustrates the charm of the Lower Town where artists exhibit French Canadian paintings, prints, and drawings for tourists (Figure 3-II-4).

The Québec Summer Festival is the largest francophone cultural festival in North America. The Upper Town has the well-known board walk and the railroad hotel of Château Frontenac overlooking the Lower Town (Figure 3-II-5). It also contains the French Fortifications.
House Types
What is distinctive about traditional houses in rural Quebec? These one-and-half story houses have end chimneys, dormers (upstairs windows projected from roofs), swooping roof lines with overhangs, decorative frontal facades, and front porches (Figures 3-II-6).

Figure 3-II-6. A typical French Canadian house style found in the countryside. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

French Land Grants and Long Lots
In New France (later to be called Quebec), the French feudal system of land granting was recreated. Large estates, or seigneuries, were granted by the French Crown to soldiers and members of the elite in lieu of payments for their service to the King. Ecclesiastical seigneuries accounted for 25 percent of the seigneurial lands and were among the most common fiefs. The first land concessions were made in 1634, and by 1760 -- at the end of the French regime in Canada -- over 250 seigneuries existed. The owners divided each of these grants into many narrow long lot farms so farmers could access the only means of transportation at this time: rivers (Figure 3-II-7).

The average long lots were 16 by 49 feet (5 by 15 km), which became thinner over time as they were divided among the heirs of farmers.
Seigneurs built roads, mills, ovens, and held court to settle disputes among their tenant farmers. Tenant farmers, called censitaires (habitants), cleared their lots; paid rent as a portion of their income, food and produce; worked

Even after the British conquest of 1759, the seigneurial system continued until it was abolished in 1854. Yet, the long-lot pattern of farms, drainage ditches, and roads remain as visible landscape reminders of French culture in North America (Figure 3-II-8).
Although Roman Catholics have not been particularly concentrated at Prairie du Chien, along the Mississippi River in Wisconsin, the distinctive French land survey of long lots appear there (Figure 3-II-9). In other parts of the United States, such as Louisiana, French place names are associated with Roman Catholicism and long lots -- as the Jeanerette topographic close-up shows (Figure 3-II-10).

Elongated shoe-string villages reflect the distinctive long lot survey system employed by French settlers (Figure 3-II-11). Individual houses with barns are strung out along miles of rivers and roads running parallel to waterways. The French long lot survey system resulted in elongated land grants and narrow strips of farms, called “long lot” farms. Farmsteads were built on each of the strips, resulting in shoe-string villages (Figure 3-II-12), or Strassendörfer (street villages, in German).
The novelist Hugh MacLennan (1986) describes the distinctive villages of French Canada rather well:
From the Ontario border down to the beginning of the estuary, the farmland runs in two delicate bands along the shores [of the St. Lawrence River], with roads like a pair of village main streets a thousand miles long, each parallel to the river. All the good land was broken long ago, occupied and divided among seigneurs and their sons, and then among tenants and their sons. Bleak wooden fences separate each strip of farm from its neighbor, running straight as rulers set at right angles to the river to form narrow rectangles pointing inland. Every inch of it is measured, and brooded over by notaries, and blessed by priests.

**Figure 3-II-10.** Along the Teche River at Sorrell, near New Iberia, Louisiana, the French place names and the long lots (marked by the red numbers) indicate the landscape of the Cajon country. Louisiana is also the only state in the U.S. where the political units for counties are called parishes. Source: Jeanerette Quad, 1:50,000.

**Figure 3-II-11.** This topographic map clearly shows the typical French Canadian long-lot villages. In back of the houses (solid black squares) are the barns (solid black rectangles). The elongated fields are indicated by the shapes of the cuts in the forests (see the 20-meter contour). Source: Vercheres 1:50,000.

**Figure 3-II-12.** This shoe-string village, with a large Roman Catholic Church in the center, runs for over a mile long. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

**Communal Village Lands**
A legacy of the seigneurial system is the common grazing areas still found along the St. Lawrence River, particularly on flood-proned islands.
Dairy farms in Quebec are normally rather small, so a large herd of dairy cows on a peninsular in the St. Lawrence River would indicate communal land. Several dairy farmers let their cows graze on this common pasture. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

**Roman Catholicism**

Catholicism plays an important role in French Canadian culture. Religious behavior is expressed in periodic festivals at most churches (Figure 3-II-14), educational institutions, and pilgrimage centers.

Because the Roman Catholic Church combines religious functions with such secular ones as education, health care, old peoples homes,

characteristic “**Catholic settlement complexes**” are very common in Quebec. They usually consist of parish churches, cemeteries, parish houses, and elementary school and occasionally also include such buildings as priest and/or nun living quarters and old-people’s homes. Saint Antoine sur-Richelieu illustrates such a complex well -- having six Catholic landscape features and named after a saint (Figure 3-II-15).

**Cemeteries** with central crucifixes and crosses on top of or etched in individual tombstones are characteristics of Roman Catholic cemeteries throughout North America. In Quebec, cemeteries are more commonly located with a parish church (Figure 3-II-16).

![Diagram (Figure 3-II-15)](image)

**Figure 3-II-15.** Saint Antoine sur-Richelieu has a typical set of Roman Catholic buildings which are also found in other predominantly Catholic areas of North America. The diagram is based on field work by Ingolf Vogeler.

![Image (Figure 3-II-13)](image)

**Figure 3-II-13.** Dairy farms in Quebec are normally rather small, so a large herd of dairy cows on a peninsular in the St. Lawrence River would indicate communal land. Several dairy farmers let their cows graze on this common pasture. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

![Image (Figure 3-II-14)](image)

**Figure 3-II-14.** Religious icons are displayed in this ceremony around the parish church. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
In summary, Verchères, one of 32 “beautiful villages” is typical of the architectural and historical heritage of the cultural landscape of Quebec. In this well-preserved village, the oldest section was built around the church with a cluster of small, working-class, mostly wooden houses. Its windmill is a historic landmark (Figure 3-II-17). The surrounding countryside is typical of this distinctive cultural landscape (Figure 3-II-18). Chapter 9 provides a topographic map exercise based on this section of Quebec.

Figure 3-II-17. This windmill, built between 1710 and 1737, in Verchères has been the center of village life for two and a half centuries. Source: Vercheres Municipality, Tourism and History 2005. http://www.ville.vercheres.qc.ca/MoulinA.htm (accessed 4/15/05).

The Canadian topographic symbol for a windmill is 🛠️.

Figure 3-II-18. A typical Roman Catholic scene in the countryside: a dual-language stop sign, a sign to St. Charles, a crossroads cross, and several long-lot farms. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Ethnic Prejudice and Rural Poverty

After the British defeat of the French in 1759, English-speaking elites discriminated against the French-speaking Catholic population of Quebec. Indeed, Montreal commercial elites tried to have the island of Montreal annexed to English-speaking, Protestant Upper Canada (later to become Ontario) so they could “extricate themselves from what they considered the stifling constrictions of a backward, rural, anti-progressive, priest-ridden entity” (Meinig 1993). The British colonial administrator Lord Durham maintained that descendents of the French in Lower Canada (later to become Quebec) retained their “peculiar language and manners” and they were “a people with no history and no literature.” Nineteenth-century artists, like Cornelius Krieghoff, reflect the negative attitudes towards the Francophiles: they were lawless, fun-loving, and lacked respect for English authority (Figure 3-II-19). In contemporary terms, Vallieres (1971) goes so far as to say that the “white niggers of America” are the oppressed French-Canadians, by both French and English elites.

In the nineteenth century, English-speaking Protestant industrialists and workers came to Quebec’s cities. The Roman Catholic Church actively encouraged their parishioners to stay in the rural areas, away from the (bad) influences of the Protestant cities. In addition, large families required new farmland for each of their sons. Consequently, farmers divided their farms
and cleared new land at the edge of the Canadian Shield where farming became increasingly difficult (Figure 3-II-20). Although farming has declined rapidly in the last thirty years in Quebec as elsewhere in North America, rural poverty is still very evident for these religious historical reasons.

Evidence of rural poverty is still common. Figure 3-II-21 shows three small log barns joined together in poor condition. The small pile of manure indicates a very small dairy herd. Firewood under the back shed is used for heating and cooking. Cows can still be seen milked by hand in the fields in a few places in Quebec (Figure 3-II-22). The reality of French Canadian life was infused with Roman Catholic meaning in beliefs, behaviors, and landscapes. An anonymous painter captures this reality well. In the museum at St. Anne-de-Beaupre, a major Catholic pilgrimage center, a drawing shows that cutting logs in the winter is hard work and dangerous, yet the Virgin Mary protects the faithful, while a dog gets help (Figure 3-II-23)!

Contrast this Francophone version of French Canadian life with the painting by the Anglophone Cornelius Krieghoff (Figure 3-II-19).
The relevance of Catholicism in everyday French Canadian life is depicted by an anonymous Francophone. Source: Museum at St. Anne-de-Beaupre, the most important Roman Catholic pilgrimage center in Quebec, reproduced in Lord (1974, 27).

The Roman Catholic Church encouraged large families and discouraged family planning. Dairy farming is particularly well-suited for large families and is still important in Quebec today. On Canadian topographic maps, silos -- shown as 🏧 -- indicate livestock farming, in the case of Quebec, mostly dairy farming (Natural Resources Canada, Maps 2005).

**Saint Place Names**

Roman Catholics believe in miracles more commonly than other Christian denominations. Miracles come in several forms: manifestations of the Virgin Mary or other holy personalities and cures to medical problems for which prayers have been made. Miraculous things happen to specific people in specific places. A saint is a person of exceptional holiness or virtue who is officially recognized by the Church as being entitled to public veneration. The Roman Catholic Church has canonized a total of more than 2,600 saints and identified a saint for each day of every month in the year (Catholic Online 2005). The on-going importance of saints is illustrated by Pope John Paul II’s canonization of more saints than all previous popes.

Roman Catholics -- regardless of language groups -- have, therefore, a propensity to use “Saint” prefixes in their many forms -- St., Ste., Saint, or Santa -- for the names of their institutions (churches, hospitals, monasteries, convents, schools, universities) and settlements, which appear as place names on highway signs and maps (Raitz 1973).

The Canadian Geographical Names Data Base was used to compare the physical and cultural place names that start with the word “Saint” in Quebec and Ontario. Although Ontario has a larger population and higher population density than Quebec, Quebec has a significantly larger number of “Saint” names than adjacent Ontario (Table 3-II-1).

Figure 3-II-24 shows that place names with the “Saint” prefix are found only in the French Canadian settlements along the St. Lawrence River; not in the Eastern Townships, north of Vermont, and the south shore of the Gaspé Peninsula – both areas of non-Catholic and English-speaking communities.
Table 3-II-1
“Saint” as Prefix for Place Names in Quebec and Ontario, Canada

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<th>Types of Places</th>
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<th>Ontario</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>towns</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cities</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>rivers</td>
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<tr>
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Population

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<th>Ontario</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>12,439,755 (1st)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population density</td>
<td>5.43 /km² (5th)</td>
<td>12.94 /km² (3rd)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Sources: Natural Resources Canada, Names 2005 shows only 200 names per search and Wikipedia 2005 provides the population rankings for Canadian provinces.

Figure 3-II-24. Settlement names with the Prefix “Saint” or “Sainte” (black circles) are concentrated in the French settlements on either side of the St. Lawrence River in Quebec. Source: Canadian and USA topographic maps.

Figure 3-II-25. The convent in Vercheres is an obvious landscape evidence of a Roman Catholic community. Source: Vercheres, 1: 50,000.

The Ursulines are one example of a religious order that established abbeys and convents in Quebec. Starting in the sixteenth century by Ste. Angela Mericia in Brescia, Italy, they established convents in Upper Town.
and Lower Town Quebec City (1672), Three Rivers (1697), Roberval (1882), Stanstead (1884), Rimouski, and Gaspé -- a total of seven convents (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2005). The Diocese of Three Rivers alone has seven convents by the Ursulines, two convents each by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame and the Daughters of Jesus, four convents by the Sisters of the Assumption, one convent each by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and the Gray Nuns of the Cross, one kindergarten for boys and 13 schools for girls and boys; four orphanages, two boarding-schools for girls, four asylums, and one hospital operated by the Sisters of Charity of Providence; one orphanage and two other religious institutions by the Dominican Sisters of the Holy Rosary; and one monastery by the Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood (The New Advent 2005).

Many orders of priests, such as the Cistercians, or Trappists, have founded abbeys or monasteries in Quebec and elsewhere. Although many religious orders came with French colonial rule, others established themselves more recently. The St.-Benoit-du-Lac-Abbay was only established in 1912, when a group of exiled French monks arrived in Canada from Belgium. They built their abbey in the Eastern Townships; it now has 49 monks and 210 lay oblates; Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac has 43 nuns and 30 lay oblates; Mont-Laurier (1934) has 23 nuns and 146 lay oblate and Joliette (1907) as 20 nuns and 68 lay oblates. The Benedictine Confederation provides a web-based atlas of their world-wide monasteries (OSB International 2005). A complete count of monastic institutions in Quebec is not available but they are labeled on Canadian topographic maps (Figure 3-II-25).

Pilgrimage Centers

Pilgrims travel to local, regional, national, and even international shrines or other sacred places out of religious motives. Pilgrimages are a feature of most religions across cultures. Quebec has the greatest concentration of Catholic pilgrimage places in North America: three significant international pilgrimage sites, eight national ones, and many other smaller ones of regional and local importance. The shrine of Saint Anne de Beaupre, near Quebec City, is one of the oldest pilgrimage centers in North America (Figure 3-II-26). The other two internationally important pilgrimage centers are Notre-Dame-du-Cap in Cap-de-la-Madeleine and Oratoire-St.-Joseph in Montreal. Over 6 million pilgrims annually visit the eleven largest pilgrimage centers in Quebec; about 1.5 million visit Saint Anne de Beaupre.

The beliefs of devout Catholic are expressed in behaving in certain ways in religiously-designated buildings (churches) and traveling to specifically-designated religious places (pilgrimage centers). The official visitor guide to the shrine of St. Anne suggests several activities: attend Mass (Figure 3-II-27), which is celebrated many times every day; pray at the Stations of the Cross; make rosary devotions; and participate in candlelight processions, which are held every night during the summer. On the day of the feast of St. Anne, a blessing is made for the sick. During feast days, the marble angels, which stand at the foot of the statue of St. Anne in the church, are completely buried in flowers, scarves, jewelry, and rosaries. Hand-written notes are left, giving thanks for favors or requesting them, as well as holy cards and pictures of loved ones for whom petitions are made.

Figure 3-II-26. The Basilica of Saint Anne de Beaupre dominates the landscape across the St. Lawrence River. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler

Figure 3-II-27. Outdoor mass is being celebrated next to a
fiberglass grotto with Christ hanging a crucifix. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Saint Anne de Beaupre has a basilica, outdoor ways of the cross, rosary ways, holy stairs, Calvary scenes, holy sepulcher, gospel walks, museum, and monastery (Figure 3-II-28). St. Anne was proclaimed patroness of the province of Québec in 1876. Saint Anne de Beaupre was founded in 1658 by a group of sailors who attributed their rescue from a storm on the St. Lawrence to the intercession of St. Anne, who was the mother of Mary and the grandmother of Jesus. The sailors built a small chapel on the Beaupre coast about 25 miles east of Quebec City. Another story claims that a disabled workman was cured in 1658 while constructing the first church on this site. Soon, the chapel got a reputation as a place where spontaneous healings occurred. As a result, more people showed up looking for cures to various ailments. And, as they became cured, they left their money, which allowed the church to expand. In 1960, the forearm of Saint Anne’s was donated by Pope John XXIII. Starting with the construction of the church, many claims of healing have been made over the years (Saint Anne de Beaupre 2005; Geocities, 2005). As proof of cures, crutches and braces are displayed in the basilica by those claiming to have been cured. The gift shop sells Catholic icons for personal, home, and car use. Different sized bottles are available for purchase to have tap water blessed by priests (Figure 3-II-29).

Ascending stairs on one’s knees inside chapels is common in pilgrimage sites. At St. Anne, a graceful set of wooden stairs with relics set into each stair are housed in a special building. Pilgrims ascend the staircase on their knees, pausing on each stair to say a prayer; others can use another staircase to walk directly up to the altar. Little books are for sale to explain the meaning of the stairs and suggest appropriate prayers.
French Place Names

The French colonial government named both physical places and settlements in their native language, French. The occurrence of French place names in North America is, therefore, indicative of other French influences — sometimes religious, other times secular. All language groups name physical and human places in their own languages. French place names are, therefore, very indicative of an array of secular and religious French settlement characteristics. Wherever French place names in North America appear, French settlements are found in varying degrees of completeness. The small early French fur trading community at Prairie de Chien, Wisconsin, left only its French name and the long lot survey; whereas in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, only the French name remains. Of the 30 physical and cultural places named “Eau Claire” in the U.S., 67 percent are found in Wisconsin — once part of the French fur trading empire based in Montreal. In older French settlements of the United States, such as in Louisiana, a whole range of French cultural landscape features are found. For example, of the 385 physical and cultural place names called “bayou” in the U.S., 72 percent are found in Louisiana, where also 56 percent of “coulee” (valley) and 50 percent of “ville” (town) labeled places are also found (USGS, National Mapping Information 2005). In addition, Louisiana is the only state in the United States where counties are officially called “parishes” and French Napoleonic law is used.

Church grounds often have shrines with crucifixes and grottos adjacent to the main churches. Private roadside shrines of all sizes dot the Quebec countryside (Figure 3-II-30).

Figure 3-II-30. A roadside shrine in the open countryside in Quebec, most not related to a car accident. Notice the great care that has been taken to plant and water the two rows of flowers; the expensive cut-stone structure; and the high-quality of the statues and crucifix. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Shrines on private properties

Devout Roman Catholics construct simple or elaborate shrines on their properties (Figure 3-II-31). The most elaborate private shrines are found in Quebec, more so than in the Catholic regions of the U.S. Southwest and Mexico.
Part III. Roman Catholic Landscapes of Central Minnesota

Central Minnesota illustrates common landscape elements of Roman Catholicism in more recently settled areas of the United States and Canada. These Catholic settlements are not as old, thickly settled, or ethnically homogeneous as those in Quebec, and thus, the cultural landscape markers are fewer and the cultural landscape less obvious than in Quebec; yet, still distinctive from Protestant communities.

The Archdiocese of St. Paul-Minneapolis, with the Cathedral in St. Paul, includes the Saint Cloud Diocese, which is one of 174 dioceses in the USA and one of five in Minnesota. The St. Cloud diocese had 139 parishes out of a U.S. total of 21,791 in 2000 (Glenmary Research Center 2005). The Diocese of St. Cloud is an excellent case study for three reasons (Vogeler 1976). First, in 1970 forty-three percent of the total diocesan population was Catholic, the largest percentage of Catholics by diocese and archdiocese in Minnesota and the second largest in the Midwest (after Green Bay, Wisconsin). Second, because the density of Catholics varies greatly within the diocese, internal variations of Catholic influences can be measured. Third, the diocesan seat, St. Cloud (approximately 50,000), is the only major urban place in this otherwise rural sixteen-county diocese.

Spatial Organization

The St. Cloud Diocese is distinctive for its high Catholic population in Minnesota and in the Midwest, yet the number of Catholics varies considerably within the diocese. In Stearns, and part of Morrison and Benton counties, over 69 percent of the total population is Catholic. This represents the religious core (Figure 3-II-2). The largest number of Catholic institutions are also found here: the diocesan seat (in St. Cloud), four of the nine deaneries, and the largest proportion of parishes. Surrounding the core, the domain is defined by Catholic concentrations from 30 to 69 percent and shows markedly less Catholic landscape presence. The sphere constitutes the remaining parts of the diocese where Catholics are numeric minorities living primarily among Lutherans.

These three religious regions are also identified by the distribution of elementary parochial schools. In the highest Catholic concentrations, school districts, like parishes, are the smallest in area but the most numerous. Thus, of the 39 parochial schools in the diocese, 26 are found in the core; seven in the domain; and six in the sphere. The City of St. Cloud alone has eight. Furthermore, school enrollments vary considerably between the core and margins of the diocese. Seventy-two percent of the 8,461 Catholic elementary school students attend parochial schools in the core, whereas 17 and 12 percent attend such schools in the domain and the sphere, respectively (Figure 3-II-3).

Figure 3-II-31. Many Quebec dairy farms have religious icons. One farm has a very well-built and maintained private shrine next to the road and another farm has the Virgin Mary in a glass box on the dairy barn to protect the farmer from evil -- fire, disease, etc. Photos: Ingolf Vogeler.
Figure 3-II-2. Roman Catholics are highly concentrated (black areas) in Stearns and Morrison counties. Source: Vogeler 1976.

This regionalization is further strengthened by the location and number of other Catholic institutions: colleges, hospitals, and convents. Twenty-five such Catholic institutions are located in the core, with Stearns County alone having 17. The domain and sphere contain only eight such institutions each.

Figure 3-II-3. The Roman Catholic core region has the smallest sized and largest number of parochial elementary school districts. In the western parts of the diocese, elementary school districts are spatially larger and fewer reflecting the lower number of Catholic families. Source: Vogeler 1976.

Settlement History

The particular pattern of Catholic concentrations and of Catholic institutions in the St. Cloud Diocese is explained by the settlement history of central Minnesota. Although the factors which underlie the frontier settlement of this area are unusual for Minnesota, they are found elsewhere in North America.

Between 1860 and 1870 the central part of the state was settled predominantly by German farmers. By 1870, Stearns County already had the single largest concentration of Germans in Minnesota; nine of the 37 townships had a German population of over 80 percent and 11 others had from 60 to 80 percent (Johnson 1945). Three factors combined to produce this singular result: colonization activities of one priest (Father Pierz), the support of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, and the missionary work of the Benedictine Fathers.

The Catholic Church organized colonization on the U.S. frontier to a much greater degree than any other church. Catholic settlers commonly asked their bishops or priests to recommend suitable immigration destinations (Johnson 1945). The counties of Stearns and, to a lesser degree, Morrison became the initial focus of German Catholic settlements largely because of the work of Father Pierz. He used letters and advertisements in major German newspapers in the eastern United States and in Western Europe to urge Catholic immigration to Minnesota. In 1855 he published his observations in a German emigrant handbook (Ahren 1964). As the number of German settlers from Indiana, the Atlantic Seaboard, and Europe increased, Father Pierz turned to the Ludwig-Missionsverein in Munch, Germany, for financial assistance and additional personnel (Tegeder 1951).

By 1856 a group of Benedictines was dispatched from St. Vincent’s Abbey near Latrobe, Pennsylvania, on the advice of the Missionsverein, which also provided direct financial assistance to the Benedictine monastery. Since only two of the 25 U.S. bishops were German in 1846, this direct assistance assured the success of the Benedictines because they were independent of the discretion of the bishops who were not particularly interested in German immigration (Johnson 1945).
John’s Abbey (originally called St. Ludwig am See), near St. Cloud, provided the priests and teachers for the Catholic communities. The monks had a 600 square-mile jurisdiction and a 2,200 square-mile area for sick calls (Ahren 1964).

Benedictine Sisters from St. Mary’s in Elk County, Pennsylvania, arrived in 1857 to establish St. Benedict’s Convent in St. Joseph, just north of St. Cloud. As teachers and nurses they worked in the Catholic communities of Stearns County. By 1970 the Sisters of St. Benedict taught in 29 of the 39 parochial schools and provided nursing staff for two hospitals and six nursing homes, most of which are found in the Stearns County section of the core. St. Cloud Hospital was founded in 1886 by Sisters of the Order of St. Benedict and is operated under the auspices of the local Catholic Church. No abortions or family planning services, of course, are provided there. In addition, the missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception came to central Minnesota in 1873, and by 1891 they had settled in Little Falls. In 1970 this religious order taught in eight school districts and staffed six hospitals and six nursing homes in the outer margins of the diocese. The establishment of these religious orders contributed to the persistence of ecclesiastical life in the St. Cloud Diocese.

Landscape Features

The history of Catholic settlement in Central Minnesota accounts for the high density of Catholics and the large number of Catholic institutions in the diocese. These Catholic settlements have left their imprint on land ownership patterns and on the landscape itself.

Institutional and private ownership of land by Catholics began with the establishment of the first parish churches and the settling of the first Germans. When sufficient numbers of farmers lived in a specific area, a parish church was built. Although parish boundaries were redrawn to reflect population shifts, parish boundaries have remained astonishingly stable in the diocesan core. Most of the farmland in the Stearns County parishes is still owned by local Catholic parishioners (Figure 3-II-4). And institutions and the associated lands for religious, educational, and social purposes are also concentrated in parish centers. Elsewhere in the diocese the Church owns land for colleges, seminaries, convents, hospitals, nursing homes, and vacant land for future expansion of these facilities. In 1968 the total land holdings of the Catholic Church in Stearns County alone amounted to 3,662 acres which had a market value of over 67 million dollars. While private, personal Catholic lands are taxed, institutional land holdings are tax exempt from property taxes. This pattern of land ownership is directly reflected in the kinds and number of Catholic landscape features which include “Saint” place names, universities and hospitals, settlement complexes of the parish seats, cemeteries, private and public shrines, and roadside chapels.

Saint Place Names

The Catholic origin of the initial settlers is imprinted in the place names of the areas they settled. Of the total of 774 Saint place names in the United States, Minnesota ranks third, after Maryland and Louisiana, which is particularly striking because Minnesota was mostly settled by Scandinavian Lutherans (Figure 3-II-5). Seven percentage of Saint names are found in Louisiana which is accounted for by its French Catholic settlements. Maryland’s highest percentage (7.1) is more difficult to explain but it may be related to the early settlers’ Episcopal Church affiliation whose concept of Saints is highly influenced by the Catholic tradition. Many Episcopal Churches are named after Saints, such as St. Luke, Saint James, and Saint Francis. When most of the Catholic Irish, Italians, and Eastern Europeans settled in towns that had already been named and as newly-arrived and discriminated against immigrants, they certainly did not have the power to rename settlements after their own preferences. Indeed, renaming place
For the small number of Roman Catholics, Minnesota has a particularly large concentration of Saint names: 48 populated places (hamlets, villages, towns, and cities), with Stearns County having the largest number, 12, or 29 percent. The abbreviated form of Saint, “St.,” is only used for 42 places in the United States. In addition, 75 percent of all parishes in Stearns County are named after Saints. The concentration of Christian names for settlements and townships in the three most Roman Catholic counties of the diocese is striking (Figure 3-II-6).

The location of public and private shrines and religious monuments also correlates with the Central Minnesota Roman Catholic region (Figure 3-II-7).
Figure 3-II-6. Religious place names of settlements and townships associated with the Central Minnesota Roman Catholic region. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on information from Dockendorf 1979.

Figure 3-II-7. Roman Catholic shrines in the Central Minnesota Roman Catholic region. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on information from Dockendorf 1979.

**Roman Catholic Universities and Colleges**

St. John’s University (formerly for men) and its associated St. John’s Abbey in Collegeville, MN, and the College of Saint Benedict (formerly for women) in near-by St. Joseph, MN, are striking examples of Roman Catholic higher education institutions in this heavily Roman Catholic area (Figure 3-II-8). Despite separate campuses in different towns, students now take courses in each other’s campuses, although women take more courses at St. John’s than vice versa. Four small cemeteries are found on the two campuses, two of which are for the brothers and sisters of the monastic communities (Figure 3-II-9).
Chapter 3 -- Religious Landscapes

Parish Settlement Complex

The integration of religious practices with other human activities in Roman Catholicism results in well developed Catholic settlement complexes, which consist of all or parts of the following settlement types: parish churches, cemeteries, parish houses, elementary schools, and, sometimes, old-people’s homes and meeting halls (Roberts 1967). The small village of St. Rosa (population 44) in Stearns County, MN, is typical of Catholic settlements in Central Minnesota. The Roman Catholic Church lies across the street from the Catholic elementary school which is adjacent to the Catholic cemetery (Figure 3-II-10). Although this village, like most other rural communities, declined by about 41 percent during the 1990s, the population is still essentially Catholic and the Catholic associated settlement features are still present.

Figure 3-II-10. The tiny village of St. Rosa, population 44, has three Roman Catholic institutions and landscape features: church, school, and cemetery. Source: Freeport Quad, 1:24,000.

Roman Catholic Churches

Catholic churches in the St. Cloud Diocese are almost always located in built-up areas, not in the open countryside. In the diocesan core, the parish churches steeples can be seen from three to five miles away. As the number of Catholics decreases, the visibility of the parish churches also decrease and the number of associated buildings does likewise. In the sphere, where Lutherans are the single largest religious group, parish churches are smaller and less impressive in appearance than those in the core. Settlements in the periphery of the diocese commonly have three or more different denominational churches.

Most of the present churches in the religious core were built during the 1880s and 1910s of brick in Gothic and Romanesque styles. The size of these churches (mostly over 110 feet in length and over fifty feet in width) is particularly noticeable because of their central location in small population centers (from several families to 1,000 people).

Roman Catholic Cemeteries

The parish cemeteries are not commonly found adjacent to churches, but they are found within settlements. Roman Catholic cemeteries are very distinctive from other Christian cemeteries because of their central...
crucifixes and disproportional number of crosses on top of or etched in individual tombstones (Figure 3-II-11). In the nineteenth century, crosses were cut out of stone, but since the early twentieth century the cheaper method of etched crosses on tombstones has become common (Kniffen 1967; Adams 1967; Francaviglia 1971).

Ethnic Differences among Catholics

Public and private shrines dot the religious landscape of the diocese. Two types of public shrines exist: 1) on churchyards and 2) along roadsides in the open countryside. Many of the diocesan churches have outdoor statues of Mary, Jesus, or other religious figures with kneeling benches for prayer. The most elaborate example of a public shrine is at the Polish Catholic church in Browerville where a crucifix, two grottoes, and a rock garden adorn the church and parsonage grounds (Figure 3-II-12). The greatest incidence of church-associated shrines is found in the core region; such shrines are uncommon in the domain and the sphere.

Although Germans represented the single largest Catholic ethnic group in this part of the state, Polish and French Canadian settlers were also important local Catholic groups. In areas where two different ethnic groups settled together, both established their own parishes. Presently, ethnic differences still persist within five hamlets where two parish churches (usually German and Polish) are maintained. Until several years ago, a few such settlements even had separate elementary parochial schools.

The ethnic origin of Roman Catholics affects the interior and exterior appearance of churches and the landscape. Religious statues, shrines, and grottoes are more likely to appear in Eastern European communities, such as the Poles of Central Minnesota, than North European communities, such as the Germans in the St. Cloud area.

Roadside Shrines and Chapels in the Countryside

Also closely associated with the Catholic core region are public shrines in the open countryside. Compared to Quebec, the St. Cloud area has few roadside shrines. Large white wooden crosses and religious figurines enclosed in granite display cases are found at eight locations, seven of which are at crossroads (Figure 3-II-13). Throughout Canada, United States, and Mexico, highway deaths are occasionally commemorated with small roadside shrines along roadways (PoynterOnLine 2005). Almost all of these shrines use crosses which express deeply-felt Christian values in general, not exclusively a Roman Catholic icon.
Isolated chapels are a common feature in many predominantly rural Catholic areas in North America (Sopher, 1967). The four chapels in the St. Cloud Diocese are all found in the open countryside and in the core region. These small religious structures were built on donated land and with donated labor and materials to commemorate special events in the lives of the local Catholics. For example, the most renowned and visited is the Assumption Chapel, southeast of Cold Spring, which was originally built in 1877 in appreciation of the Virgin Mary who supposedly rid the area of a grasshopper plague.

Religious Lawn Ornaments: “Mary-in-the-bathtubs”

Garden shrines perform both religious and decorative functions, according to interviewed Catholics. Most such shrines are one- or two-feet high statues of the Virgin Mary placed inside old, upright half-buried bathtubs; others are unique and elaborate creations built of stones and glass (Figure 3-II-14). Religious signs and figurines on the outside of French Canadian barns are not found in this diocese.

Figure 3-II-14. This hand-built private Roman Catholic shrine topped by three crosses for the trinity with statues of Jesus and Mary inside a small “bath tub” is prominently displayed in the front yard of a St. Cloud home. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Distinctive to the St. Cloud area are the granite quarries, which opened in 1868 and still operate in Cold Spring. Roughly-hewn, pointed blocks of granite and polished granite are used locally in churches, cemeteries, and private shrines; and of course, sold across the country. Polished waste granite pieces are frequently used to construct private shrines.

Shrines on Personal and Institutional Properties

Ingolf Vogeler (1976) conducted field work in nine townships to determine the relationship of public and private garden shrines to the percentage of Roman Catholic population (Table 3-II-1). The townships were selected for these characteristics: 1) predominantly a farming area; 2) a total population of at least 1,000; 3) a parish seat within the township; 4) major different ethnic groups; and 5) various percentages of Catholics.

The townships were classified into three spatial types: 1) core with over 69 percent Catholics of the total population, 2) domain with between 69 and 30 percent Catholics, and 3) sphere with less than 30 percent Catholics. The number and kind of shrines, e.g., Mary-in-the-bathtubs, crosses, religious statutes, etc., were counted. The total number of shrines, particularly private ones in built-up areas and in the open countryside, is substantially larger in the higher Catholic concentrations. At least in these Central Minnesota Catholic communities, the number of public and private shrines correlates directly with the percentage of Catholics in a township. In
other words, the larger the percentages of Catholics in an area, the more public and private shrines are present. When Catholics account for less than thirty percent of the total parish population, no private and church associated or roadside shrines are found (Table 3-II-1). On the other hand, when Catholics account for over thirty percent of the total population, private garden shrines are found in the parish seat and in the countryside. Polish areas tend to have more church-related shrines but fewer private ones than German areas. German-Polish areas tend to have more private shrines in the open countryside than German areas, and certainly more than in Polish dominated districts (Figure 3-II-15).

In the urban setting of Cleveland’s Near Westside, however, the percent of Roman Catholics private shrines appeared most often in the middle range of 34 to 51 percent Hispanic (mostly Puerto Rican) than in the over 51 percent Hispanic core areas (Benedict and Kent 2004). Additional field research must be conducted in other rural and urban Catholic areas throughout North America to resolve these contradictions.

### Table 3-II-1. Types of Shrines and Catholic Concentrations in Stearns County, Minnesota

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Shrines in Three Townships</th>
<th>Percent Roman Catholics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core (&gt; 69 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public, on church grounds</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private, built-up area (e.g., in villages)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private, in the open countryside</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

**Figure 3-II-15. A comparison of German-Polish and German townships in Stearns County with high and low Roman Catholic percentages, respectively, shows that the number of public and private shrines is the highest in areas with high Catholic percentages, even when these areas have with fewer people. Source: Vogeler 1976.**

### Part IV. Roman Catholic and Mormon Landscapes Compared

The theology, behavior, origin and spread of Roman Catholicism and Mormonism in North America have been quite different, resulting in strikingly different cultural landscapes. Mormon landscapes -- even in the past -- are much more subdued and subtle than the overtly religious Roman Catholic landscapes. The significance of material manifestations of religious events in particular places and the importance of icons in Roman Catholicism results in highly visible and distinctive places and regions. On the other hand, typical of other Christian groups, Mormons emphasize personal and non-material aspects of their religious beliefs; thus, leaving only a few cultural markers of their religion, such as ward meetinghouses and temples -- whether in the past or today. The fundamentally different theological perspectives of these two religions result in unique cultural landscapes, as shown in Table 3-III-2.

The two examples of Mormonism and Catholicism illustrate the importance of religion in expressing deeply-held human ideals. Within the context of governmental constraints, each religious group practiced its own form of religious freedom, yet experienced different reactions from the dominant institutions. Although until recently Catholics experienced personal and institutional discrimination in urban areas, as in the well-known case of Boston, their institutions and landscape forms were never restricted. Ironically, today the Roman Catholic Church is actively
interfering with the personal religious freedoms of non-Catholics by its positions on public policies on abortions, same sex marriages, and stem-cell research. Mormons, on the other hand, did experience massive personal and institutional persecution from other individuals in their earliest history and later from the U.S. government, until they modified their religious belief in polygamy. Without an insular agrarian society in the West and the abolishment of polygamy, the Mormon landscapes were predictably going to gradually disappear. Furthermore, in contrast to Catholic landscapes, Mormon landscapes were never very religious in the first place.

The experience of each religious group points out that despite constitutional and legal guarantees and the best stated intentions of institutions and politicians, liberty and tolerance cannot be taken for granted by any religious group, whether minority or majority, but must be examined and fought for continually.

The Roman Catholic landscapes of Mexico, including the U.S. Southwest, have much more in common with those of Quebec than with Central Minnesota. The cultural traditions (ornateness of architectural styles, icons, and shrines) of France and Spain as developed in North America were and are much closer to each other than to those developed from German and, to some extent, even Polish Catholic traditions.
## Table 3-III-2
Comparison of Roman Catholic and Mormon Landscapes in North America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landscape Impact</th>
<th>Roman Catholicism</th>
<th>Mormonism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>religious buildings</td>
<td>1,000s of cathedrals, basilicas, churches, and chapels</td>
<td>10,158 meeting houses and 71 temples in the USA alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shrines</td>
<td>roadside, public, and private ones</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilgrimage centers</td>
<td>many large and small sites throughout North America</td>
<td>a few historic religious sites only in four U.S. states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cemeteries</td>
<td>central crucifixes and crosses on tombstones, in separate, private cemeteries</td>
<td>nothing distinctive in Utah, elsewhere in the USA, and abroad; never separate, private cemeteries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place names</td>
<td>Saint names and other biblical names</td>
<td>only a few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social services</td>
<td>hospitals and social services</td>
<td>bishops’ storehouses (historically) and Welfare Square in Salt Lake City (today)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational institutions</td>
<td>1,000s of parochial elementary and secondary schools; 185 colleges and universities throughout the USA, with only the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., chartered by the Vatican</td>
<td>no separate schools and only one institution of higher education, Bingham Young University, Provo, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical secular features</td>
<td>long-lot survey; shoe-string villages in Quebec and the USA, but not in Mexico</td>
<td>grid-iron street layouts of settlements with wide streets and irrigation ditches; farmsteads in villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regional impact</td>
<td>Quebec; Northeast, Midwest, and Southwest USA; Mexico</td>
<td>Utah historically and a few historic sites in the Midwest and New York; today also throughout North America: Utah has 11 temples; USA, 60; Canada, 6; Mexico, 12.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>