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THE MORMON IDEOLOGY OF PLACE:
COSMIC SYMBOLISM OF THE CITY OF ZION, 1830-1846

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
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CHAPTER I:  
AN IDEOLOGY OF PLACE  
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS  

While the North was fighting the South in the American Civil War, two scholars, one British and one French, were helping to define their respective schools of social thought. In 1861 Sir Henry Sumner Maine helped lay the foundations of British social anthropology in his study, *Ancient Law*. Three years later, the noted French historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges published *La Cité Antique* which greatly influenced the development of French anthropology.

Both studies traced the origins of human society to the patriarchal family and the authority of the patriarch. Both drew these conclusions from the comparative analysis of classical Mediterranean civilizations. These substantive and methodological similarities serve primarily to highlight the basic theoretical differences between *Ancient Law* and *The Ancient City*. In *Ancient Law* the patriarchal family was considered a group related by consanguinity and affinity. Maine called the non-biological extension of family groupings "artificial." Although he considered these extensions necessary to promote wider social aggregates, he termed their
justification "legal fiction."¹ Fustel de Coulanges, by contrast, defined the patriarchal family as a group bound together by the worship of a common ancestor.

Generation alone was not the foundation of the ancient family. . . . Nor is the family principle natural affection. . . . [T]his foundation must be found in the power of the father or husband. . . . We shall see further on that the authority of the father or husband, far from having been a first cause, was itself an effect; it was derived from religion, and was established by religion.²

One essential difference then between Maine and Fustel de Coulanges was that the authority of the patriarch for Maine derived from natural relations and physical abilities, while that for Fustel de Coulanges was moral and ritual in nature. For Maine healthy societies were founded on natural relations and their artificial extensions, while Fustel de Coulanges claimed that belief systems were the basis of human society. "The religious idea was, among the ancients, the inspiring breath and organizer of society."³

A second, though related difference is that for Maine the analysis of social groupings consisted of defining the social positions (legal statuses) of the group. The primordial family was, for example, defined by the "power of the


³Ibid., p. 132.
patriarch," which was understood in terms of the legitimate force, real or potential, he had over family members. Fustel de Coulanges, by contrast, insisted that belief systems, not institutional arrangements, should be seen as the foundation of social inquiry.

A comparison of beliefs and laws shows that a primitive religion constituted the Greek and Roman family, established marriage and paternal authority, fixed the order of relationship, and consecrated the right of property, and the right of inheritance. This same religion, after having enlarged and extended the family, formed a still larger association, the city, and reigned in that as it had reigned in the family. From it came all institutions, as well as all the private law, of the ancients.

A third major difference between these two anthropological classics concerns their theories of social evolution. Maine recognized the transition from corporate to individualistic social orders as the essential difference between archaic and progressive societies. "The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place." Fustel de Coulanges, by contrast, saw the evolution of society as a movement of increasing social differentiation. "We must try to understand why and how men became separated from this ancient organization . . . to advance

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toward a social organization larger and better.7 This process altered the social order from one permeated by religion to one controlled by a variety of institutions, headed by secular economics and politics.

Given these basic differences (and there are others), one can recognize in Maine some of the defining characteristics of British social anthropology: an interest in social control exercised through relatively permanent status relationships, the relative importance of corporate over individual identity in primitive society, and the emphasis of institutional/functional over ideological/symbolic explanations of social phenomena. Likewise, fundamental features of French anthropology can be seen in Fustel de Coulanges, especially as developed by his student Emile Durkheim. These include symbology, comparative belief systems, ritual, social differentiation, and mythology.

Turning to the question of the territorial environment, one can see how Maine and Fustel de Coulanges helped shape differing British and French anthropological concepts. Maine recognized that the principle of local contiguity replaced that of patriarchal authority "as the condition of community in political functions."8 In other words, the territorial environment was the locus of the social group and the focus of political control in progressive (state) societies. Building

7Fustel de Coulanges, Ancient City, p. 225.
8Maine, Ancient Law, p. 78.
on this concept, later British social anthropologists viewed 
the territorial environment of primitive societies primarily 
from the perspective of ecology, geography, or politics. 

Fustel de Coulanges, by contrast, viewed the territorial 
environment, at least the built up environment, in symbolic 
terms. He saw it as a creation of social action motivated 
directly or indirectly by the beliefs of the people. He de-
scribed the value of beliefs in society. 

A belief is the work of our mind, but we are not on 
that account free to modify it at will. It is our 
own creation, but we do not know it. It is human, 
and we believe it is a god. It is the effect of our 
power, and it is stronger than we are. It is in us; 
it does not quit us; it speaks to us at every moment. 
If it tells us to obey, we obey; if it traces duties 
for us, we submit. Man may, indeed, subdue nature, 
but he is subdued by his own thoughts.9

As a material representation of a system of beliefs, the 
ancient city was a major motivating principle in the life of a 
society. The city was the ultimate product of a belief system 
sophisticated enough to federate smaller social groups to live 
in relative peace and for the sake of mutual protection and 
common worship. "[T]he bond of the new association was still 
a religion. The tribes that united to form a city never 
failed to light a sacred fire and to adopt a common 
religion."10

The city of the ancients, according to Fustel de 
Coulanges, was defined by myth and ritual: 

9Fustel de Coulanges, Ancient City, p. 132.
10Ibid., p. 127.
foundation of a city was always a religious act."11 The site for the city was determined by divination and confirmed by ceremony. This ceremony defined (legitimized) the essential features of the city: its ceremonial center, walls and gates, and residential areas. Once ritual had identified these features, the city became a legitimate cultural entity.

Religion defined not only the location and layout of the ancient city but also its social organization. According to Fustel de Coulanges, "the city was the collective group of those who had the same protecting deities, and who performed the religious ceremonies at the same altar."12 To understand ancient urban society, therefore, it was essential to understand its ideology. Religion permeated all dimensions of this social order, from the market to warfare, from residence and citizenship to the sovereignty of the ruler, and from personal freedoms to the legal code. In its geographical, ideological, and sociological dimensions, the city was a symbol of the society's highest ambitions and ultimate concerns.

The symbolic function of urban forms was not an exclusive characteristic of ancient societies, according to Fustel de Coulanges. However, because the nature of later societies changed, their cities altered to reflect this transformation. As was mentioned above, Fustel de Coulanges claimed that the distinctive contrast between ancient and more modern urban

11Ibid., p. 134.
12Ibid., p. 146.
societies was the degree to which religion played a dominant role in the life of the society.

Fustel de Coulanges cites two main causes of this secularization of society. The first was the social inequality inherent in the life of the city. Not all persons benefitted equally from the city as a ritually centered confederation of patriarchal clans. As the city grew, increasingly more members of the society did not enjoy the privileges of citizenship. "These men had an interest in destroying it [this urban form], and made war upon it continually." Fustel de Coulanges combined this gradual political transformation of a ritually-oriented society with a seemingly natural human tendency to develop and embrace individualistic and humanistic values, characterized by democracy, private property, acquired status, individual freedoms, secular governments, and market economies. In his discussion of this mental evolution, Fustel de Coulanges reveals many of his personal ideological preferences. Nevertheless, his treatment of the territorial environment, and particularly of the city, as a cultural symbol, whether sacred or secular, ancient or modern, raises many of the theoretical questions and concepts which subsequent anthropologists, geographers, and other social scientists dealing with the meaning of the territorial environment have pursued: the cultural definition and organization (perception) of the territorial environment.

13Ibid., p. 224ff.
the relation between territorial and social organization, the
relation between the public and residential spheres of the
built-up environment, and levels of cultural significance of
the territorial organization.

Building upon these beginnings, Fustel de Coulanges' prize student, Emile Durkheim, and his own student, Marcel
Mauss, explored the significance of the territorial
environment as a symbol of the social organization and
ecological perception of selected non-Western societies. They
demonstrated, for example, that the seven divisions of the
Zuni universe--north, south, east, west, zenith, nadir, and
center--provided the system of classifying clans, flora and
fauna, colors and climates.14 That is, the cultural
organization of the territorial environment among the Zuni
symbolized the social organization and integrated it with the
observable universe to create a consistent whole of meaningful
existence.

While not identical, the classification systems of many
other societies examined by Durkheim--including the Omaha
Sioux, Wyandot, Florida Sioux, and Tligit of North America,
the Wotjobaluk tribe of Australia, and numerous societies of
Melanesia--used the territorial environment as a cultural
symbol. Following Fustel de Coulanges, who derived terri-
torial symbolism of ancient classical civilizations from prior

kinship groupings, Durkheim and Mauss traced the systems of spatial classifications of these tribes to kinship classifications. Whether or not kinship classifications preceeded territorial classifications in the evolution of society, territorial symbolism was a powerful metaphor, to classify "all things in nature" and society in these groups. By cultural extension, territorial symbolism was able to classify cosmic space as well. "Cosmic space and tribal space are thus only very imperfectly distinguished, and the mind passes from one to the other without difficulty, almost without being aware of doing so."\textsuperscript{15}

Durkheim also examined the more comprehensive and complex territorial symbolism of the ancient Chinese. Their system of orientation—four cardinal points and four mediating points—corresponded to the system of eight natural powers which classified an infinite variety of elements in the Chinese universe including "creatures, events, attributes, substances, and accidents."\textsuperscript{16} Summarizing the importance of this classification scheme, Durkheim observed that it was "intended above all to regulate the conduct of man."\textsuperscript{17} It did so, not because of its empirical verifiability but because of its cultural imperative. Integrated with the numerous other classificatory systems of the ancient Chinese, this system

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 65.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 69.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 71.
became a theory of the microcosm, relating the individual to society, nature and the cosmos in a very intricate and ultimate manner. Durkheim demonstrated in Primitive Classification that the territorial environment was a fundamental component of the classification scheme of many ancient civilizations. Territorial symbolism may not have been either the elementary or the central feature of these systems, but one could not understand the thought, behavior, and social organization of these people without reference to it. Territorial symbolism helped at once to differentiate existence into meaningful parts and to integrate them into a meaningful whole. "Things that are not simply arranged by [classification schemes of which territorial symbolism plays an important part] in the form of isolated groups, but these groups stand in fixed relationships to each other and together form a single whole."\textsuperscript{18} As Durkheim has observed, territorial symbolism served primarily an ideological, not utilitarian role in society. Its "object is not to facilitate action, but to advance understanding, to make intelligible the relations which exist between things."\textsuperscript{19} The ultimate reference point and origin of classificatory thought was society itself.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 81.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.
hierarchy is only another aspect of social hierarchy, and the unity of knowledge is nothing else than the very unity of the collectivity, extended to the universe.20

The cultural perception and organization of the territorial environment—whether natural or built up, tribal or urban, nomadic or sedentary—are symbolic of the social environment. Territorial symbolism is thus a basic source of information about a particular culture.

Studies of territorial symbolism have followed a wide variety of paths of inquiry—theoretical, methodological, and substantive. To summarize this literature would delay unnecessarily the development of the present discussion. Suffice it to say that interest in cosmological symbolism of the territorial environment occupies much of the attention of this scholarship produced by anthropologists, geographers, comparative religionists, architectural historians, and others.

While neither the original nor the most prolific writer on the cosmological symbolism of the territorial environment, Paul Wheatley has been able as few others to raise this discourse to the level of a social theory. He has focused on the origins of urban society and its significance, but in so doing he has helped scholars reevaluate the concept of

20Ibid., pp. 83-84.
In an attempt to broaden the definition urban society to include more of the world's five thousand year history of city dwelling, Wheatley rejected the morphological and trait-complex definitions of urbanism, which had dominated the discipline for many years. In their place, he proposed a functional definition: the city as "generator of effective space." That is, a city is a cultural product which defines, organizes, and controls a given, though not necessarily bounded, territorial environment. By this definition, an urban society exists when the defining functions of a social order become concentrated sufficiently to effectively organize the territorial environment and its inhabitants to maintain a degree of cohesion and continuity. A key word in the definition then is "effective." The term is understood in cultural terms, that is, "effective" as defined by the people who live in or in terms of the city.

In this concept, there are no presumptions as to geographic or demographic size, location, social complexity, permanence or other characteristics which either excessively restricts the assignments of "urban" to a particular society, or ethnocentrically classifies cities as more or less "ideal." The utility of this concept lies in the fact that it


is sufficiently abstract to generate a general theory of urbanism yet adaptable to a wide variety of specific urban settings in time and space.

Wheatley's specific application of this concept has been primarily in the area of "primary urban generation," where an urban tradition has come into being sui generis. According to Wheatley, only seven culture areas of the world have developed urban traditions without the benefit of external influences such as diffusion or conquest. These are "Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus valley, the North China Plain, Mesoamerica, the central Andes, and the Yoruba territories of southwestern Nigeria." 23 In each case, the first urban form in the evolution of urban society was a ceremonial center. "Whenever...we trace back the characteristic urban form to its beginnings we arrive not at a settlement that is dominated by commercial relations, a primordial market, or at one that is focused on a citadel, an archetypal fortress, but rather at a ceremonial complex." 24 Following the lead of Fustel de Coulanges, Wheatley claims that religion was the catalyst in the truly independent evolution of urban society.  

[Religion provided the primary focus for social life in the immediately pre-urban period. . . . Indeed, the religious component is almost alone in having left in several of the realms of nuclear urbanism a more or less continuous succession of surviving material traces through from the phase of Developed Village Farming to fully  

23 Ibid., pp. 226-240.

24 Ibid., p. 225.
evolved urban life.25

Wheatley's major contribution to urban studies has focused on the characteristics of ceremonial centers in the areas of primary urban generation. Although many cultural differences exist among the seven regions of primary urban generation, Wheatley has abstracted three common characteristics. These define a ceremonial center in functional terms and demonstrate the theoretical value of regarding the city as a cultural symbol at this evolutionary stage and organizational level of urban society.

The first characteristic is centripetality, the notion that the ceremonial center occupied an existentially centralized location with respect to the "land," or culturally inhabitable space, and was oriented similarly to the cosmos by virtue of a ritually identified and maintained axis mundi. Not only was this axis mundi considered the "center of the universe," but also "navel of the earth" (the point at which the creation of the earth began) and the "cosmic mountain" (most elevated spot on earth).26

25Ibid., p. 302.

Because centripetality was vital to the concept of a ceremonial center, the siting of the axis mundi had to be determined by religious authority and confirmed by public ceremony. No specific set of activities or processes satisfied this requirement for all ancient ceremonial centers. Many, however, included a supernatural or other auspicious occurrence as recognized by religious authority to indicate the propitiousness of a chosen site; sacrifices or other religious offerings at an altar constructed at the site; and circumambulation of the altar at a given distance to establish the immediate boundaries of the center. Some kind of enclosure was often made at this boundary and the surrounding land was consecrated for habitation by those who worshiped the gods of this shrine. 27

This ceremonial center, ritually identified, created and existentially (not necessarily geometrically) located at the center of the land, legitimized habitation in the area and provided the centrepetalizing force for the subsequent


development markets, governments, and other social institutions.

Wheatley's second principle, cardinality, identifies the universal tendency in centers of primary urban generation to define and organize the territory controlled by the "navel of the earth," "cosmic mountain," "sacred enceinte," or axis mundi with reference to the cardinal compass directions, "thus assimilating the group's territory to the cosmic order and constructing a sanctified living space or habitabilis within the continuum of profane space." 28 Cardinality enabled those not living at or near the sacred center to live in terms of the center. It enabled inhabitants of the land to express their cultural identity in terms of geography through the placement not only of shrines and altars, but also dwellings and other buildings, markets, city gates, streets, fields, camps, and many other features of the built-up environment. Wheatley observes that in cultures dominated by ceremonial centers, cardinality "was manifested at all levels of spatial experience and at all levels of spatial organization." 29

The spatial symmetry or parallelism between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos expressed by the principles of centripetality and cardinality was preserved by an intricate cycle of worship and a delicate social order. The harmony

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29 Ibid., see also Wheatley, City as Symbol, pp. 17ff.; Wheatley, Pivot of the Four Quarters, pp. 423-427.
between heaven and earth and between man and nature was expressed, maintained, corrected, and strengthened in the daily, seasonal, annual, and life cycle activities performed in the dwelling places, market places, fields, and shrines of individuals, families, and communities. Failure to observe any portion of this ceremonial and normative complex threatened disaster—the dislocation (profanation) of the axis mundi and the interruption of the parallelism of the worlds. "In this context social responsibility implied not merely passive adherence to a primarily ethical norm but rather a positive commitment to spatial and temporal patterns of territorial organization that simulated the order of the macrocosmos."30

Socially, ceremonial centers exhibited mechanical solidarity.31 Few individual freedoms and minimal social differentiation existed in these societies, which explains why children of the Enlightenment like Fustel de Coulanges would see progress in the transformation of these societies to more modern (democratic) societies. Because the cosmic order of these societies was intricate and fragile, the authority structure was centralized, hierarchical, tended to coincide with the sacred elite, and tended to be punitive and

30Wheatley, " Suspended Pelt," pp. 52-53; see also Wheatley, Pivot of the Four Quarters, pp. 436-451; Wheatley, City as Symbol, passim; Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, passim; Fustel de Coulanges, Ancient City, pp. 117-213.

repressive in character. The limited social differentiation of these societies restricted the development of public life to "ceremonial festivities and market excursions." Ceremonial festivities sought primarily to reassert the cosmic order deemed to have characterized the primordial world at the creation. They emphasized and often rehearsed the cosmogony in ritual performance and the value of preserving and conforming to the inherited wisdom of the ancients. Market excursions, while facilitating the distribution of needed commodities, were also important social occasions. Exchange in this context had as much a status as a purely economic significance. "[I]t was commonly non-economic factors rather than the market mechanism which set rates of exchange." 

Such societies--characterized by mechanical solidarity, orthogenetic change, centralized priestly authority, communitarian (as opposed to individualistic) economies--tended to be easily overthrown or altered from internal or external pressures. Internal decay came primarily from clients, slaves, and other non-citizens who benefitted only

32 Wheatley, *City as Symbol*, p. 21.

33 Ibid., p. 22.


indirectly or marginally from the traditional cultural order. Change was also mediated by the literati when traditional forms and performances could not sustain their meanings in a transformed social environment. Conquest of these societies was also not difficult, particularly when the axis mundi was captured or destroyed. This correspondence between social, territorial, and cosmic orders is called by Wheatley "inductance," from the electrical term referring to the ability of the current in one circuit to produce an electromotive or sympathetic force in that or another circuit. The principles of centripetality, cardinality, and inductance provide a cultural definition of ancient ceremonial centers and outline a theory of the cosmic symbolism of this proto-urban form in history.

Wheatley's analyses of ceremonial centers provide a theory of territorial symbolism in a field of study which tends to be more impressionistic than systematic, more self-consciously subjective than rigorous. Wheatley's theory is simple in that it reduces to three explicit principles the essential characteristics of ancient ceremonial centers. These principles are analytically differentiated from one another but systematically related into a cultural system. The theory is elegant in that it accounts for a vast array of relevant (and cross-cultural) data in a rigorous and comprehensive manner. The theory is also testable in that it

proposes an explicit, empirically-based explanation for both existing and possible future data on ceremonial centers. The theory is valuable, in addition, for its definition of a city which includes a much greater portion of the history of urban forms than had previous definitions and makes the study of urban environments more comparable across cultural, geographical, and chronological boundaries. It also demonstrates the transformation of one urban tradition into another and suggests how the study of urban change can occur in traditions not affected by cosmic symbolism.

While Wheatley's theory of cosmo-magical symbolism is primarily relevant to ancient ceremonial centers, it can form the basis of a more general theory of territorial symbolism. The principles of centripetality, cardinality, and inductance at an operational level refer respectively to the location, layout, and corresponding social organization of a settlement or settlement tradition. That is, the dimensions of a general theory of territorial symbolism could be based on the location of culturally significant places in the territorial environment and their possible meaningful relations with one another; the culturally constituted order or layout of the territorial environment as a whole, including that of the significant locations; and the cultural implications of this territorial order for the social order.

The cultural significance of location is seen primarily in the group's justification for locating itself at or
orienting itself to a given site or territorial expanse. The group's identity will likely be different if its location is significant because of transportation routes, or commercial markets, or defense positions, or natural resources, or ancestral graves, or climate, or scenery, or proximity to other groups, or auspicious occurrences. The cultural significance of a site can be complex, but understanding that significance can be very revealing of cultural identity. Also affecting this dimension of territorial symbolism are issues such as the relative strength of the group's interest in the site, the history of the group's occupation of/or orientation to the site, the group's sense of permanence at the site, the degree of control the group has over the site, and many other considerations. However it is manifest, location as a dimension of territorial symbolism can be very revealing of cultural identity.

The cultural significance of territorial layout is likewise suggestive of cultural identity. This dimension includes both the man-made organization of public, domestic, and work spaces and the human perception and interpretation of the natural environment. The analysis, however, must go beyond simple morphology and ecology. The meaning of the American wilderness, for example, was very different for the seventeenth century Puritan, the nineteenth century pioneer, and the twentieth century suburbanite. These differences relate only in the most superficial way to the empirical
differences among the respective natural environments. Similarly, although New York and Philadelphia were laid out in an orthogonal grid pattern, the meaning of those grids vary from each other to a certain extent and vary drastically from the meaning of orthogonal grids found at ancient ceremonial centers. For both environmental perception and organization, culture is an important determinant of significance, and the meaning of territorial layout is a key symbol of cultural identity.

The third dimension of the proposed analytical definition of territoriality in a cultural context is social organization. This refers to social action and institutional arrangements as they relate to the territorial environment. Only those activities and institutions which affect or are affected by the territorial environment would be relevant to such a discussion. Obvious among these would be settlement, subsistence, residence, land tenure, and territorial control. Ceremony, ritual, descent systems, and other aspects of the social order may also be critical to the analysis, depending on the society. Although the complementarity of the social and territorial orders has been demonstrated for a number of ancient and tribal societies, the degree of harmony for any particular ethnographic case must be a research question, never assumed a priori. Disharmony between the territorial and corresponding social environments of a particular group may, in fact, signal a transitional period in the history of
the cultural system.

A theory of territorial symbolism defined by these dimensions would be sufficiently general to subsume a wide range of interests in territorial symbolism. It does not, for example, give priority to the symbolism of either natural or built up environments, or to those which are urban or rural, ancient or modern, archaic or progressive, domestic or universal, tribal or state-type, sedentary or nomadic, static or dynamic, isolated or amalgamated, sacred or secular, Western or Third World, or imagined or empirical.

The principles of location, layout, and social organization also establish criteria to evaluate the limitations of any particular study within the general field. Mircea Eliade, for example, pays greater attention to the symbolism of location and social organization than to that of layout. Kevin Lynch, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the relation between layout and social organization, not with location. The Whites are almost exclusively interested in social organization and very little with either location or layout.37

Because of these two advantages, the comparability of studies of territorial symbolism—in terms of both substantive orientation and theoretical interest—is

increased. Anthropologists, geographers, architects, land use planners, psychologists, and historians have a more scientific, i.e., systematic and testable, basis for sharing their findings and appreciating their differences.

The present study will demonstrate the value of such a theory of territorial symbolism for a particular ethnographic case. It will examine the cultural origins and early transformations of the institution of settlement among the Mormons. The study will demonstrate the relationship between settlement location, layout, and social organization for the Mormon cities of Zion, 1830-1844. It will demonstrate the systematic nature of those relationships not only in space but through time. It is felt that documenting structural and processual relationships of Mormon territorial symbolism will help establish the validity of the general theory.

The present theory will not examine Mormon territorial symbolism in all its ramifications; hence it cannot be considered a thorough explication of the proposed theory. Its particular focus will be the cosmological symbolism of Mormon settlement in terms of its location, layout, and social organization. Further, it will emphasize the formal, official interpretation of the territorial environment as seen through the statements and actions of Mormon leaders. This emphasis does not imply that the cosmological significance of Mormon territorial and social orders was not understood by or not accessible to the common man, only that such questions are not
addressed directly by this study. It is felt, however, that the formal, official descriptions of the territorial environment form the cultural foundations of the more common, less articulate expressions. This is not to say that the common understandings directly reflect those of the elite, only that the relations between the two levels is an empirical question, not systematically explored in the present study. One object of this study, then is to elaborate the territorial symbolism of the Mormon elite as a beginning to a more thorough understanding of these concepts among the Mormon rank-and-file. To differentiate the formal, official expressions of territorial symbolism from the more common understandings, I have chosen the term "ideology." Territorial symbolism examined at a "cultural" level includes all levels and facets of those understandings. An "ideology of place" focuses on those understandings among the cultural elite. In this usage, "ideology of place" is the sense that the leaders of a group make of their world for themselves and their followers with reference to the idiom of the territorial environment.

It is reasonable to expect ideologies of place to vary from group to group and from time period to time period. The territorial environment has likely symbolized a great many things throughout the history of human societies. The value of the proposed theory of territorial symbolism will depend in part upon the adequacy of the dimensions of location, layout,
and social organization to account for this cross-cultural variation. However variable ideologies of place prove ultimately to be, the foregoing discussion has shown that in many cultures and with many groups ideologies of place can be used to express the highest ambitions and principal concerns of a culture. Territorial symbolism in general and an ideology of place in particular seem to form key components in a group's cultural identity, however that identity may be expressed.

The adequacy of Mormonism as a test case for a theory of territorial symbolism with particular reference to an ideology of place must now be addressed. The present study is justified on five counts.

First, Mormonism is a complex society in modern times exhibiting many "primitive" characteristics. For its first century at least, Mormonism was relatively geographically discrete; maintained strong in-group/out-group distinctions through institutions, values, and norms; and was founded upon comprehensive religious principles maintained by a strong centralized and hierarchical authority structure. Given this condition, the limits of its ideology, or ideologies of

place may be more easily defined and the ideological system more accessible than those of more complex societies.

Second, Mormon origins are extremely well documented. Its first century may be more accessible to researchers than that of any other comparable group in America. For the most part, these records are readily available and located in a relatively few number of archives and libraries. The main repository of Mormon historical records, located in the L.D.S. Church Historical Department, contains many thousands of collections of letters, legal papers, diaries, photographs, maps, periodicals, circulars, and other primary and secondary materials. Although some collections are restricted from general public view, I was graciously received by the staff and assisted in this research. Other major repositories of Mormon materials used in this study include the Newberry Library, Chicago Historical Society, University of Utah Libraries (Special Collections Department), and Brigham Young University Libraries.39

39In addition, much of this material is indexed, anthologized, catalogued, or otherwise made more accessible to the researcher in numerous library aids, e.g., Davis Bitton, Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies, (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1977); Chad J. Flake, A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978); numerous published and unpublished compilation of primary source material on Mormonism by the L.D.S. Church Historical Department and the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, both Salt Lake City; College of Religious Instruction, A Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations Concerning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Mormonism, and Utah (Provo, Ut.: College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University,
Third, Mormons as a group have been successful social planners. As early as Mormons began to develop a group consciousness, they began settling communities, and they continued to settle towns and live in clusters until the second decade of the twentieth century. All told, they founded some five hundred communities in ten states and two foreign countries.40 These figures do not include the small Mormon enclaves generated by missionaries and their converts in many other locations throughout North America, Europe, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. The Mormon Culture Region has been called one of the most homogeneous of any in North America.41 After more than seventy years, since settlement was discontinued as a Mormon institution, the Mormon West remains a relatively strong statement of Mormon heritage. The symbolism of the territorial environment was central to this success. In short, the Mormon ideology of place has been basic to Mormon identity from its beginning.

Fourth, the secondary literature on Mormonism and its

1971); and numerous article-length bibliographies on Mormonism published in a variety of periodicals.


territorial environment is vast. It is a current topic of considerable interest among students of Mormonism. There is, therefore, an active dialogue to which this study can contribute and by which it will be evaluated. This internal control is frequently absent from traditional anthropological investigations, especially those of essentially non-literate societies. The judgment of the Mormon literati will not necessarily be the final indicator of the worth of this study, but the successful study of Mormonism cannot ignore concerns of this sophisticated and diverse group of educated professionals.

A fifth advantage of Mormonism's being the focus of this application of a theory of territorial symbolism was unexpected as the research began. The earliest formulations of the Mormon ideology of place are understood best in terms of Wheatley's model of ancient ceremonial centers. Although many different theoretical frameworks have been applied to Mormon settlement, none is as adequate as Wheatley's model of cosmic urban symbolism to explain the ideal expressions of this phenomenon found in the sacred writings of Joseph Smith and other early Mormon leaders. To understand the dynamics of Mormon settlement throughout the nineteenth century, one must begin with the earliest formulation of the settlement concept. This initial concept is explained best in terms of centripetality, cardinality, and inductance. A major thrust of the analysis which follows is the transformation of Mormon
territorial symbolism from a ceremonial center to a regional capital on the American Frontier.

Theoretically, methodologically, and substantively Mormonism provides an adequate test case for the proposed theory of territorial symbolism. Through an analysis of sacred writings, I will trace the evolution of the Mormon ideology of place from its historical and cultural context. Then through a detailed analysis of settlement attempts from 1830 to 1846, I will demonstrate the transformation and suggest the eventual dissolution of cosmic urban symbolism as a dominating characteristic of the Mormon ideology of place. Before I do this, however, I must summarize the historical and cultural context of Mormon origins as it relates to the Mormon ideology of place.

**Cultural Context of Early Mormonism**

The rise of Mormonism in the first half of the nineteenth century was the result of a coming together of many cultural and environmental influences from a wide variety of sources. Mormonism, for example, has been labelled both a frontier religion and a legacy of Puritanism. It has been called both nationalistic and militant, and utopian and separatistic. Scholars have found in Mormonism attempts to return to primitive Christianity or ancient mystery religions and to embrace capitalistic and industrial America. Upon a review of the vast and varied literature, one must indeed wonder, with
Sidney Ahlstrom, whether Mormonism is "a sect, a mystery religion, a cult, a new religion, a church, a people, a nation, or an American subculture." 42

The difficulty in classifying Mormonism need not lead to despair. Justification exists within Mormonism to expect a degree of diverse influence in its formulation. The founder of Mormonism, Joseph Smith, has been described as possessing absorptive powers far beyond the ordinary, a roving curiosity, boundless imagination, a facile, easy-going, uncommitted set of mind, and a keen sense of the religious needs of those who had been seared but not consumed, both by revivalism and by the various forms of dark and irrational eccentricities which swept over the land. 43

Fawn Brodie described Joseph Smith's imagination as the "rare quality of his genius." 44 Whatever the final assessment of Smith's character, he advocated a concept of truth consistent with the eclecticism which has thus far characterized the analyses of Mormonism.

Although Smith viewed truth as ultimately of divine origin, he insisted that Mormonism would embrace it as found throughout the institutions and philosophies of the world.

Have the Presbyterians any truth? Yes. Have the Baptists, Methodists, etc. any truth? Yes. They all have a little truth mixed with error. We should gather all the good and true principles in the world


43Ibid., p. 607.

and treasure them up, or we shall not come out true "Mormons." 45

To facilitate the search for truth—which Smith defined as "a knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come" 46—Smith established during Mormonism's infancy a "School of the Prophets," to be attended by the most illustrious Latter-day Saints of the day. The charter of this school, later canonized by the Mormons, reads in part

Teach ye diligently and my [God's] grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge of countries and of kingdoms . . . 47

However closed the early society of the Mormons was, their theology seems to have been expansive, open to influence from a variety of sources. In short, it may not be inaccurate to see roots of Mormonism in Protestant revivalism, Puritanism, communitarian socialism, Christian primitivism, Western imperialism, Judaism, Islam, Egyptian mystery religions, Masonry, American urbanism, Jeffersonian agrarianism, the


46Joseph Smith, Jr., Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978), 93:24.

47Ibid., 88:78-79.
American frontier, or any number of other sources, in addition to its claimed divine origins.

Despite these possible influences, we cannot view Mormonism as a cultural chameleon, readily adapting to its cultural, historical or geopolitical environment. Throughout its history, Mormonism has manifest definite moral, ethical, and social boundaries which define the limits of orthodoxy. These boundaries may have changed over Mormonism's one hundred fifty year history, but rarely if ever have Mormons not known the behavioral and attitudinal expectations of their religion. Furthermore, the severe and often violent persecutions of the Mormons in the nineteenth century belie a chameleon-like relationship with their environment.

If in Mormonism one can find similarities to a wide variety of historical and cultural phenomena, identifying possible origins of the Mormon ideology of place is only the first step to understanding this cultural system. A subsequent but essential stage of the analysis is the integration of these diverse influences within Mormon ideology. The present study focuses on the processes of integration in the creation of Mormon ideology, and on the consequences of those integrative tendencies for Mormon identity and solidarity. Nevertheless, the integration of these influences cannot be understood in isolation from the context from which the influences came. Consequently, the following is a brief discussion of the nature of religion, of the individual and
society, and of urbanism in America during the early national period. Particular reference is made to points relevant to territorial symbolism in its temporal, spatial, and social dimensions. The thesis of this section is that Mormonism's ideology of place was part of the utopian, communitarian, and millenarian reaction to the increasing secularization, individualization, and urbanization of industrializing America.

Joseph Smith was born in Vermont in 1805, and within twenty-five years had relocated with his family to the 'burned over district' of Western New York, had claimed personal communion with the heavens, had formally organized a rapidly growing following, and had assumed the roles of prophet, seer, and revelator of Christ's restored church.48

America, during this time, was also in a state of rapid development. In the decades following the Revolution, Americans were trying to establish a national identity. In many respects, the evolving national consciousness took the form of opposition to traditional European cultures. The separation of church and state and the individual freedom of religious worship became two tenets of the newly founded Constitution, which expressed a fundamental dissatisfaction

with the established religions of European states.\textsuperscript{49}

It was primarily the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century which gave the twin doctrines of disestablishmentarianism and voluntarism their powerful force in American religious history. The central issue of the Great Awakening was the reality of spiritual regeneration in the lives of individual believers. The American Calvinists, protagonists of the Great Awakening, addressed the dilemma of the half-way covenant of the third generation Puritans and substituted affective mutual consent, through the instrumentality of the New Birth, as the foundation of the Kingdom of God in America.\textsuperscript{50} As religion was democratized in America, its effective sphere of operation became less visible. Religion became more a matter of the heart than of social action, more a strictly moral and less a political phenomenon. As salvation became accessible to all through individual conversion, the individual became the effective unit of religious activity and the locus of religious identity in America. As a result, the societal role of religion


was gradually diminished.51

Another consequence of the Great Awakening effectively reduced the scope of religious activity in America. Even though the number of religious groups increased dramatically throughout the eighteenth century, the ultimate effect of this proliferation was a general anti-denominational backlash, evident in the resulting popularity of Universalism, deism, utopianism and Christian primitivism. Despite increased religious activity during this period, church membership actually experienced a dramatic decline. This crisis set the state for the Second Great Awakening.52

The Second Great Awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was characterized by organized revivals, increased denominational affiliation, evangelism, millennial expectations, the proliferation of religious and voluntary reform associations, and the definition of sectarian boundaries. Although it attempted to overcome the religious


socio-economic disparities of the early national period, the Second Great Awakening increased sectarian conflict and schism, the separation of religion from more effective institutions of social action in America, and the general skepticism of the ability of religion to fulfill its promises of the good life.53

Growing up in Vermont and New York, Joseph Smith personally experienced the excitement, contention, and confusion of the Second Great Awakening. His father's family for generations had been Universalists, skeptical of organized religion but firm in their belief not only in the goodness of God and the Christian ethic but also in the reality of spiritual gifts such as visions, dreams, prophecy, and healing. Smith's maternal ancestry was more inclined to organized religion. His mother joined the Presbyterians, and several brothers and sisters became affiliated with one or another of competing denominations.54

The teenage Joseph perceived himself to be on the horns of a religious dilemma, personified by the religious orientations of his ancestral lines. Skeptical of the existence of God's

53Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, pp. 533-534; Cross, Burned-Over District, ch. 15.

true church among the contending groups, he nevertheless trusted in its existence somewhere on earth. According to his own account, he sought a divine solution to this difficulty through prayer in a grove of trees near his home near Palmyra, New York. His supplication was answered by a personal visitation from God the Father and Jesus Christ, who forbade his joining any existing church. In subsequent visitations from heavenly messengers, Smith learned that the Kingdom of God was to be restored through his instrumentality.55

The first installment of the Kingdom arrived on 6 April 1830, when the Church of Christ (later renamed The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) was organized in Fayette, New York, under Smith's leadership.56 As the Church took form, it demonstrated many similarities to the Christian primitivism of the day, including millennialism, restorationism, and biblical literalism.57 As Mormonism gained momentum, however, it transcended or reinterpreted its narrow primitivist beginnings. It developed a distinctive theology, sociology, cosmology and eschatology, and came to

55Smith, History of the Church, 1:1-17.


resemble more of the contemporary utopian groups than contemporary Christian denominations. It went beyond even the narrow Christian communitarian groups of the day to reconstruct the social order on religious terms. Mormonism, then, emerged during a period of decline in the sphere of religious activity in America and offered a thorough critique of American Christianity as a social institution. The present study will not focus on Mormonism's critique of American Christianity, but on its positive program for and consequences of redefining the role of religion in an ideal society.

Another aspect of the American cultural context to which Mormonism was responding was the newly emerging urban ideology. In the late colonial and early national periods, the vision of a territorial empire motivated the expansion of American society. The ideology of this empire found its most articulate spokesman in Thomas Jefferson, for whom pastoralism was a political philosophy and social ideal.58 The pastoral ideal, like disestablishmentarianism, was a reaction to predominant characteristics of European societies. Most of the countries of Europe had been urbanized for centuries. European cities were characterized by large populations and geographical size, organic growth, dominant political or

commercial orientation, and, in recent years, industrialism. They were also the locus of many negative aspects of human society such as crime, disease, poverty, and filth. By contrast, it was believed that the natural resources of this new land would be adequate to establish a territorial empire in North America which would lead the world in the creation of an ideal social order.59

A wealth of scholars, from Frederick Jackson Turner onwards, have explored the importance of the agrarian ideal in American history.60 A comparable number of urban historians, on the other hand, have demonstrated the influence of the city on American life.61 In a particularly revealing study of Lowell, Massachusetts— America's first industrial city— Thomas Bender gives considerable insight into the transformation of the agrarian ideal in America. According to Bender, Jeffersonian agrarianism envisioned civilization and


nature to be integrated into a unified social order based on farm villages and small manufacturing centers (but no urban centers) dotting the natural and agricultural countryside. Commercial activity would emphasize the wise use of land and its resources, and yet the cultural advantages of civilization—arts, education, social interaction, etc.—would not be neglected in these relatively small groupings of individuals and families.62

Despite the aesthetic appeal of this agrarian ideal, Bender recognizes two basic flaws, one economic and the other cultural. First of all, the frontier was a fixed and limited good, while the potential for population growth was unlimited. Given this situation, the exhaustion of the frontier was inevitable, and the agrarian ideal was consequently an untenable social theory.63

This perceived limitation, however, did not cause the transformation of the agrarian ideal. Bender's other factor is much more to the point. Agrarianism was weakened and overcome, not by the presence of industrial urban centers per se but by the ideologies of materialism and individualism. These "twin scourges"64 encouraged maximum feasible geographical and demographic expansion of industrial centers,


63Ibid.; see also Marx, Machine in the Garden, pp. 133-144.

the exploitation of natural resources, the creation of an urban labor force, the encouragement of mass foreign immigration, and the establishment of residential sectors for factory workers near the factories and separated from the cultured, educated, and wealthy elite. The geographical consequences of materialism and individualism for town planning in America were organic growth, dispersed residence, increasingly large population and physical expanse, reduced role of religion in the public life, neighborhoods differentiated by class and economic distinctions, and a predominance of economic criteria for settlement location and layout.65

Sylvia Doughty Fries explored the concept of urbanism in several major colonial settlements in America.66 Although Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Williamsburg, and Savannah differed somewhat from one another in their initial conception, they uniformly differed from the cities they ultimately became. By the nineteenth century, all had been transformed into modern urban centers by the principles of materialism and individualism. In addition, Richard Wade led a chorus of other urban historians in tracing the emergence of American urbanism in the nineteenth century primarily to

65 Bender, Toward an Urban Vision, chs. 3, 4; Smith, Virgin Land, ch. 18; Marx, The Machine in the Garden, chs. 4-6; Wade, Urban Frontier, ch. 10.

66 Fries, Urban Ideal in Colonial American.
economic considerations. The subsequent development of social, political, and economic problems characteristic of urban centers of Europe—crime, pollution, anonymity, mobility, moral depravity, and status differentiations—soon made many Americans aware that commercial and industrial urbanism was competing successfully with if not displacing the agrarian ideal in the New World.

Of the many social expressions of discontent with these developments, communitarian socialism was one of the most serious and far reaching. Although the present listings of utopian experiments cannot be considered complete, the best compilations indicate that the rise of utopian experimentation in America coincided with the period of the greatest percentage increases in the urban populations. Of the 130 utopian societies listed by Arthur Bestor to have been founded in America prior to 1860, some ninety-five were begun between 1820 and 1860. During this period, the urban population in America as a percentage of the population as a whole nearly tripled, and the percentage of urban growth for each decade during this period was two to three times the percentage of

Wade, Urban Frontier.

E.g., White and White, Intellectual Versus the City.

the population growth of America as a whole.70 Furthermore, the single greatest decade of utopian experimentation in American history (1840-1850) also saw the single greatest percentage increase in the urban population of America (92%).71

Utopian experiments during this period were generally separatistic rather than reformatory in orientation, seeking to replace the existing social order with a comprehensive system generated from a single, isolated experiment. Alternative institutions and ideologies characterized these experiments. The most common of these alternative beliefs and practices included communitarian economics, non-monogamous marriage patterns, extended kinship relations, small-scale occupational patterns, face-to-face communities, universal civil rights, centralized authority structures, rigid (though non-traditional) ethical standards, and eschatological or millennial expectations. In addition, many utopians believed that if the ideal social order could be defined and established, human nature, which was considered infinitely


malleable, would conform to that social ideal.72

Mormonism was part of this backlash against industrializing, commercializing, and individualizing urbanism. The most active period of this backlash coincided with Mormonism's origins and most active settlement periods. In addition to a system of settlement, Mormon leaders elaborated a social order following the utopian tradition and differing from that of mainstream America. This order included separatistic communities, communitarian economics, theocratic polity, polygyny, a strict ethical code, and strong apocalyptic expectations. Although this society in its ideal formulation was never successful to any great degree, many of its principles motivated Mormonism throughout the nineteenth century.

Despite the antiurban character of the utopian movement, Mormon antipathy toward American industrial urbanism did not negate the city as the ideal settlement form. "Zion," the name of the Mormon utopia, was to be entirely urban, but more in the sense of Jefferson's centers of culture than in the European tradition of commercial or military centers. Furthermore, rather than being based on distinctions between the city and the state, the built-up and the natural

environments, and urban-rural population hierarchies, which pervaded notions of American urbanism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Zion, in its fullest expression, was to be a network of discrete settlements each having demarcated social, residential, and subsistence spheres and roughly identical population sizes, social and political orders, and layout. The "City of Zion" was to consist of the entire network of these settlement "squares" and together was to be coextensive with the earth's territorial expanse. Zion was also expected to integrate the natural and built-up landscapes, both of which were considered creations of a divine moral order existing in opposition to the profane world or "Babylon." As Zion grew, it was expected to overcome Babylon and eventually establish an heavenly order on earth where Christ and his Saints would reign in millennial bliss. All human habitation in Zion would be within city limits, thereby eliminating settlement hierarchies due to population differences. Finally, the individualism and materialism characteristic of industrial urbanism would be replaced with communitarian, sacerdotal, and theocratic principles for the creation and maintenance of this ideal human society.

In short, Mormon settlement was a reformulation of and not simply a reaction to, American urbanism of the nineteenth century. The ideal design of the Mormon City of Zion was based on the principles of cosmic urban symbolism and was to be institutionalized in a modernizing American setting. Basic
features of American settlement ideology as described above ran contrary to those of the Mormon utopia. These differences set the stage for conflict at the places and during the times of attempted Mormon settlement. The cultural dilemmas within the Mormon kingdom resulting from this conflict transformed "Zion" from the ceremonial center of a world-wide religious utopia in the 1830s to a regional political, economic, transportation, and cultural capital in the American West of the 1920s. The formation and early transformations of this cultural system are the focus of this study.

Contribution of this Study to the Literature of Mormon Settlement

Before examining the creation and transformation of the Mormon ideology of place, we need finally to locate this study, theoretically and substantively, within the existing literature on Mormon settlement. This will be done in summary fashion.

Indicative of the significance of settlement for Mormon studies is the great number of analyses of this phenomenon from a wide variety of theoretical and substantive traditions. Mormon settlement has been examined from the perspectives of three principal disciplines-- geography, history, and sociology. A wealth of valuable data and interpretation has emerged from each approach. The geographical interest in Mormon settlement has concerned primarily questions of settlement location. Of particular
value in these studies have been theories of central place, ecological adaptation, and environmental perception. The interest in Mormon settlement among historians has focused on forms and processes of settlement. Attention has been given primarily to the possible antecedents of Joseph Smith's concept of the City of Zion, historical influences on


settlement processes, and the role of particular individuals in settlement attempts. Sociological studies have emphasized the consequences of settlement for the community of persons and their interactions. From this concern have come community studies, examinations of the economic and occupational significance of the man/land relationship, and studies of the relationship between settlement processes and


78E.g., Hunter, Brigham Young, the Colonizer; Brent L. Winward, "Joseph Smith, the Colonizer," (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975); Wahlquist, "The Mormon Core Region."


value orientation in Mormon society.\textsuperscript{81}

Given the number, variety, and quality of studies of Mormon settlement, one would naturally question the value of yet another approach to this phenomenon. However, several important limitations characterize the existing literature. These could be corrected by an anthropological perspective.

The research on Mormon settlement has lacked an appreciation for the systematics of culture. One symptom of this weakness has been the tendency toward particularism. Abundant in the literature are studies of particular settlement types, periods, and locations. That is, the parameters of these studies have often been more spatial and temporal than cultural or conceptual.\textsuperscript{82} While there is obvious value to such studies, they are limited in the ability to reveal broader cultural processes and patterns which may identify some of the more fundamental elements of Mormon identity and solidarity.

Further evidence of the inadequate appreciation for the


\textsuperscript{82}Rosenvall, "Mormon Settlement Patterns, 1830-1900," is the only study to date to examine the entire history of Mormon settlement, but its focus was neither institutional nor ideological. While the present study emphasizes the origins and early transformations of Mormon settlement, it proposes a cultural framework which could be used to interpret the entire history of this institution.
systematics of culture is the pervasive "etic" or externally-based analytical framework. The most common social forces employed to account for Mormon settlement have been individual psychology, environmental or economic determinism, and cultural diffusion. Without denying the influence of these forces, one must examine the possible influence of cultural integration in the life of institutions and ideologies. An anthropological approach may help us better understand the role of cultural integration in settlement processes, which may refine and enrich our notions of the role of psychology, determinism, and diffusion in these processes.

A third major weakness of the literature on Mormon settlement has been its ahistorical character. Despite the interest of historians in social dynamics, the transformation of Mormon settlement from one period to another has been largely ignored. Factors contributing to this bias include particularism (as discussed above), teleological assumptions, conscious ahistorical purposes, and anachronisms.

A fourth limitation of the existing literature on Mormon settlement is an inadequate appreciation of the symbolic significance of cultural forms and processes. Richard Jackson and Richard Francaviglia have pioneered approaches into the symbolism of the natural and built-up environment, showing

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83 See notes 75 and 81 above for notable exceptions to this characteristic.

84 Harris, *Salt Lake City*; Fox, "Mormon Land System;" and Jackson, "Myth and Reality" are notable exceptions to a static perspective of Mormon settlement.
that many dimensions of the man/land relationship are actually culturally constituted.\textsuperscript{85} To further appreciate this perspective, we must carry the investigations into other aspects of this phenomenon, including settlement processes, town planning, land use, and social organization.

In sum, a supplement to the existing literature on Mormon settlement might be found in an anthropological framework for which the integration and communication of cultural significance are central concerns. In order to understand settlement as a cultural process, we must investigate its life as a social institution in a meaningful context over time. This means, of course, that changes in time and space must be accounted for by the same framework which explains that which persists. This same perspective must be able to consider settlement issues in relation to both Mormonism and the wider American society. Although the present study will not explore every possible avenue of these complex issues, it will hopefully answer many important questions about the meaning of Mormon settlement and suggest new and productive ways of interpreting relatively familiar historical material.

\textsuperscript{85}Jackson, "Myth and Reality," Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape."
CHAPTER II:

ZION: THE CENTER PLACE

The present chapter traces in Joseph Smith's early revelations the evolution of the Zion concept from Mormonism's founding to the initial effort to establish the Latter-day Saint utopia. The analysis will emphasize the cultural role of "Zion" in Mormonism's first years. Reasons for failure of this initial effort will also be examined.

To explore the cultural origins of the Mormon ideology of place, one must examine the earliest products of the "restoration of the kingdom of God." Although Joseph Smith had been effecting this religious reformulation since 1820, when he claimed personal contact with the heavens, the "kingdom of God" did not become a public, tangible entity until March 1830 when the E. B. Grandin Press in Palmyra, New York, published the first printing of the Book of Mormon. The Mormon "gold bible" created immediate controversy because of Smith's claims about its origin. He insisted that as early as 1823 an angel named Moroni began making regular visitations to him, and at the end of four years the angel entrusted him with a sheaf of golden plates upon which was engraved the sacred history of an ancient civilization in the Western Hemisphere.
Smith, who possessed little formal education, further claimed to have a set of spectacles, also given him by the angel. These spectacles enabled him to see the things of God, as did the ancient seers, and translate this record. ¹

The Book of Mormon postdated several of Smith's minor revelations but antedated all of his major revelations as well as the organization of the Church of Christ (later renamed The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) on 6 April 1830. ² As such the Book of Mormon occupies a position of historical primacy in Mormonism. As a source for the earliest Mormon religious conceptions, it is unsurpassed in significance.

The published Book of Mormon relates the rise and fall of two related peoples in ancient America. The earlier one, the Jaredites, descended from an extended family who escaped the Tower of Babel with their language intact and were led by God to a "land choice above all other lands." The latter society, the Nephites, descended from an extended family which escaped from Jerusalem just prior to the Babylonian captivity of the sixth century before Christ. Through God's help they


²"Origins of The Church," ch. 6; Bushman, Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism, ch. 4.
inherited a "land of promise" where these dwelt for a thousand years.3

**Cosmic Urban Symbolism in the Book of Mormon**

The narrative of the Book of Mormon concerns the present study less than its territorial symbolism. Careful study of the text reveals a fairly sophisticated ideology of place. This cultural system, in fact, pervades the Book of Mormon and is a key to understanding the peoples whose histories it relates. The ideology of place in the Book of Mormon is organized on the principles of cosmic urban symbolism: centripetality, cardinality, and inductance.

One of the recurring themes of the Book of Mormon concerns the establishment and maintenance of a centralized social and territorial order. The 588-page narrative (as originally published) opens in Old Jerusalem with a minor prophet during the reign of Zedekiah preaching that the city of the Jews is about to be destroyed because of the wickedness of its inhabitants. The citizens respond by trying to kill him; consequently, Lehi flees with his family into the wilderness. They do not leave, however, without first receiving the divine promise of being guided to another land of promise, "a land

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3Joseph Smith Jr., *Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon, upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1961), 1 Nephi 2:20. References to the Book of Mormon which follow to note 27 give only the specific book within the Book of Mormon and its chapter and verse.
which is choice above all other lands."4

In the nearly thousand year period that this civilization occupies the promised land, four successive centers are established--Lehi, Nephi, Zarahemla, and Bountiful. Except for the land of Lehi, in which Lehi's tent served as the axis mundi,5 a temple is established at each center. Ritual officials are appointed to perform the prescriptions of the Mosaic law, with major observances, such as renewal ceremonies,6 occurring at the temple. Important sermons are also delivered to the community from the temple.7

Each succeeding center becomes more complex than previous ones. Lehi's tent constitutes the axis in the land of Lehi, with the society founded upon Lehi's patriarchal authority. In the land of Nephi, kingship is instituted, with Nephi, Lehi's righteous son, serving as the first king. Subsequent kings are called Second Nephi, Third Nephi, and so on. The ultimate authority in the society at this time rests with the prophet-king. Although many urban functions are performed in the land of Nephi, including commerce and redistribution, politics and defense, ritual and residence--the focus of the society, as judged from the narrative, is the temple. Even

41 Nephi 2:6 to 1 Nephi 8:14, passim.

5Ibid.


72 Nephi 5:10-16; Mosiah 2:5; Jacob 2-5; 3 Nephi 12-17.
though the Nephite occupation of the land of Nephi lasts from three to four hundred years, the narrative of this period consists almost entirely of sermons and prophecies delivered from the temple or elaborations of those sermons from scriptures or other prophecy. Virtually none of the daily life of the people during this period is reported.8

Although cities exist in the land of Nephi, they are apparently not the focus of the social order to the extent that they become during the nearly two hundred years of Nephite history at Zarahemla. The temple at Zarahemla is important in the narrative, but less so than the city itself. The capital city contains the headquarters of the major social institutions—church, government, and military. Reform movements begin from Zarahemla. Missionary parties and settlement expeditions leave from Zarahemla. In addition, when the "people of the land" are threatened by invasion, they "gather together" their families and provisions "unto one place," to "dwell in one land and in one body" at Zarahemla, the "center of [their] lands," to prepare their defense. By contrast, when Zarahemla is weakened by dissent and internal conflict, the security of the entire kingdom is jeopardized.9

The city in the Book of Mormon is the unit of territorial


9 Mosiah 9; Alma 5, 17; Helaman 5; 3 Nephi 3-4; Alma 59-62.
control or, the "generator of effective space." The capital city—whether Nephi, Zarahemla, or Bountiful—is, with its temple, the axis mundi for all the land. Furthermore, each subordinate city controls its immediate surroundings, and residence throughout the land occurs either within or in terms of the city dominating that part of the territory. The polity in Zarahemla, therefore, consists of a confederation of city-states related to one another through the supreme capital.10

The significance of the city for the Nephites is manifest at all levels of their society. At a low level of cultural organization, the urbanized Nephites, or "people of the land," viewed their perpetual enemies, the Lamanites, as having received the "curse of the land" for their rebellion against the word of God. The Nephite stereotype of the Lamanites is that the latter were

led by their evil nature that they became wild, and ferocious, and a blood thirsty people, full of idolatry and filthiness; feeding upon beasts of prey; dwelling in tents, and wandering about in the wilderness with a short skin girdle about their loins and their heads shaven; and their skill was in the bow, and in the cimeter, and the ax. And many of them did eat nothing save it was raw meat; and they were continually seeking to destroy us.11

At a higher level of cultural organization, a characteristic social activity in times of peace and stability is urban

10Mosiah 7:1; Alma 8:7; Alma 53:3.

renewal or expansion. On the other hand, the principal objective of warfare is the defense and capture of cities. At a moral level, the Nephites interpret social and territorial stability as the product of righteousness and social or natural catastrophe as the inevitable consequence of wickedness. In either case, the city is the symbol of the moral quality of society. In a time of extreme wickedness,

... behold, the whole face of the land was changed, because of the tempest and the whirlwinds and the thunderings and the lightnings, and the exceeding great quaking of the whole earth .... And many great and notable cities were sunk, and many were burned, and many were shaken till the buildings thereof had fallen to the earth, and the inhabitants thereof were slain, and the places were left desolate. And there were some cities which remained; but the damage thereof was exceeding great, And there were many of them who were slain.

The final demise of the Nephites comes when their wickedness prevents them from establishing an axis mundi anywhere in the promised land: when there is "one complete revolution throughout the face of the land" and when "the Lamanites were about to overthrow the land." As a result, the Nephites are scattered and driven from their homes and lands.

"And it came to pass that whatsoever lands [the Nephites] had passed by, and the inhabitants thereof were not gathered in, were destroyed by the Lamanites,

12Mosiah 23:19-20; 27:6-7; Alma 50:13-23; 63; Helaman 3-4; 3 Nephi 6:4-8; 4 Nephi 1:7-9; Mormon 1:7; Ether 10:4.

13Alma 42-62, passim; 3 Nephi 3-4.

143 Nephi 8:12-15.
and their towns, and villages, and cities were burned with fire.\textsuperscript{15}

Without the moral order necessary to establish an \textit{axis mundi}, the Nephites are driven out of the land of promise into the land called "Desolation" and are there completely destroyed by the Lamanites.

In short, Nephite society in the Book of Mormon exemplifies the principle of centripetality in its settlement processes, ritual patterns, political organization, and warfare. The ideal of a centralized urban society founded on the moral force of religion pervades the Book of Mormon narrative.

The principle of cardinality is also basic to the Book of Mormon narrative. For example, settlement expansion is seen to radiate from the center along the cardinal compass directions.

And there began to be much peace again in the land; And the people began to be very numerous, and began to scatter abroad upon the face of the earth, yea, on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, building large cities and villages in all quarters of the land.\textsuperscript{16}

Dividing the land into "quarters" for defense as well as settlement purposes is also practiced by the Nephites. The war narrative suggests that defending the four "quarters of the land" was the responsibility of four Nephite generals—although the record reports the activities of only three:

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Mormon} 2:8; 4:23; 5:5.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Mosiah} 27:6.
Teancum, Helaman, and Moroni.17

In addition, the north-south axis possesses sacred meaning for the Nephites. With regard to general topography, south is sacred and north is profane. Each succeeding relocation of the axis mundi--required because the existing one had degenerated--is north of the preceding center, and each successive dislocation of the axis is increasingly destructive to the moral structure of Nephite society. The complete destruction of the "people of the land" occurred beyond its northernmost boundaries, in the land of "Desolation," the place of the annihilation of the Jaredites, prior occupants of the promised land. In short, the "people of the land" are destroyed when their wickedness prevents them from remaining in the land.18

The north-south opposition in the topography of the promised land exists on other levels as well. The most general level of this opposition is that between the promised land and Desolation.19 The promised land, however, is divided between the land of Lehi-Nephi, i.e., "the land of our first inheritance," and the land of Mulek. Mulek, in turn, is divided into the land of Zarahemla and the land of Bountiful which borders the land of Desolation. With each paired

17Alma 43-48.


19Helaman 6:10; 3 Nephi 3:23.
territory, the southernmost land (i.e., the promised land, Nephi-Lehi, and Zarahemla) is the preferred residence for the "people of the land" while residence there is possible. In each case destruction of the axis mundi carries the people to a less auspicious land to the north until residence in the promised land is no longer possible and destruction is assured. East and west seem to have no corresponding significance in the Book of Mormon.

Although the Book of Mormon contains no information regarding settlement layout, evidence of cardinality appears at the more general levels of spatial organization to a degree that leaves no doubt of its significance for the societies in the Book of Mormon.

Inductance is the most inclusive characteristic of cosmic urban symbolism in the Book of Mormon. The moral foundation of the territorial order permeates the social order, is binding upon all who occupy the land, and is considered to be an eternal condition of residence in the promised land.

And the Lord . . . had sworn in his wrath . . . that whosoever should possess this land of promise, from that time henceforth and forever, should serve him, the true and only God, or they should be swept off when the fulness of his wrath should come upon them.\(^{20}\)

The basis of this moral order is a covenant expressed in the form, "Inasmuch as ye keep my [God's] commandments, ye shall prosper in the land; but inasmuch as ye will not keep my

commandments ye shall be cut off from my presence." In short, possessing the land of promise is equivalent to living in the presence of God and being his chosen people. This covenant is repeated many times throughout the Book of Mormon and often at critical points in the narrative: to justify the murder of a Jewish religious leader and theft of Hebrew scriptures; to justify the divine curse which came upon the Lamanites; to focus the final blessing of the patriarch Lehi to his posterity; to give the succession of ritual office and the inheritance of sacred objects its proper moment; to rally the Nephites in defense against invading Lamanites; and to explain both the inability of the Nephites to retain their homelands and the destruction of the Jaredite civilization. In short, the conditions of the covenant with the land provide the cultural framework for interpreting a wide variety of events, many of which were of principal importance in the Book of Mormon narrative.

Another indication of the significance of this covenant in the Book of Mormon is the frequency with which "land" or "lands" appears. These words are used 1361 times in the narrative, with only three other nouns appearing more often:

212 Nephi 1:20.

221 Nephi 4; 2 Nephi 5:20-25; 2 Nephi 1-4; Alma 36-38, passim; Alma 45-58, passim; Jarom 1:9-10; Omni 1:5-12; Ether 2:8-9.
"God" (1681), "Lord" (1578) and "people" (1774). The Nephite covenant integrates the concepts of God, land, and people into the foundation of the Nephite social order, which was theocentric in ideology, authority, institutional arrangement, and metaphysics.

The moral order of the territorial and social environments is a direct reflection of the degree to which the covenant was kept. The "people of the land" are able to maintain a utopian existence for nearly two hundred years following the visit of the resurrected Christ among them through their strict adherence to his teachings and their ability to convert "the people . . . upon all the face of the land. On the other hand, the periodic necessity to relocate the axis mundi and the ultimate inability of the people to establish an effective center result from their breaking the covenant with the land. In short, notions of order and well-being in the Book of Mormon are intricately connected with the communal covenant with God whose sign was the promised land.

Eschatology in the Book of Mormon is also strongly


24 1 Nephi 1:2-3; 3 Nephi 6:10-15; 4 Nephi 1:2; 2 Nephi 5:1-8; Omni 1:1-13; 3 Nephi 8-10.
affected by the covenant with the land. The gathering— the means of realizing the social and territorial ideals of the Nephites— is expressed as the process of assembling the covenant people "from the four parts of the earth . . . unto the lands of their inheritance." 25 If repetition is an indication of emphasis, one of the strongest messages of the resurrected Christ who appears to the Nephites is that "this is the land of your inheritance; and the Father hath given it unto you." 26 Christ also informs the Nephites that the restoration of the covenant people to the lands of their inheritance is the only covenant which the Father had yet to fulfill prior to the millennium. The promised land during the millennium would be secured and ordered by a new axis mundi, the New Jerusalem, to be built by a coalition of Jews and Gentiles, constituting all the righteous inhabitants of the promised land in the last days.

And [The Gentiles] shall assist my people, the remnant of Jacob, and also as many of the house of Israel as shall come, that they may build a city, which shall be called the New Jerusalem. And then shall the power of heaven come down among them; and I [Christ] also will be in the midst.

Failure to establish an urbanized society according to the divine pattern would result in a curse upon the land and its people. "Prepare slaughter for [the evildoers'] children for the iniquities of their fathers, that they do not rise, nor

25 2 Nephi 10:7-8; see also 1 Nephi 18:15-16; 22:25; 3 Nephi 5:24-26; 16:15; Ether 13:11.

26 3 Nephi 15:13; cf. 3 Nephi 16:16-20; 20:14-29; 21:22.
possess the land, nor fill the face of the world with cities." In addition, Christ promised the Nephites that he would "cut off the cities of [the] land [of the wicked], and throw down all [their] strongholds."27

In short, territorial symbolism not only pervades the Book of Mormon narrative but is understood in terms of cosmic urban symbolism. Before Joseph Smith had even begun to develop his own urbanized utopia, he published a sacred history of ancient America which provided the ultimate cultural justification of the cosmic urban symbolism of Zion.

Although the principles of cosmic urban symbolism pervade the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith seems, ironically, not to have been aware of them until they had already appeared in his revelations for the new Church of Christ. Not only are the earliest Mormon writings on the Book of Mormon silent about an ideology of place, but the territorial and social dimensions of the Mormon kingdom emerged only gradually in Smith's sacred writings following the publication of the Book of Mormon.

**Cosmic Urban Symbolism in Joseph Smith's Revelations**

The Church of Christ was founded 6 April 1830 near Palmyra, New York, in the midst of America's primitive gospel movement. (See Figure 1). Popular with the common man from Revolutionary times until well into the nineteenth century, Christian primitivism was a reaction to the revivalism,

273 Nephi 15-24, passim.
sectarian conflict and Calvinist theology of many contemporary American religions. Characterized by belief in the final authority of the Bible, the restoration of Christ's ancient church, and an imminent millennium, Christian primitivism affected the religious thinking of not only Joseph Smith, but also other early Mormons such as Wilford Woodruff, Newell Knight, John Taylor, Willard Richards, and Lorenzo Snow.28

Primitivist doctrines connected with the Book of Mormon were of primary concern for Mormon leaders at its publication. Among its many primitivist motifs, those which caught the attention of Church leaders included the evangelization of the American Indian, the purification and completion of the biblical canon, the millenarian role of America, and the restoration of the kingdom of God through the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Smith's revelations during the production of the Book of Mormon and immediately after the organization of the Church of Christ also expressed primarily primitivist concerns. The charter of the new church, issued at its organizational meeting, addressed the topics of ecclesiastical organization, the Godhead, the operations of the Holy Ghost, the mission of Christ, baptism, justification and sanctification, communion, laying on of hands, the sanctity of the Sabbath Day, and

excommunication. All of these issues were vital to New Testament churchmen as well as nineteenth century clergy. The biblicism, restorationism, and adventism which characterized many new religions in early nineteenth century America thus gave Mormonism its initial momentum.

Smith's minor revelations at this time also contained an oft-repeated command, "seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion." Similar to many other of Smith's embryonic doctrines, "Zion" seems to have been introduced into Mormonism without specific meaningful context, except as encouragement to new converts. With his extensive knowledge of the Bible, Smith would have been familiar with the Israelite notion of Zion. Regardless of the extent to which he understood the biblical concept, the Mormon notion of Zion developed quite differently under Smith's direction. Over the next few years, Mormonism's primitivist doctrines were also reinterpreted in light of the emerging concept of Zion.

Four months after the organizational meetings of the "Church of Christ," Smith issued a major revelation which addressed the doctrine of the Second Coming. Resisting the teleology of John's Apocalypse, Smith declared that the Second

29Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, section 20.


Coming would be facilitated by the "gathering." Like the concept of Zion, the "gathering" was borrowed from Old Testament theology and became, according to one scholar, "Mormonism's oldest and most influential doctrine." It enabled Smith to translate developing Mormon theology into a social program and moral imperative. It also defined the nature and limits of Mormonism's self-conscious mission to the world. According to this revelation, Smith's religion embodied "the dispensation of the gospel for the last times; and for the fulness of times," whose purpose was to "gather together in one all things, both which are in heaven and which are on earth ... ."\(^{32}\) In short, Mormonism, via the gathering, would integrate heaven and earth and accomplish God's purposes in the creation so that He could return to earth to usher in the Millennium.

In September 1830, Smith further elaborated the concepts of Zion and the gathering. An early convert, Hyrum Page, had acquired a "peepstone" similar to that used by Smith to produce the Book of Mormon. Page had begun issuing revelations of his own regarding the anticipated Zion. Specific contents of Page's revelations, however, are not known. Smith rebuked Page with the word of God and then told his followers, "no man knoweth where the city of Zion shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter." Perhaps not wishing

to be upstaged by other followers, he added, "Behold, I say unto you that it shall be on the borders of the Lamanites."33 "Lamanite" was the name given by the Book of Mormon to the American Indian. The Book of Mormon had commanded Smith's followers to convert this "remnant of the House of Israel," as a prelude to the Millennium.34 With this revelation, Zion assumed an urban form and its general location was identified. The primitivist doctrine of Christianizing the Indian thus became a means for establishing the Mormon kingdom of Zion. Several days later, Smith authoritatively declared that the "gathering of the elect" would proceed "unto one place upon the face of this land."35 This revelation identified the gathering as the modus operandi of establishing Zion and that Zion would be a specific location.

The promise to reveal the exact location of the City was first used to encourage support of the Mormon mission to the Indians. The target population for this mission was the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. These tribes had been recently relocated from their ancestral homes to the Kansas Territory


34See Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, sections 3, 5, 6. Christianizing the Indians seems to have been the earliest perceived role of the Book of Mormon.

by the Indian Removal Act signed into law in early 1830.\textsuperscript{36} The "borders of the Lamanites" was assumed by the Mormons to refer to the Missouri-Kansas boundary. Early Mormons saw Indian removal as an essential step in the gathering of Israel pursuant to the establishment of Zion.\textsuperscript{37} In terms of proselytizing the Indians, this mission was a failure. While much good will was generated between the Mormons and the Indians, no converts came from the contact. The mission also created a degree of suspicion of the Mormons by the Missourians.\textsuperscript{38} The mission did, however, orient the Mormons toward America's western frontier.

The promise to reveal the location of the City of Zion was also given in connection with the commandment to Smith's followers to flee western New York for northern Ohio. The Mormons in late 1830 had no institutional framework and no geographical focus. Converts had banded together somewhat, but more for mutual protection than for any purposes of the gathering. The unity of the Mormons at this time was largely a function of Joseph Smith's charisma. Smith himself


recognized the tenuous nature of this kind of unity since he had no ambitions for immortality and had actually received premonitions of a violent death.39

By contrast, Mormonism in Ohio was on the increase. On their way west the missionaries to the Lamanites had paid a chance visit on Sidney Rigdon, a former Campbellite minister known to one of the missionaries. At the time, Rigdon was living in Mendon, Ohio and had just broken with the Disciples of Christ (Campbellites) over communitarianism in the primitive church. He and his small following found the faith of the missionaries compelling and were baptized. In response to the anticipation of Zion's being located in western Missouri, the missionary success in Ohio, increased persecution in New York, and the disparities between the present church and its millennial counterpart, Smith issued a commandment for his followers to "assemble together at the Ohio."40

In a subsequent revelation, Smith explained that the move was required to prepare the church for "a land of milk and honey, upon which there shall be no curse when the Lord cometh." This revelation also identified the promised land as

39Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 5:22.

the symbol of a covenant by which Smith's followers would be recognized as God's chosen people.

And I [God] will give [the "promised land"] unto you for the land of your inheritance, if ye seek it with all your hearts.
And this shall be my covenant with you, ye shall have it for the land of your inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children forever, while the earth shall stand, and ye shall possess it again in eternity, no more to pass away.41

For obedience to his commandment to move to northern Ohio, Smith also promised his followers that they would receive the "Law of the Lord" and be "endowed with power from on high."42 The specific nature of these promises, like those of Zion and the gathering, were quite nebulous when they were introduced. Nevertheless, these were eventually integrated into the concept of Zion. Despite their ambiguity, these promises were sufficient to cause the hundred or so Mormons in western New York to journey to northern Ohio by Spring of 1831.

The above revelations were issued within days of Smith's vision of Enoch, Smith's single most significant sacred writing besides the Book of Mormon to sanction and define Mormonism's Zion quest. The vision of Enoch was issued in December 1830 as part of Smith's purification of the Bible.43

41Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 38:18-20.
42Ibid., 38:31-32, see also 42:9.
His religious restoration not only adopted the general primitivist concern of righting contemporary errors in the Bible but also assumed the task of bringing to light previously unrecorded or omitted events in the history of God's dealing with man. The vision of Enoch was claimed as one such addition to the Bible. It expands the biblical account of Enoch from four to some one hundred twenty verses and stands as one of Mormonism's most remarkable theological innovations. Although the subject of Enoch held little interest for American theologians and churchmen before the mid-nineteenth century, the "seventh from Adam" was the most frequently mentioned Old Testament figure in early Mormonism.44

The vision of Enoch contributed to the Zion concept in three major ways. First of all, it helped define Mormon eschatology. Enoch's vision enabled Mormonism to reject the teleology of the Apocalypse in favor of an eschatology based on geographical contingencies. As William Mulder has observed, "while other millenarians set a time [for the Second Coming] the Mormons appointed a place."45

The vision of Enoch portrays paradise as the product of a strong prophet and his devoted followers living together in


45Mulder, "Mormonism's 'Gathering'," p. 252.
divine harmony. It also suggests that when earthly Zion eventually perfected itself, heavenly Zion would descend with Christ at the Second Coming to restore paradise to earth. These events consummate the express purpose of the gathering, namely the integration of heaven and earth. In the words of the vision,

righteousness and truth will I [God] cause to sweep the earth as with a flood to gather out mine elect from the four quarters of the earth, unto a place which I shall prepare, an Holy City, that my people may gird up their loins, and be looking forth for the time of my coming; for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a new Jerusalem.

And the Lord said unto Enoch: Then shalt thou and all thy city meet them there, and we will receive them unto our bosom, and they shall see us; and we will fall upon their necks, and they shall fall upon our necks, and we shall kiss each other;

And there shall be mine abode, and it shall be called Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made; and for the space of a thousand years the earth shall rest.46

The basic components of the Zion concept— the city, the temple, the land, and the people of Zion, the gathering and the millennium— are all defined in terms of one another in this high point of Mormon religious rhetoric.

The vision of Enoch also helped define Zion's social order, which was called on occasion "city of Enoch" or "order of Enoch." Enoch's city came to be the divine model for the Mormons' earthly undertakings, the ideal type or cultural

46Joseph Smith, Jr., The Pearl of Great Price: A Selection from the Revelations, Translations, and Narrations of Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978), Moses 7:62-64.
paradigm of Smith's subsequent commandments and revelations on the subject. According to this vision, Zion's ideal urban society would be permeated by religion. Religion, not the government would ensure domestic tranquility. Religion, not the military, would provide for a common defense. Religion, not the market, would promote the general welfare. In the words of the vision,

the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there were no poor among them.

... And it came to pass, in his days, that [Enoch] built a city that was called the City of Holiness, even Zion.

... and lo, Zion, in process of time, was taken up into heaven. And the Lord said unto Enoch: Behold mine abode forever.47

The communalism of Enoch's Zion enabled the Mormon Prophet to reject Sidney Rigdon's communitarian following, "the Family."48 In its place, Joseph Smith established the United Order or Order of Enoch. The details of this social order were revealed by Smith in a subsequent divine communication. The concept of Zion expressed early Mormonism's highest social ambitions and ultimate existential concerns. Its ability to do so was, in large measure, due to the vision of Enoch.

The third major contribution of the vision of Enoch to the Mormon concept of Zion concerns Joseph Smith's growing


awareness of his mission as prophet of the restoration. The first spiritual impressions Smith received about his mission concerned his translation of the Book of Mormon. Self-conscious insights into his mission from the Book of Mormon and his early revelations focus primarily on his "bringing forth" the Nephite record to the "remnant of Israel" on the American continent. On 6 April 1830, Smith acquired by revelation the titles of and was confirmed by his followers as "apostle of Jesus Christ and elder of the Church," with an additional role in the Church to prophesy, see, and reveal the things of God.49

In a July 1830 revelation, Smith was told, "devote all thy service in Zion." Although this responsibility expanded his divine calling, Zion at this time was too nebulous to define a course of action for the Mormon prophet. As the Zion concept developed, Smith better understood his duties as prophet of the restoration. However, not until he received the vision of Enoch did he have a role model. After the vision, Smith had a clear mandate from heaven to mobilize the spiritual and material resources of his followers to restore to earth not only the primitive church but also the heavenly city. After December 1830, Smith saw himself as a latter-day Enoch called to fulfill the promises made to the ancient founder of Zion. The flurry of excitement and activity in the

49Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, sections 3-8; compare, Smith, Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 3:11-15; 27:12-14; Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 21:1.
Zion quest following the vision of Enoch indicates its importance for Smith and the Church of Christ. Suggestive of the personal relevance of the vision is the fact that on several occasions Smith substituted Enoch's name for his when he wished to avoid specific personal reference in his revelations.50

The vision of Enoch gave theological, cosmological, eschatological, social, and personal sanction to the quest for Zion. Strains of the ideas of the vision had been present in Mormonism prior to the vision, but the vision integrated and energized them in a powerful and unmistakable manner. As Smith issued as revelation Mormonism's ecclesiastical charter on the day the Church was organized, his vision of Enoch became the sacred charter of the quest for Zion.

Within two months of receiving the vision of Enoch, Joseph Smith revealed the "law of the Lord," the social gospel of Zion which had been anticipated by the vision. The details of this revelation will be considered later in this chapter, but to those who agreed to live this law were reiterated the promise to be eventually told the geographical location of Zion. This promise also contained the additional commandment to send missionaries from Kirtland, Ohio, to western Missouri, "until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be

50Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 24:7; 78:1,4,9; 96, heading.
prepared, that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God." In view of these rising expectations, Smith later reflected in his journal, "the mission to Western Missouri and the gathering of the Saints to that place was the most important subject which then engrossed the attention of the Church." 51

The success of the missionary effort was not remarkable, but the journey did assemble Mormon leaders as well as a number of lay members "on the borders of the Lamanites." Late July 1831 found them in Kaw Township, twelve miles west of Independence, Missouri, where Smith issued the long-awaited revelation identifying Zion's location. Over the next few years, Smith increasingly detailed the territorial and social dimensions of the Mormon kingdom. In the end he had elaborated an ideal ceremonial center exhibiting cosmic urban symbolism. Centripetality, cardinality, and inductance were its fundamental organizing principles.

These concepts developed gradually but definitely in Smith's mind, often in response to external ideas and events but by no means determined by them. Smith's religious restoration was not simply an adaptation of or reaction to his cultural environment but a reformulation of it. As Brodie has observed, Mormonism "was a real religious creation, one intended to be to Christianity as Christianity was to

51 Ibid., section 42; Smith, History of the Church, 1:182.
Judaism: that is, a reform and a consumation." The comprehensive and systematic nature of cosmic symbolism in the Mormon kingdom leaves no doubt as to its ideological significance. The following discussion of the Zion concept in Mormonism is ideologically rather than chronologically developed.

Centripetality was a fundamental aspect of the idea of Zion in early Mormonism. According to Mormon thought, the City of Zion was to be located in the center of the millennial kingdom, of which it was the capital. The revelation issued by Smith in July 1831 which located Zion at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, referred to the capital as the "center place."

... [This] is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I [God] have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the Saints. Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion. And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and the spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse.\(^5\)

Not only was Jackson County the "land of Zion," but, according to Smith, God had already "consecrated" the ground as holy. Early Mormons considered the center of their utopia intrinsically sacred.

Mormon descriptions of Zion nearly always emphasized its


centripetality. The official description of Jackson County, commanded by revelation, identified it as "at about equal distances from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as from the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains . . . ." The first issue of the first Mormon newspaper contained an extended editorial about the land of Zion, locating it at "the centre of America: it being about equal distances from Maine to Nootka Sound and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of California." A prominent Mormon historian carried Zion's centripetality to its geographical extremes. On one hand, he located Zion "midway between two small rivers which flow northward into the Missouri." On the other hand, he centralized it with respect to both North America and the Western Hemisphere.

Jackson County itself is in ninety-four west longitude, and thirty-nine north latitude, being nearly equally distant from the northern and southern boundaries of the United States; and, with reference to both North and South America, a central place in this western hemisphere.

Given the material and geometrical universe of the Mormons, it is not surprising to see Zion's ideological centripetality acquiring strong geometrical proportions and reference points.54

As center and capital of the Mormon millennial kingdom, Zion imitated the Garden of Eden, the center and capital of the primordial world. This functional equivalence was felt by early Mormons. For example, it was believed that the establishment of this site according to a divine pattern would cause the curse of Adam to be "taken from the land," making the area "one of the most blessed places on the globe." That is, the City of Zion was, for the Mormons, the principal instrument for restoring an Eden-like environment to the earth. By the late 1830s, this functional equivalence had acquired geometrical dimensions. Jackson County came to be viewed by the Mormons as the identical site of the primordial Eden.

... Joseph's being sent forth with his brethren to search out a location in Jackson County, where the New Jerusalem will be built, where our Father and our God planted the first garden on their earth, and where the New Jerusalem will come to when it comes down from heaven.

... the spot chosen for the garden of Eden was Jackson County, in the state of Missouri, where Independence now stands; it was occupied in the morn of creation by Adam and his associates who came with him for the express purpose of peopling this earth.

As these thoughts express, not only was Zion located on the site of the primordial Eden, it was also where the heavenly Zion would descend at the end of time. As such it

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integrated "absolute past" and "absolute future" both spatially and functionally in Mormon ideology. The City of Zion thus became the ultimate cultural symbol in early Mormonism.

The symbolism of the Mormon center was reinforced by its ritual consecration, which was prescribed by revelation. Since Zion was considered intrinsically holy, the consecration was to express in human and temporal terms Zion's ontological status. The ceremony to consecrate the promised land contained two parts, performed on successive days. On August 2, 1831, Smith led a group of twelve "Elders," "in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel," to "lay the first log, for a house, as a foundation of Zion." The land was dedicated by prayer which was preceded by the following exchange between Sidney Rigdon, Smith's closest associate at the time, and the assembled congregation.

Rigdon: Do you receive this land of your inheritance with thankful hearts from the Lord? Answer from all: We do. Do you pledge yourselves to keep the law of God in this land which you never kept in your own lands? We do. Do you pledge yourselves to see that others of your brethren who shall come hither do keep the laws of God? We do. After prayer, Rigdon arose and said: I now pronounce this land dedicated unto the Lord for a possession and inheritance for the Saints, and for all the faithful servants of the Lord to the remotest ages of time. In the name of Jesus Christ, having authority from Him. Amen.56

56Smith, History of the Church, 1:196.
Although the precise dedicatory prayer has not been preserved, this exchange is instructive. It suggests that Mormons considered inevitable their occupation of the lands of western Missouri, that the moral quality of the promised land required greater obedience to God's commandments from its inhabitants than did the lands of their previous habitation, and that the preservation of this divine order was based on a communal covenant to live the "law of the land of Zion." As was seen above, the first covenant elaborated by Smith by which his followers would know that they were God's chosen people was a covenant with the land.

The day after the dedication of the land of Zion, Smith dedicated the temple hill in Independence as the second part of Zion's consecration. The dedicatory prayer has been lost, but the 87th Psalm was read, praising the millennial glories of Zion. "His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things of thee are spoken, O city of God." This Psalm reinforced the Mormon belief that the Mormons were the elect of God and the rightful inhabitants of Zion. It also identified Zion as a holy mountain, or axis mundi. Smith's locating Zion's temple on what Brodie has called "the last big hill between the Indian border and the peaks of the Rocky Mountains," emphasized its axial role in Mormonism.57

Smith gives no more details of the dedication ceremonies.

57Ibid., p. 199; Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 114.
than to say they were "solemn and impressive." Another member of the assemboled Saints recorded information about the ceremony relating to Zion's cosmic symbolism. According to Ezra Booth, the cornerstone of the temple was laid at this time by Smith. To mark the location of the stone, Smith removed the bark from the north and west sides of a nearby sapling. On the south side of the sapling, he carved "the letter T which stands for Temple; and on the east side ZOM! for Zomas; which Smith says is the original word for Zion."58 Because the temple site was still in the hands of their "enemies," the Mormons covered the cornerstone with brush to conceal their work from a "wicked world." The temple cornerstone thus became the first fixed location in the Mormon kingdom. The cornerstone began the foundation for the temple. The temple, in turn, was to be the foundation of the city and to provide the kingdom its cosmic raison d'etre.

On the day following Zion's dedication, a conference of Mormon leaders was held in Independence. Among the events of the conference, the congregation sang a traditional Christian hymn, which expressed in music what the rites of the preceding days had expressed in performance.

58E. D. Howe, Momonism Unveiled (Painesville, Oh.: the author, 1834), pp. 196-199. Mormons believe that Adam and Eve communicated with each other and with God by means of a perfect language which became corrupted after the Fall. The restoration of this "Adamic" tongue is expected to accompany the Millennium. Booth's reference to "Zomas," which is unique as far as the present author can tell, suggests that Smith believed it to be the perfect form of "Zion."
Glorious things of thee are spoken
Zion, city of our God!
He whose word cannot be broken
Chose thee for his own abode.

On the Rock of Ages founded
What can shake our sure repose?
With salvation's wall surrounded
Thou may'st smile on all thy foes.

See! the streams of living waters
Springing from celestial love
Well supply the sons and daughters
And all fear of doubt remove.

Round each habitation hovering
See the cloud and fire appear
For a glory and a covering
Showing that the Lord is near.

Blest inhabitants of Zion
Purchased by the Savior's blood;
Jesus, whom their souls rely on
 Makes them kings and priests to God.

While in love his Saints he raises
With himself to reign as king;
All, as priests, his solemn praises
For thank-offerings freely bring.

Fading are all worldly treasures
With their boasted pomp and show;
Heavenly joys and lasting pleasures
None but Zion's children know.59

In terms of its layout, the city of Zion seems to have been initially conceived as an extended boundary center. Following Zion's dedication, Smith authorized only the most essential functionaries to remain at the holy site. Sidney Gilbert was commanded to be the church land agent and storekeeper; Edward Partridge was to be the Bishop to "divide unto the saints their inheritance;" and William W. Phelps was

59*Evening and Morning Star*, June 1832, p. 15-16.
to "be established as a printer unto the church" with Oliver Cowdery as an assistant. A number of other Mormons were asked to remain in Zion, but everyone else was to "gather the elect," living between Jackson County and Kirtland, Ohio, and from "the uttermost parts of the earth."60

The first Mormon newspaper, the Evening and Morning Star, published monthly by W. W. Phelps, was the only locally printed media in Independence in 1832. Its pages were devoted primarily to reporting the "signs of the times," as interpreted by the Mormons, and the progress of Zion in anticipation of the Second Coming. The Star contained Smith's revelations, theological writings, letters to and from missionaries "scattered abroad," eschatological poetry, and information regarding natural and social catastrophes signalling the end of the world. It did not concern itself with local, national, or international news unrelated to the perceived cause of Zion. The other Mormon enterprises, including a blacksmith shop, enjoyed marginal success. The land agent was able to acquire 1985.07 acres of Jackson County at a cost of approximately $2 per acre. (see Figure 4). The parcels were scattered throughout the county, and the

gathering Saints assembled as best they could upon them.\textsuperscript{61}

On June 25, 1833, Smith sent to the "brethren in Zion" a revised and more specific concept of the Mormon capital. The revision included a city with compact and fixed boundaries and an enlarged temple complex (see Figure 4). Zion now required consolidated residence and a geographical separation of civic, residential, and subsistence functions.\textsuperscript{62}

The cityscape of the new Zion was dominated by the temple complex which had been enlarged from one to twenty-four temples. The temple complex comprised the public sphere of Zion and occupied the city's central blocks. No other public buildings were authorized for Zion, and all civic functions—including government, redistribution, communication, education, and ritual—were to occur at or in terms of one or another of the temples.

The temple of the "Presidency of the Melchezidek Priesthood," or highest Mormon order, was to be the model for the rest of the temples. Its prescribed dimensions were "eighty-seven feet long and sixty-one feet wide and twenty-eight feet high, comprising two stories of fourteen


\textsuperscript{62}References to Smith's plat of the city of Zion are taken from Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 1:257-262. This description is reproduced in full in Appendix A.
feet each. The exterior was to be of "stone and brick of best quality." Besides being located on the highest elevation in the region, the temple was to be "raised sufficiently high to allow of banking up so high as to admit of a descent every way from the house, so far as to divide the distance between this house and the one next to it." Entrance to the temple was to be from the east. Windows were of gothic shape, and the "roof of the house is to have one-fourth pitch." In addition, a "belfry is to be on the east end, and a bell of very large size." The specific title and purpose of each temple were to be inscribed above the entrance along with the declaration, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD." Its elevated location, eastern orientation, architectural features sacred to traditional Christianity, and unpretentious appointments combined to give the model for temples in Zion a simple yet dignified appearance.63

The temple complex defined the city of Zion as a sacred Mormon enterprise, enabled the inhabitants of Zion to call themselves God's people, and generated the "effective space" which was to become the Mormon kingdom. The complementarity among the temple, city, land, and people of Zion is clearly seen in the following authoritative statement.

Verily this is the word of the Lord, that the city New Jerusalem shall be built by the gathering of the saints, beginning at this place [Independence], even the place of the temple . . . .

63Ibid.
Smith also declared that building the temple according to the divine pattern would work for the "salvation of Zion."

Furthermore, he declared,

... if Zion do these things she shall prosper and spread herself and become very glorious, very great and very terrible.

And the nations of the earth shall honor her and shall say: Surely Zion is the city of our God, and surely Zion cannot fall, neither be moved out of her place, for God is there and the hand of the Lord is there;

And he hath sworn by the power of his might to be her salvation and her high tower.

Therefore, verily, thus saith the Lord, let Zion rejoice, for this is Zion—THE PURE IN HEART . . . .

In short, centripetality in Zion established the temple as the axis of both the city and the kingdom.64 It legitimiz...
and orthogonal symbolism thus pervaded Zion's layout and imposed a profound sense of order and well-being upon the Mormon kingdom.

As prescribed by Smith, Zion's "center place" was to be "one mile square." At the center of this plat was a public zone occupied by temples and commodity storehouses, associated with the redistributive functions of the Bishop's temples. Surrounding the residential zone and lying outside the formal boundaries of the "square" was a zone of agricultural lands whose extent was to be determined by practical accessibility. The shape of the public sphere and the placement of the agricultural lands gave a slight north-south orientation to the city.

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

Given this absolute division among agricultural, domestic and public spheres, the major social functions of Zion—subsistence, residence and civic regulation—were identified by geographical spheres whose shape was orthogonal, whose orientation was cardinal, and whose boundaries were fixed.

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65 See Appendix A for these and other details of Zion's layout.
The cardinality of the "center place" was manifest as well in the placement of buildings and streets. According to Smith's instructions, houses were to be placed a uniform "twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of a builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick and stone." In short, there was to be a consistency in domestic landscaping and building materials to give the "square" an additional sense of order and beauty and to have the houses reflect the substantiality of the brick and stone temples. Residential lots were orthogonal in shape (four by twenty rods) and uniform in size (one-half acre). Lots were also cardinally oriented but alternated in their principal orientation from block to block. The effect of this alternation was to emphasize the cardinal orientation of the city but balance that orientation throughout the residential sphere. The twenty-four rectangular temples were also cardinally oriented, with their principal axis being east-west. The blocks, which Smith consistently called "squares" even though some were decidedly rectangular, were also orthogonal and cardinally oriented. The streets in Zion were a uniform eight rods wide, met at right angles and faced the cardinal directions.

The pervasiveness of cardinal imagery in Zion was ensured by the requirement of unitary construction. Since the initial "square" was to accommodate no more than 20,000 inhabitants,
the need for additional settlements was anticipated. Said Smith in his directions, "When this square [the "center place"] is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city, for this is the city of Zion." Not only was Zion's expansion to be systematic but all subsequent "squares" were to be perfect imitations of the "center place." In addition, the only legitimate residence in Zion was to be within this network of settlement "squares."

The entire network of "squares," that is the city and kingdom of Zion, was to be coextensive with the earth's territorial expanse. In short, in 1833 Smith conceived of Zion as a world-wide city-state comprised of a vast network of settlements whose imagery was to be dominated by the principles of centripetality and cardinality.

A final expression of cardinality in Zion concerned the process of the gathering. Since salvation, in Mormon terms, was available to all people, even the dead, everyone had to be gathered "in unto one place upon the face of the earth." Consequently, missionaries were charged to go "to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south" and gather the living "from the four quarters of the earth." Similarly, early mormons believed that the righteous dead "shall come forth from the four quarters of the earth" in the resurrection, unto the city of Zion. Cardinality and

66Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, 29:8; 33:6; 45:46.
centripetality then pervaded not only every level of Zion's territorial imagery but also the entire ideological context of the gathering.

Inductance too was basic to the concept of Zion for the early Mormons. The social and territorial orders of Zion reinforced each other. As Zion's territorial design reflected a divine sense of order in early Mormon thought, so its social order was seen to imitate the society of heaven.

The focal point of Zion's social order was its temple complex. Even though, at this time, the concept of a temple was not well developed in Mormonism, it was expected that Christ would come to Zion's temples to initiate the Millennium. It was also believed that the temples in Zion would regulate all civic activity within the city. According to Smith's description of Zion, each of the eight orders of the Mormon sacerdotal hierarchy would be responsible for three of Zion's temples. Each trio of temples would have a specific title and associated function, for example, "House of the Lord for the Teachers in Zion, Messengers to the Church," "Sacred Apostolic Repository for the use of the Bishop," and "Holy Evangelical House for the High Priesthood of the Holy Order of God." The general motto, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD," was to be boldly inscribed over the eastern facade of each temple.67

All civic affairs in Zion would be regulated from these temples by appropriate sacerdotal officials. Their authority

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67See Ibid., 42:36; Appendix A.
would be absolute and their standard of rule would be Mormon scriptures—Smith's sacred writings and other holy books produced by Smith such as the Book of Mormon, in addition to the Bible. Smith as President of the High Priesthood claimed ultimate authority to reveal the word of God to his followers. Said one supporting revelation, "... no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., for he receiveth them even as Moses."68 Other sacerdotal officials received their authority by ordination under Smith's direction.

Although absolute, this priesthood authority of Zion was paternalistic rather than political in nature. Under Smith's directions, Zion's officials were to teach, heal, bless, comfort, and support their followers. Smith also declared that righteousness was to be the only justification for administering this authority and that greed, deception, ambition, or tyranny would invalidate an officer's divine appointment. Although Smith recognized the almost universal tendency of power to corrupt, that which he administered would be exercised by "persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile." In short, the only force sanctioned in Zion was exile, to be used for rebellion and

68Ibid., 28:2.
flagrant infractions of the moral code.  

Although the inhabitants of Zion would be uniformly subordinate to Zion's sacral elite, their interpersonal relations would be egalitarian. Zion's egalitarianism was to be characterized by mechanistic solidarity. That is, Zion's inhabitants were to enjoy an identical relationship to both the centers of authority and the means of production. Equal access to Zion's sacerdotal authority was to be ensured by universal residential proximity to Zion's temples and by the frequent sacred performances at the temples. As the inhabitants of Zion participated in these sacred civic activities, they would be withdrawn and purified from the "sins of the outside world."

Equal access to the means of production would be ensured through a redistributive mechanism alternatively called the Order of Enoch or the United Order.  

According to this system, a prospective inhabitant of Zion would "consecrate" or abandon all ownership rights over his property to the Church. In return, the Bishop would grant him a 'stewardship' or perpetual use rights over a portion of Zion's land and material goods. The size of these stewardships would be equal

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69Ibid., sections 42, 121.

for all inhabitants of Zion, according to household size, needs, and acceptable wants. Through the righteous exercise of the use rights over his stewardship, a person was to provide for himself and his household. Surplusses accumulated by the stewards were to be "consecrated" to the society for redistribution among the "poor and needy." They would also be used for expanding the territorial control of the society, "that my [God's] covenant people may be gathered in one in that day when I shall come to my temple. And this I do for the salvation of my people." Moral impurity, insubordination, indolence, and greed were grounds for alienating a stewardship from its user, whereupon the offender would be exiled from the society and his stewardship given to another.

Zion's moral order, founded on ritual and redistribution in a face-to-face society, was designed to eliminate the power relations of politics and the individualizing and competitive tendencies of market economics, private property, and social distinctions based on wealth. Two of Smith's fundamental dicta in designing this society were, "if ye are not equal in earthly things, ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things," and "if ye are not one, ye are not [God's]." Accordingly he offered the following characterization of the heavenly Zion, "... the Lord called his people Zion, because
they were of one heart and one mind and dwelt in righteousness, and there was no poor among them."71

Consequences of the Efforts to Establish Zion

Whether Smith was conscious of these symbolic and functional connections is a matter of conjecture. It is unquestionable, however, that the design of Zion was intentional. Smith's actions and writings on behalf of Zion reveal an ideological consistency and unity which established the cultural significance of the concept. The concept of Zion—based on the principles of centripetality, cardinality and inductance—became intricately connected with Mormon ideology and cosmology to the extent that it symbolized the highest social ambitions and ultimate existential concerns of the early Mormons. It is no wonder that Smith referred to the establishment of Zion as "the most important temporal object in view."72

The gathering to the Mormon holy land came primarily in two annual waves, "one in the spring as soon as weather and road conditions would permit, the other in the fall after the crops had been harvested." By March 1832 nearly 550 Saints had gathered to Zion, and eventually some 1200 Mormons would

71Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 38:27; 78:5-6; Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:18.

72Smith, History of the Church, 1:207.
find their way to the promised land.\textsuperscript{73}

All was not well in the Mormon capital, however. Despite the millennial expectations of Smith's followers and despite the ambitious design of the Mormon society, two major factors combined to pollute Zion in the eyes of the Mormons. Because of these developments, the Mormons eventually abandoned their quest of the promised land.

One of these factors concerned the failure of the Mormons, even their leaders, to conform to the prescriptions of Zion. Part of this nonconformity was due to the actions of Smith himself. In his revelations there was some ambiguity about the form Zion should take. As was mentioned above, Smith's earliest writings suggest the possibility of an extended boundary center, but by the time the plat was issued, Zion had become a restricted boundary center.\textsuperscript{74} This shift made the continued settlement of Zion virtually impossible. The Mormons who had already gathered to Zion had dispersed throughout the county and were living in small settlement clusters (see Figure 3). The pattern of their habitation, moreover, was very different from the cardinal grid of the

\textsuperscript{73}Warren Abner Jennings, "Zion is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1962), p. 63; \textit{Evening and Morning Star} 1 (November 1832). Jennings, "Zion is Fled," p. 302, suggests that the Mormons comprised nearly one-third of the Jackson County population in 1833.

\textsuperscript{74}See note 60 above for a definition of extended boundary settlements. Restricted boundary settlements are those whose inhabitants reside in relatively close proximity within an established boundary.
Zion plat. Finally, by locating the "center place" largely within the already platted area of Independence, Smith rendered acquisition of Zion's land extremely difficult for the cash-poor Saints. They were able to obtain the 63.43 acre temple lot and a separate lot for the store and printing press. The rest of the Mormon land was scattered throughout the county. In addition, the store and printing press were not located within Zion's public sphere which further compromised the intended landscape. By the time Smith revealed the plat of Zion, establishing Zion according to its territorial order was a practical impossibility. Furthermore, no progress had been made on the temple. Despite revelations which encouraged and threatened the Saints to erect the "House of the Lord," by 1834 only its cornerstone, laid as part of the dedication ritual, indicated any Mormon interest in the site.75 In short, realizing Zion's ideal design was a matter of too little, too late.

The timing of the Zion plat, however, was largely an academic matter. By the time Smith issued the plat, Zion was fraught with internal difficulties. For one thing, the approved sequence to gather to Zion was generally not followed. The day before the land of Zion was dedicated, Smith had spoken metaphorically about the gathering as a preparation for the Second Coming.

75 Britton, "Mormon Land Titles," pp. 146-147; Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 53, 84:1-5.
Yea, a supper of the house of the Lord, well prepared, unto which all nations shall be invited.

First the rich and the learned, the wise and the noble;
And after that cometh the day of my [God's] power; then shall the poor, the lame and the blind, and the deaf, come in unto the marriage of the Lamb, and partake of the supper of the Lord, prepared for the great day to come.

Despite this schedule for gathering, the poorer Mormons seemed to find the road to Zion easier than the rich and learned.

Observed a local resident,

To accomplish this journey [to Zion] was the highest of their ambitions. They really supposed their prophet had at that place opened the very gates of heaven to them, and nothing else was necessary to ensure all temporal and spiritual blessings but their arrival there. Those of them who did not choose to sacrifice their property, however, stayed behind, leaving the poor and those not encumbered with property to be the pioneers.

An assistant to the Bishop in Zion, summed up the situation.

"The rich were afraid to send up their moneys to purchase lands, and the poor crowded up in numbers, without having any places provided for them . . . ."76

The conflict which produced these and other departures from Zion's stated agenda was basic to the concept of society held by the early Mormons. Joseph Smith had proposed a communitarian social order which was fundamentally opposed to the individualistic and materialistic society of frontier America. The "law of consecration and stewardship" eliminated

76Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 58:7-11; Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, pp. 138-139; John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (St. Louis: John Corrill, 1839), pp. 18-19.
property rights in fee simple which ran counter to the deeply felt American right to own property. The absolute authority claimed by Smith violated the sacred American right to self-determination. As a result, those for whom Zion's prescriptions were too burdensome retained their property and their personal rights. By contrast, those for whom the rights of Americans had not produced prosperity generally took seriously Smith's invitation to abandon possession of earthly things to lay hold of heavenly treasures.

The first manifestation of this conflict came shortly after Smith initiated the United Order. The first congregation given the opportunity to live the "law of the Lord" immigrated as a body from Colesville, New York, to Ohio at Smith's command. Seeing their faithfulness but also their lack of possessions, Smith called Leman Copley, a recent convert from the Shakers, and Ezra Thayre to consecrate their adjoining farms of one thousand acres to the church to accomodate these immigrants. Smith required that the Colesville Branch live the law of consecration, "otherwise they will be cut off." 77

While the approximately sixty immigrants from New York accepted these terms, Copley soon revived his Shaker faith and revoked his consecration, contrary to the "law of the Lord." The courts, however, upheld Copley's right in fee simple to his property. Not only was the Colesville Branch

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disinherited, but this move undermined the legal force of the Mormon communitarian order and the sovereignty of the Mormon kingdom. This action gave the Mormons their first indication that they did not have ultimate control over their territorial environment. Similar court battles in Missouri produced similar results.78

The conflict between individualism and collectivism was further expressed in Zion by nonparticipation in the consecration movement and by private land speculations among the gathered Saints. Many Mormons in Kirtland tried to get Smith to expand the boundaries of Zion's "center place," but he refused to make any other spot equal to Zion. This refusal eliminated any official justification for these Saints not to consecrate their properties and gather to Zion. Regarding the mild popularity of consecration, Mormon leader John Taylor observed, "There were some people who came [to Jackson County] who did not consecrate their substance to the good of the church, but went ahead and bought land for the purpose of speculating." The extent of this speculation may be impossible to determine, but personal acquisitiveness did encourage greed and jealousy among the gathered Saints and

between the Saints in Jackson County and those in Ohio.  

In addition, many gatherers with sincere motives and honorable intentions were overly zealous in their quest for Zion. Supporting the outsider's assessment of the gathering given above, another contemporary "gentile" observed that the Mormons "who have disposed of their properties go now, and such as have property are making market for it so eagerly as often to disregard pecuniary interests . . . ."  

In an effort to impose a degree of order upon the immigration to western Missouri, Smith cautioned his followers, "together unto the land of Zion, not in haste, lest there should be confusion, which bringeth pestilence." Smith also began the practice of requiring "recommends" signed by local ecclesiastical officials attesting to the immigrants' moral character and material preparation to live the law of consecration and stewardship. Prospective immigrants were also counseled to write Bishop Partridge in Missouri for permission to gather and for information regarding living conditions in the promised land.  

None of these precautions

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79 Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph, 18 January 1831; Smith, History of the Church, 1:419; In the Circuit Court of the United States...Respondents, Complaints, Abstracts of Pleading and Evidence (hereafter Temple Lot Suit) (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald House, 1893), p. 189; Jennings, "Zion is Fled," pp. 71-81.  

80 Missouri Republican, 6 September 1831.  

81 Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 63:24; Smith, History of the Church, 1:241; Evening and Morning Star, January 1833; Jennings, "Zion is Fled," pp. 57-68.
or practices was observed with any degree of regularity.

A stronger dose of reality was subsequently given the zealous gatherers. This development slightly altered the official Mormon perception of the promised land. Nearly a year following the exhuberance of Zion's dedication, the *Evening and Morning Star* advised,

> Although Zion, according to the prophets, is to become like Eden or the garden of the Lord, yet at present it is but a wilderness and desert, and the disadvantages of settling in a new country, you know, are many and great. Therefore, prudence should dictate at present to the churches abroad, come not up to Zion, until preparations can be made for them.\(^{82}\)

In other words, although Zion had been given ontological equivalence to Eden, manifest similarities were now considered accidental. The occupation and settlement of Zion were acknowledged to be as difficult as those of any unhallowed spot. The ultimate glories of Zion were not reduced, but postponed to an anticipated future golden age, to be realized by the industry of the Saints. In addition to these departures from the established order of Zion, a number of gathered Saints hired out to "gentiles" to provide for their livelihood. This practice was a definite violation of the ideals of economic insularity and self-sufficiency basic to the Mormon kingdom. Furthermore, of those who did not hire out to "gentiles," some worked very little or not at all. In response, Smith vigorously and and repeatedly denounced

\(^{82}\) *Evening and Morning Star*, July 1832; see also Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:279-381-385.
idlers: "Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer." Still other Mormons "sought to obtain inheritances in some other way than according to the laws of consecration and stewardship." Insubordination, jealousy, idleness, and greed were just some of the violations of Zion's moral code which "enkindled the displeasure of the Almighty against Zion and her inhabitants."83

In explanation of the ultimate failure of the City of Zion in Jackson County, Smith issued a revelation which placed the entire blame on the Saints.

... were it not for the transgressions of my [God's] people, speaking concerning the church and not individuals, they might have been redeemed even now.

But behold, they have not learned to be obedient to the things which I required at their hands, but are full of all manner of evil, and do not impart of their substance, as becometh Saints, unto the poor and afflicted among them;

And are not united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom . . . .

In another revelation Smith accused his followers of "jarrings and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires . . . ." and concluded that "by these things they polluted their inheritances."84

From the point of view of the Mormon leaders it was

83Hill, Joseph Smith, p. 149; Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 42:42; see also 36:17 and 68:30-31; Andrew Jenson, comp., Historical Record, 9 vols. (Salt Lake City: the author, 1882-1890), 7:633.

84Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 105:2-5; 101:6.
the moral aberrations of the gatherers which frustrated the establishment of Zion. Their haste in gathering brought pestilence and their disobedience ignited the wrath of God. Such an explanation enabled Smith to retain the notion of an omnipotent king and sovereign kingdom while experiencing frustration in its establishment. It also prepared Smith's followers to renew their dedication to and redouble their efforts in Zion's cause.

External pressures also contributed in a major way to the demise of the Mormon kingdom in Jackson County. Strained relations between the Mormons and the Missourians seriously threatened Zion's stability, as well as the lives of many of its members. Attitudes aggravating these relations included the Mormon opposition to slavery, its favoritism toward the Indians, and those stemming from its Yankee origins and lifestyle. However, one of the most serious factors in this conflict was the Mormon ideology of place, as indicated by the accounts of two contemporaries.

... the troubles of 1833, which led to [the Mormon] expulsion from the county, were originated by those fanatics making boasts that they intended to possess the entire county, saying that God had promised it to them and that they were going to have it. The cause of all this trouble was solely from the claim that [the Mormons] had a new revelation direct from the Almighty, making them the chosen instruments to go forward, let it please or displease whom it might, to build the New Jerusalem.85

85Interview with Colonel Thomas Pitcher, cited in Jennings, "Zion is Fled," p. 311; Colonel Prentiss Ingraham, ed. Seventy Years on the Frontier: Alexander Maiers' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.,
Despite Smith's commandment to his followers to "keep these things from going abroad . . . that ["your enemies"] may not know your works until ye have accomplished the things which I [God] have commanded you," many Saints were found boasting of what God was going to do for them at the expense of their "enemies." One report accused the Mormons of "audacity and impudence" for boasting to the Missourians

... that Jackson County was theirs—given to them by the Lord, and it was foolishness in them to resist and fight against God . . . . Their paper [the *Evening and Morning Star*] was filled up weekly with revelations, promising great things to the saints who were faithful, and threatening destruction to the citizens if they did not give up their lands and homes peaceably, and leave them in peaceful possession [of the Mormons].

Another account claimed that the Mormons

have reported, perhaps hundreds of times, that this country was theirs, the Almighty had given it to them, and that they would assuredly have the entire possession of it in a few years. These reports were believed to be true, and the effect upon this public was accordingly.86

Public efforts by the Mormons to reconcile the Missourians proved futile. The Mormons had failed to observe their prophet's counsel to "make unto yourselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness." As a result, they were perceived as invaders with violent intentions. Soon after


Smith had issued the plat of Zion, the Missourians began to organize to expel the Mormons, declaring them to be "the common enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed." They became the object of raiding parties in which haystacks were burned, windows smashed, and homes fired upon. When such scare tactics did not discourage the Mormons, the vigilante groups detailed their grievances in a formal proclamation, demanding that the Mormons leave the state. Among other claims was the following:

They declared openly that their God hath given them this country of land and that sooner or later they must and will have possession of our lands for an inheritance . . . [W]e believe it a duty we owe to ourselves, our wives, and children, to the cause of public morale, to remove them from among us, as we are not prepared to give up our pleasant places and goodly possessions to them.

On July 20, 1833, between four and five hundred Missourians read an ultimatum to the Mormons from the steps of the Independence courthouse. Relevant sections of this ultimatum are cited.

We are daily told, and not by the ignorant alone, but by all classes of them, that we (the Gentiles) of this county are to be cut off, and our lands appropriated by them for inheritances. Whether this is to be accomplished by the hand of the destroying angel, the judgments of God, or the arm of power, they are not fully agreed among themselves. . . . [M]any of this deluded and infatuated people have been taught to believe that our lands were to be won from us by the sword . . . [M]any of their society are now preaching through the states of New York, Ohio and Illinois; and that their numbers are increasing beyond every rational calculation; all of whom are required as soon as convenient to come to Zion, which name they have thought proper to confer on our little village. Most of those who have already come, are
characterized by the profounded ignorance, the grossest superstition and the most abject poverty.

Demands made of the Mormons at this time include the following.

1. That no Mormon shall in the future move and settle in this county.
2. That those now here . . . shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property, and close their business, without any material sacrifice.
3. That the editor of the Star be required forthwith to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county . . . .
4. That the Mormon leaders here, are required to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethren to this county, and to counsel and advise their brethren to comply with the above requisition.
5. That those who fail to comply with these requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of divination, and unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them.87

The Mormon request for more time to consider these demands was denied by the vigilantes who proceeded to destroy the press of the Evening and Morning Star, the most prominent symbol of the Mormon presence in Jackson County. The Bishop's storehouse was also broken into and its goods were strewn about the streets. The blacksmith shop operated by a Mormon was also vandalized. The final abuse to the Mormons that day consisted in their leaders being tarred and feathered in public view. The Mormons subjected themselves willingly to this persecution, declaring that regardless of their suffering

they would not abandon their promised land.\textsuperscript{88}

Three days later, the Missourians again assembled to threaten the Mormons with violence and death if they did not comply with their demands. In response, Mormon leaders offered themselves to be sacrificed by the mob if the rest of the Saints could remain on their lands. When this last appeal was denied, the Mormons agreed to accept the demands of the mob. During the next several months, the Mormons sought to buy time while appearing to carry out the terms of surrender. When additional Saints began arriving in Jackson County, the violence against them was renewed and intensified. Mormons in the dispersed settlements fled their homes, and those close to Independence gathered at the temple lot for a defense. A make-shift militia of about thirty Mormons was also organized to protect the remaining Saints. These defense measures proved ineffective. By early 1834, the Mormons had evacuated their promised land in favor of unhallowed but more secure habitations across the Missouri River.\textsuperscript{89}

Instead of the promised glories of Zion, the Saints were experiencing their first major cultural crisis. They had failed to settle the promised land according to the pattern by which they would have defined themselves as God's chosen people. Furthermore, Mormonism's geometrical metaphysics did

\textsuperscript{88}Jennings, "Zion is Fled," pp. 143-147; Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 1:390-391.

\textsuperscript{89}Jennings, "Zion is Fled," pp. 165-171.
not allow them to regard a substitute spot as equivalent to that which they had just abandoned. Fearing that God might have rejected the Saints, Parley P. Pratt, one of the Mormon leaders in Missouri, wrote the prophet in Kirtland,

The situation of the Saints, as scattered, is dubious, and affords a gloomy prospect . . . . I know that it was right that we should be driven out of the land of Zion, that the rebellious might be sent away. But brethren, if the Lord will, I would like to know what the honest in heart shall do? . . . I am sensible that we shall not be able to live again in Zion till God or the President rules out the mob . . . .

Smith's initial response was one of guarded optimism, "I cannot learn from any communication by the Spirit to me, that Zion has forfeited her claim to a celestial crown . . . ." On the basis of this tentative reprieve, Smith reinterpreted his earlier revelations regarding the "many tribulations" to accompany the establishment of Zion as forecasting these events. Smith also wrote to church leaders in Missouri, commanding them on a number of occasions not to sell their "inheritances in Zion,"

. . . let your sufferings be what they may, it is better in the eyes of God that you should die, than that you should give up the land of Zion, the inheritances which you have purchased with your moneys; for every man that giveth not up his inheritance though he should die, yet when the Lord shall come, he shall stand upon it, and with Job in his flesh he shall see God.

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In a later revelation which addressed the exile, Smith held out the definite promise to his followers, "I [God] will not cut them off; and in the day of wrath I will remember mercy."

Later in this revelation, Smith expressed more optimism.

Zion shall not be moved out of her place, notwithstanding her children are scattered.
They that remain, and are pure in heart, shall return, and come to their inheritances, they and their children, with songs of everlasting joy, to build up the waste places of Zion . . . .
And there is none other place appointed than that which I [God] have appointed; neither shall there be any other place than that which I have appointed, for the work of the gathering of my saints . . . .

Inspired by the renewed promises of divine favor, and in response to the violence done them, the Saints rejoiced over Smith's marching orders:

Go and gather the residue of my servants and take all the strength of mine house [the temple], which are my [God's] warriors . . .
And go ye straightway unto the land of my vineyard, and redeem my vineyard; for it is mine; I have bought it with money . . .
That the work of the gathering together of my saints may continue, that I may build them up unto my name upon holy places; for the time of harvest is come, and my word must be fulfilled.

Thus began the movement which became known as "Zion's Camp" or the "Armies of Israel." It was organized upon militant pretentions and had in view a final confrontation between the Saints and their "enemies" over the lands of Missouri. Wrote one of the Mormon leaders to the Missouri governor,

If we could not be permitted to live on lands which we had purchased of the United States, and be protected in our persons and rights, our lands

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92 Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 101:9, 17-20.
would, at least, make a good burying ground, on which to lay our bones, and like Abraham's possession in Caanan, we should hold on to our possessions in the county of Jackson, for this purpose at least.\textsuperscript{93}

To accomplish this commandment, church leaders, including Joseph Smith, traveled among the congregations in the eastern United States, collecting donations and recruits for the campaign. In the meantime, Smith asked the Missouri Mormons to seek redress according to the "laws of the land."

\begin{quote}
Let them importune at the feet of the judge;  
And if he heed them not, let them importune at the feet of the governor;  
And if the governor heed them not, let them importune at the feet of the president;  
And if the president heed them not, then will the Lord arise and come forth out of his hiding place, and in his fury vex the nation ....\textsuperscript{94}
\end{quote}

The judge, the governor, and the president all received petitions from the Mormons requesting assistance to recover their Jackson County properties. All were sympathetic to the Mormon cause, but none took any concrete action in their behalf. The failure to find redress along these avenues created considerable anxiety in the Mormon prophet. In mid-April 1834, he prophesied, "If Zion is not delivered, the


time is near when all of this Church will be persecuted and destroyed." 95

Before seeking resolution from God, Mormon leaders drafted an appeal to the nation and the world. This lengthy editorial summarized the Mormon attitudes toward Jackson County, in religious and political terms. Only the issue of residential rights was addressed in the appeal. The Mormons sought neither punishment of the offenders nor reparations for damages. The conclusion reached in this appeal was that if the Saints could not retain their lands in Jackson County, their religion and their lives would be of little value. "If we give up our rights in Jackson County, farewell to society! farewell to religion! farewell to our rights! farewell to property! farewell to life!" From this appeal, it is apparent that the Mormon ideology of place was, at this time, the foundation of Mormon identity and solidarity. As with the other appeals, this one generated much favorable press for the Mormons but little satisfaction. Their only remaining recourse was to God and the "redemption of Zion ... by power." 96

In anticipation of a violent confrontation, Smith issued a revelation which further justified his followers' military preparations.


96 Journal History, 21 April 1834; Smith, History of the Church, 2:134.
Behold [my people] shall, for I have decreed it, begin to prevail against mine enemies from this very hour.

And by hearkening to observe all the words which I, the Lord their God, shall speak unto them, they shall never cease to prevail until the kingdoms of the world are subdued under my feet, and the earth is given unto the saints, to possess it forever and ever.

Despite his rhetoric of victory, Smith was able to recruit only one hundred of the anticipated five hundred "warriors of the Lord's House." On May 5, 1834, the company left Kirtland, with Joseph Smith as Commander-in-Chief. Although progress toward Missouri was slow, the reputation of Zion's Camp travelled rapidly to the promised land. By the time Smith's militia had covered the eight hundred miles to western Missouri, the Jackson County militia was well-trained, well-armed, and ready to battle the Mormons. The confrontation—which would have decimated the Mormon army—was averted by a severe lightning storm which disorganized the Jackson County militia. This environmental intervention was interpreted as a providential warning to the Mormons to avoid battle. Consequently, Smith revealed that the redemption of Zion would be delayed until church leaders could be "endowed with power from on high." According to this revelation, the promised endowment would be given once the temple at Kirtland, authorized by Smith in December 1832, had been completed. This endowment would not only enable the Saints to redeem the promised land but would fulfill one of the initial promises connected with the move to Ohio. It is not apparent that
Smith had, at this time, any specific notion of the nature of the promised endowment. It was, however, a way to divert the attention of his followers away from the tragedies of Jackson County and of Zion's Camp and toward a brighter future.97

In this same revelation, Smith outlined a positive program to prepare his followers for Zion's eventual redemption. A certain contingent was to remain in Clay County, Missouri, across the Missouri River north of Independence and Jackson County. Here, where the Saints had regrouped after the exile from Jackson County, these Saints were to continue to seek redress from various levels of government and to purchase "all the lands in Jackson County that can be purchased, and in the adjoining counties round about." They were also commanded to conceal their intentions from their "gentile" neighbors and sue for peace "unto the ends of the earth." The rest of Smith's followers, including the members of Zion's Camp, were encouraged by Smith to return to Kirtland to finish construction of the temple and to continue recruiting for the "Armies of Israel" so that "the kingdoms of the world may be constrained to acknowledge that the kingdom of Zion is in very deed the kingdom of our God and his Christ." Thus the failure of Zion became the cause to rally the Latter-day Saints and renew their dedication to

97Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 103:6-15; Smith, History of the Church, 2:63-65; Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 105:33.
establish the millennial kingdom.98

As elaborated by Joseph Smith, the City of Zion symbolized Mormonism's highest cultural ambitions. Its initial formulations integrated the concepts of chosen people, chosen land, the gathering, the temple, the creation, and the millennium into an ideological system with a sociological imperative. Furthermore, Zion was clearly within the concept of ancient ceremonial centers as elaborated above. In its ideological expressions, Zion was a completely and supremely religious utopia.

The cosmic symbolism of Zion found its initial expression in the Book of Mormon. Smith seems to have been unaware of this formulation of the concept until it emerged in his own revelations. Smith sought earnestly to establish the culture described in his revelations as he interpreted them. The early social order of the Mormons was an attempt to translate this ideology into action.

Attempts to establish Zion led to conflict at different levels of the cultural order. At the broadest level, the Mormon ideology of place contradicted several basic tenets of American ideology. In frontier America, land was seen as an economic resource. It was individually and exclusively owned in fee simple, and these ownership rights were protected by political, legal, and even military force.

The Mormons, on the other hand, considered land a moral

and spiritual resource. It had been created and was owned by God but managed by families who had perpetual use rights over their "stewardships." These rights were bestowed by sacerdotal authority and guaranteed by the righteousness of the stewards. The covenant community had a collective responsibility to establish and maintain this moral order upon the land.

These differences resulted in conflicts when Mormons attempted to buy and settle on land owned or occupied by "Gentiles" (non-Mormons). Gentiles interpreted Mormon settlement attempts as efforts to deprive them of their property rights. They felt Mormons were competing unfairly in the real estate market (corporate vs. individual buying power). They also resented the Mormons' appeal to divine authority for their claims to the land. Mormons perceived the Gentiles as driven by the devil and their baser desires to resist the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

These differences ultimately led the two groups to conflict because they sought ultimate control over similar territory in contradictory and mutually exclusive ways. In every instance of conflict, the courts, the government, and the military reinforced the American ideology of place. Furthermore, the Gentiles felt authorized to use a degree of force to protect their property rights, while the Mormons had no such legitimate recourse in their utopian system. Consequently, ideological conflicts with the wider American
society ultimately and inevitably produced disaster for the Mormon settlement efforts.

Conflict came also from within the Mormon kingdom. In addition to being utopian, Mormonism was also evangelical. Mormons were trying not only to establish an ideal society in the image of the society of heaven, but also to incorporate as many of the peoples of the world as would participate with them in the effort. These efforts, while revitalizing and strengthening the Mormon ranks, introduced many stresses and strains because of the varied and often contradictory cultural expectations of the converts. Perhaps chief among these sources of strain for the ideology of place were the differing perceptions of the roles of the individual and of religion in society. The Mormon utopia recognized few exclusive rights of the individual against those of society. Consistent with the traditional utopian pattern, Mormonism assumed that human beings achieve their human and divine potential only in the context of an ideal social order. Hence the early formulations of Zion granted no rights to individuals outside of or against those of the ideal society. Furthermore, because Mormonism was attempting a reformulation of society on religious terms, religion pervaded the social order and gave meaning to all social actions. Hence individual rights were legitimate only in the context of this moral order.

To many converts, guaranteed rights of the individual extended beyond those recognized in the early formulations of
Zion. These related particularly to the rights of individual property ownership and of economic or political initiative, such as founding a business or town and refusing to relinquish ownership of personal property or to return the control of a stewardship back to the community in the case of apostacy or excommunication. Many converts, some of whom became quite prominent in the Mormon kingdom, were critical of Church leaders who took, in the name of religion, initiatives which they themselves were prohibited from taking but which they perceived to be beyond the proper scope of religious activity. Many of the conflicts which weakened the concept of Zion were internally generated and centered on the rights of the individual against those of society and on the proper role of religion in society. A third major source of strain for the Mormon ideology of place which helped to weaken the concept of Zion as a utopian ceremonial center was a fundamental premise of Mormon metaphysics. Space in the Mormon universe was considered to be geometrical, not existential. The meaning of a Mormon gathering place was, to a great extent, a function of its actual, physical location, because the most sacred places in the universe were real and fixed.99 The inability of the Mormons to establish a designated center of gathering, particularly the "center place," was interpreted as a cultural failure. Relocation of

99See chapter 6 for an elaboration of territorial dimensions of early Mormon metaphysics relating to the present study.
the *axis mundi* was a compromise. The gathering could continue as a sociological imperative but without the ideological significance or anticipated eschatological benefits of the original settlement efforts. Consequently, Mormon leaders found alternate but compromise cultural justifications for establishing gathering places in new locations so that their followers could continue to consider themselves divinely chosen.

A fourth source of stress came from the relation between Mormon ideology and Mormon sociology. Regardless of the revelations about Zion, the Mormons in western Missouri settled in a dispersed pattern. The reason for this pattern is partly that the first concept of a utopian center seems to have been an extended boundary settlement. The imperative to acquire land did not initially have the focused geographical dimension that it had after Zion had become a restricted boundary center. Furthermore, the economics of American land tenure, with its exclusive rights in fee simple, prevented the Mormons from settling at will in and around the temple site. Hence the resources of the first inhabitants of Zion as well as the claim of prior residence by "Gentiles" established strong practical limits on the establishment of Zion. The excessive enthusiasm of many gatherers regarding the "glories of Zion" compounded this problem as many converts gathered without many means.

The combination of these factors proved disastrous for
the Mormons in western Missouri. They had developed an ideological system accompanied by a sociological imperative, but the vision was not realized in 1834. The Saints had to look elsewhere for a home. However, they neither repudiated the revelations nor redirected their enthusiasm for Zion. The following chapters discussed the consequences of this initial failure of the ideology of place for the redevelopment of the Mormon kingdom.
CHAPTER III
KIRTLAND: THE STRONG HOLD

Ohio's Western Reserve became in 1831 the first locus of the Mormon gathering and was the first major step in establishing the City of Zion. Although Kirtland was never officially considered the Saint's ultimate resting place, many social advantages of northern Ohio helped develop Mormonism during its seven year stay.

Mormon missionaries had stopped in the Kirtland area in November 1830 on their way to the "borders of the Lamanites." They found there many willing converts among Sidney Rigdon's communitarian "family." Earlier that year, this group had broken with Alexander Campbell's Disciples of Christ over the primitivist doctrine of communitarianism.

In addition to these former Disciples, the region boasted of a wide range of religious groups, most of which had been infected by the revivalism spreading from the "Burned-over District" of western New York. The physical ecstacies and religious excitement of the Second Great Awakening were claiming many sympathizers in the Western Reserve. The Second Great Awakening also influenced the Western Reserve through the likes of Lyman Beecher, President of Lane Theological
Seminary in Cincinnati beginning in 1832, Charles Grandison Finney of Oberlin College from 1835 to 1866, and Alexander Campbell.\(^1\)

Although the major religious influences in Ohio of the 1830's were Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, the popular denominations of the Methodists and Baptists considerably outnumbered them in terms of church membership. In addition, a Shaker community was present near Thompson, Ohio, where the Colesville Branch of Mormonism first settled in 1831. In the same area were also the Separatists at Zoar, an Owenite community at Kendal and the United Christians at Berea.\(^2\) Many other sects and denominations contributed to the religious pluralism of the Western Reserve.

Itinerant preachers and self-styled prophets extended this diversity. Brodie mentioned two prophets, Abel Sargent and Joseph Dylks, who preceded Smith to Ohio and whose notariety lingered long after their brief followings had dispersed. While in Ohio, Smith was challenged by a prophetess named Hubble who continued to practice her craft after having converted to Mormonism.\(^3\)

The unsettled and dynamic character of society in the Old Northwest was enhanced by the rapid economic growth in the


3Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 98.
decades 1820-1840. In the 1830s the population of Ohio's principal cities doubled, and by 1840 Ohio ranked third in the nation in population. The Western Reserve correspondingly increased in size during this period. The rapid immigration of Yankees seeking land fostered both agricultural and industrial production in Ohio. The Ohio and Erie Canal increased the volume of trade in wheat and flour ten fold during 1820-1840, leaving Ohio first in the nation in the production of wheat and corn. As a result of this rapid development, land values increased rapidly, from an average of just over $7 an acre in 1830 to nearly $34 an acre in 1837.4

The Mormons entered this climate of social renewal in 1831 and benefitted materially from it throughout their stay. Nevertheless, Smith's revelations had declared that Kirtland was to be only a temporary station on the road to Zion. Even though individual Mormons remained in New York, by February 1831, all institutional ties had been severed with the state which gave the movement its birth. Mormonism rode the crest of the "expansion of New England" from the "Burned-over District" into Ohio.

Although not specified in Smith's revelations, the locus of the first Mormon gathering became the vicinity of Kirtland, where the majority of the early converts were residing (see Figure 6). The "family" had been organized on the nearby farm

of Isaac Morley to restore the early Christian practice of communitarian living. Some one hundred "Diciples" followed Sidney Rigdon in this quest for the true church of Christ. By the time the Mormons contacted Rigdon, the "family" had become riddled with jealousies and strife. They were ready for Smith's revelation to disband and accept the higher "law of consecration."  

Mormon settlement in Ohio resulted in a much greater consolidation of church membership than had existed in New York. The distribution of Saints extended throughout Cuyahoga, Portage, and Geauga counties but was concentrated in Kirtland, Warrensville, and Mentor, where branches of the church had been established in December 1830. The greatest distance among these congregations was 65 miles, much less than the 120 miles separating the congregations in New York (Figure 1). Nevertheless, the distance was still too great for the effective daily communication and face-to-face social interaction required by Smith's revelations.

The Mormon kingdom in Kirtland developed in two stages. Kirtland was Mormonism's administrative center while its ritual center was being projected and established in skeletal form in Missouri. After the failure of the "center place" in Missouri, Kirtland played an active role in the preparations to "redeem Zion." Kirtland's territorial imagery during the

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Kirtland period symbolized its role in the kingdom as well as the evolving concept of the Mormon kingdom. Mormon Kirtland emerged as a ceremonial center, in the image of Zion, but it lacked the cosmic significance of the "center place." Cosmic urban symbolism was neither as pervasive nor as strong in Kirtland.

**Symbolism of Kirtland's Location**

Regarding centripetality, Kirtland was considered by the Mormons neither the center of their kingdom nor their ultimate destination. Kirtland was Mormonism's first gathering place and remained its demographic and administrative center until 1838. Many Saints preferred Kirtland to Jackson County and encouraged their leader to grant it equal status with the millennial capital. Despite the factors favoring Kirtland, Smith resisted this pressure. Even though he himself spent no more than a few months in Jackson County, Smith consistently and unequivocally favored Independence as Zion's "center place."  

While Independence occupied a position of ideological superiority to Kirtland, it received little institutional or financial support. Kirtland, on the other hand, was superior to Independence in administrative terms. These conditions occasionally produced jealousy among the residents of the two

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centers of the Mormon gathering. In April 1832, scarcely a year after Zion's confident founding, Smith returned to Jackson County to heal some rifts among Latter-day Saints arising from these conditions. First he had his followers voice unanimous support for his claim to the highest earthly authority, namely President of the High Priesthood. Smith then outlined the policy which gave Kirtland important but peripheral status in the Mormon kingdom. Using Old Testament imagery, Smith declared, "I [God] have consecrated the land of [Kirtland] in mine own due time for the benefit of the saints of the Most High, and for a stake of Zion." Kirtland was identified as part of the support system of the "tent" of Zion. Kirtland now enjoyed official, though inferior, status in the kingdom in relation to the "center place." 7

Not only was Kirtland on the periphery of the kingdom, but its land was regarded as qualitatively different from that of Jackson County. Kirtland had been earlier described by Smith as a Mormon "strong hold," but its role as such was limited to five years. 8 Furthermore, Smith, in the revelation cited above, declared the land of Kirtland "consecrated" but added the qualifier, "in God's own due time." In other words, as a stake of Zion, Kirtland possessed provisional status in the Kingdom, not ontological status as in the case of Jackson County. Its status as holy ground was not ascribed but was to


8 Ibid., 64:21.
be acquired, and then only for a given period of time.

Reflecting this lack of ontological status was the absence of a prohibition against marketing real estate. To the Mormons, the land of Jackson County was holy; they could neither subdivide nor trade it without courting disaster. The Saints were to retain their lands in Zion, even in the face of death. By contrast, Smith encouraged real estate development in Kirtland in order to gain wealth sufficient to establish Zion at the appropriate time. "It must needs be necessary that ye save all the money that ye can, and that ye obtain all that ye can in righteousness, that in time ye may be enabled to purchase land for an inheritance, even the city."  

With such encouragement the Mormons in Kirtland entered the real estate market and became some of the more active local traders. The usual practice was to purchase large tracts of land on credit and subdivide them for profit. In this manner early gatherers benefitted economically from those who came later. Population pressures combined with the profit motive to drive land prices upward throughout the Mormon stay in Kirtland. Improved town lots sold for between $200 and $500, with many prices going much higher. In this sellers market, improved land often exchanged hands several times, with the seller realizing a handsome profit with each sale. The wealth being accumulated by the Saints in real estate was largely illusory, however, since most purchases were on credit

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9Ibid., 48:4.
and the Mormons were, for the most part, money poor. In short, the lack of ontological status and its peripheral location in the Mormon kingdom encouraged merchandizing in Kirtland real estate.

The dedication of the land of Kirtland was given no cremonial expression by the Mormons as had been done in Jackson County. Neither was any attempt made to connect Kirtland's location with cosmic events in Mormon consciousness. Kirtland, furthermore, was never given a Mormon name as was done for all other Mormon headquarters. Reference to Kirtland was coded in several of Smith's revelations, but its code name, "Shinehah," has never been interpreted by Mormons or given any specific significance whatsoever. Kirtland's territorial environment became holy in Mormon eyes once the Saints had constructed a temple there. The temple then became the only expression of centripetality in Kirtland.

By December 27, 1832, "God's own due time" had apparently arrived. In a revelation which expanded the Mormon concept of kingdom and discussed further the impending millennium--both principal concerns of Zion--Smith issued the command to establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a

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11Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 82:12; 104:21, 40.
house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God."\textsuperscript{12}

Preparations for constructing the Kirtland temple departed significantly from the corresponding series of events in the "center place." In the first place, the planning was undertaken by a committee of Mormon leaders rather than the prophet himself. In addition, fund raising activities preceded rather than followed identification of the temple site and its ritual dedication. To finance the temple, Smith requested ("called by revelation") certain wealthy Mormons in the Kirtland area to donate land or money to purchase land and equipment. These revenues, plus those received from a church-wide subscription, enabled the temple committee to purchase the 105-acre farm on which the temple eventually was built. The site for the temple, however, was not identified until after the real estate transactions had been completed. If revelation guided Smith to the Kirtland Temple site, neither the revelation nor any references to it have been preserved. In short, the holiness of Kirtland's territorial environment was not ascribed but achieved by the construction of a temple, and the site for the temple was determined not by revelation but through the collaborations of a committee and successful real estate transactions.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 88:119.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 95:14; Fielding, "Mormon Church in Kirtland," pp. 72-81; Backman, Heavens Resound, pp. 142-155.
Mormon leaders located the temple atop a prominent hill above Kirtland Flats, thereby strengthening its axial symbolism. Construction of the temple was symbolically begun with the ritual of laying the temple's cornerstones, July 23, 1833.14 These events came less than a month after Smith revealed the plat of Zion and at the same time violence was breaking out in Jackson County.

Even though revelation did not identify the location of the temple, it specified the temple's dimensions and general appearance (see Figure 8).

... the size thereof shall be fifty and five feet in width, and let it be sixty-five feet in length, in the inner court thereof.

And let the lower part of the inner court be dedicated unto me [God] for your sacrament offerings [communion] and for your fasting, and your praying, and the offering up of your most holy desires unto me, saith your Lord.

And let the higher part of the inner court be dedicated unto me for the school of mine apostles ...

Revelation also established territorial symbolism as the model of social interaction in Zion's stake.

Now here is wisdom, and the mind of the Lord—let the house be built, not after the manner of the world, for I gave not unto you that ye shall live after the manner of the world;

Therefore, let it be built after the manner which I shall show unto three of you, whom ye shall appoint and ordain unto this power.

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14Smith, History of the Church, 1:400. Details of the cornerstone ceremony have not been preserved except in a later comment by Brigham Young in which he laments the fact that so few men in Kirtland held priesthood sufficient to participate in this ceremony that Church leaders had to ordain young men to the priesthood for the occasion, et al, comps., Journal of Discourses, 1:133-135.
This passage mentions ritual and educational functions to be performed in Kirtland's temple. The finished temple also accommodated Mormon ecclesiastical functions with office space for church leaders and assembly halls for congregational meetings. Social functions, such as community dancing, were also performed in the temple. There was, however, no provision in the temple for the redistributive functions of Zion's economy. The significance of this omission will be considered below. In comparison with the temple complex of the "center place," the sacred center of Zion's stake was considerably reduced in scale and function. It had less of the comprehensive civic character of Zion's temple complex and more of the socio-religious character of a traditional New England church.15

The ritual functions of the Kirtland temple, however, were considerably elaborated over those of Zion's temples. The temple's dedication ceremonies reflect its continued function as a Mormon axis mundi. From the initial identification of Kirtland as a gathering place, the promise of an "endowment of power from on high" motivated the migration to northern Ohio. Initially, Mormon leaders and their followers did not seem to have a clear concept of what the "endowment" consisted. After the dismissal of Zion's Camp, Smith issued a revelation which associated the promised endowment with the Kirtland temple. Receiving this endowment became essential preparation for

15Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 95:15-17, 13.
Zion's "redemption," and completing the temple was required before the endowment could be received.

Verily I [God] say unto you, it is expedient in me that the first elders of my church should receive their endowment from on high in my house, which I have commanded to be built unto my name in the land of Kirtland . . . .

And inasmuch as they follow the counsel which they receive, they shall have power after many days to accomplish many things pertaining to Zion.

After considerable delay in the construction of the temple--for which the Saints were divinely chastened by Smith -- "ye have sinned against me a very grievous sin, in that ye have not considered the great commandment in all things, that I have given you concerning the building of my house"--Kirtland Saints banded together with the exiles from Jackson County to complete the sacred edifice.16

By October 1835, the temple was sufficiently completed to house church and school meetings. It was finished in January 1836, at an estimated cost of $60,000. Smith claimed that the design of the temple had been given him in a vision and that the temple was completed according to the celestial pattern.17

The week of ceremonies epitomized the Mormon attitude

16Ibid., 105:33, 37; 95:3.

toward the temple. On the morning of March 27, 1836, nearly one thousand Mormons filled to overflowing the main assembly hall of the temple. Sufficient numbers were turned away to justify a second identical dedicatory session at the end of the week. The dedication was to be the largest, most elaborate, and most successful celebration in Mormonism's early history. It became known as the "Mormon pentecost" and remains in contemporary Mormonism one of its supreme expressions of spiritual communalism and ecstasy.

After Sidney Rigdon opened the service by reading Psalms 24 and 96, the choir sang an anthem which summarized Smith's vision of Enoch's heavenly city, the prototype of Zion.

Ere long the veil will rend in twain,
The King descend with all His train;
The earth will shake with awful fright,
And all creation feel His might.

The angel's trumpet long shall sound,
And wake the nations under ground;
Throughout the vast domain of space
'Twill echo forth from place to place.

Lift up your heads, ye Saints, in peace,
The Savior comes for your release;
The day of the redemption has come;
The Saints shall all be welcomed home.

Behold the church! it soars on high,
To meet the Saints amid the sky,
To hail the King in clouds of fire,
And strike and tune th'immortal lyre.

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18 The account of the temple dedication, unless otherwise noted, is from Smith, History of the Church, 2:410-426, and Doctrine and Covenants, 109-110. For additional details of the remarkable period, see Backman, Heavens Resound, ch. 16.
Hosanna! now the trump shall sound,
Proclaim the joys of heaven around,
When all the Saints together join
In songs of love, and all divine.

With Enoch here we all shall meet,
And worship at Messiah's feet,
Unite our hands and hearts in love,
And reign on thrones with Christ above.

The city that was seen of old,
Whose walls were jasper, streets were gold,
We'll now inherit, throned in might--
the Father and the Son's delight.

Celestial crowns we shall receive,
And glories great our God shall give!
While loud hosannas we'll proclaim,
And sound aloud our Savior's name.

Our hearts and tongues shall join in one,
To praise the Father and the Son;
While all the heavens shall shout again,
And all creation say, Amen.

Rigdon then addressed the congregation, which was assembled according to the various priesthood orders. His topic concerned the condition of apostacy among the Jews at the time of Christ. The principal evidence used against the ancient covenant people was their defilement of the temple and their rejection of contemporary revelation in the person of Christ. These two points corresponded precisely with the Mormon indictment of modern Christianity, namely that it had rejected contemporary prophets in the person of Joseph Smith and it had no temples. Following this long oration, each priesthood order in turn unanimously acclaimed Joseph Smith "Prophet and Seer" of the "Dispensation of the Fulness of Times." By this action, the Mormons laid claim to the status
of God's modern covenant people, having recognized a divine oracle among them and constructed a holy sanctuary to God.

A popular millenial hymn was then sung, whose chorus reinforced the centripetality and inductance of the Mormon kingdom.

Then all that was promised the Saints shall be given
And they shall be crowned with the angels of heaven,
And earth will appear as the Garden of Eden,
And Christ and his people will ever be one.

Following a brief intermission, the most popular Mormon hymn of the time was sung. Millennial in content, it was sung at conferences and assemblages throughout the church from the time of its composition (1835) until the Saints gave up hope of immediately redeeming Zion. Its title, "Adam-ondi-Ahman," refers to the place where Mormons believe that Adam settled following his expulsion from Eden and where Christ would return to earth to assume control of Zion at the end of time. The significance of the name will be explored in the following chapter.

This earth was once a garden place,
With all her glories common;
And men did live a holy race,
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

We read that Enoch walked with God,
Above the power of mammon;
While Zion spread herself abroad,
And Saints and angels sang aloud,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Her land was good and greatly blest,
Beyond old Israel's Canaan;
Her fame was known from east to west,
Her peace was great and pure the rest
Of Adam-ondi-Ahman.
Hosanna to such days to come--
The Savior's second coming,
When all the earth in glorious bloom
Affords the Saints a holy home,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Smith then offered the dedicatory prayer for the temple,
which, he said, came to him as revelation. Much of the prayer
addresses the Mormon ideology of place in relation to the
establishment of Zion.

And now we ask thee, Holy Father . . . to accept
of this house, the workmanship of the hands of us, thy
servants, which thou didst command us to
build . . . .
. . . that the Son of Man might have a place to
manifest himself to his people . . . .
That thy glory may rest down upon thy people, and
upon this thy house, which we now dedicate to thee,
that it may be sanctified and consecrated to be holy,
and that thy holy presence may be continually in this
house;
And that all people who shall enter the threshold
of the Lord's house may feel thy power, and feel
constrained to acknowledge that thou hast sanctified
it, and that it is thy house, a place of thy holy-
ness . . . .
And that they may grow up in thee, and receive a
fulness of the Holy Ghost, and be organized according
to the laws, and be prepared to obtain every needful
thing . . . .
And we ask thee, Holy Father, that thy servants
may go forth from this house armed with thy power, and
that thy name may be upon them, and thy glory may be
round about them, and thy angels have charge over
them;
And from this place they may bear exceedingly
great and glorious tidings, in truth, unto the ends of
the earth, that they may know that this is thy work,
and that thou hast put forth thy hand, to fulfill that
which thou hast spoken by the mouths of the prophets,
concerning the last days.
We ask thee, Holy Father, to establish the people
that shall worship, and honorably hold a name and
standing in this thy house, to all generations and for
all eternity . . . .
. . . thy servants shall go out from thy house, O
Jehovah, to bear testimony of thy name . . . .
That all the ends of the earth may know that we, thy servants, have heard thy voice, and that thou hast sent us;
That from among all these, thy servants, the sons of Jacob, may gather out the righteous to build a holy city to thy name, as thou hast commanded them.
We ask thee to appoint unto Zion other stakes besides this one which thou hast appointed, that the gathering of thy people may roll on in great power and majesty, that thy work may be cut short in righteousness.

This prayer unequivocally established the temple as a Mormon axis mundi and expressed the Mormon self-conscious identity as God's chosen people. It was felt that the power introduced into the kingdom by the temple would enable the Saints to accomplish their mission to transform the earth into a heaven.

The dedicatory prayer and the subsequent singing of the "Hosanna Anthem" worked the congregation into a state of ecstasy. Church leaders publicly acknowledged seeing angels and visions of heaven. Members of the congregation prophesied of the millennium and other heavenly glories. This enthusiasm continued long into the evening. Smith reported, "The people of the neighborhood came running together (hearing an unusual sound within, and seeing a bright light like a pillar resting upon the Temple), and were astonished at what was taking place."

Two days later Smith, Rigdon, and Frederek G. Williams—the Mormon First Presidency—held an all-night vigil in the temple with other Mormon leaders. They washed one another's feet—a ritual of purification which followed the model of
the gospel of John—and prophesied of Zion. Early the next morning, the members of Mormonism's other priesthood orders in Kirtland joined them. Communion was served, and the sacrament of washing and anointing with holy oil was extended to all assembled. It was claimed that without this ritual purification, the promised endowment would not come.

Smith instructed those assembled that after the endowment had come, several days hence, the priesthood in Zion would be free to preach wherever they felt guided "by the Spirit." The goal of this mission would be the "redemption of Zion," effected by "sending up all the strength of the Lord's house, wherever we find them." A covenant was also made "that if any more of our brethren are slain or driven from their lands in Missouri by the mob, we will give ourselves no rest until we are avenged of our enemies to the uttermost." The ecstatic events witnessed at this assemblage caused Smith to remember

... it was a Pentecost and an endowment indeed, long to be remembered, for the sound shall go forth from this place into all the world, and the occurrence of this day shall be handed down upon the pages of sacred history, to all generations; as the day of Pentecost, so shall this day be numbered and celebrated as a year of jubilee, and time of rejoicing to the Saints of the Most High God.

The "endowment" seems to have been interpreted at this time as the ecstatic experiences which would inspire and authorize the Saints to "redeem Zion."

At the end of the week of ceremonies, a large congregation was seated in the temple, receiving instruction and communion
from church leaders. Smith and Cowdery, the officiators at the time, stepped behind a curtain to pray. Upon reemerging into public view, they reported having seen a vision of Christ, who accepted the temple and identified Smith's followers as his chosen people. Said the Lord, according to Smith,

Let the hearts of your brethren rejoice, and let the hearts of all my people rejoice, who have, with their might, built this house to my name.

For behold, I have accepted this house, and my name shall be here; and I will manifest myself to my people in mercy in this house.

Yea, I will appear unto my servants, and speak unto them with mine own voice, if my people will keep my commandments, and do not pollute this holy house.

Yea, the hearts of thousands and tens of thousands shall greatly rejoice in consequence of the blessings which shall be poured out, and the endowment with which my servants have been endowed in this house.

And the fame of this house shall spread to foreign lands; and this is the beginning of the blessing which shall be poured out upon the heads of my people. Even so. Amen.

Consistent with the axial functions of the Kirtland temple, Smith ordered that his collected revelations to date, a recently published hymnal of music sacred to Mormonism, and copies of the two Mormon periodicals, the Evening and Morning Star and the Messenger and Advocate, be distributed among the Saints in northern Missouri to unify and revitalize them in preparation for the attempt to redeem Zion.

Adding to the millennial fervor of the temple dedication was a prophecy issued by Smith nearly two years earlier that Zion would be redeemed on September 11, 1836, six months
hence. To support the preparations to redeem Zion, Smith and Cowdery visited surrounding Mormon congregations to solicit contributions. Initially the response from this campaign was encouraging, but the final receipts amounted to only several hundred dollars.

These developments in Kirtland generated expectations among the Mormons who had remained in Missouri. Although these exiles from Jackson County had received sympathetic treatment from the residents of Clay County to which they had fled, the attitudes of the residents of Clay County towards the Saints changed as the latter's anticipations for the redemption of Zion increased. The following reactions from "gentile" residents typify the troubles facing the Mormons because of their Zionism.

The poor deluded mortals, with all their experience in Jackson, began to tell the citizens of Clay County the same old tale; that they country was theirs by gift of the Lord, and that it was folly for them to improve their lands, they would not enjoy the fruits of their labors; that it would finally fall into the hands of the Saints. One asked me if I didn't believe that they would finally possess the land and yet build the temple at Independence; if it was the Lord's work, and they were the chosen people of God to build the New Jerusalem.

...the Subject of Mormonism... has been the order of the day for some time and has been gaining ground on both Sides. They have been flocking in here faster than ever and making great talk what they would

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19 Smith, History of the Church, 2:145. Remembering the hostilities in Jackson County fueled by his followers' indiscretions, Smith added, "let this [the revealed date for the redemption of Zion] not be noised abroad; let every heart beat in silence; and let every mouth be shut."

20 Ibid., 2:434.
do . . . . [T]hey tend to outnumber us. Then they would rule the Country at pleasure . . . . [T]hey are borrowing all the money they can to procure land here & they buy all on a credit that they can get and they promise the most Ambitious prices ever heard of . . . . They have got a revelation from Smith that they shall have the Missouri By money or Blood and God has commanded them (they say) to Sell their flocks and hovels and proceed to the Mo. and Buy land that they may rest . . . .21

Following the lead of their neighbors across the Missouri, residents of Clay County began to harass the Mormons because of these pretensions. Several incidents erupted into minor violence. Fearing an escalation of the conflict, a committee of prominent Clay County residents made formal appeal to the Mormons to honor their original agreement to leave Clay County, Missouri, in order to avoid the "horrors and desolations of a civil war." Wishing at all costs to avert a repeat of Jackson County, the Saints responded reluctantly but favorably to this request on July 1, 1836, just a few months after the exhilarating dedication of the temple in Kirtland, Ohio.22

The significance of centripetality in Mormon ideology is reflected in this response. With regard to most of the points of conflict between the Mormons and the Missourians, the Mormons practiced conciliation; regarding their claim to property they practiced concealment. Missourians objected to

22Smith, History of the Church, 2:449-454.
Mormon abolitionism, so the Mormons stopped proselyting Blacks. They disliked the friendly relations between the Mormons and the Indians, so Mormons broke off relations with neighboring "Lamanites." However, regarding their interest in the land of western Missouri, the Mormons shifted their justification from cosmic to political. Rather than expressing their millennial expectations, the Mormons stood behind their Constitutional guarantees to own land and reside at will throughout America. So strong was their reliance on the Constitution that the Mormon doctrine of the divinely inspired Constitution derived from this attempt to retain their residences in western Missouri.23

Efforts to reinterpret their intentions proved futile. Public justifications were ignored by the Missourians in light of private correspondence between church leaders acquired by "gentiles." In it they discovered the campaign initiated by Smith and the Kirtland High Council to conscript "eight hundred to one thousand emigrants" to return to Missouri in early 1836. Consequently, in the statement of July 1, the Mormons agreed

... for the sake of friendship, and to be a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay County ... [to] comply with the requisitions of their resolutions in leaving Clay County ... and ... use our exertions to have the Church do the same; and ... stop the tide of emigration of our people to this county.24

23Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 98:5-7; 101:76-80.
24Smith, History of the Church, 2:282-283.
The exile from Clay County and subsequent settlement of northern Missouri will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

In summary, centripetality in Kirtland defined the temple as the foundation and geographical center of Zion's stake, and its architectural features as the model of Kirtland's social organization. However, Kirtland's sacred center was spatially and functionally reduced from that of Zion. Furthermore, the land of Kirtland had no ontological status like that of Zion. Its centripetality was primarily in view of the preparations to return to and redeem the "waste places of Zion." Ironically, it was primarily centripetal values and attitudes that caused the problems with their Missouri neighbors which ultimately prevented the Mormons from achieving their settlement ambitions.

Symbolism of Kirtland's Layout

While plans for Zion's redemption were proceeding, efforts were being made to "enlarge her stakes," particularly Kirtland. At a conference of the general membership of the church, April 6, 1837, Smith revealed to his followers the plat of the "city of the stake of Zion" (see Figure 7). The plat was recorded with the Geauga County Recorder May 24.25

Cardinality in Zion's stake was manifest primarily in this

25Ibid., History of the Church, 2:479-480; Geauga County, Ohio, County Recorder, Deed Book 24, p. 98.
The "city of the stake of Zion," like its prototype, was a "square" oriented in the cardinal directions. The streets of Zion's stake were straight in the cardinal directions and wide, though only half as wide as those of the "center place." The size of the blocks in Kirtland was similar to that of Zion, namely ten acres. Blocks were also orthogonal and cardinally oriented. The half-acre lots were identical to those of Zion. As with the plat of Zion, the design of the stake did not accommodate existing topographical features or property lines. It was a template rather than a blueprint.

Besides the reduction of street width from eight to four meters, several other departures from the Zion plat appeared in the stake's plat. One of the principal differences was the greatly reduced size of the sacred center. Only one temple was designated for Kirtland, instead of the twenty-four of Zion. Furthermore, only one-half of one block was reserved for the public zone, instead of three blocks as in Zion. By contrast, the residential sphere of Zion's stake was considerably larger than that of Zion's center. Whereas the "center place" was to be "one mile square," the stake was to be nearly five times that large, containing 225 ten-acre

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blocks instead of 49. Residential lots in Kirtland outnumbered those in Zion 4500 to 960. In Kirtland, the residential function of the kingdom superseded civic functions.

These numbers suggest that residence was to play a relatively more important role in Kirtland than it had in Jackson County; that civic activity in Zion's stake was to be considerably reduced over that of the "center place;" and that the ideal geographical size of Mormonism's spiritual center in Missouri was easily modified for its demographic and administrative center in Ohio. These observations all support the general cultural role of Kirtland as a supporting gathering place whose administrative functions overshadowed its ritual functions. Kirtland as a gathering place was to be a staging ground to prepare the influx of Mormon converts to and refugees from Jackson County for the promised redemption of Zion.

Zoning in Zion's stake was neither as comprehensive nor as cosmically significant as it had been in the "center place." In the first place, the distinctions between its public and residential spheres were blurred. Even though the temple and printing press were centrally located, no other public areas appear on the plat. Schools, stores, industries, and other public institutions developed by Mormons were scattered throughout the Kirtland area (see Figure 9). As a result, civic activities in Mormon Kirtland neither visually
reinforced nor were given significance by the cosmic symbolism of the temple.

The distinctions between the residential and agricultural spheres were similarly blurred. There was, for example, no prohibition against outbuildings and farmlands inside the city limits. There was also no attempt to regulate the placement of either houses on the town lots or farmlands and buildings in the countryside to strengthen the stake's cardinal symbolism. Although the designated boundary of Kirtland's stake was orthogonal and cardinaly oriented, it served only to limit the spread of residences, not to visually differentiate residential from subsistence functions in Kirtland.

Realizing the stake of Zion on the territorial environment also compromised its cardinal symbolism. The plat of the Kirtland stake never influenced the gathering to Kirtland to any significant degree. Smith revealed the plat after most of the Mormons who gathered to Kirtland had settled in a random fashion. Like the plat of Zion, that of Zion's stake was a matter of too little, too late. By 1837, Kirtland's landscape had been largely determined by economic and political forces beyond Mormon control. The following excerpt from a description of Kirtland published in the *Messenger and Advocate* expresses the Mormon disappointment with the existing territorial environment.
... Almost instantaneously [the eye] catches the Lord's house on a beautiful eminence or table land on the south side of the stream, at an altitude of from 80 to 100 feet from its bed ... The intermediate space, between the river and the Lord's House, is occupied with dwellings, generally small and inelegant, evince of anything but wealth, standing in no regular order, but built at a period when the saints had little control, and but feeble means to execute any plan with elegance or taste. Therefore, instead of a regular town, village, or city, laid out and ornamented with rows of fruit or forest trees ... the eye rests upon rude dwellings scattered in all directions.

The reporter's anticipation of the stake in Kirtland gave this note of optimism to his communication, "our village has now been laid out in a regular plot, and calculated for streets to cross each other at right angles. The lots contained one half acre each, and are selling from one to two hundred dollars."

Although cardinality remained basic to Mormon town planning through the Kirtland period, its actual impact on the territorial environment was slight.27

Cardinality in Zion's stake was reduced in its pervasiveness and strength. The same principles which influenced Zion's cardinal symbolism were presented in the stake but tempered with a greater degree of individualism in the placement of homes, public buildings, farms, and outbuildings. The implicit recognition of secular activities in Kirtland also muted the cardinality of the stake. Kirtland, as designed by Smith, was intended to be a sacred community, but its sacredness was more restricted, even in the ideal formulation, than it had been in Zion.

27 *Messenger and Advocate*, July 1836, pp. 348-349.
Symbolism of Kirtland's Social Organization

The third principle of Zion's cosmic symbolism, inductance, was similarly reduced in Kirtland in comparison with the ideal expression anticipated for Jackson County. One of the principal departures was mentioned above, namely the allowance of private property and the encouragement of profit taking. Ownership in Kirtland was in fee simple and by individuals. As far as the Mormons were concerned, God owned very little of the lands and resources in northern Ohio. Consequently, His agents in Kirtland, Joseph Smith and the Bishop Newel K. Whitney, exercised little control over trade in real estate, except that which they controlled as private citizens. Capitalism and individualism influenced the economy of Kirtland considerably more than the communitarianism of the Order of Enoch. The "law of consecration and stewardship" was implemented for a brief period among Rigdon's followers and a few Mormon immigrants from New York. Begun shortly after Smith himself had arrived from New York, this experiment was short-lived, ending in the Spring of 1831 due to dissent, jealousy, and greed.

Smith revived the United Order in Kirtland in April 1832, but it functioned more as a board of directors of Mormon finances than as a communal society. In the first place, membership was restricted to the ecclesiastical and financial elite of the Mormon community. Initial members included Smith, Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, the Mormon First Presidency; Oliver Cowdery and Martin Harris, original
witnesses to the Book of Mormon and its financier of publication; and Newel K. Whitney, a prosperous Kirtland merchant and local Mormon bishop. Subsequent members included John Johnson, a wealthy farmer from nearby Hiram, Ohio, who provided the capital to purchase the temple lot. Vienna Jacques, a recent convert from the east, was also admitted, although not as a voting member, as a result of her donation of $1400, her life savings, for construction of the temple. For this consecration she was also granted the privilege of gathering to Zion. Many smaller contributions from the Saints in material, money, and labor to complete construction of the temple did not qualify them for inclusion in Kirtland's United Order. Only major benefactors and church officials were accorded that privilege.  

In addition, the United Order in Kirtland departed from the model of the "center place" in that consecrated properties but not financial contributions were returned to the original donors when the Order was disbanded. Smith issued the revelation to dissolve the Order on April 23, 1834, two years after its inception. Frederick G. Williams received back his home and part ownership with Oliver Cowdery in the printing press. John Johnson was returned his home and farm, except that consecrated for the temple block. Newel K. Whitney received again his store and ashery, and Joseph Smith was

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granted ownership in the temple lot and his father's residence. Although Kirtland's United Order lasted considerably longer than that in Zion, its cosmic significance was considerably less.

Contributions from the general membership of the church were received not by consecrations but solicitations, directed by Smith and collected by missionaries and church leaders, including Smith himself. These methods, however, were never formalized in any way and were begun primarily to compensate for the unpopularity of the law of consecration.

Sanctioning market economics and ownership in fee simple allowed economic stratification to compromise the material equality and mechanical solidarity of the stake of Zion. Many of the conflicts among members in Kirtland were connected with the acquisition and preservation of wealth. In addition to those associated with the Kirtland Safety Society mentioned below, innocent gatherers occasionally fell prey to fraudulent land investors posing as Mormon agents, and prospective gatherers were warned not to expect paradise when they arrived in Zion's stake.

Although the temple was the unquestioned religious center of Mormon Kirtland, its ritual functions were reduced following its dedication. Its perceived role had been to prepare the Saints through their receiving an endowment from

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29 Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 104:passim.

30 Smith, History of the Church, 2:479; Messenger and Advocate, 3 (May 1837), pp. 505-506; 2 (July 1836), p. 349.
on high for the redemption of Zion. Once the endowment had been received, the temple continued to serve administrative and ecclesiastical functions in the Mormon community, but its sacred activities were diminished. Its axial functions were also minimized. Although Kirtland was the site of more of Smith's recorded revelations than any other place, few of the forty-six revelations received in Kirtland came to Smith in the temple.31 By far the majority was received in the Prophet's residence in the second story of the Whitney store in Kirtland Flats. In short, the temple's ideological significance in Mormonism stemmed primarily from Smith's revelations and the dedicatory services, not from continuing sacred activities connected with the temple. Furthermore, the social and commercial center of Kirtland was actually Kirtland Flats, down the hill from the temple.

The most serious challenge in Kirtland to Smith's ideal society focused on the proper role of Zion's ecclesiastical officials. Zion had been designed as a sacred society with all institutions conforming to religious sanctions and being administered by sacerdotal officials possessing absolute authority. Smith had earlier justified the comprehensive religious foundation of his utopia with the declaration, "all things unto me [God] are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal." On numerous

31 Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, pp. vi-viii, despite Smith's declaration that the temple would be "for the work of the presidency, in obtaining revelations..." Ibid., 34:3.
occasions he had reiterated his exclusive right to receive these divine instructions. Many of his followers, however, began to question whether secular wisdom might not be better than revelation in certain realms.

The Kirtland Safety Society Bank was initiated November 2, 1836, by Smith and other leading Mormons to generate operating capital for the money-poor Saints. Although it was organized just seven months following the ecstacies of the temple dedication, the failure to "establish Zion" and the disappointment of Zion's Camp were still bitter pills for many who had placed their full confidence in the "Lord's anointed."

Despite the optimism generated by Smith and others for the bank's success, its charter was denied by the "hard money" or "loco fopo" Democrats who had gained control of the Ohio legislature. In 1835-36 this body rejected all but one charter for a new bank. In light of the failure to receive a charter, Mormon leaders revised the charter, creating an "anti-banking company." Notes were printed and deposits received, but the life of this unauthorized bank was short-lived. Joint stock companies such as this were illegal in Ohio in the 1830s; consequently when word of the venture spread to other towns, newspapers warned against depositing money with the company. Mormons, afraid of losing what little

32Ibid., 29:34; 28:2-7; 35:18; 43:2-5.

33For additional details of the Kirtland Safety Society, see Marvin S. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," Church History 49 (1980), pp. 286-297; Backman, Heavens Resound, pp. 311-321.
savings they had accumulated, ignored Smith's requests to "remember the Kirtland Safety Society," and major banks refused to accept its bank notes. The resulting rush on the Kirtland Bank forced the bank to suspend payments in specie. The notes became redeemable only in land, the Mormons' principal stock-in-trade in Kirtland. By the end of the summer of 1837, the bank was forced to close its doors.

Expressing a widening dissatisfaction with the complete control over Mormon society which Smith had claimed, Warren Parrish, editor of the *Latter-day Saint Messenger and Advocate*, editorialized

> If we give all our priveleges to one man, we virtually give him our money and our liberties, and make him a monarch, absolute and despotic, and ourselves abject slaves or fawning sycophants. If we grant priveleges and monopolies to a few, they always continue to undermine the fundamental principles of freedom, and sooner or later, convert the purest and most liberal form of Government into a rankest aristocracy.

Oliver Cowdery also observed that a man may be a "celebrated divine, and be no mechanic no financier, and be just as able to fail in the management of a bank as he would be in constructing a balloon or the mechanism of a watch if he had seen neither."\(^{34}\)

In addition to the many civil suits brought against Smith by his creditors, two apostles, Orson Pratt and Lyman Johnson, pressed ecclesiastical charges to have him removed from office. The charges were not sustained, due primarily to the forceful defense of the Prophet by Brigham Young.

\(^{34}\) *Messenger and Advocate*, 3 (July 1837), p. 538.
Nevertheless, the unity of the Mormon Kingdom had been severely shaken. No fewer than six of the twelve original Mormon apostles, two of the three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon, and a member of the First Presidency united with other dissidents to oppose Smith's expansive leadership practices. During this crisis, one of the faithful supporters of the prophet remarked that "there were not twenty persons on earth that would declare that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God."35

Despite Smith's efforts to unify his followers by reconciliation or purge and despite his efforts to free himself and his followers from "vexatious lawsuits" pressed by Mormon creditors, Smith could see that the situation in Kirtland had gotten out of hand. The temple had been profaned by those seeking to overthrow the prophet. The stake of Zion had become incapacitated by financial disaster and disunity. And the five year period of Kirtland's role as the Mormon "strong hold" had expired.

In the meantime, Mormons who had remained in Missouri to await Zion's redemption had located a promising homeland on Missouri's northern prairies, fifty miles from the "center place." They had begun to gather there with great enthusiasm. In consideration of identifying a new gathering spot close to the "center place," a conference of the

remaining faithful in Kirtland appointed Smith and Rigdon to determine the suitability of the site. They left Kirtland on September 27, 1837. Returning briefly to Kirtland with a favorable report, they turned their backs on the Mormon strong hold for the last time on January 12, 1838, to direct the gatherings once again to Missouri.36

At a cultural level, Kirtland manifested a series of contradictions which placed great stress on the Mormon ideology of place. Although Mormons settled in Kirtland prior to their migration to Jackson County, Kirtland became an official gathering place only after the dedication of the "center place" and was ideologically subordinate to it. Furthermore, Kirtland's role as an official gathering place, with the declaration to build a temple there, was primarily to prepare the Saints for the "redemption of Zion," as promised in the revelations.

Despite its subordinate ideological status within the Mormon kingdom, Kirtland was the demographic, administrative, social, and economic center of the Church from 1831-1838. Major Mormon institutions either emerged or matured in Kirtland. Most gatherers migrated to Kirtland, not Jackson County. Most Church leaders lived in and administered the church from Kirtland. So important was Kirtland as a functional center in Mormonism that at its official abandonment, a sizeable Mormon population remained behind,

36Smith, History of the Church, 2:518, 524-525.
managing Mormon properties and preserving the option for Latter-day Saints to return should other gathering places fail as had Jackson County. This outpost of the kingdom was officially sanctioned until well into the Nauvoo era.

In addition to the ambivalence of Kirtland’s role in the kingdom, "Zion’s stake" was a mixture of communalism and capitalism, of covenant theology and individualism. Latter-day Saints rallied to Kirtland to establish Zion’s stake as Smith had directed them. Despite honest intentions and religious enthusiasm, many Latter-day Saints found market forces frustrating to their efforts to comply with their Prophet’s directives. Private ownership was generally the rule of land tenure, with inflationary profit-taking characterizing Kirtland’s growing economy. The cash-poor Church benefitted financially from trading in land in this inflated real estate market. However, this same free market priced many Latter-day Saints out of an inheritance in Zion’s stake. The market economy of Kirtland financially favored the Church, but it spiritually inhibited individual Mormon gatherers. In this respect, profit-takers prevented prophet-followers from contributing to and benefitting from the full program of the gathering. The economic consequences of the Church’s trying to prosper in a monetary economy when revelations required the investment of available wealth in land, and the spiritual consequences for individual Latter-day Saints of the Church’s associating spiritual well-being with the settlement of a particular location which could not be properly done,
seriously threatened the foundation of Zion's stake.

Similarly, the grid pattern of Kirtland's plat tried to serve two masters: cosmic symbolism and frontier boosterism. The orthogonal grid was equally suited to the replication of Zion's center place and to the rational subdivision of properties for development. Although Kirtland was ostensibly designed to serve the former role, the absence of zoning regulations and settlement procedures, as had been established for the center place, encouraged boosterism and speculation which frustrated the settlement intentions of sincere gatherers.

A fourth major source of ideological conflict in Kirtland concerns the proper role of the Mormon prophet. Smith's revelations established the prophet as the final word on all matters pertaining to the kingdom, but required "all things shall be done by common consent in the church."37 In short, the revelations sanctioned both a theocratic and a congregational administrative style in Mormonism.

The implementation of these divergent administrative styles produced more conflict than harmony in the kingdom. Those who whole-heartedly supported Smith's program felt common consent to be little more than a formality. Others felt that their inferred right to dissent applied particularly to matters traditionally outside the realm of established religion. The crisis of the Kirtland Safety Society was

ultimately a conflict over the proper role of the prophet and not purely over matters economic. The ambivalence over the ritual versus administrative centers and the conflict over the role of the Mormon leader were inherent in Mormon ideology. They were never resolved in Kirtland but reappeared throughout the history of Mormon settlement. With historical hindsight, one can see that as the kingdom reduced its overt sphere of influence into matters social, economic, and political--the authority of the prophet over matters spiritual grew stronger. Nevertheless, the terms "liberal" and "fundamentalist" have branded advocates of either extreme of these positions throughout Church history. Therefore, the scope of the conflict over the role of the prophet and the sphere of the kingdom's influence may have lessened, but a resolution, either in ideal or practical terms, has not been achieved.

The other conflicts existed between Mormon and American ideology. The conflicts gave Mormon leaders some practical experience in dealing with settlement issues in subsequent locations in North America but did not give them insights on how to avoid future ideological conflicts with the "Gentiles."

At the cultural level, then, these conflicts were irreconcilable without compromise, and compromise generally meant on the part of the Mormons. The practical strategy, then, was to avoid conflict in future settlement areas. This was done to the extent possible, in terms of settlement location,
relationship with neighbors, and relationship with established American institutions. Avoidance, however, was only a strategy, not an ideology and was therefore not an ultimate solution as the Mormon kingdom expanded and strengthened in its various locations. Because these ideological conflicts were resolved neither at Jackson County nor at Kirtland and because conflict did not seemingly occur without compromise, these ideological conflicts were to appear again and again in Mormon settlement history. The drama of this history was the transformation of the Mormon city from a utopian center of a world-wide millennial kingdom to a regional capital of commerce, politics and culture in the western United States. Subsequent chapters will trace this further transformation of Mormon settlement.
CHAPTER IV

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN: WHERE ADAM DWELT

In 1834 the vigilantes in Jackson County had effectively scattered the Mormons throughout western Missouri, but mainly immediately to the north in Clay County (see Figure 2).

The Saints who fled took refuge in adjoining counties, mostly in Clay County, which received them with some degree of kindness. Those who fled to the county of Van Buren were again driven and compelled to flee; and those who fled to Lafayette County were soon expelled, or the most part of them, and had to move wherever they could find protection.¹

Most of the exiles who remained in Missouri eventually settled in Clay County, whose inhabitants might have been suspicious of the Mormons, but they were at least civil.² One reason for their civility might have been the Mormon assurances that their stay would be only temporary. The Mormons still fully expected either the courts, the governor, the President, the nation, or God to intercede in their behalf to restore their promised lands.

Because of their feelings of impermanence, the Mormons did not "gather" in their usual manner, but grouped in small ad hoc settlements and preferred to rent or squat until they

¹Pratt, Autobiography, p. 103.
could return to Zion. During their first year of residence in Clay County, the nearly 1000 Mormons purchased only 240 acres of land. Never during their two years in Clay County did the Saints own more than 500 acres at one time. Instead of constructing homes as they had done in Jackson County, the exiles established residence in abandoned buildings, wagon boxes, and wind screens. 3 Being refugees from the promised land, the Saints made no attempt to organize their territorial environment according to the model of Zion. They chose to remain in territorial ambiguity while due process was being pursued.

No effort was made to reinstate the law of consecration, despite a directive from Joseph Smith to that effect. Not wishing to become tied to unhallowed land in the eventuality of Zion's redemption, and not having sufficient resources to do otherwise, many Saints sought wage labor on farms and in nearby communities. A number of Mormon women used their talents of needlework, child care, and school teaching to supplement the meager incomes of their husbands. 4

Although Bishop Partridge retained his ecclesiastical office, he had little direct control over the scattered Mormon

3Clay County, Missouri, County Recorder, Deed Books D, E, F, passim; Max H. Parkin, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Clay County, Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 43-50, Appendix G.

4Joseph Smith to Edward Partridge, 2 May 1835, Edward Partridge collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; Parkin, "Latter-day Saints in Clay County," pp. 190-196.
groupings, which organized for religious purposes on an ad hoc basis. Little contact existed among these various "branches" whose leaders were, for the most part, authorized by their respective congregations for some time before proper Mormon officials could formally install them. At least twelve congregations functioned in this loose manner in Clay County.\textsuperscript{5} Wage labor, spontaneous ecclesiastical leadership, residential impermanence and the absence of land purchases were all forbidden practices in Zion but acceptable while the Saints were in exile.

Despite their peripheral existence in Clay County, the Mormons encouraged migration there in order to prepare for the anticipated redemption of Zion. To promote Clay County as a Mormon gathering place, W. W. Phelps wrote articles in the Mormon newspaper, \textit{Messenger and Advocate}, comparing the beauty, fertility, and natural resources of Clay County with those of Jackson County. The resulting enthusiasm, coupled with Smith's promise that September 11, 1838 was the date for the redemption of Zion, produced the troubles which led to the Saints' abandonment of Clay County as a gathering place.\textsuperscript{6} The relevant events in this episode of Mormon settlement history were related in the previous chapter.

\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Evening and Morning Star} 2 (September 1834), p. 7.

\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Messenger and Advocate} 1 (November 1834-February 1835), passim; Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 2:145.
appointed, on March 11, 1836, a committee consisting of Edward Partridge, John Corrill, Isaac Morley, and W. W. Phelps to purchase lands in northern Missouri for an alternate gathering place. After several visits to a location along Shoal Creek, fifty miles north of Independence, the committee purchased 1600 acres from the government for the standard pre-emption price of $1.25 per acre. These transactions were concluded several weeks prior to the Mormon concessions to the citizens of Clay County.

Unlike previous gathering places, northern Missouri was nearly devoid of residents when the Saints arrived. In addition, the "Gentiles" who had been living there were very willing to dispose of their lands at a profit. "The Missourians were satisfied [with these developments] because they had a poor opinion of the prairie soil of the proposed new county, which they declared was fit for only Mormons and Indians, and doubted whether it could ever be made really valuable." By default, the Mormons seemed finally to have the opportunity to settle virgin land without outside intervention.

The Mormon ideology of place as it unfolded in northern Missouri was influenced to a great extent by cosmic urban


8History of Livingstone and Caldwell Counties, Missouri, (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1886), p. 100.
symbolism. However, it also contained many features characteristic of frontier American settlements. The location of the gathering place in northern Missouri reflects this mixture of urban traditions.

**Symbolism of Settlement Location in Northern Missouri**

Rather than a prophet's revelations, a committee's deliberations identified the gathering place in northern Missouri. Although Smith had appointed the search committee, their selection was never attributed any degree of spiritual significance. This decision was not in the least equivalent to that of the Mormon prophet to settle Jackson County.

In addition, the validation of the Mormon presence in northern Missouri came not from ritual consecration, but from political intervention. When they asked the Mormons to leave, the citizens of Clay County promised to assist them to fine a new homeland. True to their word, a citizens committee petitioned the state legislature to create a new county in northern Missouri as a Mormon refuge. As proposed, this county would have measured 25 by 50 miles and would have been located north of Ray County, which adjoined Clay County on the east.  

In short, much of the prairie of northern Missouri would have been designated as the Mormon homeland.

Although most Missourians had little use for these

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9 Missouri State Legislature, 9th General Assembly, 1st session, 1836-1837, pp. 60-64.
prairies, they could not concede them entirely to the Mormons. By the time the bill was ready for the governor's signature, two counties had been created from the original tract. Although not specified in the bill, Caldwell County was commonly understood to be reserved for the Mormons, while Daviess County was expected to be off limits to Mormon settlement. (see Figure 2). With these limitations and expectations, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs signed the bill into law on December 29, 1836.10 Although the Saints had already purchased land along Shoal Creek, their continued presence there was not secure until this political unit was created for them. The creation of this homeland contained none of the sacred overtones of the settlement of Zion. It resembled the settlement of many American cities and towns more than that of a ceremonial center.

Mormons and Missourians both welcomed this development. The Mormons saw it as the first recognition of their Constitutional right to residence and the first real cooperation they had received from any part of American society in their kingdom quest. Even though the Mormons had compromised their control over the territorial environment, they had achieved a measure of governmental recognition and protection. The Mormons felt that they could work within these new parameters to regain eventually their utopia. The

Missourians, on the other hand, felt that the Mormons would be more easily controlled if their gathering proceeded on the state's terms. Many Missourians saw Caldwell County as a Mormon reservation, a marginal compensation for having deprived them of their lands in Jackson County.

The Mormon migration to Shoal Creek began in Autumn 1836, before Caldwell County had become a legal entity. Although the Saints had been able to acquire 1600 acres of rolling prairie, they arrived in their new homeland with few possessions but what they could carry. A subscription of Mormons throughout the eastern United States provided an additional $1400 to assist "poor, bleeding Zion." Some of this money went for supplies, but much of it was devoted to additional land purchases in view of the expected gathering. One source credits the Mormons with eventually having acquired some 250,000 acres in northern Missouri at a cost of nearly $318,000.11

Although Mormon settlement occurred in a number of places simultaneously, the principal gathering in Caldwell County was at Far West. On August 8, 1836, W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer of the Mormon presidency in Missouri, filed the plat of Far West in Lexington, Missouri (see Figure 10). This action gave territorial precision to the gathering in northern Missouri.

but was undertaken without the approval of Joseph Smith. In addition, they dedicated the temple site and began excavating its foundations. They also received profits from sales of town lots to the gatherers.12

These unhallowed beginnings did not go unnoticed by other Mormon leaders in Far West. On April 3, 1837, the High Council arraigned Phelps and Whitmer on nine charges of insubordination, five of which relate to the Mormon ideology of place.

First— By what authority was this place [Far West] pointed out as a city and house of the Lord, and by whom?

Second— By what authority was a committee appointed and ordained to superintend the building of the House of the Lord? . . . .

Fourth— Have two presidents authority to lay out a city and build a House of God; independent of the counsel of the High Council? . . . .

Eighth— Shall any intelligence relative to the building up of Zion be withheld from the Council of Zion?

Ninth— Are the two presidents entitled to the profits arising from the sale of land, on which the city is to be built in this place, independent of the authorities who have been appointed to labor with them for Zion and have suffered like tribulations with them?13

These issues came to a head two days later when the Council met again, in the company of two Mormon apostles, Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten, who had been sent by Smith to


13Smith, History of the Church, 2:483.
oversee church affairs in Zion. From the minutes of the three-day trial came the following report.

The Council proceeded the investigation to the above named questions. They were not generally satisfactorily answered, which led the Council and others to strongly rebuke the late improper proceedings of the presidents . . . . The above named presidents agreed to give up the town plat of Far West with four eighties on the commons to be disposed of by the High Council, the Bishop and his counsellors and the said Apostles . . . and that the avails arising from the sale of said lands should be appropriated to the benefit and upbuilding of "Poor, Bleeding Zion."14

The question then arose whether to retain Far West as a gathering place. Despite the unauthorized beginnings of Far West, the final vote of the Council was in the affirmative. The Council, however, also voted that "other stakes be appointed in the regions round about; therefore a committee was appointed to locate the same; consisting of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Corrill and Lyman Wight." Instead of a single central location for the gathering, a number of centers of roughly equal importance would be settled simultaneously. Although this measure reduced the unique significance of any particular gathering place, in accordance with Joseph Smith's original directives for Zion, it departed from those directives in that numerous Mormon settlements could now be settled simultaneously. Cities of Zion were no longer to be unitary phenomena, as they had been originally designed, but could grow organically as many other cities and

14Ibid., p. 484.
towns throughout North America. The final recommendation of the High Council was that "the Saints scattered abroad ... make all possible exertions to gather themselves unto these places ... as peace shall soon be taken from the earth."  

By February 1838, Mormon settlements had emerged throughout Caldwell County, a number of which had been established prior to the founding of Far West. The named settlements at this time included Far West, Haun's Mill, Carter's Settlement, Durphey's Settlement and Curtis' Dwellinghouse. Most of the early settlements were located along Shoal Creek, but Far West was the only significant Mormon settlement in Caldwell County.

Because of the inauspicious founding of Far West, Joseph Smith initially refused to designate it as a gathering place. He also halted work on the temple "until the Lord shall reveal it to be his will to have it commenced." Once Smith had definitely abandoned Kirtland as a gathering place and returned permanently to northern Missouri, he was ready to upgrade the status of Far West. On April 26, 1838, at Far West, he declared,

... Arise and shine forth, that thy light may be a standard for the nations; And that the gathering together upon the land

16Smith, History of the Church, 3:3.
17Ibid., 2:521.
of Zion, and upon her stakes, may be for a defence, and for a refuge from the storm, and from the wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth.

Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me [God]; and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standest is holy.

Therefore, I command you to build a house unto me, for the gathering together of my saints, that they may worship me.

According to this revelation, construction of the temple in Far West was to recommence on July 4, 1838 and was to follow a divine pattern.

And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I shall show unto their presidency, I will not accept it at their hands.

But if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their presidency . . . then I will accept it at the hands of my people.

The revelation also concurred with the recommendation of the High Council.

. . . it is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my saints;

And also that other places should be appointed for stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifested unto my servant Joseph, from time to time.18

By this time, the exodus from Kirtland was well underway. Some of the Mormon refugees journeyed alone or in small groups. Others, like the Kirtland Camp, migrated to northern Missouri in large, organized companies.19 Given the economic and social conditions of Mormonism in Kirtland, few had any

18Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 115:5-18.

19See Smith, History of the Church, 3:87-148, for a history of the Kirtland Camp exodus.
regrets of leaving their homes and their temple. They sold their real properties in the depressed market following the Panic of 1837 and set their sights once more on the land of promise where they expected to build another temple in preparation for Zion's redemption.

Following the April 26 revelation, Smith set out to locate new "stakes of Zion." For the most part, the number, location, and layout of these additional settlements have been lost to history. Information regarding several of them, however, could perhaps speak for the rest. The most noted Mormon settlement in northern Missouri, even above Far West, was "Adam-ondi-Ahman," located three and one-half miles north of Gallatin on the west half of the southeast corner of section 30, township 60, range 27. As such, it was situated in Daviess County and beyond the commonly accepted boundaries of the Mormon settlement. 20

The reasons why Smith would have located an important Mormon center outside of Caldwell County are not clear. It is not likely that he was ignorant of the political boundaries. More likely is the possibility that he considered the location and spread of Zion above restriction by political process. Whatever the reason, it is obvious that the Mormon prophet

favored Adam-ondi-Ahman, over all other Mormon settlements in northern Missouri.

The name Smith gave this location indicates its significance in early Mormonism. Like "Zion," "gathering," "Enoch," "temple," and other Mormon concepts, "Adam-ondi-Ahman" gradually acquired importance in Mormon ideology. Eventually it formed a core symbol in the Mormon ideology of place. Although introduced in an eschatological context, the initial use of the term seems to have been more a case of theological hyperbole than serious redaction.

. . . That you may come unto the crown prepared for you and be made rulers over many kingdoms, saith the Lord god, the Holy One of Zion, who hath established the foundations of Adam-ondi-Ahman:

Who hath appointed Michael your prince, and established his feet, and set him upon high, and given unto him the keys of salvation under the counsel and direction of the Holy One who is without beginning of days or end of life. 21

The first location associated with Adam-ondi-Ahman came in a revelation on March 28, 1835, considerably prior to the migration to northern Missouri. In this eschatological exposition, Smith explained that three years before the patriarch Adam died, he called his posterity together to bless them. At this meeting, God appeared and revealed Adam's true identity as Michael, the archangel. Adam-ondi-Ahman was the name of the valley where this primordially sacred event took place, according to Smith. This same place was where Adam had retreated after the Fall to begin his mortal sojourn upon

21Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, 78:15-16.
the earth. Smith also declared it to be the place to which the righteous posterity of Adam would gather at the end of time to witness the return of God to earth. These events--among the most significant in Mormon cosmic history--were not reported in the Bible but were, according to Smith, "all written in the Book of Enoch ... to be testified of in due time."

On 19 May 1838, Joseph Smith identified Spring Hill, Davies County, Missouri as the very spot where these sacred events have taken or would take place. Following this identification, other Mormons began to conjecture on the meaning of the term. Mormons generally believed the term to have come from the perfect language which they credit Adam for having learned from God. The minimal Mormon significance for the term distinguishes the "place where Adam dwelt" from the Garden of Eden in Jackson County. "Many ... who would take the idea that [Adam-ondi-Ahman] was the place of the Garden forget that Adam was driven from the place of the tree of life ... Adam-ondi-Ahman was the city-home of Adam in the outside world." Other Mormons insisted that the term expressed man's subordinate relationship to God through Adam.

The word "Adam" refers directly to Adam. The word "ondi" means nearby or connected with. The word "Ahman" means the Lord himself. Therefore a literal translation of the word "Adam-ondi-Ahman" means "The Lord Jesus Christ, through Adam unto mankind."

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22Ibid., 107:53-57.

23Ibid., section 116.
There has been, however, no authoritative declaration on the meaning of "Adam-ondi-Ahman." It is significant that Smith felt satisfied to define the territorial, not theological meaning of Adam-ondi-Ahman, viz., "the land where Adam dwelt." 24

In addition to its connection with Mormonism's view of man's beginnings, Adam-ondi-Ahman was identified with the Book of Mormon. While on the site, Joseph Smith declared that a pile of rocks atop another hill within the city limits had once been a Nephite tower. From the time of the publication of the Book of Mormon, Mormons had been searching for material remains of the civilizations whose histories are recounted therein. Indian burial mounds in southern Illinois had fascinated Smith with their possible connection to the Book of Mormon. At one mound, he even used his prophetic powers to name a supposed warrior from the Book of Mormon, "Zelph," whose remains had been discovered by other Mormons. Smith also located a "stake of Zion" at Huntsville, Randolph County, Missouri, because, said he, it was "the ancient site of the city of Manti." Considerable effort was also made through Mormonism's official publications to corroborate archaeological findings throughout the Western Hemisphere with Book of Mormon society. Although faith-promoting to many of Smith's

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followers, these comparisons were never more than circumstantial and superficial.25

The significance accorded the site of Adam-ondi-Ahman made it one of Mormonism's most sacred places. By contrast, and despite the revelation declaring Far West "holy ground," Smith declared that it was where Cain had killed Abel. He also encouraged Mormon immigrants to gather to Adam-ondi-Ahman instead of Far West.26 In these and other authoritative statements Smith expressed his disfavor with the unhallowed beginnings of Far West.

Given the ideological significance of the Mormon landscape in northern Missouri, it is not surprising to find it described by Mormons in glowing terms.

Adam-ondi-Ahman . . . is situated on a beautiful elevated spot of ground, overlooking the river and country round about, which renders the place as healthy as any part of the United States . . . .

And when we look upon this beautiful situation, with the transcendant landscape which surrounds it, attended with all the above named advantages [e.g., timber, abundant prairie, and convenient transportation routes], we are ready to say truly this is like unto the land which the Lord our God promised to his Saints in the last days . . . .27
The centripetality of the Zion concept as expressed in northern Missouri remained strong but had been compromised in comparison with that of earlier Mormon settlements. There was a concerted effort to focus attention away from the primordial center place (the Garden of Eden) and toward earth's first temporal axis mundi (Adam-ondi-Ahman). Secondly, Mormonism's initial gathering place in northern Missouri was located by a committee and established by legal process, settled in an unauthorized manner, and nearly abandoned. The spiritual center of Mormonism in northern Missouri lay beyond the specified Mormon homeland, which eventually precipitated the violence which drove the Mormons from the state. As expressed in the symbolism of settlement location, the Mormon ideology of place in northern Missouri was a combination of secular polity and sacred ideology.

Symbolism of Settlement Layout in Northern Missouri

The layout of settlements in northern Missouri also reflected the transformation of Mormon settlement ideology. The Mormon tradition of cardinality was ill-fated from the beginning. Not only did subordinate ecclesiastical officials usurp Joseph Smith's prophetic privilege of locating "stakes of Zion," they also designed Far West and submitted the plat to the Missouri State Recorder without Smith's direction or approval. They also located a temple site within the plat, dedicated the ground, and began excavating its foundations.
Even though the original plat of Far West was morphologically similar to that of Zion, (see Figure 10), the inauspicious beginnings of this Mormon center severely affected its significance and altered its eventual design.

When Smith arrived at Far West for the first time in November 1837, the community boasted of "one hundred buildings, eight of which are stores." There was also a school house which the Mormons used for church, town meetings, court, and school classes.28

Rather than begin a new community elsewhere, Smith regained control of the design of the Mormon landscape by altering the layout of the city. Within a week of his arrival in Far West, Smith assembled the High Council and proposed that the blocks of the original plat be reduced from ten to four acres and that construction of the temple be postponed. On November 10, the "ordained members of the Church" in Far West met at the Prophet's insistence and "voted that the town of Far West be enlarged so that it contain four section, that is, two square miles." Bishop Partridge and his counsellors were given the responsibility to appraise the additional lands, arrange with the current owners to purchase them at a fair price, and to arrange for a survey of these lands.29 The

28Smith, History of the Church, 2:496, 521; History of Caldwell and Livingstone Counties, p. 119.

29Smith, History of the Church, 2:524-525.
altered layout of Far West resembled more that of Kirtland than that of Zion.

As redesigned by Smith, Far West became two miles square with 629 four-acre blocks, each having four square lots of one acre (see Figure 11). The central block was reserved for the temple. The survey was conducted in such a manner that the temple site was situated at the intersection of four section lines. The streets of Far West were wide; although only the four streets leading to the temple block were 132 feet wide, the size of the streets planned for Zion. The rest of the streets were 82 1/2 feet wide. The streets were also straight, met at right angles and were oriented in the cardinal directions.30 In another departure from the ideal layout of Zion, the plat was not surveyed as a unit, because of Smith's expansion. With the entire town being owned by the Mormon Church, it necessarily controlled land distribution, although it did not enforce the "law of consecration" to disburse land to the gatherers. Land was sold on the open market, although the Bishop saw to it that the freewheeling capitalism of the Kirtland period was not repeated.31

Church leaders, however, did encourage consolidated residence as was the case in Zion. Smith advised the gatherers,

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30 Caldwell County, Missouri, County Recorder, Original Entries.

31 Smith, History of the Church, 2:481. Abundant supply of good land also kept the prices down. City lots cost about $10, considerably below the prices for town lots commanded in Kirtland.
"Come into the cities to build and live and carry on [your] farms out of the cities, according to the order of God."

Sidney Rigdon developed the Prophet's counsel.

In order that the object for which the saints are gathered together in the last days . . . may be obtained, it is essentially necessary, that they should all be gathered into the cities appointed for that purpose; as it will be much better for them all, in order that they may be in a situation to have the necessary instruction, to prepare them for the duties of their callings. . . .

It will be found that farming, as well as all other business, can be carried on to better purpose through a well-arranged order of things by living in cities, than it possibly can, by living in any other situation of life; and the opportunities of education be complete so that not only the rising generation but that which has risen also, be able to obtain all the education that the heart can wish and that which will be well pleasing to God.32

The lots, blocks, and town perimeter of Far West were orthogonal and cardinally oriented. Beyond the corporate boundaries of the town, the four "Agricultural Companies"--to be discussed in greater detail below--plowed their common fields respectively on the east, west, north, and south of town.

Although the residential and agricultural functions of Far West were geographically delineated in its layout, the distinction was far from ideal. In the first place, Smith's expansion of the city violated the concept of the city as a unitary phenomenon. The city and the country no longer had fixed and sovereign boundaries as they had had in Jackson

32Smith, History of the Church, 3:56; Elders Journal 1 (August 1838), p. 53.
County. With the possibility of expansion, the city could indefinitely transform rural space into urban space. Secondly, the expansion of town lots from one-half acre to a full acre encouraged agricultural functions to be located on the town lot. This practice had been prohibited in Zion but was eventually encouraged in the Mormon settlements in the Great Basin. In short, geographical separation of residential and subsistence functions was becoming a less essential characteristic of Mormon settlement layout.

The distinction in the City of Zion between civic and residential zones was also blurred in Far West. The temple block was the only specific public zone in Far West. Stores, schools and other public buildings dotted the townscape. So far as is known, none lay outside the platted area, but Far West manifest more the organic growth of Kirtland than the analytical distinction of residential and civic functions of Zion. As the formal distinctions between social functions in Mormon town planning were breaking down, the exclusive sphere of the sacred civic functions was also declining. Although geographically prominent, the size of the temple block was reduced 60% in Smith's revision while the entire size of the town was quadrupled.

The symbolism of Mormon town layout in northern Missouri is further reflected in the comparison of Far West with Adam-ondi-Ahman. With the assurance of having found Adam's altar, the surveyors and builders in the Prophet's party began
at once to lay out and construct a city worthy of the site. These initial efforts took approximately two months; residence, however, began immediately, and the anticipation of a large and rapid gathering to the "Valley of God" spread quickly among the settlers. On June 16, 1838, Smith created a "Stake of Zion" at Adam-ondi-Ahman, effectively creating an official gathering place, and installed his uncle, John Smith, as president of the stake.\textsuperscript{33}

As was mentioned above, Smith encouraged the gatherers to settle in Adam-ondi-Ahman. At least one company of Canadian Saints and most of the 500 members of the "Kirtland Camp" followed his advice. Many others also made their homes between the hill of Adam's altar and that of the Nephite tower.\textsuperscript{34}

Like previous Mormon settlements, Adam-ondi-Ahman was oriented to the cardinal compass directions (see Figure 12). Lots, blocks, street networks, and town boundary were all orthogonal and cardinaly oriented. Blocks were uniformly rectangular in the north-south direction. They measured thirty-six by thirty-two rods, making each 7.2 acres. Six lots of 1.2 acres occupied each block and frontage alternated from block to block. Because the blocks were not square, the lots were of two sizes. those facing north and south measured

\begin{quote}

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{See note 26.}
\end{quote}
176 feet by 297 feet, while those facing east and west measured 198 by 264 feet. 35

The temple block was two city blocks long joined in the east-west direction, making the entire block thirty-six by seventy rods, including the width of the street between the joined blocks. Although street widths are not specified on the plat, they appear to be a uniform six rods. The entire plat covered more than four square miles, being nearly 2 1/8 miles long and 2 1/4 miles wide and containing some 1900 lots.

The temple was to be cardinally oriented and centrally located. The temple block, moreover, was located at the intersection of two section lines and at the crest of "Spring Hill," the site of Adam's altar. The bishop's storehouse, which warehoused consecrated goods, was also destined for the temple block. Four posts were placed at the crest of Spring Hill to mark the corners of the expected temple, and Brigham Young, who had become by 1838 Smith's most powerful and trusted associate, dedicated the site under Smith's direction. No details from the dedication have been preserved, and no indication exists that any further work was done on the temple in Adam-ondi-Ahman. 36

Although the platted area of Adam-ondi-Alman was nearly


five square miles, its corporate boundaries were envisioned to be twelve miles square, with the platted area at the center. The land beyond the grid was to be distributed to the gathered Saints as farmsteads "of varying sizes, from five to ten acres each." A contemporary description of the town continues: "Upon the extremity of the twelve mile square, there were to be laid off four lots of a thousand acres each, one upon the east, west, north, and south" to be "general farming lands of the whole brotherhood." Farmers worked these common fields on a share crop basis, with the corporate share going to "the support of the Church." Joseph Smith encouraged his followers to enter as much of this "twelve mile circle" as possible in order to control the entire countryside for Zion.37

Perhaps this move was an attempt to compensate for the fact that Adam-ondi-Ahman was located in Daviess, not Caldwell County. Smith may have been attempting to extend the Mormon kingdom beyond its political definition. Nevertheless, the immediate result of identifying a town this large was that many of the immigrants settled on their farms, which considerably reduced the consolidated character of its layout.

One of the most telling observations to come from a comparison of the layouts of Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman involves the consistency of Mormon territorial imagery. In Smith's initial prescription for Zion, all settlements were to

37Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 24.
be identical in size and layout. Although many similarities existed between the two Mormon centers in northern Missouri, many dissimilarities were also present. Cardinality and centripetality continued to inspire the basic settlement design; nevertheless, the lot size and shape, block size and shape, the size and shape of the temple block, street width, and town boundary, the distribution of residences, and the topography were quite different between the two communities. While Adam-ondi-Ahman was located on two hills overlooking a valley, Far West was located on an elevated prairie. The temple site in Far West was not elevated above the rest of the town as temple sites had been in all previous Mormon settlements. The diversity of landscape imagery considerably reduced the cosmic significance of Zion's landscape in northern Missouri. Although cosmic symbolism continued to characterize Mormon settlements, the imagery of industrial urbanism and settlements of the westward expansion dispersed-residence, large geographic and demographic size, reduced significance of religion in the public sphere, and diversity of town layouts further influenced the territorial order of Zion.

**Symbolism of the Social Organization in Northern Missouri**

Likewise, the social order of the Mormon kingdom was changing in the direction of the American society. The Mormons made no attempt to institute the law of consecration
or the United Order in northern Missouri. Land was purchased by the Mormons and rights to it were held in fee simple after it had been obtained from the Bishop, other Mormons, the government, or local Gentiles. The Bishop controlled in a general way the price for in-town lots in Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, but no prohibition against real estate trading existed in northern Missouri.

As a result, the Bishop in northern Missouri possessed regulatory but not executive powers as had been the case in Jackson County. His role was primarily to ensure that the excessive profiteering of the Kirtland era did not recur. Furthermore, he was more concerned with the economics of land tenure than the politics of territorial control. Nearly all of the Bishop's original responsibilities over the territorial environment had been transferred to the group of gatherers in their individual contractual relations.

The only sense in which consecration was employed in northern Missouri was outlined in a revelation issued by Joseph Smith, July 8, 1838.

Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of my church in Zion, for the building of mine house, and for the laying of the foundation of Zion and for the priesthood, and for the debts of the presidency of my church.

And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people.

And after that, those who have thus been tithed, and this shall be a standing law unto them forever 

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38Smith, History of the Church, 119:14.
Like the law of consecration, the law of tithing was to be an economic levelling device as well as a source of funds for community improvement projects such as constructing the temple, caring for the poor, and reimbursing surveyors and other technicians employed in the settlement of Zion's stakes.\textsuperscript{39} It did not, however, require the scope of commitment from the gatherers nor did it control the full social life of Smith's followers as was envisioned in the law of consecration.

Although the amount of each person's initial contribution was self-determined, the law of tithing carried the same moral sanction as the law of consecration.

Verily, I say unto you, it shall come to pass that all those who gather into the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law, or they shall not be found worthy to abide among you.

And I say unto you, if my people observe not this law, to keep it holy, and by this law sanctify the land of Zion unto me, that my statutes and my judgments be kept therein, that it may be most holy, behold, I say unto you, it shall not be a land of Zion unto you.\textsuperscript{40}

In short, the existence of a land of promise for the chosen people depended upon their observance of this "softer" economic law.

Placing the responsibility for the size of the donation upon the individual member rather than the bishop effectively


\textsuperscript{40}Smith, \textit{Doctrine and Covenants}, 119:5-6.
rendered the "beginning of the tithing" unenforceable. The anticipated good will and generosity of the Saints was overrated, as indicated by the following observation by Brigham Young.

When the revelation which I have read was given in 1838 ... I asked brother Joseph, "Who shall be the judge of what is surplus property?" Said he, "Let them be the judge themselves, for I care not if they do not give a single dime. So far as I am concerned, I do not want anything they havel. . . ." Some were disposed to do right with their surplus property, and once in a while you would find a man who had a cow which he considered surplus, but generally she was of the class that would kick a person's hat off, or eyes out, or the wolves had eaten off her teats. You would once in a while find a man who had a horse that he considered surplus, but at the same time he had the ringbone, was broken-winded, spavined in both legs, had the pole evil at one end of the neck and a fistula at the other, and both knees sprung.

This is the description of surplus property that some would offer to the Lord. Such have been the feelings of a great many men.41

Placing the responsibility of tithing contributions on the members themselves had none of the divisive tendencies of consecration in Jackson County. Nevertheless, Mormon land tenure in northern Missouri had little of the corporate and institutional significance envisioned in this and earlier revelations on the subject.

As a compromise measure to the general noncompliance of the early Mormons with the consecration plan, Smith proposed that the corporate character of the Mormon land tenure be preserved through farm cooperatives or "Agricultural

Companies." In Far West cooperatives were organized for the fields on the east, west, north, and south of town. Participants retained their title to the land, in fee simple, but leased it to the Church without interest for terms ranging from ten to ninety-nine years. Produce from the land aided the poorer members of the community and reimbursed participants on public works projects. The cooperative approach to land tenure seemed more favorable to the gathered Saints than had the law of consecration, and many thousand acres were farmed cooperatively by Far West's Agricultural Companies.42

The cooperative movement was not implemented in Adam-on-ndi-Ahman in the same way. Rather than having lease arrangements with local farmers, Stake officials in "Diiahman" set aside common fields of one thousand acres along the twelve mile perimeter of the town. These fields were farmed cooperatively under the direction of Church-appointed "over-seers." The local poor could sustain themselves from these lands without the expense of land purchases, and the more wealthy Mormons could farm additional lands on a crop-share basis.43 Although quite different from both "the law of the Lord" and each other, these cooperative efforts were designed to prevent class distinctions, to protect

42 Smith, History of the Church, 3:64; Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 221.

Mormon lands from encroachment by Gentiles, and to establish among the Saints a measure of community spirit which had disintegrated during the latter months at Kirtland and which had been largely absent among the Saints in Clay County.

The commerce of Far West was also slightly altered from that prescribed for Zion. In Jackson County, the Mormons tried to establish a self-sufficient economy based on the law of consecration and stewardship. No Gentiles were invited or allowed to participate. Merchants were "called" by revelation to operate various businesses, which were considered to be the merchants' particular "inheritance in Zion." The exclusivity of the Mormon market in Jackson County aggravated the tensions which eventually forced the Mormons from their "center place." In Kirtland, the consecrated Mormon businesses, or United Order, consisted of established concerns whose owners were "called" by revelation, not to begin businesses, but to turn over their assets to the Church. Mormons were not encouraged to patronize only United Order firms, nor were Gentiles seen as a polluting influence. Nevertheless, United Order businesses were considered extensions of the Church, official additions to the Kingdom of Zion. In Far West, commerce proceeded under a modified free market. Entrepreneurs established stores and shops and succeeded or failed according to market principles. The only church-related intervention into the commerce of Far West was the requirement of approval from the local High Council before a business
could begin. This arrangement allowed the possibility of Gentile traders operating out of Far West; although no record of a Gentile merchant exists for Far West. Although the Church maintained ultimate control over the commerce of Far West, ecclesiastical control was becoming benign.

Despite the rhetoric of unity expressed by Mormon leaders in northern Missouri, divisive tendencies threatened Mormon solidarity from the beginnings of settlement. The case of W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer discussed above was one of the most blatant acts of insubordination against the Prophet in the Church's short history. Despite the gravity of their deeds, the intial censure they received was apparently inadequate to stay their opposition to the Prophet. After repeated efforts to reconcile their differences with him, Smith excommunicated them from the church. Phelps had been one of the Prophet's closest associates and staunchest defenders, yet Smith was so embittered by Phelps' actions that he wrote to Phelps, who had offered assistance to an elderly Mormon, "We would much rather lose our properties than be molested by such interferences; and ... we now request, once for all, that you will avoid all interference in our business affairs from the time hence forth and forever."45

44 Compare Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, sections 57 and 58 with section 104 and with Gentry, "Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," pp. 81-84.

Other Mormon leaders apostacized or were excommunicated during this troubled time. The trial and excommunication of David Whitmer, an original witness of the Book of Mormon and President of the Church in Zion, resulted from trouble which had begun in Kirtland, as mentioned in the previous chapter.\textsuperscript{46}

Oliver Cowdery, another witness of the Book of Mormon and former counsellor to Smith, was also excommunicated. Cowdery was arraigned April 11, 1838 on nine alleged violations of Church commandments, one of which was selling his land in Jackson County, "contrary to the revelations." Although this charge against him was eventually dropped, he was found guilty of sufficient crimes against the Church to "cast him off" the day after his arraignment.\textsuperscript{47}

Indicative of the changing Mormon relationship to the lands of Jackson County, Cowdery's response to the charge of selling his lands in Zion emphasized the American doctrine of land tenure in fee simple and the constitutional guarantee to exchange property and reside at will. Cowdery, in short, used the same defense against the Mormons that the Mormons had used against the Missourians to justify their claim to duly purchased lands in Jackson County. Consequently, even though the sale of Jackson County lands had been declared a serious

\textsuperscript{46}Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 3:18-19.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., pp. 16-18; see also Gentry, "Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," pp. 139-148.
affront to God, the Church could not prosecute this claim against Cowdery because, by relying upon Constitutional authority, the Mormons had shifted their relationship to these lands partially from the ritual to the political domain. This shift, begun in 1833, led to the Mormon doctrine of a divinely inspired Constitution, initially codified in revelation on August 6, 1833.48

Other Mormon leaders excommunicated during this period include Apostles John F. Boynton and Luke and Lyman Johnson; Frederick G. Williams, former Counsellor to Smith; and Warren Parrish, former editor of the Mormon newspaper *Messenger and Advocate* and officer in the Kirtland bank. These men united with other apostates in opposition to Joseph Smith. They complained that Smith was tyrannical and had assumed superhuman status vis-a-vis his followers. They insisted that Smith had no authority, divine or otherwise, to exact demands in such secular concerns as land tenure, residence, economic organization, and social control. They attempted to prosecute legal claims of one sort or another against Smith and his associates, none of which were successful. Their efforts were more effective, however, in enraged the Gentiles in the region against the Mormons. This reaction precipitated the Mormon exile from Missouri.49

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48See Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, 98:5, 6; 101:77-80; 198:54.

49Gentry, "Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," pp. 102-172, passim.
Fearful of the success the apostates might have in inciting the Gentiles to combat the Mormon presence, Mormon leaders launched a counter-offensive. On June 17, 1838, Mormonism's most gifted orator, Sidney Rigdon, issued a warning to the apostates, which became known as the "Salt Sermon." Inspired by the New Testament passage and a corresponding revelation by Joseph Smith which compared backsliding disciples with "salt that has lost its savor" and is therefore good only to be "cast out and trodden under foot of men," Rigdon promised divine vengeance upon the former Mormons in Missouri. Two days later, Mormon leaders issued an ultimatum to the apostates to leave Far West within three days or face violence at the hands of the Mormon zealots.50

The institutional counterpart to this rhetoric was a vigilante group of Mormons known as the "Danites." Organized initially to protect Mormon interests from apostates such as Whitmer and Phelps and to effect the removal of dissenters from Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, the Danites, under their leader Samson Avard, soon began to plunder the property of Gentiles and apostates alike. They justified their illegal actions against the Gentiles with reference to an earlier

50Ibid., pp. 160-162; Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 104:4-7; Ebenezer Robinson, The Return (Davis City, Iowa: Ebenezer Robinson, 1889), pp. 218-219.
revelation of Joseph Smith which had given the Mormons a manifest destiny in Missouri.51

The Mormon apostates and Gentile opposers tried to bring the Mormon leaders to justice on the grounds of treason and inciting to riot. This action served further to enflame the Mormons, who vividly remembered their frustrations in obtaining justice through Missouri's courts.

Responding to the increasing threat from outsiders, the Mormons assembled at the Far West temple site on July 4, 1838, just as they had done in Jackson County four years earlier when Zion's "center place" was threatened. The occasion had been mandated in the April 28 revelation authorizing the cornerstone ceremony for the Far West temple. According to Smith's account of the proceedings, the southeast cornerstone was laid first, by the President of the Far West Stake of Zion. Subsequent cornerstones were laid in a clockwise direction by lesser mormon authorities. This procedure followed the "order of God" as identified by Smith and rendered the site holy.52


52 Smith, History of the Church, 3:41-42. The present author is aware of no attempt of early Mormons, leaders or otherwise, to explicate the symbolism of the cornerstone ceremony. The symbolism is consistent with that of many ancient societies, including those of the Old Testament, in which east and south were sacred directions and the right hand was favored over the left, e.g., Robert Hertz, Death and the Right Hand, trans. Rodney and Claudia Needham, (Glencoe,
Encouraged by this sacred ritual, Sidney Rigdon then delivered his infamous "Fourth of July oration," in which he vowed a fight to the death with anyone attempting to frustrate the Mormon efforts to establish Zion. Among other inflammatory declarations were the following.

... that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us; for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families; and one party or the other will be utterly destroyed.

This Mormon manifesto was received with shouts of "Hosanna" from the several hundred assembled, and Smith authorized its publication in the newspapers in the area. The Mormon leaders had apparently come to the conclusion that violence was the only recourse to preserve their sacred homeland and identity as God's covenant people. The resulting outrage from the surrounding towns rendered Mormon-Gentile relations irreconcilable. The outbreak of violence became from that point on only a matter of time.

The initial confrontation occurred on August 6, among the inhabitants of Adam-ondi-Ahman. Soon after the Mormon settlement began in Daviess County, the local Gentiles issued a public notice demanding that the Mormons leave the county within a month or face serious consequences. The Mormons

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ignored this order and continued to build up their gathering place. Less than three months later, about thirty Mormons traveled as a group from Adam-ondi-Ahman to Gallatin, the county seat, to vote in a local election. Push came to shove and a brawl ensued in which the Mormons soundly beat the Gentiles. While no one was killed, many were injured. This encounter left the Missourians anxious for revenge. Subsequent raids upon the Mormons in the outlying settlements in Daviess, Ray, and Carroll Counties caused Smith to consolidate the Saints in Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman. All but the two most important settlements in northern Missouri—those officially designated as "holy ground"—were to be abandoned. 54

Several Mormon groups did not gather as directed and fell victim to the Gentile vigilantes. The Battle of Crooked River, in which two Mormons and one Missourian were killed, was precipitated by a guard sent from Far West to protect ungathered Saints along the Crooked River. Within a week of this skirmish, the defenseless Mormon settlement of Haun's Mill along Shoal Creek was devastated by Gentiles, leaving seventeen Mormons dead and thirteen wounded. 55

The Haun's Mill Massacre was the first effort to implement the infamous "Extermination Order" of Missouri's Governor


Lilburn W. Boggs. Enraged at the deaths at Crooked River and responding to Rigdon's Fourth of July invectives, Boggs sent the command to General John B. Clark on October 27, "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary, for the public peace--their outrages are beyond all description." Soon afterwards, the militia Far West. However, because the militia mistakenly thought the Mormons outnumbered them, they did not attack. The conflict from this point was negotiated.56

As a result of the extermination order, there was no question of the future of the Mormons in Missouri--only of the conditions and timetable for leaving. The Mormons were forced to surrender their arms, numbering between six and seven hundred. They were then compelled to sign "deeds of trust," turning their property over to the state to cover the expense of the conflict. A week after the surrender of Far West, Adam-ondi-Ahman was also forced to surrender. Its citizens were given the choice to winter in Daviess County or remove to Far West. Within ten days nearly all the Saints in northern Missouri were huddled in Far West. A few remained in the "valley of God" to oversee the disposal of lands in the Stake of Zion. All other Mormons were forbidden under penalty of death to set foot again in the county. Much of the Saints' property was either destroyed or freely confiscated before it

could be sold. The courts in Daviess County tended to ignore the Saint's claim to their property. Individual attempts to regain property met with outbreaks of violence.57

Although living conditions in Far West were crowded and supplies seriously lacking, the Saints were in no hurry to leave their beleaguered stake. They were waiting, in part, to see whether the state legislature would overturn the forced surrender of lands and property and, in part, to determine where, if anywhere, they could gather next. To leave the state under the extermination order would postpone indefinitely the redemption of Zion. A number of Missouri officials negotiating with the Mormons advised them to "scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you." Mormons responded that to do so "would amount to an abandonment of their creed and religion."58

By January 1839, the Mormons had become convinced that their plight in Missouri was hopeless. They began to organize to leave the state. The mechanics of the move were overwhelming to a population of several thousand largely


58Smith, History of the Church, 3:203-204; Correspondence, Orders, Etc., in Relation to the Recent Disturbances with the Mormons, (Fayette, Mo.: Office of the Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841), pp. 95-96.
destitute of food, clothing, shelter, money, or clear
destination. To make matters worse, Smith and several other
high Church officials had been imprisoned two months earlier
in Liberty, Clay County, on charges of treason stemming from
militaristic threats against the state and its inhabitants and
from their defiance of earlier legal proceedings against
them.59

Brigham Young stepped to the fore in this difficult situa-
tion to unify the Saints as much as possible. He mobilized
them to effective action by drawing up a covenant which nearly
four hundred Saints, including all church leaders, signed.

We, whose names are hereunder written, do for
ourselves individually hereby covenant to stand by
and assist one another, to the utmost of our
abilities, in removing from this state in compliance
with the authority of the state; and we do hereby
acknowledge ourselves firmly bound to the extent of
all our available property, to be disposed of by a
committee who shall be appointed for the purpose of
providing means for the removing from this state of
the poor and destitute who shall be considered worthy,
till there shall not be one left who desires to remove
from the state; with this proviso, that no individual
shall be deprived of the right of the disposal of his
own property for the above purpose, or of having
control of it, or so much of it as shall be necessary
for the removing of his own family, and to be entitled
to the over-plus, after the work is effected; and
furthermore, said committee shall give receipts for
all property, and an account of the expenditure of
the same.60

In this covenant, not only was land tenure in fee simple the
acknowledged norm, but no hint of the law of consecration was


60Smith, History of the Church, 3:251-254.
given. Cooperation was encouraged but not required of the Saints, and there was a clear emphasis upon individual action in the removal from Missouri. The mechanism now embraced by the beleaguered Saints was that by which these same Mormons had earlier tried Oliver Cowdery for his church membership, i.e., the sale of Missouri lands. Powers of attorney were obtained from all willing Saints living in other states to dispose of their properties in Missouri. In a final drastic measure, Church leaders authorized the sale of Jackson County lands, the properties consecrated to establish Zion, whose sale had been prohibited only several months earlier. Between March 19 and April 13, 1839, David White Rogers, agent for the church, sold what lands he could in Jackson County. He realized a meager $2700 to assist the Mormon exodus from Missouri.61

Despite the ideological consequences, these measures proved effective for the immediate goal of survival. Nevertheless, many Mormons had to flee for their lives because of the vigilantes. Much of the property of the Mormons fell into Gentile hands and could not aid the relief of the exiles. Although the exact number of Mormons to flee Missouri is not known, estimates range from 5000 to 15,000, with most

61Journal History of the Church, 17 March 1839; Andrew Jenson, comp, "Manuscript History of the Church in Missouri," LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, 1 February 1839. In a court deposition in Illinois, Joseph Smith Sr., valued the Mormon holdings in Missouri at $3.5 million, Smith, History of the Church, 5:493.
estimates falling in the upper third of this range. By May 1, 1839, the Mormons had abandoned but not forgotten their defiled land of promise. 62

Having to leave Missouri was but the first in a complex series of crises facing the Mormons. Now that they had left the promised land, where would they go? Would they risk another gathering elsewhere or disperse among the Gentiles and risk cultural obscurity? Would Zion have to be completely abandoned or would restitution of some kind be possible in the near future? And where was God in all this trouble that His people had encountered trying to fulfill His commandments? No one weighed these issues more seriously than Joseph Smith, who faced the collapse of his kingdom and frustration of his mission. Was Zion to become just another abortive utopian experiment, and Smith another misguided luminary? How would he face his followers who had trusted him with their fortunes and their lives? From his dungeon cell in Liberty, Missouri, Smith implored his God,

O God, where art thou? And where is the pavillion that covereth thy hiding place?
How long shall thy hand be stayed, and thine eye, yea thy pure eye, behold from the eternal heavens the wrongs of thy people and of thy servants, and thine ear be penetrated with their cries?
Yea, O Lord how long shall they suffer these wrongs and unlawful oppressions, before thine heart

62 Missouri Republican Daily, St. Louis, Mo., 15 (9 November 1838), p. 2; Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 1:511; Smith, History of the Church, 3:424, 431; Gentry, "Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," pp. 633-634.
shall be softened toward them, and thy bowels be moved with compassion toward them? 63

The following chapter examines the consequences of these events as they began to unfold in the Mormon kingdom quest. In summary, the territorial symbolism of Zion in 1839 had changed considerably from the time that Smith had issued the revelation of Enoch's Zion. The Saints were having to delay indefinitely the Second Coming because they could no longer hope to construct the temple where Christ would "suddenly appear." Their settlement design was becoming less and less integrated by the principles of cosmic urban symbolism and more by urban concepts of industrial and frontier America: capitalistic free enterprise, land tenure in fee simple, the separation of church and state, the politicization of the territorial environment, a plurality of settlement designs, and a breakdown in the boundary between the built-up area and the natural environment. Much of the original symbolism, however, remained: the centralized and elevated temple, the cardinal and orthogonal orientation of the townscape, the ritual definition and sacred significance of the settlement location (at least in the case of Adam-ondi-Ahman), and a covenantal bond among members of the community. Many of these features characterize Zion throughout the history of Mormon settlement. Others were forgotten or modified as conflict continued to exert its influence upon the Mormon ideology of place.

63Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 121:1-6.
CHAPTER V
NAUVOO: AN ENSIGN TO THE NATIONS

By 1839 the Saints had been forced to acknowledge the loss of their millennial kingdom. Their exile from the promised land had been authorized and enforced by the state government. Joseph Smith's imprisonment had secured a temporary truce between the Mormons and the Gentiles. His own future remained in doubt because the general climate of opinion in Missouri was slanted strongly against him. At times he feared for his life in the dungeon at Liberty and may have dispaired except for the revelations he received assuring him that God was still with him.¹

Nevertheless, the nature and future of the Mormon kingdom was seriously in question. In the foreseeable future neither Zion's center place nor its peripheral stakes would be established in the land of promise. The blessings promised the inhabitants of Zion would be withheld from the Latter-day Saints for an indefinite period. Not wishing to consider the possibility of the failure of Zion, Mormon leaders had not identified a compromise gathering place. Now that the gathering could not proceed in view of the designated site of

¹Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, sections 121, 122.
the Second Coming, the status of the gathering as a Mormon article of faith and of Zion as the millennial society was placed in doubt.

None of Smith's prophecies about the glories of Zion had been fulfilled. Every effort to establish Zion had proven disastrous. Zion's ideal and unalterable location had been abandoned and the land sold; its ideal layout had been altered; and its ideal social organization had been proscribed. For the first time in the church's brief history the future was not outlined in ideal terms. To this point, the future ideally focused on a place, and now that place could no longer be settled. In short, the exile from Missouri presented Mormonism with not only a likely change in its cultural strategies but also a possible shift in its basic cultural ambitions.

While these issues of ultimate significance were being considered by church leadership and membership alike, the immediate order of the day was survival. The majority of the Saints fled across the wind-swept plains of northern Missouri to Quincy, Illinois, where many of them had received sympathetic treatment on their exodus from Kirtland less than one year before. Residents of the area again welcomed the Mormons and encouraged them to settle in the vicinity.

More than compassion was likely involved in the acceptance of the Mormons, whose ethos was admirable but whose history had not made them safe bets for neighbors. Illinois was
undergoing, at that time, somewhat of an identity crisis. Southerners and northerners, slave-holders and abolitionists were migrating to Illinois in great numbers, each attempting to tip the population scale in its favor. Boosters and land developers were seeking inhabitants for their paper towns, and industrialists were attempting to develop northern Illinois after the manner of the lower great lakes region. These economic and political considerations, coupled with empathy, encouraged the people of Quincy to welcome the Mormons into their community, find them jobs and shelter, and try generally to help them through this troubled time.2

Although the Mormons were indebted to the Quincyites for any degree of comfort experienced during the winter of 1838-1839, they were concerned as much with their future identity as with their present comfort. Indicative of this concern was a "Conference of the Church" held in Quincy in February 1839 by the vanguard of refugees from Missouri. The order of business was the "expendiency of locating the church in some place." Although an extensive tract of land "between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers" had been offered to the Church "at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual installments, without interest--" the leaders at this conference, including Edward Patridge, William Marks and Daniel Rogers, "unanimously agreed . . . that it would not be

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2 Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 12-18.
deemed advisable to locate on the lands for the present because of the questionable future of the gathering.3

Joseph Smith's initial response from Liberty Jail to the inquiries regarding the gathering was ambivalent. Hesitant to issue any long-term solution to the Mormon plight, he suggested first that the Saints not immediately gather. Two months later in a general epistle to members of the church "at Quincy, Illinois and scattered abroad," Smith remained noncommittal on the future organization of the gathering but suggested that church business be conducted by conferences, which would bring the Saints together at least temporarily. In the same epistle Smith acknowledged the value of the gathering, but his proposal to gather lacked territorial focus: "... our brethren scattered abroad, who understand the spirit of the gathering ... [should] fall into the places and refuge of safety that God shall open unto them, between Kirtland and Far West." Kirtland and Far West were nearly eight hundred miles apart. Smith also advised against unauthorized implementation of the law of consecration in any of its forms, "until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner ..." Smith finally allowed himself a cautiously optimistic reflection on the previous offer for land in Iowa: "... the Church would do well to secure to themselves the contract of the land which is proposed to them by Mr. Isaac Galland." Smith seems at this time to have been waiting for a

3Smith, History of the Church, 3:260-261.
revelation to direct him to arrange the affairs of the church in exile. Until that revelation should come, individual Saints were to manage without the social and ecclesiastical support under which they had operated in the past.4

The effect of Smith's ambivalence was a gradual dispersal of his followers throughout Illinois and Iowa. Bishop Partridge wrote to Smith from Quincy, "This place is full of our people, yet they are scattering off nearly all the while . . . ." Some of the Saints on their own took advantage of Galland's offer to settle in Iowa. Once established, they encouraged other refugees to move there and to write church leaders of the advantages of the "Half-breed Tract." In the meantime, Smith saw his followers gradually scatter, having neither central authority to unite them nor central location to which to migrate. Although Smith felt committed to the gathering as a concept, he could not tell from his spiritual feelings where it ought to proceed. Finally, in response to the encouragement of the Saints who had continued to negotiate with Galland, and in the absence of both divine direction to settle elsewhere and a better offer of land, Smith accepted Galland's offer.5

No definite action was taken, however, until after Smith


5Smith, History of the Church, 3:272-273; Times and Seasons 1 (February 1840), pp. 51-52.
and his companions had engineered their escape from prison and left Missouri forever. They arrived in Quincy on April 22, 1839, and within two days, the Prophet was conducting a conference in which the following resolution passed unanimously:

That President Joseph Smith, Jr., Bishop [Vinson] Knight, and Brother Alanson Ripley [Church surveyor], visit the Iowa territory immediately, for the purpose of making a location for the Church . . . [and] that as many [church members] as are able, move to Commerce [Illinois] as soon as they possibly can. . . .

The ambivalence of the Prophet had been replaced by his characteristic decisiveness. Within a week, Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon had signed a $5000 note for the Hugh White farm of 123.4 acres and another note for $18,000 for three parcels of Galland's land on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. These terms were considerably higher than the original offer; nevertheless, the Saints at last had another homeland to which they could gather. Other land purchases, totalling nearly 14,000 acres were made in 1839 creating an indebtedness of the church exceeding $160,000.6

This land, which extended on the Iowa and Illinois sides of the Mississippi, was largely vacant. Only a few stone and log houses occupied the site of Commerce, which, with its companion Commerce City, was essentially a paper town on a large bend on the upper Mississippi.

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6Smith, History of the Church, 3:336; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, p. 27; Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 35-36.
Symbolism of Nauvoo's Location

The location of the site pleased the Mormon leaders, but from the point of view of expediency more than divinely directed kingdom building. Revelation played no part in the decision to settle at Commerce, nor was the land and temple site consecrated and the city designed prior to Mormon occupation. Smith had decided in favor of the gathering, and this land seemed to be the most isolated, fertile, accessible, and inexpensive land available to his following. Reflecting this compromise of the Mormon ideology of place was Smith's own assessment of the site.

The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthful, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthful place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city.\(^7\)

The Saints could not expect to find the glories of Zion waiting for them in this unhallowed ground; nevertheless, through their united efforts and the blessings of their God, they were determined to transform this wilderness into a garden.

Consistent with the lack of cosmic significance attributed to Commerce's location, the city was initially not considered an official gathering place. Many Mormons migrated on their own to associate with their fellow believers, and many others

\(^7\)Smith, History of the Church, 3:375.
relocated because of informal advice from church leaders. The gathering to Commerce was initially little more than a residential alternative for the Saints. No moral or ecclesiastical imperative accompanied the invitation to gather to Commerce until October 1839. According to the minutes of a conference of the church on this occasion,

The President then spoke at some length upon the situation of the Church; and the difficulties they have had to contend with; and the manner in which they had been led to this place; and wanted to know the views of the brethren, whether they wished to appoint this a stake of Zion or not; stating that he believed it to be a good place, and suited for the Saints. It was then unanimously agreed upon that it should be appointed a stake and a place of gathering for the Saints.

Although Smith had issued prior declarations strongly favoring the gathering, including the prophecy that the devil would affect whoever would not gather, this was the first official action of its kind regarding Commerce.\(^8\) It is also significant for the Mormon ideology of place that the decision was a matter of discussion and concurrence not of prophetic proclamation. That is, Smith's usual method of giving divine approval to a decision was not employed at this time. Although declared an official gathering place, Commerce, to date, had neither divine sanction, cosmological justification, nor a proposed temple. The justification for settling Commerce was practical: no better option presented itself as a Mormon gathering place and the ultimate virtue of this

\(^8\)Ibid., 4:12; 3:390.
location would be created by the efforts of the Saints and not realized by a ritual ordering of the landscape.

The settlement of Commerce was not in view of any foreseeable or expected redemption of Zion. In fact, Missouri had come to be regarded as profaned territory in Mormon eyes, and Smith forbade any Latter-day Saint from setting foot in the state. The Mormons acknowledged the loss of their Eden and settled down to the business of life in the "lone and dreary world." Like fallen Adam, they resolved themselves to hard work for their achievements and to the realization that the City of Enoch would not soon descend from heaven. These issues became matters of theological reflection, not sociological expectation.

The Mormons had resolved to make the most of their swampy and malarial home along the Mississippi, to realize the blessing of heaven through hard work. As the gathering gained momentum, its religious significance expanded to generate considerable optimism among the Mormons for the future of their kingdom. Typifying this optimism was the Prophet's giving a "Mormon" name to the site. In July 1839, Smith called the new gathering spot "Nauvoo," signifying, "A beautiful situation, or place, carrying with it also, the idea of rest and is truly descriptive of the most delightful location." As optimistic as this declaration was, however,

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9Ibid., 6:151.
10Ibid., 4:268; 4:121; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, p. 35.
the anticipated virtues of this place were temporal and humanistic, not divine and cosmographic. Nauvoo was expected to become the best city that man, through righteous effort, could produce, not the City of God realized on earth.

Shortly after Nauvoo was declared a stake of Zion, other stakes were identified in the surrounding area, including Montrose, Iowa, and Ramus, LaHarpe, Shokoquon and Lima, Illinois. Later Smith envisioned these building blocks of Zion as a wheel with Nauvoo as the hub and the peripheral stakes as spokes.11 Such an image helped decrease the centripetal significance of Zion and create the acceptance of Nauvoo as the center of a new kind of kingdom.

Nauvoo's identity was to be, not the capital of a world-wide millennial kingdom, but an "ensign to the nations," an example to the "great men of the earth" of the advantages of living the gospel of the Mormons. Church leaders in Nauvoo were considerably more conscious of their public image of Mormonism than they had been in Jackson County, Kirtland, or Adam-ondi-Ahman. Reflecting this wider consciousness was the editorial in the Mormon newspaper *Times and Seasons* that Nauvoo would become "in point of population and the magnificence of her edifices ... the rival city of the west, and attain to that high scale of exalted preeminence which

renders indistinguishable the most populous cities of the East.\(^\text{12}\)

By mid-1841, Nauvoo was considered by its inhabitants to be in competition with other American cities. The basis of comparison, however, was not otherwordly criteria as had been the case in Jackson County, but those of the prevailing American society. Earlier views of Zion had contrasted it with "spiritual Babylon," the material and temporal world surrounding Zion. The contrast had been so great in Smith's mind that he had prophesied the destruction of New York, Boston, and Albany if their inhabitants did not repent. He also gave New York the code name, "Cainhannock," the profane rival of Enoch's primordial "City of Zion.\(^\text{13}\)

A kingdom/world contrast existed in Mormon ideology during the Nauvoo period. However, it was tempered with a conscientious attempt to court the attention of world leaders who were invited on several occasions to contribute of their resources to establish this "ensign to all nations.\(^\text{14}\) In Nauvoo, Mormon leaders felt that the success of the Kingdom of God was partially dependent upon the advantages of the world, particularly its political favor and economic wealth. In this

\(^{12}\)Times and Seasons, 2 (15 June 1841), p. 453; see also Smith, History of the Church, 3:397; 4:229, 449.

\(^{13}\)Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 84:114-115; 104:81; cf Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Moses 5:42-56.

\(^{14}\)Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 124:2-11; Times and Seasons, 6 (15 December 1845), pp. 1066-1068; 5 (2 September 1844), p. 626.
light, Nauvoo tried to make peace with its social and temporal context better than any previous Mormon settlement.

Feeling more permanent in their temporal surroundings, the Saints began in earnest to construct a city to rival any of the secular cities along the Mississippi in size, comfort, and productivity. The gathering had always been the means the Mormons used to settle new areas. Nauvoo was no exception. Following Smith's declaration of the site as an official gathering place, new converts began to immigrate from the eastern United States and Europe, where the Church had had missionaries since 1838. The President of the British Mission of the church wrote the Bishop of Nauvoo, "We have witnessed the flowing of the Saints toward Zion; the stream has begun and we expect to see it continue running until it shall have drained the salt, or the light, from Babylon, when we hope to shout hosanna home." Shortly after this declaration, on June 6, 1840, the first company of Saints sailed from England to Nauvoo. Before the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo in 1846, several thousand of their numbers had left Europe for a new homeland.15

The gathering to Nauvoo was initially general. All Saints were encouraged to "dispose of their effects as fast as circumstances will possibly admit, without making too great sacrifice, and remove to our city and county." The response

15Smith, History of the Church, 4:132-134; see also Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 57-92.
was so favorable that Joseph Smith expressed the hope,

From what we now witness, we are led to look foreward with pleasing anticipation to the future, and soon expect to see the thousands of Israel flocking to this region in obedience to the heavenly command; numerous Saints--thickly studding the flowry and wide-spread prairies of Illinois; temples for the worship of our God erecting in various parts, and great peace resting upon Israel.16

Mormons saw the gathering to Nauvoo as continuing a tradi-
tion of the righteous of all ages of the world.

The greatest temporal and spiritual blessings which always flow from faithfulness and concerted effort, never attended individual exertion or enterprise. The history of all past ages abundantly attests this fact. In addition to all temporal blessings, there is no other way for the saints to be saved in these last days, as the concurrent testimony of all the Holy Prophets clearly proves . . .

Although the gathering to Nauvoo did not proceed in view of an imminent millennium, the optimism evident in the above declaration drew Mormons there in record numbers. By mid-1840, nearly 3000 Saints occupied ground where virtually no one had lived two years earlier. Two years later this number increased to an estimated 7000, which in turn more than doubled in another fifteen months.17 At its peak, Nauvoo was one of the largest cities in Illinois for its time.

Despite the rhetoric of universality, Smith soon realized that the upper Mississippi, like western Missouri, was not yet a garden. Priorities of wealth and residence were soon estab-
lished. On April 15, 1841, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles,

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16Smith, History of the Church, 4:338-339.

17Ibid. 4:272; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 75-79.
the administrative body of the Church and second in authority to the Church President, issued an epistle to the Saints in the British Isles regarding the gathering. This official declaration said in part,

It will be necessary, in the first place, for men of capital to go on first and make large purchases of land, and erect mills, machinery, manufactories, etc., so that the poor who go from this country can find employment. Therefore, it is not wisdom for the poor to flock to that place [Nauvoo] extensively, until the necessary preparations are made. Neither is it wisdom for those who feel a spirit of benevolence to expend all their means in helping others to emigrate, and thus all arrive in a new country empty-handed.

This counsel reflects advice of Joseph Smith given to the Apostles on October 1840 and points to a difference of emphasis in the gathering to Zion and to Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{18} The contributions required of the gatherers to Zion were primarily in view of land purchases. By 1841, although land purchases were still important, the need for capital in the Mormon kingdom focused on industrial development. The gathering to Nauvoo also seemed more concerned with the consolidation of capital and availability of employment than on the ideal distribution of the population on the landscape. On another occasion, Smith counselled many of the less wealthy gatherers to settle initially on land away from Nauvoo or to work for wage labor in neighboring towns until they could afford Nauvoo city lots.\textsuperscript{19} Although consolidated residence remained the

\textsuperscript{18}Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 4:346, 228.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., 5:366.
ideal in Nauvoo, distinctions of wealth compromised this ideal for some gatherers.

These concerns of settlement location underscore the main issue of the Mormon ideology of place in Nauvoo: the status of Smith's followers as God's chosen people. Smith's earlier revelations had identified the land of promise as a sign of the covenant, established by consecration, by which the Mormons would secure their claims of chosenness. By 1840, not only had the Mormons abandoned the promised Zion, but Smith's revelations had placed the failure of Zion squarely on the shoulders of his followers.

In addition, Joseph Smith had prohibited the practice of consecration in Nauvoo. Consecration was to be the covenant to establish the social order of heaven in the promised land, but its general implementation in Jackson County backfired on the Mormons. Consecration was practiced on a very limited scale in Kirtland and not at all in northern Missouri. However, never before had the practice been prohibited. Defending this position, Smith declared, "The law of consecration could not be kept here, and that it was the will of the Lord that we should desist from trying to keep it, and if persisted in, it would produce a perfect defeat of its object. . . ."20

The prohibition of consecration in Nauvoo was consistent with the redefinition of the kingdom after the exile from

20Ibid., 4:93.
Missouri. However, it left the Mormons without a covenantal basis to their religious community, without which they could not claim "chosenness" by God. These developments placed the Mormon kingdom in jeopardy of losing its divinely favored status.

As the gathering continued, Smith revised or expanded the revelations which assigned his followers the responsibility for the failure of Zion and eventually defined the covenanted community of the Mormons on a basis completely separate from the territorial environment. On January 19, 1841, Smith declared the word of God:

Verily, verily, I say unto you, that when I give a commandment to any of the sons of men to do a work unto my name, and those sons of men go with all their might and that with all they have to perform that work, and cease not their diligence, and their enemies come upon them and hinder them from performing that work, behold, it behooveth me to require that work no more at the hands of those sons of men, but to accept of their offerings.

And the iniquity and transgression of my holy laws and commandments I will visit upon the heads of those who hindered my work, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord God.

Therefore, for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and house unto my name, in Jackson County, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God.

According to this revised position, the promised land had been profaned because of the evil of the Missourians. Consequently, the Saints were given another chance to demonstrate their chosenness. In this same revelation, Smith
issued a divine commandment to build a temple. (see Figure 14).

And again, verily I say unto you, I command you again to build a house to my name, even in this place [Nauvoo], that you may prove yourselves unto me that ye are faithful in all things whatsoever I command you, that I may bless you, and crown you with honor, immortality and eternal life.

The revelation justified this action with the observation that whenever God had chosen a people, He has commanded them to build a temple. Because of apostacy, however, all previous temples had become profane.21

Traditionally, the location of a Mormon temple was specified by revelation. However, as with the site in Far West, the Nauvoo temple site was confirmed rather than identified by revelation: "ye shall build it on the place where you [Joseph Smith] have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it."

The addition of the temple to the cityscape came somewhat late in the planning process. In Nauvoo's original plat, no temple block appeared. Not until April 4, 1840 was the block where the temple eventually stood annexed to the city and platted. The temple site was the most visually prominent location in Nauvoo, on the ridge overlooking the city to the west. Although visually prominent, the temple block was only approximately geographically central to the city, and then only to the city's ideal plat which was not drawn until

1842. Furthermore, the temple site was geographically peripheral to the social, political, economic, and residential centers of Mormon Nauvoo. In addition, because of its location on the eastern edge of town, the temple had to face west, another departure from the traditional eastern orientation of Mormon temples.\textsuperscript{22}

Another departure from the traditional Mormon perception of the temple site in Nauvoo was the conditional statement from the revelation, "If ye will labor with all your might, I [God] will consecrate that spot that it shall be made holy."\textsuperscript{23} All previous temple sites had been declared holy either intrinsically or so that a temple could be constructed on it, never as a consequence of a temple having been built on the site or by virtue of the labor expended in constructing the temple. In short, the cosmic significance of the Nauvoo temple site was considerably less than that for sites of earlier Mormon temples.

Cosmic symbolism was less a part of the settlement of Nauvoo than that of earlier Mormon gathering places because Nauvoo was not settled primarily in view of the redemption of Zion. The City of Zion had legitimized and prescribed the cosmic ordering of the landscape. Although they had not abandoned totally their hopes of someday fulfilling Smith's prophecies about the glories of Zion, the Mormons in Nauvoo began to

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.; Miller and Miller, \textit{Nauvoo}, pp. 27-40.

\textsuperscript{23}Smith, \textit{Doctrine and Covenants}, 124:44.
regard Zion as the second century Christians had begun to view the New Jerusalem: a spiritualized ideal or utopia in the strict sense of the term.  

Consistent with earlier Mormon practices, the cornerstones of the temple were laid, conforming to the "strict order of the priesthood." On April 6, 1841, Joseph Smith set the principal cornerstone at the southeast corner, and lesser priesthood officials laid subsequent cornerstones in a clockwise direction.

Smith's commandment to build the temple focused on the rituals which could only be performed in this primordially sacred location. The rites of the temple included "anointings . . . washings . . . baptisms for the dead . . . solemn assemblies . . . memorials . . . oracles . . . in your most holy places wherein you receive conversations, and . . . statutes and judgments." These various rites were performed as the appropriate parts of the temple were completed and dedicated. Details of some of these rites as performed in Nauvoo are missing, and others are sacred and cannot be discussed outside a Mormon temple.

The collection of rites known as the "endowment" most
directly concerns the present discussion. Rather than consisting of pentacostal-type manifestations of the divine presence of the Kirtland temple dedication, the endowment as practiced in Nauvoo contained a symbolic dramatization of the meaning of life. The ritualization of the individual life cycle was placed in the mythic time of the creation, fall, and, eventual redemption of the world and mankind. The creation and fall of man follows roughly the creation story of Genesis as recast in Smith's "inspired translation" found in the Book of Moses. Participants in the endowment were asked to think of themselves as Adam or Eve and to participate vicariously in their sojourn in the "lone and dreary world." The ritual recreates fallen man in the image of God and prepares him to reenter God's presence at the end of his "mortal probation." Initiates who successfully complete the ritual were ushered into a portion of the temple representing the "celestial kingdom," the "abode of God."27

In the most sacred Mormon location, faithful Latter-day Saints received through ritual and symbolic representation the gnosis of Mormonism. Endowed Latter-day Saints were considered heirs of salvation and were expected to conform their daily lives to the pattern of life revealed in the

temple. In short, Mormons who found themselves in Nauvoo increasingly bound by the context of secular time and society discovered in the endowment sacred concepts of time and self by which they could make meaningful and into the context of which they could place the cycles and activities of their daily lives. By contrast, the endowment in Kirtland was received expressly for the purpose of preparing the Saints for the expected redemption of Zion where such a ritual rehearsal of life would not have been required because the proper settlement of Zion would have removed its citizens from the influences of the fallen world. Once they recognized the impossibility of establishing Zion as they had planned, they had to deal in meaningful ways with profane existence. In Nauvoo, and in subsequent gathering places, temples--in their design, accessibility, and function--were increasingly set apart from the world and became the sacred repository of fundamental elements of Mormon cultural consciousness: time, space, self, others, and God.

Although Joseph Smith had previously communicated the temple rites to other church leaders, the first endowments were not performed in the temple until after his death. Not until December 1845 were the upper rooms of the temple completed sufficiently to accommodate this renewal rite. During the subsequent months before the evacuation of Nauvoo,
hundreds and perhaps thousands of Saints were ritually prepared for salvation in the temple.  

With the anticipation and eventual completion of a temple at Nauvoo, the Saints could again claim their favored status before God. Nevertheless, the larger question of the nature of Zion remained ambiguous. Even with a temple, how could Smith's followers call themselves chosen when they neither possessed nor could aspire to possess the promised land which the revelations had stated would "not be moved out of her place"? Smith first addressed this issue on July 19, 1840, shortly after defining Nauvoo as a stake of Zion and authorizing the construction of the temple. In a public address he reformulated the Zion concept: "the land of Zion . . . consists of all N[orth] and S[outh] America but that anyplace where the Saints gather is Zion which every righteous man will build up for a place of safety for his children." In a general conference of the church shortly before his martyrdom in 1844, Smith reissued this redefinition in the form of a revelation.

I have another revelation in relation to the economy of the Church--a great, grand and glorious revelation. . . . You know there has been great discussion in relation to Zion--where it is, and where the gathering of the dispensation is. . . . The whole of America is Zion itself from north to south, and is described by the Prophets, who declared that it is the Zion where the mountain of the Lord should be,

and that it should be in the center of the land. . . .

I have received instructions from the Lord that from henceforth wherever the Elders of Israel shall build up churches and branches unto the Lord throughout the States, there shall be a stake of Zion. In the great cities, as Boston, New York, &c., there shall be stakes.29

This reformulation of the Zion concept preserved the geographical significance of the gathering. Without the possibility of settling the divinely-designated location in Jackson County, Missouri, the gathering became little more than a social ideal, with the decision to gather made on the basis of expediency or convenience and the locus of gathering considered a compromise. This reformulation infinitely creased the set of divinely authorized locations of gathering, while reducing the ultimate significance of any one location. It did not contradict Smith's revelation fixing the site of the New Jerusalem at Independence, Missouri; rather it introduced the possibilities that Zion's "stakes" could be founded prior to the founding of the "center place" and that stakes could be founded in established urban centers throughout North America. The reformulation also forestalled the Second Advent in Mormon eschatology and increasingly made of Zion a spiritual ideal rather than a material and temporal expectation.

While Mormonism retained its geometrical metaphysics, its

utopian order was acquiring existential properties and thereby becoming a utopia in the original sense of the word. Zion's reformulation established demographic as opposed to metaphysical or mythic criteria for the placement of Zion's outposts. The identification of holy ground could now be the consequence rather than the cause of Mormon migrations. The identification of the Nauvoo temple site demonstrated this difference. As a result of this reformulation, the cosmic significance of location declined considerably in the institution of the Mormon settlement. Stakes of Zion could now become identified with the formerly profane cities of the world. Indeed, the cities Smith mentioned as possible future stakes of Zion were those for which he had prophesied imminent destruction only several years earlier.\textsuperscript{30} Although Nauvoo was Mormonism's most successful settlement to date, much of the cosmic symbolism which had motivated earlier colonization efforts had been altered or eliminated by 1840.

With the reduced symbolic significance of settlement in Mormon ideology and with the prohibition of consecration as the basis of the Mormon covenanted community, Joseph Smith had to redefine the foundation of his followers' consciousness as God's chosen people. The ritual of "sealing" served this purpose. Introduced as part of the corpus of sacred temple ceremonies, sealing established a covenant of kinship between individuals and established conditions to qualify covenanted

\textsuperscript{30}See Smith, \textit{Doctrine and Covenants}, 84:114.
individuals for salvation and to enable their relationships to continue throughout eternity. The shift from consecration to sealing as the foundation of the Mormon covenanted community allowed the Latter-day Saints to retain their identity as God's chosen people without requiring them to face the possibility of additional ideological disaster resulting from future settlement failures.

"Sealing" allowed the covenant relationship to remain as the basis of Mormon solidarity without requiring a corresponding geographical focus. As a result, the gathering, the necessary precursor of the establishment of Zion, came to be viewed not so much the means to separate Latter-day Saints from a wicked world to establish a geographically isolated utopian community as the means to bring the critical resources together to construct temples where the endowment and sealing covenants could bind individuals to one another and families to God in great kinship groupings. In June 1843, Joseph Smith expounded upon this latter purpose of the gathering, namely "to build unto the Lord a house whereby He could reveal unto His people the ordinances of His house and the glories of His kingdom, and teach the people the way of salvation. . . ."32

Consistent with this shift in the basis of a convenanted community, the order of heaven in Mormonism was coming to be

32 Smith, History of the Church, 5:423.
viewed in ideal familial rather than territorial terms. Descent from Abraham and membership in the House of Israel through adoption or descent were becoming more important symbols of salvation than acceptance of the order of Enoch and citizenship in Zion. Enoch and Zion as symbols of salvation were not entirely forgotten, however.

At the same time that Joseph Smith was formally introducing the sealing rituals to a few of his closest and most trusted associates, he published the writings of Abraham. These outlined the concept of salvation as descent from the "father of nations" and set the concept in a primordially sacred context: Abraham's visions of the creation of the earth, purpose of mortality, and promise of eventual salvation of mankind. These writings provide an ultimate justification of the concept of salvation through sealing as did the vision of Enoch to the concept of salvation based on consecration revealed by Smith at the beginning of the quest for Zion.

In Nauvoo, Zion's centripetal symbolism declined dramatically, with the acknowledged pragmatic criteria for relocating the Saints to Illinois, the considerable delay in identifying Nauvoo as a gathering place and site for a temple, the decentralized location and reduced social function of the temple, the elimination of axial criteria for the definition

\[\text{\footnote{Times and Seasons 3 (1 March 1842), pp. 703-706; Smith, History of the Church, 4:520-534; Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham.}}\]
of Zion's stakes, and the elimination of the territorial foundations of the Mormon covenanted community. The symbolism of the Mormon center persisted in Nauvoo insofar as the temple remained the ultimate material symbol of Mormon identity and as Nauvoo was considered the geographical center of the gathering to the upper Mississippi River Valley. In a trend which persisted throughout the century, the cosmic symbolism of the Mormon center was becoming localized in the temple and was acquiring a gnostic quality.

**Symbolism of Nauvoo's Layout**

the symbolism of Zion's layout also underwent dramatic changes during the Nauvoo period, all of which moved Mormon town planning closer to the emerging industrial urban tradition of the United States. On August 30, 1839, Mormon leaders formally entered the plat of Nauvoo at the Hancock County Courthouse in Carthage. The months following this submission were filled with surveying city blocks and settling the growing number of gatherers.  

As with previous Mormon settlements, Nauvoo had straight streets, oriented in the cardinal directions, and square blocks also cardinally oriented. The town perimeter, however, was anything but square. It reflected the random distribution of some 600 acres the Mormons actually owned at the site at the time the plat was entered. (see Figure 13). The Mormons

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34 Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo*, pp. 33-35.
did not prepare an idealized plat before they began the settlement process. This omission indicates the uncertain nature of the gathering at the beginning of the settlement of Nauvoo. It also suggests that Joseph Smith initially concerned himself more with providing his followers an acceptable residence than with establishing a ceremonial center on the banks of the Mississippi.

The original plat of Nauvoo contained 150 four-acre blocks, with each block containing four square one-acre lots. Nauvoo's blocks were the smallest of any Mormon settlement to date, and the lots of a Mormon town had never before been square. However these dimensions were required by Illinois state law. The streets in this plat were narrow by Mormon standards. Rather than 132 feet wide as in the ideal plat for Zion, Nauvoo's streets were only three rods (49-1/2 feet) wide. Two streets were wider. Main Street, the projected commercial district of Nauvoo, was 87 feet wide, and Water Street, Nauvoo's projected industrial district, was 64 feet wide. Main Street was given extra width because town leaders planned a canal down its center to encourage river trade in the city and to accommodate the expected traffic in Nauvoo's business district.35

When the Mormons had earlier used a combination of wide and narrow streets in their city planning, the wide streets had set off the temple block. Not so in Nauvoo. The intersection of Nauvoo's principal streets occurred at Joseph Smith's property near the river front. Most of the Mormon leaders selected lots in this initial plat which gave the plat residential priority throughout the Nauvoo period. Even after the temple was located on a hill overlooking the city, the original plat remained the preferred residence in Nauvoo.

Perhaps the major difference between Mormon town planning in Nauvoo and that of previous settlements was the absence of an ideal town design which the settlement processes were attempting to reproduce on the landscape. As a result, the town grew organically, a consequence rather than a cause of the demography of the gathering. Beyond the initial plat, which was church-owned, individual Mormons purchased, subdivided, and sold additional parcels of land to the gatherers. In addition to the expanded individual involvement in the real estate business, for the first time in Mormon history, Gentiles were permitted to subdivide plots for sale to individual Mormons. The principal land developers in Nauvoo were, in fact, not Mormon.36

As these subdivisions were surveyed, they were annexed into the city and became a formal part of the expanding Mormon metropolis. Between October 4, 1839 and March 1844, some

36Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 35-40.
nineteen separate subdivisions were added to the original plat. The ultimate size of the city was about three times that of the original plat. Nevertheless, the subdivisions were annexed in a haphazard manner, so that the townscape as it developed had little of the ordered appearance of earlier Mormon centers. Not until 1842 was an idealized plat drawn up by the Mormon leaders. Even in ideal form, however, the town boundary was not orthogonal. The ultimate extent of Mormon Nauvoo included less than half of this idea plat.  

Not only was Nauvoo not intended to be the unitary creation that earlier Mormon settlements had been, but the lack of centralized church control in the subdivision process made consistency in town planning virtually impossible. For example, original zoning regulations required a 25 foot setback for all structures and allowed only one house per lot. In actual practice, these requirements were frequently disregarded, with no attempted enforcement by the City Council. Furthermore, some streets were platted narrower than three rods and others were closed altogether to provide additional farming lands for the gathered Saints. In addition, when Commerce and Commerce City were annexed into Nauvoo with the Joseph Smith subdivision on January 29, 1842, the sites were not replatted. Even though the City Council had mandated the resurvey, the few Gentile residents complained sufficiently so that the order was never carried

37Ibid.
out. Hence Nauvoo's layout had not only systematic departures from the plat of Zion and slight inconsistencies in the subdivisions platted by the Mormons, but also an important segment of the city whose layout ran directly contrary to that of the rest of the city. For the first time in a Mormon town, two opposing town plats co-existed. 38

With greater economic and residential freedom than they had previously enjoyed, the Mormons established stores, shops, and other commercial ventures throughout the city. Although more stores clustered along Main Street than any other location in town, there were no zoning regulations in Nauvoo as had existed in earlier Mormon settlements. As a result, the marked geographical distinctions between the public and residential functions which had characterized the Zion plat were all but absent in Nauvoo. Furthermore, the geographical and social separation of the sacred temple zone on the hill and the more secular commercial and industrial zone scattered throughout the city virtually eliminated the symbolic unity of Nauvoo's public activities. In addition, Gentiles were among Nauvoo's most prominent merchants. Not only did the Mormons not try to restrict Gentiles from coming to Nauvoo, they actually encouraged those to come whose presence was perceived beneficial to the Mormon cause. 39


39 Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 79-94; Flanders, Nauvoo, ch. 6.
Within the city itself, the topography separated the built up areas into two distinct neighborhoods, the "flats" and the "hills." The "flats" had been the first area of settlement and thus enjoyed commercial and residential prominence throughout the Mormon period. The temple site, on the other hand, was located on the "hills," which eventually became the area of greatest expansion. Although similar geographical distinctions characterized nearly every other Mormon settlement, none produced the sectional jealousies and disputes as seen in Nauvoo. At one point Joseph Smith himself entered the dispute to defend his emphasis of the "flats."

... the upper part of the town had no right to rival those on the river. Here, on the banks of the river, was where we first pitched our tents; here was where the first sickness and death occurred; here has been the greatest suffering in the city. We have located the Temple on the hill, and they [the residents] ought to be satisfied.\(^{40}\)

Not only had no previous Mormon settlement exhibited neighborhood competition to such a degree, but in no other settlement had the temple not been the social and geographical focus of the community.

The distinctions between the residential and agricultural spheres in Nauvoo were also considerably blurred over those of earlier Mormon settlements. Because of the organic growth of the town, residence throughout the corporate boundaries of the

\(^{40}\text{Smith, History of the Church, 5:271; see also Ibid., p. 357; Flandres, Nauvoo, pp. 186-189, suggests this neighborhood dispute fueled the opposition against Smith that eventually led to his death.}\)
city was spotty. As population growth extended the residential sphere of the city, more and more farm land was appropriated for subdivisions. As a result, no fixed distinction, and hence no ultimate complementarity existed between the residential and agricultural spheres in Nauvoo. In every case, residence superseded subsistence in land use priorities. The potentially unlimited appropriation of the natural landscape for urban functions introduced into Mormon town planning a tension between the townscape and the landscape which had not been part of the original Zion plan, where the principal social functions--civic regulation, residence, and subsistence--were functionally and spatially sovereign within their respective limits. In Nauvoo, the urban environment was accorded a definite advantage over the natural or agricultural environments. This practice then became another similarity between Mormon and American town planning.

Given the absence of Mormon ownership of large tracts of agricultural lands outside of town, some of the subsistence activites and outbuildings found their way onto the town plots. Barns, corrals, sheds, and farm animals became part of the townscape. The farm, moreover, was accommodated to the cityscape by the use of vacant lots and unused streets as fields "to be fenced up and cultivated." There were also many gatherers who, for numerous reasons, resided outside the
platted areas of Nauvoo. These exceptions to the traditional zoning of Zion served further to reduce the geographical distinctions of residential and subsistence functions in Nauvoo.

The mixture of townscapes and landscapes and civic, residential and subsistence functions, prohibited in Zion, muted the cosmic symbolism of the Nauvoo town layout. Although Nauvoo was Mormonism's most successful settlement to date, many characteristics of its layout rendered Nauvoo closer to the emerging urban centers of America than to utopian ceremonial centers. The town design featured more efficient yet irregular use of residential, public, and agricultural space for the sake of profittaking and less for the sake of holistic urban concepts symbolizing a cosmic identity and universal sense of mission. Mormonism had not abandoned these fundamental ambitions, but the territorial environment had become less able to symbolize them.

Symbolism of Nauvoo's Social Organization

The social organization of the Mormon kingdom demonstrates as well the transformation of the Mormon ideology of place in the direction of the prevailing American ideology of place: ownership of land in fee simple, capitalistic free enterprise, recognition of the territorial sovereignty of federal and

41Times and Seasons 6 (15 July 1845), p. 971; Smith, History of the Church, 4:561.
state governments, and a reduced role for religion in the social order. Supporting the shift in the Nauvoo social order toward free market economics were the facts that Smith prohibited the practice of consecration in Nauvoo, and that none of the compromise cooperative ventures of earlier Mormon settlements were attempted in Nauvoo. The economic relations of the residents of Nauvoo were to be governed by the principles of the free market, tempered by the public works projects and real estate interests of the church.

After making its initial land purchases in Nauvoo, the Church subdivided city lots to accommodate the anticipated gathering. The revenue from lot sales paid off existing notes and established credit for future purchases. Land development consumed much of the Mormons' interest and money from 1839 to 1844. In money-poor Nauvoo, "land and buildings were the town's chief stock-in-trade, and trading them was the most lucrative business." Transactions were made in a controlled market with Joseph Smith empowered by Nauvoo's High Council to set land prices, which usually ranged between $200 and $800 but on occasion exceeded $1000 for a city lot.\textsuperscript{42}

Church leaders in Nauvoo found themselves purchasing land in a capitalistic economy but selling in a modified utopian economy. They increasingly felt pressure to raise additional capital to finance land purchases but could not do so with

\textsuperscript{42}Flanders, \textit{Nauvoo}, p. 115; Smith, \textit{History of the Church}, 4:16-17.
land sales without jeopardizing the salvation of prospective gatherers. A partial solution was to escalate the gathering and further subdivide city lots as mentioned above. This move was intended to bolster the labor supply, attract more capital, and use existing land more intensively. As Robert Flanders has observed, "The Nauvoo land purchase was intended to serve the purposes of the gathering; but soon the gathering had to be made to serve the unrelenting demands of the land purchase indebtedness and the necessity to maintain an expanding economy."43

Despite the pressure of simultaneously operating in two vastly different economies, Church leaders expressly prohibited the acquisitive declarations which had encouraged violence in Missouri. A general epistle of the church's Quorum of Twelve Apostles commanded, "be not covetous, but deal in righteousness, for what the Saints shall not possess by purchase and in righteousness, they shall not possess . . . ." In an effort to protect the often unsophisticated gatherers, Mormon leaders threatened with excommunication any Latter-day Saint taking financial advantage of gatherers or falsely posing as land agents for the Church.44 Despite the noble ambitions, the Mormon attempts to accommodate both capitalistic and utopian economies ultimately produced neither

43Smith, History of the Church, 4:268-269; Flanders, Nauvoo, p. 117.

44Smith, History of the Church, 4:438,404.
capital nor salvation for the Saints along the Mississippi. They could neither finance successfully their land purchases nor pursue Zion's communitarian ideals.

The impossibility of establishing at Nauvoo a self-sufficient agrarian community which Smith had envisioned for Zion led church leaders to alter their ambitions for the kingdom on the Mississippi. Although farming remained the single most popular occupation, city fathers hoped to develop Nauvoo into an industrial river port. The Nauvoo City Charter made provision for a Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, a joint-stock company designed to capitalize Nauvoo's industrial enterprises. Offering two thousand shares of stock at fifty dollars per share, the association planned to finance the construction of a canal running the length of Main Street to encourage river trade, a dam partially across the Mississippi to provide the city with additional water power and a port, a railroad from Nauvoo to Warsaw, a town eighteen miles away, and wharves along the river. Encouraging this industrial orientation of the city, the Mormon leader wrote a prospective gatherer in 1841,

As respects steam engines and mills, my opinion is, we cannot have too many of them. This place has suffered exceedingly from want of such mills in our midst, and neither one nor two can do the business of this place another season. We have no good grain or board mills in this place: and most of our flour and lumber had to be brought twenty miles, which subjects us to great inconveniences. 45

Despite the ambitions for and perceptions of the Mormon "ensign to the nations," its expansion occurred on too many fronts at once. Local labor could sustain, to a certain extent, the construction and agricultural needs of Nauvoo. Extensive land purchases and industrial development, however, required capital, a resource generally lacking in Mormondom at the time. Consequently, all of Nauvoo's planned industrialization remained on the drawing board, and notes for land purchases often went past due. The creditors initially accommodated the Saints' requests for extensions with the hope that Nauvoo's prosperity would eventually be more than prospective. Their patience, in time, wore thin, and the church was faced with either the payment of its debts or the kinds of lawsuits it had experienced in Kirtland. Church-wide subscriptions to raise capital proved ineffective. The consolidation of the Mormon population in the upper Mississippi to the Nauvoo area enabled the church to expedite construction of the temple but not to improve appreciably the economy of Nauvoo. As a temporary solution, Smith declared bankruptcy to postpone legal action against him but promised his major creditors that he would eventually pay off their notes. In the end, many projects were planned at considerable expense to establish the "rival city of the west," but few were ever completed. The glory of Nauvoo, like that of
Zion, lay largely in an unrealized future.46

Even with the frustrations of a sputtering economy, the Mormons had their religious public works projects to stimulate the local work force. The temple provided the most ambitious building project in the twelve year history of Mormonism. It engaged the poor and unemployed in Nauvoo whose needs for food and clothing were met by Mormon women who contributed of their resources to sustain temple workers. In addition, every able-bodied male was expected to donate one working day in ten to labor on the temple. Those who came with teams or tools were accorded extra credit for their tithing.47 Despite the contribution of the temple to the local economy, its principal importance to Mormondom was religious. The temple, as discussed above, allowed the Mormons once again to lay claim to a favored status before God.

As with all previous temples anticipated by the Mormons, the Nauvoo temple was authorized by revelation, issued by Joseph Smith January 19, 1841. Because the temple was to be located in Nauvoo, the city was seen as "the great center of the world for pure religion, revelation, truth, virtue, knowledge, and everything else preparatory for the coming of


47Smith, History of the Church, 4:229; Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 201-204.
the Son of Man." Inspired by the promise of another temple, Sidney Rigdon observed in 1844,

"We are laying the foundation of a kingdom that shall last forever— that shall bloom in time and blossom in eternity. We are engaged in a greater work than ever occupied the attention of mortals. We are in a day that prophets and kings desired to see, but died without sight."

Despite Nauvoo's economic woes, the Saints considered themselves the most fortunate people on earth to be able to build a temple to their God.48

The temple, however, shared the spotlight of Nauvoo's public works projects with the Nauvoo House, a hotel which promised to provide "the great men of the earth" luxurious accommodations as they visited the "ensign to the nations."

Commanded by the same revelation which authorized the temple, the Nauvoo House was to be designed as a

house for boarding, a house that strangers may come from afar to lodge therein; therefore, let it be a good house, worthy of all acceptation, that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he shall contemplate the word of the Lord; and the cornerstone I have appointed for Zion.

The revelation gave great weight to constructing the temple: "if you do not these things at the end of the appointment ye shall be rejected as a church ... saith the Lord your God."

Joseph Smith's writings accord an equal significance to completing the Nauvoo House:

"The building of the Nauvoo House is just as sacred in my view as [building] the temple. I want the Nauvoo

48Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, section 124; Smith, History of the Church, 6:63f, 293.
House built. It must be built. Our salvation depends upon it.... The finishing of the Nauvoo House is like a man finishing a fight; if he give up, he is killed; if he holds out a little longer, he may yet live."\(^{49}\)

Anticipating the glories of the Nauvoo House, Joseph Smith led the First Presidency in laying the cornerstones of the Nauvoo House on October 2, 1841. Located on the river opposite Joseph Smith's own property, the site was to command a view from the river equal in prominence to that of the temple.\(^{50}\)

As with the temple, the site and design of the Nauvoo House were to be specified by revelation, and the completed hotel was to be "holy, or the Lord your God will not dwell therein." For the first time in Mormon history, another structure, one that would cater to non-resident Gentiles, was ideologically equivalent to the temple. This fact reflects the Mormon definition of Nauvoo as an "ensign to the nations." At times Smith halted construction on the temple to concentrate the limited human and material resources on the hotel's construction, and at other times he reversed this priority. Although the two structures were ideologically equivalent, the temple ultimately received practical consideration. Despite Smith's ultimata to complete the


\(^{50}\)Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:423.
Nauvoo House, construction never progressed beyond the first floor walls.\textsuperscript{51}

Construction of the temple was intermittent during Joseph Smith's lifetime. Not until Brigham Young assumed the reins of church leadership after Smith's martyrdom did the sacred building take shape. Church members and leaders alike felt during this troubled time that God's grace period for completing the temple could terminate at any time, which would cause the church to default on their claim to choseness. Because of this anxiety, they did not wait until the building was completed to dedicate it. As each room was finished sufficiently to perform the rites associated with that part of the temple, it was dedicated for that specific purpose. While some Saints worked to finish the building, others frantically performed the sacred rites of the temple for themselves and vicariously for their dead ancestors. Frequently, ceremonies would be performed around the clock in an effort to have every faithful Saint receive these rites and covenants. By the time the Mormons left Nauvoo in 1846, the temple was sufficiently completed and the rites adequately shared among the community for them to feel secure in their "chosen" identity. As a result, they could confidently, yet reluctantly, leave their

"ensign to the nations" for another place of settlement.52

After many of the Saints had crossed the Mississippi River into Iowa on the way westward, Brigham Young authorized a small group of church leaders to return to Nauvoo under cover of night to dedicate the entire edifice to the Lord. Apostle Orson Hyde was leader and spokesman for the ceremony. A minor and clandestine dedication occurred on the night of April 31, 1846, for fear that the presence of Mormon leaders trying to consecrate the temple would incite additional violence against the remaining Mormons in Nauvoo. The clandestine dedication having gone well, Apostle Hyde repeated the ceremony the following day with many local Mormons in attendance.53

With the reduced role of religion in the life of Nauvoo and the impossibility of maintaining a self-sufficient utopian economy, political and military institutions evolved in Nauvoo. The governing political body was a City Council, consisting of a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councillors. The major was also Chief Justice of the city court, whose justices were also selected from the City Council. The Nauvoo Legion was a para-military city militia, organized and empowered by the City Council to protect the citizens of Nauvoo as county and state militias were doing throughout the


United States. Because of their high degree of centralization, these institutions often were not functionally distinct either from one another or from the local ecclesiastical order. At one time Joseph Smith was Major, Chief Justice, and Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, in addition to his role as President of the Church. These institutions, however, were structurally differentiated in that prominent Gentiles in Nauvoo occupied prominent civic positions, in that they were organized and operated in conformance with the laws of Illinois, and in that operating capital came from taxes and other collection procedures that had little if any religious significance. Laws were passed in Nauvoo to protect Mormon beliefs and practices, but that protection extended to the adherents of all religions who were citizens of Nauvoo. Nauvoo represented a distinct stage in the social differentiation of the Mormon kingdom.54

The Mormon kingdom in Nauvoo was becoming less separatist, millenarian and utopian. As one scholar has stated, Nauvoo was seeking to become "federated with Illinois somewhat as Illinois was federated with the United States, with strong legal and patriotic ties, to be sure, but also with guaranteed immunities and rights of its own."55 For the first time, the Mormons formally recognized the sovereignty of

54Flanders, Nauvoo, ch. 4; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 95-101; Times and Seasons 3 (1 January 1842), p. 646; Smith, History of the Church, 4:306.

55Flanders, Nauvoo, p. 104.
federal and state governments over their territorial environment. Recognizing the distinction between church and state, as well as the subordination of church to state concerns, the Mormons in Nauvoo attempted, nevertheless, to integrate church and state as much as possible.

The attempt to integrate church and state in Nauvoo can be seen in the story of the Nauvoo Charter.56 The charter was drawn up by Joseph Smith and John C. Bennett, a former Quartermaster General of Illinois who quickly rose to prominence in Nauvoo following his conversion to Mormonism. The charter easily passed the State Legislature on December 18, 1840, partly because of the desire among the legislators to court favor from the large Mormon population, partly because of Bennett's political finesse, and partly because of the charter's seemingly innocuous provisions. Similar in many respects to the existing charters of Springville, Chicago, Alton, Galena, and Quincy, the Nauvoo charter contained as well the innovative provisions for a city militia, for the mayor to sit on the city council and to act as Chief Justice, and for the Municipal Court to grant writs of habeus corpus "in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council." These provisions considerably reduced the system of

56 James L. Kimball, Jr., "A Study of the Nauvoo Charter, 1840-1845" (Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1966); Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 92-105, 232, 284-285, 324, are the basis for the following discussion on the Nauvoo Charter.
checks and balances which characterized most of the governments in the United States at that time.

Despite its rather harmless appearance, the charter was held in high regard among Mormon leaders. Joseph Smith declared the charter to be the foundation of rights and freedoms in Nauvoo and to have been drawn up "for the salvation of the Church." Not since the Mormon doctrine of the divine origin of the United States Constitution, had a political document been accorded such religious significance by church leaders.

The manner in which the Mormons interpreted the charter demonstrates its value for the kingdom. With their charter, "the Mormons created a quasi-sovereign government tailored to suit what were thought to be unique requirements of the Latter-day Saints' community and church." The habeus corpus provision, for example, made Nauvoo "an island of legal safety" for the Mormons, regardless of the efforts of judicial bodies. This provision proved fortuante several times when leading Mormons, including Joseph Smith, were freed from prosecution because they had done no wrong according to the "ordinances of the City Council" of Nauvoo.

While the charter was in effect, Nauvoo was as secure from outside threat as any other Mormon settlement had been. With the martyrdom of Joseph Smith in 1844 came increased attempts


to rid Illinois of the "Mormon menace." Perhaps chief among these attempts was the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter. Although bills to repeal the charter had been introduced into the Illinois Legislature as early as 1842, opposition to the Mormon presence was not sufficiently strong to approve such a measure until after the Prophet's death. The charter was finally repealed on January 24, 1845. Within eight months of the charter's repeal, the Mormons had agreed to leave the state, and within a year, the exodus was underway. Repeal of the charter was obviously not the only cause of the Mormon exodus. However, with the repeal the Mormons were left with no legal defense, and the attempted integration of church and state at the level of the city was destroyed.

The structural differentiation of the Mormon kingdom created the possibility of social activity running counter to Mormon religious principles. The Mormon career of John C. Bennett demonstrates this possibility. A former Quartermaster General of Illinois, Bennett was the first "great man of the earth" to affiliate with the Mormons. Because of his former position in society, he quickly entered into Smith's confidence, was baptized a Mormon, and rose to second to Smith in the political affairs of Nauvoo. He co-authored the influential charter and was instrumental in its passage. He served as the first Mayor of Nauvoo and was

59 On Bennett's Mormon career see Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 93-96, 260-266; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 142-143.
second in command of the Nauvoo Legion, a trustee of the Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, and Chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo.

Bennett's affiliation with the Mormons seems to have been politically motivated. It is likely that he saw the potential for seizing control of the Mormons and using this power for political ambition. When his ambitions as well as his moral indiscretions were brought to light, he was excommunicated from the church. He left Nauvoo, bitter against Smith and his followers. To vent his spleen, Bennett published many inflammatory articles against the Mormons. His major expose, *Joe Smith and the Mormons*, proved to be one of the most damaging publications against the Mormons during the Nauvoo period. He became Smith's strongest opponent and precipitated much of the opposition against the Mormons in Illinois. His career demonstrates the social excesses which were made possible by the institutional differentiation of the Mormon kingdom on the Mississippi.

Other apostacies and excommunications of prominent Mormons followed that of Bennett. Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt, two of Smith's strongest and earliest supporters, were dropped from the Quorum of Apostles for their opposition to Smith, and were, for a time, in communication with Bennett. Following a change of heart, however, they were reinstated. Others did not repent of their antagonism to Smith. William and Wilson Law, the former a member of the First Presidency, Austin
Cowles, James Blakeslee, Robert D. Foster, Chauncy Higbee, Francis M. Lyman, and Charles Ivins all broke ranks and established a rival church in Nauvoo.60

Many other defections of prominent church and civic leaders occurred during the last years of Nauvoo, but none was felt more deeply throughout the community than that of Sidney Rigdon, whom Smith denounced in 1843 and wished to remove from the First Presidency but was prevented by the general membership at a conference of the church. Following this confrontation, Rigdon retained little influence over the Prophet, particularly in comparison with earlier years. He formally separated himself from Mormonism over the issue of succession following Smith's martyrdom. He left Nauvoo for Pittsburgh where he organized a rival but unpopular and short-lived "Church of Christ."61

The event which brought the Mormon conflict to a head was the "Expositor Affair."62 After William Law and his followers formed another "Church of Christ," they vowed to expose the supposed crimes and moral abominations (meaning polygyny) of the Mormons. To this effect, they established a rival press to the local Mormon publications, calling it the Nauvoo Expositor. The first and only issue of the paper on June 7,

60Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 142-143; Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 256-260.
62Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 308-309; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 143-155.
1844, contained sufficient material deemed dangerous by the City Council that under Joseph Smith’s directions the Council ordered the press destroyed as a "public nuisance."

The resulting outrage from the surrounding communities precipitated the arrest of Smith and other Mormon leaders. Their trial was to be at Carthage, and the entire episode gave Smith an air of foreboding. Upon his departure from Nauvoo, he remarked, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am as calm as a summer’s morning; I have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall be said of me— he was murdered in cold blood." His intimations proved correct. On June 27, 1844, shortly after five in the afternoon, a mob of several hundred men converged on the Carthage Jail and murdered Joseph and his brother Hyrum and seriously wounded another companion.63

There were no immediate reprisals from either side, but both Mormons and Gentiles began preparing for civil war. Plans by the Gentiles for a "Great Wolf Hunt," not unlike the extermination raids in Missouri, were averted by the persuasion of state officials. The state made its own plans to evacuate the Mormons by repealing the Nauvoo Charter on January 24, 1845. In the absence of legal authority to govern the city, Brigham Young attempted to rule from an ecclesiastical position but succeeded only in buying time to complete the

63Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 135:4; Hill, Joseph Smith, pp. 395-418; Smith, History of the Church, 6:602-622.
time, locate a new gathering place, and organize the exodus. 64

Smith's earlier redefinition of Zion had allowed the Mormon Prophet to consider alternative gathering sites when tension with the wider society and with his own followers escalated. Among the sites considered for a new Mormon homeland were Texas, Wisconsin, Vancouver Island, and California, which at the time included the Great Basin. Removal to any of these sites would have been consistent with Smith's revised concept of Zion. After Smith's death, however, Brigham Young emphasized the settlement of the Great Basin, and made concrete plans to move the Church there as quickly as orderly preparations could be made. 65

The Latter-day Saints who followed Brigham Young to Utah justify this move with a prophecy made by Joseph Smith April 6, 1842, to the effect that

... the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. 66

64 Flanders, Nauvoo, pp. 306-366; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, pp. 130-184.


66 Smith, History of the Church, 5:85.
Pursuing the decision to settle in the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons sent exploring parties, questioned trappers, agents and others familiar with the climate, topography, and ecology, acquired maps and other published material on the region bounded by the Columbia River system on the north and the Colorado River system on the south, the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Sierra Nevadas on the west. Before the exodus had gained much momentum, the followers of Brigham Young were fairly determined to settle along the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains. This location seemed to be the most fertile, temperate, inexpensive, extensive, isolated, and accessible of any in North America. When the Mormons headed westward from Nauvoo, they directed themselves toward the mountain valleys of the Great Basin.67

67See Jackson, "Myth and Reality: Environmental Perception of the Mormon," ch. 2; Smith, History of the Church, 6:261.
CHAPTER VI

THE LEGACY OF COSMIC URBAN SYMBOLISM IN PRE-UTAH MORMONISM

Looking backwards from Nauvoo to the beginnings of Mormonism, one sees that the Mormon ideology of place had undergone considerable alteration in sixteen years. Buttressing Mormon settlement as an institution of ultimate significance, the ideology of place portrayed the City of Zion as a utopian and millennial ceremonial center.

Zion as an ideal cultural symbol is best understood by the principles of centripetality, cardinality, and inductance. Zion was to be the capital of a world-wide Mormon city-state. Its "center place" was designated for Jackson County, Missouri. This place was assigned the significance of being the axis mundi of the creation, of the earthly kingdom, and of the millennium. The "center place" was also designed to be an imago mundi and a prototype for all other settlement "squares" in this city-state. Each settlement would have had at its center a complex of temples to serve as the locus of civic affairs. From these temples sacerdotal authorities would administer all public social institutions. Surrounding this public sphere would be a residential sphere exclusively reserved for Latter-day Saints who had bound themselves to the
community by a covenant mediated by property which they held
in usufruct. All citizens of Zion were required to live
within this sphere. Surrounding the residential sphere was the
sphere of subsistence activities, viewed as primarily but not
exclusively agricultural. The layout of the community from
the landscaping of the residential lot to the most general
town plan was rigorously, exclusively, and uniformly
orthogonal and oriented to the cardinal compass directions.
This closed community was to have been separated from profane
society and organized in its location, layout and social
organization to reflect the city of God. Mormon leaders
believed that establishing human society according to the
principles of heaven would prepare earth for the descent from
heaven of the City of God and for the establishment of the
millennial reign of Christ.

Developing concurrently with this ideology of place was a
Mormon metaphysics. Its territorial dimensions reinforced the
symbolism of Zion at the highest level of geographical percep-
tion. The development of this metaphysics was gradual yet
unsystematic in the writings and recorded declarations of
Joseph Smith. This development continued into the Nauvoo
period when the loss of Zion had been acknowledged but its
ultimate glories were still being affirmed. The territorial
dimensions of Mormon metaphysics are here presented in ideal
typic form to illustrate the ultimate cultural context for the
City of Zion.
The universe as described by Joseph Smith was fundamentally material and animate. Establishing its materialistic bias, Smith declared, "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes."\(^1\) This pronouncement eliminated a final spirit/matter distinction in Mormonism. Not only was matter, in varying degrees of purity, the fundamental building block of existence, but time has never been when matter has not existed. Prior to the above statement, Smith declared, "... the elements are eternal ..."\(^2\) The Mormon universe is thus filled with matter having physical properties and existing in one degree of purity or another.

The other basic principle of the Mormon universe, animation, is comprehended in the term "intelligence." Intelligence is the degree of organization of the material universe. The greater the intelligence, the higher the order of matter, ranging from inorganic matter to God himself, a physical being occupying space.\(^3\)

Smith defined intelligence as "the glory of God ... or in other words, light and truth." "Light" refers to the "light of Christ," the animating force of the universe. In

\(^1\)Joseph Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, 131:7-8.

\(^2\)Ibid., 93:33.

\(^3\)Ibid., 130:22-23; Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:303-305.
Smith's mind, the light of the sun, moon and stars, on the one hand, and the power of human and animal perception and understanding, on the other, were varying manifestations of the "light of Christ."

This is the light of Christ. As also he is in the sun, and the light of the sun, and the power thereof by which it was made.
As also he is in the moon, and is the light of the moon, and the power thereof by which it was made;
As also the light of the stars, and the power thereof by which they are made;
And the earth also, and the power thereof, even the earth upon which you stand.
And the light which shineth, which giveth you light, is through him who enlighteneth your eyes, which is the same light that quickeneth your understandings;
Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space--
The light which is in all things, which giveth light to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed, even the power of God who sitteth upon his throne who is in the bosom of eternity, who is in the midst of all things.4

The second aspect of Smith's definition of intelligence is "truth," which he defined as "a knowledge of things as they were and as they are and as they are to come." In other words, "truth" consists of a knowledge of the entire history of God's dealings with man and creation. Mormons believed that truth in this sense had been revealed by God to a few major prophets, including Adam, Enoch, Moses, Nephi (of the Book of Mormon), and John the Revelator. These prophets have

4Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 93:26; 88:5-13.
taught their followers portions of this comprehensive vision, which are contained in the Mormon canon.5

The principles of matter and intelligence integrate all of creation into a hierarchy of related differences. The most explicit statement of this hierarchy appears in Smith's writings which he attributed to the patriarch Abraham.

And the Lord said unto me: These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they; I am the Lord thy God, I am more intelligent than they all.6

Major spatial divisions of this hierarchy are called "kingdoms." A kingdom in Mormon thought is a moral division of geometrical space, with the created universe consisting entirely of kingdoms differentiated and ranked according to their respective "law" or order of intelligence. The highest kingdom, the "Celestial Kingdom," is the geometrical place where God, a physical being, dwells.

All kingdoms have a law given; And there are many kingdoms; for there is no space in the which there is no kingdom; and there is no kingdom in which there is no space, either a greater or lesser kingdom. And unto every kingdom is given a law; and unto every law there are certain bounds also and conditions.

All beings who abide not in those conditions are not justified . . . .

5Ibid., 93:24; 101:32-34; Joseph Smith, The Pearl of Great Price, Moses 1-7; Doctrine and Covenants, 107:53-57; Joseph Smith, Book of Mormon, 1 Nephi 11-14; 3 Nephi 26:3; Ether 13; Bible, Book of Revelations; Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate 2 (November 1835), pp. 209-210; Evening and Morning Star 1 (September 1832), p. 6.

For he who is not able to abide the law of a celestial kingdom cannot abide a celestial glory. 
And he who cannot abide the law of a terrestrial kingdom cannot abide a terrestrial glory. 
And he who cannot abide the law of a telestial kingdom cannot abide a telestial glory. Therefore he must abide a kingdom which is not a kingdom of glory.

At the judgment, all things, even the earth itself, will be assigned to one or another of these kingdoms, according to the intelligence or glory of their existence.

And again, verily I say unto you, the earth abideth the law of a celestial kingdom, for it filleth the measure of its creation, and transgresseth not the law—

Wherefore, it shall be sanctified; yea, notwithstanding it shall die, it shall be quickened again, and shall abide the power by which it is quickened, and the righteous shall inherit it.

That is, the earth will become a "celestial kingdom" for that life which lived a celestial law while inhabiting the earth. The destruction of the wicked at the end of time is means by which the earth will be sanctified.7

Therefore, it [the earth] must be sanctified from all unrighteousness, that it may be prepared for the celestial glory;
For after it hath filled the measure of its creation, it shall be crowned with glory, even with the presence of God the Father;
That bodies who are of the celestial kingdom may possess it forever and ever; for, for this intent was it made and created and for this intent are they sanctified.

Mormons do not believe in a creation ex nihilo. Smith insisted that "the Gods organized and formed the heavens and the earth" from pre-existing matter and according to a

pre-designed plan. The Gods commanded the eternal elements to combine according to a higher order of intelligence than that of their previous state. The Gods then "watched those things which they had ordered until they obeyed." 8

The "creation" was a deliberate act of the Gods to establish their divine order in a part of the expanse of space which had not as yet been structured according to their eternal plan. The first creation was spiritual, in which "intelligences" [a kind of quantum of "glory"] acquired a form of purified matter or spirit. Mormons called this stage of life "pre-mortal existence." The corporeal creation followed, during which the spiritual creations were embodied with gross material form and placed on the earth. Thus the earthly creation in its ideal state reflected the spiritual creation.

... these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that I, the Lord God, made the heaven and the earth;

And every plant of the field before it grew. For I, the Lord God, created all things, of which I have spoken, spiritually, before they were naturally upon the face of the earth. For I, the Lord God, had not caused it to rain upon the face of the earth and I, the Lord God, had created all the children of men; and not yet a man to till the ground; for in heaven I created them; and there was not yet flesh upon the earth, neither in the water, neither in the air ... . 9

Because the order of things was perfect at the creation, the earth occupied geometrical space proximate to "Kolob," the habitation nearest that of the Gods. According to the various


\[9\] Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Moses 3:3-5,7.
accounts of the creation in sacred Mormon writings, the
topography of earth was divided between sea and land, with the
sea completely surrounding a unified land mass. Eden, the
"capital of the whole earth," was located at the center of the
land. The only interruption of the terrain was a series of
four rivers whose source was Eden and which divided the
remaining land into four territories. These rivers nourished
the "face of the earth" with "living water" from the navel of
the earth.10

At the fall of Adam and Eve, the perfect order of the
creation was destroyed and the parallelism of heaven and earth
severed. As a result, Adam and Eve became mortal and could no
longer enjoy the heavenly presence, as they had in Eden. the
earth physically fell from its exalted location in the heavens
to occupy a lesser "kingdom" in its present location,
characterized by a "telestial" glory and governed by a
"telestial" law. The resulting curse on the earth cause it to
produce spontaneously "thorns and also thistles," requiring
man to toil in the earth for his livelihood. Eden was removed
from the earth, which now lacked a territorial focus and
center.11

10 Times and Seasons 3 (1 February 1842), p. 672; Smith,
Pearl of Great Price, Facsimile from the Book of Abraham,
no. 2, fig. 1; Moses 2:6-8; 3:10-14; Abraham 4:6-8; Times and
Seasons 2 (15 July 1841), p. 476; Parley P. Pratt, Voice of
Warning and Instruction to All People (1846; reprint ed.,Salt

11 Times and Seasons 3 (1 February 1842), pp. 672-673;
Pratt, Voice of Warning, pp. 92-93.
Adam and Eve established an altar at Adam-ondi-Ahman to substitute for the paradise lost. The land controlled from this altar was considered sacred. Consequently, Cain was exiled when he defiled it with the blood of his brother Abel. He then became a "fugitive and a vagabond in the earth." Joseph Smith taught that three years prior to Adam's death, Adam gathered his vast posterity around his original altar and gave them a final blessing. Here he revealed to them the truth, in the sense discussed above, as he had received it from heaven. Among his strongest instructions was the commandment to establish and maintain a holy center, in urban form, as a substitute for the lost Eden. Cain's city, Enoch—after the name of his son—was an unhallowed attempted to establish such a focus, since he had been "driven . . . out from the face of the Lord." Another Enoch, the "seventh from Adam" and rightful heir to the patriarchial authority, succeeded in establishing a holy city which became a model for all men seeking to live according to the order of heaven.12

Joseph Smith's vision of Enoch tells the story of the son of Jared who was called by God to reform a degenerate society. Despite his perceived weaknesses, Enoch responded to the divine call and became such a powerful minister that his contemporaries called him a "wild man" of God. According to the vision, his faith was sufficient to move mountains, change

the course of rivers, and walk with God. His efforts over three and one-half centuries (mortal life had not degenerated to its present state so people lived longer) enabled Enoch to found a holy city, named Zion, whose inhabitants qualified themselves through righteous living to be received by God into heaven where Zion became God's "abode forever."13

The fame of Enoch's accomplishment spread among his contemporaries, and many imitations of Zion were attempted but failed. In many cases, as with Babel, God cursed these profane counterfeit. Joseph Smith taught on at least one occasion that

... after the flood god commanded the people to Spread over the earth but they would not & stayed & stayed upon the high land for fear of another delluge. But Nimrod rose up and said he could withstand god. He said Come let us Build a tower hier than the water can rise and I will goe up and fight this God. . . . But God confounded their languag and they were obliged to scatter abroad over the land...

Now I will tell the designs of building the tower of Babel. It was designed to goe to the city of Enoch, for the veil was not yet so thick that it hid it from their sight. So they concluded to goe to the city of Enoch, for God gave him place above the impure earth. For he could breath a pure hair & him and his City was taken, for God provided a better place for him for they were pure in heart. . . .14

The closest accomplishment to Zion, by Mormon reckoning, since the days of Enoch was Melchizedek's City of Salem. The degree of holiness attained by the people of Salem

13Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:15-19.

approximated that of Zion, yet Salem was not taken into heaven because of the covenant which God had made with Enoch to preserve a righteous people from among Enoch's descendants to prepare the earth for the eventual return of Zion at the end of time. Early Mormons believed that the holy people of the earth since the time of Enoch and Melchizedek have awaited the return of Zion, but none have witnessed the promise fulfilled. In this respect, early Mormons viewed the Bible as a partial record of God's attempts to restore the primordial social and territorial orders of the creation to earth. In the same light, the Book of Mormon, as discussed in Chapter II above, relates the attempts of another group of God's chosen people to establish and maintain an axis mundi.15

Based on their studies of Joseph Smith's expansion of ancient scriptures, early Mormons considered the "gathering" as the principal means to restore the territorial focus of Eden to the earth, to fulfill God's promises to Enoch, and to prepare the earth for the return of Enoch's Zion. To realize these promises, early Mormons intended to gather not only the "elect" but also "all things, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." Accordingly, Joseph Smith called his era of world history the "Dispensation of the Fulness of Times." The first six "dispensations" of God's dealing with man were

15Smith, Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:50-52; 8:2; Pratt, Voice of Warning, pp. 89, 102-111; cf Hebrews 11:5-6, 13-16.
to be comprehended in the seventh and last dispensation in which

a whole and complete and perfect union, and welding together of dispensations, and keys, and powers and glories should take place, and be revealed from the days of Adam even to the present time. And not only this, but those things which never have been revealed from the foundation of the world . . . shall be revealed . . . in this, the dispensation of the fulness of times.\(^{16}\)

Early Mormons believed that once the City of Zion had been founded and its temple built, Enoch's primordial Zion would descend from heaven and the earthly Zion would ascend to meet it in the air. Christ would then assume control over his earthly kingdom and would transform the earth into a heaven, "Celestial Kingdom," for its godly inhabitants.\(^{17}\)

The transformation of the earth would consist in a reunification of its land masses, the removal of the primordial curse from the earth, the establishment of a New Jerusalem as a residence for the godly, and the restoration of the earth to its original position in the heavens, as it had been at the creation. "In order for the earth to be made fit for the abode of the saints, it is necessary for it to be


restored to its primitive or primeval purity, that is, as it was in the morning of creation."18

Joseph Smith's City of Zion thus became a regnant symbol of early Mormon identity. Founding the city and building its temples were the principal means of restoring the harmony and order of the creation, disrupted by the Fall. Similarly, Mormon eschatology depended originally upon the establishment of the territorial and social orders of Zion. The social prescriptions of the Latter-day Saints received ultimate justification from this metaphysical and mythological system. Because of it, much of their daily and seasonal activities was accorded eternal significance. Their settlement, agricultural, social, residential, and ceremonial activities were vital to the establishment of a religious utopia which would open the gates of heaven and lay the foundations for the end of time. Smith indicated the place of Zion in Mormon thought with the plea, "Unless Zion is built our hopes perish, our expectations fail, our prospects are blasted, our salvation withers, and God will come and smite the whole earth with a curse."19

Nevertheless, Zion was not established as envisioned by Joseph Smith. Despite the ideological crisis produced by this frustration, Mormon hopes did not perish, nor did their


19Smith, History of the Church, 2:517.
salvation wither. The identity of choseness was challenged but not abandoned. The transformation of Mormon identity culminating in the Nauvoo period was as great a theological revolution as Mormonism has ever endured. Despite the severity of this revolution, it helped avert a likely collapse of Mormon identity and disintegration of Mormon solidarity. The stage for this revolution was being prepared by the first frustrated efforts to establish Zion. Just as the formulation of the Zion concept had a cultural logic at every stage of its attempted establishment, so the process of change of the concept was governed by a cultural logic. This logic made the revolution, if difficult, at least comprehensible and acceptable to the Latter-day Saints generally as well as to Joseph Smith. The rest of the present chapter summarizes in structural terms this ideological revolution.

The expectations of Zion as described by Joseph Smith, presumed not only a religious following willing and able to live the rigorous communitarian lifestyle of Zion, but also a non-Mormon society that was at least tolerant of the Mormon utopia. Neither of these expectations proved realistic.

Converts to Mormonism came with an array of cultural baggage from their former lifestyles. This baggage included ideas about the limits of religious authority, the role and freedoms of the individual, the nature of economic activity, the locus of territorial control, and the source of political sovereignty in society. During each of the settlement periods
in pre-Utah Mormonism, some if not all of these cultural assumptions of converts mitigated against the establishment of Zion and served to weaken the ideal characteristics of the Mormon kingdom.

Some theological concepts also helped frustrate the Mormon utopia. As judged by the enthusiasm of Zion's first settlers, Smith's revelations were apparently interpreted as being unconditional, inevitable, and immediate. The confidence borne by their assumptions regarding these revelations alienated and militarized the prior residents of Jackson County to the brink of open conflict. Despite Smith's later insistence of the conditional nature of his revelations, excesses of enthusiasm inspired by such theological assumptions continued to incite Gentiles to anger and conflict.

The theological injunction against physical force coupled with the absence of divine force in the establishment of Zion undermined the chances of its success, particularly within a cultural environment whose ultimate recourse was the use of physical force. Despite some rhetoric of force from Mormon leaders, Smith never authorized the use of force to prosecute his religious claims. Hence when push came to shove, the Mormons always conceded or retreated.

A third theological concept to effect changes in the Mormon ideology of place was its geometrical metaphysics. With "place" possessing material and spatial properties, the unalterable recognition of a single location for the center
place of Zion and the Second Coming meant that the chosenness of the Mormons and the proximity of the Millennium were functions of the successful occupation and organization of that specified location. Until that place could be settled according to the ideal pattern, all other places were, to one degree or another, profane.

The cultural concepts of the prior residents of the areas of attempted Mormon settlement also undermined the establishment of Zion. Land owners, judges, governors, militia members and other interpreted the Zion quest as misguided at best and treasonable at worst. They viewed the Mormon utopia as a threat to their personal liberties, constitutional rights, political and social balance of power, and the foundations of their own families and communities. The basis of this perceived threat was the vast ideological differences between the Mormon utopia and the American frontier community. The residents of both communities were unwilling to compromise their own cultural concepts for the sake of the others'. Because the ideal Mormon community was antithetical in many respects to the dominant American frontier community, extended or significant contact between them produced either conflict with or compromise of the Mormons in every area of pre-Utah settlement.

The cultural crises resulting from the consistent frustration of Mormon settlement attempts produced changes in the ideology of place. These changes were gradual, and they
systematically affected the location, layout, and social organization of the kingdom at each new gathering place. Individualism and capitalism gradually replaced communitarianism as the basis of social and economic relations. Theocracy became influenced to a great degree by political democracy. A closed covenanted community was gradually becoming pluralistic. A tightly integrated and unitary town plan was increasingly affected by organic and diffuse settlement processes and patterns. A utopian ceremonial center was becoming a commercial, political, and industrial capital on the American frontier.

These trends began to appear in each of the three dimensions of the Mormon ideology of place (location, layout, and social organization) almost from the beginning of institutionalized settlement. Although the direction and magnitude of change were predictable, the specific changes were not predetermined. They resulted from Latter-day Saints, including Joseph Smith himself, trying to make religious sense of the revelations in light of the efforts to establish Zion and in the context of pre-Mormon cultural heritage. Put briefly, as the efforts to establish Zion consistently and increasingly produced conflict and dissent, the cosmic symbolism of the City of Zion made less religious sense. Efforts to correct the perceived problems gradually undermined the original Zion concept. By the time the Saints had settled Nauvoo, many of the principal features of this ideological
system had been seriously modified or discarded. Consecration had been prohibited and sealing established as the basis of the system of covenanted relationships in society. Salvation was coming to be expressed in kinship-related not territorially-related concepts and idioms. The temple had become an institution set apart from the rest of society and reserved exclusively for the performance of sacred ceremonies having primarily otherworldly significance. The cosmic symbolism of town planning had become considerably diffused by urban industrial planning concepts and processes. Social differentiation had reduced the sacerdotal authority of the Church. The sovereign rights of the state over the land and the economic rights of the individual over his property had been acknowledged. The millennium was being seen as a function of chronological, not geographical contingencies.

These conditions suggest that the Mormon kingdom as manifest in Nauvoo was quite different from its initial formulations in Smith's sacred writings. Although these changes were usually the result of conflict, they were institutionalized gradually and systematically. Furthermore, the redefinition of the Mormon kingdom in the Nauvoo period occurred through the same methods and sources by which it was initially defined. First of all Joseph Smith received revelations in response to problems or possibilities he saw within the kingdom. Some of these revelations altered policies or procedures, while others (e.g. the writings of
Abraham and the revelation on plural marriage and other temple rituals) served as vital texts for the reformulations of Mormon identity. Secondly, established scripture, particularly the Book of Mormon, was reinterpreted in light of these new revelations to emphasize concepts inherent in the sacred writ but not critical to the former ideological system. This step demonstrated the consistency of the new revelations with established Mormon canon. Thirdly, ritual and sociological implications of these sacred texts and new interpretations were instituted to reorient the religious practices of the general Church membership and redefine their solidarity. The use of established methods for introducing ideological innovation coupled with Smith's charisma and the disintegration of the earlier ideological system created a receptive climate among the Latter-day Saints for the reorientation of the Mormon kingdom from "Zion" to "Israel."

Rather than documenting further the logic of this ideological revolution, the present study concludes with a brief consideration of the ideology of place in the Utah period of settlement. Although no longer central to Mormon identity, territorial symbolism of the Mormon West created the most lasting imprint upon the landscape of any Mormon settlement attempt. The ideology of place in the latter half of the nineteenth century helped Latter-day Saints create and attribute great, though not ultimate, significance to one of the strongest and most consistent culture regions of North America.
EPILOGUE

SALT LAKE CITY: IN THE TOPS OF THE MOUNTAINS

The present chapter summarizes the legacy of cosmic urban symbolism in the Mormon kingdom of the Intermountain West. The following pages highlight the continued secularization of Mormon town planning and territorial organization and mention a few consequences of these developments. A thorough examination of the territorial symbolism of the Mormon West must await another study.

Symbolism of Salt Lake City's Location

The first company of Mormon pioneers arrived in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847 and immediately began to establish a new homeland: planting crops, surveying the territory, constructing homes, consecrating the land, and choosing a spot for the temple. Those who accompanied Brigham Young into the valley claim that he received spiritual confirmation that it was the place for the Saints. In his own journal he recorded that upon his first view of the Salt Lake Valley, "The spirit of light rested upon me and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the Saints would find protection and safety." Although the Mormons had undertaken considerable empirical and scientific explorations to
determine the location of their new homeland, the final and ultimate determinant of settlement location was, as it had been with Zion's "center place," spiritual.1

The first complete day in the valley was a Sunday, and the "Congregation of Israel," as they called themselves, celebrated the founding of a new land of promise. Apostle Orson Hyde declared that the Mormons were fulfilling Isaiah's prophesies of Zion's location being "in the tops of the mountains" in the "last days." Apostle Wilford Woodruff enthusiastically anticipated the heavenly glory which would accompany the construction of another temple by God's "chosen people." Brigham Young declared that the land they occupied belonged to God-- that it would be neither sold nor bought, that no one who did not live the gospel would be allowed to remain in the valley, and that the parcels of city and farm land would be owned by the Saints in usufruct.2 As perceived by Church leaders and members alike, the settlement of the Great Basin was a new beginning. Not since the settlement of Zion's "center place" had such cultural ambition been associated with the founding of a Mormon gathering place. The Saints considered the Salt Lake Valley intrinsically sacred, reserved by them since the Creation so that God could


accomplish his divine purposes through them. For the time being the Mormons felt secure in their territorial claims. Although Joseph Smith had discontinued the law of consecration in Nauvoo, the ultimate glories of Zion reappeared quite strongly in the rhetoric of the Mormon settlement of the West.

Following the lead of Orson Pratt, the literal-minded Mormons extensively applied the mountain-top imagery of Isaiah to their settlement location. Never before had the Mormons stressed the location of Zion being in the "everlasting hills" as much as they did in the Great Basin. Other topographical features of the Great Basin reinforced the identity of "latter-day Israel." The relative barrenness of the Great Basin inspired the Mormons to accept the biblical task to make "the desert blossom as the rose." The Mormons believed that their righteousness and industry would convince God to temper the elements and transform the landscape into a garden. This transformation would then identify the Mormons as God's chosen people.3

"Latter-day Israel" also found itself encamped near an inland salt sea whose only significant tributary connected it with a fresh water lake in an adjoining valley. The river was appropriately named "Western Jordan."4 The dramatic exodus


4Millennial Star 10 (1848), p. 82.
from Nauvoo, the extended trek across America under the leadership of a master organizer recognized as a modern-day Moses, the topographical similarities of the Great Basin with the biblical land of promise and the enthusiastic experiences which accompanied their entrance into the Salt Lake Valley convinced the Mormons that the location of their new gathering place was auspicious and that their occupation of it was divinely sanctioned.

On July 28, 1847, Brigham Young assembled Church leaders together to announce the location of the anticipated temple to be constructed as the *axis mundi* of the "Kingdom of God" in the West. The Apostles who had accompanied Young to the valley followed him from their initial camp to a site on the north end of the valley between two branches of the largest stream descending from the Wasatch Mountains on the east. Waving his hands and raising his voice he declared, "Here is the forty acres for the temple." With this pronouncement the Mormon presence in the Great Basin was assured and the Great Basin became the fifth official gathering place of the Latter-day Saints. As was the case in Zion's "center place," the temple site became the first fixed location in the Great Basin kingdom. Young then declared that the city would be "laid out perfectly square" around the temple and oriented to the cardinal compass points. The eight Apostles present unanimously supported this sacred foundation to their
capital. Young then revealed the morphology of the "City of the Saints."

It was moved and carried that the Temple lot contain forty acres on the ground where we stood. It was also carried that the city be laid out into lots of ten rods by twenty rods each, exclusive of the streets, and into blocks of eight lots, being ten acres in each block and one and a quarter in each lot.

It was further moved and carried that each street be laid out eight rods wide, and that there be a side-walk on each side, twenty feet wide, and that each house be built in the center of the lot, twenty feet from the front, that there might be uniformity throughout the city.

It was also moved that there be four public parks of ten acres each, to be laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds.5

As designed by Brigham Young and approved by the Council of Apostles, the temple was to be the center and focus of the kingdom. Residence would surround the temple in a compact fashion and be orthogonally and cardinally oriented to it. Upon complete acceptance of this design by Church leaders, Brigham Young declared his determination to have "all things in order, and righteousness . . . practiced in the land."6 Not since the consecration of Zion's "center place" had the ideal territorial and social orders of the Mormon kingdom been so graphically and completely expressed on the landscape.

Given the obvious differences between the ideal plats of Zion and the "City of the Great Salt Lake," (size of lots,

5Woodruff, Journal, 28 July 1847; see also Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1886), pp. 46-47.

6Ibid.
number of lots per block, designation of a side-walk, and location of public squares), the similarities are striking, especially given the degree to which the ideal plat of Nauvoo had varied from the Zion plat (see Figures 13, 16). Cardinality and centripetality were the foundation of Salt Lake's initial design.

Even though construction of the temple did not begin for nearly six years after the founding of Salt Lake City, the site of the temple oriented the spatial, social, and spiritual life of the embryonic capital. To survey the city, Apostle Orson Pratt began at the southeast corner of Temple Square. This point became the origin of the city's street naming system. Streets immediately surrounding Temple Square are called respectively North, East, South, and West Temple. Streets one block from the temple are named First North, East, South, and West, respectively. Two blocks from the temple are Second North, East, South, and West, and so on cardinally throughout the city. The southeast corner of Temple Square is also the origin for the survey of the Great Basin, begun under Pratt's direction and completed by the federal government after the 1870 Federal Land Survey. In short, every location in the Mormon West, whether in the capital city or in the vast hinterlands, has Temple Square as its ultimate reference point.7

7Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 3:282; Harris, Salt Lake City, p. 113, 117-121.
As the spiritual center of the kingdom, Temple Square was the site of frequent religious assemblages of the thousands of Latter-day Saints in the city. Even though nineteen separate Mormon congregations, called wards, were organized in Salt Lake City in 1848, the most important spiritual meetings continued to be held in a bowery specifically constructed on Temple Square. Even after the wards began holding regular worship services in their respective meeting houses, the most important public religious meetings in Salt Lake City were convened at the bowery and later at a succession of tabernacles on Temple Square.8

The temple block was also the social and spiritual focus of "Pioneer Day," the annual celebration of the founding of the Mormon West and the most important traditional expression of Mormon identity in the nineteenth century. From its beginning in 1849, the celebration centered on a procession consisting of representatives from church and civic organizations. The procession gathered at Temple Square at day break and with great pomp paraded through the "principal streets" of the city, returning to Temple Square where participants and the thousands of spectators would hear stirring orations by Brigham Young and other Church leaders declaring unashamedly and in high style the virtues of

Mormonism. The congregations would often sit down to a thanksgiving feast, also on the temple block, where additional accolades were placed at the feet of Mormonism's leaders and traditions.\(^9\)

The Temple Square also served as the first major commercial stimulus of the Mormon capital. On January 26, 1850, Brigham Young established an array of Church-sponsored public works projects. Many of these shops were initially located on or near Temple Square. Although these were not Salt Lake City's first businesses, the pottery works, carpentry shops, stone masons, and other industries stimulated the local economy and enabled the Church to erect the first major buildings in Salt Lake City, used for religious and civic affairs. Subsequently, Temple Square and adjoining church properties became an anchor for the business district of Salt Lake City which has continued to the present.\(^{10}\)

On February 14, 1853, the site for the temple was consecrated and its construction begun. Construction had been delayed six years, primarily for lack of human and material resources. By 1853 approximately seven thousand Saints had gathered to Salt Lake City. With the tools, teams, and other material resources of the steady stream of gathering Saints,


and with the local economy stimulated by the Public Works, continued immigration, and trade with '49ers on their way to and from the California gold fields, Brigham Young determined that the time to build the temple had arrived. With appropriate ceremony, Heber C. Kimball, Young's First Counselor, consecrated the site, and the First Presidency, according to the "order of the Priesthood," broke ground at the southeast corner of the temple. Two months later the First Presidency laid the cornerstone of the temple. On the occasion, the twenty-third anniversary of the Church's founding, Brigham Young declared that he had seen the completed temple in a vision.

I scarcely ever say much about revelations or visions, but suffice it to say, five years ago last July I was here, and saw in spirit the Temple not ten feet from where we have laid the chief cornerstone. . . . I have never looked upon that ground but the vision of it was there. I see it plainly as if it was in reality before me.

At this time he also indicated several elements of the temple's design. During the course of its construction, the temple, for the most part, realized Young's vision, which reinforced the cardinality and centripetality of the kingdom. The rectangular temple faces directly east, anticipating Christ's Second Coming. The three eastern spires dominate the

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12Raynor, Everlasting Spires, pp. 20-26; Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, pp. 111-112.
three western spires, reinforcing the superiority of the Melchizedek (Higher) Priesthood, and the eastern priority of the cornerstone laying (see Figure 17). A gilded statue of the Angel Moroni (a principal character in the Book of Mormon) sounds the trump of the New Dispensation of the Gospel from atop the highest eastern spire and towards the rising sun in the southeast. The predominence of east and south is also reflected in the "endowment" ritual within the temple (see Figure 18). Participants begin this dramatized cosmogony in the "Creation Room" and are facing south. They move from room to room in a clockwise direction as they progress through this symbolic rehearsal of salvation, with each room slightly higher than the previous one. They enter the "Celestial Room" (representing heaven) facing east.\textsuperscript{13}

Not only the temple and the city but the entire kingdom reflected this renewal of religious symbolism of the territorial environment. Brigham Young used the institution of settlement to organize and control the territory of the Great Basin to reflect the religious ambitions of the kingdom. Young's first pronouncement regarding his territorial ambitions indicated a readiness to have "every hole and corner from the Bay of San Francisco to Hudson Bay known to us." Several years later his ambitions had moderated: "We hope soon to explore the valleys three hundred miles south, and

\textsuperscript{13}Andrew, \textit{The Early Temples of the Mormons}, pp. 106-109, 150-155.
also the country as far as the Gulf of California, with the view of settlement of a seaport."14 To obtain legal and political sanction to their religious commonwealth, Mormon leaders met during March 1849 and drafted a proposed constitution for the "State of Deseret." "Deseret" was to occupy virtually the entire Great Basin, being bounded on the north by the Columbia River drainage system and the Wind River Mountains, on the east by the Continental Divide, on the south by the Gila River and Mexican border, and on the west by the Sierra Nevada Mountains. (see Figure 18). As initially proposed, Deseret would have contained the entire Great Basin and Colorado River drainage system, including its mouth on the Pacific Ocean, and would have equalled nearly one-sixth the area of the continental United States. Given these extreme territorial ambitions and the general disfavor with which the Mormons were regarded in America at mid-century, the proposal had no chance for a congressional approval in 1849. From 1849 until statehood was finally granted in 1893, Church leaders sought political and legal legitimacy from the governments of the United States as never before. Their recent experiences in Missouri and Illinois had made Mormons suspicious of American society but resigned to the sovereignty of the United States government over the territory they were occupying. In short, the Mormons were attempting to obtain political

14Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 47; Journal History of the Church, 28 July 1847; 9 March 1849.
legitimacy, as they had attempted in Nauvoo, but at the level of the state, not of the city.\textsuperscript{15}

On the other hand, Mormons were anything but typical nineteenth century Americans. They strenuously resisted pressure to conform to the American norms of separation of church and state, individualization of the economy, politicalization and commercialization of the territorial environment, and monogamous marriage and nuclear family practices. On several occasions, resistance by the Mormons to external pressure to change met with violence against and imprisonment of Church members, economic and political sanctions against the Church, and its near dissolution as a legal entity in America. The considerable delay in the acceptance of Utah into the Union was largely a function of the divergent path toward statehood attempted by the Latter-day Saints.\textsuperscript{16}

While the legal definition of the Mormon state was being debated, Brigham Young used settlement as a means to control the land and resources of the Great Basin and orient the Mormon kingdom spatially and socially to the temple in Salt Lake City. Within ten years of his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young had authorized the settlement of nearly


\textsuperscript{16}E.g., Arrington, \textit{Great Basin Kingdom}, ch. 12.
one hundred communities. With few exceptions, these were all located either along the "Mormon corridor" or at the "outer cordon." The "Mormon corridor" was a line of settlements from Deseret's northern boundary along the Snake River to its southernmost point near present-day San Bernardino, California. Eventually some two hundred Mormon settlements dotted the valleys along the Wasatch Mountains, in the eastern part of the Great Basin, enabling the Mormons to control its prime land, major transportation routes, mildest climates, and major sources of irrigation water—the rivers that flowed westward from and through the Wasatch Mountains.17

By contrast, the "outer cordon" was designed to locate settlements at principal entrances into the Great Basin, including San Bernardino (California), Forts Bridger and Supply (Wyoming), Genoa (near present-day Reno, Nevada), and Fort Limhi (central Idaho). These would have given the Mormons control over the transportation routes through the Great Basin. The "outer cordon" communities were abandoned in 1857-58 because of serious external threats to the kingdom, namely Indian troubles and the "Utah War." The latter was an attempt by President James Buchannan to repress what was seen in the United States as a general rebellion by the Mormons. In response to the occupation force of several thousand

17Hunter, Brigham Young, the Colonizer, pp. 63-85; Baum, "Geographical Characteristics of Early Mormon Settlements," ch. 2.
American soliders, the Mormons burned or abandoned many peripheral settlements, including the outer cordon, buried the foundations of the temple and prepared to burn Salt Lake City to the ground and live as nomads in the Great Basin or find other settlement locations beyond America's borders. Fortunately, a peaceful solution was negotiated and Salt Lake City was not destroyed. However, the outer cordon communities were never systematically reoccupied by Latter-day Saints.  

Within the mountain valleys, Mormon settlements were strategically placed to control important natural resources, transporation routes, and vistas. They were also settled in sufficient proximity to one another to allow for mutual defense and social interaction. Most of the settlements were founded under Brigham Young's direction or with his blessing. In many cases, he sent newly arrived immigrant companies virtually intact to settle a particular location, with the ecclesiastical officials of the trek becoming the bishops of the new towns. In other cases, he authorized the settlement of particular valleys and appointed faithful leaders as bishops to oversee temporal as well as spiritual affairs of the community. Still other times, "Brother Brigham" approved or denied the request of parties desiring to settle particular areas. Regardless of the method, settlement in Utah was primarily a religious phenomenon, with ecclesiastical leaders

18Hunter, Brigham Young, the Colonizer, pp. 352-355; Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 170-194.
supervising every stage of the process at every level of its organization. Spontaneous communities naturally did arise, but compared to those established under ecclesiastical direction, they were few and relatively insignificant.\textsuperscript{19}

Effectively controlling the territorial environment through settlement, the Mormons were able to lay out their towns and establish a lifestyle consistent with their fundamental religious principles. In many of the Mormon communities, local bishops supervised the survey and distribution of the town plat so that ecclesiastical order prevailed at all times. The bishop also had the authority to grant contracts to trusted community members to develop natural resources such as building stone, lumber, minerals, water, and pastures for the use of the entire community. A person's right to such a contract continued as long as he benefitted the entire community. Commercialism and competition were thereby virtually eliminated from land and resource management in many parts of rural pioneer Utah. In addition, construction of roads and public buildings (church, school, town hall) was often accomplished by local labor under the bishop's direction. As a result of this ecclesiastical definition of the communities in Utah, Gentile populations outside the metropolitan areas tended to cluster in peripheral

\textsuperscript{19} Hunter, \textit{Brigham Young, the Colonizer}, chs. 18-26, passim; see Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890," for a discussion of settlement in northern Utah not directed by Church leaders.
mining or railroad towns such as Price, Corinne, Park City, and Bingham. For the first hundred years of Mormon occupation in Utah, Gentile influence in the hinterlands was modest. 20

These functional advantages of the Mormon settlement system were reinforced by the ecclesiastical organization of the kingdom. Geographically proximate communities often were organized into a "stake of Zion," supervised by a priesthood leader appointed by Brigham Young. These stake presidents ensured that the ecclesiastical and social programs of Mormonism continued in the local wards. Frequent ward functions within the communities and periodic stake functions among several communities enhanced the dynamic density of settlement areas throughout the kingdom and thereby strengthened both control of the territorial environment and the sense of group identity. 21

Symbolism of Salt Lake City's Layout

The spatial organization of the western communities was perhaps the strongest visual statement of Mormon territorial control. The territorial symbolism of Mormon settlements in the west, of which more than five hundred were eventually


21 Ibid.
founded, produced a remarkably powerful and consistent landscape imagery, which traces its origins to Joseph Smith's City of Zion. The morphological variations which occur among communities is eclipsed by the uniformity when it is recognized that more than sixty years separate the first community settled from the last; that these settlements were dispersed throughout an area one thousand miles long and eight hundred miles wide; and that during this period Mormonism was experiencing both phenomenal growth from its successful proselytizing activities in Europe, North America, and elsewhere, and serious challenges from American society, which nearly caused its demise.

The basic organizational principles for the Mormon communities were identical to those of the temple and capital city: centripetality and cardinality. Mormon towns are nearly all oriented to the cardinal compass directions and designed with orthogonal lots, blocks, and town boundaries. The centralized public square in these communities usually served as both the origin of the street naming system, which extends orthogonally from it, and the locus of social and religious activity. Reflecting the layout of Salt Lake City, these squares were the location of tabernacles, major religious meeting halls in the principal community in the stake, and were sometimes identified as "temple square" even though no temple had been planned for the site. The local business districts were frequently located along the principal
streets of town which set off the public square. The public squares were surrounded by single family dwellings, while agricultural lands lay outside of town. In short, Mormon communities were microcosms of Salt Lake City, being ordered structurally and functionally in terms of Salt Lake City and its temple. The resulting harmony among all levels of Mormon society created of the territorial environment a powerful symbol of Mormon identity. Although proliferation of this imagery has not continued to the present, the Great Basin remains one of the most extensive yet integrated culture regions of North America.22

Despite the similarities of Salt Lake City with the plat of Zion and despite the extent to which the Mormons were able to organize the territorial environment of the mountain west according to their symbolic pattern, many changes in the Mormon ideology of place occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century eventually to cause the Mormons to discontinue settlement as a cultural institution.

An initial departure from previous settlement practices was the lack of any ideal plat of Salt Lake City to which its growth would conform. Although Nauvoo did not have an ideal plat when settlement there began, one was drawn in 1842. In no case did the community as settled precisely resemble the ideal plat; nevertheless, these plats acted as territorial

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22See Nelson, The Mormon Village; Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape;" Reps, Cities of the American West, ch. 10; Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region."
charters and decidedly affected the ultimate appearance and character of the town. Salt Lake City received a verbal mandate for its design from Brigham Young, who supervised its execution, but the only visual expression of this mandate came in a succession of plats drawn as settlement progressed (see Figure 16).

Having no ideal boundary, Salt Lake City was allowed to expand organically as no previous Mormon center had been. While the expansion itself was more orderly than that of Nauvoo, geographic and demographic size—two important features of industrial urbanism—began to supersede the ideals of discrete, self-sufficient, face-to-face communities characteristic of Joseph Smith's Zion. Salt Lake City rapidly assumed the role of the capital of an inland religious commonwealth—the ultimate source of social, political, economic, and ritual benefits in the kingdom—while Zion's "center place" had been designed as a community primus inter pares among a myriad of morphologically and socially identical communities. By 1860 the incorporated area of Salt Lake occupied 57.16 square miles, exceeding the size of all contemporary American cities except Philadelphia, New Orleans, Washington, D. C., and San Diego. Its population in 1860, due primarily to Mormon immigration, was 8236, a relatively modest size for American cities of that time period. At the same time, few Mormon communities contained more than one
thousand residents and were more than several square miles in size.\textsuperscript{23}

As Salt Lake City grew in size and population, its residential imagery became increasingly diverse. In the early 1850's the "Avenues" in the foothills northeast of Salt Lake City were platted. Plat D contained 56 square blocks cardinally oriented but one-fourth the size of those of Salt Lake's initial plats. the blocks were divided into four square lots. Salt Lake City's first subdivision resembled more the plat of Nauvoo than those of Zion or Salt Lake City. This deviation from the city's initial survey code required the enactment of an additional survey ordinance by the territorial legislature on January 20, 1860.\textsuperscript{24}

Later in the 1860s and 1870s the foothills two blocks north of Temple Square and the Church Tithing Yards began to be platted (see Figure 20). This subdivision contained curvilinear streets and irregular blocks and lots, conforming to the contours of the steep foothills north of Temple Square. Although a diagonal street appears in the actual plat of Nauvoo, the Capitol Hill area was the first sytematic departure by Mormon town planners from the orthogonal and cardinal orientation of their "stakes of Zion."


\textsuperscript{24}Karl T. Haglund and Philip F. Notarianni, \textit{The Avenues of Salt Lake City} (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1980), pp. 1-5; Harris, \textit{Salt Lake City}, p. 113.
With the secularization of city planning following the death of Brigham Young, residential patterns became even more diverse. Boom town planning on Salt Lake City's west side and the random introduction of numerous lanes, courts, and alleys within the city's very large ten-acre blocks accommodated its rapid growth but muted its religious symbolism. Designed to encourage residential proximity to the central business district, these alleys were, in actual practice, "little regulated; instead of become retreats from the noise and dirt of the city streets, they degenerated into back alleys of squalor." In addition to the Avenues, platting south of Ninth South and west of Eighth West streets introduced considerable variety into the city's original grid pattern, with five-acre rectangular blocks and increasingly smaller lots. Curvilinear blocks and streets, typical of the popular suburban movement in many American cities, became common along Salt Lake City's "east bench" areas. Twentieth century expansion of Salt Lake City has seen the proliferation of diverse residential and transportation layouts. (see Figure 20). Although some diversity of layout existed in earlier Mormon gathering places, Salt Lake City was the first Stake of Zion in which diversity eventually superseded uniformity and became institutionalized.25

Symbolism of Salt Lake City's Social Organization

This increasing diversity of residential and transportation patterns reflected the increasing social, economic, and religious differentiation of the Mormon capital. Never before in the Mormon kingdom had the influence of "outsiders" been as evident. The original City of Zion design did not consider the possibility of Gentile merchants, educators, ministers, or politicians. In Far West, the possibility of non-Mormon traders was recognized, but prospective merchants had to receive approval of the town council (which was also the Stake High Council) before they could trade. Mormon control of the local economy was thereby assured. In Nauvoo, sympathetic Gentiles played important roles in local political, economic, military, and social institutions, but attempts by any Gentiles or Mormon dissidents to operate outside of or in opposition to the established Mormon social order were quickly suppressed. Urban centers in "Deseret" could forestall but could not prevent the growing and diverse Gentile influences on the local society. Mormonism's town planning and utopian ideology adjusted accordingly.

The "Utah War," referred to above, was the first major and lasting influence of Gentiles upon the society of Utah. Although the conflict was settled without bloodshed, Utah was not without the presence of American military through the rest of the century. The "rushes" for precious metals throughout
the American West left its mark on Utah society, first by those who aborted their quest for riches in the California gold fields and settled in Utah, and secondly by those seeking their fortunes in Utah's own silver and copper mines. The majority of truly wealthy residents of nineteenth century Salt Lake were Gentile mining barons, many of whom resided in conspicuous proximity along east South Temple Street. The transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, brought not only thousands of non-Mormons to Utah, primarily for economic and political reasons, but also facilitated the importing of merchandise from the east so that Gentile wholesalers and retailers could compete more effectively with the "home manufacture" credo of the Mormon business establishment. Beginning in the late 1860s and continuing through the rest of the century, religious denominations of great variety established congregations in Utah to meet the needs of their own parishioners living in Mormon country or, in a few cases, to attempt to "redeem" the Mormons, who were generally perceived by Americans as degenerate Christians and social backsliders. Mormons were also not considered good risks politically; consequently, few territorial appointees were Latter-day Saints, and many were openly antagonistic toward Mormonism.26

26Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859; (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960); Robert Joseph Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862-1890 (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971); McCormick, Salt Lake City, ch. 4; Margaret D. Lester, Brigham
In the 1870's and 1880's, a center of Gentile activity and identity emerged in Salt Lake City in the vicinity of Fourth South and Main (East Temple) Streets. Competing with the Mormon center at and near Temple Square, the Gentile center included hotels, stores, banks, schools, and social halls owned and operated by and for Gentiles. On occasion they held their own Independence Day and other celebrations to protest what they felt to be a Mormon monopoly of all public events. At times the economic influence of the Gentiles threatened Mormon Church leaders to the extent that boycotts of Gentile merchants and imported merchandise were established. Despite these and numerous other difficulties, the Gentiles persisted, and their influence on the society of Utah increased throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.27

By the end of the nineteenth century, no clear, unified focus of social activity and cultural identity existed in Salt Lake City. Temple Square remained its single most important site, but many social and territorial images competed for the attention of Salt Lakers. Salt Lake City was still the Mormon mecca, but its territorial imagery was considerably less

significant than that of either the envisioned Zion or Salt Lake City before 1860. As Salt Lake City became the undisputed urban center of the Great Basin, the means for establishing its supremacy were only faintly reminiscent of Zion's origins.

One hedge against the secularization of the territorial symbolism of the Mormon West was the temple. The concept of the temple in Mormonism had gradually diminished from a complex of sacred structures for the performance of all civic functions in an earthly paradise to a single structure specifically designed and ritually consecrated for the exclusive performance of sacred ceremonies having primarily otherworldly significance. In each stage of this evolution, access to the temple became increasingly restricted to faithful Latter-day Saints. The temples in Zion were to be public buildings; in fact, no civic activity would have occurred in Zion except in or with reference to a temple. The temple in Kirtland was also public, except during its dedication when entrance was restricted to those with current donation receipts. Access to the Nauvoo Temple was limited to Latter-day Saints with current tithing receipts, and during the last several troubled months of Mormon occupation, guards helped enforce this prohibition. As a threat of secular society increased in the Great Basin, entrance to the temples became more restrictive. Eventually, prospective temple patrons had to answer to the satisfaction of their
ecclesiastical leaders a series of questions regarding their orthodoxy on a variety of doctrinal, ethical, and moral issues. Discussion of matters occurring in the temples came to be strictly prohibited outside temple walls, even among regular temple attenders.

As Mormon society became increasingly undifferentiated from the wider society, the temple has become a repository of the most sacred and profound doctrines, rituals, and covenants of Mormonism. Ceremonies which symbolically reenacted the cosmogony, define man's role in the universe, and chart his path back to God—including the "sealing" of husband, wife, and children together in eternal family chains—are performed exclusively in the temples, designed according to the principles of cardinality and centripetality as explained above. Furthermore, many accounts circulate among Latter-day Saints of supremely spiritual experiences, including visions of heaven and appearances of Christ, received by worthy temple attenders. In short, the principles of cosmic urban symbolism upon which Zion was initially defined remain most vivid in Mormonism's most sacred place, and the place in the kingdom most differentiated and excluded from a secular society.

As the society of Utah became increasingly socially and religiously differentiated and as as the territorial environment became increasingly controlled by political and economic forces, the Church found itself increasingly unable to renew its traditional imprint upon the landscape. As the
religious symbolism of Mormon settlements gradually lost significance in the kingdom, fewer new settlements were established under Church direction. The last colonization efforts directed by the Church occurred nearly twenty years after the formal closing of the frontier by the American government. At least eleven Mormon communities were settled in Alberta, Canada; Sonora, Mexico; and the Big Horn Basin, Wyoming in the first decade of the twentieth century, and several more were established after 1910 in the Uintah Basin of eastern Utah as the Ute Indian Reservation was reduced by a million acres in 1905 to accommodate white homesteading.28

By this time, however, the definition of the Mormon kingdom had changed. The path to statehood, though actively sought by Church leaders, had reduced Utah to nearly one-fourth the size of the proposed "Deseret," (see Figure 19), and caused the Church to be formally if not actually removed from the centers of political, economic, and territorial control. Statehood, granted January 4, 1896, was the federal government's first official recognition of Mormonism as a legitimate American religion, yet it sounded

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the death knell to the deeply-held notion of the territorial kingdom.29

Concurrent with these events, Church leaders began to urge converts not to immigrate to America, but to establish Mormonism in their respective native countries. The concept of Zion gradually lost geographical reference and came to denote exclusively the moral character of Church members. The notions of the gathering and of community were also redefined during this time. As the kingdom came more to refer to a religious denomination than a territorial empire, Mormon communities were seen more in congregational terms, and Mormon auxiliary programs were expanded to include social, cultural, and recreational dimensions. The gathering, the idea of including all the faithful in common religious experiences to enhance their group identity and solidarity, was also given a denominational definition. According to official Church policy, Mormons would no longer be united primarily by geographical proximity, resulting from migration. They were now to be united by the uniform instructions given during Sunday worship services, common activities of the auxiliary programs of the Church, and eventually by similar meeting

house architecture, local ecclesiastical organization, and management style. 30

One major transformation of Mormonism then from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries has been its ideology of place. Introduced as part of Joseph Smith's radical utopian society, the Mormon ideology of place had more in common with utopian ceremonial centers than with industrial centers or frontier communities of nineteenth century America. Attempting to give institutional expression to these utopian ideals, however, Joseph Smith ran headlong into the prevailing American ideology of place. While many American communities of the nineteenth century were morphologically similar to the City of Zion, the meaning and social order of the respective settlement traditions were incompatible: communitarianism versus capitalism, stewardship versus ownership, theocracy versus democracy, discrete versus organic settlements, mechanical versus organic solidarity, communalism versus individualism, and sacred versus secular social orders. These principles, combined with the cosmic significance of location and layout of the ideal Mormon city, lay the foundations for the conflicts which followed. Not only were the Gentiles, who shared few if any elements of Mormonism's territorial ideology, suspicious of these self-confident intruders into

their society, but many converts brought deep-seated ideological concepts to their new faith which sewed the seeds of dissent and disunity within the Mormon kingdom. Converts to Mormonism were not automatically purged of their world views and social expectations, which were frequently at odds with those of Mormonism. Furthermore, Mormonism's timetable for establishing the New Jerusalem required of its converts more metaphysical and social flexibility than many were willing or able to give to the kingdom. As a result, Joseph Smith spent much of his energy settling internal dissensions and external conflicts. When, in any particular settlement location, the difficulties threatened the lives of his followers or the continuation of the Church, he authorized a new gathering place in a different location. With each succeeding move, however, the ideology of place gradually weakened from its original formulation. Gradually it came to resemble more closely the prevailing American ideology of place. This trend continued throughout the nineteenth century, even though the mass relocation of the Latter-day Saints stopped once they had established Salt Lake City. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the Mormons were unable to organize the landscape in traditionally meaningful ways; consequently they discontinued settlement as a cultural institution. Principles of cosmic urban symbolism continued to influence the organization and layout of Mormon temples, but by the 1960s these features of temple
architecture had been eliminated from contemporary temples. Mormonism's current efforts to organize the territorial environment in culturally meaningful ways (individual Church buildings and historical site development) express none of the symbolic principles of Joseph Smith's ideal city.

Although Mormonism has provided Western civilization with one of its most extensive efforts to institute the principles of cosmic urban symbolism, the effort was ultimately successful only upon the demise of its first principles. This study has focused upon the origins of this symbolic pattern in Mormonism, and a few of its early transformations. A thorough understanding of its later transformations will have to await another study.
APPENDIX A

JOSEPH SMITH'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF ZION,

25 JUNE 1833
The plat contains one mile square; all the squares in the plat contain ten acres each, being forty rods square. You will observe that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in one square running from the south and north to the line through the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from the east and west to the center line. Each lot is four perches in front and twenty back, making one half of an acre in each lot, so that no one street will be built on entirely through the street; but on one square the houses will stand on one street, and on the next one, another, except the middle range of squares, which runs north and south, all of them; because these squares are forty perches by sixty, being twenty perches longer than the others, their greatest length being east and west, and by running all these squares, north and south, it makes all the lots in the city one size.

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

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

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

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

The names of the temples to be built on the painted squares as represented on the plot of the city of Zion, which is now about to be forwarded thither:— numbers 10, 11, and 12, are to be called House of the Lord, for the Presidency of the High and most Holy Priesthood, after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of the Son of God, upon Mount Zion, City of the New Jerusalem. Numbers 7, 8, and 9, the Sacred Apostolic Repository, for the use of the Bishop. Numbers 4, 5, and 6, the Holy Evangelical House, for the High Priesthood of the Holy Order of God. Numbers 1, 2, and 3, the House of the Lord, for the Elders of Zion, an Ensign to the Nations. Numbers 22, 23, and 24, House of the Lord for the Presidency of the High Priesthood, after the Order of Aaron, a standard to the People. Numbers 19, 20, and 21, House of the Lord, the Law of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Messenger to the People, for the Highest Priesthood after the Order of Aaron. Numbers 16, 17, and 18, House of the Lord for the Teachers in Zion, Messenger to the Church. Numbers 13, 14, and 15, House of the Lord for the Deacons in Zion, Helps in Government. Underneath must be written on each house—
HOLINESS TO THE LORD

The house of the Lord for the Presidency, is eighty-seven feet long and sixty-one feet wide, and ten feet taken off the east end for the stairway, leaves the inner court, seventy-seven feet by sixty-one, which is calculated and divided for seats in the following manner, viz., the two aisles four feet wide each; the middle block of pews are eleven feet ten inches long, and three feet wide each; and the two lines drawn through the middle are four inches apart; in which a space a curtain is to drop at right angles, and divide the house into four parts if necessary. The pews of the side blocks are fourteen and a half feet long and three feet wide. The five pews in each corner of the house, are twelve feet six inches long. The open spaces between the corner and side pews are for fireplaces; those in the west are nine feet wide, and the east ones are eight feet and eight inches wide, and the chimneys carried up in the wall where they are marked with a pencil.

The pulpit in the west end of the house is to be occupied by the High Priesthood as follows:-- Number 1, is for the President and his council; number 2, for the Bishop and his council; number 3, for the High Priests; and number 4 for the Elders: each of these is eight feet long, containing three covers or stands for the respective speakers; and those seats opposite them are for visiting officers, who are to occupy seats according to their respective grades. The two spaces in
the middle are stairs two feet wide. The middle pulpit is to be elevated; the first seats one foot, the second two feet, the third three feet, and the fourth four feet. And those upon each side are also to be elevated: The first one eight inches, the second sixteen, the third twenty-four, the fourth thirty-two. The corner seats are to be occupied by singers, and elevated--the first seat six inches, the second twelve, the third eighteen, the fourth twenty-four, and the fifth thirty-two inches. The pulpit in the east end of the house is to be occupied by the Lesser Priesthood. Number 1, is for the Presidency of the Lesser Priesthood; number 2, for the Priests; number 3, for the Teachers; and number 4, for the Deacons; and the seats by their sides, are also to be occupied by visiting officers; each one opposite his respective grade. The pulpits are to be finished with panel work, in the best workmanlike manner; and the building to be constructed of stone and brick of the best quality. Observe particularly that as there are pulpits at each end of the house, the backs of the congregation must be to one of the them, and they will want occasionally to change. In order for this the house must have pews instead of slips, and in the pews let the seats be loose, that they may slip from one side of the pew to the other, so as to face either pulpit, as occasion may require.

The side view represents five windows in each story. The windows are to have each forty-eight lights, of seven by nine
glass, six one way and eight the other; the sides and lintels of the windows to be of hewn stone, and on the top of the lintel is to be a Gothic top, as you see, but the windows must have a lintel; and so with the outside doors, all with Gothic tops.

Make your house fouteen feet high between the floors. There will not be a gallery but a chamber; each story to be fourteen feet high, arched overhead with an elliptic arch. Let the foundation of the house be of stone; let it be raised sufficiently high to allow of banking up so high as to admit of a descent every way from the house, so far as to divide the distance between this house, and the one next to it. On the top of the foundation, above the embankment, let there be two rows of hewn stone, and then commence the brick-work on the hewn stone. The entire height of the house is to be twenty-eight feet, each story being fourteen feet; make the wall a sufficient thickness for a house of this size. The end view represents five windows of the same size as those at the side, the middle window excepted, which is to be the same, with the addition of side lights. This middle window is designed to light the rooms both above and below, as the upper floor is to be laid off in the same way as the lower one, and arched overhead; with the same arrangement of curtains, or veils, as before mentioned.

The doors are to be five feet wide, and nine feet high, and to be in the east end of the house. The west end is to
have no doors, but in other respects is to be like the east, except the windows are to be opposite the alleys which run east and west. The roof of the house is to have one-fourth pitch, the door to have Gothic top, the same as the windows. The shingles of the roof to be painted before they are put on. There is be a fanlight, as you see. The windows and doors are all to have venetian blinds. A belfry is to be in the east end, and a bell of very large size.

You will be careful to have hooks and rings to suspend your veils on, so that they can be let down or raised at any time, at pleasure. Also, as you see, the pulpits are to have four seats, rising one above another; for instance, the Elder's seat is lowest, next comes the High Priest's, next the Bishop's; so each of these must have a veil that is suspended from the upper floor, so as to be let down; which will at any time when necessary be let down, and shut off each stand or seat by itself.
APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIONS
Figure 1. Early Mormon sites, 1800-1830 (Burton, Mormon Trail, p. 17).
Figure 2. Early Mormon sites, 1830-1846 (Burton, Mormon Trail, p. 39).
Figure 3. Approximate location of lands owned by the Mormon Church in Jackson County, Missouri, 1831-1834. In addition to those marked in black, the Church owned lots 75 and 76 of the original plat of Independence (An Illustrated Atlas Map of Jackson County, Missouri, n.p.; Britton, "Mormon Land Titles," p. 174).
Figure 4. Plat of the City of Zion, Jackson County, Missouri, issued by Joseph Smith on June 25, 1833 (Reps., Cities of the American West, p. 289; original in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 5. East facade, architectural rendering of the great temple to serve as a model for all temples in the City of Zion, drawing by Frederick G. Williams, 1833 (Andrew, Early Temples of the Mormons, p. 34; original in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 6. Mormon congregations in Ohio before 1838 (Backnan, Heavens Resound, p. 48).
Figure 7. Plat of Kirtland, Ohio, drawn by Willard Beals under the direction of Joseph Smith, ca. 1835 (Reps, Cities of the American West, p. 292; original in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 8. Mormon Temple, Kirtland, Ohio, 1836, from the elevations of the Historic American Building Survey (Andrew, Early Temples of the Mormons, p. 42; original in the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.).
Figure 9. Approximate location of Mormon public institutions in Kirtland, Ohio, ca. 1837 (Backman, Heavens Resound, p. 76, based on research by Keith Perkins).
Figure 10. First plat of Far West, Missouri, ca. 1837
(Reps, Cities of the American West, p. 294; original in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 11. Revised plat (reported) of Far West, Missouri, ca. 1837 (Reps, Making of Urban America, p. 469).
Figure 12. Plat of Adam-ondi-Ahman, Missouri, surveyed by Alanson Ripley and drawn by R. Campbell under the direction of Joseph Smith, 1838 (Reps, Cities of the American West, p. 295; original in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 13. Plat of Nauvoo, Illinois, drawn by Gustavus Hill's, printed by J. Childs, New York, ca. 1842, with the original platted area outlined in black (Reps. Cities of the American West, p. 298; Miller and Miller, Nauvoo, p. 34; copy of the original print in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 14. West facade, Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois, elevation drawn by William Weeks, ca. 1843 (Hamilton and Cutrubus, Salt Lake Temple, p. 44, reproduced by permission, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 15. Plat of Nauvoo, Illinois, 1974 (Reps, Cities of the American West, p. 300; reprinted from A. T. Andreas, Illustrated Historical Atlas of Hancock County, Illinois).
Figure 16. Plan of Great Salt Lake City, Utah, 1850, drawn by Thomas Bullock showing the boundaries of the original plats A, B, and C (Reps, Cities of the American West, p. 308; reprinted from Richard F. Burton, City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California).
Figure 17. East facade, Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, drawn by Truman O. Angell, architect, 1854 (Andrew, Early Temples of the Mormons, p. 103; original in LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 10. Plan of the second floor, Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City, showing the cardinal and orthogonal path participants follow in the endowment ritual. Room A represents the "lone and dreary world;" room B represents the Terrestrial Kingdom; room D represents the Celestial Kingdom, or heaven. Rooms E, F, G, H, and J serve other sacred purposes. The Creation and Garden Rooms in the endowment ritual are located in the east end of the first floor (Hamilton and Cutrubus, Salt Lake Temple, p. 78, reproduced by permission, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City).
Figure 19. State of Deseret, proposed boundaries and subsequent territorial reductions, 1849-1896 (Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 85, reprinted from Leland H. Creer, Utah and the Nation).
Figure 20. Contour map, Salt Lake City, 1930, showing the variety of street patterns (Harris, *Salt Lake City*, Appendix, figure 6).
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