Brigham Young University
BYU ScholarsArchive

Theses and Dissertations

1999

The Precepts of Zion and Joseph Smith's City of Zion Plan: Major Influences For the Planning of Nauvoo

Marjorie E. Eddy
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Mormon Studies Commons, and the Urban, Community and Regional Planning Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
Eddy, Marjorie E., "The Precepts of Zion and Joseph Smith's City of Zion Plan: Major Influences For the Planning of Nauvoo" (1999). *Theses and Dissertations*. 4661.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/4661

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

THE PRECEPTS OF ZION

AND JOSEPH SMITH'S CITY OF ZION PLAN:

MAJOR INFLUENCES FOR THE PLANNING OF NAUVOO

by

Marjorie E. Eddy

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Art

Department of Anthropology

Brigham Young University

August 1999

Copyright © 1999 Marjorie E. Eddy

All Rights Reserved

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Marjorie E. Eddy

This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

June 30, 1999
Date

Dale L. Berge
Dale L. Berge, Chair

June 30, 1999
Date

John E. Clark
John E. Clark

April 19th, 1999
Date

David J. Johnson
David J. Johnson

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

FINAL READING APPROVAL

I have read the thesis of Marjorie E. Eddy in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials--including figures, tables, and charts--are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

June 30, 1999
Date

Dale L. Berge
Dale L. Berge
Chair, Graduate Committee

Approved for the Department

Joel C. Janetski
Joel C. Janetski
Chair, Department of Anthropology

Accepted for the College

Clayne L. Pope
Clayne L. Pope
Dean, College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences

ABSTRACT

THE PRECEPTS OF ZION

AND JOSEPH SMITH'S CITY OF ZION PLAN:

A MAJOR INFLUENCE FOR THE PLANNING OF NAUVOO

Marjorie E. Eddy

Department of Anthropology

Master of Art

This thesis addresses the archaeological question of the relationship between city planning and belief systems. It examines the extent to which the city plan of Nauvoo, Illinois, was influenced by the four precepts of Zion as outlined by Joseph Smith, the first President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These precepts are considered as unity, order, economic equality, and leadership. The City of Zion plan as developed by Joseph Smith was the basis for many cities, including Nauvoo. The Zion plan is examined to determine the influences of the four precepts of Zion on city planning. Specifically, issues of city layout and organization, private property, care of the poor, economic strategies, and leadership are considered. The city of St. Louis is examined using the same criteria. Finally, a comparison of the three city plans reveals the connection between Nauvoo's city plan and its belief system.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the professors in the Department of Anthropology, specifically the members of my committee-- Dale L. Berge, John E. Clark, David J. Johnson– for their feedback, patience, and support. Other mentors who contributed to my training and this thesis are professors Susan Easton Black, Joel C. Janetski, Clayne Pope, and Marti Lu Allen. Other mentors include Shane A. Baker of the Museum of Peoples and Cultures at BYU, Charmain Thompson, Forest Archaeologist for the Unita and Wasatch-Cache National Forests, and Erik Hansen, Director of the Joseph Smith Historic Center in Nauvoo, Illinois. Also, I would like to thank my parents, Richard and Mary Eddy, for their patience and confidence, and Scott Hansen for his friendship and financial support.

Table of Contents

List of Figures viii

List of Tables x

Preface xi

Chapter 1: Belief Systems and City Planning 1

Chapter 2: The Precepts of Zion 5

Chapter 3: The City of Zion Plan 19

Chapter 4: The Precepts of Zion Manifested in Nauvoo 33

Chapter 5: Archaeological Investigations at Nauvoo 61

Chapter 6: The Early Development of St. Louis 87

Chapter 7: A Comparison of Nauvoo and St. Louis 123

Chapter 8: A Comparison of Nauvoo to the City of Zion Plan 143

List of Figures

1. Original 1833 Plat for the City of Zion 21

2. Expansion of the Center Blocks for Figure 1 22

3. Revised Plat for the City of Zion 26

4. Gustavus Hills Map of Nauvoo 34

5. Reconstructed Plat of Commerce 36

6. Original Land Purchases for Nauvoo, 1839 37

7. Additions and Subdivisions of Nauvoo 38

8. Prominent Buildings and Houses of Present-day Nauvoo 40

9. Political Wards of Nauvoo 51

10. Ecclesiastical Wards of Nauvoo 52

11. Nauvoo Temple Basement 64

12. Excavated Basement of Joseph Smith's General Store 68

13. Seventy's Hall Excavation 71

14. Original Features of the Masonic Hall 73

15. Partial Site Map of the Joseph Smith Homestead Lot 77

16. Archaeological Features of the Jonathan Browning Site 81

17. Daniel Butler Site Map 83

18. Archaeological Features of the Joseph Bates Noble/Lucy Mack Smith Site 85

19. Original Plat for St. Louis as Shown in 1780 88

20. Re-creation of St. Louis in the1770s 90

21. Plat of St. Louis in 1804 91

22. Plan of the City of St. Louis, 1835 99

23. Map of St. Louis in 1841 100

24. St. Louis and Surrounding Lands as Surveyed in 1820 104

25. Map of St. Louis and Common Fields, 1796 105

List of Tables

1. Dates and Events for the Law of Consecration 12

2. Precepts of Zion in the City of Zion Plan 28

3. Precepts of Zion in the Organization of Nauvoo 42

4. City Limits of St. Louis, 1764-1855 92

5. Population Growth in St. Louis, 1770-1844 93

6. Precepts of Zion in the Organization of St. Louis 95

7. Nauvoo and St. Louis Compared 135

8. Physical Characteristics of Nauvoo and Their Possible Sources of Inspiration 144

Preface

Background of Joseph Smith's Concept of Zion

Joseph Smith, Jr., is known to the world as the founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or LDS) in 1830, but to his people he also is known as a prophet, seer, revelator, and restorator of Christ's Gospel as established in the Bible. In 1827 at the age of 21, Joseph Smith began translating the *Book of Mormon*, which was published in1830, and began re-translating the King James version of the Bible. Joseph Smith received revelations concerning the establishment of Zion during this time. The Bible and *The Book of Mormon* describe Zion as a location, community, and a lifestyle. Joseph felt inspired to create a Zion people and a Zion city so that the righteous could gather into one location and prepare for the Second Coming of Christ. Following a revelation received from God, Joseph Smith traveled in 1831 to Independence, Missouri, to prepare for the establishment of his Zion society. Once there, he found large, unoccupied tracts of land which would accommodate the formation of a new city and people. He also found a frontier culture that differed from any he had experienced in the East and from the one he meant to establish.

Four years later, when recounting his visit to other church leaders, Joseph made the following statement:

> But our reflections were many, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the east, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity, and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times, and to feel for those who roamed about without the benefit of civilization, refinement, or religion; yea, and exclaim in the language of the Prophets: "When will the wilderness blossom as the rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will Thy temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?" (Smith 1976:1:189)

While living in Kirtland, Ohio, he developed plans for a Zion city at Independence, Missouri. Joseph Smith developed a plat and plan for a city, incorporating the doctrinal concepts or precepts of Zion. During his lifetime, this plan was the basis for cities in Missouri and for Nauvoo, Illinois.

The religious purposes behind Nauvoo's settlement are based on Joseph Smith's concept of Zion. The establishment of Zion cities dates back to the Judeo-Christian tradition in the Bible which describes Jerusalem as the City of Zion (Isaiah 30:19) where the tabernacle of the Lord rested. In his translation of the King James' version, Joseph Smith restored passages to Genesis which refer to an earlier City of Zion established by the prophet, Enoch. Enoch's City of Zion instituted unity, equality, and obedience for a Zion society. Joseph Smith implemented these precepts in his teachings on Zion. He felt that the restoration of Zion again to the earth was vital in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. The first attempts at following the Zion city plan were in Independence and Far West, Missouri. Unfortunately, due to religious persecution, the Mormons were driven from these cities and consequently built the city of Nauvoo which prospered for nine years.

Chapter 1

Belief Systems and City Planning

The nineteenth century witnessed numerous utopian experiments. Because these communities were established *de novo* to accommodate peculiar lifestyles based on radical beliefs, they provide a unique opportunity to evaluate the connection between community patterns and belief systems, a question fundamental to archaeological inference. In this thesis I evaluate the Mormon utopian experiment at Nauvoo, Illinois, as an example of the relationship between a specific belief system and its specific historical manifestation. I consider this case as an example of the larger archaeological issue of inferring a belief system from a city plan.

From its founding in 1839, Nauvoo was planned as a Zion community, a city consciously different from its contemporaries. This city was established by Joseph Smith, Jr., first prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to mold a Zion society--a people of one heart and mind. Church members are referred to hereafter as Saints. As with all utopian societies, Joseph Smith's Zion ideal had to confront the realities of everyday life and provide for social, political, and economic harmony. The paradox for Nauvoo revolved around the desire to maintain its distinctiveness through isolation while being surrounded by "gentile" communities. These surrounding communities exerted pressure on Nauvoo's religious sub-culture to conform. The creative tension for Nauvoo existed in its efforts to remain unique yet able to interact economically and politically in order to survive.

"Zion" has multiple meanings for members of the church (referred by their nickname, Mormons, in the following quote). C. Mark Hamilton, author of *Nineteenth-*

Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning, explains, "The basis for Mormon city planning and building types comes from the doctrinal concept of Zion. To Mormons, Zion can represent a physical location as well as a state of mind or level of spiritual attainment" (Hamilton 1995:139). For Joseph Smith and the Saints who followed him, Nauvoo was an attempt to physically and socially create a Zion society.

This introduction addresses the problem as well as the scope and method of this thesis. The organization of the information in Chapters 2-8 is as follows. To begin, the precepts upon which a City of Zion would be based are examined. This is followed by an evaluation of the City of Zion plan as the ideal from which Joseph Smith would work. Afterward, the actual community pattern of Nauvoo is examined. In the analysis, I reconstruct the Zion ideal and City of Zion plan from Joseph Smith's early writings. To reconstruct Nauvoo of the 1840s, I rely on history and archaeology. Chapter 5 continues the analysis of Nauvoo but on a smaller scale by examining specific archaeological research for some of the city's excavations. The following chapter evaluates the community pattern of St. Louis. Subsequently, Nauvoo and St. Louis are compared using archaeological categories to determine their similarities and differences. If Nauvoo of the 1840s had been consistent with other frontier communities, there would be no case for significant differences that might reflect the Zion ideal. Even so, there are many similarities between Nauvoo and St. Louis which must be addressed. Finally, a discussion of the historic evidence, a comparison to the City of Zion plan, and the conclusions for the paper are presented in Chapter 8.

The evaluation of these three city plans emphasizes the relationship between the belief system and city plan for Nauvoo. The similarities and differences between Nauvoo

and the City of Zion plan reveal the impact of the belief system on Nauvoo. If Nauvoo was influenced by the concepts of Zion and the City of Zion plan, it is assumed that the comparison between Nauvoo and St. Louis will demonstrate fewer similarities and more distinct differences. The differences reflect purposeful variations instituted at Nauvoo. On the other hand, the similarities between these two frontier communities show how Nauvoo's city plan was impacted by geographical, economic, and cultural influences.

Scope and Method

This thesis is an effort to understand what Joseph Smith believed and taught concerning Zion and how those beliefs influenced the community patterns and society of Nauvoo. Scholars have analyzed Nauvoo's history, architecture, archaeology, and city planning; however, they have not explored the connection between the belief system and the community organization. I attempt to show this connection by analyzing both the belief system and the city plan. As part of my analysis, I compare Nauvoo to St. Louis, focusing specifically on both cities' development, plat structure, land use, and civic and religious emphases. St. Louis serves as a control for the typical pattern of city planning and development in the region. The similarities and differences between Nauvoo and St. Louis show the extent to which a Zion society, as practiced, differed from surrounding communities.

This thesis is a preliminary study. No attempt has been made to control for the influence which other utopian societies of the 1800s may have had on Joseph Smith's thinking. Nor has any attempt been made to control for preconceived notions of city

planning held by the Saints who founded Nauvoo. Furthermore, I do not compare earlier city attempts in Missouri at using the city of Zion plan and Nauvoo.

Any attempt to determine the belief system of any city plan must include discussion of the types, locations, and uses of a city's buildings because they can provide evidence of large and small scale processes. A building's placement in relation to other buildings or geographic factors provides data for the analysis of a city's belief system. Evaluation of a building's construction, layout, and associated artifacts reveals its utilization by the public on a smaller scale. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to identify or describe the artifacts from the excavations of the various buildings in Nauvoo or St. Louis. My focus here is on larger scale aspects of city plans. For this thesis, I emphasize maps and written descriptions of buildings. In this case, the historic record provides an explanation which aids in our understanding of the planning. Journals, newspapers, affidavits, pictures, accounts, histories, etc., provide different details than those found in the archaeological record.

My discussion of Nauvoo's belief system begins with a review of the precepts of Zion. Historic documents indicate that Joseph Smith utilized these precepts in his teachings for the spiritual development of a Zion people and also in the physical development of his City of Zion plan. These precepts are the basis for the belief system upon which Nauvoo was founded.

Chapter 2

The Precepts of Zion

On April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and received this revelation from God: "For thus saith the Lord God: Him [Joseph Smith] have I inspired to move the cause of Zion in mighty power for good, and his diligence I know, and his prayers I have heard" (*Doctrine and Covenants,* Section 21:7). [The *Doctrine and Covenants* is a compilation of Joseph Smith's revelations, referred to hereafter by the abbreviation *D&C.*] Clearly, Joseph Smith felt a responsibility to "move the cause" both spiritually and physically. To accomplish this, he used the precepts of a Zion society to unify the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and to plan a city of Zion. A discussion of the defining qualities of Zion and each of these four precepts is necessary to lay the ground work for the analyses which follow.

Defining Qualities of Zion

Joseph Smith found references to Zion in both The Bible and *The Book of Mormon.* Biblically, Zion was a term used to describe Jerusalem. However, while translating the King James' Version of the Bible (referred to hereafter as the *Joseph Smith Translation* or *JST*), Joseph Smith read about an earlier Zion city founded by the prophet Enoch. The following verses from the *JST* describe Enoch's city:

> 25 And it came to pass in his [Enoch's] days, that he built a city that was called the city of Holiness, even Zion.
>
> 26 And it came to pass, that Enoch talked with the Lord, and he said unto the Lord, Surely, Zion shall dwell in safety forever. But the Lord said unto Enoch, Zion have I blessed, but the residue of the people have I cursed.

> 27 And it came to pass, that the Lord showed unto Enoch all the inhabitants of the earth, and he beheld, and lo! Zion in the process of time was taken up into heaven. (*JST* Genesis 7:25-27)

These verses describe a Zion city as a blessed, holy, and safe place. It is a city where the inhabitants could talk with God. Eventually, the inhabitants of the city of Enoch became so righteous that the city was physically removed from the earth and lifted into heaven.

According to Biblical prophecy, a new Jerusalem or city of Zion was to be built in "the latter days," the time just before Christ's Second Coming. Joseph Smith believed he was to build this city. At Christ's Second Coming, the city of Enoch was to return to the earth and join with the new city of Zion. From this location, Jesus Christ would reign personally during the Millennium. The following verses from *JST* Genesis 7:70-72 describe the prophecy of the new Zion.

> 70 And righteousness and truth will I cause to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine own elect from the four quarters of the earth,0 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.
>
> 71 And the Lord said unto Enoch, Then shalt thou and all thy city meet them there; and we will receive them into our bosom; and they shall see us, and we will fall upon their necks, and they shall fall upon our necks, and we will kiss each other;
>
> 72 And there shall be mine abode, and it shall be Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made; and for the space of a thousand years shall the earth rest.

In preparation for the uniting of both cities, the elect of God will gather to the New Jerusalem. Here they will build a "tabernacle," or temple of God.

Joseph Smith referred to the mandate to build Zion in this 1835 letter to church leaders in Kirtland, Ohio:

> I received, by a heavenly vision, a commandment in June following, to take my journey to the western boundaries of the State of Missouri, and there designate the very spot which was to be the central place for the commencement of the gathering together of those who embrace the fullness of the everlasting Gospel. Accordingly I undertook the journey . . . arrived in Jackson County, Missouri, and after viewing the country, seeking diligently at the hand of God, He manifested Himself unto us, and designated, to me and others, the very spot upon which He designed to commence the work of the gathering, and the upbuilding of an "holy city," which should be called Zion-- Zion, because it is a place of righteousness, and all who build thereon are to worship the true and living God, and all believe in one doctrine, even the doctrine of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. (Smith 1976:2:254)

According to the above quotation, Zion was to be the spiritual and temporal center for God's redemption of the earth. It was to be the city to which the righteous of the world could gather and worship the "true and living God" and believe in "one doctrine." Following biblical tradition, it would contain, as Jerusalem had, the temple of the Lord. Only the "pure in heart" (*D&C* 97:21) would be allowed to enter the temple, the Lord's house on the earth, and make covenants with God. In the temple, Christ would speak to His prophets who would then teach His covenant people with the help of angels, seen and unseen. Joseph Smith was trying to prepare his followers to live in such a city and to be worthy of these blessings.

In order to establish this City of Zion, the Latter-day Saints would have to internalize four main precepts found in the following verses:

> 23 And the Lord called his people, Zion, because they were of one heart and of one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there were no poor among them.
> 24 And Enoch continued his preaching in righteousness unto the people of God. (*JST* Genesis 7:23-24)

Verse 23 describes the first three precepts as being "of one heart and mind," dwelling "in

righteousness," and having "no poor among them." Verse 24 inplies the fourth precept of following a living prophet. Throughout The Bible and *Book of Mormon*, God spoke to his people through the prophets. Enoch was a prophet as was Joseph Smith when this pattern was reestablished by God in the latter-days. God expected the Latter-day Saints to follow Joseph Smith's counsel as well.

For a Zion community to become unified, each individual was expected to do his or her best to incorporate all four precepts on a daily basis. For the Saints of this time, Joseph Smith was the prophet through whom God would speak, and they relied heavily upon Joseph Smith for direction on how to live these precepts. A review of these precepts allows us to evaluate their influence in the City of Zion plan and the organization of Nauvoo.

Of One Heart and Mind

Being of "one heart and mind" had spiritual, social, and physical implications to the Saints. It required each member to cultivate common religious beliefs, unify as a community around common standards and goals, and help each other survive and prosper spiritually and physically. The underlying principles that contribute to this precept included the laws of obedience, sacrifice, and consecration. Members had to be willing to obey commonly held doctrines and laws as well as give of their property, money, time, and talents to ensure that the community succeeded.

Bringing heart and minds into harmony was a necessary precursor to living in a Zion city where property and position, both individual and public, were organized to benefit the whole as well as the individual. According to Joseph Smith's city of Zion, the individual

worked and sacrificed to benefit the whole and in return received benefits as an individual member. This mutually beneficial relationship enhanced the need for individual strengths and talents and reinforced a commitment to community. Joseph Smith explained how this relationship worked in this 1842 *Times and Seasons* editorial:

> The cause of God is one common cause, in which the Saints are alike all interested; we are all members of the one common body, and all partake of the same spirit, and are baptized into one baptism and possess alike the same glorious hope. The advancement of the cause of God and the building up of Zion is as much one man's business as another's. The only difference is, that one is called to fulfill one duty, and another another duty; "but if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. and if one member is honored all the rest rejoice with it, and the eye cannot say to the ear, I have no need of thee, nor the head to the foot, I have no need of thee;" [1 Cor. 12:26] party feelings, separate interests, exclusive designs should be lost sight of in the one common cause, in the interest of the whole. (Smith 1976:4:609)

To achieve this unity, each Saint had to have faith that personal sacrifice for the good of the whole was not only necessary but sanctifying. Also, every member of a Zion community would make a unique contribution; therefore, as a whole, the community would thrive.

However, even a community unified by common beliefs and goals must agree upon a standard by which every member will be evaluated. For those following Joseph Smith, the commandments and covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints became the standard of personal and public behavior.

Dwelling in Righteousness

To "dwell in righteousness" required the Saints to take upon themselves covenants at baptism that tied them spiritually to the main body of the Church and allowed them to become heirs in Zion, i.e., to receive all blessings as well as a land inheritance (see

discussion on the law of consecration below). The baptismal covenant required the Saints to

> . . . humble themselves before God, and desire to be baptized, and come forth with broken hearts and contrite spirits, and witness before the church that they have truly repented of all their sins, and are willing to take upon them the name of Jesus Christ, having a determination to serve him to the end, and truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto the remission of their sins, shall be received by baptism into his church. (*D&C* 20:37)

After baptism, Saints were expected to maintain the Church's standard of personal righteousness through obedience to the commandments of God contained in the scriptures as well as the instruction given to them by the contemporary prophet. Each member was expected to sacrifice any individual desires, wants, traditions, and culture that did not harmonize with the standards of the Church.

The standards of the Church regarding daily conduct were more restrictive than those found in the surrounding American Frontier culture and religions. Joseph Smith wanted strict attention paid to these matters, regardless of surrounding actions or attitudes. An example of Joseph Smith's concern for the Saints' conduct comes at the end of their stay in Missouri in 1838. The Saints had been illegally driven from their homes, and Joseph Smith was incarcerated in Liberty, Missouri. In a letter dated December 16, 1838, he condemned the illegal and murderous conduct of the mobs, yet he reminded the Saints of their own obligations. Joseph reproached the Saints for their conduct which, though significantly less deleterious than the mobs', was not in harmony with the covenants they had made:

> Brethren, from henceforth, let truth and righteousness prevail and abound in you; and in all things be temperate; abstain from drunkenness, and from swearing, and from all profane language, and from everything which is unrighteous or unholy; also from enmity, and hatred, and covetousness, and from every unholy desire. Be honest one with another, for it seems that some

> have come short of these things, and some have been uncharitable, and have manifested greediness because of their debts towards those who have been persecuted and dragged about with chains without cause, and imprisoned. Such characters God hates-- and they shall have their turn of sorrow in the rolling of the great wheel, for it rolleth and none can hinder. Zion shall yet live, though she seem to be dead. (Smith 1976:3:233)

Though a short list of the standards of the Church, this exhortation specifically stated how members ought to treat others. These qualities became vital when the Saints were asked to live another part of the gospel as it related specifically to Zion: the law of consecration.

Having No Poor Among Them

A society with "no poor among them" would be a society where all members had an opportunity to work and share in the products and profits resulting from community labor. Actual poverty would be eliminated. The principle used by a Zion society to remove economic inequality was the law of consecration. This law was based on the precepts of unity and righteousness as discussed above. Only a society whose members sacrificed and were obedient could successfully live the law of consecration.

The law of consecration was first revealed to Joseph Smith on February 9, 1831 and reiterated in *D&C,* Section 42. This law proved too difficult for the early Latter-day Saints to live, and three years after the law was established, God revoked it. Table 1 lists the significant dates and events pertaining to the law of consecration. Though the law of consecration was short lived, some of its key principles, such as care of the poor and self-reliance, continued to be practiced by the Saints. The following scriptural verses review and

Table 1: Dates and Events for the Law of Consecration

Date	Event/Information	Record
4 Feb 1831	Edward Partridge appointed as first bishop.	D&C 41:9
9 Feb 1831	Law of consecration outlined.	D&C 42:30-34
Feb 1831	Saints to administer and provide for the poor.	D&C 44:6
7 Mar 1831	Members called to gather to Zion.	D&C 45:64-75
Mar 1831	Bishop Partridge instructed to appoint stewardships according to family sizes, circumstances, wants, and needs.	D&C 51:3
Mar 1831	A bishop's storehouse to be established.	D&C 51:3
20 Jul 1831	Jackson Co., Missouri, appointed as the land of inheritance and the center place for Zion.	D&C 57
Aug 1831	Saints commanded to purchase lands, rather than take them by force.	D&C 63: 27-31
12 Nov 1831	Surpluses to be consecrated to the Church.	D&C 70:1-8
4 Dec 1831	Newel K. Whitney appointed second bishop in the Church. Further duties of bishop explained.	D&C 72
Mar 1832	Saints commanded to establish storehouses and make Zion independent and self-reliant.	D&C 78
Apr 1832	Consecration groups established in Kirtland and Zion. Widows and orphans helped through storehouses.	D&C 82; 83
25 Nov 1832	Saints instructed to live the law of consecration to receive inheritance in Zion.	D&C 85
Jul 1833	Building of a temple in Jackson Co., Missouri, announced.	D&C 97:10-21
Jul 1833	Mob action forces Saints from Jackson County.	
23 Apr 1834	Separation of consecration groups in Ohio and Missouri.	D&C 104
22 Jun 1834	Consecration groups dissolved, and the law of consecration revoked until redemption of land in Missouri.	D&C 105

(Church Educational System 1989:98)

explain the law of consecration with its primary goals of taking care of the poor through the sharing of all work, goods, and property, according to individual and family needs.

> 30 And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken.
>
> 31 And inasmuch as ye impart of your substance unto the poor, ye will do it unto me; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church and his counselors, two of the elders, or high priests, such as he shall appoint or has appointed and set apart for that purpose.
>
> 32 And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, that they cannot be taken from the church, agreeable to my commandments, every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family. (*D&C* 42:30-32)

In a Zion society, poverty would be eliminated through the equalization of land and goods according to family size and need.

In theory, adult members of families entering into the law of consecration would deed or "consecrate" all their property and goods to the bishop of the ward (equivalent to a parish) in which they lived. The bishop presided over the ward and distributed the property and goods so that all his ward members could survive and thrive. After giving their property to the bishop, members would receive back the amount of lands and goods needed to work and live, becoming stewards instead of owners over the property. Those bringing insufficient property or goods would be given necessities from the excess of others. Having an equal opportunity to work, each adult chose occupations according to his or her skills and training.

All profit was given to the bishop to redistribute. Any excess was to be used to acquire more property for the ward, as indicated in these verses:

> 33 And again, if there shall be properties in the hands of the church, or any individuals of it, more than is necessary for their support after this first consecration, which is a residue to be consecrated unto the bishop, it shall be kept to administer to those who have not, from time to time, that every man who has need may be amply supplied and receive according to his wants.
>
> 34 Therefore, the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and the needy, as shall be appointed by the high council of the church, and the bishop and his council;
>
> 35 And for the purpose of purchasing lands for the public benefit of the church, and building houses of worship, and building up of the New Jerusalem which is hereafter to be revealed. (*D&C* 42:33-35)

After the needs of the individual ward members were met, land, labor, and time could be allocated for the construction of public buildings. The result of the law would be an egalitarian society with economic stability, equality, and a gathering and unifying of the Saints for the establishment of Zion.

Joseph Smith tried to establish the law of consecration in Ohio on February 4, 1831, by calling Edward Partridge to serve as the first bishop. In 1833, Joseph Smith sent Bishop Partridge the following letter, instructing him on the conduct and obligations regarding consecration for both the bishop and ward members.

> Brother Edward Partridge:
>
> SIR:—I proceed to answer your questions, concerning the consecration of property:—First, it is not right to condescend to very great particulars in taking inventories. The fact is this, a man is bound by the law of the Church, to consecrate to the Bishop, before he can be considered a legal heir to the kingdom of Zion; and this, too, without constraint; and unless he does this, he cannot be acknowledged before the Lord on the Church Book therefore, [sic] to condescend to particulars, I will tell you that every man must be his own judge how much he should receive and how much he should suffer to remain in the hands of the Bishop. I speak of those who consecrate more than they need for the support of themselves and their families.
>
> The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of both parties; for to give the Bishop power to say how much every man shall have, and he be obliged to comply with the Bishop's judgment, is giving to the Bishop more power than a king has; and upon the other hand, to let every

man say how much he needs, and the Bishop be obliged to comply with his judgment, is to throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the Bishop. The fact is, there must be a balance or equilibrium of power, between the Bishop and the people, and thus harmony and good will may be preserved among you.

Therefore, those persons consecrating property to the Bishop in Zion, and then receiving an inheritance back, must reasonably show to the Bishop that they need as much as they claim. But in case the two parties cannot come to a mutual agreement, the Bishop is to have nothing to do about receiving such consecrations; and the case must be laid before a council of twelve High Priests, the Bishop not being one of the council, but he is to lay the case before them. (Clark 1965:1:13)

The distribution of property was achieved by both the bishop and the ward member discussing the member's individual and family needs and circumstances. One of the key elements of the law was that every man must judge his own needs; the bishop could not mandate an amount. If an agreement could not be made between the bishop and member, the high council (twelve other leaders) would be called to review the case, providing both the individual and the bishop recourse. These checks and balances would maintain the fairness of the system. Though it required humility and sacrifice, this law was designed to eliminate poverty among the Saints.

Under Bishop Partridge's direction, land was first purchased and consecrated for Saints moving to Missouri. He also established storehouses to provide for the poor. During this time, Joseph Smith created the City of Zion plat for use in organizing and building cities for the Saints. Nevertheless, jealousy, pride, and greed hampered the individual members' ability to establish and suceed in the practice of consecration. Meanwhile, local Missourians became increasingly anti-Mormon and violent (Church Educational System 1989:98). The Saints were expelled by angry Missourians from Jackson County shortly thereafter, moving

north to occupy Caldwell and Daviess counties where Joseph Smith and the Kirtland Saints eventually joined them. On June 22, 1834, Joseph Smith announced that the Lord had retracted the law of consecration until a later time. In these verses, the Lord speaks and gives an explanation:

> 3 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, to the poor and afflicted among them;
>
> 9 Therefore, in consequence of the transgressions of my people, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion--
>
> 10 That they themselves may be prepared, and that my people may be taught more perfectly, and have experience, and know more perfectly concerning their duty, and the things which I require at their hands. (*D&C* 105:3, 9-10)

In 1838, a new doctrine was officially instituted to replace the law of consecration. The Saints were instructed to live a lesser law, the law of tithing, in which members gave the Church ten percent of all they earned or produced to the bishop's storehouse to provide for the poor (*D&C* 119). This law was in effect when the Saints began to occupy Nauvoo in 1839.

Following a Living Prophet

Following a living prophet required faith and obedience. Saints had to believe that the prophet spoke for God and that they should obey the counsel given. The fact that they followed Joseph Smith halfway across the United States over a period of nine years through times of persecution and deprivation is a testament of their steadfast belief in him as God's chosen leader. They knew that he was a prophet and received God's will for them through

revelation. This knowledge became crucial in the settlement of Nauvoo since both the site and city plan were selected by Joseph Smith. The Saints "obeyed" and moved to Nauvoo. following his recommendations of city planning and development.

The responsibilities and role of a prophet were clarified through revelation. A verse from the *Doctrine and Covenants*, which Joseph Smith received for the Elders of the Church in November 1831, reiterated the importance of servants or leaders in revealing the word of the Lord:

> 38 What I the Lord have spoken, I have spoken, and I excuse not myself; and though the heavens and the earth pass away, my word shall not pass away, but shall all be fulfilled, whether by mine own voice or by the voice of my servants, it is the same. (*D&C* 1:38)

The roles of seer and revelator were essential to being a prophet since he speaks for the Lord. This verse from 1835 listed the spiritual gifts given to the prophet:

> 92 Behold, here is wisdom; yea, to be a seer, a revelator, a translator, and a prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the head of the church. (*D&C* 107:92)

These gifts were necessary for a prophet to have the insight, sensitivity, and foresight to lead the church. These revelations not only outlined what a prophet was, but in *Doctrine and Covenants* Section 124:125, it specifically named Joseph Smith as being a divinely appointed prophet.

> 125 I give unto you my servant Joseph to be a presiding elder over all my church, to be a translator, a revelator, a seer, and prophet.

This declaration revealed that Joseph Smith had the power to guide and lead the members of the Church. Those members who believed and sustained him as a prophet were willing to follow him from New York to Ohio, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois.

Conclusion

These four precepts– being of one heart and mind, dwelling in righteousness, having no poor among them, and following a living prophet– contain the essence of Joseph Smith's Zion society. As such, these four precepts are the basis for the City of Zion plan. They were fundamental to the Zion society that Joseph Smith was creating, spiritually and socially. They were also fundamental to the physical well being of the Saints as shown in the development of Nauvoo.

Chapter 3

The City of Zion Plan

In creating a plan for a city of Zion, Joseph Smith relied on the precepts of Zion discussed in Chapter 2. Little is recorded about the creation of the plat and plan for Zion, and no documents remain that comment on the inspiration for either. It appears that he relied on contemporary and historical models. Here I review the City of Zion plat and plan and present an analysis of its correlation to the precepts of Zion. The plat and plan were the basis for many Mormon cities, most notably Kirtland, Ohio; Far West, Missouri; Nauvoo, Illinois; and Salt Lake City, Utah (Hamilton 1995:20-21).

Historical Overview of the Plat and Plan for Zion

In July of 1831, Joseph Smith sent a group of approximately 200 Saints to Jackson County, Missouri, to establish a city of Zion (Barrett 1973:172). They established themselves twelve miles southwest of Independence. Jackson County, comprising 385,404 acres, is situated 39 degrees North Latitude, 94 degrees West Longitude. The county's northwest corner is marked by the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers. The county's physical features include three ridges bearing from the south northward 30 degrees east with many tributaries, streams, and springs. The fertile soil was well suited for growing corn, wheat, grasses, fruits, and vegetables (Barrett 1973:185-186, 189). The federal census of 1830 reported the population of Jackson County at 2,823 (Microfilm #14854, p.739). In 1831, Jackson County could handle a large influx of population, and open tracks of land were ideal for building brand new cities.

By 1832, almost 830 Saints had migrated to settlements in Jackson County–an increase to the population of approximately 20 percent. By 1833, the number of Saints had grown to1,200 (Barrett 1973:235), representing an increase in population approaching 30 percent. The original settlers saw the influx of Saints as a political and cultural threat and took extreme measures to drive the Saints out of Jackson County by the end of 1833.

The early Missouri settlements were not organized according to a specified city plan since Joseph Smith was still in the process of developing one. From 1831 to 1833, Joseph Smith twice made the arduous 1,700 mile round trip from Ohio to Missouri. This familiarity with the land and his first hand knowledge of the Saints' early settlements helped him formulate his City of Zion plan. When he mailed the plat to Bishop Partridge on June 25, 1833, he included an explanation of the layout, the content of the city, and its dimensions written in the margins (Hamilton 1995:14-15). Even then, the original plat was revised before it was put into use. In Missouri, the plan was used for a few settlements occupied between 1833 and 1838.

The Original Plan for the City of Zion

In 1833, Joseph Smith sent leaders of the Church in Missouri the City of Zion plat with an explanation written in the margins (see Figure 1). For clarification, Figure 2 enlarges the center blocks from Figure 1. Following Figures 1 and 2 is a transcription of the written explanation.

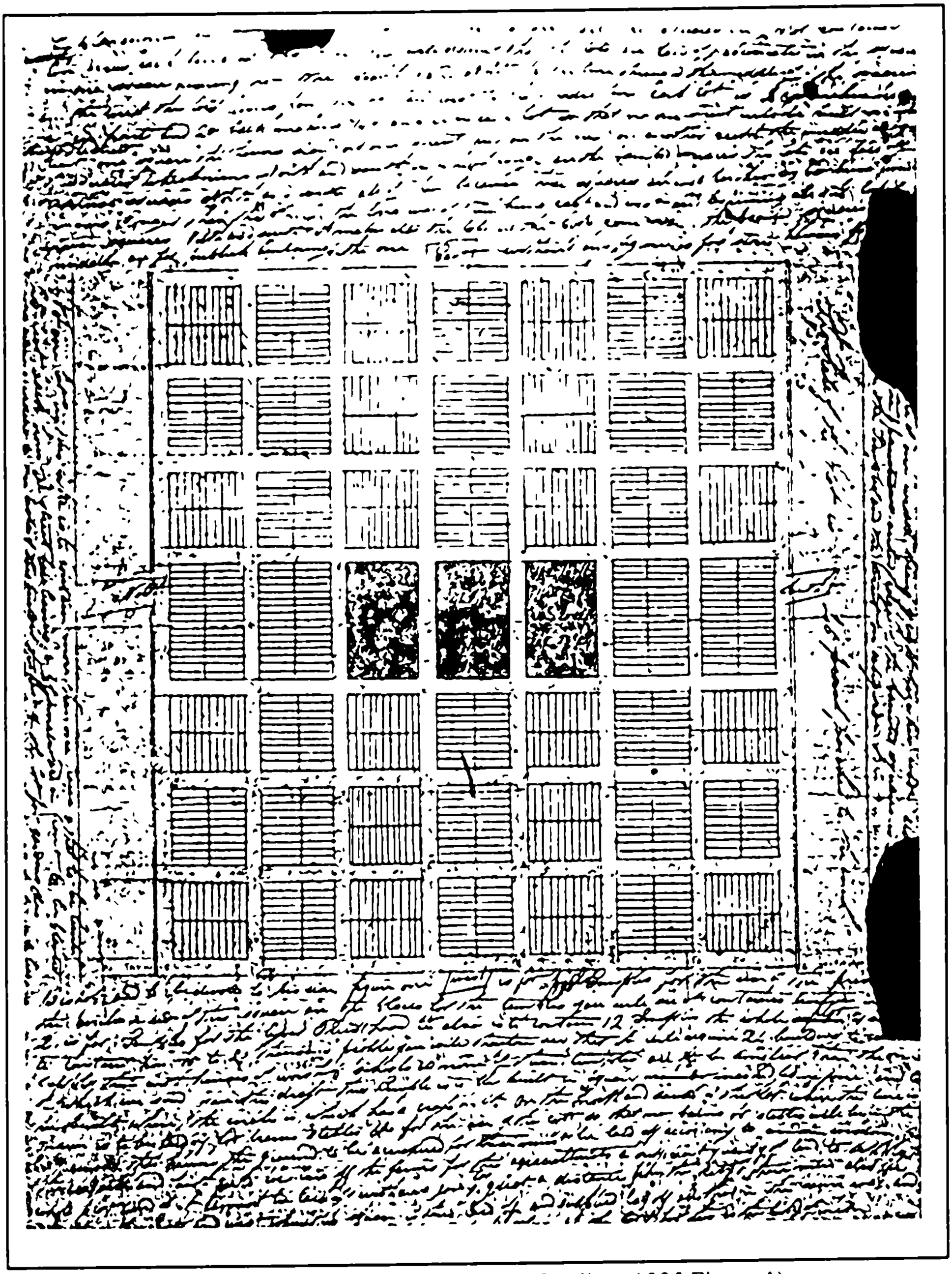

Figure 1: Original 1833 Plat for the City of Zion (Hamilton 1995 Figure 1).

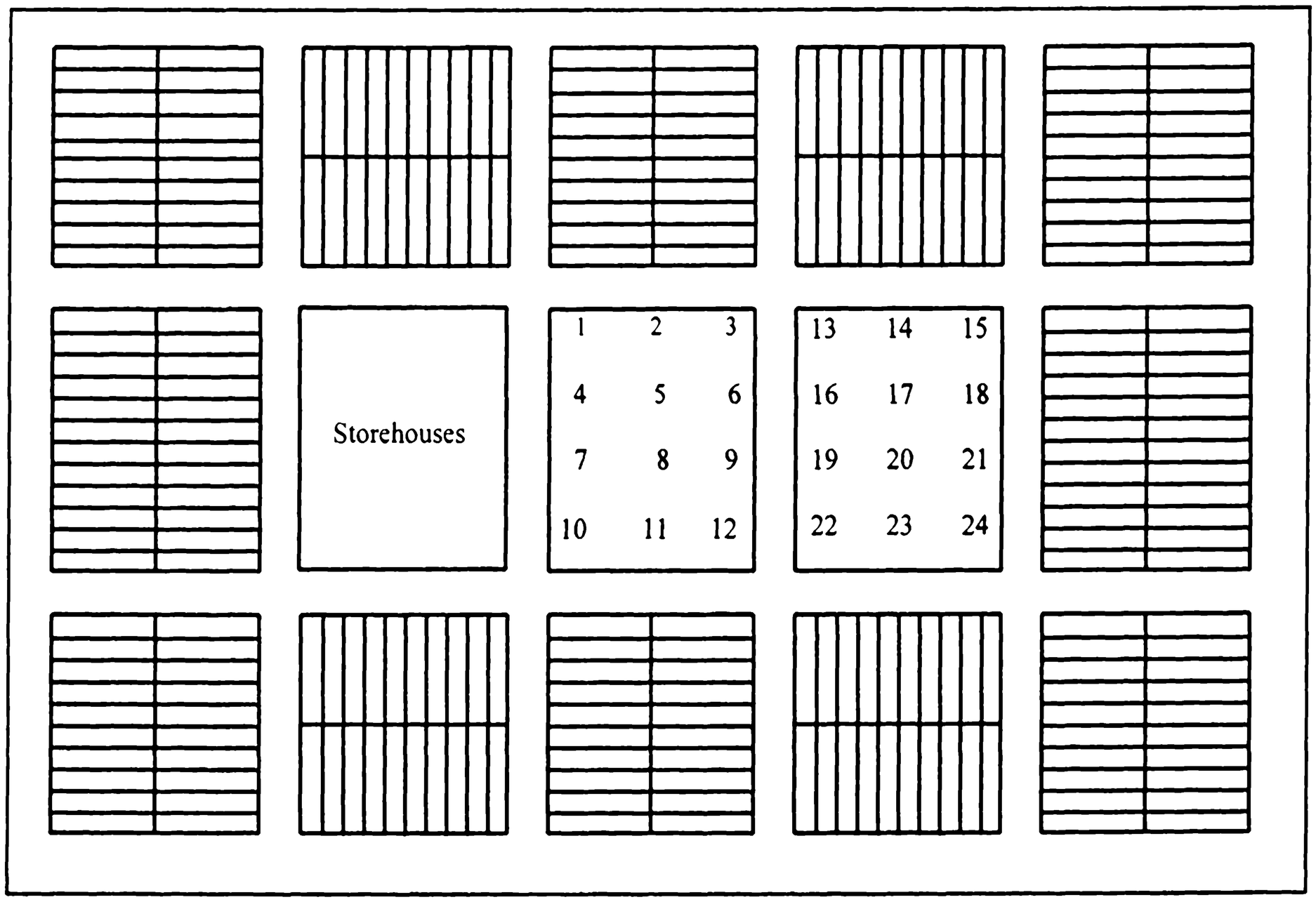

Figure 2: Expansion of the Center Blocks for Figure 1.

An explanation of the plat of the city of Zion, sent to the brethren in Zion, the 25th of 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, in which range are the painted squares. The lots are laid off in these squares, 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 of one size.

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

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

South of the plot where the line is drawn, is to be laid off for 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 be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick and stone. The scale of the plot is forty perches to the inch.

> 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 for 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. (Smith 1976:1:357-359)

The description continues with the dimensions and details for the main temple's design.

The plan addresses the city's size, shape, layout, and use for civic, religious, and private properties. It was to encompass one mile square laid out in a regular grid pattern based on the cardinal directions. The city's optimum population was to be between 15,000 and 20,000 people. Most of the blocks were to be square, with some central rectangular ones reserved for public buildings. The streets, at 132 feet, were to be unusually wide for the early 1800s, improving safety and minimizing congestion. Lot sizes for homes were standardized and equal. Each lot would contain one house which was to be set back 25 feet from the street. All farms, barns, and livestock were to be located in the greenbelt outside the city. The size of the greenbelt was unspecified but was to be "according to wisdom."

Revisions to the City of Zion Plan

Soon after the original plan was received by Frederick G. Williams, he drafted a revised plan to correct oversights. It is significant that each time the plan was used,

corrections and modifications occurred to adapt it to the local geography and current needs of the community. The following list compares the differences between the original and revised plans (Figure 3).

1. The revised plat was one and a half times greater in area than the original plat. It increased the total area from 1 to 1.5 square miles.

original	revised
6006 x 5676 ft.	9092 x 8349 ft.

2. The revised plat had nearly three times as many half-acre private building lots.

original	revised
968 half-acre lots	2,600 half-acre lots

3. One of the three center blocks reserved for storehouses and schools was eliminated.

original	revised
1 bishop's block	0 bishop's block
2 temple blocks	2 temple blocks

4. The two remaining center blocks were reduced in size from fifteen to ten acres.
5. The central blocks were changed to a square shape, creating a uniform grid pattern.
6. The axial direction of the temple blocks was changed from a north-south to an east-west orientation.
7. The uniform street width of 132 feet of the original plat was applied only to four major cross-axis avenues. The width of the other streets was reduced to 82.5 feet.

original	revised
16 132-foot-wide streets	4 132-foot-wide streets
	21 82.5-foot-wide streets

8. Only the streets on the revised plat were given either names or numerical designations. For example, the major cross-axis avenues were given specific names, such as New Jerusalem or Zion; the other streets were numbered First or Second North, First or Second South, etc.
9. There was a significant decrease in the projected average family size. (The comparison is based on Joseph Smith's population projections of 15,000 to 20,000 for the City of Zion.)

original	revised
15,000--15.5 average	15,000--5.8 average
20,000--20.7 average	20,000--7.7 average

(Hamilton 1995:17-19).

These changes were adopted by Joseph Smith before the plan was used in Nauvoo; therefore, further discussion of the plan in this thesis will refer to both the original City of Zion plan and its revision.

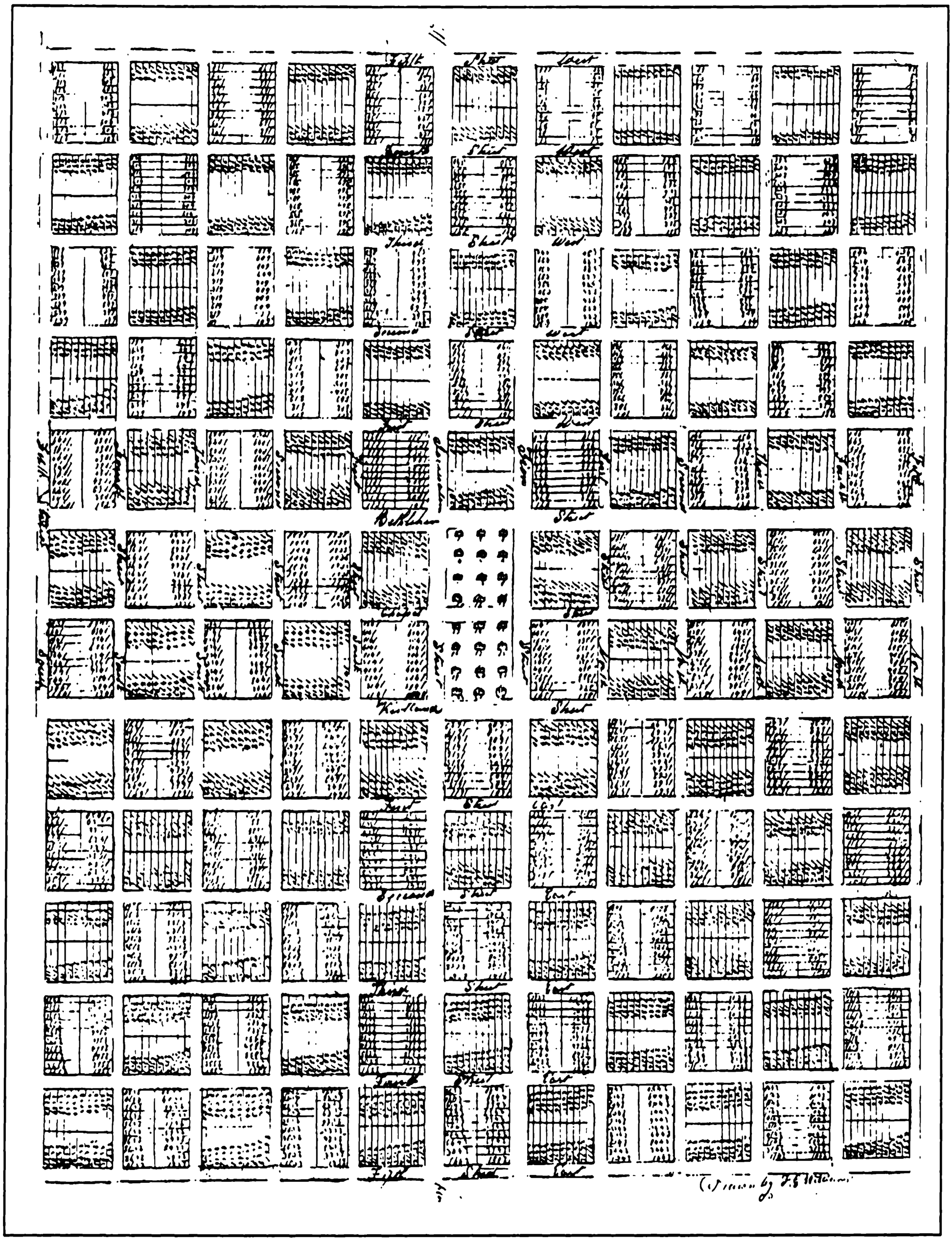

Figure 3: Revised Plat for the City of Zion (Hamilton 1995:Figure 2)

The Influence of the Four Precepts of Zion in the City of Zion Plan

For the ideal City of Zion to be a success, it needed to incorporate the precepts of Zion. These precepts as displayed in the city plan can be reduced to four simple concepts: unity, order, economic equality, and leadership. The precepts and their physical manifestations are compared in Table 2.

Unity was encouraged through regulation of street width, equality in lot sizes, and regulations for building materials and landscaping. All the original plan's street widths were 132 feet. In the revision, only the four streets intersecting the central buildings remained this wide while side streets were reduced to 82.5 feet. According to the plan, all property available for private ownership was to be equally sized and distributed. Each lot was 4 x 10 perches (each perch equals 5.5 yards), or 66 x 165 feet. All of these details were aimed at providing equal opportunities for individuals while creating a unified, organized city.

Order correlates with the organization of the city on a large scale. Attention was given to the layout of the blocks, the use of cardinal directions, a limit to the total population, and the zoning of farm land. All blocks, excepting the central ones, were to be square and divided into twenty private lots. The city was platted in cardinal directions. This made it easy to locate the center and any other addresses. The limitation of population size to 15-20 thousand allowed the city to thrive economically but also kept the city small enough to be manageable. The zoning of agricultural lands outside the city in the greenbelt encouraged unity as all citizens, including farmers, were to live within the city limits. Barns and stables were to be kept outside the city limits. All land inside the city proper was used for houses, gardens, and shops. This showed the emphasis placed on individual access to the community,

Table 2: Precepts of Zion in the City of Zion Plan

Precepts	**Ideal/Plan**
1) One Heart and Mind **Unity**	All plats are square, equal in size with 20 lots per block. Main streets are 132 feet wide. Others are 82.5 feet wide. Only one house is permitted per lot. Houses are to be set back 25 feet from the street. Houses are to be constructed of stone or brick Houses are placed to face the side of opposing lots. The front yard should be "planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder." The back yard is to be used as for gardens.
2) Dwelling in Righteousness **Order**	The city is to be platted using the cardinal directions. The city blocks are to be square and equal in size. The total population ranges between 15-20 thousand people. The two central block will house public buildings,churches, schools, and the temple. The greenbelt--consisting of barns, stables, and fields--surround the city. Farmers live inside the city limits with access to schools and churches while their lands are located outside the city in the greenbelt. The main Temple for the endowment of the people would be located in the central block.
3) Having No Poor Among Them **Economic Equality**	Individual gardens allow some self-sufficiency.
4) Following a Living Prophet **Leadership**	A bishop would be assigned for each city. The central priesthood temples would be buildings for administration and government.

regardless of occupation. However, the most important symbol of order for the city was the House of the Lord, the temple used for worship. It was located in the center of the city, and worthy members would have the opportunity to be taught the Gospel inside its walls.

The implementation of economic equality was more difficult to achieve on a city-wide level. Economic equality was manifested physically by designating the back of every house as a space for gardens and, under the law of consecration, providing land for everyone. Eventually, this equality would allow each member to choose his or her occupation, balancing unity with self-reliance. Zion was a place of work as well as rest.

The following statements reveal how the property for the City of Zion would be obtained and apportioned. The first, a revelation given to Joseph Smith on July 20, 1831, explains how land would be purchased for the entire city.

> 1 Hearken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints.
>
> 4 Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile;
>
> 5 And also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. Behold, this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance.
>
> 6 And let my servant Sidney Gilbert stand in the office to which I have appointed him, to receive moneys. to be an agent unto the church, to buy land in all the regions round about, inasmuch as can be done in righteousness, and as wisdom shall direct.
>
> 7 And let my servant Edward Partridge stand in the office to which I have appointed him, and divide unto the saints their inheritance, even as I have commanded; and also those whom he has appointed to assist him.
>
> 15 And now concerning the gathering--Let the bishop and the agent make preparations for those families which have been commanded to come to this land, as soon as possible, and plant them in their inheritance. (*D&C* Section 57:1,4-7, 15)

Sidney Gilbert would act as a land agent for the Church and legally purchase as much land as possible. Next, Bishop Edward Partridge was to organize the giving of "inheritances" to Saints as they agreed to live the law of consecration. In this manner every member could qualify for land and opportunity in Zion. There was a concerted effort to create strong neighborhoods and a sense of belonging among the Saints, regardless of their occupation or status.

Leadership was the key to implementing a Zion society. The plan, based on a theocratic government instead of a democracy, provided central blocks for the allocation of religious, public, and civic space. The buildings situated in the middle of the city made them accessible to all. Joseph Smith described these buildings as "temples," referring to a building of learning and gathering. They should not be confused with the actual House of the Lord, or the main Temple for worship, also located in this central complex. These central buildings would be under the jurisdiction of different priesthood organizations whose officers would manage the religious and political matters of the city. Other central buildings were to be used for civic purposes such as the bishop's storehouse, houses of worship, schools, etc.

The city of Zion was to be theocratic. Theoretically, temporal matters such as the distribution of lands and properties, and the care of the poor was under the jurisdiction of the bishop. "The High Council has been expressly organized to administer in all her spiritual affairs; and the Bishop and his council, are set over her temporal matters . . ." (Smith 1976:2:229). Joseph Smith intended the bishop to be a central governing figure in the city:

> In relation to the size of Bishoprics: When Zion is once properly regulated there will be a Bishop to each square of the size of the one we send you with this; but at present it must be done according to wisdom. It is needful,

> brethren, that you should be all of one heart, and of one mind, in doing the will of the Lord. (Clark 1965:1:15)

Joseph Smith called for all of Zion to be one and to work together. As prophet and designer of the city, he was in the position to organize and layout the city as well as plan for its function and government.

It is interesting to note the issues that were not addressed by the plan, such as water supply, sewage, garbage, hospitals, jails, industrial zoning, communication, commerce, and transportation with other communities. The zoning for schools and storehouses, which were deleted in the revision, was not resolved. While some of these ideas may be more applicable to current city plans, their absence in the City of Zion plan shows that the plat and plan was a work in progress. It was not ever meant to be rigid or considered complete, even in its final form. For Nauvoo, the filling in of these and other details came as the city grew.

Archaeological Expectations

If a city of Zion had been built according to its plan and later excavated, physical manifestations of the belief system would be found in the archaeological record. The concern for unity might be seen in the square, equal-sized lots, similar house construction styles and materials, similar house locations, uniform streets, and equal access to public and religious buildings. Order would be reflected in the overall plat of the city which used the cardinal directions, had definite city limits, and was surrounded by a greenbelt for horticultural and pastoral use. The demonstration of economic equality could be inferred through the uniform allocation of land, but more importantly through the consumption of

goods which were similar per capita. Leadership would be more difficult to distinguish. In a society where leadership results in stratification, evidence could be found in larger house sizes and a rise in the number of artifact types or luxury items. In a Zion society where the goal is to have "no poor among them," stratification would be minimized and leadership would be less likely measured by those indicators. Even so, the City of Zion plan's central building complex would reveal large, public use buildings and imply leadership activity.

Chapter 4

The Precepts of Zion Manifested in Nauvoo

In 1841 at Nauvoo, Joseph Smith gave the following proclamation:

> The name of our City (Nauvoo) is of Hebrew origin, and signifies a beautiful situation, or place, carrying with it, also, the idea of rest; and is truly descriptive of the most delightful location. It is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids, in Hancock county, bounded on the east by an extensive prairie of surpassing beauty, and on the north, west, and south, by the Mississippi . . . . The population of our city is increasing with unparalleled rapidity, numbering more than 3,000 inhabitants. Every facility is afforded, in the city and adjacent country, in Hancock County, for the successful prosecution of the mechanical arts and the pleasing pursuits of agriculture. The waters of the Mississippi can be successfully used for manufacturing purposes to almost an unlimited extent. (Smith 1951 4:268)

Nauvoo was founded in 1839 on the site of the small town of Commerce, Illinois. Having been driven from Missouri, the Saints needed a safe place to gather, recover, and rebuild. Commerce was purchased, its name was changed to Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith began building his city of Zion. This chapter evaluates the city plan for Nauvoo using each of the four precepts of Zion as explained in the City of Zion plan.

The maps used in this chapter are all adapted from Gustavus Hills' Map of Nauvoo drawn from his original survey about 1839. His original map is included before the others as a reference (see Figure 4). It is also important to note that the Gustavus Hills' map was an ideal, drawn before the city was inhabited. In reality, some sections were not platted in the four-acre blocks. For instance, Commerce was never replatted, and due to the geography of the land near the bluff, the ridges were never platted in symmetrical squares.

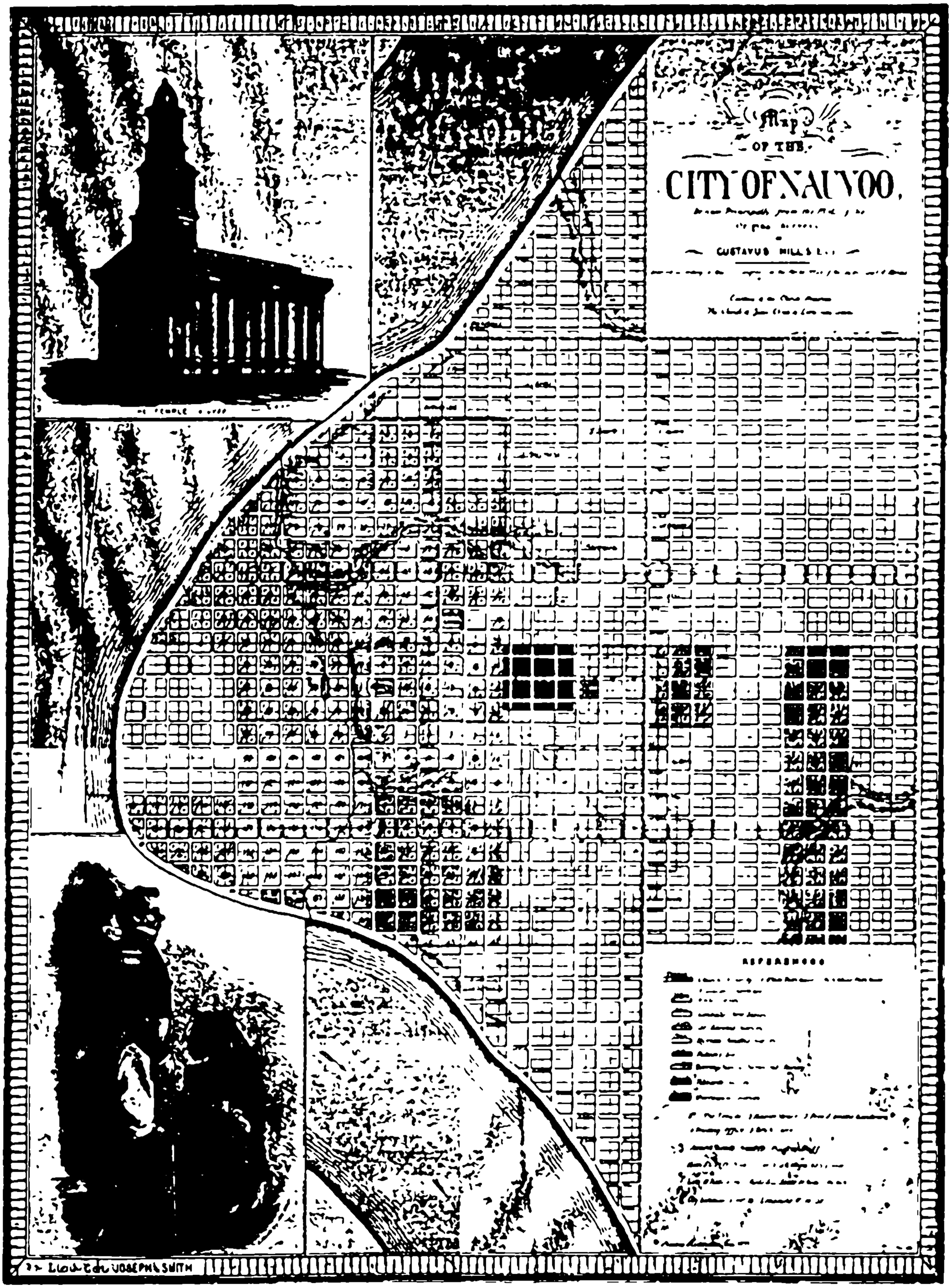

Figure 4: Gustavus Hills Map of Nauvoo (Courtesy of Nauvoo Restoration and the Church Historian for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)

Background of Nauvoo, Illinois 1839-1846

Nauvoo was founded on the sparsely inhabited Mississippi River peninsula over the existing city of Commerce (see Figure 5). Land was purchased between April and August of 1839 in the following increments: Hugh White purchase of 134 acres, Galland purchase of 47.17 acres, Hotchkiss purchase of 400 acres, and the William White purchase of 80 acres (Miller and Miller 1996:27-29) (Figure 6). The Hotchkiss Purchase encompassed the original city of Commerce. The unmarked land west of the Hotchkiss and White purchases was marsh land that was used for pasture.

The original city plat for Nauvoo was completed August 30, 1839. Sections were opened for building when enough people began to occupy an area. By 1841, almost eighty percent of the original plat was opened (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:161). More land purchases were made, and additions and subdivisions to Nauvoo were opened (see Figure 7). Of note in Figure 7 is the outline of the original city limits of Commerce, marked on the north bank as Joseph Smith's purchase; it was never integrated into the plat of Nauvoo.

Peaceful co-existence with neighbors was never fully achieved by the Saints. Beginning with the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June of 1844, many Illinoisans made a concerted effort to force the Saints to leave Nauvoo. The destruction of property by mobs increased, and a false rumor was circulated that the U.S. Government would prevent any migration, leaving the Saints vulnerable to further attack. As a result, Brigham Young and most of the Saints headed west across Iowa in the early months of 1846. In September, a battle for Nauvoo occurred, ending with the forcible removal of any remaining Saints, thus ending their seven-and-a-half years in Nauvoo (Miller and Miller 1996:197-203).

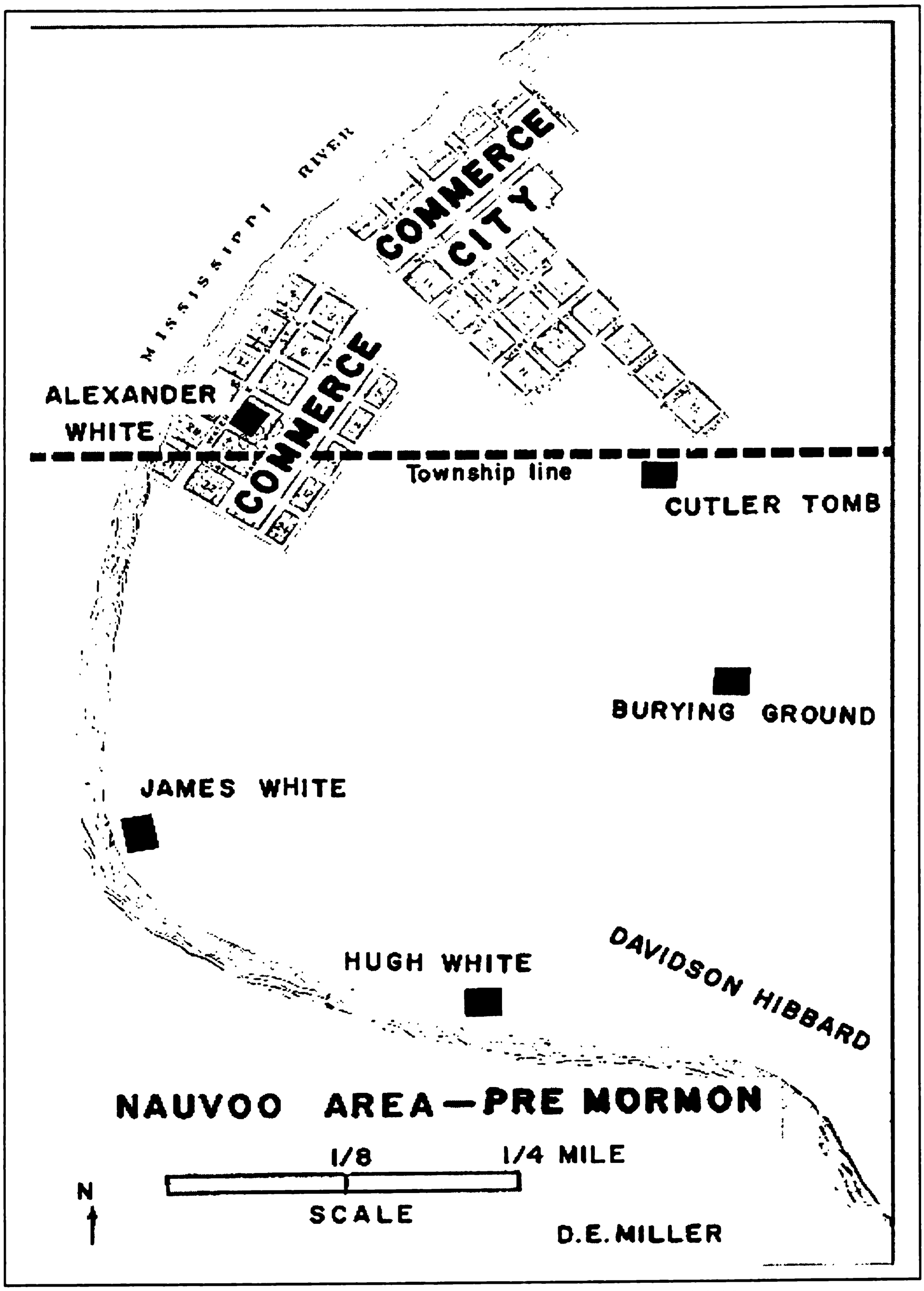

Figure 5: Reconstructed Plat of Commerce (Miller and Miller 1996:240)

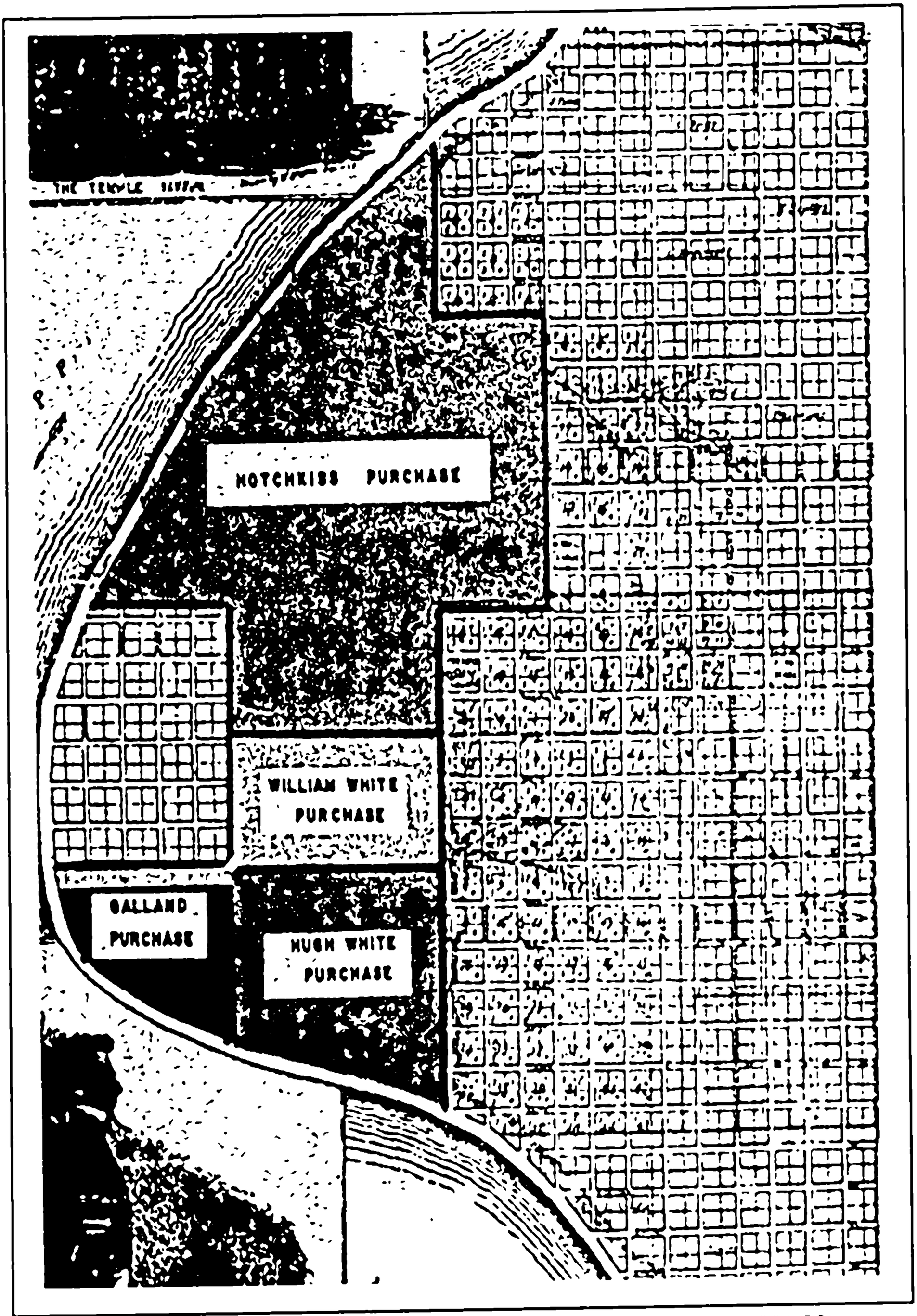

Figure 6: Original Land Purchases for Nauvoo, 1839 (Miller and Miller 1996:28)

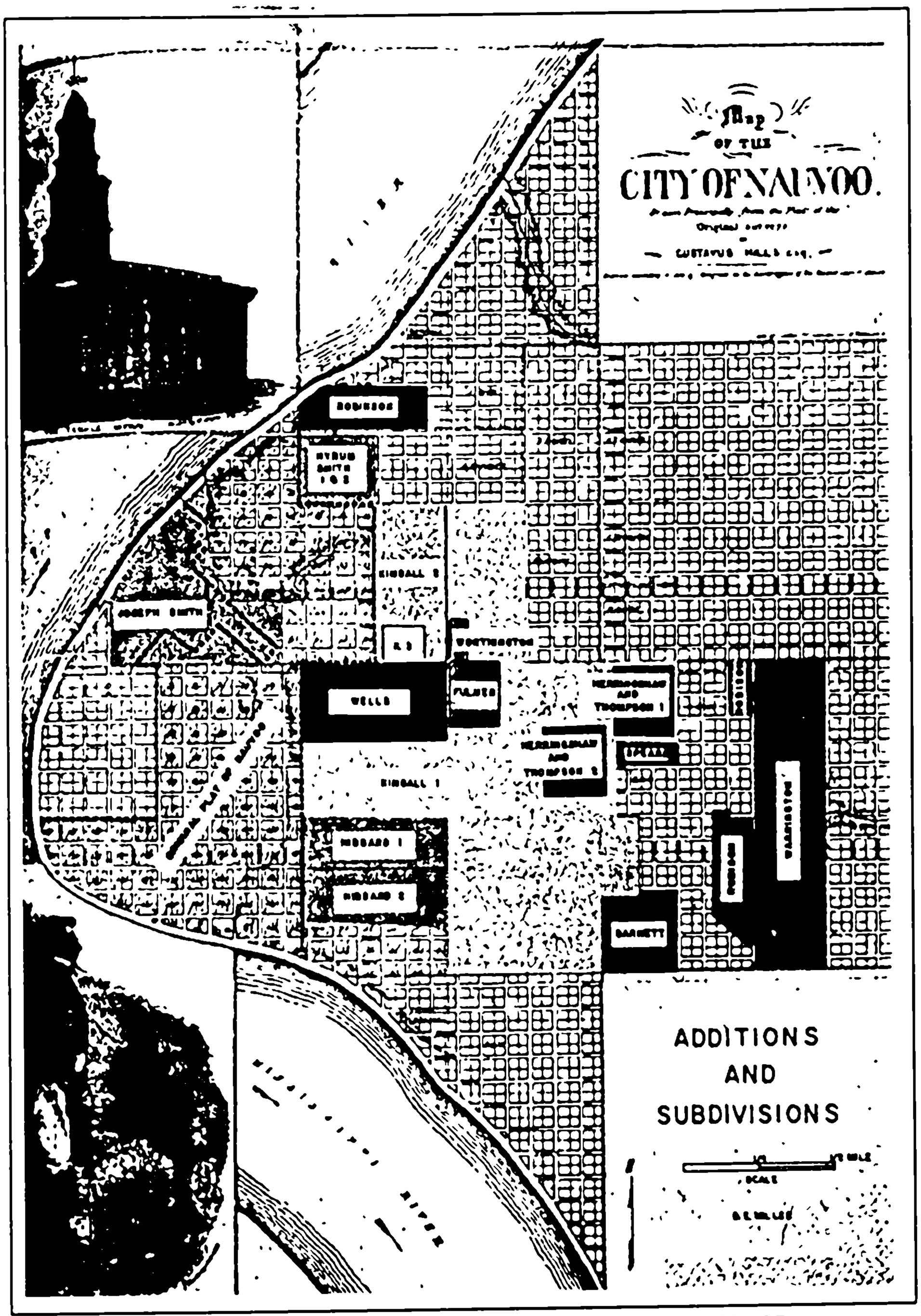

Figure 7: Additions and Subdivisions of Nauvoo (Miller and Miller 1996:37)

Geography of Nauvoo

With a Latitude and Longitude of approximately 40.5 North and 91 West, Nauvoo was bordered on the north, west, and south by the Mississippi. This natural peninsula in the river contained approximately 773 acres. Originally, this area had poor drainage, creating a marshy, wet soil, unsuitable for agriculture. One of the first community work projects organized by Joseph Smith consisted of draining the land. East of the lowlands, rising about 60 feet from river level is a bluff and a large prairie beyond. This bluff has a series of small valleys which run east and west (Figure 4).

Nauvoo's "elbow" shape created an ideal river current for a steamboat landing on its south bank. During the 1830s, the main streets and most of the houses and shops were located in this lower flat land. Main Street divided the city, running north to south, beginning and ending with the Mississippi River. Water Street ran east and west along the southern end of the city (Figure 8).

Population of Nauvoo

The original population of Saints living in Nauvoo in 1839 was not recorded, but by 1841, Nauvoo had grown to 3,000. Many other Saints settled in surrounding communities such as Montrose, Ramus, LaHarpe, Quincy, and others. Nauvoo continued to grow, and by 1845, the official state census of Illinois recorded the population of Nauvoo at 12,000 (Miller and Miller 1996:5).

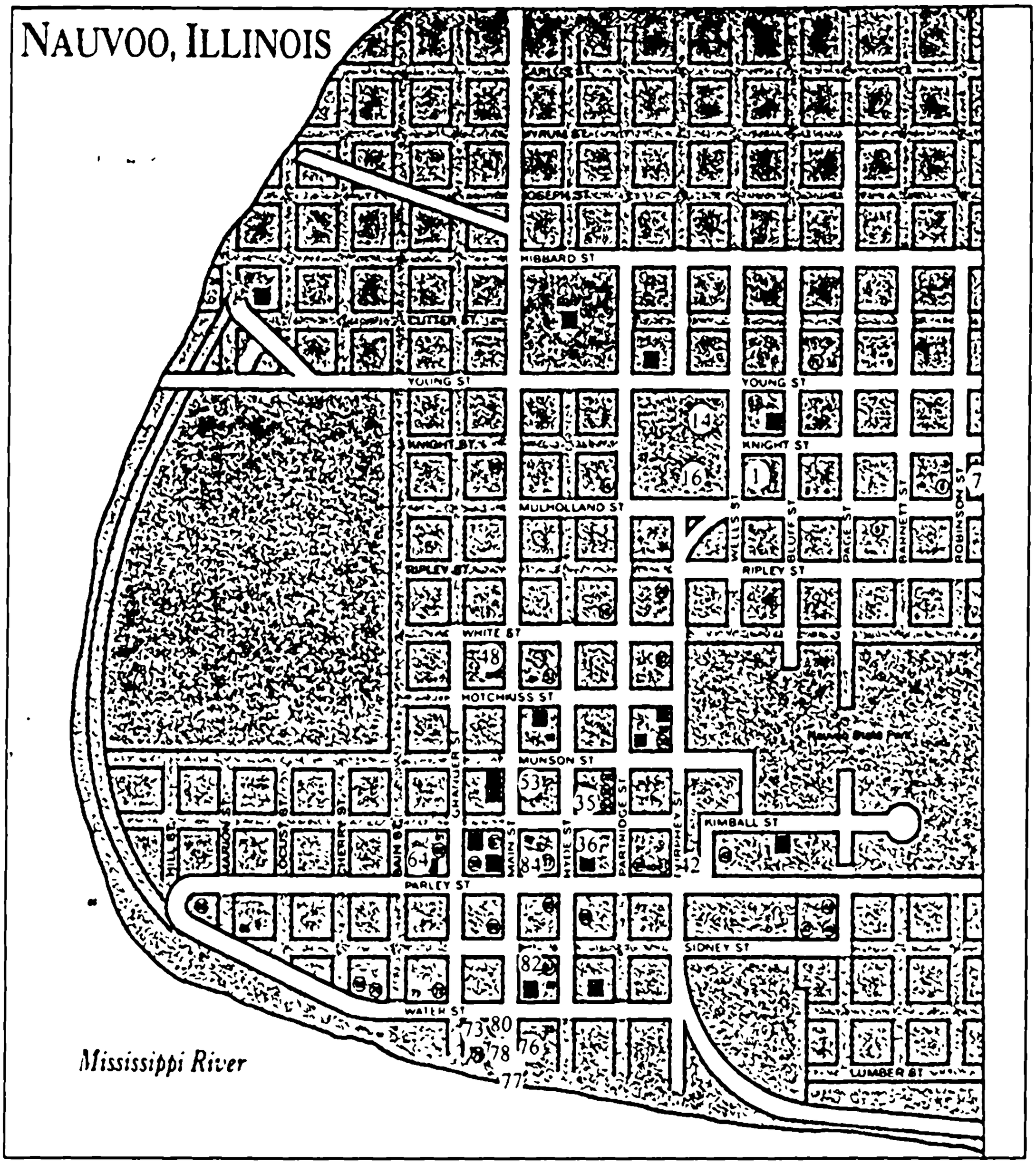

Figure 8: Prominent Buildings and Houses of Present-day Nauvoo (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:30) Numbering corresponds with Holzapfel and Cottle designations.

Arsenal 14
Brickyard 35
Jonathan Browning 53
Daniel Butler 84
Drainage Ditch 42
East Grove 7
Masonic Hall 48
Nauvoo House 76
Nauvoo House Boat Dock 77
Noble/Smith 36
Seventies Hall 64
Sidney Rigdon 82
Joseph Smith General Store 73
Joseph Smith Homestead 78
Survey Stone 80
Temple 1
West Grove 16

Public Buildings

During the Saints residence of Nauvoo, they built many public buildings and private homes. Buildings of note included the Nauvoo Temple, Joseph Smith's General Store, the Times-and-Seasons building, the Nauvoo Legion Arsenal, the Cultural Hall/Masonic Lodge, the Church's Printing Complex, Seventies Hall, Nauvoo House, Mansion House, and the Post Office. Other public works or institutions included the stone quarry, the East and West Groves, drainage ditches, and the city cemetery. Also, there were numerous boat docks, brickyards, and steamboat landings. Some of these are discussed in Chapter 5.

Precepts of Zion in the City of Nauvoo

The analysis of Nauvoo is organized into four areas, using the same four precepts of Zion– unity, order, economic equality, and leadership–introduced in Chapter 2. To aid in the comparison of Nauvoo to the City of Zion plan and the four precepts, Table 3 is expanded from Table 2.

Unity

The first precept called for Saints to be of "one heart and mind." This unity was to be manifest in the physical arrangement of Zion as well as in its spiritual practices. The City of Zion plan called for equal width of streets and equal-sized house lots, and regulated the materials, placement of houses on the lots, and landscaping.

Table 3: Precepts of Zion in the Organization of Nauvoo

Precepts	Ideal/Plan	Nauvoo
1) One Heart and Mind **Unity**	All plats were square, equal in size with 20 lots per block. Main streets was 132 feet wide. Others were 82.5 feet wide. Only one house was permitted per lot. Houses were to be set back 25 feet from the street. Houses were to be constructed of stone or brick Houses were placed to face the side of opposing lots. The front yard was to be "planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder." The back yard was to be used as for gardens.	Plats were square, equal in size with 4 lots per block. Main was 84 feet, Water 64 feet, and others were 49.5 feet. Lots were subdivided to allow more than one house. Yes Typically first houses were constructed of wood. Houses faced each other with four houses per block. Yes Yes
2) Dwelling in Righteousness **Order**	The city was to be platted using the cardinal directions. The city blocks were to be square and equal in size. The total population ranged between 15-20 thousand The two central block housed public buildings, churches, schools, and the temple. The greenbelt surrounded the city. Farmers lived inside the city limits with access to schools and churches while their lands were located outside the city in the greenbelt.	Yes Yes Yes There were no organized central public squares. Public buildings and schools were placed throughout the city. No churches were built. The temple was built on the bluff east of the city. Yes Farmers were given the option.
3) No Poor **Economic Equality**	Individual gardens allowed some self-sufficiency.	Yes
4) Following a Living Prophet **Leadership**	A bishop was assigned for each city. The central Priesthood Temples were buildings for administration and government. The main Temple for the endowment of the people was located in the central block.	Nauvoo was divided into four wards with four bishops. Some priesthood buildings were built throughout the city. The Nauvoo Temple was located on the bluff east of the city center.

Street Width

The streets in Nauvoo, with the exception of Water and Main, were 49.5 feet wide. Main Street was 82 feet wide in preparation for a two mile canal that was to be built, connecting the Mississippi on both the north and the south. It was to provide for shipping, water power, and general industry; however, the canal was never completed. Water street was 64 feet wide in order to serve the business section that developed along the waterfront on the southern flats (Miller and Miller 1996:36). It was also the only street that was not straight but followed the natural curve of the river (see Figure 8). This differed from the City of Zion revision which proposed four main streets,132 feet wide with all others 82.5 feet.

Equal-size House Lots

The original plan called for twenty private dwellings to be built on ten-acre square blocks. In Nauvoo the blocks measured four acres and were divided into four house lots. One reason for this change was the quick settlement of Nauvoo by immigrating converts. In April of 1839, Joseph Smith was anxious to get the Saints settled and still be able to take advantage of the growing season. Due to Nauvoo's rapid growth and the lack of resources from immigrants, some of the house lots were divided, another variation from the City of Zion plan. By 1841, just two years after it was incorporated, 80 percent of Nauvoo's original plat had been filled. As more and more European Saints immigrated to Nauvoo, the city filled beyond capacity (Holzapfel and Cottle 1996:161). Being bounded by the Mississippi on three sides, Nauvoo's opportunities for growth were limited to the east.

Price of House Lots

Joseph Smith set the average price for house lots at $500.00; none was to be sold for less than $200.00 nor more than $800.00. However, lots were awarded to some poverty stricken members without a cash outlay. Saints coming from other areas were asked to deed their homes and farms to the church in exchange for land in Nauvoo (Miller and Miller 1996:30). Without the law of consecration, the Saints owned their own land, and unlike the City of Zion plan, they were free to sell it as they pleased.

Regulations for Houses

The plan for the City of Zion required that certain guidelines be followed in the materials, placement, and landscaping of private residences. According to the plan, houses were to be constructed of brick or stone. When Joseph Smith purchased Commerce, he stated, "there was one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce" (Miller and Miller 1996:21). However, in Nauvoo during 1839, most houses were built of logs or hewn boards. It was necessary to erect structures quickly so that time and energy could be spent on crops. Joseph Smith's first dwelling was a previously built log structure. Shortly after the Smiths moved in, Theodore Turley built the first house in Nauvoo out of logs (Miller and Miller 1996:33). As soon as lumber was available, frame houses were built.

Later, some of the early log, hewn, or frame houses were replaced with stone or brick. In 1842, the first brick kilns were completed. The brick houses in Nauvoo were constructed with care and craftsmanship, proven by the fact that many continued standing into present

times until they were restored in the1960s and 70s. However, most of the structures in Nauvoo were built of wood. In the fall of 1842, Nauvoo had an estimated 1.000 homes, most of which were whitewashed log cabins with some frame and brick homes mixed in (Miller and Miller 1996:77). In 1844, Edwin De Leon described the city's buildings as being

> chiefly constructed of wood, two stories high, and in appearance resembling one square box on top of another. There was not a large or imposing house in the town. Everything seemed to be on a dead level of equality in this city of the Saints which looked like a large communistic establishment. (Miller and Miller 1996:77)

W. Aitken described a part of town, "which consisted of huts of the meanest description and in wet weather the place must be a complete swamp" (Miller and Miller 1996:77). The ideal of stone and brick houses was largely unachieved in the seven years Nauvoo was occupied.

In the City of Zion plan, houses were to be set back 25 feet from the street, allowing for a small front yard. After reviewing the archaeological notes for several structures in Nauvoo, houses generally were set back from the street as seen at the Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and Joseph Bates Noble sites. However, as lots were subdivided some became "landlocked," such as the Riser Boot Shop and Kimball Store where street access preempted the 25 foot rule (Berge 1983; Harrington 1967, 1969).

One ideal of the plan was achieved by the Saints; Nauvoo was beautifully landscaped. The original plan called for houses "to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens." In 1847, J. H. Backingham from Boston visited Nauvoo. Even in its abandonment, he stated that it had been a "territory well cultivated" (Telford, Black, and Averett 1997:6). The emphasis on landscaping had more than an aesthetic value as seen in Ebenezer Robinson's editorial from *The Times and Seasons*:

> An early attention to the planting and cultivation of fruit and shade trees, and of ornamental shrubbery, cannot be too strongly urged upon our citizens. The natural qualities of the location, together with the wisdom displayed in the construction of the city plot, have laid the foundation for a scene of beauty, which, with the same care, taste and industry manifested in other cities, will stand unrivaled in any part of the world. Nauvoo in a few years may be made almost a paradise. Let each citizen fill his spare ground with fruit trees, shrubbery, vines &c. tastefully arranged and properly cultivated, and in a short time we may each sit under our own vine and fig tree, and enjoy richly the fruits of our own industry. Let the division fences be lined with peach and mulberry trees, the garden walks bordered with current raspberry, and gooseberry bushes, and the houses surrounded with roses and prairie flowers, and their porches crowned with the grape vine, and we shall soon have formed some idea how Eden looked; and how industry, accompanied with the blessing of God, will bring back to men the beauty and the riches which characterized his first abode. Fellow citizens, the season to attend to these things will soon open upon you; let the young especially then engage in the pleasing occupation of beautifying the place of Jehovah's dwelling. (1842)

The Saints were encouraged to view their property in Nauvoo as a part of "Jehovah's dwelling" or God's city. Nauvoo was called by passing riverboat passengers the "Jewel of the Mississippi" (Telford, Black, and Averett 1997:6).

Order

Much of the emphasis of the original plan for Zion centered on the city's large scale organization. This included the city's orientation, population, central blocks, and greenbelt. Some of these were instituted at Nauvoo with great success, while a few were missing.

City Coordinates

The City of Zion plan directed that cities should be platted according to compass coordinates. In 1968, archaeologist J. C. Harrington confirmed that the original survey of

1839 was plotted true north and that every street, except Water Street, which followed the course of the river, ran parallel or at right angles with the survey line (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:160). Writing from jail in Liberty, Missouri, in March of 1839, Joseph Smith stated, "that the United States Surveyor of the Iowa Territory may be of great benefit to the Church . . ." (Miller and Miller 1996:25). After he was released from jail, Joseph Smith arrived in Nauvoo on April 22, 1839, anxious to get his people settled. He moved quickly to establish homes and farms (Miller and Miller 1996:26). This may have been a contributing reason as to why the government survey was adopted and the survey completed by Gustavus Hill left the block size at four acres instead of ten. Fortunately, the government survey used true north to plat the city. However, there were no larger, central city blocks planned.

Population of Nauvoo

As has been stated, in 1839, the pre-Nauvoo population totaled 100 people. By 1840, John C. Bennett, first Mayor of Nauvoo, estimated the population at 3,000. By 1845, the population had grown to nearly 12,000. While this number fit within the City of Zion plan recommendations for 15 to 20 thousand, the speed of the growth caused challenges. Nauvoo experienced a boom; instead of orderly and timely additions to the city, the population grew in spurts. As new converts arrived, they were housed as quickly as possible. Since many were poor, this meant subdividing lots and building small log houses (Miller and Miller 1996:77).

Central Blocks and Public Buildings

The revised plan for the City of Zion indicated that two central blocks would house the Temple, civic buildings, and churches. Nauvoo never achieved this goal; no central blocks were ever established. The Nauvoo Temple was located on top of the bluff. No churches were erected in the city; meetings were held in the East or West Groves or, in case of inclement weather, inside the seventies and masonic halls, or individual homes (Miller and Miller 1996:69).

Governmental activities, such as city council meetings and the municipal court, took place in Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store, located on the south bank of the Mississippi (see Figure 7). No city building or courthouse was ever built. The University of Nauvoo was created by the town council on February 3, 1841. However, no campus was ever built due to the manpower being expended on the Temple and Nauvoo House. University classes were held in a series of buildings while grammar schools were privately operated from the homes of the teachers. Teachers advertised for students in local papers, stating the cost of tuition and a calendar of the semester (Miller and Miller 1996:89-91).

Greenbelt

The City of Zion plan called for an agricultural greenbelt to surround the city. This was to enable farmers to live inside the city limits and enjoy spiritual, social, and economic benefits. Nauvoo was unable to integrate this fully because of its being bound on almost three full sides by the Mississippi River. However, east of the bluff was a large plain of rich Illinois prairie soil. Many Saints owned farms east of Nauvoo which adequately supplied the

city. Since some of the prairie farms were not close to the city limits, several farmers chose to live on their farms instead of commuting from Nauvoo (Miller and Miller 1996:79).

Economic Equality

The Saints were to have "no poor among them." This was to be accomplished through providing food, employment, and housing to the poor. In being able to care for the poor, the Saints had to be economically secure. This section reviews the Saints treatment of the poor as well as Nauvoo's business and industrial activities.

Care of the Poor

Many of the Saints were very poor after being driven from Ohio and Missouri, while others had emigrated from Canada or Great Britain to join with the Saints in Nauvoo. The law of tithing provided money, food, and/or clothing for the poor which helped ensure the self-sufficiency of the city. The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo was organized by Joseph Smith on March 17, 1842, with Emma Smith, his wife, as President (Barrett 1973:505-507). Though not a member of the women's organization, Joseph Smith's charge to them was

> to provoke the brethren to good works in looking to the wants of the poor, searching after objects of charity, and in administering to their wants–to assist, by correcting the morals and strengthening the virtues of the community . . . . (Barrett 1973:505)

In the original City of Zion plan, the bishop's storehouse was included in the central block. Originally, this storehouse would store the profit from the law of consecration until they could be redistributed with the help of the Relief Society. In Nauvoo, four political

wards were defined (see Figure 9) as well as ten ecclesiastical wards with ten bishops (see Figure 10). The tithes of the Saints were given to the bishops who gave them to the poor located in their ward boundaries. No storehouses were built in Nauvoo; instead, bishops operated them from their own or neighbors' homes.

Another storehouse used to relieve the poor was the "Temple Store." One of the great public work projects in Nauvoo, construction on the Temple lasted from 1840 until 1846. Newly arrived immigrants and those who needed jobs labored on the Temple and were paid in foodstuffs. Other workers consisted of those who "tithed their time" by donating one of every ten working days. Due to the acute lack of currency in Nauvoo, pay was principally in goods (Flanders 1965:203).

Another way to feed and provide work for the poor came from the large community farm. With the subdividing of house lots, garden space in the city limits was not always available. The large community farm was for the use of those without access to farm land. Saints were allowed to raise crops in this field without cost. The community farm was regulated by a board known as the Big Field Association (Miller and Miller 1996:79).

Zoning, Business, and Industry

Nauvoo was very diversified economically. Almost every type of business could be found in the city. There was no formal zoning inside the city limits of Nauvoo as there were no central squares. Shops were usually part of the owner's residence. However, a business district did emerge along the southern end of Water Street by Joseph Smith's General Store.

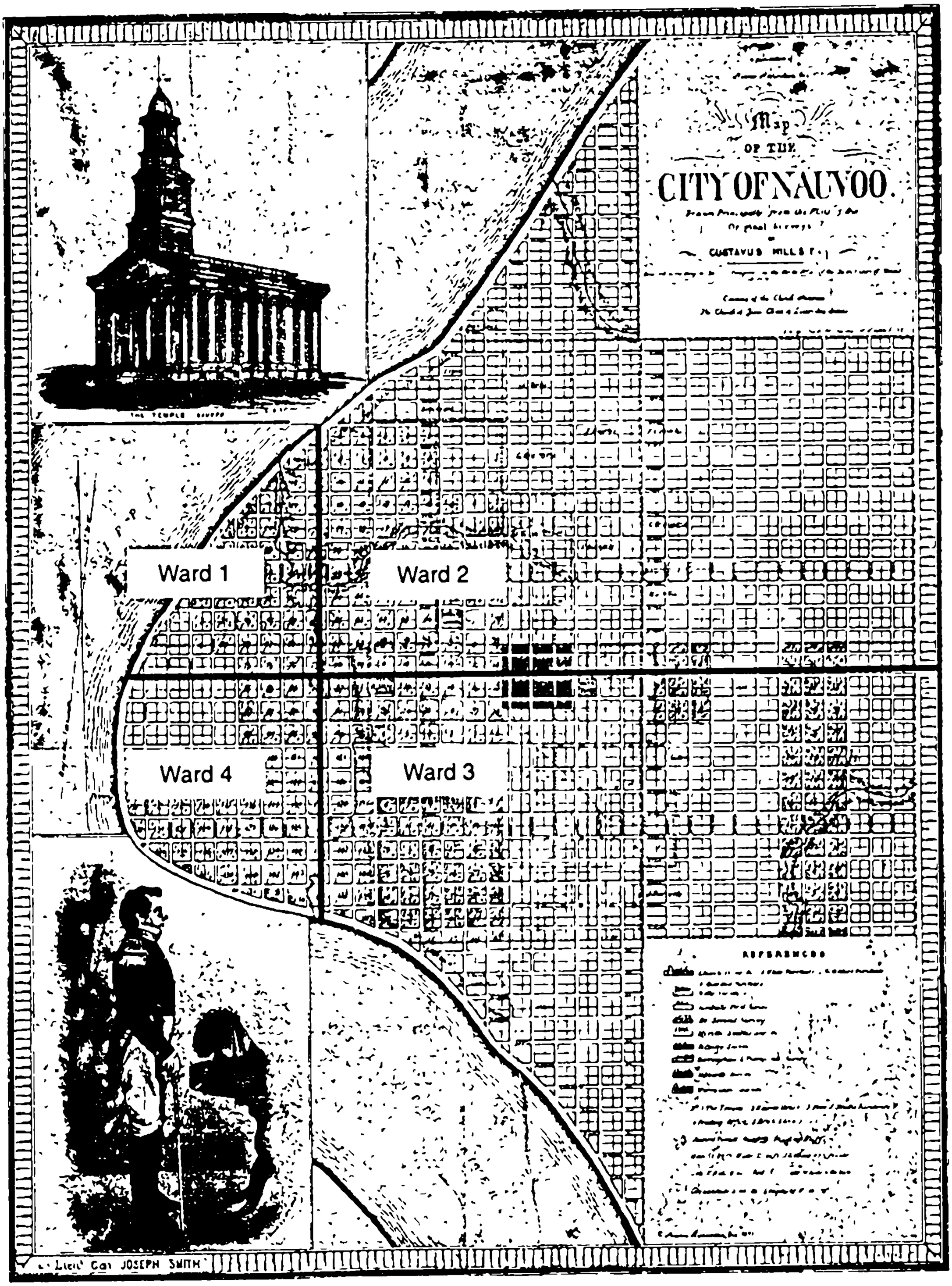

Figure 9: Political Wards of Nauvoo (James L. Kimball, personal communication 1999)

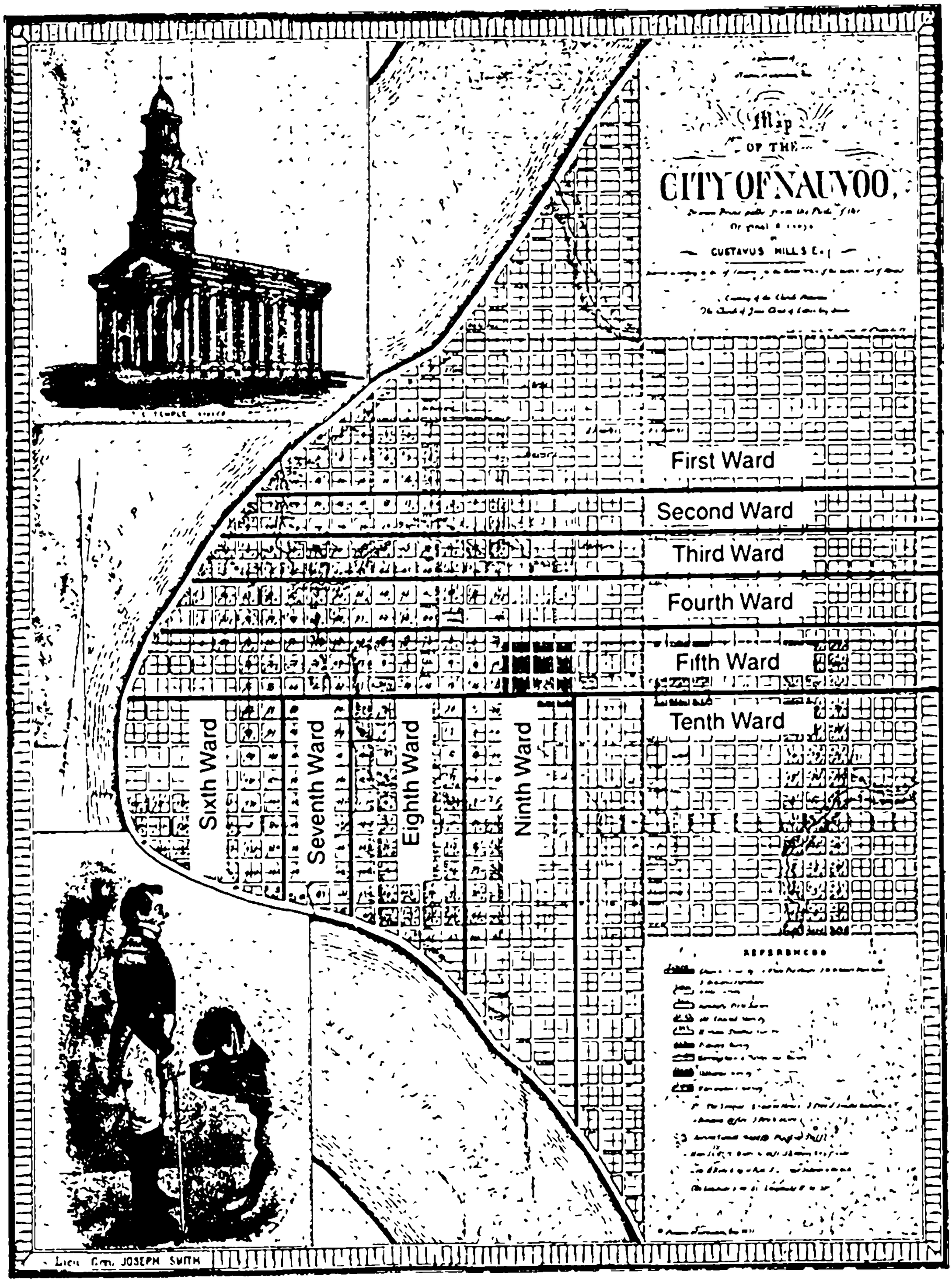

Figure 10: Ecclesiatical Wards of Nauvoo (Adapted from Map of Nuavoo Wards 1979:16).

Industry was encouraged as expressed by Joseph Smith in 1841:

> As respects steam engines and mills, my opinion is, we cannot have too many of them . . . .We have no good grain or board mills in this place; and most of our flour and lumber has to be brought twenty miles . . . . (Miller and Miller1996:83)

The Agriculture and Manufacturing Association was organized in 1841, with 32 members.

Some of the industries were located inside the city limits, such as the brick yard located on Hyde Street. The canal which would have extended down Water Street was worked on until the fall of 1845, when manpower was redirected again to the completion of the Temple. This project would have opened an industrial district straight down the middle of town (Miller and Miller 1996:80-81). The emphasis of all economic endeavors was self-sufficiency instead of attracting business from neighboring communities. No plan was developed to expand the export of Nauvoo goods.

The Mississippi River was beneficial in many ways to Nauvoo. It brought pine for the temple from Wisconsin and European converts up from New Orleans. There were two main docks at Nauvoo, the Nauvoo Ferry Hotel and the Nauvoo House Dock, and many Saints with property along the river kept boats and private docks (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:135, 154). The Church bought a steamboat, *The Maid of Iowa*, which was used to ferry goods, travelers, and emigrants. It was even used for worship services occasionally (Miller and Miller 1996:86-87). However, Nauvoo, from an economic stand point, never took full advantage of Nauvoo's location on the river. House lots with gardens and shops were located from the bluff to the river's edge in all three directions. The water front was never developed into an industrial area to take advantage of the boat docks and ferries. The Main

Street Canal was never finished. Public work efforts were all directed towards the Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House.

Leadership

The fourth precept required the Saints to follow a living prophet, Joseph Smith. Besides being the spiritual leader, Joseph Smith had become a temporal provider and protector. Having designated Nauvoo as the gathering place, laying out and organizing the city, as well as having most of the original land deeds in his name, Joseph Smith was, for practical purposes, in charge civically as well as spiritually. Though Nauvoo was subject to the laws of Illinois and the United States, it had a liberal but not uncommon charter for its day, giving the town council-- lead from 1842-1844 by Mayor, Joseph Smith-- a wide range of powers. Here I examine both church or priesthood organization as well as civic organization for Nauvoo.

Priesthood Organization in Nauvoo

When Joseph Smith was arrested in Missouri and his people forced from the state, he assigned Brigham Young and Heber Kimball, leading elders in the Church, to organize the exodus from Missouri. Forming a priesthood committee, they sold land, procured wagons, and had men return with wagons from Illinois after taking their families safely to Nauvoo. The task of moving nearly 12,000 people was efficiently accomplished (Barrett 1973:420-422). The concept of priesthood as an effective organizing power continued in Nauvoo.

Briefly, from the most general and encompassing to more specific leadership positions, the organization of the priesthood in Nauvoo was as follows: Joseph Smith led the Church as Prophet and President. The First Presidency contained three men, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. Next was the Council of the Twelve Apostles, containing twelve men who were directed by the First Presidency. The Seventies were men, with a maximum of seventy per quorum, in charge of missionary work. The Church was then divided into geographical areas of membership called stakes. Stake Presidents were called to watch over these areas, directing a stake's High Council, another group of twelve men. In each stake, smaller areas called wards were organized over which a bishop was designated to work directly with its members.

The original plan called for a bishop to preside over each city and for a bishop's storehouse, as well as other priesthood buildings, to occupy the central square. However, with the growth of Nauvoo, the city was divided into ten wards (Figure 10) and one stake. The Stake President became the priesthood leader for the city. The responsibilities and organization of stakes and wards in Nauvoo was quite simple compared to their organization today in the LDS Church.

The Lack of Church Meeting Houses

Even though stakes and wards were organized during this time, no churches for Sunday meetings were built in Nauvoo. Sunday meetings were held in the East or West Groves, on board *The Maid of Iowa*, in the Seventies and Concert Halls, and even in individual homes (Miller and Miller 1996:69). All building efforts for Church edifices were

directed first at the Temple and second at the Mansion House. Even the proposed canal extending along Water Street which would have provided great economic opportunities was started and abandoned because manpower was needed at the Temple.

Civic Organization of Nauvoo

The Nauvoo Charter gave citizens of Nauvoo the following powers: Citizens could buy and sell property in Nauvoo. They had power to organize and elect a mayor and city council and to appoint other city officials as needed. This council could organize, develop, and maintain the city and its streets. White men were given the power to vote. The city could collect taxes, pass laws, issue and regulate licenses, and regulate ferries and water traffic. They had to publish any laws that they passed. They were able to organize a Municipal Court and elect a Justice of the Peace with power to judge and jail offenders. Permission for the University of Nauvoo, and the organization of the Nauvoo Legion was granted (Miller and Miller 1996:242-246). -

The powers of the Municipal Court were liberal but not uncommon. The city of Alton, Illinois, had been granted similar Municipal Court powers in 1839 (Miller and Miller 1996:49). In Nauvoo, however, civic and religious authority were closely allied. Joseph Smith was the Prophet and thereby the President of the Church. He directed the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles. At the same time, he served as Mayor and Justice of the Peace until his death on June 27, 1844. He also served on many committees organized by the original city council, and he was the Commander in Chief of the Nauvoo Legion.(Miller and Miller 1996:54-55). Few if any other nineteenth-century

U. S. leaders held as many civic and religious positions at one time. Many Saints felt betrayed by the local governments in Missouri and were anxious for Joseph Smith, whom they trusted, to lead them both spiritually and civically.

Nauvoo after the Saints Exodus

After the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young returned to Nauvoo from a mission in New Hampshire where he was gathering converts. On August 8, 1844, he received a sustaining vote from church members to become the next prophet. (Barrett 1973:628-629). At the end of 1845, Brigham Young announced that the Saints were to move to the Rocky Mountains to avoid further mob violence. With so many Saints leaving Nauvoo, the glut of homes and lands for sale caused a depressed real estate market. Most homes sold at a fraction of their value if they sold at all. Many were left unoccupied. By 1847, the city was a ghost town (Miller and Miller 1996:213). Some properties reverted back to Joseph Smith's widow, Emma, who did not move west with the rest of the Saints under Brigham Young. Remaining in her control were the family homestead, cemetery, and the Nauvoo House. The latter was remodeled into a smaller two-story house by Emma's second husband, Lewis Bidamon (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:148, 152-153). Legislation was passed which to reorganize and recognize the new township of Nauvoo in 1849 (Blum 1969:39). Still, the city remained virtually empty.

The abandoned city suited the purposes of Etienne Cabet who arrived in Nauvoo in March of 1849. The leader of French socialists, known as Icarians, he was anxious to experiment with a communistic society. The group had migrated to Texas in 1848 but were

overcome with malaria. With new members coming from France, Cabet was looking for a better climate in which to settle. The Icarians occupied Nauvoo from 1849-1865, but a faction broke off in the late 1850s and moved to Iowa, signaling the dissipation of the group. At their height, their population never exceeded 1,200, leaving most of Nauvoo unoccupied. Economically, the Icarians struggled. They tried to grow grapes but found their French varities were not suited for Illinois. They bought a track of land below the Nauvoo House ferry landing and built flour mills, a whiskey distillery, slaughter house, and a laundry building (Miller and Miller 1996:213; Blum 1969:23-24).

The Icarians were interested in the temple site. After being gutted by the invading militia in1846 and burned by an arsonist in 1847, the temple was further damaged in1850 by a tornado which toppled three of its walls. The temple limestone was salvaged for use in other buildings in the growing upper Nauvoo. The Icarians purchased the lot for $1,000 and used the temple limestone to build a school and apartments on the temple lot. The apartments were square, box-like houses with four rooms on each floor. Each room housed a separate family.

After the departure of the Icarians, a colony of German immigrants moved into Nauvoo and restored stability to the town. The Germans and Swiss came to America to avoid three-year military service in their own countries. These newcomers continued to build on the foundations already laid in upper Nauvoo. Using local varieties, they expanded the wine culture into a major industry. Their descendants are Nauvoo's prominent citizens of today (Miller and Miller 1996:213).

During the German era, Nauvoo grew to be the largest German-speaking settlement in Illinois and remained so for 50 years. Until World War I, German was the common language, but with the war, several congregations forbade its use. In 1860, the population was 3,000. In 1869 Nauvoo was granted a town charter. In 1899 the population had dropped to 2,000, but it was still given a city charter. In 1873, Nauvoo had three hotels, two flour mills, three lawyers, and three doctors. But it did not flourish as it had in the 1840s. Some citizens had their own theories about the lack of growth and prosperity. Blum reports, "Legend has it that when the Mormons left Nauvoo they placed a curse on the place so it would never grow again. And in the years that followed the town seemed to be pursued by a hoodoo" (Blum 1969:27). River trade slowed during the Civil War and continued to fall off afterwards with the increase of railroad activity. The use of the river or the flats became negligible to the economy of the new Nauvoo. Nauvoo never regained its former greatness, even after the turn of the century. The population of Nauvoo in the 1970s remained at 2,000, the same size as in 1899 --a far cry from the 12,000 it once held (Blum 1969:27, 39).

In 1961, the Nauvoo Restoration Incorporation was founded with the purpose of restoring buildings from the 1839-1846 era. Property was acquired with help from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Excavations were carried out from 1962 until 1969, and over 40 structures have been rebuilt or restored. Nauvoo has now become a tourist attraction which has helped the present economy of the city. In April of 1999, the LDS Church announced plans to rebuild the Nauvoo Temple on its original location.

Conclusion

Nauvoo under the direction of Joseph Smith was a mix of the ideal and the practical. Heavily influenced by the precepts of Zion and the City of Zion plan, it also addressed issues not covered in the plan, such as growth, industry, economics, and public works. In its short seven years, Nauvoo successfully began the implementation of Zion precepts while competing and interacting with other cities of the region. A closer look at the archaeological data from Nauvoo follows in the next chapter. St. Louis, a prosperous boom town in the 1840s, provides a comparison for Nauvoo in Chapter 6, showing a non-Zion approach to city planning.

Chapter 5

Archaeological Investigations at Nauvoo

The following is a review of some of the buildings excavated at Nauvoo, Illinois, from 1962 to 1975. The size, location, and uses of these buildings provide insight into the large scale city plan. Examined individually and diachronically, each building reveals a small scale view of Nauvoo's development. Public buildings are examined first, with private residences considered later. Unfortunately, no archaeological work has been done for Sidney Rigdon's home or for the Nauvoo House. Since these houses are important to this thesis, their public use and histories are summarized.

The Nauvoo Temple

By far the greatest accomplishment of the Saints in Nauvoo was the construction of the Nauvoo Temple. It was located on the bluff overlooking the flats and the Mississippi River, occupying Lot 2 of Block 20 in the Wells addition. The block lay between Wells, Bluff, Knight, and Mullholland Streets (see Figure 8) (Miller and Miller 1996:108). It was constructed of Wisconsin pine and gray limestone from a quarry located on the north end of Main Street. Measuring 90 by 128 feet, it stood 60 feet above ground to the overhang. From its belfry and clock tower dome with its gilded angel weather vane, it rose 158.5 feet from the ground. It had three stories and a basement. The cost to complete the Temple was estimated at $1,000,000 (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:35).

Construction began on October 3, 1840. Much of the work on the temple was donated as a form of tithing or to provide work for the poor. One of the voyages of the *Maid*

of Iowa was to obtain wheat and corn for the temple laborers (Miller and Miller 1996:109). The Nauvoo Temple was the largest building west of Cincinnati and north of St. Louis. By 1845, the baptismal font and lower meeting rooms were already in use. By the time the temple was dedicated in May 1846, most Saints had participated in the temple ceremony, left Nauvoo under threat, and were camped along the westward trail across Iowa. After the Saints' exodus from Nauvoo, the temple was left unused. In October of 1848 it was gutted by fire; in May 1850 it demolished by a tornado. The Icarians bought the site and built a school out of temple stone along with several frame apartment buildings on the ground surrounding the temple. The structure was obliterated in 1865 with many of the temple limestone salvaged and used in other buildings (Harrington and Harrington 1971:1-6).

The Temple was the first site excavated by the Nauvoo Restoration Incorporation (hereafter referred to as the NRI). Little disturbance of the site had occurred after 1865, except for superficial plowing and surface rubbish deposition. In 1961, a test trench was dug by Southern Illinois University which established the masonry remains in the ground. In 1962, the entire area of the temple was uncovered, except for a west end section which was still private property. The original dimensions were established and the interior excavated to a depth of five feet. For the next three years, work on the temple was deferred while other city sites were excavated. In August of 1966, a ten foot area around the basement well was dug by Virginia Harrington. The following year, exploratory trenching was done in the lower basement levels, and in1968 the font and well areas were completely excavated. The final excavation in 1969 took the entire basement, including the previously untouched west end, to the original clay basement floor levels, In addition, exploratory trenching was done

outside the structure walls to discover the font drain, the wall around the temple block, and historic ground levels. The Adam Swartz house built in the 1880s on Wells Street (west of the temple) was responsible for the privy vault found in the southwest corner of the temple basement and for the brick cistern that cut into the west wall. The original dimensions of the foundation were 128 by 90 feet (Harrington and Harrington 1971:6-7, 12, 16-17).

The final excavation revealed the basement floor sloped inward. The floor had been finished with brick paving. The central rectangular room extended nearly the entire length of the building and contained the baptismal font with 12 stone oxen, a well, and two staircases. The staircases were on the west side corners, and eight semicircular windows were located on both the north and south sides. The north and south sides were divided into six side rooms each (see Figure 11). The temple was constructed chiefly of Nauvoo quarry limestone; stone was the most common remain found in the rubble and ash. The basic limestone blocks were given an overall tooled finish and were worked to form a border of about 1 ½ inches of channeling at right angles to the edges. Stones used at corners could be identified by this finish on two adjacent sides. Also found were thirty pieces of identifiable moldings and large brick fragments from paving or filler base course used in some of the basement rooms. Mortar and plaster were frequently encountered in the excavations; however, it was mostly rotten and disintegrated by the heat from the1848 fire and the passage of time, or crumbled by the fall of the walls. Plaster was directly applied on the stone walls of the basement. Wood partitions in upper stories were probably also plastered. Wood from Wisconsin pineries was used for the frame, sash, joists, flooring, partitions, stairs, roof framing, shingles, and the furnishings (Harrington and Harrington 1971:13-14, 25-26).

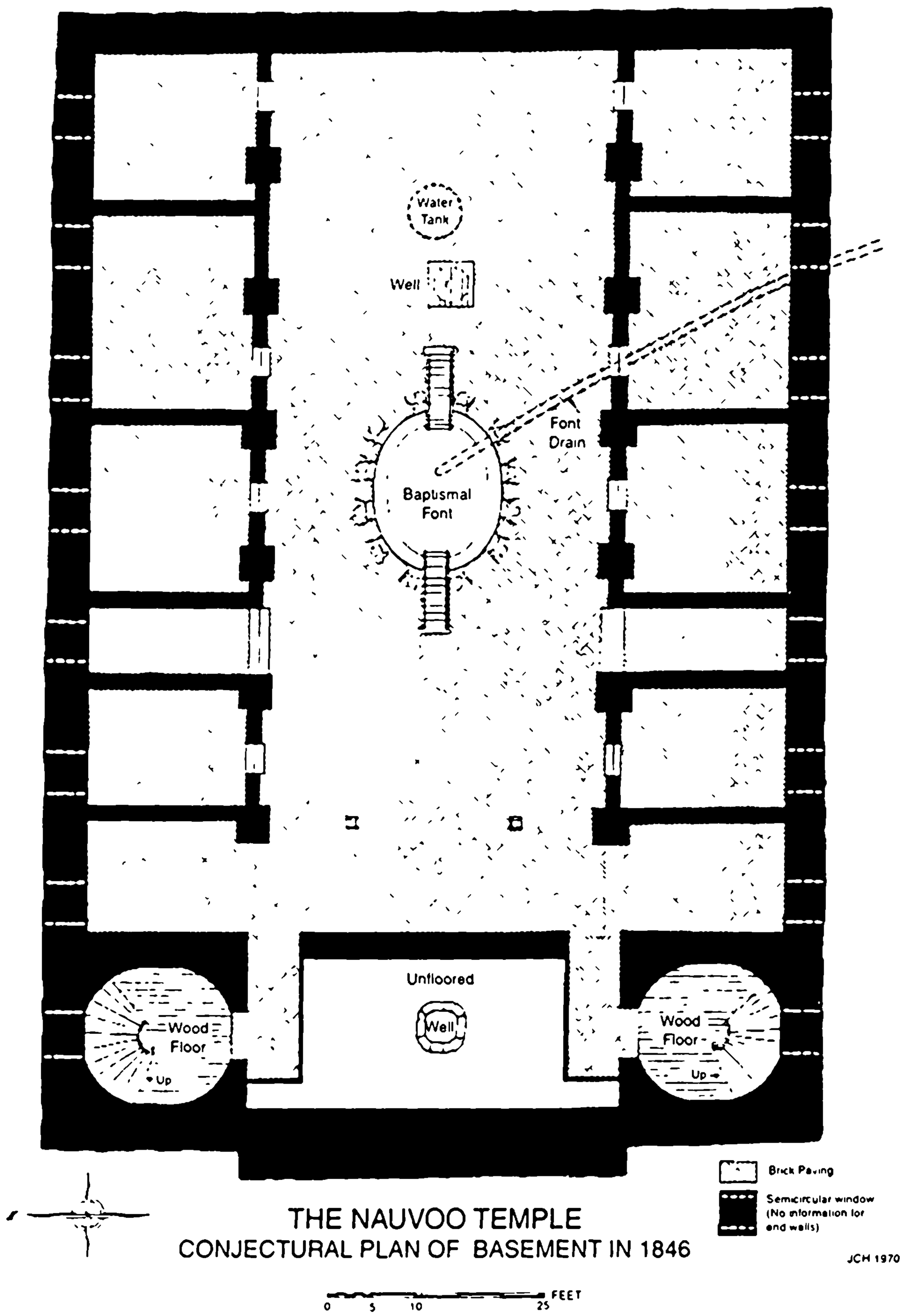

Figure 11: Nauvoo Temple Basement (Harrington and Harrington 1971:26).

The Nauvoo House

Of all the buildings erected in Nauvoo, only two were constructed as a result of revelation from God. One was the Nauvoo House and the other was the Nauvoo Temple. The Nauvoo House was located at the south end of Main Street, just below Water Street, on Lot 3, Block 156 (Figure 8). Intended as a hotel, it had an ideal location near Nauvoo's southern bank of the Mississippi and was equipped with its own boat dock. It was designed to be a three-story "L"-shaped building with two 120-foot wings (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:150-151). It was intended to serve a missionary purpose as shown in this revelation:

> 23 And it shall be for 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 . . . .
>
> 60 And let the name of that house be called Nauvoo House; and let it be a delightful habitation for man . . . .
>
> 63 And they [George Miller, Lyman Wight, John Snider, and Peter Haws] shall form a constitution, whereby they may receive stock for the building of that house.
>
> 64 And they shall not receive less than fifty dollars for a share of stock in that house, and they shall be permitted to receive fifteen thousand dollars from any one man for stock in that house. (Smith 1981 124:23, 60, 63-64)

Estimated to cost $150,000, Saints were asked to buy stock in the building. However, due to the lack of funds, work on the building was sporadic. Due to an increased desire to finish the temple, work on the Nauvoo House slowed in 1845. Though construction of the walls reached the second-floor in 1846, the project was abandoned when the Saints left Navuoo. Lewis Bidamon used the postions of the uncompleted structure to build a two-story house, known as the Riverside Mansion, on the southwest side of the building (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:150-151). To date, no archaeological work has been done on this site.

Joseph Smith's General Store

Joseph Smith's General Store was located on the southwest corner of Water and Granger, Lot 2 of Block 155 (Figure 8). Bordered by the Mississippi to the south, the store faced the emerging business district along Water Street. Also known as the Red Brick Store, it was a two-story brick building in Federal style. It opened on January 5, 1842. The basement had two fireplaces which could have been used for making soap or other items for sale. The first story was used primarily for business and held the store's inventory. The second story was Joseph Smith's private office from which he conducted business for a number of organizations, civic and religious. These included the Nauvoo Temple Committee, the Nauvoo House Committee, the Nauvoo City Council, the Nauvoo Legion Court, the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, and various meetings of priesthood quorums. Before the completion of the Nauvoo Temple, Joseph Smith performed religious ceremonies at his store, including endowments for individuals and sealings of couples. In this respect, this building was the closest representation of the central, priesthood buildings specified in the City of Zion plan (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:144-147).

After 1844, the house was occupied by Joseph Smith III. Members of the Olive Branch Church (a pre-Reorganized Latter-day Saint organization) held their meetings there. It was razed in 1890, and its bricks were used to build a meat market on Mulholland Street. The site was used as a trash dump until 1933 when it was dedicated as a monument by the Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Bray 1973:17, 34-35).

The purpose of the1972 excavation by the University of Missouri–Columbia was to find the original basement floor, to collect information on the brick, mortar, plaster, and

glazing, and to establish original grades, possible walks, cistern, and other structures. The basement excavation revealed the original foundation which measured 41.1. feet north to south and 23.1 feet east to west. It was a rectangular limestone foundation to support brick building. The excavation between the front door and Water street revealed no walk or steps; however, a single front step was found in the basement's upper deposition. Five stone piers were located in the basement which were used to support pillars. The brick floor and two side by side brick fireplaces were laid after the construction of the pillars (Figure 12).

The depositions of a storage shed were excavated. It measured 5 by 6 feet and was located east of the cellar stairwell and south of the south foundation. The original grade for this area was .2 feet below debris from the shed. On the east, a trench was excavated contiguous and parallel to the store's foundation. This exposed a prominent builder's trench used to help in laying the foundation once its height precluded work from inside the basement. Only seven whole bricks were recovered from the building, supporting the historic account of the bricks being removed to build the meat market. The bricks were orange, of poor quality, light weight, porous, and irregular in shape. Ordinary lime mortar was used, followed by plaster and paint (Bray 1973:15, 40-49, 57-58, 68-69).

The excavation revealed three occupations. The first was a prehistoric midden related to the Late Woodland period discovered outside of the southeast side of the foundation. This midden contained heavy shell concentrations with considerable stone artifacts. A single cone-shaped dangle of iron may be a historic trade object. The second began with the 1841 construction of the store. Many of the artifacts recovered from this period reflect the time period and the varied inventory of the store. The third occurred from 1847 until the building

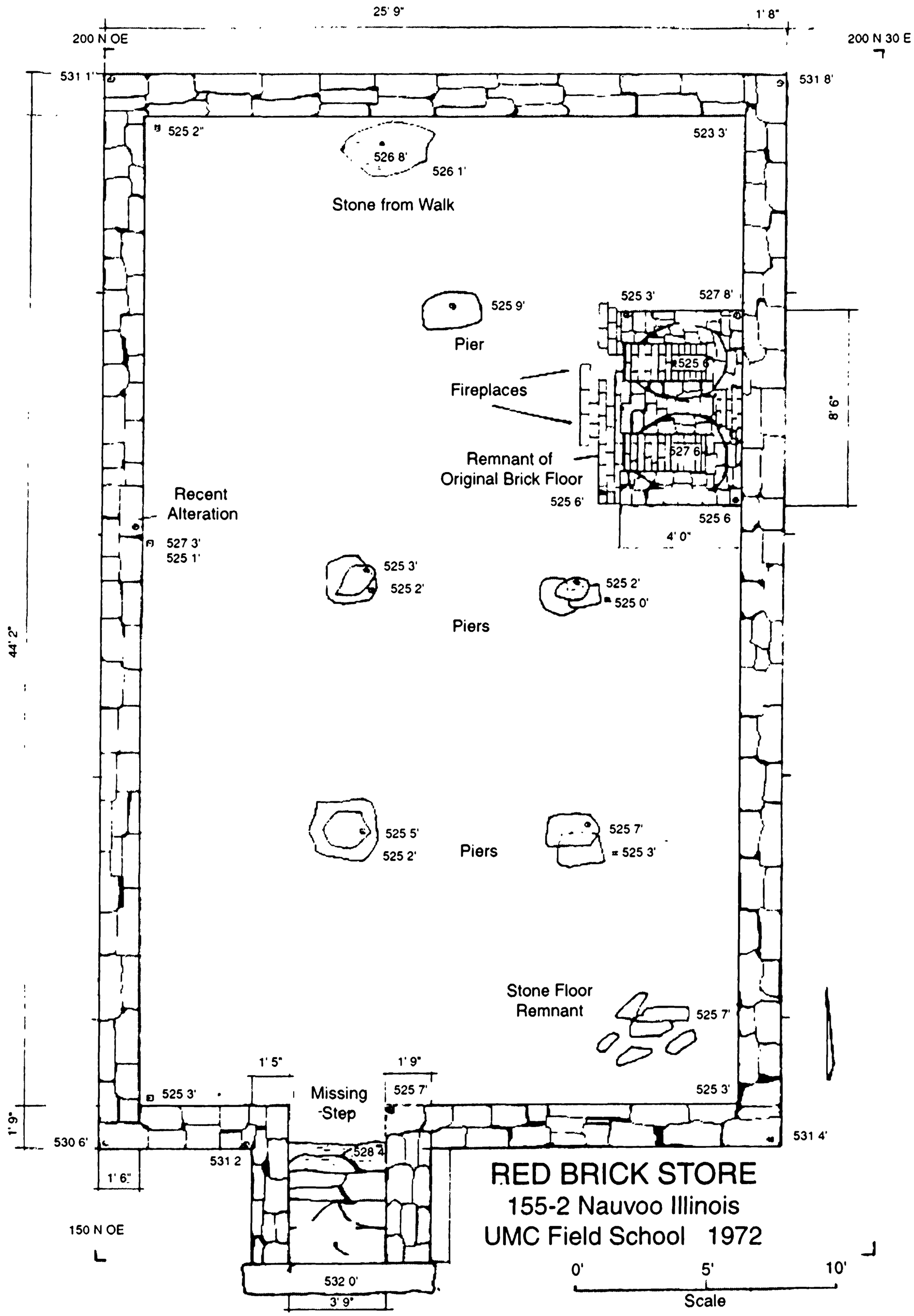

Figure 12: Excavated Basement of Joseph Smith's General Store (Bray 1973:41)

was razed in 1890. Artifacts from this occupation were restricted to function class ceramics and personal or household items. During the last years of this period, the structure may have been used as a hay barn. The site then became a trash heap, until 1933 when the site was cleared and planted with grass by the LDS Relief Society. They placed a historic marker on the site, after which it attracted tourists to the area. A few modern artifacts were found associated with this period (Bray 1973:122-124).

The Seventies Hall / Library

The seventies were a priesthood organization of men in charge of missionary work. Their purpose for building was to provide a meeting and lecture hall, library, and a place to display items gathered from around the world by missionaries. The building site was located on a 50 by 100 foot plot on Lot 3 of Block 127, located on the northeast corner of Parley and Bain Streets (Figure 8). It was bought from Joseph Smith, acting as land trustee for the Church, for $600 by Edward Hunter in March1842. Each seventy was asked to subscribe five dollars to finance the construction of a two-story, brick building. Historic documents record that the foundation measured 40 by 28 feet. Most of the labor and materials for construction were donated. Edward Hunter sold the completed building to the Church for one dollar, and it was dedicated on December 26, 1844. The first floor was used for classes as well as lectures and worship, and the upper floor contained the Nauvoo library and a display of artifacts (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:131; Berge 1979c).

In April of 1846, as the Saints left Nauvoo, the Seventies Hall was sold to James E. Furness to be used as a Presbyterian church. In 1886 the land and building came under the

ownership of the Nauvoo First Ward school. At this time major modifications took place. In 1915 the building was sold to L. K. Parker and afterwards fell into disrepair and may have been demolished. It was bought in 1962 by the NRI and excavated in 1970 (Berge 1979c).

Excavation revealed two periods of construction. Originally, the Seventies Hall, (Structure 1A of Figure 13) was built as a two-storied structure with no basement, measuring 28 by 40 feet. The second floor was supported by six evenly spaced piers under the main floor. The foundation was laid close to the bedrock only two feet under the surface. The upper walls were brick, plastered white on the inside. Found in connection with this construction period were the door stoop foundation, a gravel walk, and a curb. In 1886 the building was modified for a one-story school (Structure 1B), measuring 30 by 60 feet. It is possible that the entire building was torn down and rebuilt. To arrive at the new 30 by 60 feet foundation, the east wall was torn down so the foundation could be widened two feet to the east. The north wall was also torn down, and the east and west walls were extended north 20 feet. Then the north wall was rebuilt, abutting the west wall. The new east wall foundation ran parallel to and encompassed the original (see Figure 13). Photographs taken after 1900 show the school in disrepair. By 1915, property taxes for the site decreased, indicating the building was probably demolished (Berge 1979c).

The Masonic Lodge / Concert Hall

The Masonic Lodge was located on the northeast corner of Main and White streets in the northeast section of Block 100, Lot 1 (Figure 8). It was an elegant three-story brick building in Federal style with a basement, measuring 50.28 by 28.45 feet. It was placed on

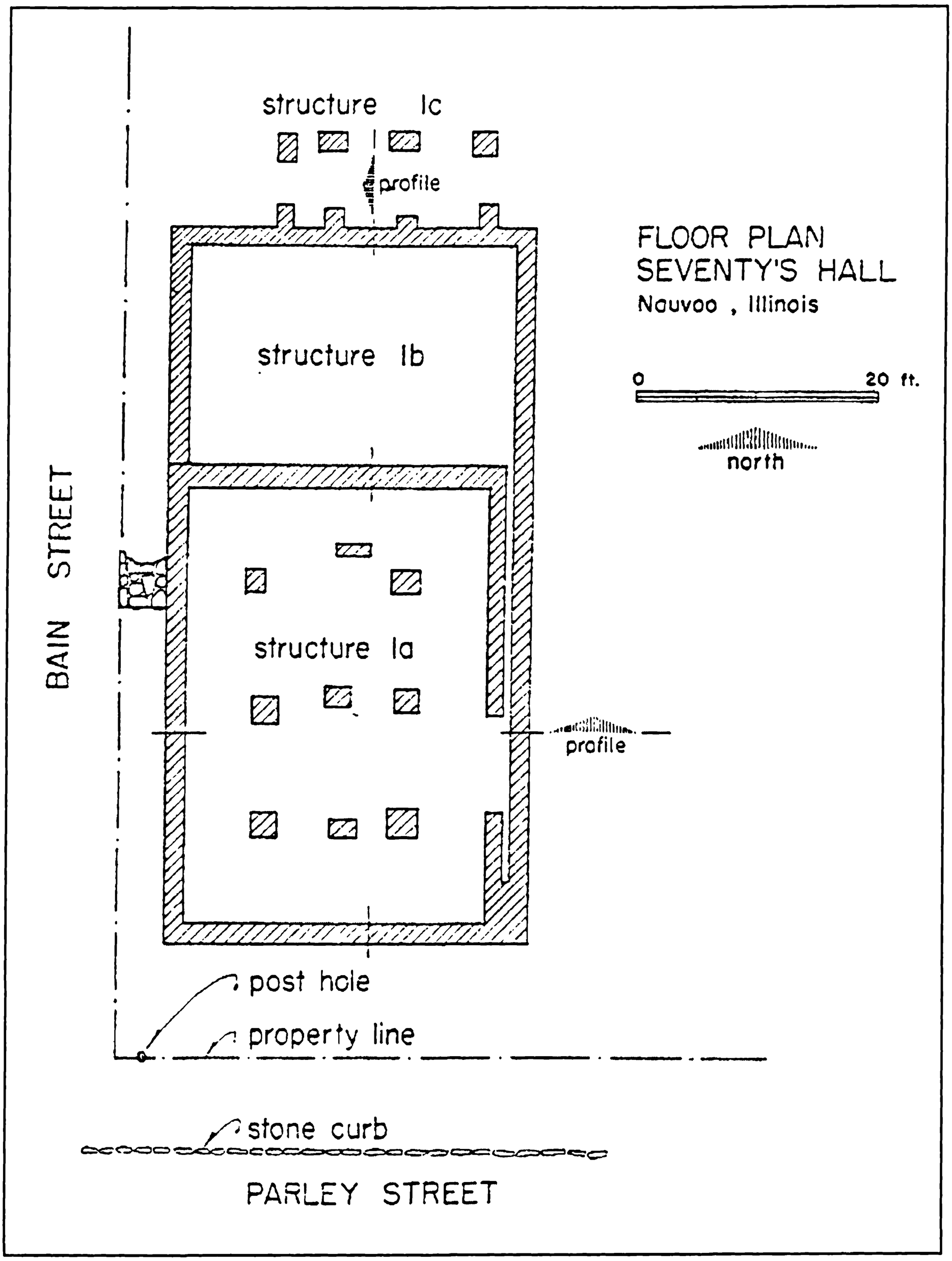

Figure 13: Seventy's Hall Excavation (Berge 1979c)

a plot 198 feet east to west and 181.5 feet north to south (Berge 1976). It is important to note that the Church as organized by Joseph Smith did not have a masonic component. There was no association between holding the priesthood and being a mason. Masonry was a social organization in Nauvoo. Established in 1842 with Abraham Jonas as Grand Master, the group held its original meetings in the upper story of Joseph Smith's General Store (Miller and Miller 1996:101). The Masonic Lodge was dedicated by Hyrum Smith on April 5, 1844. One of the few three-story buildings, it accommodated many other social functions, such as musical concerts and theatric performances (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:108-109). Unfortunately, few documentary sources for this building exist. In the early 1880s, the upper floor was removed and the building was modified as a private residence (Berge 1976).

Excavation in 1975 revealed three construction stages. The original Masonic Hall was a three-story brick building with a main entrance centrally located on the east side of the building (Figure 14). South of the front door was a basement entrance, while north of the front door was a basement window box with a gravel walk extending away from it. The basement contained eight windows. The basement was abandoned early since it contained destruction rubble from the third story. The west side had a centrally placed back door. Limestone curbing was set ten feet from the east property line, and a gravel walk extended from the curbing to the front entrance. During the second construction phase, the building was renovated as a private residence. The third floor was removed, the basement windows and entrance were filled in, the front door was made into a window, the entrance was moved to the north corner of the east side, and the back door on the west side was narrowed. The third construction phase occurred about 1900 when cement was used extensively around the

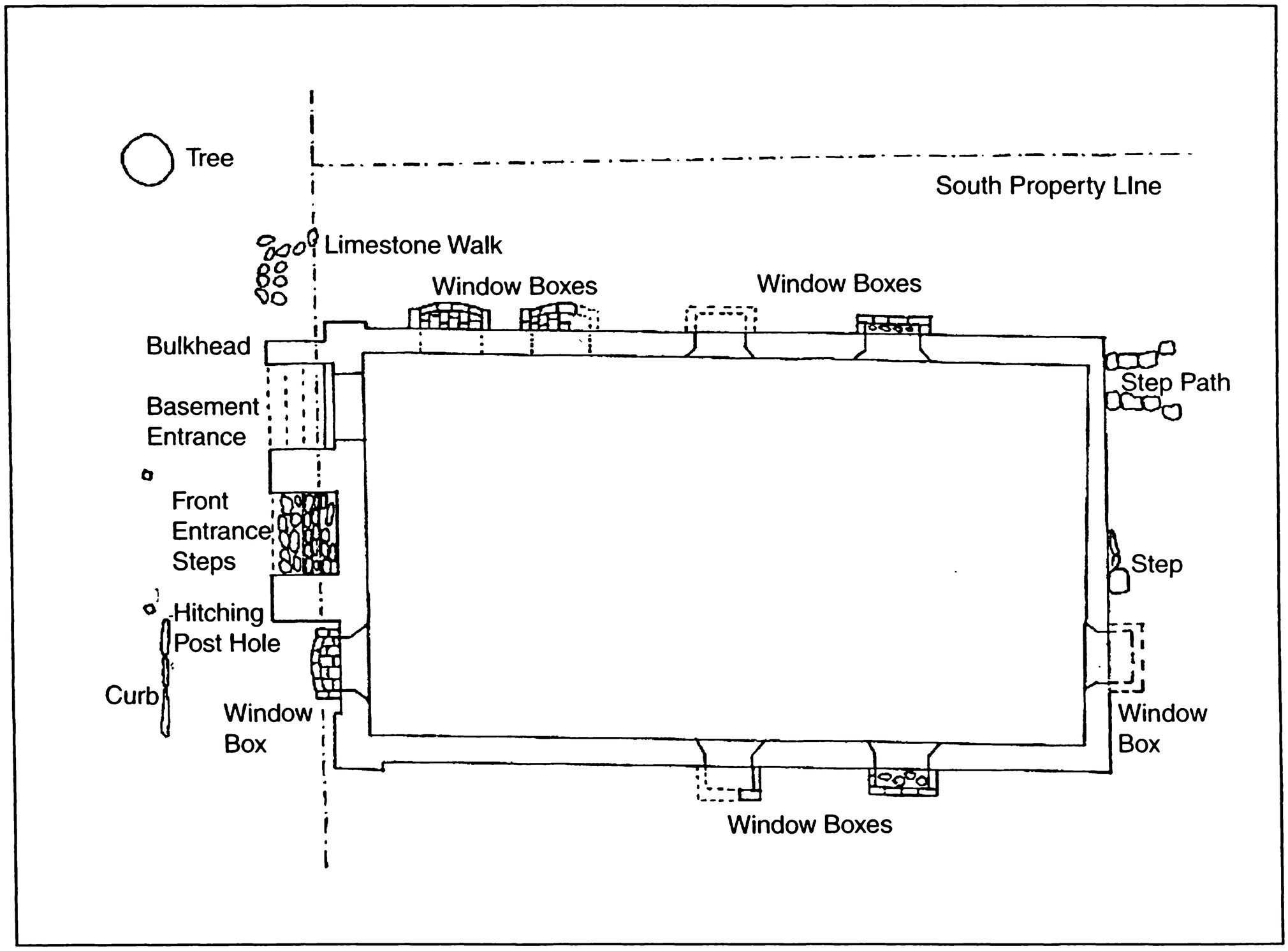

Figure 14: Original Features of the Masonic Hall (Berge 1976)

building, including the entrance steps, a planter, and a facing in the front of the building, a walk on the south side, and a porch at the rear. No further renovations were made after this third stage. All cement work was removed prior to excavation (Berge 1976).

The Post Office / Sidney Rigdon's Home

The Sidney Rigdon home was located on the east side of Main Street between Water and Sidney Streets, Lot 2 of Block 147 (Figure 8). The extant, two-story frame house has a post-1847 addition to the east side. In 1839, Sidney Rigdon moved his family to Nauvoo and first occupied the James White house (Figure 5). He was involved in the original land purchases of Nauvoo as he was the first counselor in the First Presidency with President, Joseph Smith. Rigdon built a frame house a block north of Joseph Smith's homestead. His first civic position was Postmaster, but he also became a city councilor and on the board of trustees for Nauvoo University (Miller and Miller 1996:53, 89). The designation of the Nauvoo Post office came in April of 1840. The following letter was passed on to the citizens of Nauvoo (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:166).

> Post office Department, Appointment Office, 21st April, 1840.
> SIR:--I have the honor to inform you, that the Postmaster General has this day changed the name of the post office at Commerce, Hancock county, [sic] Illinois, to "Nauvoo," and appointed George W. Robinson postmaster thereof. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, Robert Johnstone, Second Assistant Postmaster General. (Smith 1976, Vol.4:121)

The original Postmaster was George W. Robinson, Sidney Rigdon's son-in-law. Sidney Rigdon was Postmaster from February 24, 1841 until September 2, 1844. The following description of how Rigdon operated the post office from his home shows the combination

of business and residence common at Nauvoo. This is an excerpt of a letter from Charlotte Haven to her parents, dated March 5, 1843:

> We enter a side door leading into the kitchen, and in a corner near the door is a wide shelf or table, on which against the wall is a sort of cupboard with pigeon-holes or boxes. This is the post office. In this room, with the great cooking stove at one end, the family eats and sits. Mrs. Rigdon when I go for the mail always invites me to stop and rest, which after a cold long walk I am glad to do. (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:166)

In 1843, the Post office was moved to the Times and Seasons printing complex, located on the northwest corner of Water and Bain Streets (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:143). Unfortunately, no archaeological excavation has been conducted for Sidney Rigdon's home.

Joseph Smith Homestead

When Joseph Smith arrived in Commerce in 1839, he chose to live in an existing, double log home on Lot 1 of Block 155, (see Figure 8) located on the southwest corner Main Street and Water Streets (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:157). The front room served as the civic and religious center of the city until the opening of Joseph Smith's General Store in 1842. The original block portion, was constructed ca. 1812. Most likely the summer kitchen was already extant when Joseph Smith moved in. A shed roof connected it with the main house, creating an indoor hallway. The summer kitchen was the residence of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith until a double log house was built for them. It is very likely that within a few years of being vacated, the summer kitchen was demolished. In 1840, Joseph Smith added a north wing to the homestead. A west addition was built in 1856 when the house was then inhabited by Joseph Smith, III. The homestead remained in the Smith family's

possession until 1908 when it became part of the properties of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter referred to as RLDS) (Bray 1972:1-5, 8).

The overall orientation of the structures on the site are built at an angle 20 degrees east of true north. Having been built prior to Nauvoo's organization, the homestead was built to face the Mississippi squarely instead of being oriented to the north. It did have three construction phases: the original block house ca 1812, the north wing in 1841, and the west wing in 1856. Only two sites on the property have been fully excavated, the bee house and the summer kitchen (see Figure 15). The bee house was excavated as it was the first grave site for the martyred Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Knowledge of their original burial location died with Emma Smith, and it was not until 1928 that W. O. Hands was charged by the RLDS to find and rebury the remains in the family cemetery. Both bodies were excavated, every bone was reportedly accounted for, and the bodies were reinterred in the Smith family cemetery a few feet to the west (Bray 1972:66-70).

During the 1972 excavation, only the north wall of the bee house foundation was intact. It measured 8.3 feet in length and was two brick courses wide. None of the original floor was discovered. Some human bone, both adult and child, was found. The bone could not be identified as Anglo or Native American as there was evidence of burials by both groups in the vicinity (Bray 1972:66-70).

The summer kitchen foundation measured 15 by 15 feet. It was composed of quarried and roughly squared limestone blocks which stood one to two courses high. There was no basement in connection with this structure. The chimney was unusually large and was situated across the south half of the west gable end, almost in the corner of the room.

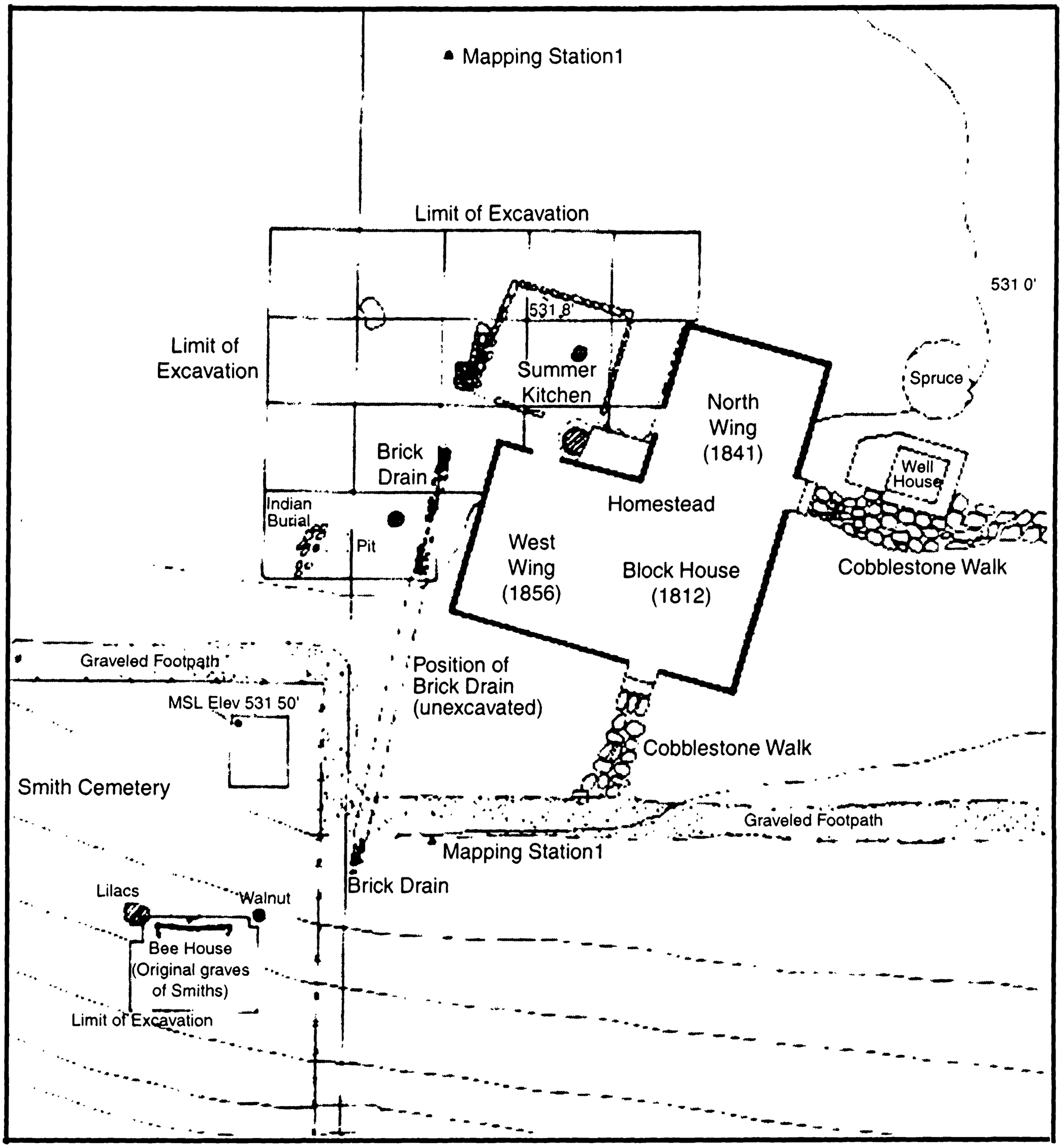

Figure 15: Partial Site Map of the Joseph Smith Homestead Lot (Bray 1972:6)

During the excavation, a large amount of irregularly sized mortar chunks and stones were found, indicating that the logs of the structure had wide spaces between them requiring chinking. No other description or photographs exist of the structure (Bray 1972:9-17).

Jonathan Browning, Home and Gunsmith Shop

Nauvoo was mostly a collection of homes and shops varying in size and style. The Jonathan Browning site combines both private residence and shop and is an example of the buildings of a wealthy Nauvoo merchant. Jonathan Browning was a prosperous gunsmith who invented the repeating rifle. He was a Justice of the Peace in Quincy, Illinois, when he was baptized into the LDS Church in 1843. In 1844, he moved to Nauvoo and set up his shop on the corner of Main and Munson Streets, the south half of Lot 2, the northwest quarter of Block 118 (Figure 8). The property originally belonged to Benjamin Bird, but he deeded the north half of Lot 2 back to Joseph Smith. In 1846, Browning left his property and moved with the rest of the Saints and set up a gunsmith shop in Kanesville, Iowa. In 1852, he set up shop in Ogden, Utah. In 1847, trustees of the Church sold the property to Peter Poncin. From 1890-1912, the property was owned by Fred Schoell. He left the property to his daughter, Louise, and her husband, Charles H. Hudson. The Hudsons lived in the house until 1916, at which time they completed their own house on the northwest quarter of Lot 2. From 1916 until 1968, the house was not occupied but used as storage and allowed to decay. It was purchased from the Hudson estate by the NRI in 1968 (Berge 1979e:207-209).

The Browning site was excavated from 1968-1969. At the time of excavation, six structures were standing on the site. The first building was a two-story brick house

measuring 18.25 by 23.79 feet. Shortly after moving in, the Browning's enlarged the living area of the house by adding a brick room 20.86 by 18.25 feet to the north. Later, another occupant added a wood addition, measuring 41.86 by 13.21 feet, on the east of the house. This wooded addition had a small porch measuring 9.73 by 6.085 feet added to the southeast corner. Also on the site were a carriage shed, two chicken coops, and an outhouse and two-car garage belonging to the Hudson house on the northwest of Lot 2 (Berge 1979e:210-211).

The original house had three levels, a basement, the first floor comprised of up and down staircases and a large living room with a north fireplace, and the second floor comprised of two bedrooms. Excavation revealed that the front entrance was positioned above the historic ground level, indicating the use of a front stoop. A brick walk extended around the east, south, and west sides of the house and its additions. It was constructed of brick from the destruction of the gunsmith shop in the 1880s period and covered up the basement entrance on the west side. There were three basement windows, two on either side of the basement entrance which had also been bricked up and one on the south. A south entrance had also been bricked up. A well located southwest of the south entrance was also covered over with a brick walk and grape arbor (see Figure 16) (Berge 1979e:212-215).

The first enlargement of the house was the northern, single-story addition. Its later construction was deduced from its brick work. While both sections of the house are made with similar red brick, there are differences in the technique used to finish the outside mortar, indicating different workmen. At the time of the destruction of the gunsmith shop, the living area was extended again, and a northern wall was built to abut the existing east and west walls. The original floor and joists were discovered under the tongue-and-groove floor

constructed after the Brownings lived there. A difference in brick color revealed that a second story had also been added to this addition. A wood and brick building was added after the 1840s with its small porch. Both these latter additions were removed so that the original log house could be excavated (Berge 1979e:215-218).

As the excavation of the grounds proceeded north, the gunsmith and blacksmith shops were uncovered. Built around the same time, the gunsmith shop measured 15.33 by 13 feet, and the blacksmith shop measured 15.85 by 24.66 feet. Artifacts recovered from the shops confirmed their use, especially with the amount of coal, small metal fragments, and slag concentrated in the blacksmith shop. Other features found on the site include a curb, which ran along the front of the house and parallel to the street, and a root cellar and summer kitchen constructed of limestone and measuring 13 by 11.25 feet, two outhouses, a barn, and two wells. The only cistern was located at the northeast corner of the wooden addition. It appeared to be modern since it is above the historic grade. Little of the barn's foundation could be located due to the construction of the garage. The remains of an infant burial were uncovered south of the southeast corner of the garage (Berge 1979e:218-225).

The last feature of importance at the Browning site was the log house. In 1847 there were probably over 1,000 log cabins in Nauvoo (Bray 1972:14). The Browning site log house was discovered underneath the wooden addition and porch (see Figure 16). Its foundation was rectangularly aligned, one or two stones deep, and relatively shallow. Such a foundation could not have supported a brick structure. The foundation measured 25 by 16 feet and contained a root cellar 10.5 by 6.5 feet. It appeared that the house consisted of two rooms with the root cellar located in the southern room with possible access through a trap

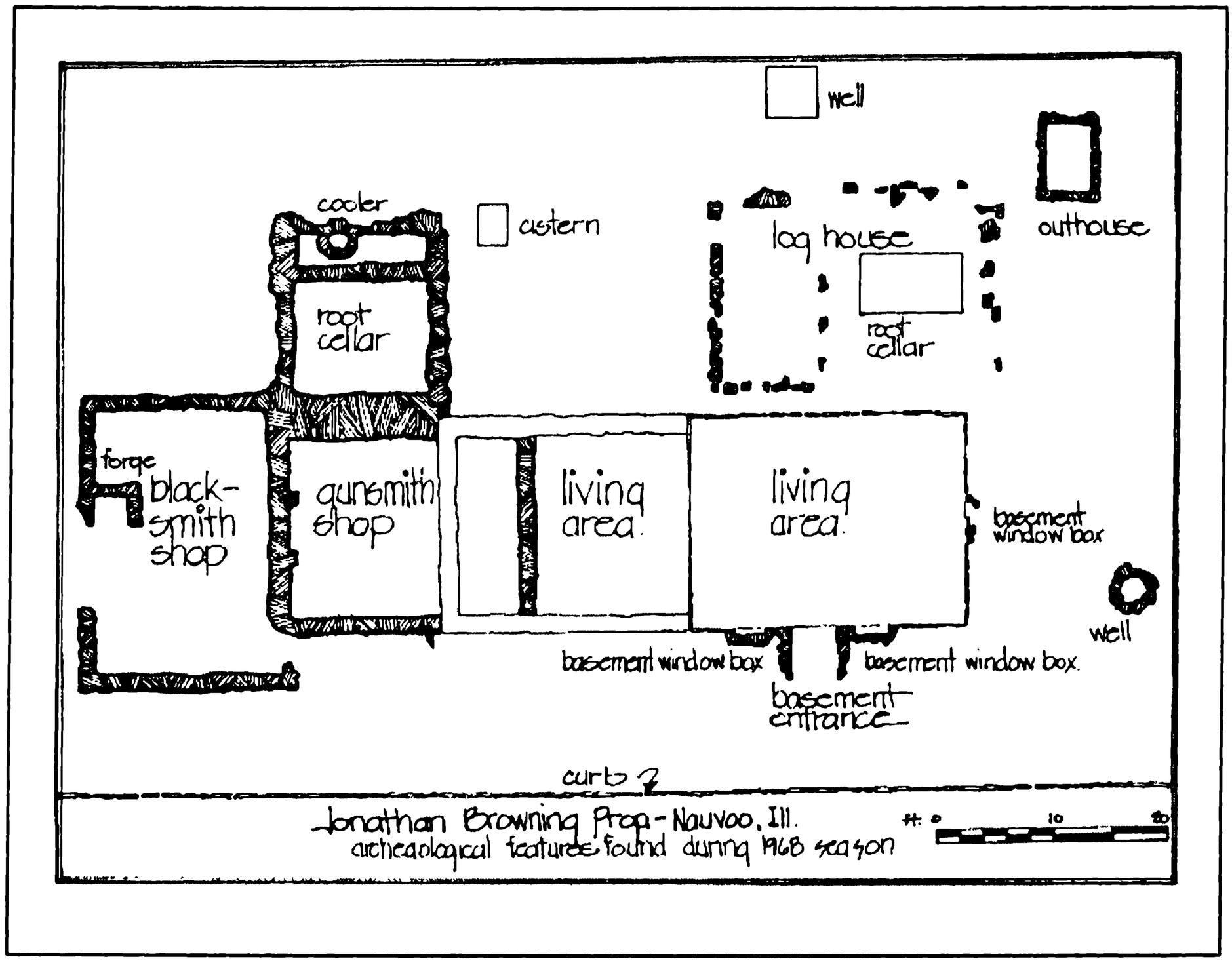

Figure 16: Archaeological Features of the Jonathan Browning Site (Berge 1979e:217)

door in the floor. A fireplace stood next to the cellar in the east wall. It is not known when the structure was built, though the foundation stones are consistent with the Browning occupation. It may have been built as a temporary dwelling while the brick home was being built and afterwards could have served as a summer kitchen. It is also not known when the log house was demolished (Berge 1979e:222-224).

Daniel Butler, Jr. Home

Daniel Butler bought his property, the eastern 65 feet of Lot 3, Block 125, in 1843 for $600 (Berge 1979a). He built a two-story brick structure which faced Parley Street (Figure 8). Daniel Butler was a cobbler, though his shop carried general store items (Holzapfel and Cottle 1990:167-168). It is not known whether Daniel Butler was a member of the Church as his name is not listed in any Nauvoo ward records or the Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register. However, he did move out of Nauvoo with the Saints; in 1846, he sold his property to William Jones for $200. Records show the house was not modified from its original form. This was verified in a photograph from 1900. In 1940 the house was destroyed by fire, and afterwards the site was abandoned. Butler's property measured 65 feet across the south and extended north through the Lot 2 (Berge 1979a).

At the time of excavation, overgrown weeds and bushes were cleared away to expose the foundations which were still visible and which measured 20 by 30 feet. Rubble was removed from the basement, revealing a basement window and entrance in the northwest corner (Figure 17). Cement surrounding the foundation was removed, exposing the basement steps. The original front stoop extended from the south wall in the southeast

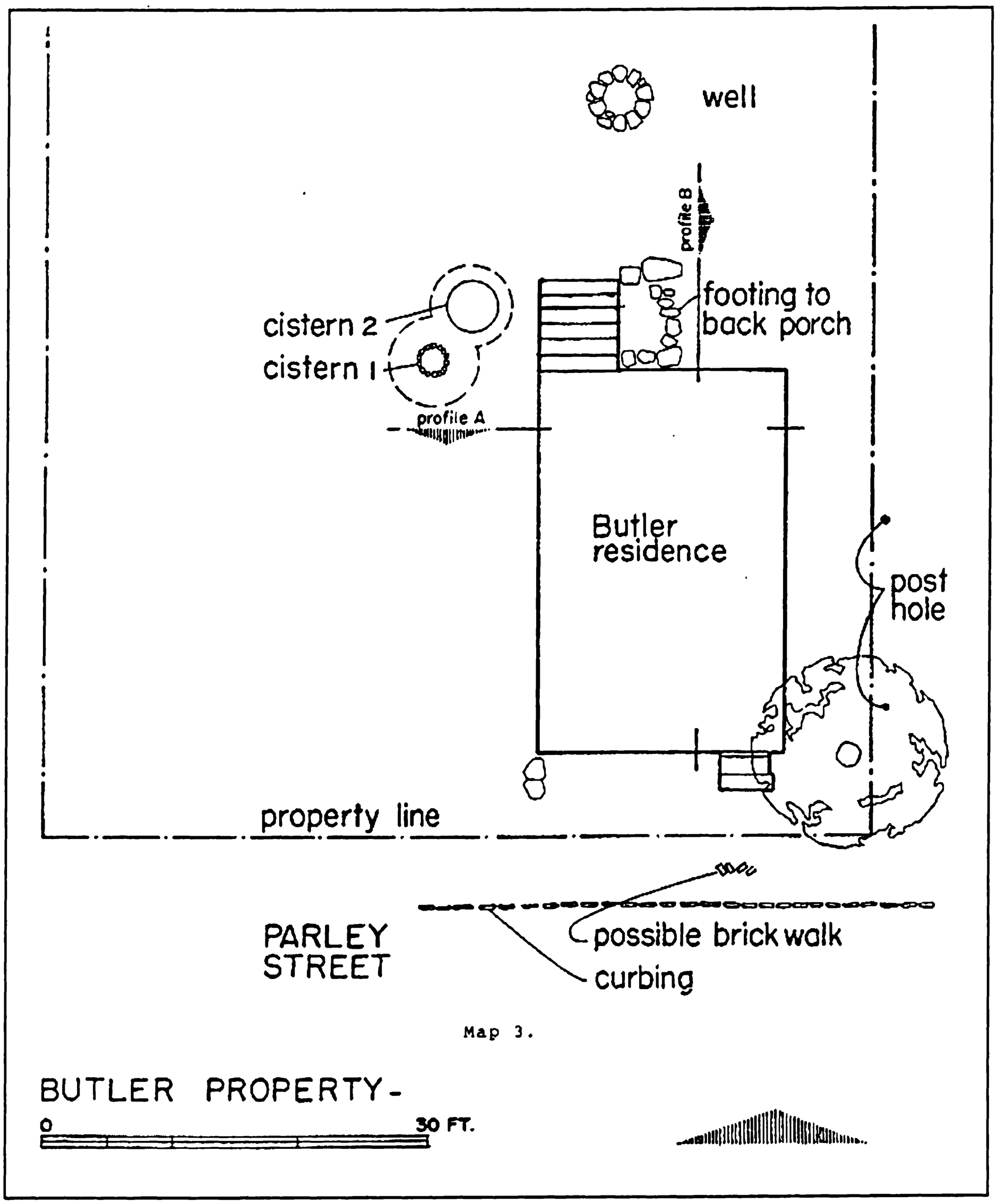

Figure 17: Daniel Butler Site Map (Berge 1979a)

corner of the structure. The south wall was 6.8 feet from the south property line, and the south end of the front door stoop was 3.52 feet from the south property line. Farther south a limestone slab curb was uncovered. Between the south property line and the curb were several laid bricks indicating a brick walk in front of the house. The house's brick walls were two courses thick. The brick work on the west wall indicated the remains of two chimneys. One well constructed of limestone slabs was discovered north of the house while on the west side were two cisterns, a later one superimposed on the early one (Berge 1979a).

Joseph Bates Noble – Lucy Mack Smith Home

The home located on Lot 2, Block 124 on the corner of Kimball and Hyde Streets (Figure 8) was built by Joseph Bates Noble in 1842. He built a two-story brick building with a cellar. In 1846, Noble sold the property to Lucy Mack Smith, mother of Joseph Smith, for $1000 as part of a larger land deal. She lived here until 1847 when she deeded the property to her daughter Lucy Smith Millikin. The Millikens lived in the house until 1851. In 1855, Frederick Snell paid back taxes on the property and made some improvements. In 1867 the property was in the name of Laurenz Laubershimer. The Hildebrand family owned the property from 1931-1962 when it was purchased by Nauvoo Restoration Incorporated. The house underwent many modifications, including a tin roof, chimney, frame addition, front porch, and smoke house. The basement windows were buried, and the basement entrance was covered by the floor of the frame addition (Berge 1983).

Prior to excavation the house had been closed for many years, and the more recent frame additions had been removed (see Figure 18). Excavation began June 2, of 1971 and

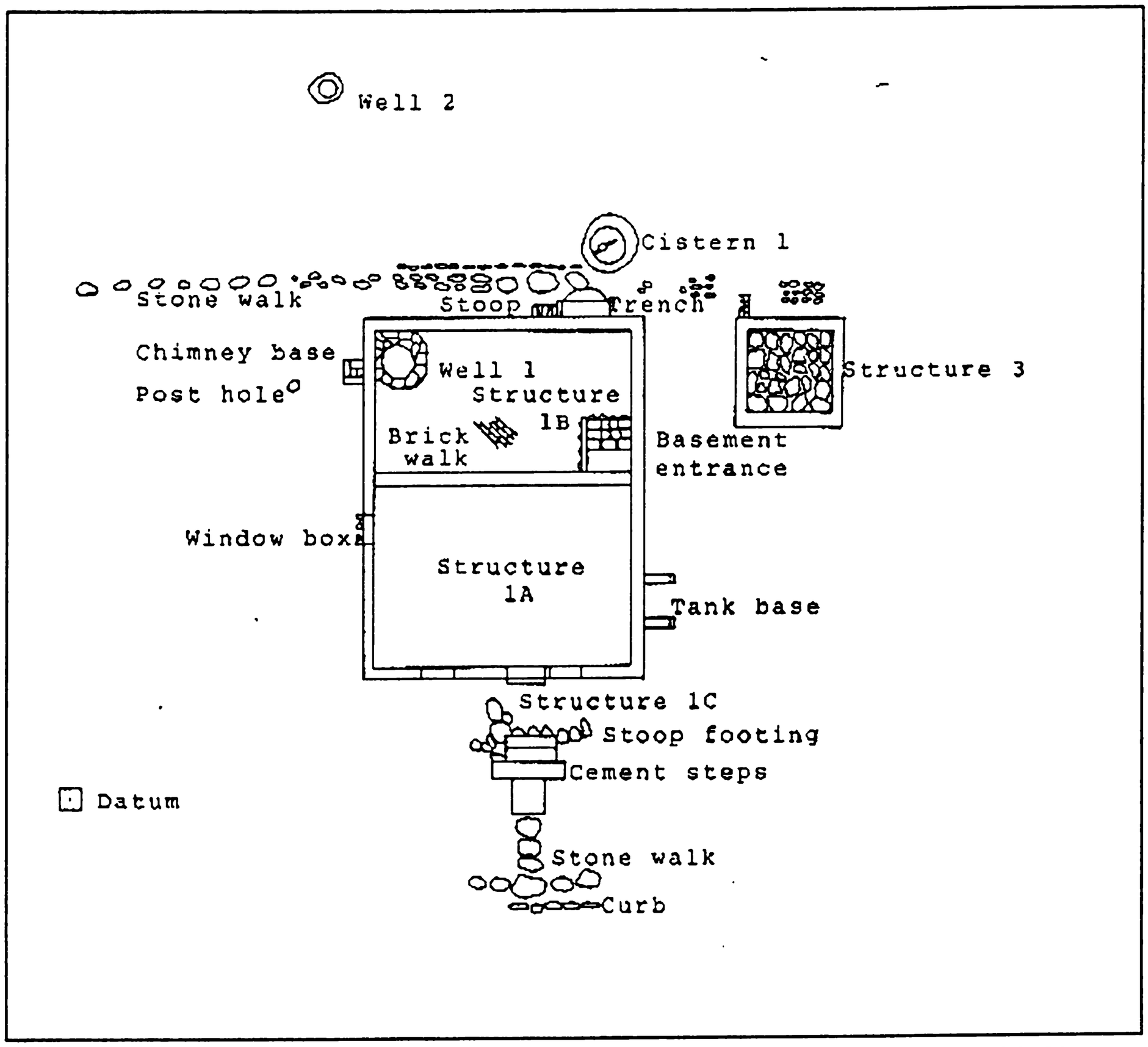

Figure 18: Archaeological Features of the Joseph Bates Noble/Lucy Mack Smith Site (Berge 1983)

were completed that season. The basement entrance was uncovered including the steps, four basement windows, the back door stoop, a stone walk, and a brick walk. Another one room building south of the main house was built of limestone and was most likely a smokehouse. To the rear of the house was a brick walk leading to a well. Also found on the property were a carriage house, stone walk outside the south door, two wells, one cistern, two outhouses, and a curb. The outhouses and one well were not original to the property (Berge 1983).

Conclusions

The public buildings of Nauvoo showed a community willing to invest time and labor physically and socially to build a sense of community. No where was this more apparent than the Nauvoo Temple. Worth more than all the other buildings in Nauvoo and costing more in time and labor than the others combined, it represented the belief system of Nauvoo unlike any other structure. As the focus of the city, it symbolized the commitment of the Saints to their religion. Though most of the excavations completed at Nauvoo have been on larger, brick structures, it is important to remember that most of the Saints lived in more modest log or frame homes. While the City of Zion plan called for brick homes, the Saints coming to Nauvoo in 1839 were not financially or physically prepared to build brick homes. As Nauvoo improved economically through time, wood houses were replaced with brick houses. This was evident in Joseph Smith's Homestead. The wood structure oriented to the River served as Joseph Smith's first home. At the time of his death, he was in the process of building the Mansion House, a large brick home. Nauvoo was in the process of becoming a City of Zion and a prominent Western city. Nauvoo also experienced some of the transitions that its neighbor, St. Louis had and was encountering just down river.

Chapter 6

The Early Development of St. Louis

At first glance, the history of St. Louis seems vastly different from that of Nauvoo. St. Louis was founded in 1764 for purely economic purposes and, unlike Nauvoo, had grown and prospered for 75 years by the time Nauvoo was founded. However, its location on the Mississippi, and its population surge in the 1830s are similar to circumstances in Nauvoo during the 1840s. St. Louis represents the quintessential Mississippi River city. This chapter examines the historical background of St. Louis, elements of its city plan, and whether or not the ideals of the City of Zion are manifest in its organization.

Background of St. Louis, 1764-1850

In 1762, Maxent, Laclede & Co. received permission from the Governor of the Territory of Louisiana to conduct and organize trade in present day Missouri (Scharf 1883:I:66). On February 14, 1764, Auguste Chouteau, under M. Pierre Laclede's direction, established St. Louis near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers (Western Historical Company 1883:86). The original plat for St. Louis (see Figure 19) was drawn by Laclede, using a gridiron pattern similar to New Orleans (Primm 1981:15).

The political climate of the day was precarious. While the Mississippi River had been discovered by the Spanish, the French were the first to explore and settle it during the late 1670s and 80s (Scharf 1883:I:19, 29). New Orleans was founded in 1718, and French settlements near the mouth of the river began to flourish (Ravenswaay 1991:10). Under a secret treaty of 1762, the Spanish and British took possession in 1764 of land east and west

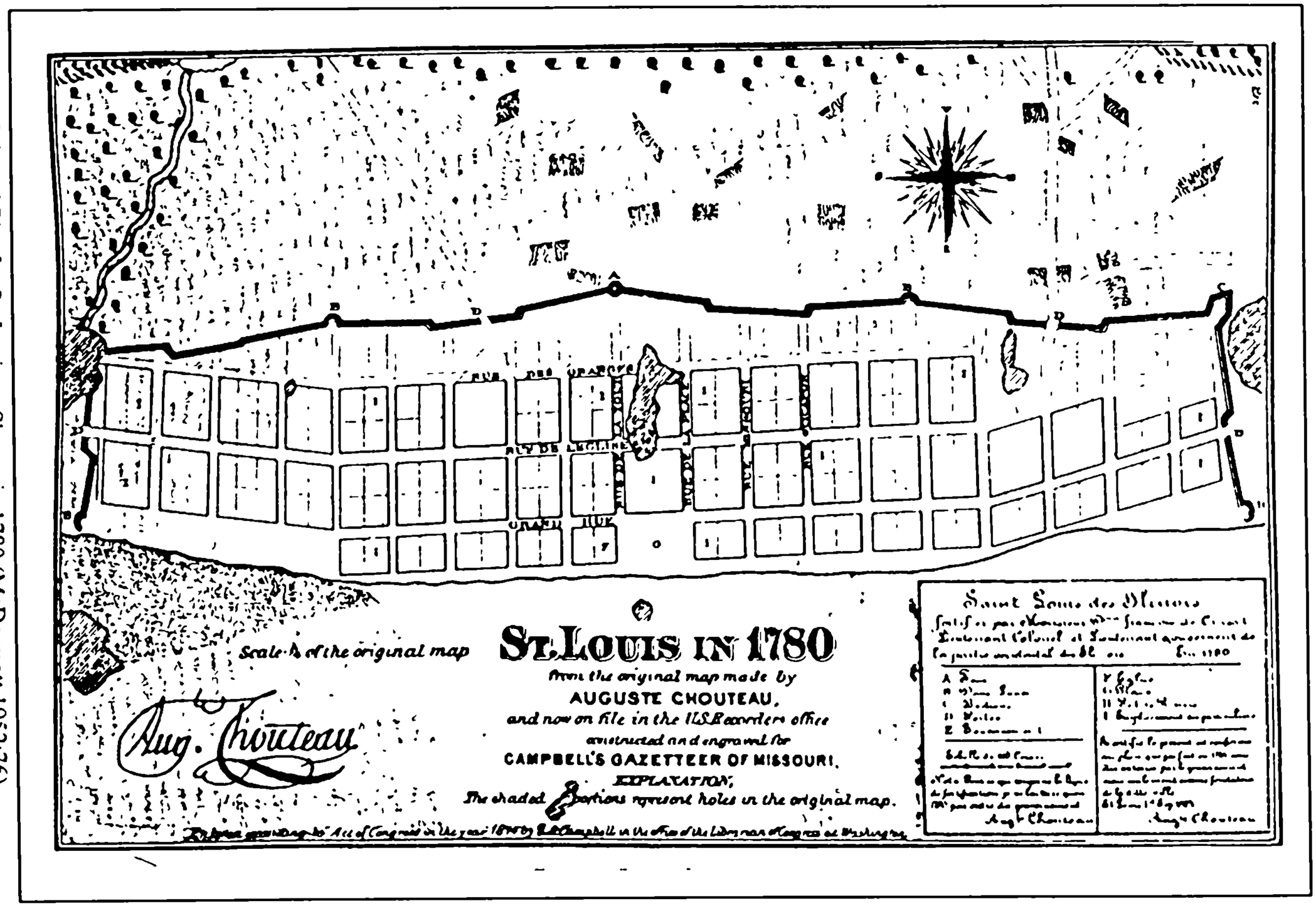

Figure 19 Original Plat for St Louis as Shown in 1780 (McDermott 1952:76)

of the Mississippi, respectively. As a result, in 1765 the French garrison moved to St. Louis from Fort Chartres, located 20 miles upstream on the east bank which was now British territory (Ravenswaay 1991:17). Organizing a form of city government, they awaited the establishment of Spanish authorities, who did not arrive until 1770 (Scharf 1883:I:68-73).

Don Pedro Piernas as the first Lieutenant Governor of the upper Mississippi provided a quiet transition of power (Scharf 1883:1:202-203). During this time the city continued to prosper (see Figure 20). In 1780, war broke out between Spain and Great Britain. As a result, an Indian attack occurred outside of St. Louis, resulting in the deaths of 60 inhabitants and the kidnapping of 30 more (McDermott 1952:78-79). Due to unrest and political haggling, St. Louis' population grew little until 1804. On March 10, 1804, it was ceded to the United States, and with U.S. occupation came an influx of immigration (Western Historical Company 1883:86).

The 1804 map of St. Louis (see Figure 21) shows how closely the settlement had followed Laclede's early plat (see Figure 19). In 1812, Missouri was granted territorial rights, and in 1822 St. Louis was incorporated as a city with boundaries encompassing 385 acres (Western Historical Company 1883:89-90). Previous to 1816, no additions had been made to the town as originally platted by Laclede and Chouteau. In 1816, Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas donated a city block to the town for a courthouse and sold a large tract on the west end of town from Fourth to Seventh Streets. This was the first city addition (Scharf 1883:I:131). From that time on the city had numerous additions as it continued to spread north, west, and south. The city's acreage grew nearly 19 times its original size (Yeakle 1889:73). Table 4 shows this growth.

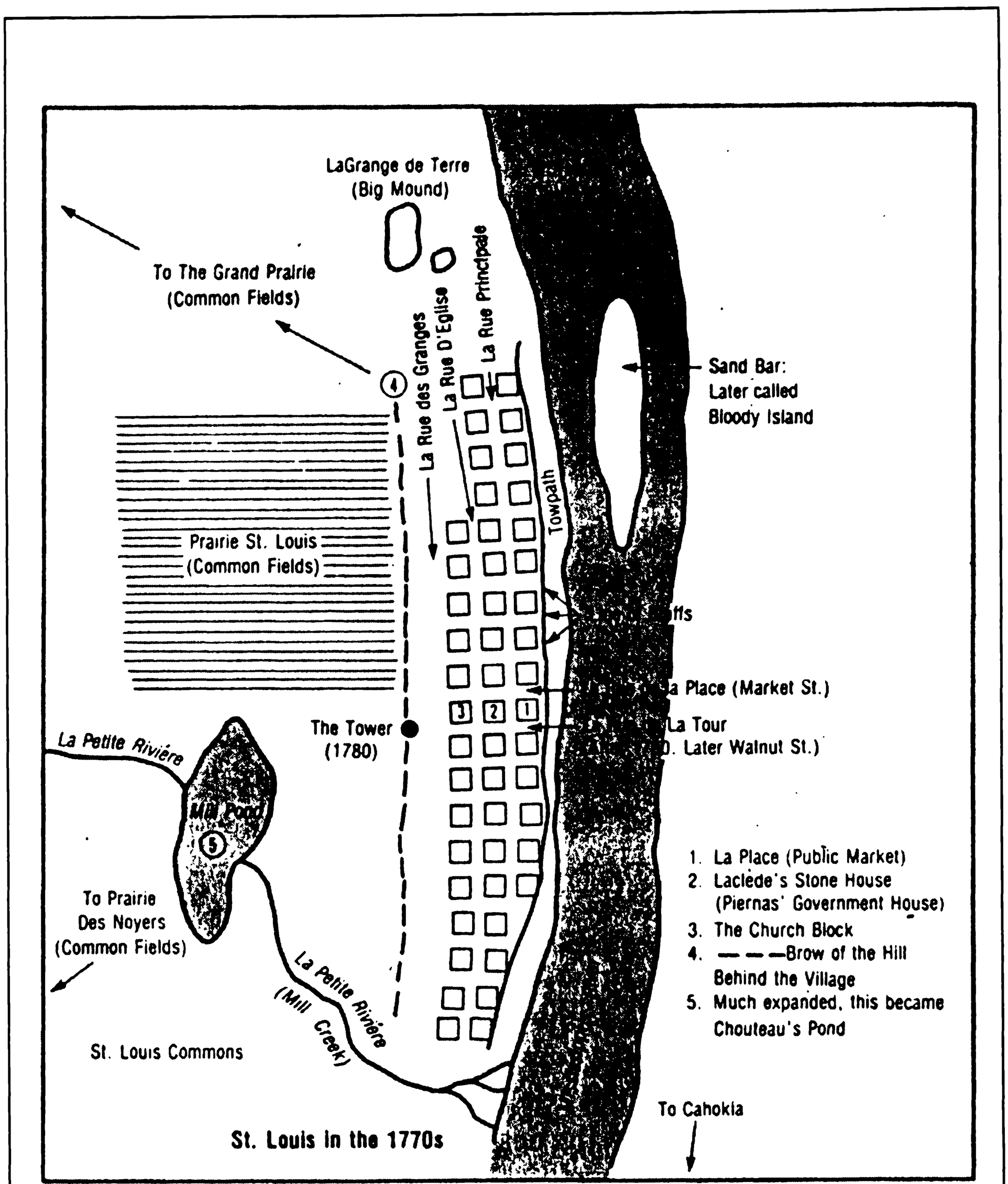

Figure 20: Re-creation of St. Louis in the1770s (Primm 1981:18)

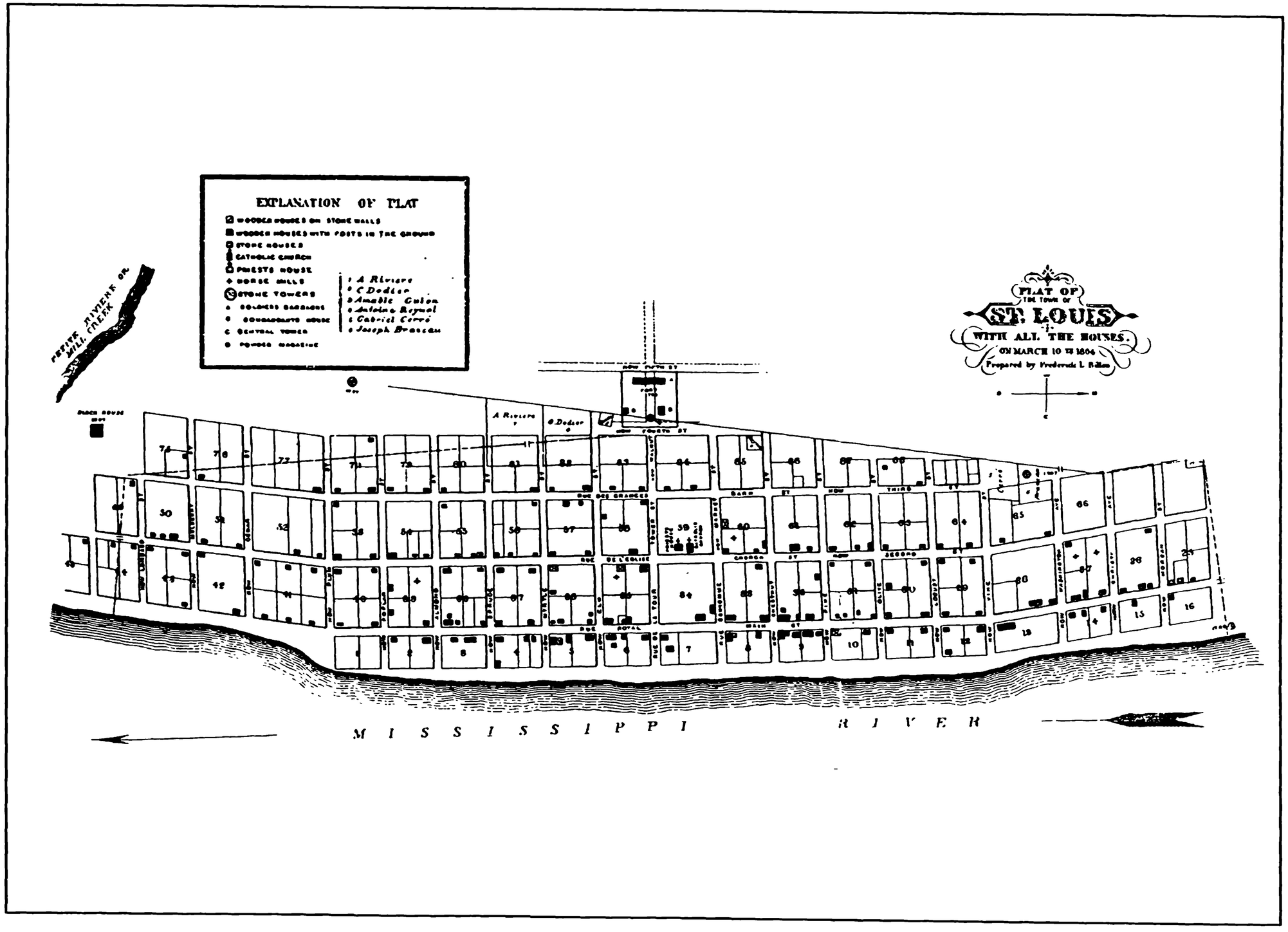

Figure 21 Plat of St. Louis in 1804 (Scharf 1883:I:146)

Table 4: City Limits of St. Louis, 1764-1855

Year	Acres	Square Miles
1839	477.25	.75
1841	2,865.10	4.48
1855	8,923.25	13.94

(Yeakle 1889:73).

During the 1820-1850 time period, trade on the Mississippi improved, with steamboats for the first time venturing north to St. Louis and beyond. Agriculture decreased as the city became economically more diverse. Able to trade for its bread, agriculture was pushed to outlying communities. Instead, St. Louis increased in the number of shops, services, and industries (McDermott 1952:67). Immigrants, especially from Ireland and Germany, affected the cultural and religious ambience of the city.

Geography of St. Louis

St. Louis is situated at a 38 degrees 38 minutes North Latitude, 90 degrees 12 minutes West Longitude. The city was founded on top of a levee bordered on the east by the Mississippi and on the west by a gently rolling plain which slowly rose from 35 to 200 feet over a distance of seven miles (Yeakle 1889:72). The original city was laid out on the levee, "under the hill." The distance of the hill to the river was 1,000 feet (Stevens 1909:20).

Trees on the city's site were cleared and used for buildings. A belt of trees extended north with the common fields to the west. The soil was rich with many fine streams, including Mill Creek, Rock Spring, Hammond's Spring, McRea's Springs, and Lucas' Spring (Scharf 1883:I:127).

Population of St. Louis

The population of St. Louis grew slowly at first and then boomed shortly after 1804 (see Table 5). Similar to Nauvoo, St. Louis doubled its population in four years between 1840-1844. Beginning in 1835, the city experienced an increase in population due to European emigrants. By 1840, St. Louis had grown to over 16,000 which was larger than Nauvoo's highest recorded number of 12,000.

Table 5: Population Growth in St. Louis, 1770-1844

Year	Population
1770	500
1804	925
1812	2,000
1820	4,928
1822	5,000
1833	6,000
1840	16,469
1844	34,140

(Western Historical Company 1883:89-91).

Public Buildings

From 1764 until 1804, the number of public buildings included Laclede's original residence that served as a municipal building as well as a jail, the residence of the Spanish Governor, the fort, and the Catholic Church. From 1804 until 1850, the number of public buildings increased rapidly. These buildings are discussed below.

Unity

Laclede founded St. Louis to further his economic goals. Though he did name his trading post/village after King Louis IX, who was canonized in 1297, and organize the Parish of St. Louis shortly after arriving, Laclede had no political or religious aspirations for himself (Scharf 1883:I:68). Founded 75 years before Nauvoo, St. Louis would not have been influenced by United States culture or Joseph Smith's ideas. It is interesting, therefore, to compare St. Louis to the precepts of Zion and the City of Zion plan. (See Table 4).

Street Width

In the original plat, St. Louis had three principal streets that ran generally north to south, parallel to the river. These three were 36 French feet wide (American equivalent equals 39 feet). A French foot is nearly 13 inches long (Schulte 1934:102). Additionally, eighteen cross streets, measuring 30 French feet (32.5 American feet), ran approximately east-west, perpendicular to the river (Scharf 1883:I:133). In comparison, Nauvoo's main and regular streets measured 82 and 49.5 feet, respectively. St. Louis's streets were parallel and perpendicular in the center section of the city. However, to take full advantage of the river, *Grand Rue* (or First Street) did not extend straight north and south, eventually meeting the river at both ends. Instead, when *Grand Rue* was platted north of Vine Street or south of Plum Street, it angled inland so it could continue to follow the shoreline. The two other main streets mirrored the angle of the streets. The blocks in these north and south areas became parallelogram in shape (see Figure 21).

Table 6: Precepts of Zion in the Organization of St. Louis

Precepts	Ideal/Plan	St. Louis
1) One Heart and Mind **Unity**	All plats were square, equal in size 20 lots per block. Main streets was 132 feet wide. Others were 82.5 feet wide. Only one house was permitted per lot. Houses were to be set back 25 feet from the street. Houses were to be constructed of stone or brick Houses were placed to face the side of opposing lots. The front yard was to be "planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder." The back yard was to be used as for gardens.	No, shapes and sizes varied No, 4 No, 39 and 32.5 feet No, the elite received more No regulation No regulation, mostly wood and stone No, not for corner lots Yes Yes
2) Dwelling in Righteousness **Order**	The city was to be platted using the cardinal directions. The city blocks were to be square and equal in size. The total population ranged between 15-20 thousand The two central block housed public buildings, churches, schools, and the temple. The greenbelt surrounded the city. Farmers lived inside the city limits with access to schools and churches while their lands were located outside the city in the greenbelt.	Yes No No cap Yes, public square, city building and Catholic Church Yes, originally No, mostly traders in town
3) No Poor **Economic Equality**	Individual gardens allowed some self-sufficiency.	Yes
4) Following a Living Prophet **Leadership**	A bishop was assigned for each city. The central Priesthood Temples were buildings for administration and government. The main Temple for the endowment of the people was located in the central block.	No, parish and priest No, Laclede's house used No temple, Catholic Church

Street drainage was a problem for St. Louis as the original dirt streets became mud hazards during the wet season and contained deep ruts during the dry season. The first official campaign to care for and construct streets began in 1818. The first city engineer was appointed in 1828 as the head of the street department. In 1832, Market Street was widened, which meant the property and buildings on the south side of the street had to be condemned and demolished to allow for the change (Kargau 1902:19, 26). After 1804, new streets were automatically platted to be wider than 39 feet. An example of this is shown by Washington Avenue which at the time of construction was 80 feet wide (Ravenswaay 1991:176).

Size of House Lots

Similar to Nauvoo, the original city blocks of St. Louis were divided into four lots. Grants for city lots were commonly restricted to a quarter of a block; however, a few favored individuals obtained half-blocks, and in three or four instances, official distinction, meritorious service, or social dignity secured the concession of a whole block (Scharf 1883:I:134). While the opportunity to own land in St. Louis was open to anyone, the amount of land a person would be granted varied. The equal distribution of land was not a concept applied in St. Louis.

Dr. R. Simpson, an early settler of St. Louis, described the city lots in 1811:

> The town was all under the hill, and laid out in squares, and these squares were divided into four lots, so that each owner had room for a garden and some fruit-trees . . . . The best residence in town was that of Col. Auguste Chouteau, who occupied one square of ground, surrounded by a high stone wall, with Main Street in front, the church in the rear, and between Market and Walnut. (Scharf 1883:I:130)

Laclede and Chouteau, as founding fathers, were each granted an entire city block, at the center of town and to the north, respectively. A number of blocks– 44, 75, 41, 54, 56, 4, and 56– were subdivided into more or less than four equal lots as shown in Figure 21. Land was privately owned, and the citizens of St. Louis were free to buy and sell their own property.

Price of House Lots

Originally, land in St. Louis was open to any individual who wanted to improve it. In 1822, a Mr. F. L. Billon described the history of the land grants:

> Lands and lots originally were of little or no value in themselves, as they were freely bestowed upon any person on the sole condition that he would improve them for his own habitation within a year and a day from the date of his grant. If within that time he bestowed the least labor possible on the land, no matter how trivial, grubbing a small portion, cutting down a tree, or anything else, he had virtually complied with the conditions of the grant, and could dispose of it as he pleased; otherwise he had forfeited it, and it reverted to the domain, to be regranted to any other who might apply for it. Consequently lots had no other value for many years after the birth of the village than that of the improvements put upon them. When a sale of a house took place it was for the house only, the lot, no matter if large or small, even to the extent of a block, going with the house. There are several instances on record where a lot has been sold for ten or twelve dollars merely to repay the seller for he [sic] labor he might have bestowed on it. (Scharf 1883:I:141)

After the Indian attack in 1780, there were few land grants requested. During the next 20 years the city's limit changed only slightly; three blocks were added on the south, fourteen blocks with houses west of Third Street, and four unimproved blocks to the northwest (Scharf 1883:I:141). However, with the growth of the 1800s, city lots became quite valuable. In 1836, 300 new buildings were added inside the city limits, with one-third costing $10,000 each. By the late 1830s, houses were rented for $800 per year, and a lot on 2nd Street sold

for $50,000, months before the 1837 depression (Ravenswaay 1991:299, 312). Figures 22 and 23 show the expansion of the city limits in 1835 and 1841, respectively.

Regulations for Houses

There were no regulations or recommendations for the types, sizes, or materials of homes and businesses in St. Louis. The most readily available material was wood logs. The settlers followed the French custom of building one story houses of upright logs. Some houses were built with a stone foundation or entirely of stone obtained from the limestone bluffs near the river (Flaherty 1978:20). By 1770, fifteen stone and 100 wooden houses were located in the city. Dr. R. Simpson, again in 1811, wrote

> There were no brick houses, but many of stone, some few frame, but mostly log buildings, some cabin-fashion and other in French style,– large logs, dressed on two sides, set some eight feet in the ground, with shingle roofs. (Scharf 1883:I:130)

As the city grew, it benefitted from a new brick industry and was influenced by styles from the Eastern States. The first brick house was built in 1814, and soon brick replaced stone and wood as the material of choice (Western Historical Company 1883:91). By the 1830s most building materials, including boards and shingles, were being shipped from Western New York, making construction extremely expensive (Ravenswaay 1991:312). The Mississippi limestone was not good enough anymore.

Order

In focusing on St. Louis' large scale organization, there are similarities between it and Nauvoo, in the central blocks, division of city lots, and original common fields.

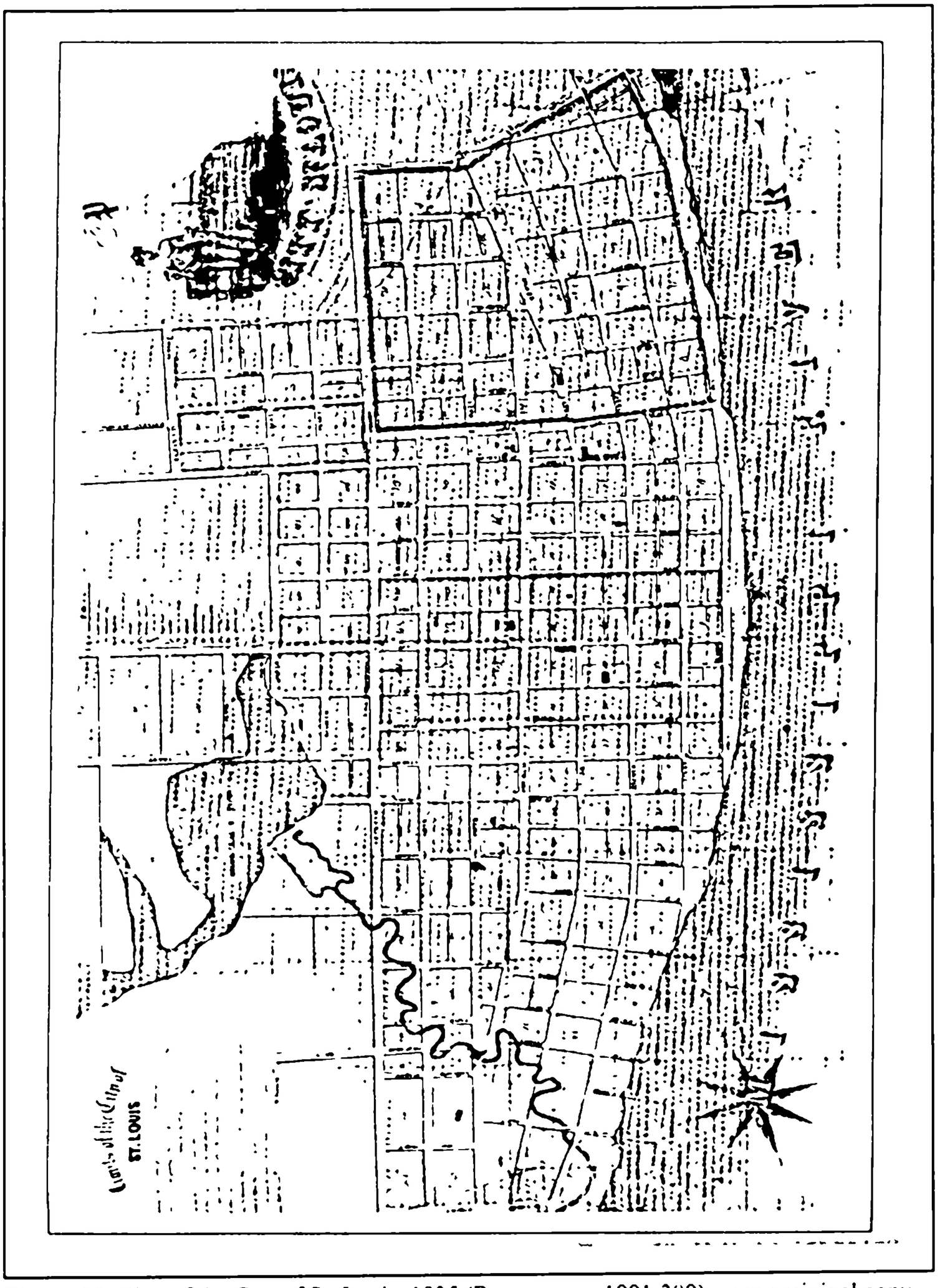

Figure 22: Plan of the City of St. Louis, 1835 (Ravenswaay 1991:309) --poor original copy

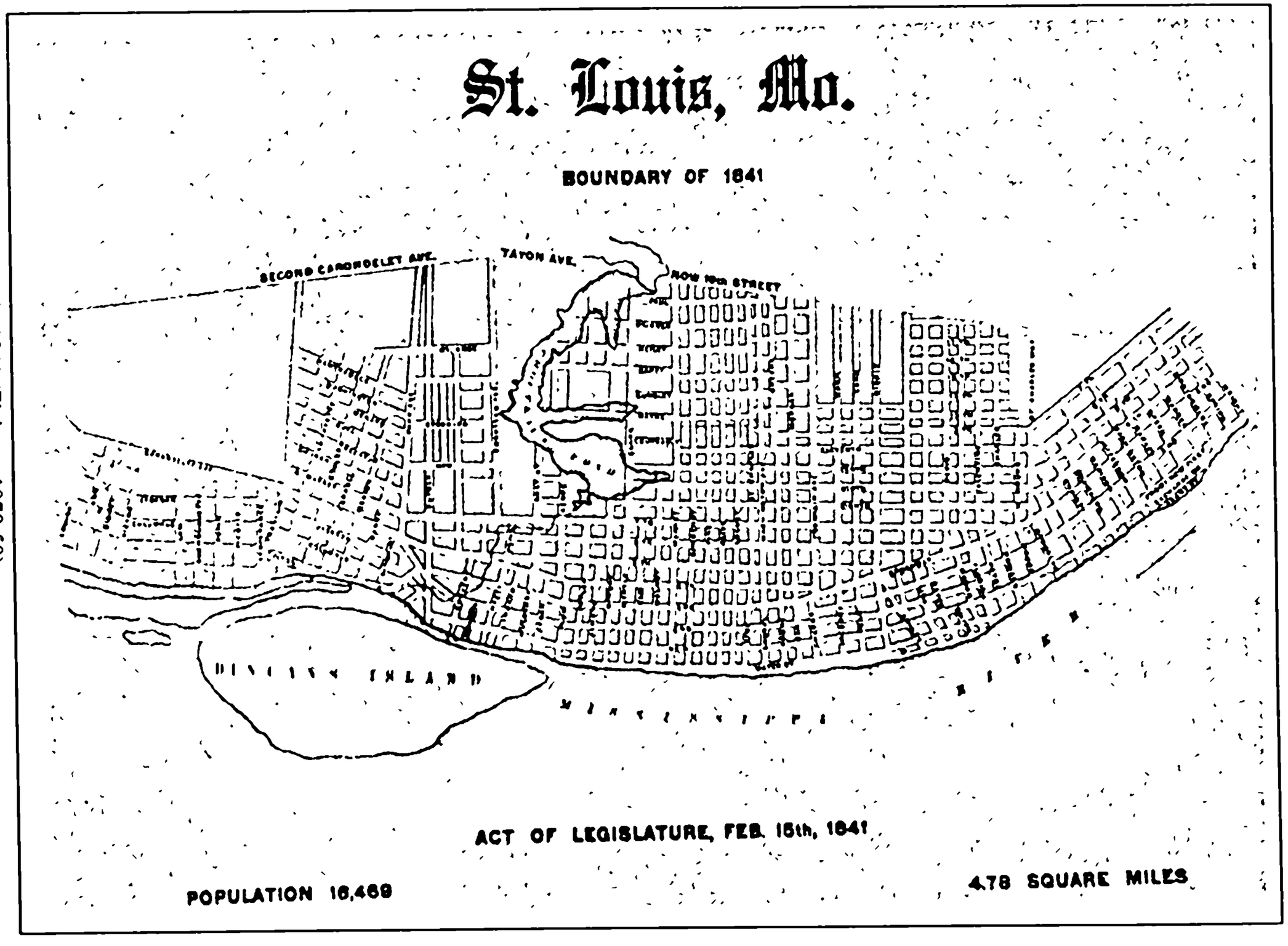

Figure 23: Map of St. Louis in 1841 (Flaherty 1978:50)

However, St. Louis's original emphasis on economic endeavors and growth reveals why changes developed over time for the city's orientation, population, central blocks, and greenbelt. While these elements of city planning are evident in both St. Louis and Nauvoo, they had different emphases in St. Louis than in the City of Zion or Nauvoo city plans.

City Coordinates

The city was organized with parallel and perpendicular streets, following the orientation of the river bank rather than compass coordinates. It was rectangular and contained ninety blocks among three main streets (see Figure 21). Laclede designated his property and the other two central blocks west of the first landing dock (Stevens 1909:32). The city was oriented to the Mississippi and relied on its trade capabilities. Easy access to the river was appreciated by the original settlers who relied on it for contact with the rest of the world. However, later settlers questioned the wisdom of the city's location. In 1811, Henry Brackenridge wrote that:

> It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of a promenade, as well as for business and health, there should have been no encroachment on the margin of the noble stream . . . . In a disjointed and scattered manner, it extends along the river a mile and a half . . . . (Scharf 1883:I:127)

The city also suffered from the occasional flooding of the Mississippi (Scharf 1883:I:128).

Population

As shown in Table 5, after initially slow growth, the population of St. Louis increased rapidly during in the 1800s. There was no proposed cap to the total city population. To the

contrary, growth was encouraged. With the immigration of Western Europeans starting about 1835, the population of the city increased to 16,469 in 1840, and to 34,140 in 1844 (Flaherty 1978:51). In 1998, St. Louis's population was 368.215 (ABC News World Reference).

Central Blocks and Public Buildings

Laclede originally designated three central blocks. These included a public square, his business building which also served as the government offices, and the Catholic Church and cemetery. These blocks were located east to west respectively, starting at the riverbank. (See Figure 21, blocks 7, 34, and 59). The public square was the location of the first public market. West of the public square, Lacelede selected an entire central square for his own residence and business. East was the block designated for the Catholic Church. This allowed for centralized leadership. In 1768, Laclede moved his private residence across the street, to the southwest corner of Block 38 (see Figure 21) (Scharf 1883:I:182). Also in 1768, he leased his building to Pedro Piernas, the Lieutenant Governor of Spain (Ravenswaay 1991:30). Successive Spanish governors resided in the house until it was considered no longer habitable (Stevens 1901:58, 61).

By 1811, part of the seat of government had moved to the abandoned fort. Two of the fort's buildings were used, one for the courthouse and the other for the jail (Scharf 1883:I:127). This was the beginning of a dispersal of public buildings and leadership. In 1816, with the new land addition, a new central square, measuring 240 by 300 feet, was established on the "hill" west of the fort. On this square were built a new courthouse and to the west a new two-story jail, 70 by 30 feet (McDermott 1952:69). The three central squares

as laid out by Laclede served their purpose for about 52 years. However, as the city grew westward, the original squares were no longer central, nor were their buildings adequate.

Greenbelt

The original plat of the city designated four common fields totaling 3,837.03 acres. These were for public pasturing and haying, and cultivating corn, wheat, and vegetables. The *Prarie des Noyer* was southwest of Grand Avenue with the *Cul de Sac* north of *Prarie des Noyer* (Yeakle 1889:104). St. Louis Common Fields lay west of Fourth Street, while the Grande Prairie Fields lay west of Grand Avenue (Figures 24 and 25). Laclede set these lands aside, and each land owner was given access to a portion for agriculture (McDermott 1952:151). However, early St. Louis was always short of bread. The settlers profited from the fur trade; agriculture was not profitable. As Fernando de Leyba explained to Governor Glavez in 1778: "These people are interested in commerce and not in farming because the latter gives them little or no gain, while the former supports them and even makes them rich." St. Louis had earned the nickname *Pain Court* (short of bread) (Primm 1981:13, 57).

The common lands were maintained under Spanish rule, but under Article 3 of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, the land was to be surveyed and sold. This was accomplished in 1835 for a profit of $400,000. However, many of the owners could not pay their taxes and the land reverted back to the city. In 1858, the city sold the land again for $670,000 (Yeakle 1889:104, 106). This effectively destroyed any kind of greenbelt and enabled unrestricted growth westward.

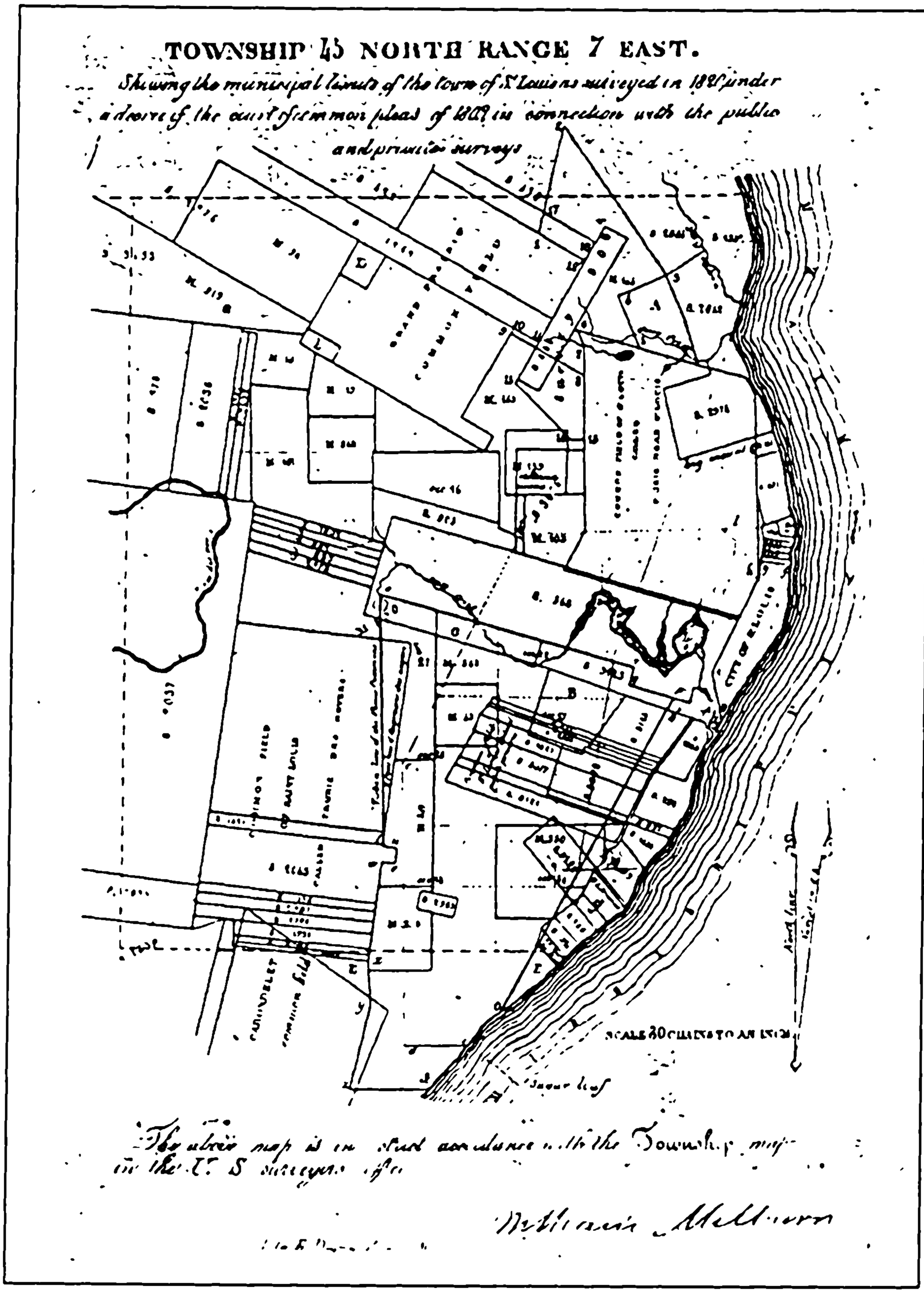

Figure 24: St. Louis and Surrounding Lands as Surveyed in 1820 (McDermott 1952:77)

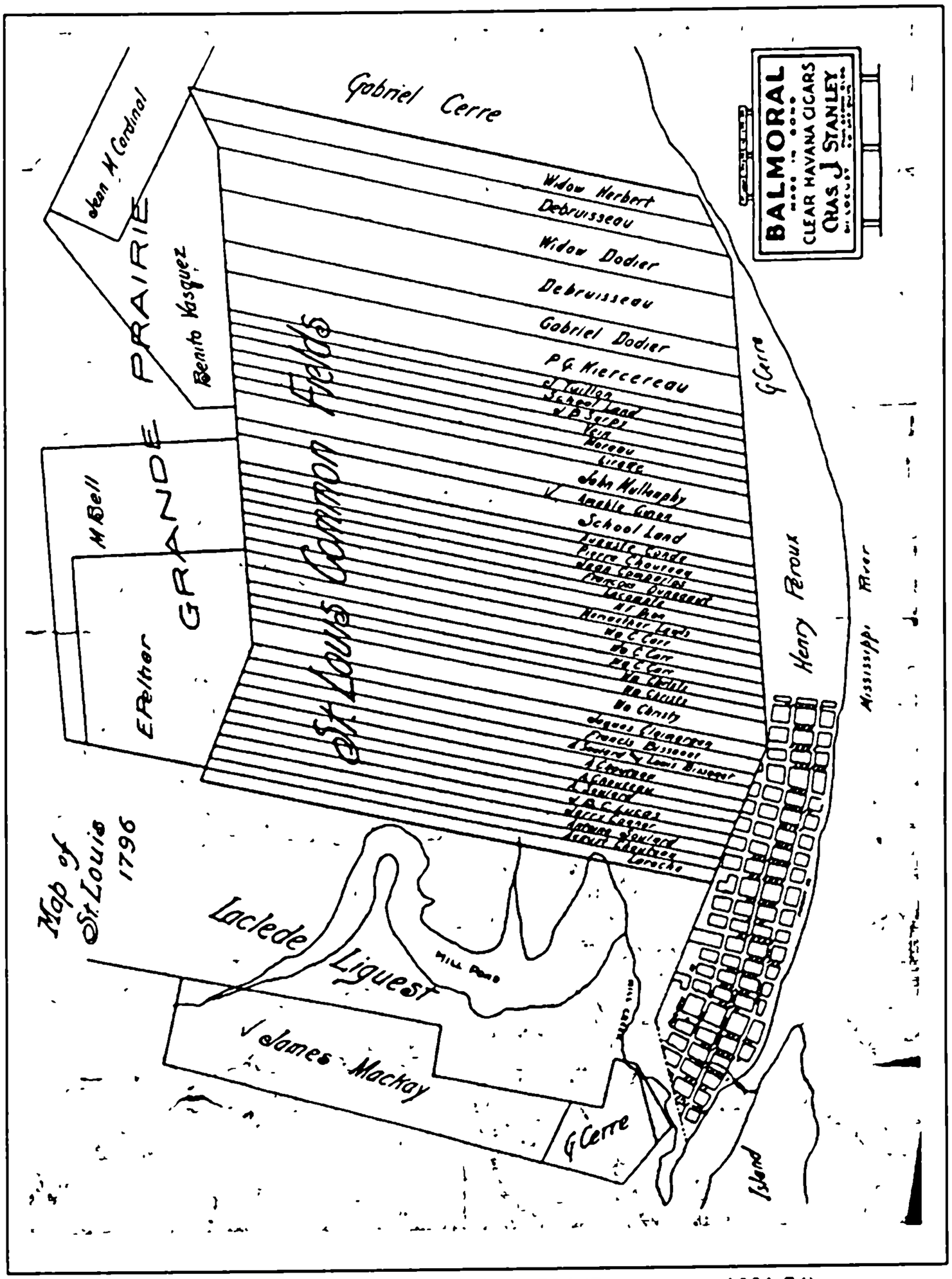

Figure 25: Map of St. Louis and Common Fields, 1796 (Ravenswaay 1991.74)

In the 1860s, the community saw the benefits of providing parks inside the city's limits. Starting in 1868 with the Botanical Gardens of Mr. Henry Shaw, city parks were established at an expense of $30,000 annually. The sizes and shapes of the parks varied as they were contained within the city (Yeakle 1889:120,122, 124).

Economic Equality

Both Nauvoo and St. Louis had to address the needs of the poor and provide economic opportunities for their citizens. St. Louis was a city built from scratch by those willing to brave the wilderness. Land was plentiful and free. Settlers had the opportunity to own land and prosper economically. Many of the settlers chose trade, trapping, or hunting as the means to economic success. Few of the early French settlers devoted themselves to farming. As a result, early St. Louis was often short of grain and bread (Scharf 1883:I:77). Clearly, the emphasis was on individual economic development, not community self-sufficiency. By 1821, the city contained all manner of businesses and industries, including three weekly newspapers, 27 attorneys, 13 physicians, three midwives, and a number of service industries (McDermott 1952:67). With the rise in immigration during the 1830s, care of the poor also became a major concern.

Care of the Poor

In 1764, all St. Louisans were relatively equal economically. Neighbors helped neighbors in extreme circumstances. With land abundant and free, opportunities to provide for one's family abounded. Even so, by the turn of the Nineteenth Century, a class system

had developed, with an upper class of wealthy, established families, a middle class of merchants and farmers, and a lower class of poor immigrants. The Catholic Church aided the poor, but it was never financially strong until after the completion of its cathedral. By 1804, the original plat was filled. There was more land to be granted in or around the city, and soon after the common lands were sold. This ended the opportunity of poor families using that land for farming.

Beginning in 1818, with the Erin Benevolent Society for Irish immigrants, benevolent societies increased in St. Louis. Few had buildings or property, but they raised and donated money. In 1824, "The Female Charitable Society" was organized in St. Louis. Sarah G. Strother was the first "dictress," or president. Other prominent women joined this charity whose goals included caring for distressed females and children and encouraging industry among the poor. The society continued throughout the 1830s. No building was ever erected for this organization. In 1826, the St. Louis City Legislature provided funds to build a poorhouse, primarily for destitute immigrants. Another building was erected in 1834 as an orphanage for girls. Efforts to establish a hospital failed until the Sisters of Charity arrived in 1828. Their hospital was located on Third and Spruce Streets in a log house with two rooms and a kitchen. They gave free medical care to indigent patients (Ravenswaay 1991 254-255). In 1832, a four-story building was erected on the site and was known as The Sisters or Mullanphy Hospital. In 1840, the city hospital was moved west to Fourteenth and Grattan Streets (Kargau 1902:28).

Also during this time, the Catholic Church offered free education to 3,000 pupils in ten schools. The county "Poor Farm" housed the aged, mentally ill and retarded, and some

orphans. Since the Irish and Germans who immigrated after 1846, were nearly all destitute, German and Irish societies gave immediate relief to new arrivals and helped them find work. Most immigrants in good health could find jobs as cooks, maids, nurses, valets, seamstresses, laborers, or gardeners. Industrialists favored the immigrants' addition to the cheap labor force (Primm 1981:173).

Zoning

The city was established on the first bluff, close to the river. Land grants were given to any intending to improve the land. The first buildings were often both residences as well as businesses. The existence of the common fields allowed farmers to live within the city's limits for protection and fostered the sense of community. However, the economic emphasis of the city was trade, and the river was its lifeline. Farming was a secondary goal and was minimally profitable. The original plat did fill up by 1804 with a few northern and southern block additions.

By 1800, the more affluent merchants dropped farming and used more slaves and servants in domestic service or as laborers on the docks, and in the mills (Primm 1981:67-68). This period saw a rise in certain crafts, such as silversmiths, jewelers, soap and candle makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, hatters, tailors, shoe manufacturers, glaziers, and hair dressers (McDermott 1952:67). Farming continued to lose status and value as a profession. At the same time these merchants stopped strip farming, they increased their holdings in the common fields, hoping to someday profit from them. This occupational specialization pushed farmers outside the city's limits to form satellite agricultural villages (Primm

1981:67-68). This was not legislative but cultural zoning as the upper, middled, and lower classes developed.

During the 1810s, the city grew westward, occupying eighteen streets instead of just four. As a result, a new group of buildings, including the courthouse and jail, were built up on the hill to accommodate the new growth. The first City Hall occupied one of the original central blocks (Yeakle 1889:79-80). The Catholic Cathedral was still located on its original block with the market house a few blocks to the south. The city now had two centers of public buildings.

Business and Industry

From 1764 until 1804, trade was the main emphasis of the St. Louis economy. With the coming of steamboats and railroads, St. Louis found itself at the heart of the northern and southern Mississippi River trade. The city was also ideally situated to connect the East and the West. Giving up its agricultural ties in the early 1800s, St. Louis attracted many supportive service industries to meet the needs of its growing population and those of travelers. In 1841, the first mining began at Iron Mountain, 41 miles away from St. Louis (Yeakle 1889:34). This and the advent of the railways opened St. Louis' manufacturing professions.

Public Works

The construction of streets, sidewalks, and wagon roads began in 1818. The first city engineer was appointed in 1828 as the head of the street department. This department latter

included improvements in water, sewer, parks, and the harbor. The first water works commenced in 1831. Eventually more pumps were added to give additional water resources to the city. It was estimated that in 1846 St. Louis used more than half a million gallons per day. The sewer system was begun in 1849 (Kargau 1902:26). Workers for these projects were hired by the city and paid from tax revenues.

Leadership

Though Laclede founded the city, reserved land for the first church, and allowed his own residence to be the house of government, he never intended to become its governor or priest. His life's work was expanding his trading company's holdings. From the beginning, there was a separation of church and state. Set up almost as a democracy, St. Louis governed itself until the arrival in 1770 of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor for the Louisiana Territory, Don Pedro Piernas. The first religious influence was Catholic, but it was not exerted on a daily basis as a priest only visited every few months. Piernas wanted to improve the religious climate but did not have the authority to arrange for a resident priest. However, in May of 1772, the Diocese of New Orleans sent Father Valentine to St. Louis. The Spanish governors relied on the church to support the power of the state. The governors all had extensive powers but varied leadership styles. The citizens of St. Louis did not experience the opportunity to vote until they fell under United States' rule.

Civic /Governmental Organization

In 1764, Laclede founded St. Louis, believing it to be on French soil. Shortly afterwards, he discovered that St. Louis was to become part of Spanish territory and rule. Even so, it took six years for the actual transition of power to occur in St. Louis. During those six years, the business of the settlement could not wait for coming authorities. The first year, Laclede maintained order in St. Louis by the force of his personality (Stevens 1909:35-38). In October of 1765, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive and his troops were garrisoned at Fort Chartres, located on the east bank of the river 20 miles south. He had been ordered to relinquish Fort Chartres to the British and afterwards move with his men to St. Louis (McDermott 1952:32). He was to provide protection for the settlers until the transition to Spanish rule was complete. Two other men, Joseph Labusciere and Joseph Lefebvre, also left Fort Chartres and moved to St. Louis. Labusciere was a lawyer, skilled in drawing up official papers. "Judge" Lefebvre had been the judge of the district previous to the treaty with Spain (Stevens 1909:35-38).

On January 21, 1766, the settlers of St. Louis were summoned to Laclede's house, where he announced that St. Ange and Lefevbre would administer public affairs. Labusciere would act as recorder and public notary. The settlers approved, and an acting independent government was established (Stevens 1909: 39-40, 47). When the first Spanish Lieutenant -governor, Don Pedro Piernas, arrived in 1770, he found the city organized, controlled, and active. Finding little to change, he wisely validated the former land grants and allowed city ordinances to continue (Stevens 1909:57).

Church Development

The Catholic Church was the first religion to own property in St. Louis. Founded by French Catholics, the third central block was reserved for the church and cemetery. Unfortunately, Catholicism suffered in the 1760s. With the approach of the British and the transfer of French holdings to the Spanish, many priests were either driven out or left unsupported and so withdrew from the territory. St. Louis was visited only occasionally by a priest, but as the settlers were busy establishing themselves, they did not demand a priest nor build a Church. For six years, mass was held and other rites were performed in the tent erected on the Church site or in the homes of parish members (Schulte 1934:11-12). St. Louis did not have a resident priest until 1772. Spanish Lieutenant Governor, Pedro Piernas, who arrived in 1770, oversaw the building of the first permanent church building (Scharf 1883:I:203). The Spanish government had financially supported the Catholic Church in St. Louis until the city's transfer to the United States in 1804. Afterwards, the Church suffered from a lack of funds since parishioners were unaccustomed to paying tithing. However, the arrival of Bishop Du Bourg in 1818 reestablished a Catholic presence in St. Louis (Primm 1981:94-95).

Protestantism first appeared in St. Louis near the end of the Spanish reign. Frontier preachers crossed the river to hold services in Protestant homes. The meetings were illegal, but they were largely ignored by the Spanish government. If necessary, the Spanish would threaten to throw the visiting preacher in jail at the end of three days. Generally, the preacher concluded his business in two. The Baptists were the first in the district after the United States took possession. They organized a congregation in 1807 and built a log church on Fee

Fee Creek in 1815. In 1817, the First Baptist Church of St. Louis was organized with eleven members. The Presbyterians followed an influx of Eastern United States influence in the area. The First Presbyterian Church was founded in 1817. The Methodists organized a small congregation in 1821. By 1825, the fourth protestant group, the Episcopalians, established a building and parish (Primm 1981:98-99). James Primm, professor at the University of Missouri, St. Louis, commented on the state of religion in St. Louis during the early 1800s:

> The late start and initially slow growth of the Protestant congregations reflected not only Creole numerical predominance but a lack of interest. Many of the ambitious and energetic men who sought wealth and power at the frontier capital had some religious affiliation, but few were disturbed by the absence of Protestant churches. They were too busy buying and selling, looking for clients, or holding and running for office . . . . (Primm 1981:99)

Religion flourished in St. Louis but did not alter the organization of the city or government.

Important Buildings for Both Civic and Religious Purposes

The construction and positioning of civic and religious buildings in St. Louis reflects some of the underlying cultural organization of the city plan. This section reviews buildings built between 1754 and 1850. When possible, the history of additions or location changes are noted. However, due to the continuous occupation of St. Louis, most sites have not been available for excavation, so archaeological information for major St. Louis buildings is not available. Most of the buildings listed here were razed by1850.

Laclede's House

The first house built in St. Louis belonged to Pierre Laclede. Built on Block 34 (see Figure 12), it was to be his residence as well as the headquarters for Maxent, Laclede & Co.

It was built of stone and measured 60 by 24 feet. The main floor had a large central room with two smaller rooms on each end. This central room was the center of government for twenty years. Over time, the house was used to quarter the French garrison, as the residence of the Spanish Governors from 1768 until 1783, and as quarters for the Spanish troops. Additionally, a small room was added onto the back for the jail (Scharf 1883:I:139). When Laclede died, June 20, 1778, his estate was divided and sold. In 1789, Auguste Chouteau bought Laclede's building for his personal residence. In 1842, after the death of Chouteau's widow, the house was razed (McDermott 1952:36-37).

Residence of the Spanish Governors

During Spanish rule, no building was constructed for the express purpose of housing the Spanish Governors or for government purposes. Laclede's building was used for these purposes from 1768 until 1783. Governor Cruzat deemed Laclede's house unsuitable and moved his residence on July 10, 1783, to an existing house on the southeast corner of Block 35 (see Figure 12), just south of Laclede's. Subsequent governors also used this residence but conducted the business of the city at Laclede's. The new residence became known as "Government House." It was inside its walls that the transfer of territory from Spain and France to the United States took place in 1804 (Scharf 1883:I:140).

The Fort

In February of 1780, Auguste Chouteau returned from New Orleans with distressing news; Spain and England were at war. Governor Fernando de Leyba learned in early March

that a war party backed by the British was planning an attack on the Mississippi Valley. Leyba hastened to fortify St. Louis. There was neither time nor money to build a palisade, so St. Louisans settled for a fort built west of the city named Fort San Carlos. It stood at the highest point of the western ridge of the city. The main tower, constructed first, measured 30 feet in diameter and stood between 30 and 40 feet tall. It housed five cannons. When the attack came on May 26, a cannon blast from this tower routed the Indian forces and ended the siege (Ravenswaay 1991:41-45). The city continued to build fortifications (see Figure 19) until seven bastions or towers were constructed and the entire city was surrounded in pickets.

These activities ended after the peace of 1783 (McDermott 1952:79-80). By 1787, the wooden stockade had rotted away. Lieutenant Governor Manuel Perez rebuilt the crumbled north bastion of stone. His successor, Zenon Trudeau, built a plank stockade around Leyba's tower in 1792 (Primm 1981:69). In 1811, two buildings of the fort were being used for a courthouse and jail until new ones could be built. The rest of the site was badly decayed. By 1832, no trace remained of the original fortifications (McDermott 1952:150-151).

The Courthouse

After using Laclede's house and the buildings at the fort, it was time St. Louis had its own courthouse. In 1817, a courthouse was erected on the southwest corner of Third and Market Streets (see Block 85 on Figure 21), one block north and east of the old fort (Kargau 1902:31). In 1826, a small building was placed on the block due west, bordered by Fourth,

Fifth, Chestnut, and Market Streets (Yeakle 1889:78). Here, the new courthouse was started in 1839, but it was not completed until 1862. It was constructed of gray granite and cost $7,000,000 (Yeakle 1889:78-79; Kargau 1902:31).

The Public Market

One of the three central squares originally designated by Laclede was for the public market (Block 7 in Figure 21). For years it operated as an open-air market. The first market house was built on this location in 1812. Wednesday and Saturday were designated as market days. In 1832, the market was moved to a new location on Third and Morgan Streets (see block north or Block 66 on Figure 21) to make way for the first City Hall (Kargau 1902:29).

City Hall

After being incorporated as a city in 1823, St. Louis began construction of its first City Hall in 1828. At a sum of $18,000, a two-story brick building was erected on the side of the old market house between Market, Walnut, and Main Streets and the Levee (see Block 7 in Figure 21). Until 1832, the bottom floor was still used as a market house with the upper story for municipal offices (Kargua 1902:25).

Post Office

The original post office was established in 1804 and consisted of a small room in the postmaster's residence on the northwest corner of Third and Elm Streets. Later it was

removed to a building on South Main Street. The mail arrived twice weekly from the Eastern and Middle states; there was no service to the West. The office was moved two more times, first to the corner of Second and Chestnut Streets and second down Chestnut Street between Third and Fourth Streets. In 1853, a building on the southeast corner of Third and Olive Streets was erected as the combined Post Office, Custom House, and Federal Courts (Kargau1902:17).

Catholic Cathedral

In 1764, Laclede dedicated an entire central city block for the Catholic Church and cemetery. Originally, mass and other rites were held in the tent erected on the Church site or in the homes of parish members (Schulte 1934:11-12). In 1770, Lieutenant Governor Piernas oversaw the building of the first permanent structure (Scharf 1883:I:203). Built of logs with a clap-board roof, the church was blessed by Father Pierre Gibault in June of 1770 (Schulte 1934:18). An adjoining presbytere was added as a priest's residence, but records concerning this addition have been lost.

A second, larger church was finished in 1776. This building was constructed of hewn logs placed horizontally in the French fashion (Schulte 1934:34-35). It measured 30 by 60 feet and was constructed of white oak (Primm 1981:34). A stone presbytere was added in 1777. These buildings served the parish for forty-four years until the completion of the St. Louis Cathedral (Schulte 1934:34-35).

In 1818, a brick cathedral was commenced (McDermott 1952:65). Completed in 1820, it measured 134 by 40 feet and contained only the central building as the two wings

were never built due to a lack of money. It was built on the same block next to the previous church. Unfortunately, it was poorly built, and before eight years had passed, one of the side walls began to collapse. Repairs cost nearly as much as the debt still owed. In 1830, another, new cathedral was proposed. To raise the money, the north end of the block containing the old church and the cemetery were to be leased. The new building was completed in the Autumn of 1834. It measured 136 by 84 by 40 feet. The facade was a polished stone, much like marble. Inside the brick was covered with stucco to produce a marbled effect (Schulte 1934:111,167-170, 172-177).

Other Religious Buildings

St. Louis housed a number of religious denominations. From 1804 until 1850, a number of church buildings were constructed. The Baptist Church was built of brick and measured 40 by 60 feet. It was located on the southwest corner of Third and Market Streets. In 1832, the Baptists dissolved when their church building was condemned to widen Market Street. The Baptists reorganized in 1835, and bought the wood Episcopal church located on Third and Chestnut in 1836. The Episcopals moved twice before 1850, first to Thirteenth and Locus, and next to Fifth and Wash. The first Methodist congregation met in the old courthouse, and the first Presbyterians met in the Circuit Court room (McDermott 1952:66; Kargua 1902:18-20). The first Methodist Episcopal church was a small building located on Fourth and Myrtle. It was replaced by a larger one on Fourth and Washington Avenue in 1835. In 1826, the Presbyterians occupied their first building (location unrecorded) and later moved into their building on Fifth and Walnut in 1832 (Kargua 1902:19-20).

St. Louis College

In November of 1818, the Catholic Church under the direction of Bishop Louis William Du Bourg opened the St. Louis Academy under the direction of Father Francois Niel and three priests. The school had access to the Bishop's 8,000 volume library (Primm 1981:93-94). By 1820, the name was changed to St. Louis College. It had its own two-story brick building which was built on the southwest corner of the central block designated for the Catholic Church and stood next to Bishop Du Bourg's brick Cathedral. Unfortunately in 1822, St. Mary's of the Barren's Seminary was chartered at Perryville and religious instruction in St. Louis was discontinued. With the loss of the seminary students, the St. Louis College was not a financial success and had to close in 1827, creating the need for St. Louis University. The vacant College building was converted into a chapel in 1832 (Schulte 1934:132-136; Primm 1981:94).

St. Louis University

St. Louis University was founded in 1829, receiving its charter in 1834. It was located on Ninth Street and Washington Avenue (Yeakle 1889:163). Eventually, a number of buildings occupied both Ninth and Tenth Streets along Washington and Lucas Avenues (Kargua 1902:21).

Grammar and Public Schools

Elementary schooling began in 1774, when Jean Baptiste Truteau opened a private school for boys. His house and school, according to 1804 land records, was located on the

north end of Block 8 (see Figure 21). It was a stone house measuring 45 by 20 feet. In 1797, Madame Marie Rigauche began a private school for girls. She lived on the southwest quarter of Block 54 in a house of posts as stated in the 1804 land records. In 1809, the first French and English grammar school opened, followed by Veuve Pescay's Young Ladies' Academy. However, the most substantial school before 1818, was James Sawyer's Lancastrian Seminary which offered modern and ancient languages. All of these schools held their classes in private homes or rented rooms. Tuition was small and salaries were meager (Primm 1981:93; Scharf 1883:I:146-147).

The public school system of St. Louis began in 1812 when Congress donated government land, the income from which was to be added to local school taxes, to support and build schools. Even with this support, the first public school was not started until 1833. It was not until 1838 when $4,000 was raised to construct the first two buildings, one on Fourth and Spruce and the other on Third and Cherry (Kargua 1902:21).

Theater

In 1818, the first theatrical performances were given in the old courthouse, and in 1819, the first theater opened. It was a framed building with a brick foundation, measuring 40 by 80 feet (McDermott 1952:73; Raavensway 1991:347). It was located on Third Street and Olive. In 1837, a new Greek-temple theater measuring 73 by 55 feet replaced the original structure (Primm 1981:191).

St. Louis Public Library

Pierre Laclede brought his own personal library to St. Louis which Auguste Chouteau added to after Laclede's death. Many residents had substantial private libraries but they could not serve the entire populace. The St. Louis Library Associaton was formed in 1824, and shares were sold at five dollars each. However, support fluctuated and in 1846, it merged with The Mercantile Library Association (Ravenswaay 1991:249). Construction of their building, located on Locust and Sixth, began in 1851 (Yeakle 1889:1885).

Museum

By 1821, there was a privately owned museum which was open to the public. The property of Governor Clark, it contained, "rich Indian dresses, ornaments, instruments of war, skins of different animals, minerals, fossils, and other interesting and curious articles and specimens, collected by himself in his travels . . . . It is probably the best collection of Indian curiosities in this country" (McDermott 1952:82).

Conclusion

St. Louis became a densely populated and economically stable city because of its location, the opening of the West, and the perseverance of its settlers. St. Louis was strategically located to take advantage of the Mississippi River traffic and trade with the surrounding Native American groups as evidenced by its rectangular plat and the location of the central blocks so close to the river bank Even though its government changed three times, the city's economic strategy and success did not. While it eventually outgrew its

original plat and central city complexes, and sold its greenbelt, it still had similarities with Nauvoo and the City of Zion plan. In those similarities is the irony of Nauvoo and St. Louis. While Joseph Smith's deliberate effort to create a City of Zion ended in 1846 with the movement of the Saints to the Rocky Mountains, Pierre Laclede's effort to establish a great trading city was accomplished, and unintentionally, the center for Catholicism in North America emerged in St. Louis. In the next chapter, I evaluate both the similarities and differences of St. Louis and Nauvoo as well as their similarities and differences to the City of Zion ideal.

Chapter 7

A Comparison of Nauvoo and St. Louis

A city is created and developed by individuals who may or may not be bound by familial, racial, or social ties, but who choose to live in close proximity and share or trade resources. That choice requires mutual consent to laws, customs, or procedures which are developed to facilitate order and peaceful coexistence. It is also true that a city is not static; the citizens and laws of any city change and adapt to physical and social forces. In this respect, every city is based on a belief system, or the combination of decisions made by its citizens based on social, political, religious, and economic influences. Archaeologically, the belief system of a city can be observed through the remains of its material culture.

Historic documents indicate that Nauvoo had a belief system based upon the teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Furthermore, historic records indicate that the city plan for Nauvoo was based on the City of Zion plan developed by Joseph Smith. To determine how prevalent the belief system was at Nauvoo, I evaluate the similarities and differences between Nauvoo and St. Louis. St. Louis is used as a control to demonstrate how another city in the region developed. The similarities between Nauvoo and St. Louis reveal functional and cultural practices observed by both cities while their differences reveal a divergence of belief systems. Before this comparison, Nauvoo and St. Louis are analyzed diachronically to show the historic trajectory of each.

Diachronic Evaluation of Nauvoo

Nauvoo had three occupations: Commerce, 1812-1839; Joseph Smith's Nauvoo, 1839-1846; and post-LDS Nauvoo, 1847-1960. From 1960 to the present, lower Nauvoo has become a historic re-creation of the 1840s and is today more of a museum than a city.

Commerce

Commerce reached its height in 1839. It was oriented to the river, lacked central city blocks, and was divided into square but unequal-sized blocks (Figure 5). From historic records we know that the peninsula's 1839 population neared 100 people and that it contained 40 structures, ten of which were considered "houses" (Miller and Miller 1996:21). For Commerce, the Alexander White house was the center of civic and social activity. Commerce was not platted using a master plan, and it did not have any public works. While there was some leadership from the White family, the community was stratified and individualistic. It was comprised of a group of individuals agreeing to occupy adjacent lands with no specific political, social, or religious connecting purpose. The river, to which their properties were oriented, provided the only unifying advantage: economic opportunity.

Joseph Smith's Nauvoo

In 1846, Joseph Smith's Nauvoo was at its height. The city was oriented using the cardinal directions; it lacked central city blocks, and it was divided into square and equal-sized blocks. In 1842, the city contained over 1,000 log, hewn, or frame houses; eventually brick homes and buildings were added. By1845, the population was 12,000. Public works

included drainage ditches, the Main Street canal project, and work at the quarry and temple site for the building of the Nauvoo Temple. There were many private docks, but only two commercial steamboat landings were operated at Nauvoo. Steamboats landed at the Nauvoo House dock (Figure 8) or at the Nauvoo Ferry Hotel (originally the James White house; see Figure 5). A commercial district did arise on Water Street at the south end of Nauvoo; however, the Saints did not utilize the economic advantages associated with the Mississippi River by developing the waterfront into an industrial district. The variation of shops and occupations at Nauvoo revealed a self-reliant community with an emphasis on agriculture. There was strong leadership and constrained social inequality as the poor were constantly being economically absorbed into mainstream society. The inhabitants were a group of individuals and families with diverse cultural backgrounds, coming from different parts of the United States and Canada as well as Great Britain. The unifying factor was their common religious beliefs.

Post-LDS Nauvoo

After the abandonment of lower Nauvoo came an influx of French Icarians, and German and Swiss immigrants. The Icarians only inhabited Nauvoo until 1865. The German and Swiss persisted into the next century. The city center was moved up to the bluff, with Mulholland Street becoming its principal avenue, leaving the flats nearly abandoned. The population of Nauvoo from 1847 to 1960 continually hovered between 2,000 and 3,000 people. As with any city run by a democracy, city development changed according to the needs and whims of the people. There was a centralizing of public works,

including water and electricity. Leadership in the community came from elected officials, public servants, and religious clergy. There was a clear separation of church and state. Socially, the community was united by its German heritage. The economic strategy of the city did not revive river traffic but continued agricultural pursuits, along with the introduction of grape vineyards and wineries.

Historic Summary

While Commerce and post-LDS Nauvoo had differences in their economic strategies and cultural backgrounds, they were both stratified, individualistic societies with democratic leadership. Joseph Smith's Nauvoo was markedly different from what came before and after. Nauvoo was founded using an organized, master plan. The distribution of land and the law of tithing were efforts to produce equality among its inhabitants. Archaeologically, the completion of the million-dollar Nauvoo Temple is evidence of a highly organized public works project, the Saints' dedication to their beliefs, and highly organized leadership. In fact even today the Nauvoo Temple continues to be the most expensive building ever built in Nauvoo. Even the 1846 exodus and abandonment of Nauvoo revealed the belief system at work. When the new prophet, Brigham Young, instructed the Saints to go westward with him to escape new threats of destruction, they followed. The belief system is observable in a comparison of the three occupations of Nauvoo, but it can also be evaluated on a smaller scale. During the seven years of the LDS occupation of Nauvoo, many changes took place. A diachronic examination of those seven years reveals that the belief system became more apparent through time.

Diachronic Evaluation of Joseph Smith's Nauvoo

Joseph Smith's Nauvoo experienced three periods in its development: founding, growth, and exodus. The founding of Nauvoo occurred between 1839 and 1842, and was followed by a period of growth from1842 until1844. From 1844 to 1846, the Saints suffered more persecution, resulting in an exodus from Nauvoo.

Founding of Nauvoo

The plat of Nauvoo was quickly surveyed and laid out before occupation began; streets and lots were opened as needed. By 1842, the original plat for Nauvoo was filled. During this early stage, drainage ditches were dug to stabilize the soil and free the city of mosquitoes. Additionally, streets were cleared, and many log, hewn, and frame houses were constructed. Shops and stores of all kinds were opened, and farms were begun. Construction of the Nauvoo Temple started in 1840, even before brick kilns were operating in the city. Work on this, the largest and most expensive structure of the city, lasted until 1846.

Growth of Nauvoo

Nauvoo experienced a period of tremendous growth and prosperity from 1842 until late 1844. Immigrant Saints from the East, Canada, and Great Britain poured into Nauvoo, and the population rose to 12,000 by 1845, an increase of 9,000 in three years. Even so, little of the city plan had to be adjusted to house and feed the growing numbers. House lots were subdivided to provide more affordable housing. The Big Field Association was organized in February of 1843 to provide free farm land for any willing to work it. In this respect, some

of the housing or aesthetic ideals of the City of Zion plan were sacrificed to provide for the poor. During this time, all of public buildings were built: the Nauvoo Temple, 1840-1846; the Nauvoo House, 1841-1845 (partially complete); Joseph Smith's General Store, 1841-1842; the Seventies Hall, 1842-1844; and the Masonic Hall, 1842-1844. The Post Office moved to the Main Street printing offices in1843. All of these buildings were constructed of brick as it replaced wood as the preferred construction material. Before the first brick kiln was established in 1842, the use of homemade brick was too time consuming and costly for wide-spread use. After 1842, brick was used throughout Nauvoo by those who could afford it as it was still more expensive than wood. Also during this time, there was a refinement in the use of wood, from log to frame houses. With the rise in population, a building boom and period of economic growth ensued. However, this period of growth began to slow as a result of the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, on June 27, 1844.

Exodus from Nauvoo

The news of Joseph Smith's assassination was devastating to Nauvoo. The Saints lost their Mayor and Prophet on the same day. During the next few months, no one was sure who would lead the Church or what they as a group should do. Economically, Nauvoo continued to prosper, but political and religious events motivated the Saints to leave. The growing persecution and impending exodus hampered Nauvoo's economic growth. Due to this persecution, Brigham Young decided in1845 that the Saints would leave Nauvoo. As a result, both the Nauvoo House and the Main Street canal projects were both abandoned so that work on the Temple could be increased. The Saints would not leave until the Temple

had been completed and they were able to receive its religious rites. The proposed exodus was to begin in the spring of 1846; however, because of increased mob activity and the threat of U.S. military intervention, Brigham Young instructed the Saints to cross the Mississippi in February.

Summary

Examined on a city scale, Nauvoo shows an overall refinement. As the Saints prospered economically and were continually receiving more manual labor from immigrants, brick was adopted as the preferred construction material and large public buildings were constructed, including the Temple. The focus of the early years was on housing and feeding the people. This shifted during the growth period to focus on public works. Nauvoo evolved from a wooden frontier town into a city, as illustrated in the Joseph Smith Homestead, the Nauvoo Temple, and the Jonathan Browning, Daniel Butler, and Joseph Bates Noble/Lucy Mack Smith homes. The exodus period revealed an emphasis on religion since the last public work to be completed was the Temple. The fact that economic prosperity was not enough to keep the Saints in Nauvoo also reveals an emphasis on religion. While political and religious events created the need for an exodus, economic success could not stop it. The influence of Nauvoo's belief system appears evident from a diachronic analysis of Nauvoo and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. I first compare Nauvoo to St. Louis to evaluate whether Nauvoo was different from its neighbors.

Diachronic Evaluation of St. Louis

Before a comparison of Nauvoo and St. Louis can be usefully made, St. Louis should also be analyzed diachronically. St. Louis had three major occupations: the Founders, 1764-1770; the Spanish, 1770-1804; and the United States, 1804 to the present.

The Founders' St. Louis

St. Louis was founded in 1764. The city's first six years were a time of growth and increasing prosperity. By 1770 about 500 settlers occupied the city, acquiring land as dictated by the plat. Most of the settlers came to take advantage of trade and appreciated the city's accessibility and orientation to the Mississippi River. Following Laclede's city plan, blocks and lots for private property tended to be square, but since they followed the curve of the river, the blocks and lots were unequal in size and shape. Land grants required the settlers to improve the land in one year. While each had an equal opportunity to obtain land, the amount a person was granted depended on his or her social status. Those of higher status received more land.

The only public building in town at this time was Laclede's original house, located on one of the central squares. Because of its central location, it functioned as the government building. The other two central blocks remained empty. A tent stood on the central block set aside for the Catholic Church. The central square set aside for the open-air market had no structure. Furthermore, no public works projects were initiated. There was a loose civic leadership as the community awaited Spanish rule. Out of necessity, land records were made and kept, and a French garrison was stationed in the town. On the whole, the city was

socially stratified. Economically, the city was focused on trade to the exclusion of all other means of livelihood, including agriculture. The common ties for the settlers were their French heritage and the economic advantages of the Mississippi River trade.

Spanish St. Louis

During the Spanish occupation (1770-1804), St. Louis continued to follow the city plan set by Laclede. Profit from trade continued as the city's economic strategy. The Spanish were more restrictive and bureaucratic than the founders, and yet centralized leadership facilitated public works. The two main public works projects were the fortifications around the city and the building of a log Catholic Church. However, the Massacre of 1780 deterred new settlers from coming into the region. St. Louis' population in 1804 was 925, an increase of only 425 individuals over a 34 year span. Under Spanish rule, the society remained socially stratified, imperial, and individualistic. The influx of the Spanish did little to change the French influence on the city or its economic strategy.

United States St. Louis

In 1804, St. Louis was transferred to United States control, and a period of expansion began. City boundaries were expanded to the west although its orientation towards the river continued. The original central blocks were being used for the open market, a brick Catholic Church, and the City Building. However, with the westward growth of the city, a new city center developed with the construction of the County Building and Jail up on the hill. Other important buildings, such as the University, Hospitals, and schools were also located on the

hill. The city outgrew its master plan, and soon new areas and subdivisions were being platted according to the desires of the newer inhabitants. While the additions still maintained a block configuration and their alignment tried to stay with existing streets, the city's original plat and orientation to the curve of the river made this difficult.

The democratic government provided leadership for public works which tried to amend problems created by growth. Public works for street construction, water works, and city parks were instigated upon public demand. A rise in population created the need to widen the city streets, renovate the existing city center, and add another city center to the west. Properties of the original city layout were condemned to allow for widening of streets. Laclede's house, the fort, and other old houses or businesses were razed to make way for new civic buildings. The original common fields were sold off and agriculture was pushed out of the city limits to make room for expansion and mercantilism. However, the citizens soon missed having greenspace nearby, so city parks were instituted to replace the common fields. Much of the archaeological traces of early St. Louis which would have existed for the original buildings and layout of the city have been destroyed by later growth and renovation.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, St. Louis received an influx of Easterners and immigrants from Ireland and Germany. The original city plan was inadequate for dealing with rapid expansion. The social influences of the city also changed with the immigrants. St. Louis was no longer unified by its French Catholic heritage. Though the city remained stratified and individualistic, the new democracy was interested in St. Louis' traditional economic advantages.

Summary

Although St. Louis changed its governmental style and its cultural heritage. one thing remained constant: its economic strategy. St. Louis was established as a trading post and continues to this day to prosper from trade. It has always relied on the Mississippi River to provide access to the city. The fact that the original city center remained on the banks even after the buildings were renovated showed the dependance St. Louis had on the Mississippi River. St. Louis represents the standard development of a Mississippi River city which started with a master plan. A diachronic evaluation of St. Louis is useful as a test case to show how a non-Zion city was built and progressed. The original plan of St. Louis was adequate for a limited population and scale but was inadequate to handle the large influx of population. This resulted in new sections of the city being laid out with little thought for their impact on the city's present and future overall design. The city grew in spurts, with the details of street size and block placement being determined by what was necessary and practical for the moment. Originally, the city center was located on the banks to provide easy access for settlers and traders to do business in St. Louis. By the 1800s, this location was no longer central. It was too close to the river for easy access by citizens living in the newer west side developments. This resulted in the creation of another civic center, located in the newer part of the city. Without any limitations on the city's maximum growth or any master plan to provide for the incorporation of future neighborhoods, the city developed as older sections constantly were being revamped to accommodate new developments.

Comparison between Nauvoo and St. Louis

To identify the qualities of Nauvoo which indicate the influence of its belief system, it will be useful to consider the similarities and differences between the city plans for Nauvoo and St. Louis. Similarities may represent common, practical processes left out of the City of Zion plan, details which were religiously unimportant, or culturally-ingrained practices which were not excluded or changed by the religion. After accounting for similarities, the remaining differences may reveal the influence of the Zion ideal in the establishment of Nauvoo. Table 7 lists the similarities and differences of Nauvoo and St. Louis.

Similarities

Both Nauvoo and St. Louis were similar in their physical layouts. Pierre Laclede and Joseph Smith created cities which were surveyed and platted before settlement began. Both cities were based on a block system, with agricultural land allocated outside the cities' limits. In both cities, blocks were divided into four lots, and settlers were able to obtain a single lot under fair conditions. Private property in both cities was landscaped with trees and gardens, and greenspace was originally appropriated for the use of citizens. Nauvoo had its East Prairie, and St. Louis had its common fields to the west. Each city allotted land for the construction of religious buildings. Originally, both cities also shared similar logistical organizations, emphases on land allocation, and availability of agricultural land.

Both Nauvoo and St. Louis experienced dramatic rises in population. This resulted in the instigation of public works projects. Each city accommodated an influx of immigrants during the 1840s. Some of the immigrants were unprepared or unable to contribute to the

Table 7: Nauvoo and St. Louis Compared

Precepts	Ideal/Plan	Nauvoo	St. Louis
1) One Heart and Mind **Unity**	All plats were square, equal in size 20 lots per block. Main streets were 132 feet wide. Others were 82.5 feet wide. Only one house was permitted per lot. Houses were to be set back 25 feet from the street. Houses were to be constructed of stone or brick Houses were placed to face the side of opposing lots. The front yard was to be "planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder." The back yard was to be used as for gardens.	Yes No, 4 No, 49.5 feet No, lots were subdivided Yes No, unaffordable for many No, not feasible for corner lots Yes Yes	No, shapes and sizes varied No, 4 No, 39 and 32.5 feet No, the elite received more No regulation No regulation, mostly wood and stone No, not for corner lots Yes Yes
2) Dwelling in Righteousness **Order**	The city was to be platted using the cardinal directions. The city blocks were to be square and equal in size. The total population ranged between 15-20 thousand The two central blocks housed public buildings, churches, schools, and the temple. The greenbelt surrounded the city. Farmers lived inside the city limits with access to schools and churches while their lands are located outside the city in the greenbelt.	Yes Yes Yes No, buildings spread out Yes Farmers were given the option.	Yes No No cap Yes, public square, city building and Church Yes, originally No, mostly traders in town
3) No Poor **Economic Equality**	Individual gardens allowed some self-sufficiency.	Yes	Yes
4) Following a Living Prophet **Leadership**	A bishop was assigned for each city. The central Priesthood Temples were buildings for administration and government. The main Temple for the endowment of the people was located in the central block.	No, four No, priesthood buildings throughout the city. No, the Nauvoo Temple was located on the bluff	No, parish and priest No, Laclede's house used No temple, Catholic Church

productivity of their city. As a result, efforts were made to provide for the poor as well as develop public works projects. Charitable organizations and public work projects helped provide housing and material items for the poor. Civically, both Pierre Laclede and Joseph Smith originally conducted city business from their own homes and businesses since the need for conducting such affairs occurred before specialized buildings could be constructed. Finally, both St. Louis and Nauvoo incorporated commonly known, practical city planning ideas, and both were concerned with the cities' physical growth and the well-being of their inhabitants.

Differences

It is the differences of the two cities which signal Nauvoo's uniqueness and the contrast of its belief system to neighboring cities such as St. Louis. The significant differences include the following:

1. Nauvoo's plat was square; St. Louis's was rectangular.
2. Nauvoo's streets were 49.5 feet originally; St. Louis' were 39 and 32.5 feet.
3. In Nauvoo, suggestions were made to homeowners concerning house placement and landscaping; in St. Louis no suggestions were made, but similar landscaping of private property occurred.
4. Nauvoo was platted using the cardinal directions; St. Louis was oriented to the Mississippi River.
5. Nauvoo's blocks were square and equal in size; St. Louis' blocks varied as they were constrained by a curving riverbank and straight streets.

6. Nauvoo's population remained under 20,000; St. Louis's population exceeded 34,000 by 1844.

7. Nauvoo had no central blocks; St. Louis had three central blocks.

8. Nauvoo retained its greenspace; St. Louis sold its common fields and then within 20 years reclaimed large tracts of land for parks throughout the city.

9. In Nauvoo, farmers were encouraged to live within the city limits; in St. Louis, farmers were pushed out socially and geographically to satellite agricultural towns.

10. In Nauvoo, home gardens and the Big Field Association were encouraged to foster self-sufficiency; St. Louis was always short of bread and relied on importing much of its food.

11. Nauvoo was divided into ten ecclesiastical wards, and a bishop was placed over each geographical area; St. Louis was first organized into a single Catholic parish but without a permanent priest. Later, many denominations and pastors came to St. Louis, but their parishes were not geographically defined.

12. The separation of sacred and secular leadership in Nauvoo was ignored, with Joseph Smith acting as Prophet and Mayor. The separation of church and state leadership in St. Louis was demarcated at the beginning by the lack of a permanent representative from the Catholic church.

13. The Nauvoo Temple, one of the earliest public buildings as well as the most expensive, was built of limestone and was completed in five years; the tent erected on the Catholic Church's public square in St. Louis remained for six years before a log building replacement was constructed.

This list of differences focuses attention on the major differences between Nauvoo and St. Louis. Nauvoo was planned for a large scale community, with an emphasis on unity and organization. In contrast, St. Louis was oriented to the river and trade and was originally conceived at a modest scale without any clear anticipation for significant future growth. Nauvoo used its greenspace to promote its self-reliance and provide for its inhabitants while St. Louis pushed agriculture away and promoted social stratification. Nauvoo focused on religious architecture while St. Louis emphasized civic architecture.

Some of the immediate differences were in the basic shapes, sizes, and orientation of the two cities. The original plat of St. Louis occupied approximately .75 by .25 miles. The shape of the city was rectangular, stretching along the west bank of the Mississippi to allow access to the river by as many citizens as possible (Figure 21). This maximization of access to the river resulted in irregularities in the orientation of river-front streets, with the logical consequence of irregularly-shaped blocks. It had three main avenues, measuring 39 feet in width running north and south. It contained 18 side streets, each measuring 32.5 feet wide. Nauvoo was approximately 2 miles by 3.5 miles in extent (Figure 4). It was planned as a square configuration, being constrained by the curve of the Mississippi River on three sides. Its streets measured 49.5 feet in width. Whereas St. Louis emphasized the river and organized its plat to accommodate it, Nauvoo essentially ignored the river. Nauvoo was oriented in accordance to the cardinal directions so that, with the exception of Water Street, all streets were straight and all blocks were square, with four acres and four lots per block.

St. Louis' population remained under 1,000 for the first 35 years until it became a part of the United States. Afterward, it experienced a huge growth spurt in the 1830s and

40s. By 1844 its population had increased to 34,140. Most of the immigrants were from Germany and Ireland, fleeing poor political and economic conditions in their native lands. Nauvoo, being settled in 1839, did not experience a period of slow growth but expanded rapidly. Its immigrants were mainly the result of missionary efforts in the Eastern United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

The original houses of St. Louis were mostly constructed of wood or limestone as those two materials were readily accessible. No regulations were made concerning the orientation, building materials, or number of houses per lot. On the contrary, at its start St. Louis granted land to all settlers as long as they made even the smallest improvements to it. Many of the settlers built one house per lot and located their houses on the property back from the street. Many also used their yards for gardens. Because the emphasis in St. Louis was on trade, domestic or agricultural affairs often were neglected. St. Louis was never self-sufficient in food-stuffs. By way of contrast, in Nauvoo the original houses were constructed of wood, and there were suggestions made concerning the orientation, building materials, and number of houses permitted per lot. When possible, houses were to be constructed of brick, and positioned 25 feet back from the street. Ideally, the city was to have a single house per lot. To ensure that Nauvoo was self-providing for food stuffs, many inhabitants of Nauvoo used their backyards for vegetable gardens. These gardens and the use of the agricultural land to the east allowed Nauvoo to be fairly self-sufficient.

Curiously enough, St. Louis had central blocks, but Nauvoo did not, even though they were called for in the original City of Zion plan. In the construction of its public buildings, St. Louis emphasized civic buildings (the governor's house, the fort, the county court house,

and the jail) over religious ones. Whereas it took St. Louis six years to replace a tent with a log structure for its Catholic Church, in Nauvoo six years were required to build a million-dollar temple. (Admittedly this was possible because of a much larger labor pool than available in early St. Louis.) On the other hand, Nauvoo lacked civic buildings. Even its Post office was originally operated from a private home.

St. Louis began as an imperial colony, French and then Spanish. Under European sovereignty there was not a clear separation of church and state. The Catholic Church was subsidized by the government, and no other religions were allowed to hold services or own property. Religious freedom was absent. In contrast, as a planned City of Zion, Nauvoo was to have been a theocracy, but as a chartered city within the state of Illinois, it was a democracy. In Nauvoo there was a conflation of church and state, as evidenced in Joseph Smith being both city mayor and church prophet.

While both St. Louis and Nauvoo relied on religious and private organizations to care for the poor, only Nauvoo provided work projects to employ its poor. Nauvoo also allocated a portion of land for the free use of anyone to grow food. St. Louis dissolved its common agricultural lands and made them into parks for the free enjoyment of all. While St. Louis cared for its poor, it extended little effort to improve their hiring conditions or remove poverty. In short, St. Louis was organized for trade and economic advantage, and Nauvoo was organized as a religious gathering place.

Conclusions

Nauvoo was organized to emphasize and promote uniformity and order in its allocation of all space, public and private. Its plat was designed at a scale to handle 15 to 20 thousand inhabitants. St. Louis was oriented to the river with its focus on trade. Its original plat left little margin to grow beyond its original size. St. Louis' city center was so close to the river it was not accessible to larger additions to the west. As its population increased, its city center split in two.

Nauvoo reserved its greenspace for agriculture to help provide for its inhabitants. It also encouraged farmers to reside within the city limits to encourage unity. This greenspace was also deployed to provide free land for the poor to grow their own food. In St. Louis, the common fields were originally available, but farming was secondary to trade. As a result, St. Louis was never self-providing. Farmers were not considered to be among the social elite. The common fields were eventually sold, and farming moved farther west.

Nauvoo lacked a clear separation of church and state. Its emphasis was clearly on the religious sphere over the civic; no public buildings besides the post office were ever built. The splendid Nauvoo Temple was completed at a cost far beyond that which was incurred for any other building. Its existence reveals a shared religion and belief system which motivated and unified the entire community. In St. Louis the opposite was the case. The block allocated for the Catholic Church sported a temporary tent for six years. Building a more permanent structure was clearly a low priority in the city scheme of things. After U.S. occupation began, many religions prospered in St. Louis with varying sizes of congregations and buildings. The most elaborate and largest buildings in St. Louis were civic. Building

priorities and relative investments in them show that St. Louis was religiously diversified and heterogeneous with the civic government being the strongest unifying factor.

Joseph Smith's Nauvoo differed from the settlements that preceded and followed it. Nauvoo was better organized and more populated. It had strong central leadership and organization as evidenced by the master city plan, public works, and public buildings–especially the Temple. Not surprisingly, an historic consideration of Nauvoo reveals that the city was progressing towards the Zion ideals for which and upon which it was founded. Its first two years of founding were times of intense building, mostly of private dwellings. Initially, the building styles were less refined, and materials used were those readily available. Even so, as Nauvoo began to increase in population and prosper economically, the building style was refined, and brick was introduced as the preferred building material.

St. Louis had a similar frontier beginning which emphasized private dwellings. Settlers there used native limestone and wood for building materials. However, St. Louis' public buildings reveal an initial emphasis on civic structures rather than religious ones. Moreover, St. Louis differed in its focus on trade and profit. The orientation of the city and its close proximity to the waterfront are examples of this.

As noted, Nauvoo and St. Louis shared many similarities but were strikingly different in important ways. Nauvoo was an attempt to build a Zion city and embody religious precepts. Some of these ideals were easy to implement while others were never fully realized. The next chapter evaluates the different characteristics of Nauvoo in an attempt to find their proximate influences. Also, the original questions of identifying belief systems from city plans and the ability to determine these beliefs archaeologically will be addressed.

Chapter 8

A Comparison of Nauvoo to the City of Zion Plan

The City of Zion plan was a list of procedures or policies which were intended to promote the precepts of Zion and override existing cultural practices about how a city ought to be organized and managed. Creating a City of Zion was one of Joseph Smith's means for forging a Zion people, a means for inculcating precepts of Zion. To estimate the degree to which Nauvoo was or became a City of Zion, it is instructive to compare the different characteristics of Nauvoo to both the Zion ideal and to contemporary cities lacking that ideal, such as St. Louis. While Nauvoo was compared to the City of Zion plan in Chapter 4, there were many elements extant at Nauvoo which cannot be accounted for in the City of Zion plan.

Table 8 presents the major physical characteristics of Nauvoo and their possible sources of inspiration or category. These categories are characteristics similar (1) to the City of Zion plan, (2) those evolving towards such a plan, (3) those similar to St. Louis, and (4) characteristics that remain unaccounted for by either the Zion ideal or St. Louis practices. For this thesis, those characteristics which are similar to the City of Zion plan are interpreted as being purposely instigated at Nauvoo. Those characteristics which changed over time and became more like the City of Zion plan are also seen as related to it. This second category includes characteristics which the Saints could not instigate immediately but which over time were considered important enough to change their original practices to conform to the ideal. Some of the physical characteristics of Nauvoo, not premeditated or dictated by the City of Zion plan, match those present in St. Louis. Here, I presume that these characteristics reflect

Table 8: Physical Characteristics of Nauvoo and Their Possible Sources of Inspiration

Nauvoo	Inspiration for Characteristic	Precept
All plats were square, equal in size	City of Zion	Unity
Four lots per block.	St. Louis	Unity
Main Street was 82 feet wide.	Nauvoo	Unity
Side streets were 49.5 feet wide	Nauvoo	Unity
House lots were subdivided	St. Louis / Nauvoo	Economic Equality
Houses were usually set back 25 feet from the street	City of Zion	Unity
Houses were originally constructed of wood; brick was available and used after 1842.	City of Zion, evolved	Unity
Houses faced each other.	St. Louis	----None
Houses were landscaped with gardens and groves.	City of Zion / St. Louis	Unity
Platted using the cardinal directions.	City of Zion	Order
City blocks were square and equal in size	City of Zion	Order
Population maximum around 12,000	City of Zion	Order
No central blocks; public buildings scattered.	Nauvoo	---None
East Prairie greenbelt for agricultural land	City of Zion / St. Louis	Order
Farmers chose to live in the city or out on their land	City of Zion, evolved	Order
Individuals cultivated gardens	City of Zion	Economic Equality
Big Field Association provided land for poor	City of Zion, evolved	Economic Equality
Nauvoo Temple store provided food for labor	City of Zion, evolved	Economic Equality
Nauvoo was divided into ten wards with ten bishops.	City of Zion, evolved	Leadership
Joseph Smith's store operated as main priesthood and civic building	St. Louis / Nauvoo	Leadership
Bishop storehouses operated without buildings	City of Zion, evolved	Leadership
The Nauvoo Temple was located on the bluff overlooking Nauvoo and the Mississippi River.	City of Zion, evolved	Leadership

the influence of American Frontier culture and practices considered non-essential or ideologically neutral for the establishment of a Zion city. The last category includes the set of characteristics not found in the City of Zion plan or in St. Louis and are, therefore, distinctive to Nauvoo. Many of these are not readily explainable at the present time. For purposes of the following analysis, I focus on the first three categories.

Similarities to the City of Zion Plan

The similarities between the City of Zion plan and Nauvoo as indicated in Table 8 are assumed to result from deliberate implementation of the City of Zion plan at Nauvoo. Nauvoo followed a master city plan, oriented to the cardinal directions. The plat was square, and blocks and lots were square and equal in size. Greenspace was designated to the East Prairie. Houses were set back 25 feet from the streets and were landscaped with gardens and groves. During the LDS occupation, the population of Nauvoo grew to around 12,000. These characteristics, which are similar to the City of Zion plan, are easily seen in the layout and appearance of the city. While they are not completely new ideas or unique to Nauvoo, their implementation as a configuration clearly shows the influence of the City of Zion plan.

Characteristics Evolving Toward the City of Zion Plan

Nauvoo evinced another set of characteristics which were evolving toward the City of Zion plan. For various reasons, these characteristics were modified from the City of Zion plan, yet they still were based on Zion precepts. For example, the City of Zion plan called for the use of brick as the primary building material. However, when the Saints first arrived

at Nauvoo, there were no brick producers. The cost of importing brick was beyond their means, and the time involved in making homemade brick was prohibitive. Wood, on the other hand, was readily available. The Saints chose to begin building Nauvoo using wood. As Nauvoo grew and prospered, brick replaced wood as a building material. A good example of this is the Joseph Smith Homestead. The Homestead, originally built by Hugh White, was a log house. Joseph Smith added a frame addition in 1841, known as the north wing. However, this was to be a temporary residence. By 1843, he had built and moved into the Mansion House, a two-story frame house. Many of the buildings built after 1842 were constructed of brick, including some interior features of the Nauvoo Temple, the Seventy's Hall, the Masonic Hall, and the houses of Jonathan Browning, Daniel Butler, and Joseph Bates Noble. In this respect, the appearance of Nauvoo was evolving towards the City of Zion ideal.

Another aspect of the City of Zion plan recommended that farmers live within the city boundaries. To enable farmers to reside within the city, farms were to be located around the city in a greenbelt within easy walking distance. Since Nauvoo was surrounded on three sides by the Mississippi River, the desired, encompassing greenbelt was replaced at Nauvoo by designated agricultural land on the East Prairie. The farms located there, especially ones farthest east, were not as readily accessible to Nauvoo. Consequently, it was not always practical for farmers to live in Nauvoo, and some chose instead to live on their land. This divergence from the City of Zion plan was caused by pragmatic considerations of geography and practical logistics.

Three other characteristics which evolved towards their City of Zion plan counterpart focused on helping the poor. The Big Field Association was established as Nauvoo's population surged. Part of the East Prairie was set aside as free farm land for whomever needed land for gardens. Wheat was also grown for the bishop's storehouses. The City of Zion plan designated space for the construction of bishop storehouse buildings. While no storehouses were ever constructed at Nauvoo, the bishops still operated out their own or neighbors houses, distributing food and goods to the poor. Another way of providing for the poor was through the Temple Store. Not mentioned in the City of Zion plan, the Temple Store was similar to the bishop's storehouse with one addition. Newly arrived immigrants or the poor who could work were given jobs constructing the Temple. They were paid in goods and food from the Temple Store. All of these characteristics, though variations from the City of Zion plan, were based on the precept of economic equality.

The last two characteristics which varied from the City of Zion plan concerned leadership. The City of Zion plan recommended that a bishop act as the leader for the city. In Nauvoo, it was determined that ten bishops were needed to oversee the work of caring for the poor and needy. In implementing this characteristic of the City of Zion ideal, Joseph Smith realized that more leadership was needed than originally planned for.

One of the most interesting divergences from the original plan concerned the placement of the Nauvoo Temple. The City of Zion plan platted the main temple on a central city block. Traditionally, temples were oriented to face the east. This location would have allowed for easy access to the building and have symbolized the central role of the temple in the Saints' lives. At Nauvoo, there were no central city blocks. Furthermore, the Temple

was placed up on the hill and faced west. Had Nauvoo continued to grow, it is possible that the Nauvoo Temple would have become centrally located as it was surrounded by houses. More importantly, its location on the hill and orientation to the west, allowed the Saints and river travelers to raise their eyes to this great monument. While the City of Zion plan was hypothetically platted on flat ground, no provisions were made for divergences in geographic conditions and local topography. In placing the temple of the bluff, Joseph Smith preserved the intent of making the Temple the central building. Symbolically it retained its original meaning. Completion of the Temple indicated a willingness of the Saints even under duress to construct a religious building and to provide and follow the leadership required to accomplish such a task. For five of Nauvoo's seven years of existence, time and resources were committed to the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. It is interesting to note that while there were no meeting houses built in Nauvoo, church services were held in the east or west grove (see Figure 5). Both of these are located near the temple site.

Similarities to St. Louis

Chapter 7 considered a number of physical characteristics shared by Nauvoo and St. Louis, including the use of master city plans, plats based on block systems with four lots per block, greenbelts, landscaping, availability of land, care of the poor, and the allocation of land for religious buildings. It can be assumed that the details of these shared elements were not particularly critical to the implementation of the precepts of Zion at Nauvoo as they were features of secular cities. Clearly, some details of Joseph Smith's Zion city were left to be filled in by following common cultural practices of his day. Table 8 highlights five

similarities between the two cities: the number of house lots per block, the placement of houses on their lots, landscaping, greenbelts, and the use of private homes for civic government.

Both Nauvoo and St. Louis had four house lots per block. While the lots at Nauvoo were square and equal in size, those at St. Louis varied according to their position in the plat. Houses faced a street, and no effort was made to keep them from facing each other as originally intended in Joseph Smith's plan for Zion. Owners of houses in both cities landscaped their house lots with trees and gardens. This was a common and practical way to provide some food items for the household. Both cities allocated land as greenbelts and encouraged agriculture. In St. Louis, land in the common fields was assigned to each settler, similar to Nauvoo's Big Field Association. Interestingly, both cities' first civic buildings were the homes of their founders. This reflects the practical need for some civic organization prior to the time that special buildings could be constructed for this purpose.

Characteristics Unique to Nauvoo

Other characteristics of Nauvoo, while appearing generally similar to features of the City of Zion plan or St. Louis were distinct to Nauvoo. For example, the house lots at Nauvoo were configured differently than called for in the City of Zion plan, being square rather than rectangular. And though they matched the general configuration used at St. Louis, Nauvoo's lots were equal-sized and square in contrast to those at St. Louis. Both the size of the peninsula and the size of Nauvoo's blocks had an impact on the width of its streets. Nauvoo was constrained by the Mississippi River on three sides and a bluff to the

east. To accommodate a large population in a small, flat land area, the streets in Nauvoo were reduced from the four 132-feet wide main streets proposed in the City of Zion plan to a single main street measuring only 82 feet wide. Side streets were also narrowed from the City of Zion plan's 82.5 feet to Nauvoo's 49.5 feet.

These differences can be explained by Joseph Smith's decision to plat Nauvoo according to the Iowa Territory survey which was already available in 1839. In his effort to house and feed his people and prepare for the winter, Joseph Smith did not commission a new survey which would implement the City of Zion plan. His use of equal-sized blocks and lots was an effort to preserve the ideal of land equality as set forth in the City of Zion plan.

Another example of variation at Nauvoo concerns the subdivisions of house lots. The City of Zion plan provided house lots for each family large enough to allow for a home and sufficient garden space. This was to promote self-reliance and would also have allowed for an orderly appearance to the city. Nauvoo originally followed this ideal. However, with the arrival of many immigrant and indigent Saints who needed affordable housing, the precept of caring for the poor pre-empted the desired uniformity. The lots in Nauvoo were subdivided into smaller segments than originally intended. This example points out that not all Zion precepts or ideals were of equal importance. Care of the poor was more important than the appearance of the city. The issue of self-reliance and the loss of family garden space was compensated for by the Big Field Association.

One of the most perplexing differences between Nauvoo and the Zion ideal was Nauvoo's lack of central blocks. Called for in the City of Zion plan and implemented in St. Louis, central blocks are an orderly and logical use of civic space, but they are absent at

Nauvoo. There was no space even reserved for the future building of civic or priesthood buildings. No explanation for these differences was recorded.

The last characteristics of interest at Nauvoo are a combination of features used in both the City of Zion plan and at St. Louis but modified at Nauvoo. The City of Zion plan called for the building of priesthood buildings which would be used for running the city. St. Louis designated public market space, but none for a civic building and, therefore, used Pierre Laclede's house instead. Joseph Smith's General Store was a mix of both these ideas. The first floor of the store operated as a dry goods store while the upper floor was used as his office, for both his roles as Prophet and Mayor, and as a meeting space for other Church and civic groups. This building took the place of the numerous priesthood buildings as established in the City of Zion plan and the civic use of Pierre Laclede's home in St. Louis. Again, no explanation is recorded to explain the lack of official priesthood buildings, centrally located as called for in the City of Zion plan.

Commentary on Nauvoo

Cities are not static entities. They are constantly being changed and reconfigured by their inhabitants. Nauvoo was no exception. As Nauvoo was founded, elements of the City of Zion plan were implemented and others were put on hold to be implemented later. For instance, the Saints could have insisted that every house be built of brick as the City of Zion plan called for, but that would have created a housing shortage as brick was not readily available or affordable in 1839. Instead, the Saints used wood with the intention of eventually using brick. Nauvoo was originally platted with one-acre-square house lots,

complying with the ideal of order, if not the exact lot sizes of the City of Zion plan. As Nauvoo accommodated the influx of immigrants and poorer Saints, lots were subdivided to house them. Clearly, it was more important to care for the immediate needs of the arriving poor than it was to maintain the strict order and appearance of the city. Nauvoo's use of the City of Zion plan was implemented as opportunity, materials, and common sense dictated. The most important things were undertaken first. From the evidence available, it is clear that to understand the organization and history of Nauvoo, one must understand the City of Zion plan and the purpose of Zion in the lives of the Latter-day Saint followers of Joseph Smith.

Concluding Remarks

Having reviewed the Nauvoo utopian experiment, I am now in a position to address the primary archaeological questions of this thesis: To what extent did Nauvoo reflect the underlying belief system of Zion? And, can one infer from the archaeological record the belief system of a city from its plan? Considering the first question, to evaluate Nauvoo against the historic record, it is clear that Nauvoo was a practical application of Joseph Smith's City of Zion plan with some modification of the ideal being made for practical purposes. The Zion ideal's focus on unity, order, economic equality, and leadership made it a valuable resource for the planning of Nauvoo. Though Joseph Smith used the plan as the basis for other communities in Ohio and Missouri, Nauvoo was his greatest experiment. In Nauvoo, the elements of the City of Zion plan were mixed with the practicalities of daily life, economic prosperity, geography, available building materials, interaction with other communities, and surges in the population.

Was Nauvoo the City of Zion described by Joseph Smith's original plan? Yes and no. The City of Zion plan was the ideal; Nauvoo was a compromise with the practicalities of life and the surrounding cultures. Even so, Nauvoo stands out from what came before and after it. Its scale, organization, public buildings, and temple all separate it from preceding and following occupations. Relying on the historic record, one can infer that Nauvoo clearly embodied the precepts of Zion. In fact, Nauvoo cannot be understood without taking into account the Zion ideals. Nauvoo set the standard for future Zion cities built by the Latter-day Saints. An ephemeral experiment, Nauvoo's impact on future Zion settlements in the West was invaluable.

The more general question considers whether Nauvoo's belief system can be inferred solely from its archaeological traces. Again, the answer is variable. Were sufficient archaeology done on a large scale, some sound inferences concerning Nauvoo's unique beliefs could be advanced, but it is extremely doubtful that even the most comprehensive archaeology would suffice for inferring the specific beliefs in question. These require historic records to reconstruct.

My analysis here suggests that some generic aspects of belief can be inferred archaeologically. The data considered also signal some guidelines for investigation. To the degree that the archaeological record can yield detailed diachronic data at a sufficient scale (i.e., replicate the historic record relied on here), to that degree one can made a good case for a belief system. Both large-scale investigation and detailed excavations are necessary. First, one must explore a city in such a way as to reconstruct details of its growth and development as a whole. Next, one must reconstruct each building archaeologically and ascertain its

history. Each building becomes part of an overall understanding of the entire city. To achieve this understanding, the sample of public, civic, religious, and private buildings as well as their chronology must be fairly complete. For Nauvoo, the extant archaeological data are inadequate to reveal the details of its belief system. The detailed excavations of the few buildings available for Nauvoo do not provide enough information for understanding the entire city. For this I relied on historic records. Given sufficient excavation, much of the historic information on city planning could be reconstructed archaeologically and the appropriate inferences made.

Even though the archaeological record alone is inadequate to gain a complete understanding of Nauvoo's belief system, one can infer from the city plan and its buildings that some ideal of equity was fundamental to Nauvoo. In comparing Nauvoo's city plan to that of St. Louis, significant differences become apparent. Differences likely based on varying beliefs and ideals undergirded each city. Following sound archaeological practice, a good clue to the guiding concerns of a city are apparent in the disposition of its critical resources: time and money. The strongest evidence for Nauvoo's ideal of unity is the Nauvoo Temple. Its size, special building materials, and cost in man-hours and resources broadcasts the profound commitment and unity of the entire community. This building, whose cost and ostentation far exceeded all domestic dwellings, stands out from all other community works. On the other hand, Nauvoo lacked clear civic buildings, and it thus appears that civic concerns played a lesser role in the city.

In contrast to Nauvoo, St. Louis' religious buildings were unimpressive. The first Cathedral was poorly built and had to be rebuilt within a decade of its initial construction.

The variety of church buildings and congregations in St. Louis indicate a variety and heterogeneity of beliefs. On the other hand, St. Louis had impressive civic buildings. From this it can be inferred that the main connection for citizens in St. Louis was the government. In sum, from the archaeological and historical records of these two cities, one can find indications of general beliefs, but beyond the evidence of gross categories, the archaeological record without textual evidence cannot provide details about specific belief systems.

A number of reasons can be adduced to explain the inadequacies of the archaeological record when it comes to providing clear evidence of belief systems. In the case of Nauvoo, for example, it is too difficult to make decent inferences archaeologically from the few bits of buildings and streets which are preserved or have been excavated. Had Nauvoo been inhabited for a longer period of time or had the other Missouri experiments with the City of Zion plan been more developed, the archaeological records of these cities would be more complete and provide a sounder basis for inference. The ability to detect archaeological evidence of Nauvoo's belief system is constrained by the short seven-year Latter-day Saint occupation of the city. This short time period also contributed to the Saints inability to implement fully the City of Zion plan. Additionally, Nauvoo was very much an experiment; the Saints learned by experience.

The best case for reconstructing the beliefs of a whole community over time would include historic records or ethnographic traditions that would help identify specific belief systems. In such a case, the archaeological inferential task would be considerably easier as it would only be necessary to demonstrate the plausible existence of a known belief system rather than reconstruct it from scratch. The ideal archaeological site would be similar to

Nauvoo, consisting of a short, single occupation. But Nauvoo's occupation was too short. There was not enough time for the Saints to bring to fruition all their plans and ideals.

Further Research

Nauvoo and St. Louis both have been examined in great detail over the years. This thesis focused on the archaeological premise that an underlying belief system can be determined from the layout of a city plan. To test this theory further, more Mississippi River cities need to be analyzed. I did not explore here whether St. Louis was similar or different from its secular neighbors. Nor did I evaluate other utopian communities contemporary to Nauvoo. A comparison of Nauvoo to other early City of Zion plats in Missouri may show an evolution of the City of Zion plan. Following the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young led the Saints to the Great Basin in Utah. In the West, he had nearly 500 cities founded which followed the City of Zion plan. Comparison between Nauvoo and Salt Lake City plans or some of the other 500 cities may show the growth of the belief system and the solidification of the City of Zion plan as used in Utah.

Works Cited

ABC News World Reference
1998 *3D Atlas 98.* Compact Disc. Creative Wonders, U. S. A.

Barrett, Ivan J.
1973 *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the Church to 1846.* Brigham Young University Press, Provo.

Berge, Dale L.
1976 Archaeological Excavation of the Masonic Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

1979a Archaeology of the Daniel Butler, Jr. Property, Nauvoo, Illinois. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

1979b Archaeology of the George C. Riser Shoe Shop and the Kimball Heywood Store, Nauvoo, Illinois. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

1979c Archaeology of the Seventies Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

1979d Archaeology of the Winslow Farr Home, Nauvoo, Illinois. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

1979e The Jonathan Browning Site: An Example of Archaeology for Restoration in Nauvoo, Illinois. Reprinted from *Brigham Young University Studies.* Vol 19, no. 2, Winter 1979.

1983 Archaeology of the Joseph Bates Noble – Lucy Mack Smith Home. Ms. on file, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Bray, Robert T.
1972 *Archaeology at the Joseph Smith Homestead, Nauvoo, Illinois.* University of Missouri, Columbia.

1973 Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo Illinois. Ms. on file, University of Missouri, Columbia.

Blum, Ida
1969 *Nauvoo: An American Heritage.* Journal Printing Company, Carthage.

Church Educational System
1989 *Church History in the Fullness of Times.* The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

Clark, James R. Ed.
1965 *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1833-1964.* Bookcraft Inc., Salt Lake City.

D&C
1981 *The Doctrine and Covenants.* The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

Flaherty, William Barnaby
1978 *The St. Louis Portrait.* Continental Heritage, Tulsa.

Flanders, Robert Bruce
1965 *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Hamilton, Mark C.
1995 *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Harrington, J. C.
1967 *Archaeological Excavation at the Wilford Woodruff Site (106-1), Nauvoo, Illinois.* Nauvoo Restoration Inc., Salt Lake City.

1969 *Archaeological Excavation at the Brigham Young Site (126-2), Nauvoo, Illinois.* Nauvoo Restoration Inc., Salt Lake City.

Harrington, Virginia S., and J. C. Harrington
1971 *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on the Archaeological Excavations.* Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Salt Lake City.

Holzapfel, Richard N., and T. Jeffery Cottle
1990 *Old Mormon Nauvoo: 1839-1846.* Grandin Book Company, Provo.

JST
1970 Wellington, Paul A., ed., *Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible,* Herald Publishing House, Independence.

Kargau, E. D.
1902 *Mercantile, Industrial, and Professional St. Louis.* Nixon Jones Co., St. Louis.

Map of Nauvoo Wards
1979 *Ensign.* September 1979:16.

McDermott
1952 *The Early Histories of St. Louis.* St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, St. Louis.

Microfilm
#014854 *1830 Federal Census of the State of Missouri, Jackson County.* Family History Library, Salt Lake.

Miller, David E., and Della S. Miller
1996 *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph.* Publishers Press, Salt Lake City, 2nd Edition.

Primm, James Neal
1981 *Lion of the Valley, St. Louis, Missouri.* Pruett Publishing, Boulder.

Ravenswaay, Charles van
1991 *St. Louis: An Informal History of the City and its People, 1764-1865.* Missouri Historical Society, U.S.A.

Scharf, J. Thomas
1883 *History of Saint Louis City and County.* Louis H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia.

Schulte, Paul C.
1934 *The Catholic Heritage of St. Louis: A History of the Old Cathedral Parish St. Louis, Mo.* The Catholic Herald, St. Louis.

Smith, Joseph
1951 *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* Deseret Book, Salt Lake City.

Stevens, Walter B.
1909 *St. Louis: The Fourth City, 1764-1909.* S. J. Clarke Publishing, St. Louis.

Telford, John, Susan Easton Black, and Kim C. Averett
1997 *Nauvoo.* Deseret Book, Salt Lake City.

Times and Seasons
1842 *Times and Seasons,* Vol. 3, No. 7, Nauvoo, Illinois, Feb. 1, 1842.

Western Historical Company
1883 *History of Greene County, Missouri.* Western Historical Company, St. Louis.

Yeakle, M. M.
1889 *The City of St. Louis of Today: Its Progress and Prospects*. Yeakle and Co., St. Louis.