To Fill up the World:
Joseph Smith as Urban Planner

Benjamin E. Park

Joseph Smith has accumulated many titles associated with his name, both in life and death. Prophet, heretic, bank founder, treasure-seeker, mayor, lieutenant general, judge, fraud—all of these labels have at one point been tethered to Mormonism's leader. Even his critics have characterized him as "larger than life," an American renaissance man with his hand in nearly any facet of life in the early republic. James Gordon Bennett, when emphasizing Smith's all-reaching grasp and convergence of sacred and mundane, referred to him as Mormonism's "prophet, king, priest, captain and chief cook."[1] Another fruitful framework in which to analyze Smith is his role as an urban planner. Emblematic of his iconoclastic approach that toppled traditional boundaries between sacred and secular, Smith broke line with contemporary religious reformers by envisioning an urban community system that would fill the world; even those, like those in the Shakers and Oneida communities, that implemented explicitly religious communities paled in size and scope.[2]

This article seeks to do several things. First, I aim to present a close reading of Joseph Smith's urban plans. Most historical treatments of Mormonism's brief stay in Jackson County have focused on the dealings of the Mormons with their Missouri neighbors and the resulting expulsion, a historiographical trend which has, in turn, overlooked Smith's urban plans for their own sake. Second, I will place Joseph Smith's city plans within the context of antebellum American urban development. The constantly expanding American borders introduced a new age in and need for city

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establishments, and the new cultural expectations of the young nation forced new communal experiments. And third, I will engage the intersections of religious ideals—Zion—with the establishment of a secular city of Independence, Jackson County, Missouri.

I will not, however, attempt to address each of these objectives in turn; rather, I will weave these three themes together as I examine various vignettes of city planning. While I will include discussions of Smith's scriptural text that concern "Zion"—including the Book of Mormon, his revisions to the Bible, and his own revelations—as well as other historical documents from the period, of central importance to my analysis are a handful of texts created in the summer of 1833 that focused on the practicalities of the plan. And while Joseph Smith oversaw the building of later cities, including the Saints' most formidable urban establishment in Nauvoo, Illinois, I will focus on these early documents due to their being first and foundational to Smith's experience as city planner. Indeed, this can be categorized as a microhistory in which a particularly narrow set of documents—especially two plats Joseph Smith commissioned in June and August 1833, respectively— are used as the focus and starting point for broader discussions. Attention will center on and then expand from these texts, at times zooming in on the particulars of specific pages and later zooming out to view the larger significance, both in topic and time.[3]

The Nation, the City, the Prophet, the Plats

America in the 1830s was awash with reformers and revolutionaries. Ralph Waldo Emerson called on the graduating class of Harvard Divinity School to renounce their training and seek new inspiration; Nat Turner led a slave revolt against plantation owners in Virginia; a self-styled prophet named Matthias organized a controversial movement in New York City; and Mormonism was founded in New York's rural north. The spring and summer of 1833 was especially eventful in reshaping America and its broader climate. Andrew Jackson began his second term as president and introduced many governmental changes that historians still debate; the British Parliament signed the Slavery Abolition Act which ended the prime economic driver in the Atlantic world; and the city of Chicago—which would soon become America's biggest metropolis west of the Appalachian mountains—was organized with three hundred and fifty settlers. It was during these events that Joseph Smith came up with his plan for an urban community system that he anticipated would expand throughout civilization.

The principles of Zion the ideal were at the forefront of Joseph Smith's mind from a very early date. The Book of Mormon focused on establishing

a righteous civilization, with pronouncements focused on a "people" rather than individuals. The righteous established cities, controlled government, and cultivated communities; the downfall of nations followed the people's inability to follow commandments as a whole. When Smith offered his own expansions of the book of Genesis, he added whole chapters that spoke of righteous "Zions" of old—civilizations that followed the dictates of a prophet and were taken up to heaven as an entire group. The Prophet's early revelations also spoke to a self-identified community of Saints—"hearken, o ye people," the prefatory revelation to the Doctrine and Covenants declared—followed by revelations that revealed the principle of gathering and a law of consecration that bound all believers together through both spiritual and temporal means.

Zion as a literal location became a prominent feature of Joseph Smith's efforts when he visited Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in 1831. After arriving on the fringe of the American nation, Smith claimed a revelation declaring that settlement community as "the land of promise & the place for the City of Zion." The divine mandate identified a specific location as "the spot for the temple" and commanded the Saints to purchase as much land as possible.[4] During the next two years, a steady stream of Mormon settlers moved into the county, coupled with sizeable land purchases and the establishment of a Church-owned press raised the eyebrows of neighbors and started a nearly decade-long struggle between the Mormons and Missourians. But those difficulties were in the future. In 1831, Zion was both an abstract ideal and a tangible embodiment of Mormonism's audacious goals and expansive reach.

The physical practicalities of the city of Zion did not appear until the summer of 1833. In June of that year, while located eight hundred miles away from Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, Joseph Smith and other Church leaders in Kirtland, Ohio, held a series of meetings determining the layout of "Zion." The results of these discussions were sets of blueprints—both for the layout of the city and the layout of specific buildings. These plats, when superimposed upon maps of the existing landscape and city, demonstrate the acute rupture Joseph Smith's Zion project entailed. In an important way, Smith was translating organizational ideals into spatial configurations.

These plats epitomize Joseph Smith's collapse of the sacred, in which his ideals are grounded in concrete plans. The first plat, included in a letter sent to the Missouri leaders in June, included a sketched depiction of how the city was to be laid out. Three center rectangles were set aside for temples and storehouses. The rest of the city was composed of squares containing individual plots in alternating directions. Roads were straight, squared-off, and wider than typically expected in the day. Crude instructions surrounding the sketch took up nearly every inch of the paper. It was as if Smith and his scribe tried to
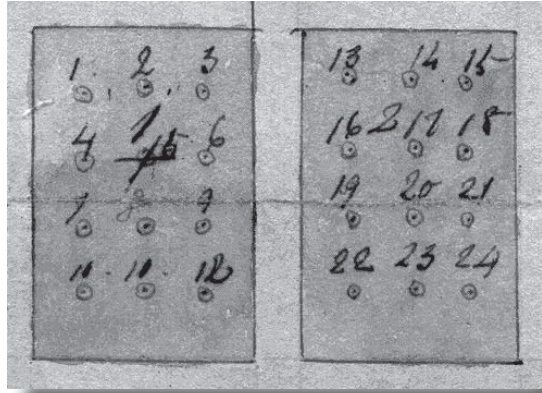
Figure 1. Joseph Smith, Plat of the City of Zion, June 25, 1833, text and drawing by Frederick G. Williams, Image courtesy Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Figure 2. Closeup of the June 25, 1833, plat of the temple locations..

cram in as much information as possible. Detailed instructions included the width of the streets, the size of the homes, the location of farms, the breadth of the entire city. Very little escaped the reach of these plans.

The language used in the plats is a curiosity. Terms like *rods, perches,* and *chains*—organizational words more common in sixteenth-century England than nineteenth-century America—were used to give measurements. Other terms like *miles* and *acres* are used, but not in the ways then standardized. Smith's mile was a mix between a Scottish mile (5,951 feet) and an Irish mile (6,721 feet) and the drawing, which excluded the north and south buffer regions, measured 5,676 feet by 6,006 feet. This verbiage, beyond demonstrating the discontinuity between Smith and other urban planners during the period, could signify the Mormon Prophet's reliance on language of the King James Bible rather than secular schooling. Smith's sacred worldview seeped into his secular planning, and the language of the biblical realm hints to an alternate religious world in which Smith's visions were found. At the least, it reminds us that Smith's urban plans were founded on a different basis and for a different purpose than most city planning projects during the era.

Though Joseph Smith never wrote or dictated more on the city than these nuts-and-bolts plans, ideals can be teased out. Life, it seems, circled around the squares in which residents lived. All squares were to be "ten acres each, being forty rods square" (660 feet). The lots were to be "laid off alternately in the squares," so that "one square running from the south and north" would face one that ran "from the east and west," which would provide privacy from front and back yards facing each other. This was meant to avoid creating too many through-streets and traffic in front of homes, likely an attempt to combat the problems urbanization had introduced to antebellum cities. And with living quarters packed so close together—resembling, and perhaps

better suited for, the later introduction of row homes—emphasized the desire for cohesion within the community. The city revolved around interaction. Every individual plot forced residents to be aware of and participate with their neighbors.

Farming was to be separated from the urban development, with the area "south of the plot . . . laid off for barns, stables, etc." Farmers were allowed to continue their agricultural work, but they must still live within the city and travel out to their land. This introduced two elements. First, because "no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses," the city was made an industrialized zone that lacked the smells and other inconveniences that accompanied animals and farm living. Second, because the "agriculturist" is forced to live in the city, it ensured that no one could escape the civilizing process what was central to the Zion experience.

In the center of the city were three elongated plots, one to be occupied with bishop's storehouses to provide the resources needed to practice the law of consecration. Its central location hints to the importance of that economic practice to Joseph Smith's urban ethos. The other two plots were to be filled with twelve "temples" each. These buildings should not be confused with the modern buildings of the same name, since their purpose and usage were much different in 1833. Put simply, these temples were to be a mix of sacred and secular duties, places of worship as well as public and civic activities (see Figures 1 and 2).[5]

It was only a few weeks before revisions were made to the plat. In August, Joseph Smith mailed a second design. Oliver Cowdery explained, "those patterns previously sent you, per mail, by our brethren, were incorrect in some respects, being drawn in great haste. We send you another."[6] Besides eliminating the plot for the bishop's storehouse, squaring off the temple blocks, and making the central blocks run east/west rather than north/south, individual lots and the entirety of the plot were significantly expanded.

This second plat marked an important shift in Joseph Smith's thinking. Rather than being an idealistic vision detached from lived experience, it represented an attempt to provide alterations and adjustments required by later considerations. This was a reform of the Zionic ideal. He recognized that twenty thousand people would require more space, and thus he expanded individual properties and lengthened the city considerably. Lacking the narrow living conditions that would become popular in urban design a century later, Smith and his associates widened lots to match contemporary standards, and in doing so lost some of the focused nucleus present in the first plat (see Figures 3 and 4).
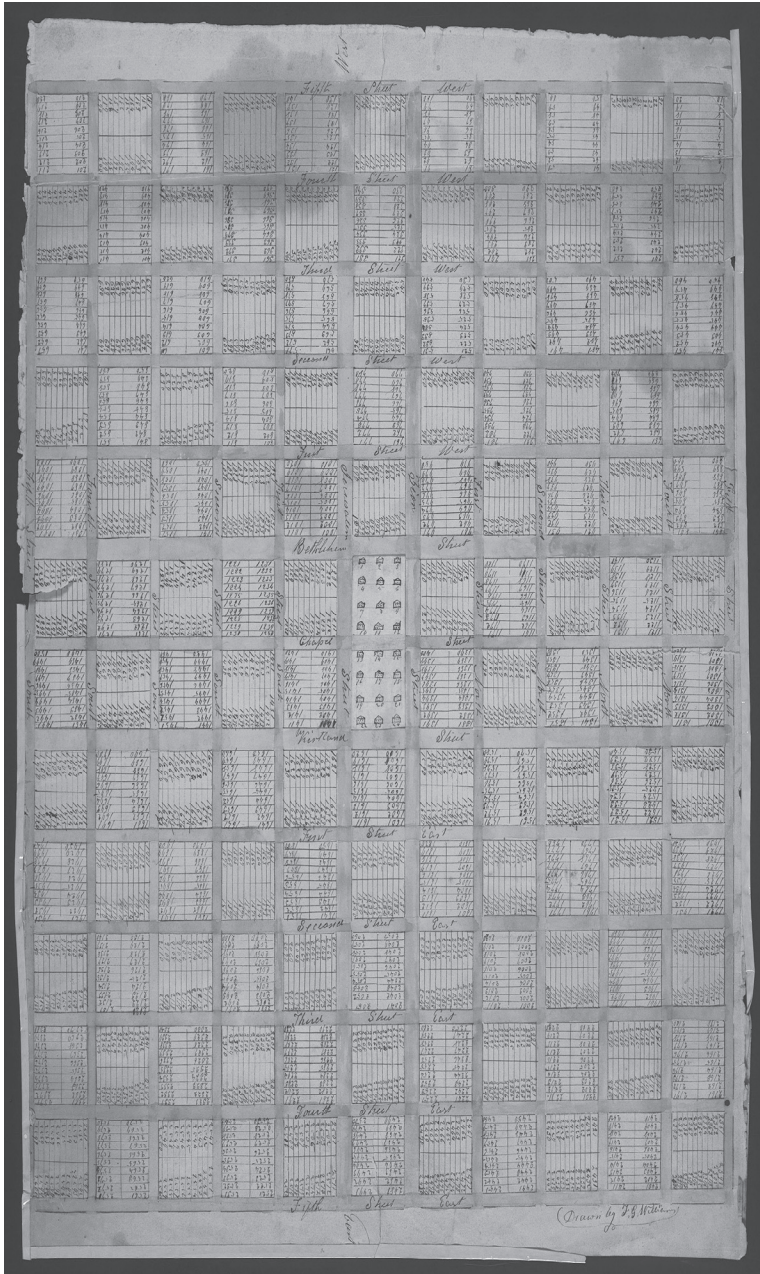
Figure 3. Joseph Smith, Plat of the City of Zion, circa August 1833, drawing by Frederick G. Williams. Image courtesy Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
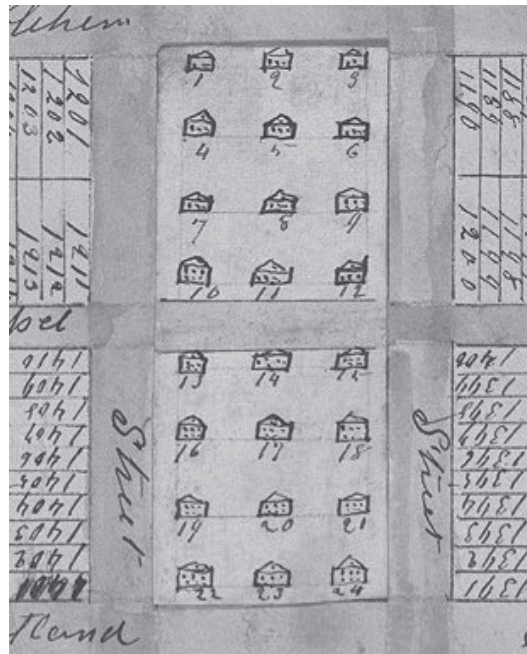
Figure 4. Closeup of the August 1833 plat of the temple locations.

Beyond the plats themselves, several other things deserve notice. The first point is how divorced the plans were from the geographic reality of Jackson County, Missouri. The city plans seem to imagine a vacant lot ready to be filled—and not just a small lot, either, but a lot that would fill twenty thousand people. This was Zion the ideal, a contemporary Eden, barren of people and previously claimed property, anxious to initiate a new civilization originating from a specific and physical location. This was a new beginning and empty drawing board.

But the community of Independence was nothing close to an empty drawing board. While it was incomparable to the cities found on the East Coast, the frontier town did still claim a growing settlement. The purchase made of what is now referred to as the "temple lot"—a triangular piece of land nestled up against the major east-west through street (Westport Road)—was just outside of Independence proper, but not far enough to make ambitious plans without taking the entire town into consideration. By following the traditional designation of where the August 2, 1831, dedication took place—which was meant to designate the southeast corner of temple (designated as building #5 on the June 1833 drawing)—it is possible to juxtapose the city's plans with the broader geography. Yet when this is done, it is jarring to see the disjuncture of the plats with the community

as it then existed. One of the first things of note is how the designs totally disregard road and city developments then in place. Westport Road, the county's major east-west thoroughfare, was ignored and not incorporated into the plan. However, what is more striking is how the plat seeps into Independence town proper, replacing nearly half of what was then a growing community. This problem becomes even more insurmountable in the second plat developed several months later.

If the June 1833 plat encroached on town property, the second obliterated it completely. Importantly, it was this very mindset of ignoring non-Mormon neighbors that caused many of the problems in the county that led, at least in part, to the expulsion of the Mormons from the county in late 1833. Besides demonstrating the difficulties of plotting a city and envisioning it a thousand miles away, the plats demonstrate Joseph Smith's mixture of practical ideas (they were systematic plats, after all) also would have had difficulty being implemented into real-life situations.[7]

But what are the immediate lessons in trying to capture Joseph Smith's urban design? Due to the practicalities at play and the difficulties that followed, there was never a seamless converging of the plats and the physical location. Smith's plans transcended the layout of Jackson County and pointed to another imagined reality in which the plans could be more fully executed. This is not to mean that Smith himself did not understand his communal plans to fit the Mormon settlement in Missouri, but that his plans should not be considered perfectly tethered in or limited to that specific lived reality. In other words, the plans themselves have a mental life outside of the geographic and teleological location of Independence, Missouri, in the summer of 1833.[8]

The idea of Smith as community planner has long been intricately connected to the events that transpired in Jackson County, and thus the intricacies of his plan(s) have only been read through that prism. What happened in the settlement, development, and later expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County is important and deserves much—and has received much—attention.[9] But it should not be the only vantage point from which to interpret the Mormon Prophet's city project, since that project's aims were never intractably tethered to a particular setting, especially the setting of Independence, Missouri. Importantly, Smith never carried these ideas forward, and they remained dormant for the rest of his life. This is why when engaging Smith's city-planning ideals it is important to maintain early August 1833 as a theoretical cut-off point so that discussion can focus on what Joseph Smith envisioned, not necessarily what was implemented. The latter, of course, is still of immense importance, but not enough to completely overshadow the former.

Religious Cities

Through this act of city organization, Joseph Smith entered a long and lively tradition of city planning in western civilization, since the establishment of a city was the hallmark of many leaders. European royalty took pride in establishing new cities as a way to bring civilization and refinement to culture. Early Americans continued this tradition, most prominently exemplified in the grand construction of Washington D.C., designed as the nation's capital city and a national project of epic scope. While many of the earliest colonized cities were developed organically—the streets of Boston still suffer from their lack of planning—later communities were much more systematically organized.[10]

Despite this national urge to build new cities, the fact that Smith, a religious reformer, sought to establish his own metropolis should give historians pause. Just as secular founders and speculative settlers were envisioning new cities, religious reformers were fleeing them. The Enlightenment period witnessed many debates over the sociability of man and the role of civilization. On one end of the spectrum is Bernard Mandeville, who argued that urbanization cultivated private vice, which, in turn, promoted public wealth—all positives in his book. Other philosophers like John Locke and Adam Smith pushed for the possibility of new centralized communities that would be the future of human civilization. On the other end of the spectrum, thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau came to see increased urbanization as the marked decline of humankind, a cultural regression that would lead men and women away from natural sensibilities and toward carnal demoralization. Similar debates took place in the religious realm, as Catholicism, Anglicanism, and movements led by Luther and Calvin established communities that merged religious commitment and secular government, while at the same time Puritans and other dissenters fled from what they saw as the corruption of modern societies. Between these extremes, individuals on both sides of the Atlantic sought the right blend of religious exclusivism and cultural progression that built a society, while not becoming, as Christ mandated, "of the world."[11]

In the United States, religionists handled the growing American empire in mixed ways. With the increase of American cities, a large number of ministers decried the growing capitalistic, selfish, and secular society being built around them. Many felt that in order to maintain a sense of religious devotion, congregants must refrain from urbanized centers and the culture that came with them. As a result, religious awakenings during the antebellum period fled from the populated seaports in favor of newly settled land on the western frontier. Much of the "Second Great Awakening,"

as historians have termed the revivals during the early nineteenth century, took place on the fringes of society, and many positioned their religious purity in opposition to the degraded societies of larger cities. Even those groups who envisioned a deliberate community, like the Oneida movement, maintained a closed society that escaped the urban city's ills. Among those areas most affected by this movement was the region of upstate New York, where Joseph Smith came to maturity and organized the Church of Christ. Yet while Smith was raised in a rural community and was steeped in anti-urbanization, it is significant that his early religious vision entailed not a flight from highly populated cities, but the deification of them.

Smith witnessed the benefits of urban cities from early on. His teenage years in the Palmyra area exposed him to a growing town, blossoming due to the Erie Canal's construction. According to one local, the young boy would often travel "from his backwoods home" to the town in order to sell wood. At least once a week, Smith would "stroll into the office of the old Palmyra Register, for his father's paper," but also "sometimes patronizing a village grocery to freely; sometimes find[ing] an odd job to do about the store of Seymore Scovell."[12] Such intersections with a relatively small community may seem trivial, but they occurred at enough of a formidable period and left enough of a lasting influence that they deserve consideration.

Smith's trips into Palmyra would have comprised more than just business. They also gave him a firsthand witness to a growing commercial economy that centered on both business and the public good. The Erie Canal was an ambitious project that symbolized the period's emphasis on growth, industry, and commerce, providing jobs for many men in the community, including Joseph's own brother Alvin. It certainly demonstrated to the young boy the importance of labor and cooperation, exemplifying the remarkable possibilities when a community, polity, and nation combine.

But more than just commercial value, Palmyra offered something more to Smith—exposure to urban privileges like sophisticated adult societies, organized religious congregations, free public libraries, and a much more established school system. These associations, part of America's reform movement during the early nineteenth century, were designed to improve the nation's character, education, and general ways of living. Smith would have learned from these establishments the general temperament and potential of a powerfully charged urban community and what it could do for families—like his—that lacked such opportunities in rural societies.

Significantly, when Smith began translating scripture and receiving revelations, cities played a central role. In the Book of Mormon, when Lehi's family arrived in the new world, their first priority was to set up a new civilization. Later, the righteous Nephites inhabited large cities with

elaborate political, social, and economic systems that bound the people together. There were large cities like Zarahemla and Bountiful, as well as smaller cities that dotted the landscape and are mentioned only in passing during the war chronicles. Importantly, the Nephites' high-class civilization was juxtaposed to the wicked Lamanites, who appeared to maintain a much more savage and feudal system that lacked central urbanization. The book focuses on a pride cycle that followed the growth of wealth, leading into periods of apostasy. Nevertheless, the prophets maintained that spiritual growth could still be accomplished within a community setting.[13]

But while community was important, Smith's newly translated text argued for a specific type of community. In an important way, the Book of Mormon was an indictment of class stratification and the degeneration of an excessively capitalistic society. Class distinctions led to increased contention and escalating conflict. Whether leading to internal civil wars or falling to the hands of external pressure, the Nephites' ills were tethered to their ability to implement an equal and cohesive society where all were righteous, wealth was shared, and unity was preserved. Political, economic, and social contention were the root of the community's evils, not the byproduct. As Mark Ashurst-McGee has written, "true religion in the Book of Mormon meant to establish social harmony and unity."[14]

Yet if Smith's scriptural texts described the ills that led to civilizations' downfalls, they still maintained the need to establish new civilizations—specifically, Zion. In January 1831, less than a year after the Church was founded, Smith received a revelation that commanded the Saints to "go to the Ohio: & there I will give unto you my law."[15] This revelation set the stage for decades-long attempts to establish Mormon-centered communities founded on God's "law." This soon-to-be-enacted kingdom would, Smith prophesied, "triumph above all the kingdoms of the world."[16] These were hardly promises indicative of the Jacksonian period's emphasis on self-reform; rather, they are Old Testament-style injunctions of God's people and divinely supported groups. These, not individuals, were the foundations of communities. Smith's revelations between 1831 and 1833 looked forward to a righteous civilization where all righteous Saints would dwell and God would be in charge. Smith's followers were to build, as one revelation described, the "mount Zion which shall be called the city New Jerusalem," a biblical allusion that placed the Mormon community on par with ancient Israel.[17] One Missouri resident quipped how Mormons, though still a minority in the area, "fancied that they were within the rudiments of an immense city."[18] As a later interpreter of Smith understood it, the benefits of this community were clear:

The farmer and his family . . . will enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker or professional man.[19]

It is crucial to understand how important this concept of community was to Joseph Smith. It was impossible to establish Zion at an individual level without access to and participation in a broader Zion society. Cities were not to be fled, but sacralized. As religious leaders were warning congregants of the evils rooted in urban cities, Smith argued that those evils were not inherent in urban communities, but rather by corruptions introduced by fallible human beings. The highest goal of sanctification, he posited, could only be gained through gathering and urbanization—as long as that gathering and urbanization was accomplished through righteous laws and led by a prophet. Zion was an established city, not an awakened individual.

Zion within America

Starting with William Penn in Philadelphia and continuing through the many new towns in the expanding American nation, nearly all speculators possessed their own city plats. The new nation with its vast amount of land invited such speculation, as the perceivably open landscape necessitated newly imagined city plans. As historian Richard Bushman put it: "Joseph's city of Zion was one flake in a blizzard of town plans in nineteenth-century America."[20] At the very same time Jackson County was being envisioned, New England wood engraver John Warner Barber sketched over three hundred towns in the region, many of which closely resembled the structure of Smith's Zion.[21] Even when compared to city plats in the American south, a superficial glimpse doesn't seem to reveal major departures. As one geographer claimed: "The significant point which emerges when the City of Zion plat is compared with contemporary American towns is the similarity of the City of Zion to the other towns."[22]

Yet upon closer inspection, the Mormon project possessed important divergences, not the least of which being the size and scope of the city. While very few New England towns were equipped for more than a few thousand people, Joseph Smith envisioned twenty thousand inhabitants. Such a city would have been leagues larger than every other town he had personally visited, save his short stay in Cincinnati in early 1831. Joseph Smith was nothing if not audacious. He understood his vision to be applicable to and amenable for large scales of people. The farm boy from the rural environ-

ment of upstate New York dreamed to build a metropolis that rivaled the large seaport cities he had only heard about. Nor would he settle for twenty thousand as the community's ceiling. When that limit was reached, boundaries were to be drawn and yet another large neighboring community built to exactly the same specifications. "When this square is thus laid off," the June plat explained, "lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days."[23]

When glancing through the geographical descriptions, engravings, and original plats for Americans towns in the early nineteenth century, one point became clear: land was *the* premium. Towns were often judged on how much land each prominent member was able to claim. This was especially true in New England, where Smith was born, and the frontier, where Smith was raised, organized his church, and moved his hundreds of followers. Town centers were understood to be the central tether that connected dispersed families and farms. Westward expansion and the image of an established farming gentleman influenced citizens to visualize a nationalist ideal centered on property ownership and secluded space. Towns were a necessity, but far from a luxury. They served a function of tying together dispersed units, but were more of a means than an end.[24]

But contrary to this national thrust, Smith's vision centered on urban design. His city plan was not based on practicality, but rather divine design. Instead of being a bland duplication of a pattern that could be repeated over and over again, Zion was literally the "center place" for a new civilization destined to expand as God's people multiplied. Gathering and city building were not incidental parts of sanctification, but the goal.

Significantly, one area in which Smith's plats were lacking compared to contemporary cities was the absence of a political nucleus. Rather than providing government buildings, town halls, or other centers of political activity that were crucial to antebellum city plans, Smith envisioned public temples. This was out of place for the hyper-politicized atmosphere of Jacksonian America. On the one hand, it could be seen as representative of Joseph Smith's millenarian views, in which political organizations are not required because the Second Coming of Christ was soon at hand.[25] On the other hand, it could have been Smith's theocratic views-in-embryo, where religious and political authority merged in a way that startled outside observers.[26] But it was probably even more complex than that. By leaving out forthright politics, Smith made his Zion plot malleable and amendable to various political realities.

Historians Mark Ashurst-McGee and Patrick Mason have sophisticatedly outlined the Mormon Prophet's developing political views, noting that there was a lot of flexibility throughout his life, especially when it came to his

response to America's pluralist society. Balancing his desire to build the political kingdom of God and his willingness to "befriend" the Constitution (D&C 98:6) forced Smith to be pragmatic in his views. Even when he was a boy, Smith was interested in political debates. One Palmyra neighbor recalled Smith as an active participant in a youth debating club, and remembered a particularly heated discussion on "political ethics."[27] Later years would witness him lauding the freedom of consciousness and religion in American government, welcoming competing ministers in LDS settings, and establishing a quasi-political government titled the Council of Fifty which included non-Mormon participation. His record with religious ecumenism was indeed spotty, but still open to possibilities.[28] The fact that he didn't denote a specific political space within his envisioned city lends credence to this complicated political philosophy and emphasizes the malleability of his urban designs. It also might represent Smith's fervent desire for political culture to mesh seamlessly with private life—an understandable reaction to a Jacksonian period known for its political unrest and revolt.

In many ways, then, Smith's city plans incorporated, appropriated, and critiqued common urban ideas in antebellum America. The Mormon Prophet experienced the issues with city development in his surrounding culture, and his mix of personal ideas and revelatory counsel led him in many new directions. But in so doing, that made his city all the more "American." It pushed him to consider new possibilities, innovate new designs, and overstep old structures. Nothing could better encapsulate the American vision.

Consecrating the People and the Land

Shortly after moving to Independence, Missouri, in the summer of 1832, Titus Billings signed a contract expressing his desire to enter into a financial agreement with Bishop Edward Partridge, the spiritual and temporal leader of the Church in Missouri. Billings, who hailed from Franklin County, Massachusetts, had been a member of the fledging movement for less than two years, yet he had enough faith in the project to dedicate all his material projects their cause. He and his wife, Diantha, had previously participated in a radical form of communal living, and were thus familiar with the concept of sharing all resources with a broader religious group. In "Zion"—the title Latter-day Saints placed upon their frontier town—the Billings once again entered into an agreement that today's individualist society finds cultish and extreme.

The agreement was clear. It was a form contract printed on the Church's press, with personal details filled in by hand. "BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, Titus Billings" the document proclaimed, "do, of my own free will and accord,

having first paid my just debts, grant and hereby give unto [Bishop] Edward Partridge of Jackson county . . . the following described property." Items included furniture, beds, bedding, clothing, farming tools, one horse, two wagons, two cows, and two calves. Altogether, the property was valued over three hundred dollars. This donation was given, the document continued, "For the purpose of purchasing lands <in Jackson County Mo,> and building up the New Jerusalem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor and needy"—the primary purposes of the Church's financial mechanism. Billings further covenanted both himself and all of his "heirs forever," releasing "all my right and interest to the above described property" unto the Church. There was then a place for signatures and dates at the bottom of the document.[29]

A second, associated document provides further contractual obligations, and it tethered his inheritance to the physical land of Independence. After loaning back to Billings precisely the same property he had consecrated, down to the same dollar and cent value, and after Billings pledged to donate "all that I shall make or accumulate more than is needful for the support and comfort of myself and family," Partridge then designated 27½ acres to Billings in Section 3, Township 49, Range 32, in Blue River Township. Significantly, there is no provision if he decided to leave the community and take back his possessions, since he "forfeit[ed] all claim to the above described leased and loaned property." But Billings didn't need such assurances. Now fully committed to the cause, he possessed a tangible footing in what promised to be Zion's capital city.[30]

Titus Billings's experience was far from atypical in early Mormonism, and his life provides important convergences with communalism in both the LDS movement as well as nineteenth century America in general. Born in 1793, he was raised in a tumultuous time in the early American republic. The young nation's democratic culture, coupled with the social upheavals that took place during Andrew Jackson's presidency, forced many citizens to consider radical alternatives to the common social norms. This was especially the case for those who already had deep religious inclinations. The biblical text provided potential revolutionary critiques to modern society, and the vibrant religious marketplace—in which numerous upstart religions battled for adherents in the wake of religious disestablishment—forced various churches to provide new and distinct answers to modernity's ills. Deeply religious groups like the Shakers offered a communal living distinct from the world, while a much more subtle spiritual impulse influenced more secular groups like the Transcendentalists in their utopian experiments.[31]

Besides these well-known movements, numerous smaller communities also sought to provide new alternatives to America's growing, ruthless, and capitalistic society. One of these took place just outside of Kirtland, Ohio.

Led by Isaac Morley and Titus Billings, successful businessmen who owned much of the property upon which the organization was based, a group of nearly a dozen families sought to live with "all things in common"—a rebuke of antebellum Ohio's individualist ethos.[32] Though they pulled portions of social theory from philosophers like Robert Owen, a Welsh utopian revolutionary and instigator of many communitarian reforms, Morley's followers were primarily influenced by their reading of the Bible. Lyman Wight, later a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, recalled that he sought out Morley and Billings due to his reading in "the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where they had all things common." Together, now called the "Morley Family," they "entered into a covenant to make our interests one as anciently." They built rows of log homes, various trade shops, and lots of planted fields. Everything was held in "common." This association was as religious as it was temporal. "We truly began to feel as if the millennium was close at hand," Wight wrote.[33]

Changes came within a year when four Mormon missionaries came calling. Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson arrived in town with the Book of Mormon and the story of a modern prophet. Following a swift conversion that brought scores into the Church, doubling the membership, Joseph Smith relocated to the Kirtland area, bringing converts from New York with him.[34] Once there, the Mormons established their own communitarian program, called the law of consecration, which had been referred to in Smith's early revelations—his expansion to the Book of Genesis which described Enoch's Zion as a literal settlement where there were "no poor"—but was not becoming a lived practicality. Indeed, the revelation that commanded Smith to move to Ohio promised that once there, they would receive "my law"—an obvious reference to the new economic commands.[35]

There were important differences in communal living after conversion to Mormonism. In the Morley settlement, based on the most popular social movements of the day, everyone held a joint ownership in the community's property; in Mormonism's interpretation of the law, everything belonged to the bishop's storehouse and was leased to participants, who in turn acted as stewards. In the Morley settlement, building on the democratic culture of antebellum America, everyone had the right to decide to leave and take their portion of the property with them; in Mormonism, at least initially, no similar escape clause was available. For Morley's follower's, everyone had a say in what happened with their proceeds. Under the law of consecration, Partridge and his counselors allocated assets.

Yet while there were strains of theocratic control, there were also seeds of economic reform. The bishops were designed to serve more like a modern

bank president than an ecclesiastical judge. Nearly all revelatory instructions given to Bishop Partridge in Missouri or later Bishop Whitney in Kirtland dealt with secular economic dealings, especially the management of property and funds for the betterment of the economic whole. Their storehouses were to serve as financial centers that allocated property and resources from a community's standpoint—a position of economic decision-making that would provide more stability than individualist necessity. However, because the benefits of financial liquidation were not yet available—experiments in speculation and economic investment several years later in Kirtland would prove to be disastrous—the Mormon bishops were severely constrained in what they could practice, and this led to basic reclamation of property (as seen with Titus Billings) and severe limitations of economic equality (as seen with the continuation of poor Mormon communities). But these ideals, though made nearly impossible by lived conditions, positioned Joseph Smith's imagined city as potentially amenable to making developments required of community-based urban plans.

A central principle of the Mormons' consecration practices was the emphasis on stewardship over individual ownership. When William W. Phelps, an early Church leader and overseer of the Church's printing endeavors, asked for reimbursement when his tools were reassigned, Joseph Smith scolded, "Bro. William—You say 'my press, my types, &c.' W[h]ere, our brethren ask, did you get them, & how came they to be 'yours'?" Smith reminded him that "it is We, not I, and all things are the Lord's and he opened the hearts of his Church to furnish these things, or we should not have been privileged with using them."[36] Such counsel flew against modernity's insistence on private property, and emphasized that people were accountable to God, not to themselves. Smith's interpretation of this economic order centralized and communalized property into an ecclesiastical order that bucked America's individualistic culture.

This did not mean, however, that the Mormon practice of communalism was overbearing and totalitarian; there was an important role of agency in it as well. When counseling Edward Partridge on how to handle donations, Joseph Smith wrote not to "condescend to very great particulars in taking inventories," because while "a man is bound by the law of the Church, to consecrate to the Bishop," this must be done "without constraint." He continued, "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."[37] One of Joseph Smith's revelations proclaimed that followers must be "anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will."[38] Another proclaimed they must be a "wise steward,"[39] implying that the very act of self-accountability was crucial to the communal process.

The Mormon conception of consecration played a dominant role in how Joseph Smith envisioned his city Zion. At the heart of his city blueprints was a critique of the capitalistic societal values then burgeoning around him. The birth of American culture is often pointed to as the birth of an individualistic societal value, an ideological shift that influenced how cities were imagined and communities were constructed. Where towns had previously been centered on the local parish or town hall, they were now predicated upon capitalistic markets epitomized in trade squares and economic hubs.

For merely one example, consider the early plat of Philadelphia. Like Independence, the central squares were reserved for public functions. But unlike Independence, those functions were primarily for the economic market, with even the government building playing a subordinate position to the capitalistic domain. Markets of trade were the hallmark of these cities, while all other public buildings were pushed to the margins of society. Philadelphia's example is significant, since it served as a precedent for many other towns in early America.[40] In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, the city was revamped during the early republic era, and community buildings were moved away from center squares and replaced with capitalistic market spaces.[41]

Yet everything in Joseph Smith's city planning project centered on the importance of community growth, not capitalistic gain. Participants received individual plots that circled community buildings, and structures were literally designed to bring the people together. Barns, stables, and farms were found outside the city, forcing farmers to work outside the community's boundaries, only to return in the evening. Unlike other cities of the period, Smith did not save the central city squares for capitalistic markets. The city was designed to do much more than merely aggregate economic endeavors; rather it was designed to weld a community of people together. Zion was to funnel both geography and priorities to the center—the temples. But those temples had a much broader definition than is used in later LDS discourse.

Sanctification through Community

Accompanying Smith's original plat of Zion was an outline for twenty-four buildings that were to take up two of the central squares in the plat—houses of ecclesiastical function and worship.[42] The plat itself assured the Missouri brethren that "the size form and demensions [*sic*] were given us of the Lord." The structures were to be eighty-seven feet long and sixty-one feet wide, and include two stories and four floors. The "inner court" was to be seventy-eight by sixty-one feet, filled with pews for congregants (see Figure 5). (The verbiage seemed to indicate that there should also be an outer court, but later
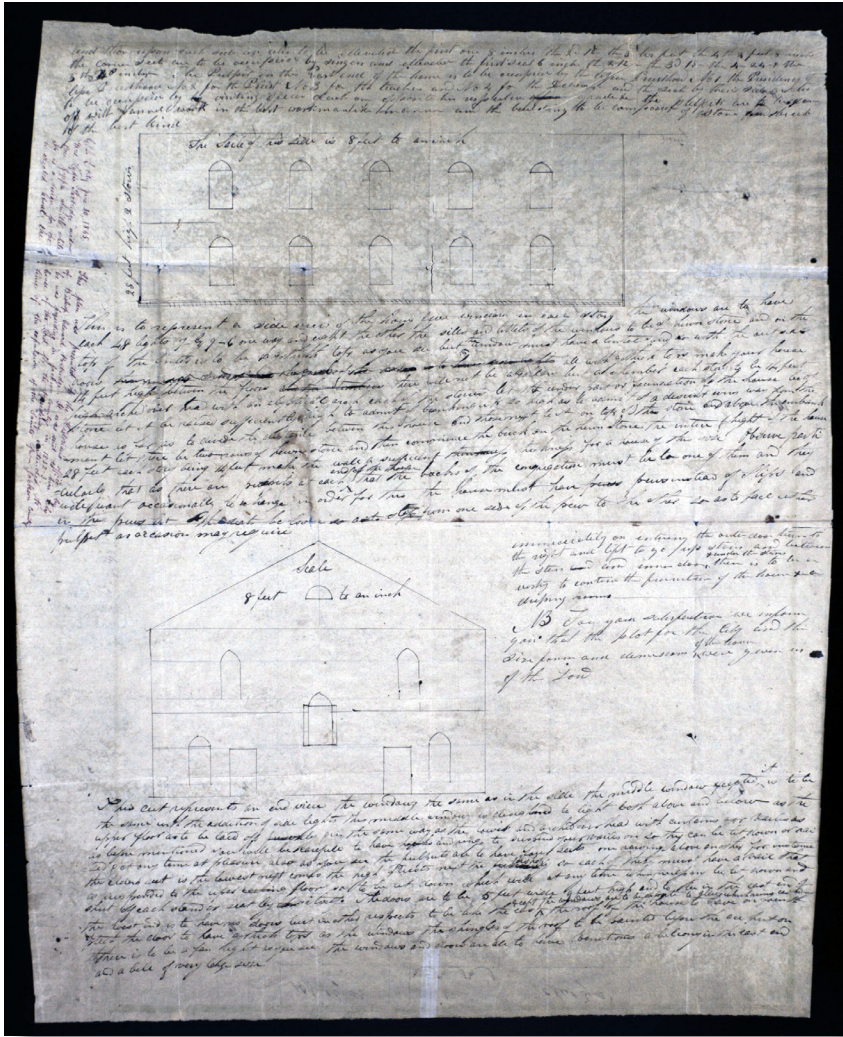
Figure 5. Joseph Smith, Plan of the House of the Lord, exterior, June 25, 1833, text and drawing by Frederick G. Williams, Image courtesy Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

LDS structures added only a small vestibule or entrance area outside the inner court, making the structure much more cramped than originally envisioned.) These plans were amazingly intricate, detailing not only the length and number of pews but also the size of partitions, the structure of windows, and an elaborate set of elevated pulpits at either end of the room. What appeared
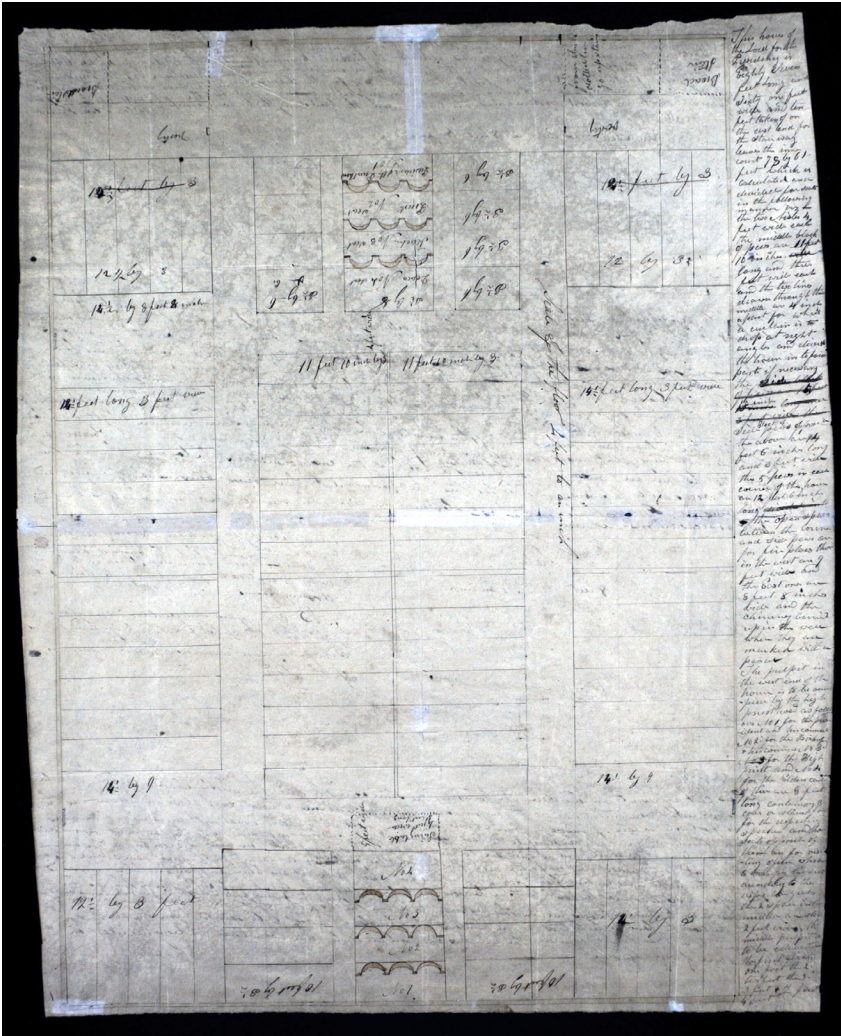
Figure 6. Joseph Smith, Plan of the House of the Lord, interior, June 25, 1833, text and drawing by Frederick G. Williams, Image courtesy Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

to be a very ordinary structure from the outside quickly became a very unique interior design (see Figure 6).[43]

Joseph Smith called these buildings "temples." Modern readers are often puzzled at the need for twenty-four sacred buildings, when later LDS communities centered on only one, including the contemporary settlement of Kirtland. Why not build one or two temples? Twenty-four buildings with

the relatively the same function appear to be inefficient for a community that places such an emphasis on efficiency. Richard Bushman has argued that this was a point of disagreement between Smith and his scribe Frederick Williams. The latter, Bushman wrote, understood them as something more secular and thus labeled them "community buildings"; the former envisioned something more sacred, and thus called them "temples."[44] Even if this tautology is indicative of Mormonism's sacred collapse, it presents some difficulties for contemporary scholars.

But the truth is probably somewhere between sacred and secular. They were indeed meant to be "sacred" buildings, but what entailed "sacred" was much more elastic. It must be remembered that the modern Mormon definition of "temple" was not in place in 1832. Scattered references to the promised building(s) occurred increasingly throughout Joseph Smith's revelations, but never explicitly or with extended rigor. In December 1830, Joseph Smith was told that the Lord will "suddenly come to my temple," though he wasn't provided with specific information.[45] Revelations received in 1831 emphasized the temple merely as a place for "gathering," but it served more as an abstract image than a concrete ideal.[46] But when Joseph Smith first arrived in Independence, he claimed a revelation that specified an exact spot for the temple, "upon a lot which is not far from the court-house."[47] Later revelations provided more information, but still nothing concrete that resembles today's temple practice. It was referred to as "a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of the Lord."[48] Many types of activities can fit within those parameters.

Indeed, the temples outlined in the plat were meant to function much differently than modern temples. Put simply, they were to serve as multi-purpose public buildings for religious, secular, social, and political purposes. The fact that the plats lacked any other public buildings in the entire city confirms that these temples were to do more than host religious gatherings. If they were meant to be solely religious structures, the city would have required more public space to perform basic public functions. In an important way, then, these multi-functional buildings collapsed the public and sacred purposes of a community into one. And in doing so, they embody a notion of sanctification separate from—or at least more than—liturgy or ritual.

In an expansive and eclectic revelation received in December 1832, Church members were commanded to "assembl [*sic*] yourselves together, and organize yourselves, and prepare yourselves, and sanctify yourselves." The main vehicle for this reform was to "teach one another, the doctrines, of the kingdom." But "doctrine" was understood very loosely, and included things as divergent as history, astronomy, geology, and politics. The Saints were to teach each other, and to do so in a peaceful way that avoided contention and

introduced communal improvement. Rather than the traditional Protestant notion of sanctification leading *to* knowledge, Smith's revelation assumed that sanctification came *through* knowledge.[49] The immediate repercussion of this command was the establishment of the School of the Prophets in Kirtland (and School of the Elders in Independence). The long-term ramification was the image of society built around knowledge, improvement, and cohesion.

Indeed, the fact that these structures closely resembled the outlines of a schoolroom should not be overlooked. Education for Joseph Smith symbolized something much more than merely the accumulation of facts. It meant a communal practice indicative of both individual and group progression. Knowledge was power; societal knowledge was Zion. By patterning his sacred and public buildings after modified pedagogical spaces, the Prophet centered his movement on spiritual and educational growth. It wasn't until a decade later that he preached, "Whatever principal of intelligence we obtain in this life will rise with us in the resurrection," and if "a person gains more knowledge in this life through his diligence & obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come"[50]—but the framework for knowledge at the center of an eternal quest was certainly present in his 1833 plats.

In identifying community knowledge as a salient feature of his urban design, Smith mirrored an antebellum zeal for pedagogical reform. Many Americans during the era believed that through the improvement of teaching, there would be an improvement in civilization. From Amos Bronson Alcott's controversial schooling experiments in Boston, meant to tap into a child's natural impulses, to the national Lyceum movement that sought to increase education among adults, America was awash with cultural reformations implemented through teaching.[51] But no antebellum reform was so devoted as Joseph Smith to education's importance that they based their entire urban design upon it.

Conclusion

Engaging Joseph Smith's vision for urban planning offers an acute snapshot of his theological development as construed in 1833. Developments in succeeding years would move his corpus farther along Mormonism's radical trajectory, especially with new rituals and doctrinal teachings that further established their unique soteriology. But the foundation was set, in a very tangible sense, with Smith's city plats. Most important, the notion of relational salvation—through urban living, consecration, and finally communal sanctification—was both introduced and reinforced by how Smith envisioned a Zion society. And the fact that he both reacted to and

incorporated from his broader environment in doing so demonstrates the porous relationship between Mormonism and Mormonism's context. Such an undertaking projects not only the genius of the builder, but also the dynamism of his cultural toolbox.

Notes

1. James Gordon Bennett, "Highly Important from the Far West—Progress of the Mormons," *New York Herald*, August 27, 1841.

2. Previous examinations of the city plans for Independence include Ronald E. Romig and John H. Seibert, "Jackson County, 1831–1833: A Look at the Development of Zion," *Restoration Studies* 3 (1986): 286–384; Max H. Parkin, "Independence, Missouri," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed., S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994): 40; Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 1–14; Richard H. Jackson, "The City of Zion Plat," *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Brandon S. Plewe (Provo: BYU Studies, 2012, 38–39; and Richard Bushman, "Making Space for the Mormons," in Richard Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays*, ed. Reid L. Neilson and Jed W. Woodworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004): 173–198. The best treatment of Joseph Smith's "Zion" project is Mark Ashurst-McGee, "Zion Rising: Joseph Smith's Early Social and Political Thought" (PhD Dissertation: Arizona State University, 2008). For Joseph Smith's blending of sacred and secular, see Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 37–52.

3. For microhistory, I mostly follow the methodology loosely outlined in Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (June 2001): 129–44. For teasing out cultural significance from city planning, I follow the example of Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

4. Revelation, July 20, 1831 [D&C 57:3], in Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations, Volume 1: Manuscript Revelation Books*, vol. 1 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church Historian's Press, 2009), 93 (hereafter referred to as *JSP*, R1 and R2).

5. Joseph Smith, Plat of the City of Zion, circa June 1833, text and drawing by Frederick G. Williams, MS 2568 [fld] 1, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Although the drawings and the accompanying description are unsigned, an analysis of the handwriting shows it to be that of Frederick G. Williams. In a letter accompanying the temple drawings under the date of June 25, 1833, Church leaders in Kirtland wrote: "We send by this mail, a draft of the city of Zion, with explanations, and a draft of the house to be built immediate in Zion, for the Presidency, as well as for all purposes of religion and instruction. Joseph Smith to Brethren in Zion, June 25, 1833, Church History Library. See also Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 9.

6. Joseph Smith, Plat of the City of Zion, circa August 1833, text by Oliver Cowdery,

drawing by Frederick G. Williams, MS 2568 [fld] 2, Church History Library.

7. I draw on the comparative cartography found in John Hamer, "The Temple Lot: Visions and Realities," bycommonconsent.com/2009/1/19/the-temple-lot/, accessed May 30, 2013.

8. Scholars of theoretical cartography have argued for some time now for a distinction between cities as imagined and cities as incorporated. See, for instance, essays in Christian Jacob, Edward H. Dahl, and Tom Conley, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography Throughout History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

9. Most prominent is Warren Jennings, "Zion is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (PhD Dissertation: University of Florida, 1962).

10. Works on city building in the young nation include James D. Kornwolf's magisterial *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). For a broader scope, see John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

11. Work on the sociability of humankind in the Enlightenment is voluminous. See, for example, Carl Becker, The Heavenly *City of Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Louis K. Dupre, *The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 153–86; David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

12. Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve* (Rochester: William Alling, 1852), 213.

13. For society within the Book of Mormon, see Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Ashurst-McGee, Zion Rising, 109–55.

14. Ashurst-McGee, "Zion Rising," 124.

15. Revelation, January 2, 1831 [D&C 38:32], in *JSP*, R1, 52.

16. Joseph Smith to William W. Phelps, November 27, 1832, Church History Library.

17. Revelation, September 22–23, 1832 [D&C 84:2], in *JSP*, R1,

18. Isaac McCoy, statement, November 28, 1833, quoted in Ashurst-McGee, "Zion Rising," 234.

19. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, UT: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 1:311–12.

20. Bushman, "Making Space for the Mormons," 179.

21. John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts, with Geographical Descriptions* (Worcester, MA: Dorr, Howland, & Co., 1839). Barber performed most of his research and writing in the early 1830s.

22. Jackson, "The Mormon Village," 3.

23. "Explanation of the Plat of the City of Zion," circa June 25, 1833, Church History Library.

24. See Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The Making of Urban America*, ed. Raymon A. Mohl (Lanham, MD: SR Books, 2006): 73–92.

25. See Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

26. See Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

27. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, 215.

28. See Patrick Q. Mason, "God and the People: Theodemocracy in Nineteenth-Century Mormonism," *Journal of Church and State* 53, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 350–58; "'The Wars and the Perplexities of Nations': Reflections on Early Mormonism, Violence, and the State," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 72–89; Mark Ashurst-McGee, "Zion in America: The Origins of Mormon Constitutionalism," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 90–101; and Ashurst-McGee, "Zion Rising."

29. Titus Billings, consecration deed with Edward Partridge, [No. 1], undated, circa 1832, Church History Library.

30. Edward Partridge, stewardship deed with Titus Billings, [No. 2], undated, circa 1832, Church History Library.

31. The standard treatment of the period is Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For an especially acute look at the social revolutions behind religious ferment, see Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

32. For the individualist ethos in antebellum Ohio, see Steven Harper, "Every Man Walketh in His Own Way: Individualism, Revelation, and Authority in the Ohio Period," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Ohio and Upper Canada*, ed. Guy L. Dorius, Craig J. Ostler, and Craig K. Manscill (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2006), 39–51.

33. Lyman Wight, Journal, as cited in Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the [Reorganized] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805–1890*, 4 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1967), 1:152–53. An overview of the Morley community is found in Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 43–48. A contemporary account is found in Josiah Jones, "History of the Mormonites," *The Evangelist* 9 (June 1, 1831): 132–36.

34. The story of these large groups' conversion is documented in Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 4 (Summer 1971): 474–96.

35. Mormonism's economic practices have received much attention over the years. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, considered the dean of American religious history, wrote decades ago that Smith's Zion project was the antebellum period's "most powerful example of communitarian aspiration." Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 508. For an extensive overview of the introduction and practice of the law of consecration in Kirtland, Ohio, see Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People*, 195–257.

36. Joseph Smith to Edward Partridge, William, W. Phelps, and others, March 30, 1834, Oliver Cowdery Letterbook, 36, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

37. Joseph Smith to Edward Partridge, June 25, 1833, Church History Library.

38. Revelation, August 1, 1831 [D&C 58:27], *JSP*, R1, 96.

39. Revelation, December 4, 1831 [D&C 72:26], *JSP*, R2, 15.

40. See William I. Goodman, ed., *Principles and Practices of Urban Planning* (Washington, DC: International City Managers' Association, 1968), 9.

41. See Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

42. Regarding the architectural design of the Kirtland House of the Lord, Mormon architect Truman Angell remembered that Joseph Smith and his counselors, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams "called on the Lord, and the Building appeared within viewing distance." Frederick G. Williams, quoted by Truman O. Angell, in Truman Osborn Angell, *Autobiography*, 1884, 14–15, Church History Library.

43. "Plan of the House of the Lord," June 25, 1833, Church History Library.

44. Bushman, "Making Space for the Mormons," 181-187.

45. Revelation, December 9, 1930 [D&C 36:8], *JSP*, R1, 49.

46. Revelation, February 9, 1831 [D&C 42:9], *JSP*, R1, 63; and Revelation, March 7, 1831 [D&C 45:64–71] *JSP*, R1, 75–76.

47. Revelation, July 20, 1831 [D&C 57:1–3], *JSP*, R1, 93.

48. Revelation, December 27–28, 1832 [D&C 88:119], *JSP*, R2, 45–46.

49. Revelation, December 27–28, 1832 [D&C 88:74–80], *JSP*, R1, 40–41.

50. Joseph Smith, sermon, William Clayton journal, April 2, 1843 [D&C 130:18], in Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *Journals: Volume 2, December 1841–April 1843*, vol. 2 of the journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), 404.

51. For information on Alcott's educational experiments see Frederick Dahlstrand, *Amos Bronson Alcott: An Intellectual Biography* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982); for the Lyceum movement see Angela G. Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century United States* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2005).