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# Searching for the New Zion. Salt Lake or the Invisible City

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**Abstract:** In Mormonism the idea of Zion was prominent from the beginning. Joseph Smith was initially looking for an American city to become the City of God, the New Zion. Afterwards, he aimed at founding a brand new city. Finally, after several unsuccessful attempts and Smith's death, Brigham Young realized the Mormons needed a whole new land, with its capital located beyond the reach of hostile Gentiles. Thus, Mormons marched far away to the West, and Salt Lake City was set up, planned and developed. But the idea of Salt Lake-Zion involved a contradiction. It should be a pure, organized, harmonious, saint and luminous city, reflecting the Glory of the Lord. But it also should attract people from all over the world, in order to finally conquer the Earth and surrender all nations to the true God. And these tensions have been present all along Salt Lake City history: a city both hidden and a crossroad, sacred and mundane, spiritual and material, apart from the U.S. and a State of the Union, where the LDS Church is a big corporation, and most companies have some religious component. It was designed to be a secret, invisible city, but also to eventually become the axis mundi, and the place for the Lord to arrive in His second and final coming.

**Keywords:** Salt Lake City, Zion, city of God, city planning, plat, temple, Mormons, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Utah.

## 1. Introduction: the meaning of Zion

If there was ever a city that was designed to be invisible, Salt Lake City was it. In the early 19th century, North America was a melting pot of European immigrants mostly originating from Protestant countries, except for the south and south-west of North America which was almost exclusively Hispanic and Catholic, from northern California to Florida. However, each Protestant community professed their own version of Christianity: Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc. Whenever there were dissensions inside a community because of religious or theological issues, the minority party was invariably expelled and its members were invited, or rather forced, to settle a new and reduced community some hundred miles away. This procedure prevented religious tensions from turning into open conflict and religious wars, as had been the case for a long time in modern Europe. Additionally, religious denominations within Protestant Christianity repeatedly multiplied,

and this diversity ended up forming an essential part of American culture and idiosyncrasy.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of Zion was essential to the American theological mentality, in several of its manifestations, as it represented the fulfilment of two long term hopes: the arrival in the Promised Land (often identified with the United States, or with a specific part of it) and the place where believers should wait for the approaching Second Coming of Christ, while living in total harmony, order and happiness under the law of God. «Zion, as a doctrinal concept, was central to nineteenth-century Mormonism. Joseph Smith spoke of the necessity to create a 'Zion-like' society, where the Saints would abide by the governing laws of the gospel, and thereby live in harmony with one another under a theocratic government. In this society the Saints would live under the law of consecration, where all possessions would be held in common. Pride, greed, immorality, and crime would not be found there. It would be a place for the 'pure in heart.' Such a Utopian state of being was to be achieved in preparation for the millennial reign of Christ.»<sup>2</sup> Joseph Smith envisioned Zion as an actual, geographical location. He stated that North America was blessed land; more specifically, he started to make prophecies regarding Zion, designating Jackson County in Missouri as the site for the final location, the one predestined to become the New Jerusalem. It was there that Jesus Christ was to return, the same Jesus that had preached to the Jews eighteen centuries ago in Palestine:

It is to be the headquarters, it is to be the place where the Son of Man will come and dwell, where He will have a Temple, in which Temple there will be a throne prepared where Jesus will dwell in the midst of His people; it will be the great central city, and the outward branches will be called Stakes wherever they shall be organized as such.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Joseph Smith after Zion

Joseph Smith was born in 1805 in Vermont. As a teenager he lived in Western New York, where the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening was in full swing in this period.<sup>4</sup> When Smith had his first religious vision (in 1820, according to Scriptures) he asked the two personages that appeared before him:<sup>5</sup> «which of all the sects was right — for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong— and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the Personage who addressed

me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt». <sup>6</sup> For all «standard» Christian denominations, Mormons are undoubtedly non-Christians (after all they have new Sacred Scriptures, <sup>7</sup> they are polytheist, and crucially they believe God, our God, is not eternal: a long time ago He was a man). However, for Joseph Smith from that moment on, his «new» religion was the only genuinely Christian religion and represented the restoration and revival of a Christianity that had been completely abrogated by the end of the first century AD.

Just a decade after his first vision, the «new religion» was ready for public release. In 1830 the *Book of Mormon* was published in Palmyra (New York) and the *Church of Christ* was officially registered. However, establishing and organizing a church is no easy matter. Due to the hostility felt in the State of New York, in January 1831 a small Mormon community headed by Smith settled in Kirtland, Ohio. This was but the first step along the Mormons' long and strenuous escape to the west. In June 1831, Joseph asked Newel Knight to lead the first group of Saints to Missouri to find a suitable site for the City of Zion. Shortly afterwards, a smaller group headed by Sydney Rigdon settled in Independence, Missouri. This latter site was supposed to become the New Jerusalem, the place for Zion in America.

Mormons were usually treated with hostility by their neighbours, both for religious and socio-political reasons. After all, every other Christian denomination was regarded by Mormons as a product of the Devil. After several episodes of tension and attack, in 1833 the Mormons were violently expelled from Independence, despite a paramilitary troop captained by Joseph Smith having come to their aid. For the first time, Smith realized his Church would need an army to fulfil his mission. Now that Kirtland was its only base, Smith developed the structure of his Church, including the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, the ceremonies of endowment and, most importantly, the temple. It appears that during the Kirtland temple dedication ceremony (1836) attendants' religious experience reached a passionate climax, including visions of angels, glossolalia and prophesizing. <sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, a year later the Church was in a critical financial situation; building the temple had been financed by credit it was now unable to pay back. Smith's «brilliant» idea was to create the Kirtland Safety Society as a Church bank. Mormons started to issue bank notes before they had received legal authorization from the State to operate as a bank. When authorization was eventually denied it was too late to stop distributing bank notes, and Smith and his colleagues continued to go ahead. Many people bought the notes and invested in the bank, which declared itself bankrupt shortly afterwards. The Church was under increasingly intense pressure from debt collectors who wanted to recover their money. Smith was eventually charged with banking fraud, and, as a result, many Mormons abandoned the Church, including some prominent members. <sup>9</sup> By January 1838 Joseph Smith and Sydney Rigdon had fled to Missouri, leaving behind the impressive temple that had been so costly to build.

Next, Smith designated the city of Far West as the site that should become the New Zion. The Church was rebaptized as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Days

Saints (its current denomination), and the Saints started to build a new temple. In spite of having been ruined and cheated, many of Smith's followers moved from Kirtland to Far West after him. Unfortunately, disputes with Far West's own inhabitants meant that the experience at Independence repeated itself. This time, Joseph thought Mormons should be more combative, both with dissenters inside the Church and aggressive anti-Mormons outside, and he formed a secret militia called the Danites. After several tense episodes, in August 1838 Mormon barns and farms were attacked and burned, and they responded by looting non-Mormon towns. Mistaking them for an anti-Mormon militia, they attacked the Missouri State militia. As a result, the Governor ordered that all Mormons should be *exterminated or expelled* from the State. This meant that neither Ohio nor Missouri were suitable locations for establishing Zion. Following this incident, the Mormons surrendered to the State army, forfeited their properties and abandoned Missouri, while Joseph was accused of treason and imprisoned. While Smith was in prison, Brigham Young took over as the stable leader who would lead approximately 14,000 Mormons to Illinois and Iowa. Smith escaped from prison in April 1839.

Due to the fact that Mormons had been massacred and prosecuted, Joseph Smith succeeded in convincing the Illinois authorities to consider them to be an unjustly oppressed minority, and they received permission to establish themselves in Illinois. This time Smith was aware that it would be impossible to found Zion in an existing city, and it must be created in a brand new one. As a result, he founded Nauvoo. Thanks to influential Mormon authorities, the city was granted an important charter that endowed it with broad legal powers, a university and even a proper militia, whose chief commander was, naturally, Joseph Smith. This period in Nauvoo was most productive in terms of innovation, with regard to both liturgy (such as the new rites of endowment) and theology, from the *baptism of the dead* to the doctrine of *plural* (or celestial) *marriage*, <sup>10</sup> a doctrine that would cause Mormons so many problems in the future. And, of course, work started on building a new temple once more; this time it was built to impose. The Mormon community gathered some twelve thousand members, instead of only one hundred as at Kirtland, and their efforts aimed to build the most splendid and magnificent architectural monument in the New World. On this occasion the temple was designed by the prestigious Mormon architect William Weeks, in a Greek Revival style, following directions from Joseph's revelation on the matter. The significance of the functions that would be accomplished by and at the temple cannot be overestimated. As Joseph put it: «As soon as the temple and baptismal font are prepared, we calculate to give the Elders of Israel their washings and anointings, and attend to those last and more impressive ordinances, without which we cannot obtain celestial thrones. But there must be a holy place prepared for that purpose.» <sup>11</sup>

More importantly to this topic is how Joseph's idea of Zion mutated. Instead of conceiving Zion to be a specific town or city, Zion was now considered to be the whole American continent. In the summer of 1842, Smith revealed a plan to establish the millennial Kingdom of God, which would eventually establish theocratic rule over the whole earth. In 1843 Smith asked Congress to make Nau-

vo an independent territory. After failed attempts to persuade candidates for the presidential election to implement his legislative demands, he decided to run for the election himself. He established a Council, one of whose functions was to select a site for a large Mormon settlement in Texas, California, or Oregon, where Mormons would be able to live under theocratic law outside any other governmental control. By now Smith was convinced that, to establish Zion, simply building a city was not enough: they needed a state that was out of the reach of control by American Congress. Only then would they be able to have a city that was concealed from hostile non-Mormons.

In 1844, some leading members of the Church denounced Smith's polygamy and the new and outrageous doctrine of polytheism and were excommunicated. They founded a newspaper to attack Smith's deviant doctrines and practices. The Nauvoo militia headed by Smith burned down the press. This prompted various riots and attempted uprisings, and, as a result, the State Governor, after threatening to call out the Army, imprisoned Smith in Carthage, Illinois. He was accused of treason and eventually a furious armed mob attacked the prison and shot him. Three months later, by the end of April 1846, the temple was finished. However, it was then abandoned to its fate; years later it was burned down by an arsonist, and then further destroyed by a tornado. Only the bell from the tower was kept by the Saints as a symbol and brought with them to Utah.

### 3. The Exodus of the Saints

After Joseph's death the Church suffered a severe succession crisis that led to some minor splits<sup>12</sup>. Sidney Rigdon, the president of the Church, claimed he was Smith's successor as leader, but Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, was quick to organize a Council and excommunicated Rigdon. Most Mormons accepted Young. This was fortunate for the movement, since Brigham Young had a very capable and pragmatic mind, a steely determination and a far less conflictive temperament than Smith.<sup>13</sup> He clearly understood that there would be no place for Mormons until they had travelled out of the reach of hostile religious Americans, the Federal Government and Army jurisdiction. Consequently, he prepared his people for an Exodus to the far West in search of the true Zion, looking for a place where the rule of God, not American Congress, was the only law. They spent three years making an arduous, zigzagging pilgrimage through Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska and Wyoming, establishing successive provisional settlements at Winter Quarters, Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger until they finally reached the north of what would later become Utah. It was then an almost unexplored territory, populated by a few Indians (the Ute tribe) and theoretically under Mexican control, but with unclear borders and no real governmental power. The last obstacle to the Saints' goal was the Rocky Mountains, but a 15 km passageway, to be named Emigration Canyon, allowed the Saints to reach their final destination and get themselves to safety in the valley behind the mountains.<sup>14</sup>

When Brigham Young arrived in the Grand Salt Lake Valley on July 1847 he thought it would be the perfect location to erect the invisible city (to human eyes), and the splendour of God under theocratic rule. As John Turner says:

Upon their settlement in the Great Basin, the Mormons... entered what they understood to be a new era. They were now free from previous constraints, free to govern themselves according to their beliefs, and free to openly practice the doctrine of celestial marriage. The Mormon exodus, however, was far more than a withdrawal from the antebellum United States. In reliving the experiences of the biblical Israelites, the Mormons had re-entered a more ancient stream of sacred history. In the Great Basin, Young governed the church like an Israelite judge or patriarch, giving his judgement in criminal cases, settling marital disputes, and regularly visiting new settlements to maintain his personal bond with far-flung Saints.<sup>15</sup>

The true and definitive Zion, Great Salt Lake City<sup>16</sup>, was then founded. By the end of 1847, Brigham Young was appointed president of the LDS Church (as he also was Governor of the sacred land, baptized as Deseret). Unfortunately for Young's plans, the United States was winning the war against Mexico that had begun the previous year, and in 1848 all territory was surrendered to the United States and baptized as Utah. Nevertheless, the Mormon establishment was respected by Congress, and Young was opportunely appointed its first American Governor. This gave Young enough leeway to implement a theocratic government with Mormon rules, including the public acceptance of polygamy, which was publicly exposed and defended in a conference that took place in Salt Lake City in 1852.<sup>17</sup> «The hierarchy's domination of Utah's territorial government was closer to the extent and spirit of Nauvoo's theocratic city-state, but general authorities were also active in municipal office.»<sup>18</sup> In contrast to their extensive involvement in municipal and territorial government, the general authorities had relatively minimal participation in county government, where in several places the population was not predominantly Mormon.

It is indeed to Young's credit that he entirely designed and organized the city. The temple was obviously placed in the central square, surrounded by the Mormon Tabernacle (inspired by the Moses tabernacle), the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and other subsequent historical landmarks. In 1850 he founded the University and in the following years he developed all city services: roads, warehouses, mail service, schools, factories and all kind of companies, because the main aim was to establish an economically self-sufficient society with minimal dependence on external resources. This was fully in line with the typically mercantile American frame of mind which was and continues to be so pervasive in the LDS church. As Michael Quinn puts it: «Almost from the beginning, the business of the LDS church has been business».<sup>19</sup> By the end of 1852 Brigham Young had achieved a most improbable feat: nearly 20,000 Saints occupied Great Salt Lake City and various settlements from San Bernardino in California to northern Utah, and each year companies of Mormons added thousands of members to the territory's population.

By 1858, after several disagreements with official (non-Mormon) American authorities, Young was dismissed from his post by the American President, who appointed a non-Mormon Governor and used the Army to enforce his decree. Mormons had to prepare to fight once more. However, Young wisely declared an eventual submission to the American Government, avoiding an actual war, but also putting an end to the autonomy of the territory, although, in reality, Mormon authorities continued to hold almost all political and civil power in the valley, and most matters were decided by them.

Another factor influenced Young's initial plans of living in the city of God far away from secular interference. The transcontinental rail road, the Union Pacific, reached Utah in 1869 finishing de facto with the Mormon's relative isolation. «Relative», because this isolation had already been severely interfered with by the successive waves of non-Mormon migrants (usually referred to as «Gentiles») travelling to California in the gold rush that started from 1849 onwards. In spite of having been largely reluctant to mix with or even contact foreigners, Young changed his mind concerning the train when in 1870 a revelation came upon him commending Mormons to invest in the railroad.<sup>20</sup> The phenomenon of president/prophets, and even LDS church apostles, regularly receiving revelations that described where and how they should invest their money and resources was nothing new; it was currency from Smith's times, and a recurrent practice also for Young and his successors when acting as prophet/president. Brigham Young died in 1877 and for the next thirteen years conflict with American Congress resumed and intensified until 1890, when the LDS Church yielded and declared full submission to the Congress ruling and to American law.

#### 4. Envisaging the City of God

To focus on the subject of this study, what was the plan for building the City of God on American land? From the very beginning, Smith had visions that he was the Prophet chosen to finally build the genuine Zion, which had been sought by so many former prophets. In the Book of Mormon, the prophet Ether has a vision about a New Jerusalem in America: «the house of Joseph shall be built upon this land; and it shall be a land of their inheritance; and they shall build up a holy city unto the Lord, like unto the Jerusalem of old» (Ether, 13, 4-8). Just some months after the Church was founded, in September 1830 Smith had a revelation asserting «No man knoweth where the city Zion shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter. Behold, I say unto you that it shall be on the borders by the Lamanites».<sup>21</sup> A month later, another revelation further explained that for the Saints: «the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked».<sup>22</sup> By the end of that year, for the first time Smith issued specific directions about the place where his church would be gathered: all Saints should provisionally be gathered in Ohio. Some years later, when

recalling this period, Smith wrote in his *History of the Church*:

I received, by a heavenly vision, a commandment in June [1831], 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, with certain ones of my brethren, and after a long and tedious journey, suffering many privations and hardships, 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 up building of an "holy city," which should be called Zion.<sup>23</sup>

Smith's idea was more akin to the literal ancient Hebrew understanding of building the city of God on Earth as a physical reality (with the monumental temple as its hub) than with the common Christian understanding of a heavenly, purely spiritual community of saints enjoying the Glory of God. The temple should play a role similar to that of the Temple of Solomon in the ancient unified kingdom of Israel: religious and political, liturgical and administrative. By 1833 Joseph had already produced a first city diagram, two years after the pioneering Saints reached Jackson County in Missouri. The plan was a one-mile square grid, typical to town planning practice of the time. The details comprised «the reservation of central blocks for church buildings and of other special blocks for public buildings, and the inclusion of farmers' and ranchers' domiciles within the city boundaries. Barns, corrals, and agricultural zones were relegated to the outskirts or beyond».<sup>24</sup> As can be seen, Smith enjoyed a highly multifaceted mind that could tackle issues related to theology, the military, business, high politics and also city planning and architecture.

A decisive element that would provide identity, cohesion and also ensure submission was the distribution of Mormon towns into wards. For Mormons, these physically delimited communities were like a big family that both allowed and obliged them to forge strong bonds with their neighbours, to be accountable to their local leaders and to handle important tasks. Communities also developed high levels of self-sufficiency, so that the ward members were able to provide for most or all of their material needs without having to resort to other wards or to the main local authorities and institutions. This method of organization provides a strong sense of membership and also efficiently controls members' behaviour. Joseph's original idea of how the Saints' city should be planned was subsequently reproduced in the hundreds of Mormon towns that were built all along the western part of North America up to the present day.<sup>25</sup>

#### 5. From the Original Plan to Salt Lake City Planning

As we have seen, the original city plat was drafted by Joseph Smith some two years after the initial group of Mormons had been sent to settle in Jackson County. Twice during that period, Smith made the strenuous round-trip journey, travelling over 1,700 miles, to Inde-

pendence, Missouri, to visit the Saints and encourage them in their mission. Apparently content with their desire to move forward with the project, he finally mailed the plat on June 25, 1833. In the plat margins he explained the layout and content of the city, including its dimensions.<sup>26</sup>

The city plan had a central ecclesiastical, public, and commercial area surrounded by symmetrically arranged blocks composed of single-family dwellings. The initial adoption of a square-mile grid pattern was in keeping with the federal land survey of 1785. The use of a square grid pattern for the construction of new settlements was typical to this period in American history. However, it was the Utopian premise behind Smith's plan and how it was to be implemented, using the grid pattern, that set it apart from other American cities. In summary the plan states: «1) The city was to be divided into a square grid pattern, 2) Central blocks were reserved for ecclesiastical buildings, 3) Specific blocks were reserved for public buildings—storehouses, schools and parks, 4) The city was divided into ecclesiastical districts called wards resulting in the possible creation of social units or neighbourhoods. 5) Individual family lots were regulated relative to the siting of dwellings and the enhancement of the community, 6) The farmers and ranchers lived within the boundaries of the city in order to be part of the larger community. 7) An agricultural greenbelt was to be created, 8) Barns, corrals, and heavy industry were to be located on the periphery of the city.»<sup>27</sup> A peculiar aspect of the domestic area was the arrangement of individual lots. They were positioned so that no single dwelling was opposite another, thereby creating a mixed sense of openness and privacy within the whole community. Also, it was proposed that when the city reached its optimum population of 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, satellite communities of the same size and pattern would be created in order to accommodate expected growth.

Soon after Smith released his first plan, Frederick Williams, a physician and one of Joseph's closest counsellors, was in charge of revising the plan, mainly to correct several oversights found in the initial design. Williams made substantial modifications, and it was indeed his plan that was subsequently further revised and applied in the various failed attempts to establish Zion before Salt Lake City: Kirtland, Far West and particularly Nauvoo.<sup>28</sup>

It is not necessary to go into further detail here about how these successive plans were implemented and developed in the cities described above; instead, this study will specifically focus on Salt Lake City. The valley in the Utah basin was a hard place to settle. Instead of swampy bottomland or the lush trees and foliage that the Saints had enjoyed at earlier settlements, this was almost a desert country; it was treeless with sandy soil, although the high grass could sustain grazing. The area had been traversed by traders and trappers, but not by white settlers. The Ute Indians were further south. Legend says that when Young saw it for the first time he said: «This is the right place, drive on.» Young designed the town, planning it very thoroughly. All streets should be 132 feet wide, have enough space for an ox train to turn around, and be numbered and named from the temple lot reserved in the centre. The streets should have twenty-foot sidewalks; lots were to be one and a quarter acres, with eight lots to

the block and houses set twenty feet back from the street.<sup>29</sup>

The first task in laying out the City of God was to mark the spot for a temple, and the location of a base and meridian point from which the new city could be platted. The responsibility of finding a site for the temple block and drafting the plat for the city fell to Thomas Bullock. By August 1847 it was decided by the council to diminish the size of the temple block from forty acres to its present ten. They also decided that all streets were to be consecutively numbered north, east, south, and west, beginning from the base and meridian point on the southeast corner of the temple block. Brigham Young followed the prescribed pattern for the City of Zion fairly well. He employed the familiar grid of square blocks set at the cardinal points, and the alternating direction for the individual building lots.<sup>30</sup> A second plat, «plat B,» was prepared the following year to accommodate the greater than expected number of Saints who were arriving in the valley. The plat added 63 blocks and 504 individual building lots. In 1849 «plat C» was drafted, with 84 blocks (672 individual building lots) added. Salt Lake City now spread out in an L-shape, extending three miles to the south and four miles to the east. Nevertheless, the location for the temple remained unaltered.

Brigham Young decided not to use the varied street widths and grand axial avenues of the revised City of Zion plat; instead, he adopted the uniform street width of 132 feet borrowed from the original plat. A greenbelt area was established around the south and west portions of the city. Five and ten acre tracts near the city centre were subdivided for mechanics and artisans. Larger outer tracts were reserved for farmers who wished to live on their farmsteads rather than in the outskirts of the city.

A distinctive neighbourhood in the city was the Avenues, an area devised not for farmers or merchants but for prominent Saints: businessmen, people working for the authorities and Church officials. Surveyed in the early 1850s as «Plat D» of Salt Lake City, the Avenues was the first section to deviate from the original plan of ten-acre blocks. It was located on the north-east corner of the city centre, and was very close to it. Probably because of the slopes and lack of water, the Avenues have narrower streets and smaller blocks than the rest of Salt Lake City. «Plat D» was formally recorded on February 1857. Expansion into the Avenues became necessary with the steady growth of the city's population. Furthermore, the discovery of gold in California in 1848 had placed Salt Lake City in a strategic position to supply gold rush prospectors and others who were headed for the coast. The increased economic activity boosted local business and manufacturing. Early tradesmen came to prefer the Avenues area for their residences because of its proximity to the city's business centre and the splendid view of the valley offered by the bench lands.<sup>31</sup>

One important aspect is that in Salt Lake City, like everywhere else in Utah, no one was charged for land, apart from a \$1.50 recording fee, because Young wanted to avoid any flurry of land speculation (as had previously occurred in Nauvoo). The collective needs of the Saints were provided for by four public squares at different locations within the city. The concept of public squares, derived from the English tradition of town commons and

long a part of American city planning, was central to both the original and revised proposals for the City of Zion. In fact, most of Salt Lake City plat is, in a way, reminiscent of the 1682 proposal for Philadelphia by William Penn. While Young supported the need for public squares or parks, he rejected the idea of a centralized commercial zone. Instead, he called for the development of home markets on individually owned family lots, similar to those of Nauvoo. Despite this, a commercial zone was also allowed to develop. Main Street south of Temple Square became the centre of commerce. In 1858 a reporter for the *New York Herald* wrote about Salt Lake City: «This city, so beautiful, so isolated from the rest of the world . . . is the work of but ten years, and that too in a barren valley, without spontaneous vegetation higher than a willow bush.»<sup>32</sup>

Brigham Young was determined that Salt Lake City, and all other Mormon communities, would have regulations that ensured orderliness, cleanliness, and pure water. He advocated attractively fenced yards to help foster peaceful relationships between neighbours. And he was equally determined that each settlement should have a righteous citizenry whose principles and actions were based on the commandments of God.

## 6. Legal Matters & Salt Lake City Development

In an effort to secure the Great Basin for the Mormons, in March 1849 Brigham Young proposed the establishment of a provisional State of Deseret. However, the region was to become a territory before a state. As has been seen briefly above, on September 9, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed legislation that created Utah Territory and declared Young its first governor.<sup>33</sup> The proposed State of Deseret was quite large, encompassing all of Utah, Nevada, most of Arizona, north-western New Mexico, western Colorado, south-western Wyoming, southern Idaho, south-eastern Oregon, and southern California. Brigham Young's idea was to create a Great Basin Kingdom, forming a bulwark of interrelated settlements to strengthen the status of the Church. A cordon of settlements would reach as far as the West Coast. Leaders were called from among the Saints to establish permanent communities throughout the territory. During his thirty years of presidency, Young was responsible for an impressive 358 settlements.

As new companies of Mormon pioneers came into Salt Lake City, Young often sent them to other settlements or to establish new ones. Approximately half of these new converts were immigrants from Europe, where Mormon missionaries were enjoying great success. Each settlement was patterned on the model of Zion, with occasional adjustments made to fit the site location, or some other need. The ordered layout of each community conveyed a sense of unity and purpose indicative of a Utopian society.

Once established in its definitive location, the Mormon community started to receive over three thousand immigrants every year, and Young planned several additional settlements along the Great Basin beyond Salt Lake City, which were later extended even to the surrounding states. By 1857 there were some 35,000 Mormons in Utah

territory. When Young died in 1877, the Mormon population had reached 135,000; many had come from distant parts of the country and also from overseas thanks to the assistance of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund provided by the LDS Church.

Virtually all essential resources were implemented and administered by the LDS Church. Water supply and irrigation were planned from the outset, and access and distribution were regulated by the Church. Crop yields were often marginal, but land was just available for the taking. The emerging Zion's economy mixed cooperative venture with private ownership. Land was often assigned by lot; a small farm in a new village might often be a ten-acre allotment, with extra plots for polygamous families. Homes were often grouped around a village meetinghouse to create a communal village, with farmers traveling to their fields outside of town. Almost all production was confined to cottage industries.<sup>34</sup>

Contracts for the transcontinental telegraph and railroad lines were made through the LDS Church and provided employment for many people in the 1860s. Mining was increasingly significant as important mineral deposits were discovered in the basin, and it became profitable once the railroad made it practical to ship large quantities of ore. Nevertheless, Young was always suspicious that mines and miners could attract unwelcome Gentile influences into the basin, and he encouraged the Saints to avoid the industry and stick to agriculture.

However, commerce and business was a different story. Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) was founded in 1868; it was a centralized cooperative venture and lives on as a major commercial institution in today's Utah. Young wanted Mormons to boycott Gentile merchants and originally established ZCMI as a wholesale operation; retail was added later. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Young and a friend owned 80% of ZCMI shares. The company quickly controlled the wholesale business of the area and soon dominated retail activities too. Over this same period Mormons established other relevant large-scale cooperative enterprises in banking and textile manufacture, and also expanded agriculture-related production.

To summarise, following the millennialism of the «Latter Day» Saints Church founders, Zion (and therefore Salt Lake City) was initially conceived as a safe and pure, self-sufficient and self-contained religious community, devoted to the Glory of the Lord and, crucially, waiting for the forthcoming Second Arrival of Jesus Christ (similarly to how the Dead Sea men formed a closed community in ancient Israel waiting for the imminent end of the world). But as time passed and Christ's coming was delayed, and as development within the city and the country made it both impossible and inconvenient to keep the Saints from the outside world, Salt Lake progressed into a city open to the world populated by an increasingly mixed community (without ever becoming cosmopolitan like the big American and European metropolises). As a result, its religious/political leaders turned their aspirations to expanding their influence all over America, and later to the whole world, and to converting and saving as many souls as possible. If Mitt Romney had won the presidential election of 2012 for the Republican Party, this would

have been a giant step forwards for Mormons in this direction.

### 7. Temples: the Distinctive Sign of the Chosen

Although it is neither possible nor necessary to go into detail about all the different kinds of buildings and constructions found in Mormon architecture,<sup>35</sup> a brief discussion will be given to the temple as the true core and heart of Zion and the Saint's mission. For Mormons, a «temple» is not just a big church structure, but the hub (religious, political and administrative) of a whole region. The main and largest space inside is devoted to worship and other religious ceremonies, but the temple has several levels, many of them occupied by different departments, meeting rooms or offices. In addition to Salt Lake City, in the 19th century the Saints built temples in St. George (south-western Utah), Logan (northern Utah) and Manti (central Utah). The temple not only became the primary focus of a community, but also surrounding communities. Everyone living within a particular temple region is responsible for its building, maintenance, and for enacting ecclesiastical ceremonies.<sup>36</sup>

As for Salt Lake City itself, the central square of the town was to be occupied by the single most idiosyncratic architectural element of Mormon culture, the Salt Lake Temple, begun in 1853. This temple was not planned to be a simple meeting house, like that of Kirtland. The complex development of theological doctrine and ritual in Joseph's final years demanded a very large and intricate building. Additionally, after repeatedly being persecuted by Protestant Americans, Mormons were now willing to distance themselves from using the typically American architectural style, the Federal and Greek Revival, turning instead to building with a Romanesque and Gothic flair that would be vindicated as a distinctive style of their own. This was combined with Brigham Young's intention to build a fortress that could resist battering from both nature and humans. With all these elements in mind, the architect Truman Angel, following Brigham Young's instructions, produced a new and peculiar architectural style that could not be identified with any previously seen buildings: a monument that was both solid and spiritual, with huge thick walls and three soaring towers. Young recommended building a temple that could last a thousand years and it took forty years to be completed. It is as reminiscent of a castle as of a cathedral.<sup>37</sup>

While Salt Lake temple was under construction, the three smaller temples referred to above were raised in different parts of Utah; they demonstrate the new and distinctive style even more clearly. All these buildings are a greater reminder of their administrative roles than of their religious ones, because Mormons were clear from the beginning that they should create the kingdom of Christ upon Earth<sup>38</sup>.

With regard to Salt Lake City, religious needs were initially met by small prayer houses similar to the first synagogues used by rabbinic Judaism in the time of Jesus. However, only a few years after creating their settlement, the first religious building to be raised that was intended to be permanent in the valley was the Old Tabernacle (this time reviving the Moses tabernacle referred to in Exodus, thereby paying tribute to ancient Judaism). It was

a large structure that could hold 2,500 people and was finished in 1852. This type of building, midway between a temple and a meetinghouse, was used for the assemblies. The other tabernacles that followed were rather conventional buildings built in the popular styles of Federal and Greek Revival. This was not the case for the gigantic and peculiar Mormon Tabernacle of Temple Square, also conceived and designed by Brigham Young; it was built between 1864 and 1867 with a capacity for 7,000 people.

Two years after arriving in the valley, Brigham Young organized Salt Lake City into nineteen wards. Congregational services for these entities were initially held in meetinghouses, which were soon replaced by one-room adobe structures. These buildings were given classically inspired cornices or other adornments to provide clues that would distinguish them from secular buildings. As both human and monetary resources increased, so did the quality of meetinghouses throughout Utah.<sup>39</sup> In addition to the temple, the other types of typical Mormon buildings are the tabernacle and the meetinghouse. Salt Lake is also home to historical buildings: Joseph Smith's Memorial, the Library and the administrative buildings required by a state capital.

### 8. Salt Lake City in the Twentieth Century

The final years of the 19th century were a really tough time for the Saints. Brigham Young was no longer with them to cope with the ever increasing difficulties, and, just after the territory of Utah had been officially declared a State of the Union in 1886, various conflicts with the American authorities and the Federal Government culminated in Congress passing a law dissolving the Mormon Church in 1887 and requisitioning all Mormon properties with a value of over US\$50,000. Three years later, in 1890, Mormons were even deprived of the right to vote. Faced with the final extinction of the LDS Church, Church President Wilford Woodruff received a famous revelation from God<sup>40</sup> indicating that, if forced to choose between giving up the holy practice of celestial marriage (i.e. polygamy) or the total annihilation of the Church by Gentiles' power, the Saints should accept the former, for the benefit of themselves and the human race. Therefore, the Mormons eventually came to terms with the American authorities and institutions, and could now look forward to the next century with optimism.

By this time, Young's noble idea of an egalitarian community with equal rights and a homogeneous economic and social status was already fading away. The north-south interstate highway divided de facto Salt Lake into its eastern part (rich, elegant, uniform, a proper reflection of the Saints' ideal for Zion) and its western part, inhabited mostly by the working-class, usually populated by newcomers, and far more ethnically, linguistically and culturally plural.<sup>41</sup> The location of the rail-roads and train station in the west was another influential factor in this direction.

Focusing now on economy and business, by the end of the 19th century, the steel industry, mining and the oil industry had replaced agriculture as the main sources of income for the Saints, once again superseding Young's intentions; almost all of these companies were totally or

partially owned by the LDS church. However, in the 20th century other activities exceeded or replaced these industries, e.g. public services, trade, transportation, tourism (in particular for sports and health services), conventions and conferences. In fact, Salt Lake City airport is currently the biggest source of employment in Utah, followed by its network of hospitals and health care centres, Utah University, the Sinclair Oil Corporation and, last but not least, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In terms of education, religious teaching plays a very significant role in the city and the State; many students attend religious sessions several times a day in chapels adjacent to the schools. Although the majority of these are Mormon chapels, there are several Catholic temples too. With regard to higher education, the main institution in Salt Lake is the University of Utah, which is secular. This centre was founded by Brigham Young in 1850 and was originally a Mormon organization, but the University was taken over by state authorities; therefore, in 1875 the Mormons responded by founding the Brigham Young University, which is currently owned and governed by the LDS Church. There are also another three universities in different locations within Utah State.

Turning to city planning, this study shall focus on the Avenues district as a paradigmatic example of preservation and refurbishment. The mid-1970s Master Plan for the Avenues stated that there was an upsetting level of blight below Sixth Avenue and detailed the level of decline that affected the neighbourhood. The Avenues had long since ceased to be the superior area of the city to live in. Providentially, the late 1970s saw a movement throughout the U.S. of returning to live in the cities. An increasing interest in preserving historic architecture, modifications in zoning laws, and a desire by city residents to live near downtown and the University of Utah spurred a renewal effort that continues in the present day.<sup>42</sup>

By the mid-1970s the first «urban pioneers» discovered the benefits of this older neighbourhood and its location in the city. The new residents that came into the area realized the need for local leadership to change the course of the neighbourhood. The Greater Avenues Community Council was formed in response to out-of-scale development and the expansion of LDS Hospital. The group was a determining factor in boosting the preservation of the quarter. Salt Lake City's City Council soon looked more favourably on efforts that stopped additional large-scale construction projects anywhere in the old city. This would finally lead to historic district designations in the city and the passing of new zoning laws that terminated large scale apartment and condominium construction. The Avenues master plan was completed in 1979 by the Salt Lake City Planning Commission. In 1980 the Avenues obtained its status as a National Historic District. The nominated area was the first major residential historic district in Utah and one of the largest at the time in the United States. Rapid restoration of Avenues properties was seen throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and increasing property values and tax incentives aided the restoration efforts. In December 2005 the city council approved new zoning rules that limited the area of each lot that could be built on and also limited the height of structures on the block. Since 1990 house prices in the lower Avenues have more than doubled.

These increased house prices have made it easier for citizens to obtain loans, use historic tax credits, and restore their homes. The Avenues has become a neighbourhood of well-preserved, diverse architectural styles reflecting Salt Lake City's unique history.

Today, Salt Lake is fairly well-known for the Winter Olympic Games of 2002, and also for its basketball team that played two consecutive NBA finals in 1997 and 1998 (albeit unsuccessfully, since the Chicago Bulls, led by Michael Jordan, were unbeatable). Its many resorts and places to do adventure, mountain and snow sports attract thousands of tourists every year, as do other types of activities, such as hearing a concert by the impressive Mormon Tabernacle Choir. However, tourists are also (or even more) fascinated by the historical sites (both Mormon and civil): The Temple, the Mormon Tabernacle, Joseph's Smith Memorial Center, the Historical Library of the Families, the Utah State Capitol Building, the City Hall, the University of Utah, the Union Pacific Depot or historical districts like the Avenues. Modern installations also play a role in Salt Lake's appeal (the Salt Palace Convention Center, the monumental New Public Library, the large Eccles Stadium, the famous Utah Jazz Arena or the Utah Valley Convention Center), so that it is not easy to identify Smith's initial concept of Zion under this now rather cosmopolitan and mundane city.

## 9. Final Thoughts: What Remains of the Original Zion?

The search for Zion had three successive stages. Initially, Joseph Smith was looking for a town in which to settle his Church, so that the chosen town could be blessed as the American Zion. After the dramatic episodes in Far West and their escape from Missouri, Mormons no longer sought an existing city, but wanted virgin territory where they could build their Zion from the ground up. Finally, the Saints realized that, not only did they need an untouched place for their holy city, it should also be a whole free and unexplored territory, a new land where Zion could be created. As a result, Zion became more a notion of a consecrated land rather than a mere city. And Salt Lake became as much the capital of that holy land as Zion itself.

After a long and painful exodus, Salt Lake City, the genuine Zion in the chosen land of God (America), the abode of Christ on Earth, was initially conceived as a haven, as a shelter safe from the recurring hostility of the Gentiles (Protestant Americans). As such, rather than unassailable, it needed to be an *invisible city* in a no man's land. In the same vein as Pure Land Buddhist's find their after-world Paradise in a utopic western place, Mormons found their this-world Paradise in the extreme far West.

In turn, as the New Zion, Salt Lake also needed to be radiant, luminous, a true image of the Glory of the Lord. All its projects and planning insisted on order, harmony, fulfilment and beauty. And history and circumstances contrived to make the city of the Saints (and their whole land) and its wonderful features more and more visible. The Gold Rush, migration waves, railroads, and highways all ended up turning Salt Lake into a crossroads and, as a result, isolation, self-regulation, and the full accomplish-

ment of Mormon law and practices (crucially including polygamy) no longer became possible. In 1896 Utah eventually turned its territorial status into full State membership of the United States. Polygamy and Mormon rule was definitely over.

Nevertheless, by the end of the 19th century the design of the city and the impressive Mormon monuments were able to reveal Mormon strength and vitality to the world. After all, many Mormons had envisioned Christ's forthcoming arrival as his actually settling in Zion to govern all nations from there, so the administrative and bureaucratic ministries had to be ready for the occasion. Christ did not arrive in time, but throughout the 20th century Salt Lake City opened up to the world, and missionaries were sent all over the world to sow the seeds of Zion. In the 21st century, Salt Lake City already has 200,000 habitants, and the metropolitan area is approaching 1,200,000 people, while the larger interconnected area of Salt Lake City-Ogden-Provo is home to two and a half million people. Not all of these people are Saints. Fewer than 50% of Salt Lake City's residents are members of the LDS Church, a significantly lower proportion than in Utah's more rural municipalities. Altogether, LDS members make up about 62% of Utah's population.

The Saints' worldwide visibility reached a climax at the beginning of the 21st century «with the 2002 Winter Olympics presided over by Romney in Salt Lake City, the headquarters town of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A global TV audience estimated at 3.5 billion watched the opening ceremonies, in which the Mormon Tabernacle Choir performed and many Latter-day Saints joined the huge cast.»<sup>43</sup> The Glory of the Lord was broadcast all around the world. Brigham Young must have been beside himself with joy in Heaven. Or perhaps not?

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> For this most intriguing process that avoided open religious conflict and resulted in highly varied Christian denominations, see Reguera (2016). Religious denominations in North America are nowadays so diversified that Melton's *Encyclopedia of American Religions* divides them into 26 «families» and describes 111 denominations (Melton, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, 1995, 13. «Zion» was initially conceived as a geographical place, but it was always ambiguous whether it was a city or a land. Later it turned into a more spiritual concept: Zion became everywhere the Saints would live in harmony under the rule of God.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, England: F. D. and S. W. Richards, 1854-86), vol. 22, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Most references from Smith's life come from Brodie (1995) and from Bushman (2007), both rigorous historians (the former highly critical of Mormonism and the latter a Mormon himself). Also from Smith's *History of the Church*, which, as usual with this kind of literature, is highly unreliable concerning historical accuracy, but most significant in religious terms.

<sup>5</sup> Supposedly God the Father and his Son.

<sup>6</sup> *Pearl of Great Price. Joseph Smith History*, ch. 1, 18-19. <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/pgp/js-h/1?lang=eng>

<sup>7</sup> *The Book of Mormon's* introduction states: «The Book of Mormon is a volume of holy scripture comparable to the Bible. It is a record of God's dealings with ancient inhabitants of the Americas and contains the fullness of the everlasting gospel. The book was written by many ancient prophets by the spirit of prophecy and revelation. Their words, written on gold plates, were quoted and abridged by a prophet-historian named Mormon.» In fact, Joseph claims it to be superior to the Bible, when he declares: «I told the brethren that the Book of Mormon was the most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts than by any other book.» (*ibidem*).

<sup>8</sup> Joseph wrote in his Journal that a noise like the sound of a rushing mighty wind filled the temple, «All the congregation simultaneously arose, being moved upon by an invisible power; many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions; and I beheld the Temple was filled with angels, which fact I declared to the congregation». Fan Brodie (1995, 178-79) comments: «The preliminary ceremonies roused the Saints to such a pitch of excitement that when the day of dedication arrived a thousand people crowded into the lower auditorium and another thousand stood outside, hoping to catch echoes of the Lord's mysteries... For two days and two nights the men stayed in the temple, fasting and praying, washing and anointing, prophesying and

giving glory to God... [finally] ‘the Savior made His appearance to some, while angels ministered to others, as it was a Pentecost and an endowment indeed, long to be remembered’» (Joseph’s words). Quotes from J. Smith coming from his *History of the Church* (1897-1908, Vol. II, 379-83).

<sup>9</sup> See Brodie, 1995, ch. XIV.

<sup>10</sup> In spite of the inconveniences, this doctrine was supported by strong arguments: «Mormons made a host of other public arguments for polygamy, suggesting that the institution prevented the evils of prostitution and adultery, provided a surplus of female church members with righteous husbands, and followed the examples of not only the biblical patriarchs, but of Jesus and God the Father themselves» (Turner, 2012, 205). Last but not least, plural marriage allowed Mormons to increase membership exponentially: Young himself married 55 women and had 56 children. By the end of the century his direct descendants were well over one thousand. Nevertheless, the doctrine brought about huge problems from the very beginning for Smith and other prominent members of the Church. Some (like Oliver Cowdery) categorically refused to accept it and eventually abandoned the Church; others accepted it rather reluctantly, but then had intense quarrels at home, usually ending up in divorce from the first (and only legal) wife (see Brodie, 1995, 181-85).

<sup>11</sup> Smith, *History*, 6: 319.

<sup>12</sup> By the time of Smith’s death none were numerically significant, but in 1860 a son of Smith’s first wife, Joseph Smith III, laid claim to the succession, forming the Reorganized LDS Church, that today includes some 250,000 members under the name of the Community of Christ, being by far the second largest Mormon community, in membership terms, of the dozens of Mormon groups currently in existence.

<sup>13</sup> Young was responsible for locating, establishing, organizing, and developing the Church, and helping it to flourish, playing an all-encompassing role similar to that of Paul for primitive Christians. The best biography of Young is possibly Turner (2012). Many of the data set out here have been taken from it.

<sup>14</sup> The fascinating history of Emigration Canyon and its role in the development of Salt Lake and the Mormon community is thoroughly detailed in Carlstrom & Furse (2003). The Rocky Mountains were a shield against the easterners, but the canyon was the bridge for successive waves of Mormons to come into Utah. Additionally, it supplied lots of raw materials, grazing for sheep and, much later, a place for holidays and sports.

<sup>15</sup> Turner, 2012, 175.

<sup>16</sup> The term ‘Great’ came from its vicinity to the Great Salt Lake. By 1868 that term dropped from the official denomination.

<sup>17</sup> The doctrine of polygamy (concealed under the lofty title of «celestial marriage») was the cause of major problems for the LDS Church, not only with the U.S. authorities (see below) but also with candidates for conversion to the new faith: [In 1852] «Young dispatched a large group of missionary elders to present the doctrine to church branches in the United States and Europe and defend the institution at public meetings and in print. Though Young predicted that the principle would «sail and ride triumphantly above all the prejudices and priestcraft of [the] day», Mormon missionaries and publications convinced precious few non-Mormons, and the large [Mormon] British church haemorrhaged members as news of the doctrine arrived overseas. Parley Pratt termed the doctrine a ‘choker’, a stumbling block that impeded missionary efforts.» (Turner, 2012, 205).

<sup>18</sup> Quinn, 1996, 288. Michael Quinn’s three volume set *The Mormon Hierarchy* (to be completed by autumn 2016) is a massive, impressive document that details the ways and activities of the LDS Church, from a Mormon member who was eventually excommunicated for revealing too much.

<sup>19</sup> «During the first century of corporate Mormonism, current general authorities were partners, officers, or directors in nearly 900 businesses. Most, but not all, of these were church-owned, church-controlled or church-invested businesses» (Quinn, 1996, 214).

<sup>20</sup> Quinn, 1996, 214.

<sup>21</sup> *Doctrine and Covenants*, 28: 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Doctrine and Covenants*, 29: 8.

<sup>23</sup> Smith, *History*, 2: 254–55. Further revelations were indicating Smith’s additional directions for the concrete planning of Zion.

<sup>24</sup> Givens, 2007, 103.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton, 1995, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Hamilton, 1995, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Charles L. Sellers, “Early Mormon Community Planning”, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 28 (fall 1962), 24-30. Cited in Hamilton, 1995, 17.

<sup>28</sup> For the detailed history of these developments, see Hamilton, 1995, 17-24.

<sup>29</sup> Ostling & Ostling, 2007, 44; Hamilton, 1995, 25.

<sup>30</sup> Hamilton, 1995, 26.

<sup>31</sup> For details of the concrete development of geographical and urban planning of the city, building activity, etc. throughout its history, see LeSieur, 2012, 3-27.

<sup>32</sup> Reported in Hamilton, 1995, 27.

<sup>33</sup> The decision was mainly based on the need to maintain an equal number of pro-slavery and anti-slavery states. Statehood probably would have shifted the balance of power in favour of the anti-slavery states, since the Mormons were opposed to slavery (Hamilton, 1995, 28).

<sup>34</sup> Ostling & Ostling, 2007, 50.

<sup>35</sup> In case of interest, check Hamilton’s book (1995, chaps. 4-7).

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton, 1995, 31 and ff.

<sup>37</sup> For details about Salt Lake’s temple see Hamilton, 1995, 43-46.

<sup>38</sup> Givens, 2007, 112.

<sup>39</sup> Givens, 2007, 114

<sup>40</sup> «The Lord has told me to ask the Latter-day Saints a question, .... The question is this: Which is the wisest course for the Latter-day Saints to pursue—to continue to attempt to practice plural marriage, with the laws of the nation against it and the opposition of sixty millions of people, and at the cost of the confiscation and loss of all the Temples, and the stopping of all the ordinances therein, both for the living and the dead, and the imprisonment of the First Presidency and Twelve and the heads of families in the Church, and the confiscation of personal property of the people (all of which of themselves would stop the practice); or, after doing and suffering what we have through our adherence to this principle to cease the practice and submit to the law, and through doing so leave the Prophets, Apostles and fathers at home, so that they can instruct the people and attend to the duties of the Church, and also leave the Temples in the hands of the Saints, so that they can attend to the ordinances of the Gospel, both for the living and the dead?» (Excerpts from Three Addresses by President Wilford Woodruff Regarding the *Manifesto*), *Deseret Evening News*, October 11, 1890, p. 2. The *Manifesto* was the public presidential acceptance of compliance of American Law.

<sup>41</sup> By 2010 the Salt Lake City population consisted of 65.6% non-Hispanic whites, 22.3% Hispanic, 4.4% Asian, 2.7% Black.

<sup>42</sup> All this part specific for The Avenues area comes from LeSieur, 2012, 51-54.

<sup>43</sup> Ostling & Ostling, 2007, Introduction, XI.