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Building Zion: Sacred Space, the United Order, and Mormon Successor Groups

By  
Stephen Cameron

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of  
Claremont Graduate University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of Master of Arts in Religion.

We certify that we have read this document  
and approve it as adequate in scope and  
quality for the degree of Master of Arts.

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2022

## Acknowledgments

I am incredibly grateful for the mentorship of my advisor Dr. Matthew Bowman. This study would not have been possible without his time, patience, knowledge, and feedback throughout both the research and writing process. I would also like to acknowledge the time Dr. Daniel Ramírez took to be one of my faculty readers. I also sincerely appreciate the funding I have received from the Claremont Graduate University School of Arts and Humanities, the Howard W. Hunter Foundation, and the Mormon Studies Council for making it possible for me to continue my studies here.

I wish to express gratitude to Dr. David Howlett for his insight and knowledge during the research process. Stephanie Griswold has also been invaluable for her continued support, resources, knowledge, and mentorship as I have worked through graduate school's complexities and found my footing in academia.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents, and my friends, for their continued guidance, support, and patience, as I have worked through my studies over the years and for the work, education, and other opportunities I will pursue in the future.

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## Introduction

The chaotic nature of antebellum America created conditions that citizens felt necessary to correct. Muddled definitions of religious liberty and democracy led reformers to seek to create what they considered to be a more moral and ethical society, intended to some semblance of order back to the relatively new nation.<sup>1</sup> Society's solutions to the issues it was facing, they felt, were not working. Reform efforts attempted to rectify those problems they deemed important, such as slavery, women's rights, and a lack of general spirituality, among other things. These were used to positively influence society as activists promoted abolitionism, temperance, Sabbatarianism, and women's rights. Even more "offered programs of physiological and spiritual self-reform," while "phrenology, vegetarianism, ...spiritualism, and [other] miscellaneous" methods were also promoted as alternatives one could choose from.<sup>2</sup> These efforts went hand-in-hand with the overlapping interests of religious reformers, restorationists, and preachers that began appearing during the Second Great Awakening. Spiritual revivals ignited religious fervor for the American people, finding particular favor within the northeastern portion of the United States.

"Their tendency," according to Robert Abzug, was "to apply religious imagination and passion to issues that most Americans considered worldly."<sup>3</sup> It should not be surprising that many new religious movements began to appear. Antebellum America and its contending ideologies were competing on a religious and spiritual level. Temperance and evangelical

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<sup>1</sup> See Nathan O. Hatch's *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989) and Amanda Porterfield's *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015) as examples of how many of these ideas were being molded and formed during this era. This is all part of this chaotic nature of the time.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), vii.

<sup>3</sup> Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 3.

movements believed that social order came from one's connection to God, even if each group held a different view. The former group, as Abzug argued, "functioned more as reminders of a sacred order" because "society and church were only a check on the faulty, fallen will of human beings facing the temptations of sin."<sup>4</sup> Their understanding was that a sacred social order was necessary for a properly functioning society; Reminders of their Christian commitments would bring about correct structure. On the other hand, the "evangelical order was based on the individual's commitment to holiness, not simply to social order."<sup>5</sup> A bottom-to-top approach would bring about necessary changes rather than a radical restructuring of the social structure.

Restorationist groups attempted to recreate the conditions and organization present at, and just after, the time of Jesus Christ. That is because, primarily, for many American Christians, achieving some semblance of paradisiacal glory was of chief importance. Many hoped to recreate Edenic conditions or, at the very least, what they considered holier times of original Christianity. For example, Restorationists, like the Mormons, attempted to do this by recreating and replicating the organizational structure of Jesus' church and practices found in scripture. Many also utilized temperance and evangelical movements' views, seeking to restructure both social order and individual holiness. By doing so, there could be a complete renewal, or restoration, of the original church and its membership. It was established in response to what they believed to be an inherently sinful and corrupt nature of the world caused by a turning away from God.

Nathan Hatch explained that, concerning some of these "mass movements," "however diverse their theologies and ...organizations, they all offered common people, especially the

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<sup>4</sup> Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 80.

poor, compelling visions of individual self-respect and collective self-confidence.”<sup>6</sup> Some religious movements founded during the antebellum period included groups like the Shakers, Adventists, and the Mormons.<sup>7</sup> People swept up in renewed zeal were excited by these new opportunities to create a new semblance of world order by attempting to recreate heaven on earth through “righteous living” and establishing morals and ethics within the social order. They worked with ideas, rites, rituals, and doctrines they believed were lost to bring them back into being for the benefit of a fallen and lost world. Following the logic and desires of antebellum restorationists, I argue that each of the successor groups that will be discussed built upon doctrines and practices introduced by Joseph Smith’s lifetime to establish a sense of order within their social structures. To accomplish this consecration of their time, labor, money, talents, and other efforts to the cause of building Zion, or God’s kingdom on the earth. For Brigham Young’s movement and the early fundamentalists, plural marriage became a key contribution to their vision of Zion. At the same time, the Reorganized Church utilized the principle of stewardship, associated with the United Order of Enoch, and the belief in individual holiness to bring about Zion. All this was done to create a sacred space within a profane world.

### Theory

Reordering social, theological, and cultural norms were necessary to create an ideal society. While some desired to strip away un-biblical tenets and aspects, much like their early Protestant predecessors, others, like the Mormons, built upon preexisting notions by presenting new practices, rites, and rituals as their way of clarifying established doctrines. This was illustrated by Terryl Givens, who argued that, for Joseph Smith, there was a general

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<sup>6</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Smith’s church was originally called The Church of Christ, but began to be known as the Mormons during his lifetime. Today it is called The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Throughout this study Mormons will be often used to simplify the naming conventions.

understanding that the original church was not completely lost but rather “fled into the wilderness.”<sup>8</sup> For them and Smith, many teachings and practices had persevered but were forced to move outside mainstream culture and society. According to Givens, what was unique to Smith was his ability to combine his prophetic mantle and the “trial and error of intellectual efforts” as his way of “salvaging, collecting, and assimilating of much that was mislaid, obscured, or neglected.”<sup>9</sup> In this way, Smith used pre-existing practices, rites, rituals, and doctrines and molded them in a more “correct” way because the apostasy that caused religious confusion “*did* involve the corruption beyond remedy of certain ordinances and covenants; and only the heavenly transmission of authority could recuperate those essentials.”<sup>10</sup> To avoid repeating the failures of his predecessors, Smith attempted to blend what he believed to be correct practices and doctrines with his claimed divine revelations, affording him some leeway in his restorationist quest. That is not to say that it came all at once; instead, it was added and tweaked throughout his presidency.

There was, of sorts, refining of impurities that took place. For Smith, unwanted, unneeded, or corrupt doctrines and practices needed to be cleansed to clear space for those uncorrupted, reimagined, and correct ones as his way to bring about his restoration of Christ’s church. A distinction was established between accepted and unaccepted practices and beliefs, which can be understood through the lens of cleanliness. Mary Douglas illustrates this through her contrast between hygiene and dirt. Part of her argument was that dirt is only dirty when it appears in an unwanted place. The essence of this argument is vital: “dirt is essentially disorder.

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<sup>8</sup> Revelation 12:6

<sup>9</sup> Terryl Givens, “Epilogue,” in *Standing Apart*, eds. Miranda Wilcox and John D. Young (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 338.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder.”<sup>11</sup> Groups that desire to change society shun what they believe to be a form of “dirt.” That is, “dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment.”<sup>12</sup> Dirt is neither a particularly positive nor a negative experience; instead, it is a designated state of being.

In this sense, if dirt is designated as disorder, there must be an opposite: cleanliness. Like the sentiment that “there can be no heresy if there is no orthodoxy or orthopraxy,” then the same can be said for dirt. Dirt is only dirt if it is claimed as such. In essence, disorder cannot exist without something making it as such. Disorder exists because there is order. The problem here is what determines order. If we work within Douglas’ framework that dirt is not inherently harmful, then we must look at what determines the cleanliness of a subject. The Temperance Movement, for instance, sought to create a clean society through the temperance of the individual and the curbing of specific practices to create, what they deemed to be correct, a better society in which citizens could live. Cleanliness, then, follows a similar mindset. Particular practices, rites, and rituals are outlined by the group’s social organization and structure to create an environment where proper living can be attained. Cleanliness follows suit; as dirt becomes defined, it is removed or set aside for “proper hygiene” the group provides for others.

What caused these sentiments? A reaction to an event that was determined to be something that caused disorder within society; therefore, it was deemed unnecessary or, in other words, dirty. Indeed, as Douglas continues, “where there is dirt, there is system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves

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<sup>11</sup> Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 2

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

rejecting inappropriate elements. This idea of dirt takes us straight into the field of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obviously symbolic systems of purity.”<sup>13</sup> In the story of Moses, it is understood that when the prophet comes before God in the Burning Bush, he was commanded to “put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.” (Exodus 3:5 KJV) For Mircea Eliade, this explores the idea that “there is, then, a sacred space, and hence a strong, significant space; there are other spaces that are not sacred and so are without structure or consistency, amorphous.”<sup>14</sup> The development of sacredness comes from the outline of system. Moses’ being told to remove his shoes indicates that there is something unholy, dirty, unsacred, or in other words, profane about his conduct; adherence to divine instruction created an environment where the sacred could become manifest.

Likewise, Protestant-minded citizens of the United States would have been aware of the restrictions placed upon the Israelites as the Lord commanded Moses.<sup>15</sup> In this vein, they would also have been aware of the drastic change of plans God had for the Christians as experienced by Peter in the Book of Acts, who, in response to the voice that had commanded him to eat from the “great sheet knit at the four corners... Wherein were all manner of four footed beasts of the earth, and the wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air.” (Acts 10:11-12 KJV) stated he could not because “I have never before eaten any thing that is common or unclean.” (Acts 10:14) To which the voice responded, “What God hath cleansed, *that* call thou not common.” (Acts 10:15) Peter's understanding of what was disorderly changed through this divine interaction. Likewise with Joseph Smith. Although there were preestablished ideas with

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<sup>13</sup> Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, trans. Willard R. Trask, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 20.

<sup>15</sup> Leviticus 11 outlines the dietary restrictions the Lord commanded the Israelites to abide by as a part of the Law of Moses.

preconceived notions about them, a newfound connection to divinity could bring about orderly and proper conduct and belief.

The establishment of a system, with such things as particular dietary restrictions, modesty, living standards, and styles, otherwise creates the environment in which order is achieved, which fosters a disdain for practices and beliefs not attuned to more exalted ideals. Therefore, in this study, there will be an attempt to highlight some practices used as a way to create order. These lifestyle preferences are manifestations of the sacred, ideally set apart in space created and defined. Eliade calls this, in many ways, the precept of the “sacred” and the “profane.” Using the imagery of a church and the street outside, Eliade explains that “the threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious.” It is, then, “the limit... that distinguishes and opposes two worlds- and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world is possible.”<sup>16</sup> Eliade demonstrated a demarcation between what is “sacred” and what is “profane,” even if that is not always a clear-cut distinction. Jan Shipps notes that “the sacred and the not-sacred cannot always be clearly delineated and separated out,” with tenets of beliefs often vague and open for interpretation while “worship activity” and ritual are not always definable or well-crafted.<sup>17</sup> Like Givens had argued, the developmental process of Mormonism was one of trial and error. While attempts at sacred ideas, doctrines, practices, and emphasis during the New York period differed from that of the Kirtland and Nauvoo eras as Smith presented new revelation to church members. So, while the sacred *can* be established, as Shipps explained, it is not always easy to explicitly define. Spreading gospel

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<sup>16</sup> Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 112.

ideals, gathering the Saints to Zion-designated communities, and eventually, an emphasis on developing orderly and proper conduct of church members was subservient to divine will.

Creating a society wherein established modes and methods of living bring, ideally, people away from the dirtiness of the world; however, reformers and newer religious movements find they cannot completely separate themselves from the disordered society they exist within. Therefore, within the framework of the social and cultural sphere they are a part of, they attempt to create their sacred space. Sacred space would create an environment where those ideas would hopefully influence society for the better. However, as Eliade states, a “religious man’s desire to live in the sacred is in fact equivalent to take up his abode in objective reality... not in an illusion.” A considerable effort is needed to achieve this goal, not an attitude of indifference. In achieving the goal of living within a sacred space, there must be an effort to create said space.<sup>18</sup> However, even as driven as one may be, it must have a specific type of purpose. Eliade elaborates on this by explaining that “we must not suppose that human work is in question here, that it is through his own efforts that man can consecrate a space. In reality the ritual by which he constructs a sacred space is efficacious in the measure in which it reproduces the work of the gods.”<sup>19</sup> One can recreate the desired effect through divine guidance or influence, creating a sacred space.

Richard Hughes and C. Leonard Allen argued that American longing for sacred time and place was not for some recent phenomenon but rather for something primeval. Notably, “they were concerned to recover the primordial past that stood behind the historical past. The objective of their recovery was... sacred time, not profane time-the time of the gods, not the time of

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<sup>18</sup> See Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), for a more in-depth discussion on this idea.

<sup>19</sup> Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 28-29.

humankind.”<sup>20</sup> Eliade elaborated on this premise by noting that “there was a nostalgia for the *origins*, ...one could even speak of a nostalgia for the primordial Paradise. One may say, then, that the nostalgia for Paradise, the longing to recover the Eden-like state of the Ancestor... has had considerable repercussions upon the cultural creations of the primitive man.”<sup>21</sup> While Eliade is generally arguing that this attitude is found within the “primitive man,” it should be noted, however, that many of the new religious orders of antebellum America were also concerned with the recreation of a nostalgic past. While this study will primarily draw from Douglas and Eliade, it will also look at Jan Shipps’ examination of Mormonism, which combines Eliadean theory with the church’s history. Both Eliade’s and Douglas’ theories serve as a framework that we can use to understand the desires and actions of the various Mormon groups as they sought to build up Zion on earth. Sacred spaces and sacred communities were these movements sought after to varying degrees. Separation, determined by each group’s circumstances, allowed them room to practice their religion how they saw fit. Together, these theories become a solid backbone by which the unique theology of Mormonism can be understood and presented for our purposes here as they established religious communities in the quest to create sacred space within the United States of America.

### Joseph Smith’s Movement

In this section, we will briefly examine the origins of Mormonism in the antebellum era, then delve into some of their methodologies in creating the “sacred” for themselves. They

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<sup>20</sup> Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2.

<sup>21</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries: The Encounter Between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*, trans. Philip Mairet (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 44-45.

accomplished this through theological philosophies and the creation of religious communities. For the early Saints, the proposition of creating Zion on earth was enticing.

As they moved westward, their efforts evolved. While we will be examining three later Mormon movements in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, it is essential to look at the origins of the religion and some of the fundamental principles established in that timeframe. Doing so will allow us to understand the baseline each will build upon in their efforts to create a better society.

In 1830, Joseph Smith and around fifty others gathered together in the home of Peter Whitmer Sr. in Fayette, New York.<sup>22</sup> Spurred on by both dissatisfaction and confusion over the competing religious influences of the time, the early Church of Christ was created to restore the original church of Jesus' time. Their claim to authority set them apart from other religious movements, believing they had received direct, divine authority straight from heaven. This prophetic authority was necessary to overcome the issues of plurality. In Smith's 1838 recounting of his history,<sup>23</sup> his description of the critical "First Vision" account claimed that he was told not to join any of the other religious sects because "all their Creeds were an abomination... that those professors were all corrupt," and that "they draw near to [God] with their lips but their hearts are far from [God]," generally teaching the "commandments of men, having a form of Godliness but they deny the power thereof."<sup>24</sup> General religious society was not

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<sup>22</sup> See Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 198. The church was originally organized with six official members including: Joseph Smith Jr. Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer Sr., Samuel H. Smith, and David Whitmer. There were about forty to fifty others present at the meeting.

<sup>23</sup> There were multiple retellings of the First Vision that Joseph Smith gave during his lifetime. These included accounts given in: 1832, which emphasized personal redemption; 1835, which emphasized his experience in finding the correct church to join; 1838, which emphasized how the vision was the beginning of the church, which is now part of LDS canon; and 1842, which emphasized the confusion he experienced in his childhood regarding religion. More information can be found within the Joseph Smith Papers.

<sup>24</sup> "History, circa June 1839–circa 1841 [Draft 2]," p. 3, The Joseph Smith Papers, <https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-june-1839-circa-1841-draft-2/3>

working; therefore, a reset was necessary to bring back the pure, untainted doctrine of the original age.

Although the renewal of religious fervor was quickly making gains within the United States, that is not to say that there was no tension, or outright opposition, to these efforts. As noted by Hatch, they were spurred on by ever-increasing democratic principles and new opportunities; these religious movements were able to make their mark within a disgruntled people. This created a uniquely unstable social order that gave people previously unable to make their mark politically or religiously a new opportunity to create new religious movements.<sup>25</sup> Anti-hierarchical sentimentality beliefs, with most things resembling any state religion or European monarchical structure, were rejected, opening more opportunities for different ways of social conduct or religiousness.<sup>26</sup> Restorationists, such as Joseph Smith, then took this opening to bring back, what they felt to be, lost doctrines, rites, rituals, and other practices they believed essential for their recreation of primitive Christianity.

Despite this new influx of churches and other religious communities, Smith decided to forge his own path; why? His theophanic claim gave him reason to pursue this particular path. Religious pluralism and Eliadean restorationism co-exist in the sense that many of these new groups desired to recreate sacred space and time through their own particular efforts. Like Smith, there was a belief that their way was the most correct interpretation or pathway to the sacred. Mormons found their niche within their “expansive, cosmic theology” because this helped the

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<sup>25</sup> See Nathan O. Hatch’s first chapter in *The Democratization of American Christianity* for more of his argument on this.

<sup>26</sup> See J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People: Anti Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) for a good outline of this as applied to Mormons and Catholics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

early Mormons to address the “problem of religious pluralism not only for their own age but also for ages past and future.”<sup>27</sup>

In fact, this offered a particularly unique way of reaching both sacred time and place. For the early Israelites, Moses provided a particular connection to heaven that led them to their promised land. Likewise, the early Saints now had their own prophet to receive revelations and visions, which provided direction to the world that had been missing for generations. Allen and Hughes explained this importance because “Restoration among Mormons, therefore, essentially meant soaring with the gods while others groveled on the earth. It meant appealing to the sacred while others could appeal only to the profane.”<sup>28</sup> As a way to appeal to the sacred, “the particular rites and ordinances that Mormons chose to restore were rites and ordinances that would bring heaven to earth, collapse both primordium and millennium into their own time and place, and tie the Saints to God’s work in all time past.”<sup>29</sup> Temple ceremonies introduced by Smith in Nauvoo is one such example of this unique connection to heaven

The early Book of Commandments, later called the Doctrine and Covenants, was comprised of revelations from the divine to Joseph Smith to provide needed direction to people in the profane world as a way to achieve, and create, a sacred place on earth. One crucial concept elaborated on through new scripture given to Joseph Smith in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants is the development of “Zion.” Thomas Carter, in *Building Zion: The Material World in Mormon Settlement*, gives several examples of the early Saints’ perspectives on this idea:

[In 1829, it was revealed to Smith that he should] “keep my commandments, and seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion. Seek not for riches but for wisdom, and behold, the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto you, and then shall you be made rich.

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<sup>27</sup> Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 149.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.



Behold, he that hath eternal life is rich;”<sup>30</sup> [One of the] Articles of Faith reads, “We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that *Zion will be built upon this [the American] continent;*” Apostle Orson Pratt reminds the faithful... that they were a ‘people who shall have their abiding place in the mountains, and *who shall build a city shall be called Zion...*”<sup>31</sup>

Here we can see the two complementary ideas for establishing Zion: the first is that correct conduct, through the keeping of commandments and seeking out a spiritually-minded lifestyle, would increase one’s holiness and bring about eternal happiness; the other is the belief that there must be a literal gathering of Israel to Zion. Joseph Smith led efforts to create communities for the literal “gathering of Israel” in the United States. Grant Underwood explains that this had precedent, as the Saints connected their history to the ancient Israelite tribes. Commenting on Bishop Edward Partridge, Underwood explained that he was “typical of Latter-day Saints in his exegesis” and that Partridge believed that there were to be two important communities created for the Lord to reign from, Jerusalem and Zion. For Underwood, “the Saints believed that ‘Zion’ was the designated gathering spot for Gentile converts and their Indian neighbors, while Jerusalem was for the Jews.”<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, Zion had a greater purpose to it. Not only was it to be a place of equality, with no poor among those that lived there, but it was also a preparatory arena where those that lived there would be tempered to endure the tribulations to come during the Second Coming of Christ. In response to Enoch’s inquiry about whether or not the Lord would come again, he was told:

to gather mine elect from the four quarters of the earth, unto a place which I shall prepare, an Holy City, that my people may gird up their loins, and shall be looking forth

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<sup>30</sup> D&C 6:6-7

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Carter, *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015): xix-xx.

<sup>32</sup> Grant Underwood, *The Millennial World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 30.

for the time of my coming; for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem. And there shall be mine abode, and it shall be called Zion...<sup>33</sup>

Building Zion was of paramount importance for early Mormonism, promoting a lifestyle that would help usher in the millennium. By creating a sacred space, they could look forward with clean hands and pure hearts as they stood firmly in righteousness. Steven L. Olsen described that Zion “‘was the most important temporal object in view’ of the early Latter-day Saints,” and that “the founding of this millennial urban society was so important for the early Church that thousands of converts from several different countries sacrificed their homes, careers, families, native lands, comfort, health, and even their lives to realize Joseph Smith’s vision of an earthly kingdom.”<sup>34</sup> In fact, Joseph Smith, as further noted by Olsen, decried the difficulties the church faced by exclaiming that “unless Zion is built our hopes perish, our expectations fail, our prospects are blasted, our salvation withers, and God will come and smite the whole earth with a curse.”<sup>35</sup>

Zion would be primarily accomplished in two ways by the early Saints; through sacred place and sacred community. In this circumstance, sacred place or space is considered the physical area that the Mormons settled; sacred community, then, is the ideals, temperaments, and attitudes that constitute the people that occupy the space. First, Joseph Smith encouraged the “literal gathering of Israel,” which led to mass immigration to cities founded in the 1830s. Kirtland, Ohio, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois, represent the major efforts to

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<sup>33</sup> Moses 7:61-62, 64,

<sup>34</sup> Steven L. Olsen, “Joseph Smith’s Concept of the City of Zion,” in *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, the Man* (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), <https://rsc.byu.edu/joseph-smith-prophet-man/joseph-smiths-concept-city-zion>

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1904), 2:517

create gathering places for the Saints; as more people made their way to these cities, the religious bloc they formed strengthened while the need for more created space increased.

One particular revelation that Smith received in 1831 denoted the area chosen to create the physical city that was “appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints. Wherefore this is the land of promise and the place for the city of Zion.” This city was located in Independence, Missouri. Throughout the next few years, Smith received more revelation regarding the building of a temple and the continued improvement of the area. Joseph Smith drew plans for the ideal town called the “Plat of the City of Zion.” The organized structure detailed where houses would be arranged around the city square containing the temple, schools, the bishop’s storehouse, and other important public buildings necessary for the town's running. While the experiment in Independence did not last, as the Saints were ultimately driven out of the city as persecution increased, it does highlight that they did have some ideal city structure that their physical “Zion” would look like.

Not only were plans drawn to build the physical Zion on earth, but the Lord had also revealed doctrine to Joseph Smith about building sacred community among the church members. In 1831, the principle of consecrating one’s time, property, and talents to the Lord was a way to build His kingdom on earth. Part of this is found in section 42 of the Doctrine and Covenants:

And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken.

And inasmuch as ye impart of your substance unto the poor, ye will do it unto me; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church and his counselors, two of the elders, or high priests, such as he shall appoint or has appointed and set apart for that purpose.

And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, that they cannot be taken from the church, agreeable to my commandments, every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own

property, or that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family.<sup>36</sup>

As a way to take care of the poor, the Saints were told in the story of Enoch that they were to donate their substance to the church, where appointed bishops and other priesthood leaders would redistribute those goods to those in need, where the surplus would be used to raise up the whole. This idea came to be known as the Law of Consecration and Stewardship.

It was also during this timeframe that the United Firm was first established. In 1832, the Lord instructed the Saints that “it must needs be that there be an organization of my people, in regulating and establishing the affairs of the storehouse for the poor of my people, both in this place [Kirtland] and in the land of Zion.”<sup>37</sup> The United Firm, and later the United Order, was used to give structure to a system meant to benefit the Saints generally. Through this organization, the consecrated funds, goods, properties, and other items were redistributed to advance the temporal needs of all involved. Through their efforts with the United Firm, they hoped they would begin to have all things in common necessary to create the proper sacred space required by the Lord. Richard Bushman notes, “one cannot tell if Joseph Smith understood how much he was asking of his followers in requiring the consecration of property. Questions about self-interest and obstinacy were not ones he entertained.”<sup>38</sup>

Explicit instruction was not given regarding the Firm's implementation, but the principles were there to govern it nonetheless. Smith believed that the consecration of goods and properties was there to create sacred community within the sacred place they had built. For the Saints, the United Firm, along with their desire to create the physical space of Zion, would pave the path.

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<sup>36</sup> D&C 42:30-32

<sup>37</sup> D&C 78:3. It should be noted here that after some time had passed after the dissolution of the United Firm in 1842, that “the affair of the storehouse for the poor” replaced “mercantile and publishing establishments” and “order” replaced “firm.”

<sup>38</sup> Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 182.

An equal environment made it potentially easier to focus on building up the community with a united purpose to bring about God's kingdom on earth again. Cooperation between communal and individual efforts hoped to respond effectively to social, political, and religious troubles. A cyclical relationship with sacred place led to an increase in sacred community, which, in turn, promoted the development of more sacred space. This helped the Saints' functionality within society's established framework and prepared them for the eventual move westward.

Smith's continued translations helped the Saints accomplish this. Although initially acquired in 1835, the Egyptian papyri that contained Latter-day Saints, the Book of Abraham, now made canon and located within the Pearl of Great Price, was published in the *Times and Seasons* between March and May 1842. According to the LDS Church, "The book of Abraham largely follows the biblical narrative but adds important information regarding Abraham's life and teachings."<sup>39</sup> However, it is in this book of scripture that Mormon cosmology, alongside earlier established scripture such as the Book of Moses<sup>40</sup> and the Book of Mormon, the Saint's need to create an orderly society out of a chaotic and disorderly secular one was manifested.

Benjamin Park, in his book *Kingdom of Nauvoo: The Rise and Fall of a Religious Empire on the American Frontier*, describes the Book of Abraham as:

an attempt to return order to the cosmos. The heavens were not filled with autonomous bodies, but structured orbits dependent on divine control. Humanity was not composed of equals, but of people of varying degrees of intelligence and authority, and these qualities dictated how humans should relate to one another. In an American democracy that

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<sup>39</sup> "Translation and Historicity of the Book of Abraham," *Gospel Topics Essays*, [https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/manual/gospel-topics-essays/translation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham?lang=eng&adobe\\_mc\\_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.churchofjesuschrist.org%2Fstudy%2Fmanual%2Fgospel-topics-essays%2Ftranslation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham%3Flang%3Deng&adobe\\_mc\\_sdid=SDID%3D5304397A6DE1994F-31D331A16205D32C%7CMCORGID%3D66C5485451E56AAE0A490D45%2540AdobeOrg%7CTS%3D1648233764](https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/manual/gospel-topics-essays/translation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham?lang=eng&adobe_mc_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.churchofjesuschrist.org%2Fstudy%2Fmanual%2Fgospel-topics-essays%2Ftranslation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham%3Flang%3Deng&adobe_mc_sdid=SDID%3D5304397A6DE1994F-31D331A16205D32C%7CMCORGID%3D66C5485451E56AAE0A490D45%2540AdobeOrg%7CTS%3D1648233764)

<sup>40</sup> Also located within The Pearl of Great Price, it was created through Joseph Smith's efforts to retranslate the Bible.

allowed citizens to determine their own path, Mormonism urged believers to fit within a set order, as defined by a prophet.<sup>41</sup>

As Mormonism's God was understood to be a God of order, one that operated within specific established parameters that would influence the beliefs and practices of the Saints. The endowment ceremony introduced by Smith in 1842 connected them to further theological developments as covenants were made as rituals were completed to understand their relationship with their God. As David Buerger explained it, "the temple provided a synthesis of Mormon beliefs in the origin and purpose of human beings and a sacred ritual which reunited them for a brief time with God, even as a life of righteousness and ordinances performed through proper authority would unite them forever in the afterlife."<sup>42</sup> Such an understanding gave them a sense of purpose and divine destiny, further increasing their desire for individual holiness, exacerbated by their desire to also create an orderly, sacred place where they could practice these principles freely.

As early as the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, God had told Joseph Smith to "Organize yourselves; prepare every needful thing, and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God."<sup>43</sup> The Book of Abraham simply confirmed what the members of the Church already had in the back of their minds. The problems they had dealt with over the previous years confirmed that whatever the United States was doing was not working and that something needed to change. Nauvoo, situated on the American frontier of the time, gave options to those dissatisfied with the current system. Park continues:

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<sup>41</sup> Benjamin E. Park, *Kingdom of Nauvoo: The Rise and Fall of a Religious Empire on the American Frontier* (New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2020), 91.

<sup>42</sup> David Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," in *Dialogue* vol. 20, no.4 (Winter 1987): 80.

<sup>43</sup> D&C 109:8.

The world's synchronicity was rooted in a godly plan. For humankind to reach a similar point of harmony, it had to follow the script. God's house was a house of order, and the individualist strain of American culture threatened to jostle the divine society off kilter. If the saints wished to be sanctified and establish peace, they would have to comport themselves according to prophetic knowledge and priestly authority."<sup>44</sup>

The city of Nauvoo represented the creation of sacred space for the Mormons. Looking at drawings and renditions of the township in Joseph Smith's time, one can see that the city streets were not haphazardly placed but constructed and organized with purpose. Utilizing the template from the "Plat of the City of Zion," Nauvoo was built with Zion in their minds. An orderly space would help to create an orderly people, or space could help create community.

Perhaps it should also not be that surprising that it was during the Nauvoo period that the Prophet Joseph Smith joined himself with the Freemasons of Illinois. Benjamin Park speculates that, as Smith and other leaders were inducted into the Masons, "Masonic rituals reinforced the message of the Abrahamic text and facsimiles, namely that society was based around trust, knowledge, kinship, and hierarchy." After befriending John C. Bennett, a mason, Smith and Sidney Rigdon were initiated into Masonry as Entered Apprentices and soon after raised to Master Masons. During these initiations, they were "given signs, due-grips, due guards, pass-grips, words, passwords, and obligations of secrecy of those degrees."<sup>45</sup> Michael W. Homer explains how Masonry would have been appealing to certain people as "Some gentleman... anxious to obtain esoteric secrets and to advance a philosophical system of 'building a better man in a better world' and adopted the tools and functions of the building trade as symbols and allegory."<sup>46</sup> Buerger furthers this as he believes that Masonry found itself as "a surrogate

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<sup>44</sup> Park, *Kingdom of Nauvoo*, 92.

<sup>45</sup> Michael W. Homer, *Joseph's Temples: The Dynamic Relationship Between Freemasonry and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2014), 150.

<sup>46</sup> Homer, *Joseph's Temples*, 10.

religion for many initiates” because “teaching morality was its most important ideal.”<sup>47</sup> This is important because, for Smith, he desired to create an ideal society where the Saints could increase their righteousness and eventually spread these ideals to the rest of the world—essentially desiring to build a new social order to accomplish this goal. Esotericism in Mormonism naturally meshed with the nature of masonry, adopting many of these symbols, rites, and rituals. Understandably, the exclusivity of the church, enhanced by the tenets and embraced by many LDS church leaders at the time, was incentivizing for outsiders dissatisfied with the circumstances in which they found themselves.

The evolution of Mormonism’s understanding of Zion can be seen through its early history. The establishment of both a physical and spiritual place appealed to many people as converts emigrated to find themselves with the Kirtland, Independence, and later the Nauvoo, Saints. The United Firm, created initially to relieve the Saints of their temporal needs, did not last. However, the principles behind the Firm were revived through the United Order under the leadership of Brigham Young. The United Order became the template by which renewed attempts to create sacred space and sacred community would be done.

While other scholars have gone into intricate details of the operation of the United Order, how it functions, the economic aspects, and other similar minutiae, I have sought to examine the leadership of these successor groups—doing so will serve to observe how each established potential inheritor of Joseph Smith’s mantle. Each had their own interpretation of Smith’s Zionistic belief and the importance of building sacred communities. Building the kingdom of God was not some passive set of events that one could coast on to get to heaven; instead, there was a need for active membership. The early Mormons were constantly encouraged to emigrate

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<sup>47</sup> Buerger, 83.



to new “Zions” and build new communities, which continually tempered them to live according to new scripture and commandments. Dirtiness was outlined by leadership’s prophetic voice, which proceeded to direct the actions of members.

Information to guide this study was gathered through writings, sermons, editorials, periodicals, newspapers, and journals to get into the beliefs, revelations, and systemic methods used to create the church organization that would attempt to provide for the poor and needy members. Again, it is not my intention to get into the minutiae but to take a macro look at these groups to present an overview of the complex situations, cultures, and societies they operate within.

This study finds its niche as a comparative study between the LDS, FLDS,<sup>48</sup> and RLDS churches. All three prominent successor groups branched off Joseph Smith’s restoration at various times and because of different circumstances. Each one, predictably, built their vision of Zion on the foundation laid down by Smith. Because of their shared origin, their beliefs and methods tend to be fairly similar in practice. However, their differences come from what each group emphasized, whether on sacred space, sacred community, or otherwise. In this respect, there will be overlap within each section. Most studies either study one or two groups, but there will be a succinct comparison of these three groups as a way to demonstrate; it will be necessary for future studies, perhaps not in the template presented here, but as encouragement for other scholars to do similar studies. These groups, and others, are mainly operating under the pretexts presented by Joseph Smith. However, as time passed, the churches adapted to their situations differently while trying to keep their core beliefs within that original framework. Each attempted

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<sup>48</sup> It is understood here that the FLDS moniker came into being during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is only used here as a way to keep consistency with the other two groups mentioned with it. Throughout the rest of this study, the phrase “early fundamentalist” or simply “fundamentalist” as a way to differentiate them from the Utah Mormons, but before their transition to the FLDS church.

to produce sacred space and community through the principles (such as the consecration of time, effort, money, and talents to the building of God’s kingdom on earth) revealed to Joseph Smith, which seemed to combine many precepts other reformers and restorationists were utilizing in their own communities. Each group represented the timeframe they were in, either a representative of American culture or a pushback against it; in many cases, they were both.

The first group that will be explored is the group that followed Brigham Young westward into the Great Salt Lake Valley. After the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, the Saints gathered and made preparations to cross the Mississippi River in early 1846. Arriving in the Salt Lake Valley presented new difficulties for the Mormons. Although they escaped the persecutions inflicted by their fellow man in the east, the desert environment was challenging in its own way. Salt Lake City became the new Zion for church members and continued the work of sacred place established by Smith, like Kirtland, Independence, and Nauvoo. Jan Shipps explains that one of the defining features of the Utah Mormons was that “essential worship... was building up the kingdom and inhabiting it.”<sup>49</sup>

Young and the Utah Mormons were, as they believed, simply building and reinforcing the foundation established by Smith in the 1830s and 40s, but three ways marked the most significant policy shifts. The first of these, initially coined by the Prophet Joseph Smith, was the establishment of a “theodemocracy”<sup>50</sup> in the Utah Valley. The first attempt by the Mormons to do so was in Nauvoo, Illinois, but Brigham Young was able to replicate this in the Utah Territory, otherwise known to the Mormons as the State of Deseret. This was an essential step because they could practice their faith in relative peace compared to their efforts out east. Establishing this space in Utah placed the prophet at the head of the territory, creating an

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<sup>49</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism*, 125.

<sup>50</sup> *Times and Seasons* 5:510.

environment more apt for the establishment of Zion. The Utah Mormons' two other defining features fell under the theodemocratic umbrella: celestial marriage and communality. Both ideas were present during Smith's presidency, but each became more explicit under the direction of Brigham Young. These would be the concepts upon which sacred space and community would be built. While neither principle was required, people bought into the concept as their way of building Zion. In this section, Orderville will be used as an example to represent the efforts of Young's group to enact their version of Zion through the United Order. This community was considered the most successful of the townships that attempted to build up Zion.

Polygamy and communalism were not only defining features of the original Utah Mormons but also of the main polygamist group that broke away in the 1930s after the Utah church finally disavowed plural marriage. For them, Zion, and ultimately exaltation, was predicated upon one's commitment to the practice of celestial marriage. Forced away from the main church, they found themselves in the wilderness of Southern Utah and Northern Arizona, where they created the settlement of Short Creek. They emulated many efforts practiced by the Utah church, attempting to model their commune after Orderville. With the United Order and celestial marriage as their essential doctrines. Unlike the Utah Mormons (who openly practiced polygamy, but it was not a wholesale requirement for the general church populace), the early fundamentalists believed the practice was necessary for salvation. Their whole identity was built upon that foundation. For them, they were following the command of Brigham Young, to which Joseph Musser attributed as saying, "the fullness of the Gospel is the United Order and Celestial Marriage."<sup>51</sup> This group believed that the church had gone astray, falling back into the

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<sup>51</sup> John Y. Barlow, "We Will Never Get Into the Kingdom of God With Babylon on Our Backs; We Will Be Driven Into the United Order; Stop This Undercurrent of Faultfinding," *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*, EPub.

profaneness of the world and that it was up to them to continue the work established by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.

The third group that will be examined is the labors of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, founded in 1860 by Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith III. In many ways, this was the most distinctly different of the three groups in their attempts to recreate Smith's vision. Smith III was distinctly anti-polygamist, a sentiment picked up from his mother, Emma Smith, becoming a core ideal of the Illinois Mormons after Brigham Young's group left for the Salt Lake Valley. After Smith III's death, his son Frederick M. Smith shifted the church away from anti-polygamy and toward the applications of the Social Gospel movement to Mormon doctrine. For them, creating sacred space, the creation of new gathering places of Zion, was less important than the creation of sacred community, desiring moral and ethical members of the church. The lack of an open frontier to settle in may have contributed to this, but in essence, they worked within the framework of the society in which they were found as their way of creating Zion. Organizations of the United Order, like that utilized by the Utah Mormons, were used as a way to provide for the poor and needy with stewards set apart to help moderate, distribute, and fortify the spiritual and temporal needs of the people.

### Brigham Young, Creating Zion, and Orderville

After Joseph Smith's death in 1844 at the hands of a mob in Carthage, Illinois, the Saints spent the next two years preparing to leave Nauvoo for the metaphorical greener pasture in the West. While there were discussions about moving to various locations, they settled on the Great Salt Lake Valley. Leonard Arrington described their reasoning as:

Mormon leaders were left to their own devices. Oregon and Texas were ruled out as being too full of 'Missouri mobocrats.' Nobody would envy the Mormons their possession of it; they would be remarkably isolated from their old "enemies"; ...and above all, the region seemed to be divinely ordained, for in the Bible it was written that the Zion of the last days would be built "in the tops of the mountains."<sup>52</sup>

For them, the isolation created the ideal environment to create their version of Zion. The rigors of the move westward and the hardships of the barren Salt Lake Valley gave them ample space to build up the kingdom of God, constructed upon orderly conduct, which, according to Arrington, was an unenviable, undesirable place for most people. It was no longer some imagined space that they had hoped to achieve; instead, it was a real community built to represent the will of God. Building a physical kingdom was their way of showing their commitment to the Lord.

For the Utah Saints, sacred space was accomplished through the United Order, the membership's economic cooperation and self-reliance from foreign investors, and organized municipalities resembling Joseph Smith's "Plat of Zion" and Nauvoo. Consecration, as it was one of the main functions of the Order, was their holy way to redistribute goods, services, time, and effort to perfect the Saints and build up the holy kingdom of God. That is not to say that individual contributions or holiness were de-emphasized; rather, they were used to prop up systematic organization created. Because it was understood that all should be considered and

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<sup>52</sup> Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1958), 40.

treated equally, it was essential for a streamlined way to provide such a service, which is why Joseph Smith emphasized the principal importance of Zion, that the people would be of “one heart and one mind.” For the pioneers, “living in the kingdom... was the sign of citizenship in God’s elect nation” and was “made special through the institution of the patriarchal order of marriage.”<sup>53</sup> Their hardships contributed to their cultural identity, as they had to work and grow together to create a new home successfully.

It should be noted that it is, as Shipps explained, hard to exacerbate the idea of building sacred community within groups such as this, as the very act of building and living the physical kingdom of God on earth is their idea of the sacred. For Brigham Young and the Saints, however, their creation of the sacred could only be achieved by removing themselves from the influence of outside sources. John Taylor explained that part of their reasoning behind leaving the United States was “because we chose to believe in a religion revealed to us by God, and which the people would not let us do and live in peace among them.”<sup>54</sup> The profane world had emphatically pushed them away, so they believed it necessary to move away to a remote location, from there building irrigation canals, homes, towns, and temples, while planting crops, setting up shops, and so on, showing their dedication to the cause of Zion.

After establishing their presence in the Salt Lake Valley, Young, the appointed prophet of the Church after arriving in the valley in 1847, believed there was a need to become more self-sufficient and self-reliant, allowing them the freedom to operate outside of the constraints of the U.S. market. After the stoppage of importation during preparations for the potential exodus from the Salt Lake Valley with reports of the arrival of Johnston’s Army in the late 1850s, Brigham Young remarked:

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<sup>53</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism*, 125.

<sup>54</sup> *Journal of Discourses*, 20:55. Hereafter cited as *JD*.

But now, thank God, there are no stores in which to buy; and I hope there will not be any more here, for it is the conduct of traders who have fattened in our midst that has brought an army into our Territory. ...I want you to understand that we are in favour [sic] of home manufacture in good earnest. Raise sheep and flax, and make cloth, and raise cotton, as fast as you can, and we will try to improve.<sup>55</sup>

Self-sufficiency was part of Mormonism's plan for sacred community since it would allow them to operate, ideally, financially outside the influences of the encroaching United States. Young created the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) to achieve this goal in the 1860s. Dean L. May explained that this was done to be a "church-sponsored retail trading system that he [Young] hoped would drive out non-Mormon merchants and be profitable enough to provide the capital needed to foster local cooperative industries."<sup>56</sup> Although the initial purpose was to create private Mormon-owned institutions, other private firms began to operate within the system over the next decade. Leonard Arrington described the cooperative community established in Brigham City in 1864 by Lorenzo Snow as "a model not only for the cooperative movement begun by Brigham Young later that decade, but also for the more ambitious United Order movement that succeeded it."<sup>57</sup> In his continued concern for the spiritual and physical well-being of the Saints, President Young, as quoted by Arrington, suggested "all the elements and principles of what [was later to be] ...called the United Order."<sup>58</sup>

Perhaps this should not be all that surprising, as Young desired to continue the efforts of the late Joseph Smith. In 1855, Young, referencing doctrines revealed in the Book of Abraham, posits that:

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<sup>55</sup> *JD* 7:47.

<sup>56</sup> Dean L. May, "The United Order Movement," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, [https://www.uen.org/utah\\_history\\_encyclopedia/u/UNITED\\_ORDER\\_MOVEMENT.shtml](https://www.uen.org/utah_history_encyclopedia/u/UNITED_ORDER_MOVEMENT.shtml)

<sup>57</sup> Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 111.

<sup>58</sup> Arrington, *City of God*, 111.

He has instituted a plan and order, has organized this planet, and peopled it by His wisdom and power. ...He did bring forth the earth, and formed and organized it as it was in the beginning, and made it perfect, pure, and holy.<sup>59</sup>

As the Lord explained to Abraham, the world, planets, galaxy, and universe are ordered in a certain way, and all things should therefore be in order. Consecration was one of the primary methods that this order could be obtained. A way to create a sacred space away from the disorderly conduct of a profane world. Continuing, Young explained:

It is time the privilege of consecrating their property was given to the people, it is the will of the Lord they should enjoy this blessing and privilege, those who choose to hand over their property; to whom? To Him who has given them everything they possess: ...and He deals it out and bestows it where it seemeth Him good.<sup>60</sup>

This follows the same logic found within the pages of the Book of Mormon, which poses the question:

For behold, are we not all beggars? Do we not all depend upon the same Being...? And now, if God, who has created you, on whom you are dependent for your lives and for all that ye have and are, doth grant unto you whatsoever ye ask that is right, in faith, believing that ye shall receive, O then, how ye ought to impart of the substance that ye have one to another.<sup>61</sup>

In an 1878 sermon, then-president John Taylor remarked that, at the time, the church had not quite achieved proper consecration and that “we are not now called upon to enter into these things in their fullness and perfection, but we are called upon to make steps towards it.”<sup>62</sup> However, as Taylor explained, they were “stimulated by the principles of union, liberality, and communion.”<sup>63</sup> As the Saints settled in the valley, the temporary peace and isolation allowed them to experiment with these ideas in a previously unavailable way.

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<sup>59</sup> *JD* 2:300

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Mosiah 4:19-21

<sup>62</sup> *JD* 20:55.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*



It was not until February 1874 that the United Order of Enoch officially came into existence. It revitalized the original Law of Consecration and Stewardship introduced by Joseph Smith in the 1830s. Consecration, in this case, was donating one's material surplus and time, talents, and other goods, to the church, which would then redistribute that back to those in need. Apostle Orson F. Whitney described the purpose of the Order as “ a religio-social system involving the methods whereby the ‘upbuilding’ is to be accomplished,” to which Whitney quoted Joseph Smith as saying that “it is given that one man should not possess that which is above another. This is the key-note of the United Order.”<sup>64</sup> The United Order was meant to uplift the people to a more sacred way of living.

Whitney continues by remarking that one of the most critical factors in the success and the advent of the United Order rests on its religiousness; too secular and “selfish humanity” would corrupt the system. That is why the “failures of those would-be social reformers, secularists, who have thought to leave God and religion out of their otherwise grand schemes for society's reconstruction and regeneration. The ‘natural man’ is too much of an enemy to God, too much of an enemy of his fellow man.” The esotericism of Mormonism was a way for others to generate a better society. Echoing some of the sentiments of the Second Great Awakening reformers, they sought to use religious principles in secular matters to respond to Americans' circumstances. In this way, the United Order is superior to these other attempts because:

The United Order was not a mere financial scheme, not a co-operative, joint-stock mercantile concern; not a mere plan for social reconstruction involving only a community of temporal interests. It was all these and more. It was religious, not secular in its character; spiritual, not temporal in its genius; and yet being spiritual, it comprehended

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<sup>64</sup> Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah Comprising Preliminary Chapters on the Previous History of Her Founders, Accounts of Early Spanish and American Explorations in the Rocky Mountain Region, The Advent of the Mormon Pioneers, the Establishment and Dissolution of the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret, and the Subsequent Creation and Development of the Territory in Four Volumes*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, UT: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1893), 82.

and circumscribed the temporal. . . Its avowed object was to glorify God by lifting up man mentally, physically morally, spiritually.<sup>65</sup>

Jan Shipps argues that much of the success of the nineteenth-century Saints was predicated upon this idea, that their church was set apart from the profane nature of the world, as “they tried to stay unspotted from the world by as far as possible separating themselves politically, economically, socially, and psychically from the rest of humanity.”<sup>66</sup> In doing so, they had effectively created a sacred space for themselves to practice their religion and build up Zion.

After its inception, “fourteen rules of conduct, cast in the form of pledges, were adopted and presented with little to no amendment where branches of the United Order were established. Adapted from regulations originally drafted as requirements for members of the ‘School of Prophets.’”<sup>67</sup> Some of these rules included:

Rule 1. We will not take the name of Deity in vain, nor speak lightly of His character or of sacred things.

Rule 2. We will pray with our families morning and evening, and also attend to secret prayer.

Rule 11. In our apparel and deportment we will not pattern after nor encourage foolish and extravagant fashions, and cease to import or buy from abroad any article which can be reasonably dispensed with, or which can be produced by combination of home labor. We will foster and encourage the producing and manufacturing of all articles needful for our consumption as fast as our circumstances will permit.

Rule 12. We will be simple in our dress and manner of living, using proper economy and prudence in the management of all entrusted to our care.

Rule 14. We will honestly and diligently labor, and devote ourselves and all we have to the Order and the building up of the kingdom of God.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Whitney, *History of Utah*, vol. 1, 83

<sup>66</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism*, 116.

<sup>67</sup> Arrington, *City of God*, 142

<sup>68</sup> “Rules That Should be Observed by Members of the United Order,” found in Arrington, *City of God*, 404-405. The complete list of rules can be found in the appendix.

Rules such as this provided a template of righteous living for any desiring to enter the Order. The first two show that the Saints' first priority was to God and to have a correct relationship with him, which would hopefully help them receive their revelation for their own conduct. Since the spiritual and temporal were to be unseparated, as stated by Brigham Young, they needed to be right with God before focusing on temporal matters. In turn, the following two rules here note how members were to conduct themselves temporally, with a deemphasis on flashy clothing for more practical attire and a reliance on local goods rather than imported ones. Hopefully, this would build a rapport among the community members, who would feel more inclined to help others. The lack of elaborate dress would allow them to focus on the spiritual side of life. Without the need to one-up their neighbor, self-reliance, and a cooperative mindset, they could then focus on the last rule, which combined the spiritual and temporal rules to institute both sacred space and sacred community.

In addition to these rules, when one desired to join with those in the United Order, they were asked questions to gauge their commitment and if their personality would mesh with the requirements. These ranged from asking why the person wanted to join the Order, to family size and willingness to commit, to habits and impulses.<sup>69</sup>

In response to its inception, many members were rebaptized in a show of recommitment to the church and these newly minted consecration efforts. Moral and ethical requirements were the basis for its success and gave them an essential sense of unity and a higher purpose necessary for any longstanding success. John Taylor explained that to build up Zion, they must be “in possession of the spirit of Zion, and of the light and intelligence that flow from God, and under

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<sup>69</sup> These questions are found in Mark A. Pendleton, “The Orderville United Order of Zion,” *Utah State Historical Society* 7, no.4 (October 1939): 145-146. They can also be found in the appendix here.

the direction of the Priesthood, the living oracles of God, to lead us in the paths of life.”<sup>70</sup> Eliade describes this as “a fixed point” because “*if the world is to be lived in, it must be founded,*”<sup>71</sup> essentially, within some sacred notion. For the Mormons, this was within the concept of becoming like the people described in scripture as Zion. To create what they considered sacred conduct, they needed to rid themselves of the problematic nature of humankind. John Taylor elaborates on this by saying that “all kinds of confusion, folly, vanity, pride, haughtiness, covetousness, drunkenness, and every kind of sin have existed among us, as a people.”<sup>72</sup> Much like Mary Douglas’ theory on dirtiness, Mormonism defined the conduct of the membership as necessary to be on the right side of God and to create his kingdom on earth, which was generally understood to be an arduous process to work through.

Many cooperatives were set up throughout Utah in response to the large influx of Saints joining the United Order. Settlements close to the ideal community were created in “Price City, Springdale, and Kingston, Utah; Bunkerville, Nevada; and in several Mormon settlements on Arizona’s Little Colorado River.”<sup>73</sup> However, the most successful and complete cooperative social communities were found in Orderville, located on the Virgin River in Southern Utah. It was formed for the specific purpose of living the United Order. Founded on July 14, 1875, most of the original members were from the Mt. Carmel settlement and other communities found along the Muddy River.

“With its isolated location, remote from population centers or major transportation routes, Orderville provided a good setting for the independent social experiment.”<sup>74</sup> This was different

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<sup>70</sup> *JD* 18:79.

<sup>71</sup> Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 22.

<sup>72</sup> *JD* 18:79.

<sup>73</sup> Arrington, *City of God*, 205.

<sup>74</sup> Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 106.

from many of the other places that the Order was utilized, with it being superimposed on mostly preexisting communities, “already functioning in essentially individualistic and capitalistic forms,”<sup>75</sup> where Orderville provided the unique opportunity for those involved to mold a sacred communal society the way they felt best exemplified the consecration and equality necessary to build Zion on earth. Forged in the trials of the Muddy River settlement, those who went on to establish Orderville believed that what they had accomplished there was not a deep enough conversion nor sufficient enough effort necessary to properly live the United Order, replete with communal living, consecration of everything they had to the community, strict moral and ethical codes to initially be even considered for assignment there, and complete self-sufficiency. As they broke off to create a new settlement, they rebaptized each other to rededicate themselves to the cause.

Due to dissatisfaction with their former efforts, Dean L. May describes as “severe strains between the communalists and those desiring something less than an all-encompassing cooperative,”<sup>76</sup> many people left their communities to produce an idealistically consecrated community. The founders of the town included ideas that:

All people are literally the sons and daughters of God, that the earth is His and all it contains, that He created it and its fullness, especially for the use and benefit of His children, that all, providing they keep His commandments, are equally entitled to the blessings of the earth; that with proper regulations there is enough and to spare for all, that every person is simply a steward and not an owner of property he has in charge, and that he is under obligation to use it, and his time, strength and talents for the good of all. ...All are required to be diligent in their labors, economical in their habits and temperate in their lives.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Arrington, *City of God*, 266.

<sup>76</sup> Dean L. May, “The United Order Movement,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*.

<sup>77</sup> E.M. Webb, in “Manuscript History of Kanab Stake,” LDS Church Archives, found in Martha Sonnag Bradley, *A History of Kane County*, 129.

The city became an important symbol for those attempting to live the Order. Three years after the city's conception, John Taylor remarked that "they are doing very well; they have things pretty much in common, and there is a good, kind and a generous spirit prevailing among them" and that the general church would do well to be "[be] bound together by the bonds of the everlasting gospel... and pursue that course which will tend to bring about these results."<sup>78</sup> At one point, the town reached a population of 750, with all members contributing to its success.

Life in Orderville was regimented, setting up shifts for eating, work, sleep schedules, etc. Members needed to be dedicated to the enterprise for it to succeed, even with highly competent leadership. A critical aspect of this is the notion of unity and being of "one heart and one mind." However, to achieve this, it was crucial to limit the influx of new members into the society in many ways. If members already present are committed, there is a sense of unity and harmony. However, if there is a constant stream of new immigrants, a slew of new ideas, proposals, and potential tension could infiltrate the mindset of the well-established members. Arrington posits that for "the religious and economic health of the community, it was necessary that the Order adopt rules limiting membership in addition to the provision in the by-laws requiring a two-thirds favorable vote. Otherwise, disharmonious elements might disrupt the organization and the population would quickly press upon the limited resources."<sup>79</sup> There was a reason that some of the questions asked as an entrance requirement revolved around the purpose of joining the community.

Although it was relatively "successful" compared to similar attempts around Utah, particularly considering that most did not last more than six months, the "sacredness" of the community was not enough to keep the profane from infiltrating it. Orderville lasted for just over

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<sup>78</sup> *JD* 20:58.

<sup>79</sup> Arrington, *City of God*, 280.

a decade because there was only so much the citizens could do with their resources. The natural resources were exploited sensibly; however, everything was produced in-house, sometimes literally, and living in such a place was challenging. Zemira Palmer, who lived in Orderville for the majority of its existence, explained some of this difficulty to his sister:

...you speak of trial, there are none of us without them, it is the object of our mission to this earth to learn by the opposite to realize the good joy sorrow, pleasure by pain, riches by poverty, contentment by discomfort and the blessings of the spirit of God by being left to ourselves at times... I have been sorely tried in my experience in Mormonism... I have had an ordeal in the United Order calculated to sift one to the bottom... that day gas come in my opinion, we can not support ourselves in the faith and works of another if we have none for ourselves well. I do not feel like giving up but look upon trials as Pres. Young once expressed "as blessing in disguise" for they will surely work out blessings if we hold fast to our integrity.<sup>80</sup>

Even for a committed member like Zemira Palmer, it was a hard life to live, and, as expressed here, some doubts were creeping in on whether or not it would be worth it to continue with the work within the United Order. Although many kept faithful in their attempt to follow the precepts of the order, many did not. Bishop Henry Esplin commented, "President Young had repeatedly advised against allowing those who might become parasites on the body from becoming members." Bishop Esplin further remarked that "the condition occurred and became a menace by breeding discontent and throwing responsibility for the support of their families on those who must assume it. If all had accepted responsibility and had worked for the good of the whole, all would have been well."<sup>81</sup> It seems that there had come the point that disorder and discontent had crept into the minds of those living there, leaving the work to rest on the heads of those who would shoulder the burden. It began to wear down on those involved. Many members left the city for other opportunities elsewhere, taking labor and goods from Orderville and

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<sup>80</sup> Zemira Palmer to his sister Lovina, Orderville, Utah, June 13, 1880.

<sup>81</sup> Emma Carroll Seegmiller, "Personal Memories of the United Order of Orderville, Utah," in *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (October 1939): 173. This is how Seegmiller quoted Henry W. Esplin in her personal memoirs.

moving outside its boundaries, further limiting its ability to function efficiently. Ironically, the fatal blow to any lasting success of the United Order was the economic improvement of Southern Utah, which led to even more leaving the community.

With the economic upturn, people did not feel the need to continue living in the manner of the United Order, in a situation equal to poverty, to take advantage of the new prospects afforded them. The younger generation of Orderville residents looked on with envy at the living standards of nearby communities, and discontent grew, leading to pieces of their communal living beginning to face away.

Erastus Snow, commenting on Orderville, said that:

I am just as sanguine now as I have been in time past; that the Lord wishes His people to be united as the Nephites were, when here will be no more poor among them; when all will be faithful in their labors. The people of Orderville or those organized in the United Order deserved credit for what they have done, but that they are exactly on the line, I cannot say, I can see some defects in their organizations that will show themselves at some time, and will cause some to feel disaffected.<sup>82</sup>

Under Brigham Young's direction, the Saints sought to provide relief for those in need among their membership. Young brought back a concept established by Joseph Smith under the law of consecration to foster unity and harmony to accomplish this goal. The United Order, established amid an economic panic, made significant gains in the growing membership of the Great Salt Lake Valley and other outlying areas. For Young, one purpose was that the Saints would become one, not in looks, but rather in the Lord, and that as they acted upon this revelation from on high, they would be blessed. This would be accomplished “in our acts, dispositions, and efforts to accumulate, distribute, and dispose of our time, talents, wealth and whatever the Lord gives to us, in our journey through life.”<sup>83</sup> Regulation of members’ lifestyles

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<sup>82</sup> Erastus Snow, 19 April 1877, quoted in *Deseret News*, 9 May 1877.

<sup>83</sup> *JD* 12:57.



was integral, as it instilled a sense of discipline for the Utah Saints; much like the purpose of Nauvoo, a sense of orderly conduct helped the Mormons to create hierophantic sacred spaces; their purpose of emulating other instances of time and space.

Building Zion was the object was still an important goal for the Utah Mormons, but, as they would say, the “natural man” got in the way of a consecrated, more holy lifestyle that they believed was necessary to understand the workings of the heavens themselves. When asked why the United Order of Orderville fell out of favor with some members and the other troubles it went through, Thomas Chamberlain wrote that:

Accumulating wealth was not our object, that was furthest from our minds, our aim was to establish a principle of equality-as near as our fallen natures would admit of, string always to grade upwards to the mark. We found it necessary to make changes from time to time as our experience in living together with united interests brought us in contact with difficulties that people in other circumstances knew but little or nothing about, consequently new developments had to be met with new arrangements, and occasionally one would become dissatisfied and leave...<sup>84</sup>

As needed to enter the Order, personal discipline was challenging to keep up with in the rigorous conditions of living a consecrated lifestyle. More effortless living outside of the community tempted many away from Orderville. Competing interests began to break apart the community. They were initially successful because of their discipline and strict adherence to the rules they swore to uphold, having all things in common, and living the gospel of Jesus Christ. However, minds wandered, and their unified front began to break, spelling doom for the United Order cooperative in the community.

Near the end of Brigham Young’s life and into John Taylor’s presidency, anti-Mormon sentiments began to crop up, and persecution ramped up. Not for their cooperative movements but for the practice of polygamy. Absent leadership also contributed to the dissolution of the

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<sup>84</sup> Thomas Chamberlain to Reddick Allred, August 18, 1883, quoted in Pendleton, “The Orderville United Order of Zion, 155.

Orderville United Order as many of its leading members were practicing polygamists and, after the passing of the Edmunds Act, many were forced into hiding to continue their practice of this doctrine. The Utah Saints' Zion was thrown into upheaval over their perceived interference by the United States government. However, for a short period of time, they had been able to settle down and achieve, to various degrees, levels of success in living the law of consecration and stewardship, and for those in Orderville, a Zion settlement. Again, as Shipps stipulated, "essential worship... was building up the kingdom and inhabiting it."<sup>85</sup> Zion, for the Utah Mormons, was manifested through their due diligence in the physical creation of what they considered sacred communities. Others, like those in Orderville, took this a step further in committing themselves to communal living as their way of showing devotion to building God's kingdom on earth

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<sup>85</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism*, 125.

## Early Short Creek Fundamentalists and the Continuation of Brigham's Zion

In a 1947 sermon, President John Y. Barlow exclaimed:

The Church is against us. The state is against us. The government is against us, We can't expect anything else. It is a great deal like in the mission field. I was in a debate with a minister. He proved that this nation wouldn't accept us at all. ... We are told in the very first communication of God to Joseph Smith that they were an abomination in His sight, and they preach for doctrine the commandments of men. Today the Church takes them in their arms. At the same time, they will cast men out that are living the fulness of the Gospel. The adversary is very cunning. He knows very well if we don't live the fulness of the Gospel, we cannot go on to our exaltation. For the Lord has said, "If you live all these laws and reject one of them, you have failed."<sup>86</sup>

The early fundamentalists' beginnings were founded in persecution, pushing them further and further from mainstream society and the Brigham Young Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley.

While Joseph Smith started the practice of polygamy in the early 1840s, it was not openly practiced and in the mainstream doctrine of the church until the Saints had moved westward under the leadership of Brigham Young. Mormonism's unique doctrines and polygamous practices set them apart from the rest of American society.

It created a sense of unity and common cause, strengthening the Saints' resolve against their opposition. However, the glue of opposition serves well only if there is something to oppose, which became the case for the Utah Mormons and the 1890 Manifesto by Wilford Woodruff. Jan Shippo explained the importance of this stemmed from the ideal held by the Mormons that they were a "chosen people," but when they acquiesced to the demands of Protestant America, there was a dynamic shift in focus. Because "without boundaries to set them apart, without Gentiles to stand over and against, a chosen people cannot exist; their very identity depends on their perception of their specialness," and that specialness "depends on their being

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<sup>86</sup> John Y. Barlow, "A Sermon Delivered by President John Y. Barlow, July 12, 1947, Widtsoe, Utah." In *Sermons of Leroy S. Johnson*, vol. 1 (Hildale, UT: Corporation of the President of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1998), 1F: 3-5

separated in some way from... the population that is not special.”<sup>87</sup> Like Eliade’s example of the church building, the sacred is sacred when it is set apart from something that is not sacred; it can also be likened to the precept that dirt is only dirt when it is considered such, which could also be reasoned as order is only order when set against disorder. Therefore, Mormonism’s “chosen” nature really only manifests when it is set against something else.

For the early fundamentalists, Zion consisted of many of the same aspects Brigham Young’s Utah Mormons held concerning building sacred space and community. However, they differed in that plural marriage was a requirement for all men and women in their communities. This was not the case for the main body of the church. Although many prominent leaders practiced polygamy, it seems as though this was not necessary for the general church membership. Fundamentalist emphasis also seems to be placed upon building sacred community over the functions of organized sacred space; they separated themselves from the LDS church due to the widely held belief that they (the main church) had gone astray, their conduct in practicing celestial marriages was more important than sticking with that organization. It was important to live the entirety of the gospel, not just bits and pieces here and there, and this included living celestially through plural marriage and consecration. Simply put, they felt that they were continuing on the practices started by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young and that it was their duty to follow those precepts until the end, even if it meant leaving the church and becoming more estranged from general American society. As they did so, opposition to their beliefs from both groups reinforced their understanding of being the chosen of God to continue his work in building Zion.

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<sup>87</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism*, 116.

At this point, the fundamentalists separated from the main body of the church, believing that the church's decision to retract polygamous practices showed that they had moved into the realm of the profane and that it was up to them to carry on the sacred mantle. A brief introduction to the background leading up to the fundamentalists' split from the main church will help to understand their reasoning behind it.

The practice mainly continued unhindered until the 1860s, when pressure began to mount from the American government exponentially. The Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862 was followed by the Poland Act of 1874, culminating in the Edmunds Act of 1882. These stemmed from anti-polygamy sentiments adopted by the newly formed Republican Party in 1856, where they stated:

Resolved: That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism--Polygamy, and Slavery.<sup>88</sup>

With the end of the American Civil War in 1865, the federal government shifted its focus to the second of the "twin relics of barbarism" practiced by the Mormons in the Utah territory. These pieces of legislation sought to force them into the mainstream of American society by placing harsh punishments upon any who practiced it. As Martha Bradley explained, "Men who were liable to arrest went into hiding on what was called 'the underground.' ...Between 1884 and 1893, 'more than a thousand judgments were secured for unlawful cohabitation and thirty one for polygamy,' each bearing penitentiary sentences and often fines as well."<sup>89</sup> The Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in 1887, tightening the noose on the Mormons still practicing.

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<sup>88</sup> *National Party Platforms: Volume I 1840-1856*, compiled by Donald Bruce Johnson, University of Illinois Press, 27-28, [https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=4028](https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=4028).

<sup>89</sup> Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped From That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1993), 5.

This pressure forced many of the Mormon leaders into hiding. Some of the Saints had already spread outside of Utah but were forced to relocate into even more remote areas, with President John Taylor, who became prophet after the death of Brigham Young in 1877, urging members to do so. An active proponent of the practice, Taylor was forced into hiding in 1885, where he spent the final two years of his life and died in 1887. Even his successor, Wilford Woodruff, spent a reasonable amount of time during his early presidency in hiding. Reflecting on this period, John Y. Barlow reminisced that:

We all understand and know that when the Edmunds Law came out it was in opposition to the laws of God; so it made every man, woman, and child in the Church a defier of the law--some defied the laws of the land and others defied the laws of God. If you defy the laws of the land, you will go to jail; but if you defy the laws of God--in the Celestial Kingdom there are three heavens or degrees and in order to obtain the highest you must live that law.<sup>90</sup>

For the Saints at the time, it was paramount to abide by the laws of God. However, there was also the precept taught by Joseph Smith that “We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.”<sup>91</sup> For Barlow and others, it was more important to live the law given by the divine if there must be a choice, with the decision between earthly jail time or eternal condemnation an obvious one. Like Smith and the Saints, Barlow and the others chose to separate themselves from society to practice their religion in their way. The fundamentalists believed that Zion, and therefore their own sacred space and community, must consist of plural marriage.

During the presidencies of both John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, important events would shape fundamentalist beliefs, separating themselves from the Brigham branch of

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<sup>90</sup> Barlow, “Church of the Firstborn; Magnify Your Calling; Dissolution; Keys of Elijah; Gain Salvation Through Keeping Covenants; The Resurrection; Be Ye Perfect; God Helps Those Who Help Themselves,” *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*, Epub.

<sup>91</sup> Articles of Faith 1:12. Also published in *Times and Seasons, March 1, 1842, vol. 3, no. 9, 706-710*, was later known as “The Wentworth Letter.”

Mormonism. The first happened during the two years that Taylor was in hiding; according to Mormon fundamentalist leaders, a revelation was received that urged certain families to continue polygamy because the Lord had not yet revoked it. As recalled by both Lorin C. Woolley and recorded by Joseph Lyman Jessop to Taylor, the Lord had stated: “concerning the New and Everlasting Covenant and how far it is binding upon my people; thus saith the Lord: All commandments that I give must be obeyed by those calling themselves by my name unless they are revoked by me or by my authority, and how can I revoke an everlasting covenant, for I the Lord am everlasting....”<sup>92</sup>

This group set apart by President Taylor became pertinent during the time of the second significant event: the 1890 Manifesto<sup>93</sup>, otherwise known as the First Manifesto. This statement was presented during the semi-annual conference of the Church in October of that year. It was here that President Wilford Woodruff declared that the practice of plural marriage was ending:

We are not teaching polygamy or plural marriage, nor permitting any person to enter into its practice

Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to have them do likewise.<sup>94</sup>

The declaration began the process in which the main body of the church was incorporated into general American favor. According to one scholar, the response to the Manifesto was mixed: "the rank and file membership was either confused or seemed to accept this as necessary evasion designed to protect both the Church and a religious ordinance most held very sacred."<sup>95</sup> General

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<sup>92</sup> *Truth Magazine* 4, vol. 5 (October 1938):84-86. Also found in Joseph Lyman Jessop, *Diary*, vol 1, Book 7: March 28, 1923 and Lorin C. Woolley in *Truth Magazine* 20, no. 1 (June 1954):31-33.

<sup>93</sup> Now found in the Doctrine and Covenants under the title *Official Declaration 1*.

<sup>94</sup> *Official Declaration 1*

<sup>95</sup> Ken Driggs, “After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons,” in *Journal of Church and State* vol. 32, 2 (Spring, 1990): 373-374.

reactions were mixed, but to those who firmly believed that Zion must consist of celestial marriage began to become disenchanted with the church and its new stance.

In 1904, this feeling was exacerbated. There was a Second Manifesto, published amid the Reed Smoot hearings, held from 1904-1907, by then-President Joseph F. Smith, who, as described by Martha Bradley, “denied allegations that new polygamous marriages had occurred ‘with the sanction, consent or knowledge of the Church,’ and warned that known transgressors would be excommunicated. Thus, the Second Manifesto rested on coercive power, the threat of excommunication, rather than on the persuasive power of divine revelation.”<sup>96</sup> Here, feelings shifted from confusion with early fundamentalists to an understanding that the Church was astray from the doctrine it should be following. This was noted by Brother Joseph W. Musser, while never deviating in his testimony of the Church, stated that:

This is the only Church through which salvation can come to a fallen world. While in many respects the Church is out of order, a condition in which the Church has always fallen through the weaknesses of men, it has not been rejected....

It will be set in order in the due time of the Lord. Meantime, those attempting in perfect good faith, though weak, to live the higher law - the law of Consecration and of Celestial Marriage in its fullness, the latter of which the Church rejected in the Manifesto of Wilford Woodruff, must continue on; they must endure the stigma hurled against them - of apostasy and excommunication, persecution, imprisonment, with other abuses, until the Lord sees fit to take a hand. And my faith is that when the Lord rights the wrongs of His leaders the faithful saints will be crowned with glory and eternal lives, a consummation worth suffering for, as many are now doing.<sup>97</sup>

For Musser, it was not just that polygamy was an essential principle that the church was not using anymore, but a fundamental principle to the gospel of Jesus Christ. John Barlow stated, "Brigham Young said the fullness of the Gospel is the United Order and Celestial Marriage."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Bradley, *Kidnapped From That Land*, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Joseph W. Musser, *The Journal of Joseph White Musser* (Pioneer Press, 1948), 115-116.

<sup>98</sup> Barlow, “We Will Never Get Into the Kingdom of God With Babylon on Our Backs; We Will Be Driven Into the United Order; Stop This Undercurrent of Faultfinding,” *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*.



Because Zion was meant to be built upon these two essential principles, the Church abandoning both goes against what fundamentalists believed to be the foundation of doctrine necessary for salvation. For them, the church was out of order. To truly enjoy the fulness of the gospel, as revealed to the Lord's chosen, they must continue the practices outlined by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor. There was not much change that they felt they needed to make in their worship because they were holding fast to correct principles. By the 1930s, they believed the Utah church to become part of the profane world. Therefore, they needed to carry the mantle of celestial marriage and consecration to reach heaven. Musser and others felt that "a private conviction of the correctness of one's position was more valid than a pronouncement from a supposed authority,"<sup>99</sup> despite any possibility of legal authority or otherwise.

The final straw in the string of disappointments regarding the leadership of the LDS Church came in the form of a third Manifesto, also considered the final manifesto, issued in 1933. When Heber J. Grant became president of the Church, he took a hardline stance against plural marriage, which only deepened with his selection of J. Reuben Clark as one of his counselors. This manifesto eliminated any goodwill between the last remnants of Latter-day Saints still practicing polygamy. Excommunications quickly followed as many of the early prominent fundamentalist leaders. Nevertheless, despite these issues, these people were relatively happy. Martha Bradley describes the general mindset: "the polygamists felt that theirs was a righteous cause and thus they took their excommunication in stride. Increasingly, fundamentalists moved into the isolated region of the Arizona Strip so that their families could be raised in an environment where the traditions they held sacred were respected."<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Bradley, *Kidnapped from that Land*, 39.

<sup>100</sup> Bradley, *Kidnapped from that Land*, 52.

As a way to live the complete “fulness of the gospel, 1935 saw some men sent to examine the potential for a new colony in Short Creek and in May 1935 John Y. Barlow established a congregation there. According to Ken Driggs, the men sent to scout out the area returned and reported to the Council of Friends that “it was a good place to reintroduce United Order living and was isolated enough to provide refuge from the prosecutions they experienced in the Salt Lake Valley.” He continued by quoting John Y. Barlow as saying that Short Creek ‘was a place prepared by the Lord, not only as a place of refuge... but as a means for liveyhood [sic] ... That by a united action and effort the Lord would bless the efforts of the brethren and prosper them.’<sup>101</sup> Just as the Mormons had left Illinois, and ultimately the United States of America, and moved westward to practice their religion in peace due to persecution from certain groups, likewise fundamentalists felt the need to leave their established homes and communities to practice their religion in peace. Persecution forced their hand. Again, to establish a proper sacred community where Zion could be established, the fundamentalists followed Smith’s example. Separation from a profane society enabled them to build their communities as they saw fit for the kingdom of God, much like members that created Orderville. They separated themselves from those they believed were not as committed to their cause and created a town to live the law of consecration properly. Similarly, Barlow and the others detached themselves from the main church so they could do the same.

John Y. Barlow, in a 1942 sermon, noted that “the only thing we can do is pray to the Lord. We have been having told to us for years and years; and now it is upon us... We will be living the United Order because we will have been driven to it...”<sup>102</sup> This talks about the United

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<sup>101</sup> Ken Driggs, “‘This Will Someday be the Head and not the Tail of the Church’: A History of the Mormon Fundamentalists at Short Creek,” in *Journal of Church and State* vol. 43, 1 (Winter 2001): 59.

<sup>102</sup> Barlow, “We Will Never Get Into the Kingdom of God With Babylon on Our Backs; We Will Be Driven Into the United Order; Stop This Undercurrent of Faultfinding,” in *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*.

Order after the initial founding of Short Creek as a fundamentalist community, and the sentiment still applies to this situation. Their people had to move south to a remote place because they were driven to it in much the same way. As (Grandma) Susie Barlow recalled, “There were some brethren down there [in Short Creek] that wanted to— thought that they wanted to start the United Order, and they were willing to donate their land and give it all to the Lord, to be run, regulated and taken care of through the Priesthood quorum. That’s how we came to be in Short Creek.”<sup>103</sup>

Located on the Utah-Arizona border, the settlements of Hildale, Utah and Colorado City, Arizona, made up the community known as “Short Creek.” Alyne B. Jessop, one of the plural wives of Joseph Lyman Jessop, noted that there were booklets published that excited the people about the prospects of this new community:

The message on the first page was: ‘The Political part of the world mechanism is sadly out of order! The Social structure of modern Christendom is toppling to ruin! The world has fallen into an Economical maelstrom, which threatens commercial destruction! Spiritual life is palsied!’ The solution offered was: “Kingdom of God Government! Plural Marriage! All things in common! Revelation through Priesthood, separate and above the Church!’ No wonder the Church authorities were furious.

But to the people who believed, it seemed so wonderful - the glorious privilege of gathering with the saints, living in a united effort away from the gentile world! Never mind the poverty, the absence of electricity, the wind and the sand, a leaky tent! With faith, the Lord could send manna when babies cried for bread. The gate has been opened; Celestial laws could still be lived! A man could bring his extra wives here, and no one would bother him. People began to come – perhaps with more enthusiasm than knowledge...<sup>104</sup>

There are at least a couple of exciting concepts in this quote. As with Joseph Smith and other antebellum restorationists who saw political, social, and economic turmoil had caused great upheaval worldwide, they believed that religious action was the cure for these ills. At the time of

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<sup>103</sup> Susie Barlow, “Talk Given by Grandma Barlow (Aunt Susie) Age 91, at Woodruff Steed’s residence,” in *Early Pioneers of Short Creek*, unpublished manuscript, (copy in possession of the author): 53.

<sup>104</sup> Alyne B. Jessop, “They Called it Short Creek,” *Early Pioneers of Short Creek*, 5-6.

the Short Creek settlement, the United States was in the midst of the Great Depression, causing hardship for a large portion of Americans. These booklets and pamphlets promoted what the polygamists believed to be a solution to the “gentile world.” Even religious structures had gone awry, according to them. In this way, they promoted their understanding of Zion; despite the poverty one may encounter when joining them, faith in God, consecration, plural marriage, and working together to build God’s kingdom on earth would see them through whatever hardships they may face.

For them, the solution to this problem sounds like the one conceived by the original Mormons out east. However, a significant difference here is the pillar upon which plural marriage is placed. While Young and the other Utah leaders believed that polygamy was important to their identity, it was not a requirement for all lay members. Instead, it was a practice directed by the leadership of the church. As mentioned before, Brigham Young explained that the “fullness of the Gospel is the United Order and Celestial Marriage,”<sup>105</sup> so as the main body of the church was rejecting the latter part of this statement, the men called to continue it by John Taylor become even more essential to their progress to creating and living the sacred correctly. One example of this is given in an account by Annie Lauritzen, who stated that:

The polygamists are God’s chosen people. I know of no finer folks anywhere. My grandfather was a polygamist. He had ten wives and they all loved him dearly. They loved each other, too. Those wives would divide up the housework, help him with his missionary duties and watch and care for him.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> John Y. Barlow, “We Will Never Get Into the Kingdom of God With Babylon on Our Backs; We Will Be Driven Into the United Order; Stop This Undercurrent of Faultfinding,” in *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*.

<sup>106</sup> Elizabeth Lauritzen, *Hidden Flowers: The Life, Letters, and Poetry of Jacob Marinus Lauritzen and his wife Annie Pratt Gardner* (Brigham City, UT: Bradbury Print, 1982): 103.

The family had things in common as they worked toward a common goal. Together with other polygamist families, they attempted to create their vision of Zion in the outback of southern Utah.

For the fundamentalists, polygamy was necessary for everyone to practice as the way to gain Mormon exaltation. According to Joseph Musser,

Why the capstone [the two doctrines mentioned by Brigham Young]? Because these principles are the highest rungs in the gospel ladder revealed to man. When they are gained one is literally living the fulness of the Gospel. One is the complement of the other. Both principles are foundationed [sic] upon the rock of love—‘Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart’ and ‘Love thy neighbor as thyself.’

It is this principle, as well shall see, that makes it possible to live the economic order of heaven.<sup>107</sup>

So, to be a disciple of Jesus Christ, one must follow the revealed word of God given to His prophets. Musser continues by explaining that this precept is not a new one but rather that it has been attempted before:

Has the Economic Order of Heaven been given a trial by the people of God in the present dispensation? Yes, it has. It was tried in Ohio during the infancy of the Church; also in Missouri and then, in a modified form, in Nauvoo. After the Church reached the Mountains and had become strongly established, the Order, in modified and varied degrees of perfection, was introduced and urged among the Saints here.

...A few were prepared in their hearts to receive it and live the fulness of it—and a few are thus prepared today, but only a few. Hence various phases of the principle were tried in scattered communities—cooperatives, community life, consecrations, modified stewardships, etc.<sup>108</sup>

So, why has Zion not worked yet? Musser continues by explaining it this way:

Some have complained because of the delay in the redemption of Zion. The Lord hasn't delayed His coming, but man has delayed proper preparation for His coming. Zion would have been redeemed over one hundred years ago, had the Saints chosen to have it so.

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<sup>107</sup> Joseph W. Musser, *The Economic Order of Heaven: Setting for TRUE COMMUNISM—SOCIALISM—CAPITALISM As Ordained by God for the Economic Salvation of His People* (Salt Lake City, UT: Truth Publishing Company, 1948), 14.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 80-81.

Zion cannot be redeemed until the people themselves take a course to warrant such redemption. The situation is entirely in their hands.<sup>109</sup>

Zion was meant to be constructed and lived by the Saints almost since Joseph Smith's restoration movement began. Nevertheless, according to Musser, none had lived the way they were meant to in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ.

It was paramount to live the *entire* gospel, as defined by their church's leadership, not just bits and pieces. Barlow notes this by stating, "God says, 'If you live the law and offend in one of them, you are guilty of the whole.' If we lived all the laws but one law, it is not a fullness. [*sic*]"<sup>110</sup> Because of this, the settlement of Short Creek was essential as, for them, this was the beginning of the proper way of living necessary to live the Gospel. It was here that the *true* gospel was lived, with both the United Order and Celestial Marriage would be practiced. This would be accomplished through, as Richard S. Jessop explains, the key to the success of Enoch and creating a people "of one heart and one mind,"<sup>111</sup> can, ultimately, be "wrapped up in two words—ETERNAL VIGILANCE."<sup>112</sup> Other leaders suggested that the United Order will not be accomplished immediately, as "such a utopia may not be realized at once, even under the Lord's system, for perfection must come to imperfect mortals by degrees; but it will come as the Saints learn to accept and abide in the law of heaven."<sup>113</sup>

The Settlement of Short Creek was able to be, at the very least, a prototype of what fundamentalists desired to achieve. However, it was a work in progress. As Rulon T. Jeffs remarks, "we have to work accordingly in order to obtain the means we need for the Kingdom of

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>110</sup> Barlow. "Obedience Earns the Blessing; The Lord Is Fighting Our Battles; We Are Going to Be Tested; Must Live All the Laws of God, July 7, 1940" in *Sermons of John Y. Barlow*.

<sup>111</sup> Moses 7:18.

<sup>112</sup> Richard S. Jessop, "Remarks Given by Richard S. Jessop, May 20, 1951. At Short Creek, Arizona," private collection (unpublished manuscript), 2.

<sup>113</sup> Musser, *Economic Order of Heaven*, 4.

God to go on. Make no mistake about it, the Kingdom is on its way.”<sup>114</sup> Many of the people that initially moved to Short Creek were there to live the doctrines of Celestial Marriage and the United Order so they could please the Lord, yet it was tough. Joseph Musser believed that “not one out of fifty that is prepared to live the United Order or the Order of Enoch. Tithing is very small part of it, yet it is a part that that if we learn to live honestly we may then take another step forward.”<sup>115</sup> These people took these proverbial steps forward. Looking back on the experiment, in Short, Rulon Jeffs remarked that:

Many of the folks thought that the attempt in Short Creek in 1935 was a failure. I want to say that it was a signal success, to a degree, for out of it came a nucleus for the United Order to be built upon... And it is my testimony to you that that is the nucleus of the United Order in this dispensation to such a degree that it will never go back, but will grow and go on until it gradually spreads over the whole earth. The Kingdom of God is established, and that order and Celestial Marriage will yet ride triumphant.

Some of the community's founding members hailed from Lee's Ferry, one of the economic cooperatives created by the LDS Church, of which many moved on to Orderville, Utah. As discussed with Orderville, most of its citizens were disaffected members of other Utah economic cooperatives, feeling that those communities were not committing themselves to consecrate their lives enough. So, in response to this, they congregated in the area known as Orderville to practice the gospel fully. The founders of Short Creek, then, would have had first-hand experience with the communal lifestyle since they had participated in it. From there, the settlers of Short Creek would have pulled ideas and practices of communal living. Bradley notes that “from the 1930s Short Creek was essentially a community of fundamentalist Mormons... attempting to live lives in accordance with their beliefs. They met together in church meetings

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<sup>114</sup> Rulon T. Jeffs, “United Effort Plan the Nucleus of United Order; Sustain the Priesthood,” in *Sermons of President Rulon Jeffs* (Rulon Jeffs, 1996), 1:1, Epub

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Musser, “25<sup>th</sup> February 1940,” in *Sermons of Joseph Musser, 1940-1945*, vol. 1 (Messenger Publications, 2004-2008), 15.

but also found other ways of coming together for community activities.” Much like Orderville, polygamy was, and in Short Creek still is, present among the community's denizens. Their lives were shaped by the love of God and neighbor, to live the United Order, in their way, and Celestial Marriage despite escalating pressure from outside sources.

Short Creek was an early attempt to create a sacred space among the profane, even as the central church had, as they believed, abandoned what they knew to be correct in favor of garnering better relations with mainstream American society. The process was not perfect; the sense of unity fostered among them was essential to their identity. The United Effort Plan Trust was the vehicle in which the fundamentalists truly attempted to recreate the United Order communities of the nineteenth century. Although the Council of Friends fragmented, particularly after the death of Joseph Musser in 1954, the framework upon which their communities would be built was found in Short Creek. Joseph Musser believed that:

It must be borne in mind that Zion is to be built up under the strict law of the Kingdom. Consecration is part of that law. Only Saints who are willing to enter into the law of Consecration are to be used in establishing Zion. Zion is not only a location, but, referring to its inhabitants, is the pure in heart.<sup>116</sup>

Adversity tempered their hearts, helping them to understand the importance of their cause and ultimately to build sacred Zion upon the earth in a way that had been missing.

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<sup>116</sup> Musser, *Economic Order of Heaven*, 56.



### Frederick M. Smith and the RLDS Vision of Zion

With the exodus of the Brigham Young Mormons moving westward out of Nauvoo, Illinois, toward the Great Salt Lake Valley, a significant portion of the population left the town. Estimates are anywhere between 12,000 to 14,000 out of the roughly 17,000 members that crossed the Mississippi River in 1846, the rest stayed behind to tend to the community.<sup>117</sup> Sacredness was defined by an emphasis on the evolution of a sacred community. Particularly during the presidency of Frederick M. Smith, their “sacred” emphasis was not so much on new sacred spaces for the gathering of Zion but rather on working within the framework of the already established communities and creating moral and ethical people. The differences between these groups are where each group placed their emphasis: Brigham Young and their subsequent leaders emphasized physically building Zion; Barlow, Musser, and the early fundamentalists emphasized that Zion needed to consist of Celestial Marriage; whereas Smith III and Frederick M. stressed the development of a righteous people without either the physical building of Zion or the practice of Celestial Marriage. Fundamentally, these three groups aligned regarding most of their doctrines because Joseph Smith espoused them, but their methods differed. The RLDS church did not have the same luxury of being able to leave their communities and move to some previously uninhabited portion of the American West as their Utah counterparts; they had to make do with the space they already occupied. For Frederick M., he would, as will be discussed shortly, emphasize the importance of the Social Gospel movement as a way to clean up the inherent dirtiness of the profane space that they inhabited. They could not simply isolate, so they set up systems as a way to develop righteous sentiments while also providing for the poor and

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<sup>117</sup> William G. Hartley, “Saints Leave Behind Beloved Nauvoo,” *Deseret News*, March 8, 1996.

needy among the church membership. From there, they could righteously influence society as their way of bringing the sacred to the profane.

While the Utah-bound Mormons were supporters of celestial marriage and polygamy, the Midwestern Saints (the members that stayed behind) were adamantly opposed to the practice. The original anti-polygamist sentiments were primarily due to the influence of the Prophet Joseph Smith's widow, Emma Hale Smith. When asked about her thoughts on polygamy and whether or not her husband had other wives, she responded by stating:

There was no revelation on either polygamy, or spiritual wives. There were some rumors of something of the sort, of which I asked my husband. He assured me that all there was of it was, that, in a chat about plural wives, he had said "Well, such a system might possibly be, if everybody was agreed to it, and would behave as they should; but they would not; and, besides, it was contrary to the will of heaven.'

... there was no such doctrine, and never should be with his knowledge, or consent. I know that he had no other wife or wives than myself, in any sense, either spiritual or otherwise.<sup>118</sup>

This was particularly important because this was a founding principle in the soon-to-be reorganized church.

There was a schism within the Saints left behind in Nauvoo. James Strang, William Smith (the brother of the late Joseph Smith), and Jason W. Briggs were at the forefront; however, the first two fell out of favor with a good portion of the people because of their polygamy. Briggs, "encouraged by his sincere belief that a descendant of Joseph Smith Jr. should head the church as its prophet, [he] began writing to others of his belief and other spiritual experiences which had been made manifest to him."<sup>119</sup> He took steps, with others, to convince Joseph Smith

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<sup>118</sup> Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1844-1872*, vol. 3 (Lamoni, IA: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1908), 355-356.

<sup>119</sup> Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration* (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Restoration Research, 1990), 65.

III to become the next prophet of the church, but for a variety of reasons, refused to do so until moved up by the spirit. Eventually, he consented to people's requests, and the apparent request of his father<sup>120</sup> decided to "take [his] father's place at the head of the Mormon Church..."<sup>121</sup>

In 1860, Joseph Smith III went to a conference in Amboy, Illinois, where he was set apart by Z. H. Gurley and William Marks as President of the High Priesthood.<sup>122</sup> Just prior to this, Smith III remarked that:

I wish to say that I have come here not to be dictated by any man or set of men. I have come in obedience to a power not my own, and shall be dictated by the power that sent me.

God works by means best known to himself, and I feel that for some time past he has been pointing out a work for me to do. For two to three years past, deputations have been waiting on me. Urging me to assume the responsibilities of the leadership of the church.<sup>123</sup>

From this direction, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (RLDS) was born. However, "Reorganized" did not become a part of their name until 1872 to distinguish themselves from the Utah Church, which was in the midst of the polygamy controversy.

One of the crucial aspects of the gospel that Joseph Smith III focused on, other than his avid disdain for polygamous practices, was the concept of Zion-building. One RLDS pamphlet defines the four principles that make up RLDS Zion:

1. Each person practices private ownership and enterprise and pays one-tenth of his increase to the church as tithing.
2. Freewill offerings and a consecration of surplus are contributions made to the church over and above the tithing payments.

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<sup>120</sup> This refers to a blessing claimed to have been given to Joseph Smith III on January 17, 1844. This is one the strongest claims of the RLDS Church (Now the Community of Christ) as the true successors of Joseph Smith's Restoration. The revelation can be found in *The Saints' Herald*, April 15, 1981.

<sup>121</sup> Joseph Smith III, as quoted in Roger Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 110.

<sup>122</sup> Smith III and Smith, *History of the Church*, vol. 3, 251.

<sup>123</sup> Smith III, "The Memoirs of Joseph Smith III," edited by his daughter Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, in *The Saints' Herald*, April 9, 1935, 463.

3. Each member is accountable yearly to his bishop through a financial statement wherein he states his increase, tithing payments, and amounts due.
4. The financial law is an obligation to be met, yet there are no fines or punishments imposed by the church on those whose conscience allows them to ignore the law. In a Zion community, compliance with the financial laws should be as much a necessity as compliance with any other of the spiritual commandments of God.<sup>124</sup>

The temporal and spiritual welfare of the people of Zion was built upon the righteousness of the people. For the RLDS leadership, it was a bottom-up approach to building God's kingdom, Unlike Young's group, that was typically top-down. In this way, it was important to raise an individual's sense of holiness and commitment, from there a natural sense of duty to God would manifest. Most of the early Saints, both LDS and RLDS, believed that Zion was to be built in Independence, Missouri, the place that the Lord had designated to Joseph Smith Jr:

Hearken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord, your God, who have assembled yourselves together according to my commandments in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the Saints. Wherefore, this is the land of promise and the place for the city of Zion.<sup>125</sup>

To the Saints, this would be where the "New Jerusalem," mentioned in the Book of Mormon, was to be built, and there would be a temple to the Lord built within its borders. Zion was to be a place where the people would be unified and pure of heart. This is part of why the RLDS Church would eventually move its headquarters to Independence during the presidency of Smith III's son, Frederick M. Smith.

For Smith III, who, as Roger Launius put it, understood that the "effort should be more liberal and all-encompassing," maintaining that "the millennial kingdom of God could be initiated only through personal righteousness and moral perfection, and would reach full fruition

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<sup>124</sup> Roger Yarrington, *What is Zion?*, (Year Unknown) 13-14.

<sup>125</sup> The RLDS Church and the LDS Church share a large portion of the D&C, therefore if there is overlap both references will be used. RLDS D&C 57:1a-b/LDS D&C 57:1-2.

only if the righteous attacked evil in society.”<sup>126</sup> This emphasis differed slightly from Brigham Young’s general insistence on attempting to sacred space over sacred community. Zion, then, consisted of people shedding the “natural man” as outlined in the Book of Mormon and turning themselves over to the “enticings of the Holy Spirit”<sup>127</sup> because the only way for the Second Coming to occur was to have a righteous people to welcome Jesus and usher in the Millennium.

Although there were some community-building efforts during his tenure, his focus was on the prospects of developing righteous people among a profane society, unlike the Utah groups that were able to operate within relative isolation. “He [Joseph Smith III] called for a church-wide crusade to eliminate sin, the primary barrier to the establishment of Zion, and for the Saints to move out as reformers. The effort might take decades, or even centuries, but [he] believed the church would ultimately triumph if it moved in a cautious, steady, and unified manner.”<sup>128</sup>

However, the inherent nature of man prevented this ideal vision that Smith III held. As he explained “strife and contention, with disobedience, are sure fruit that the gospel, the great witness, has not wrought in us the work of peace, and without peace in our hearts we predict that no *perfectness will come in Zion*.”<sup>129</sup> To accomplish this, he suggested that the Saints use “the faith which worketh by love,” which “commands them to perfect themselves by the gospel; repenting, ceasing to do evil of any kind, become the earnest champions of truth,” and that through those efforts “there will be no want of definite action or policy.”<sup>130</sup> This echoes the sentiments of his father, Joseph Smith, who had once said, “I teach them correct principles, and

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<sup>126</sup> Roger Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995) 170.

<sup>127</sup> Mosiah 3:18.

<sup>128</sup> Launius, *Pragmatic Prophet*, 170.

<sup>129</sup> Joseph Smith III, “Pleasant Chat,” *Saints’ Herald*, 13:168.

<sup>130</sup> Joseph Smith III, “Pleasant Chat,” *Saints’ Herald*, 13:168.

they [the members] govern themselves.”<sup>131</sup> This would not be dissimilar to what would have been emphasized by any of the other groups, as Smith had taught them these doctrines and principles and left them to govern themselves after his death.

These are principles that Joseph Smith III’s son, Frederick M. Smith,<sup>132</sup> would build upon during his presidency. After Smith III died in 1914, Frederick M. was set apart as Prophet-President in 1915, which he would occupy until his death in 1946. So his tenure was marred by World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, which would shape his belief that society was broken and needed change in some capacity. In a radio sermon, Fred M. laments that:

It cannot be denied that there is much of disorder in the world today. It is manifested in every walk of life by nations and individuals, and all the various social groups ranging between these extremes. At times and in places the degree of disorder approaches chaos, and only inertia prevents social dissolution.

It is apparent in the unstable political conditions existing generally, not even our own country being exempt. This alone would be bad enough were it unaccompanied by a decay of public morals. Who will deny that today integrity and honesty among public officials and servants are at a much lower standard than before? Disloyalty to public trust and grafting in public revenues and funds are rampant.<sup>133</sup>

To combat this moral decay, Smith relied on the teachings of his father and the new contemporary Social Gospel movement's progress throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was the idea that one could apply Christian, or in this case Mormonism’s, ethics to social issues of the day, such as economic inequality, unclean environments, and low quality of life rampant throughout society. Through a “cleansing” of these unwanted living conditions, people’s lives could improve, allowing them more freedom in helping to lift others out of the mire of similar conditions, therefore improving society as a whole.

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<sup>131</sup> Joseph Smith, as quoted by John Taylor, in “The Organization of the Church,” *Millennial Star*, Nov. 15, 1851, p. 339.

<sup>132</sup> Also known as “Fred M.”

<sup>133</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “Christianizing Society,” in *Saint’s Herald*, 71:123.

The Social Gospel was a vessel Frederick M. utilized to bring about the changes of heart and conduct that he believed were necessary for any substantial transformation among the membership. For those in the Social Gospel movement, their goal was that “the great ends of the Church are the preservation of the truth and ordinances of true religion, for the glory of God and salvation of souls” and that it was meant “to exhibit a system of sound principles, to maintain the ordinances of Gospel worship in their purity, to promote holiness, and to prepare the saints for heaven.”<sup>134</sup> For this to be possible, one social gospel leader believed that “we have a social gospel. We need a systemic theology large enough to match it and vital enough to back it. The social gospel needs a theology to make it effective; but theology needs the gospel to vitalize it.”<sup>135</sup> Similarly, Smith called the membership to develop “a highly and pervasive social consciousness,” which is “essential to develop the idea with all individuals that the prime duty is to serve the group.” Furthermore, individual success is “measured by the amount he has contributed to the public good.”<sup>136</sup> The emphasis on individual and social holiness is the bedrock for Frederick M.’s understanding of Zion.

One RLDS pamphlet explains that “Zion... means God’s kingdom on earth. ...we believe Zion will be the result when a group of people are successful in applying his [Jesus Christ’s] teachings to group living.” In this same pamphlet, an RLDS minister notes, “Six of the Ten Commandments are social. A majority of the Beatitudes have reference to social needs and social relations. The parables of Jesus emphasize the kingdom. The kingdom of God can’t come

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<sup>134</sup> This is a combination of quotations found in “Jack B. Rogers and Robert E. Blade, “The Great Ends of the Church: Two Perspectives,” in *The Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 76, no. 3 (Fall 1998), 183.

<sup>135</sup> Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York, NY: MacMillan Company, 1917), 1.

<sup>136</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “Christianizing Society,” *Saints’ Herald* 71:125.

into being with this doctrine of Christ and in like manner the doctrine of Christ sincerely believed and vigorously acted upon cannot fail to bring about the kingdom.”<sup>137</sup>

What is Zion for Frederick M. Smith? Building Zion was so important to Frederick M. Smith that he penned a poem highlighting deeply held beliefs titled *Onward to Zion*.<sup>138</sup> Zion's establishment was predicated upon its members' conduct and their ability to rid themselves of the uncleanness of the world and commit to the doctrines and principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The teachings of Frederick M. Smith follow much along the same lines as his father.

However, what seems to set the RLDS community apart from the other from the Utah and fundamentalist Mormons is that they did not have many places to isolate themselves from the world to create the ideal conditions necessary to create the ideal community for Zion. The other two left the confines of society to create their sacred space, but by the early-to-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, the land had been overtaken by American society. This is one of the most critical distinguishing factors between the RLDS and LDS communities. For a good portion of their early Utah history, the LDS people were isolated from other non-LDS people. Unlike the Utah Mormons, the RLDS members had to build up their version of Zion within the confines of an established American society, with outside and profane influences that contended with their sacred principles. Perhaps this is why both Joseph Smith III and Frederick M. Smith placed more emphasis on building a righteous people rather than prioritizing establishing new communities. However, that is not to say that they did not attempt to create those conditions where they were. These efforts were spearheaded by the prospect of “Christianizing” society in a way that all would benefit.

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<sup>137</sup> Roger Yarrington, *What is Zion?*, (Year Unknown) 3-4.

<sup>138</sup> Smith, “Onward to Zion,” in *The Saints’ Herald* (Independence, MO: Herald House Publishing, October 18, 1922): 69: 994.



Smith, as previously mentioned, believed that for Zion to be established, there needed to be a change in the people. One way of accomplishing this was to change the social dynamic of society because it is full of “self-serving interests” which is not, for him, Christian, “for in a truly Christian nation of society, the dynamic will be love, not self-love, but love of neighbor based on a love of God. This means a pervasive consciousness that God is and that our fellow man stands beside us as a brother.”<sup>139</sup> The issue here is, once again, the issue of humanity’s natural tendencies, which appeals to the “individual initiative... [of] surplus,” to “achieve their desire to accumulate a ‘sufficiency,’ a competency, a fortune—for self.”<sup>140</sup>

For Smith, the remedy to this issue is to “socialize the surplus,” which can only be accomplished through the precepts of religion, which are “crystallized in the doctrine of stewardships.”<sup>141</sup> On July 8, 1923, in Cameron, Illinois, Frederick M. Smith, Bishop Benjamin R. McGuire, and Bishop Albert Carmichael set apart six men as stewards of God and the RLDS church. Bishop J.A. Koehler then got up and explained to the congregation that the men had agreed to “aid and assist the worth and the poor... in obtaining employment and homes.” They were also required to ‘help the sick and afflicted and unfortunate in times of need’ and to ‘promote temperance, culture, morality, and equality, and provide against all social evils in of every sort for the good of the individual and the community.’<sup>142</sup> As David Howlett notes that, “this charge, in essence, made stewards benevolent guardians of middle-class morality, social gospel ideals, and RLDS values. With their new spiritual and temporal powers, the stewards were to sanctify, purify, and purge the community of ‘all social evils...’<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “Christianizing Society,” in *Saints’ Herald* 71 (February 6, 1924):124.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> “Stewardships Installed in Cameron,” *Saint’s Herald* 70 (July 11, 1923): 651.

<sup>143</sup> David Howlett, “‘The Making of a Steward:’ Zion, Ecclesiastical Power, and RLDS Bodies, 1923-31,” in *Journal of Mormon History*, vol 32, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 4.

These newly ordained stewards were to assist in these guidelines to build up the kingdom of God among the people to unify them in purpose.

Frederick M. Smith desired to work within the framework his father had established, understanding that:

The voice of divine instruction has warned us repeatedly that in our movement towards Zion the way must be carefully prepared before us. This whole Zionite movement... is a church one. ...the motivation, is a spiritual force religiously generated, Som in a church organization where law and order prevail and must dominate, upon certain definite officers are laid responsibilities in initiation and direction.”<sup>144</sup>

This is why Smith established the office of stewardship within the church. He stated that it is “the duty of the religious teacher to restate dogmas of the church or the truths of the universal religion in terms of modern thought, that those truths might be properly coordinated with the fact of present-day knowledge.”<sup>145</sup> The stewards set apart ten years after this would be charged with this very idea. Their job was to help the Saints get on, and ultimately, stay on, the righteous path in their quest to achieve Zion.

Stewards assisted in “socializing the surplus” and helping those in need. However, that is not to say that members are not required to be a part of the redemption of Zion. There are sustained stewards, but each member must also become a steward of themselves. As they diligently labor, there will be a distinct satisfaction in their work in cooperation with others. Smith believed that “joy... will be multiplied by you as you see the ideals of Zion being brought into realization because of your cooperation and activity, spiritually as well as in a temporal way, financially as well as religiously.”<sup>146</sup> As temporal and spiritual welfare increased, then one

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<sup>144</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “A Warning,” *Saints’ Herald* 80 (March 15, 1933): 323.

<sup>145</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper—Part I,” *Saints’ Herald* 60 (October 15, 1913): 1001.

<sup>146</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “Zion and Stewardship,” in *The Writings of Frederick M. Smith*, vol. 3, comp. Norman D. Ruoff (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1981), 158.

would be better equipped to provide assistance to others in need. Although, as Smith continues, we are required to help, it is a “far grander and better thing... for this people to finally... put themselves on the high social plane that they will give to every in it an opportunity to take care of himself.” In fact, that is a base desire that each person has, “an equal chance with everybody else to take care of himself.”<sup>147</sup> He cautions, however, that there is a very real risk that whenever a society “encourages people to take that which they have not earned, [they] are weakening [the] social condition rather than fortifying or strengthening them.”<sup>148</sup> As noted by Howlett, Fred M. would often quote Joseph Smith Jr. in his attempt to explain how the kingdom of God, and ultimately Zion, “would be established... ‘First the rich, the learned, the noble, and the wise,’ would lay the foundations of Zion, and then and only then would the ‘blind, the lame, the halt, and the dumb’ be invited to the ‘feast of fat things.’”<sup>149</sup> There was a purpose behind Frederick M. Smith’s vision, one that would be built by those that have for those that have-not to help contribute eventually. Together, all would be able to build the kingdom of God through mutual cooperation and understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

However, this was the ideal on which Smith focused his efforts, but it did not come to fruition as he had hoped. The United Order of Enoch effort was thwarted, perhaps ironically when compared to the Orderville cooperative movement, by the Great Depression and the financial burden it placed upon everyone. “The financial uncertainty generated by the Great Depression,” Howlett explains, “cut short the experiment in ‘making stewards.’”<sup>150</sup> In Independence, Missouri, home to one branch of the United Order, the “minutes of board

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 159.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> David J. Howlett, “‘The Making of a Steward,’” 35.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 36.

meetings and the public and written statements of the leadership of the United Order of Enough revealed a frustration over the lack of financial success.”<sup>151</sup>

The overall goal of the RLDS United Order of Enoch was to be the vehicle in which Zion could be achieved. Both Joseph Smith III and Frederick M. Smith believed that it was imperative to create a righteous people, even if that effort took years to realize. Taking care of the poor, sick, and wanting was paramount to this endeavor, as cooperative gains through individual efforts would pull everyone up to a higher plane of existence. Overcoming the natural man through living the gospel of Jesus Christ would bring about both temporal and spiritual increase.

Was this goal ultimately achieved as outlined by RLDS leadership? Yes and no. Although not successful in some respects, it was in others. Gregory Smith explains that the “United Order of Enoch was not a financial success, there were no manufacturing plants, no large bank accounts, and relatively little help for the poor.” However, it was able to provide some assistance to bring people to Zion, or Independence, during the gathering process. It was, however, quite “successful in the hearts and minds of the Saints because it helped fan the flames of the desire to gather.”<sup>152</sup> The failure of Zion to fully manifest in this ideal manner was disconcerting to some members and stewards, but to others, it deepened their conviction of the truthfulness of their faith.<sup>153</sup> It did not work simply because the people had not attained the level of righteousness necessary to receive the blessings of living in such a consecrated manner. Suppose the people could elevate themselves according to proper conduct outlined by righteous living. In that case, as Frederick M. Smith declared, they will become “A people who because of

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<sup>151</sup> Gregory Smith, “The United Order of Enoch in Independence,” *The John Whitmer Historical Association* 22 (2002): 110.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>153</sup> David Howlett, “The Death and Resurrection of the RLDS Zion: A Case Study in ‘Failed Prophecy,’ 1930-1970,” in *Dialogue—A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 40, no. 3 (September 2007): 112-131, for a more in-depth look

their endowment—intellectual, educational, industrial, social—will be outstanding. And who will attract the eyes of the world so they will be able to say, ‘Verily, let us not go up against Zion, for her armies are terrible in the might of the Lord.’”<sup>154</sup> It will be through this process that Zion, as Smith and the RLDS church believed, will be redeemed.

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<sup>154</sup> Frederick M. Smith, “What We Must Do to Save Zion,” *Saints’ Herald* 70 (November 21, 1923): 1101.

## Conclusion

Throughout this study, we have examined three different Mormon groups, all considering themselves the true successor of Joseph Smith Jr. and his Restoration movement, which began in 1830. During his tenure as the church's prophet, he established doctrines, principles, and expectations for the members of the Restored Church. Through new scripture and revelations given to him, as he claimed, important Christian beliefs were clarified and elaborated upon through the gift and power of the Holy Spirit. These beliefs would be precedent-setting for most groups that followed the prophet's death in 1844.

For Joseph Smith, the commandments, as now found in the Doctrine and Covenants, detail how he should accomplish the task of building a modern-day Zion. This would be done by seeking “diligently and teach[ing] one another words of wisdom,” and that he and the Saints should “organize [them]selves; prepare every needful thing; and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God.”<sup>155</sup> Zion would only be accomplished by an orderly people, united by purpose and faith. There were also specific qualifications that the people should have aspired to as they sought the sacred. Smith wrote that the Saints needed to:

...cease from all your light speeches, from all laughter, from all your lustful desires, from all your pride and light-mindedness, and from all your wicked doings. Appoint among yourselves a teacher, and let not all be spokesmen at once; but let one speak at a time and let all listen unto his sayings, that when all have spoken that all may be edified of all, and that every man may have an equal privilege. See that ye love one another; cease to be covetous; learn to impart one to another as the gospel requires. Cease to be idle; cease to be unclean; cease to find fault one with another; cease to sleep longer than is needful; retire to thy bed early, that ye may not be weary; arise early, that your bodies and your minds may be invigorated. And above all things, clothe yourselves with the bond of charity, as with a mantle, which is the bond of perfectness and peace.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> D&C 88:118-119.

<sup>156</sup> D&C 88:121-125.

The Law of Consecration and Stewardship, enacted by Smith in the 1830s, employed these principles in the hope that it would inspire the Saints to more righteous living. The United Firm was the template successor groups would build on in their attempts to build Zion.

The Brigham, early fundamentalist, and Reorganized Mormons all sought the kingdom of God on earth in their own ways. The two Utah groups used economic cooperation in isolated communities as their way of living Zion. Rules and regulations established by Young's group set the bar over which members would have to clear to live in one of these communities. Generally speaking, these also consisted of many polygamous marriages, which Joseph Smith introduced during his time in Nauvoo. The federal government persecuted the Utah Church, forcing Saints to find a place away from society to practice their religion peacefully.

Similarly, the fundamentalists were persecuted by the main body of the church after the Final Manifesto, issued in 1933 by President Heber J. Grant. Excommunicated by the Utah Church, they were pushed out of their familiar social circles and into isolation to practice what they understood to be the fullness of the gospel, which continued the practices of Celestial Marriage and the United Order which had been abandoned by the LDS church.

Perhaps the most "different" from the others was the RLDS' efforts to build Zion. While still utilizing the United Order of Enoch, their initial efforts were strictly anti-polygamist. While community building did occur, it was more focused on creating and righteous mindset among the membership, which they believed, in turn, would build "Zionic" communities. These communities would serve as the nexus for the kingdom of God, beginning with the promised physical Zion, set apart and consecrated by the Lord.

Ultimately, these labors were done to build a sacred space out of a profane world. As the Saints believed, the Lord had chosen them as part of the great work of establishing Zion upon the

earth, believing it necessary for the Second Coming of Christ. Living the law would bless the people from on high, but if they did not, they believed they would face the wrath of God. As

Joseph Smith wrote:

If Zion will not purify herself, so as to be approved of in all things, in His sight, He will seek another people; for His work will go on until Israel is gathered, and they who will not hear His voice, must expect to feel His wrath. Let me say unto you, seek to purify yourselves, and also all the inhabitants of Zion, lest the Lord's anger be kindled to fierceness. Repent, repent, is the voice of God to Zion; and strange as it may appear, yet it is true, mankind will persist in self-justification until all their iniquity is exposed, and their character past being redeemed, and that which is treasured up in their hearts be exposed to the gaze of mankind.<sup>157</sup>

To the Saints, they would go through a “refiner’s fire” of sorts, but, in the end, they could be both justified and sanctified through divine will. It was not a new phenomenon by any means either. Joseph Smith further explained that it had been something Christians have been pursuing since their inception:

The building up of Zion is a cause that has interested the people of God in every age; it is a theme upon which prophets, priests and kings have dwelt with peculiar delight; they have looked forward with joyful anticipation to the day in which we live; and fired with heavenly and joyful anticipations they have sung and written and prophesied of this our day; but they died without the sight; we are the favored people that God has made choice of to bring about the Latter-day glory; it is left for us to see, participate in and help to roll forward the Latter-day glory.<sup>158</sup>

Smith laid a foundation for many prominent successor groups after his death in 1844. They shared common characteristics, but no matter which direction they may have ended up going in, it was an attempt to establish the sacred, accomplished by building Zion.

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<sup>157</sup> *History of the Church*, 1:316; spelling modernized; from a letter from Joseph Smith to William W. Phelps, Jan. 11, 1833,

<sup>158</sup> Joseph Smith, “The Temple,” *Times and Seasons*, May 2, 1842, 3:776.



## Appendix A

To obtain membership in the Order, applicants were required to satisfactorily answer the following questions:

1. What is your object in seeking to unite yourself with this Company? Do you believe the Lord requires you to take this course?
2. Have you a family? If so, what is the number? Are they one with you without exception in the course you wish to take? What is your present situation in regard to food and clothing? Do you train your family in the fear of the Lord? Do they seem to practice your teaching and walk according to your example?
3. Are you in debt, or is there any person or persons that claim to have any pretext for claim against you or yours? If so, what is the nature of the pretext or the amount of your indebtedness?
4. Is there any incumbrance on any pieces of property which you have in your possession?
5. Are you willing for yourself and all you possess to be governed and controlled by the Board of Management, or any person or persons authorized for them to act?
6. Do you think that you could come and make your permanent home with this company of people, and, if necessary, put up with all the inconveniences that older members had and have without murmuring or fault finding or becoming dissatisfied and wishing to withdraw from the company and thereby putting the company to unnecessary trouble and inconveniences?
7. Are you willing to practice economy in all the points and bearings, and try to content yourself although you may think that your trials are hard at times?
8. Do you use tobacco, tea, or coffee, or indulge in drinking intoxicating drinks?
9. Are you in the habit of stealing or taking that which does not belong to you personally?
10. Are you in the habit of lying or backbiting, or slandering your brethren or sisters?
11. Are you in the habit of swearing or using profane oaths or taking the name of the Lord in vain?
12. Are you in the habit of using vulgar or obscene jests or conduct?
13. Are you in the habit of quarreling? If so, will you cease from this?
14. Are you in the habit of giving way to bad temper and abusing dumb animals? If so, will you cease from such conduct?
15. Will you take a course when you find a brother or a sister out of temper to maintain the peace by saying nothing to aggravate, and silently walk away if he or she shall not cease?
16. Are you willing to work the same as the rest of the company according to your strength and ability and for the same recompense as your peers?
17. Are you willing to be subject to those who are placed over you and do as you are told cheerfully and not sullenly?
18. Are you willing to conform to the general rule of eating your food in company with the rest of your brothers and sisters?
19. Will you be diligent in trying to conform to the rules of good order in all things and not appropriate to your use or the use of the company any tool or implement of husbandry or any kind of produce without first obtaining the permission to do so from persons having charge of such tools, implements, produce or other property?
20. Will you try to the best of your ability to maintain the peace and prosperity of this Order and as much as lies in your power, deal honestly, impartially and justly in all transactions you may be called upon to perform from time to time?

## Appendix B

### Rules That Should be Observed by Members of the United Order:

Rule 1. We will not take the name of the Deity in vain, nor speak lightly of His character or of sacred things.

Rule 2. We will pray with our families morning and evening, and also attend to secret prayer.

Rule 3. We will observe and keep the Word of Wisdom according to the Spirit and meaning thereof.

Rule 4. We will treat our families with due kindness and affection, and set before them an example worthy of imitation; in our families and intercourse with all persons, we will refrain from being contentious or quarrelsome, and we will cease to speak evil of each other and will cultivate a spirit of charity towards all. We consider it our duty to keep from acting selfishly or from covetous motives, and will seek the interest of each other and the salvation of mankind.

Rule 5. We will observe personal cleanliness, and preserve ourselves in all chastity by refraining from adultery, whoredom and lust. We will also discountenance and refrain from all vulgar and obscene language or conduct.

Rule 6. We will observe the Sabbath day and keep it holy in accordance with revelations.

Rule 7. That which is not committed to our care we will not appropriate to our own use.

Rule 8. That which we borrow we will return according to promise, and that which we find we will not appropriate to our own use but seek to return it to its proper owner.

Rule 9. We will as soon as possible cancel all individual indebtedness contracted prior to our uniting with the Order, and when once fully identified with said Order will contract no debts contrary to the wishes of the Board of Directors.

Rule 10. We will patronize our brethren who are in the Order.

Rule 11. In our apparel and deportment we will not pattern after nor encourage foolish and extravagant fashions, and cease to import or buy from abroad any article which can be reasonably dispensed with, or which can be produced by combination of home labor. We will foster and encourage the producing and manufacturing of all articles needful for our consumption as fast as our circumstances will permit.

Rule 12. We will be simple in our dress and manner of living, using proper economy and prudence in the management of all entrusted to our care.

Rule 13. We will combine our labor for mutual benefit, sustain with our faith, prayers and works, those whom we have elected to take the management of the different departments of the Order and be subject to them in their official capacity, refraining from a spirit of faultfinding.

Rule 14. We will honestly and diligently labor, and devote ourselves and all we have to the Order, and the building up of the kingdom of God.

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