result ran high for both Latter-day Saints and their neighbors.

Many Illinoisans, shocked at the harsh treatment given the Latter-day Saints by the Missourians (see Missouri Conflict), sought to succor the beleaguered followers of Joseph Smith by helping them politically and providing legal safeguards. Moreover, the economic fabric of the state suffered from the deepening effects of the panics of 1837 and 1839, and many legislators saw an economic boon in the future immigration of several thousand new settlers. Encouraged by state political leaders, the Saints believed that a city charter would guarantee them a kind of security they had never yet enjoyed. Even State Supreme Court Justice Stephen A. Douglas, despite prior judicial decisions to the contrary, opined that a corporate charter was irrevocable and perpetual.

The Nauvoo document, neither the longest nor the shortest city charter, was much like the charters of other Illinois cities. More than half the sections were modeled on the Springfield charter. City status allowed governance by a council chosen by an electorate; unlike other city councils in Illinois, the Nauvoo Council contained aldermen, councillors, and a mayor. The Nauvoo instrument also differed from others in being not one but three charters, granting corporate status the city, a university, and a city militia. Previous practice was to establish schools and also militia units by separate acts. The University of the City of Nauvoo, governed by the city council, was the only city-operated university in the state.

One important provision stated that the Nauvoo Council could pass any ordinances not repugnant to the constitutions of the United States or that of Illinois. This, in effect, empowered the Nauvoo body to stand in a federated position with the Illinois General Assembly. Ordinances passed by the Nauvoo Council could be in direct violation or disregard of state law and still be valid in Nauvoo, provided they did not conflict with specific powers granted by the federal and state constitutions. Leaders of the city militia, known as the Nauvoo Legion, and the university trustees could also pass laws, limited only by state and federal constitutions.

Almost at once this power became a focal point of misunderstanding and controversy, though the same delegation of authority was also in three of the other five city charters. Since this provision was not unique, adverse reaction to it clearly had a good deal to do with how others viewed Latter-day Saints and the implementation of the provision by Nauvoo and its leaders. The Nauvoo Municipal Court, the third such court provided for by the Illinois General Assembly, also became a point of contention. While the city courts of Chicago and Alton convened under one judge, the principal Nauvoo judge was the mayor of the city, sitting as chief justice, with the aldermen as associate justices. Adversaries argued that the way Joseph Smith, as mayor of Nauvoo, used the legislative and judicial powers granted by law resulted in "anti-republican" abuses.

In granting the charter, some legislators may have hoped to protect Latter-day Saints from persecution, but it proved to be a two-edged sword. When the Illinois majority turned against Nauvoo but lacked legal tools to curb the city's power and influence, it turned to extralegal means. Later, after violence, it also succeeded in getting Nauvoo's charter repealed. Although based solidly on precedents not termed "anti-republican" until Latter-day Saints obtained and used them, the Nauvoo Charter nevertheless ultimately fell short of providing the Saints the peace and protection they desired.

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**JAMES L. KIMBALL, JR.**

**NAUVOO ECONOMY**

Nauvoo, for seven years the headquarters of the Church, was a river city with an agricultural hinterland set amid a preestablished, second-generation frontier society of non-Mormons. Founded in 1839 by LDS refugees from the Missouri Conflict, it existed as an LDS community only until 1846. Additions to its fast-growing population came mostly through new converts, many from England, who almost always brought skills and sometimes wealth. Though commerce in goods and services was brisk, Nauvoo's primary import was converts (see Immigration and Emigration), and its primary export, Missionaries.

Nauvoo was neither communal nor communitarian. Still, the influences of the corporation of the
Church pervaded society and economy. In Nauvoo, Joseph Smith voiced a prophetic, hurrying urgency to build the city and its temple, an urgency that loomed over all. Nauvoo was the first full-scale model of the kingdom of God on earth as envisioned by Joseph Smith. The Nauvoo Saints thus directed great energy toward “building up the Kingdom,” which, in economic terms, meant building the city and establishing its economic infrastructure.

Like other communities of its day, Nauvoo had blacksmiths, cooperers, potters, gunsmiths, and tinsmiths, but most in demand were the sawyers, brick makers, and carpenters. Construction was the principal industry. The hamlet of Commerce, Illinois, whose site Nauvoo overran, had few buildings, so the demand for housing was great. The Saints did not envision group housing in the fashion of Moravians, Shakers, and other communitarian societies, but they wanted detached single-family dwellings of Anglo-American rural tradition. The same was true for commercial and industrial buildings. With numerous small buildings reared upon large lots in more or less orderly rows, organized in a grid of wide streets with open land between for outbuildings, gardens, orchards, and grazing plots, Nauvoo became the prototypical Mormon city (see CITY PLANNING).

Public works made up a major part of Nauvoo construction. Work never started on an ambitious plan to dam the Mississippi to facilitate industrial development, but work did begin on a canal across the town peninsula. The plan was to bypass the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi, an obstacle that made the site a river portage much of the year; but the project was abandoned when the workers encountered limestone bedrock. The stone was subsequently quarried for the NAUVOO TEMPLE.

The Nauvoo Temple, a focal point of Nauvoo religious and economic life, was essential for Nauvoo to be a literal manifestation of the kingdom. Temple building tested the religious zeal and the economic resources of all the Saints, both in Nauvoo and elsewhere. Residents were expected to “tithe for the temple” in time, goods, or money. Saints not yet gathered to Nauvoo were urged to do so quickly so that they could be part of the enterprise. Those who could not do so were to sup-
port temple construction with cash. The Twelve Apostles wrote the English Saints in 1841, "The first great object before us, and the Saints generally, is to [complete] the Temple...to secure the salvation of the Church."

For Joseph Smith, completion of the temple was the first priority. The 1841 revelation authorizing the temple also threatened rejection of the Church unless the building was completed "as soon as we get the Temple built, so that we shall not be obliged to exhaust our means thereon, we will have means to gather the Saints by thousands and tens of thousands" (HC 5:255).

Nauvoo’s economy developed during the national depression of 1839–1843. The refugee founders were virtually destitute, but few Americans of any station had sound money during that period. The banks had failed, and specie had fled. The Saints fashioned an ingenious but shaky exchange system based on barter, letters of credit, informal IOUs, and "bonds-for-deed"—bonds given in land sales in lieu of deeds, a necessity because the whole Nauvoo tract was purchased on a long-term contract without deed until full payment. The system worked because the economy was generally expanding and the Saints trusted each other and were bound by common purpose.

The land purchase, the temple, the Nauvoo house (a large hotel), and the whole kingdom-building project upon which the Saints believed their salvation depended were headed by Joseph Smith and his ecclesiastical organization. Because Nauvoo represented an intermingling of the sacred and the secular under a prophet-leader, when he was killed in 1844, the survival of the project depended upon how and by whom he was succeeded (see SECESSION IN THE PRESIDENCY). Those who accepted the leadership of Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve transplanted the system of political economy fashioned in Nauvoo to the West (see PIONEER ECONOMY; WESTWARD MIGRATION, PLANNING AND PROPHECY). Some who did not and who chose to move away from the model of Nauvoo later joined the REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS.

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ROBERT B. FLANDERS

NAUVOO EXPOSITOR

The Nauvoo Expositor was the newspaper voice of apostates determined to destroy the Prophet Joseph Smith and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the spring of 1844. During the last few months of Joseph Smith’s life, an opposition party of disgruntled members, apostates, and excommunicants coalesced into a dissenting church. The principals claimed to believe in the Book of Mormon and the RESTORATION OF THE GOSPEL, but rejected what they termed Nauvoo innovations, notably PlURAL MARRIAGE. Claiming that Joseph was a fallen prophet, the dissenters set out, through the Expositor, to expose the Prophet’s supposed false teachings and abominations. They held secret meetings, made plans, and took oaths to topple the Church and kill Joseph Smith. The publication of the newspaper was crucial to their stratagem.

When the press for the Expositor arrived in Nauvoo on May 7, 1844, it stirred great excitement among Mormons and non-Mormons alike, but there was no immediate interference. Within three days the owners, all leaders of the opposition movement, issued a broadside prospectus for their newspaper. One month later, on June 7, the first and only issue of the Nauvoo Expositor appeared and caused an immediate furor in the community. Nauvoo residents were incensed at what they saw as its sensational, yellow-journalistic claims about Nauvoo religion, politics, and morality. They were also struck with sharp foreboding. Francis Higbee, one of the proprietors of the newspaper, set an ominous tone when he described Joseph Smith as "the biggest villain that goes unhung."

The literary quality of the paper was inferior. A contemporary non-Mormon critic described it as