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Lisle G. Brown  
brown@marshall.edu

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# **“TEMPLE PRO TEMPORE”: THE SALT LAKE CITY ENDOWMENT HOUSE**

*Lisle G Brown*

THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE, BUILT on the northwest corner of Temple Square in Salt Lake City, was the first building specifically designed for conducting temple rites. Previous structures—Joseph Smith’s brick store in Nauvoo, the Nauvoo Temple, and the Salt Lake City Council House—all contained only temporary modifications to interior rooms for performing the ceremonies, particularly the dramatized ritual called the endowment. This paper examines the pivotal, but largely unrecognized, role of the Endowment House, not only the history of the building itself, but also its role in the development of Mormon temple architecture and interior design.

## **THE KIRTLAND AND NAUVOO TEMPLES, AND THE COUNCIL HOUSE**

The Mormon Church’s first temple, constructed at Kirtland, Ohio, during the 1830s, had two large halls, one for public worship on

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LISLE G BROWN {brown@marshall.edu} is a full Professor and Curator of Special Collections in the library at Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia. His work has appeared in *Brigham Young University Studies*, *Mormon Historical Studies*, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, and other journals. He is the author of *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841–1846* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006). He develops internet exhibits for Marshall University’s Virtual Museum and is the webmaster for the university’s Special Collections web page.

the first floor, and another for educational functions on the second floor, as well as small interconnected offices in the attic. The basement was unfinished. The administration of temple rites occurred primarily in the attic rooms. However, these rooms were not solely reserved for administration of temple rituals; they also served for meetings of various priesthood quorums and councils.<sup>1</sup>

Such multi-use rooms also continued in buildings used for temple rituals during the Nauvoo period. When Smith introduced the temple endowment in May 1842, he used the second floor storage room, as well as his adjacent personal office, in his brick store on Water Street.<sup>2</sup> The storage room also served for meetings of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, the Nauvoo Legion, the Nauvoo Seminary, the Anointed Quorum, and various priesthood councils; it also offered a space for drama and talent productions, religious lectures, political speeches, and a classroom. During the 1840s it was literally the center of Nauvoo society.<sup>3</sup> While no contemporary description of this upper room prepared for administering the endowment exists, one retrospective account indicated that it “was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstance would permit.”<sup>4</sup> This “arrangement” consisted of dividing the hall into small compartments, using canvas partitions. Nonetheless, Smith recognized the limitations of this modest facility; and according to L. John Nuttall, he told Brigham Young, “This is not ar-

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<sup>1</sup>For an architectural study of the temple and its construction, see Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997). For a history of the temple’s sacerdotal functions, see Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 284–309.

<sup>2</sup>For a history of Joseph Smith’s store, see Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan, *Joseph Smith’s Red Brick Store*, WEST ILLINOIS MONOGRAPH SERIES, No. 5 (Macomb: Western Illinois University Press, 1993). For a documentary history of the introduction of Mormon temple rituals in Nauvoo, see Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, *Joseph Smith’s Quorum of the Anointed, 1842–1845: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).

<sup>3</sup>Launius and McKiernan, *Joseph Smith’s Red Brick Store*, 19–32.

<sup>4</sup>Lucius N. Scovil, “The Higher Ordinances,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, February 15, 1884, 2.

ranged right but we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed,” and then he charged the apostle to “organize and systemize” the ceremonies.<sup>5</sup> After Smith’s death in 1844, Young took this charge seriously; and by the time the Mormons had completed and prepared the Nauvoo Temple for ritual work, he stated, “I understood and knew how to place them there. We had our ceremonies pretty correct.”<sup>6</sup>

Although a revelation concerning the Nauvoo Temple mentioned such rites as washings, anointings, and endowments (D&C 124:39), neither Smith nor the temple architect, William Weeks, identified any particular part of the temple for their administration.<sup>7</sup> The temple mirrored the Kirtland Temple—two large meeting halls on the ground and second floors, and attic office rooms, as well as a finished basement.<sup>8</sup> Prior to the temple’s completion, Young indicated that the first floor mezzanine rooms with their large circular windows would be used for the endowment; but when he had men prepare the temple for the ritual, he adopted Smith’s method of using canvas partitions to subdivide a small meeting hall in the temple’s attic. This arrangement included all of the rooms associated with later Utah temples, even using the same nomenclature: creation room, garden room, world room, terrestrial room, celestial room, sealing room, and even a Holy of Holies. Before the Mormons left Nauvoo, they completely stripped the temple’s attic rooms, leaving no evidence of the ritual activities that occurred there—a clear indication that the

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<sup>5</sup>L. John Nuttall, Journal, February 7, 1877, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>For recent histories of the Nauvoo Temple, see Don C. Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002), and Matthew S. McBride, *A House for the Most High: The Story of the Original Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2007).

<sup>8</sup>William Weeks, Transverse drawing of the Nauvoo Temple, undated, William Weeks Papers, Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Library). For a copy of the drawing, see Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 168–69. Unlike the Kirtland Temple, the Nauvoo Temple’s basement was finished with a baptismal font and dressing rooms.

canvas partitions were meant to be only temporary.<sup>9</sup>

Upon reaching the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Young did not administer any endowments until 1849, when he granted Addison Pratt permission to receive his endowment on Ensign Peak.<sup>10</sup> There are no records of the preparations for conducting the ceremony outdoors. Although it was likely that others also desired the same privilege and Smith had once said that the poor could get their endowments on the mountain tops, obviously Young could not seriously contemplate the continued use of Ensign Peak for administering such rituals.<sup>11</sup> He postponed the time until he had a more suitable place—the city’s first public building, the Council House, which was completed in December 1850.<sup>12</sup> Within two months of its completion, he began to administer endowments in the building.<sup>13</sup> Young had the large hall on the second floor “divided into many little departments by white screens,”

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<sup>9</sup>Lisle G Brown, “The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber,” *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 371–73.

<sup>10</sup>William S. Harwell, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1847–1850* (Salt Lake City: Collier’s Publishing, 1997), 225. Pratt had been called on a mission to the Pacific islands, from which he planned never to return, so Young granted him a special dispensation and gave him his endowments on July 21, 1849. Brigham H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 printing), 3:386. See also Lynn Arave, “Ensign Peak: Utah’s Mount Sinai,” *Church News*, July 20, 1991, 6, which called it “an outdoor temple.”

<sup>11</sup>Joseph Smith et al. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (1949; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970 printing), 4:608.

<sup>12</sup>The two-story building was forty-five feet square surmounted with a square cupola. Its ground floor was made of hewn sandstone and its second floor was made of adobe with a string course separating them. The interior consisted of a large hall and two offices on each floor. It stood on the southwest corner of South Temple and Main streets until it was destroyed by fire in 1883. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 4:13, 420; C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 136–37.

<sup>13</sup>“Reminiscences of William C. Staines,” *Contributor* 12 (February 1891), on Infobases, *LDS Collector’s Library 2005*, CD-ROM (Orem, Utah:

following the pattern he had used in the Nauvoo Temple.<sup>14</sup> Persons usually referred to these departments as the “endowment rooms.”<sup>15</sup> The building was used for temple rites intermittently until 1855 and the completion of the Endowment House.<sup>16</sup>

### THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEDICATION OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

Although there are no records giving specific reasons for the construction of the Endowment House, one author speculated that, “realizing the great importance of the Endowment, and realizing, that it would take a long time to build the [Salt Lake] temple, it was decided that a temporary building should be erected where these saving ordinances might be given to the Saints.”<sup>17</sup> While this was likely one of the reasons, there was another, perhaps even more pressing, reason: “There might have been confusion and problems in using rooms in the Council House . . . for the temple ceremonies; or with the influx of gentiles and appointed federal officials, it became expedient for the church to erect an edifice where temple ordinances could re-

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Infobases Media Corp., 2004, 2005). Staines wrote, “I was appointed to take charge of the endowment rooms in the Council House in January, 1851. I commenced giving Endowments February 28th, 1851.”

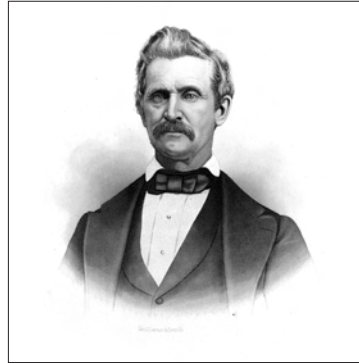
<sup>14</sup>John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge & Company, 1857), 91. Hyde did not use the names “garden room,” “world room,” etc., in his exposé but called the partitioned rooms “compartments.” This does not mean that the typical temple room names for these “compartments” were not used by those who administered the endowment.

<sup>15</sup>“Reminiscences of William C. Staines;” see also Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), January 24, 1852, 1, LDS Church Library.

<sup>16</sup>There were 2,222 endowments (966 men and 1,256 women) administered in the Council House, between 1851 and 1854. Gil Bradshaw, “The Council House as a House for Sacred Ordinances in the Early Church,” Office of Research and Creative Activities, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, <http://orca.byu.edu/Content/jug/2002reports/2002religion.html> (accessed June 1, 2007).

<sup>17</sup>A. Wm. Lund, “The Endowment House,” *Improvement Era* 39 (April 18, 1936): 213.

*Photo 1. Engraved portrait of Truman O. Angell Sr. from Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892–98), 1:507.*



main sacred from the growing non-Mormon community.”<sup>18</sup> Indeed, another author emphasized the difficulty in administering temple rites in such a multi-use building, especially one in which there were offices for federal officers.<sup>19</sup>

I have found no indication about who was responsible for the Endowment House’s design. Conceivably, Young would have discussed the building’s function with its architect, Truman O. Angell.<sup>20</sup> Young had ample experience in building temples, having worked on both the temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo. So had Angell, who had supervised the final interior finishing work of the Nauvoo Temple after Weeks left with Young for the West.<sup>21</sup> More importantly, Young had supervised the ordinances; and both Weeks and Angell had received their own endowment, marriage sealing, and second anointing in the Nauvoo Temple. Clearly, they would have understood the physical requirements for administering temple rituals.

Angell commenced working on the plans for the Endowment

<sup>18</sup>James Dwight Tingen, “The Endowment House, 1855–1889,” 5, Senior History Paper (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Provo, 1974); photocopy of typescript in my possession.

<sup>19</sup>Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 168.

<sup>20</sup>Truman O. Angell’s son, Truman O. Angell Jr., appears later in this paper. For clarity, I refer consistently to the father as “Angell” and to the son as “Angell Jr.”

<sup>21</sup>For a biographical sketch of Angell, see David A. Whittaker, “Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint,” in Donald O. Cannon and David A. Whittaker, eds., *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 133–68.

House in the spring of 1854. In mid-March he noted in his journal that he “had a plan for a house to give endowments to the saints in.”<sup>22</sup> He completed another plan in September of that year.<sup>23</sup> While Angell worked, on April 28, 1854, surveyors laid out the building’s site on the northwest corner of the Temple Block, approximately where the North Visitors’ Center now stands, but the Endowment House ran north and south, while the North Visitors’ Center runs east and west. However, Angell’s ill health during much of 1854, as well as his increased work load on the Salt Lake Temple and other projects, such as the construction of a large bowery north of the first Tabernacle, probably interfered with beginning the Endowment House project. It was not until the fall of 1854 that workmen began laying the foundation of the Endowment House. They completed that phase of their work on September 11. By the beginning of December the building’s walls and roof were up. Workmen commenced plastering the interior walls in February 1855, and painters were at work the following month.<sup>24</sup> The building was finished by April 27, 1855. On that day Church Historian George A. Smith wrote, “The Endowment House is finished and is a beautiful building.”<sup>25</sup> It reportedly cost \$10,000.<sup>26</sup>

On May 5, 1855, Young and a party of eleven men assembled in an upper room of the Endowment House and dedicated the building. Heber C. Kimball offered the dedicatory prayer, petitioning the Lord’s approval and calling for his blessing on each room separately, as well as all the materials used in its construction, from the foundation to the chimney top. During the dedicatory services Young stated that the building would be called “The House of the Lord,” and that the Salt

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<sup>22</sup>Truman O. Angell, Journal, 1851–56, March 18, 1854, LDS Church Library. One of Angell’s drawings of the Endowment House is dated March 1854. See Truman O. Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawing 1, LDS Church Library.

<sup>23</sup>Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawing 2, September 1854. The collection also includes a third undated drawing.

<sup>24</sup>Journal History, April 28, 1854, 1; September 11, 1854, 1; December 6, 1854, 1; February 6, 1855, 1; February 7, 1855, 1; George A. Smith, Letter to Editor, March 29, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17 (June 23, 1855): 397.

<sup>25</sup>George A. Smith, Letter to Editor, April 27, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17 (August 11, 1855): 507.

<sup>26</sup>*Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1976), G34.



Lake Temple would be called “The Temple of our God.”<sup>27</sup> Regardless of Young’s assertion on that occasion, the new structure was rarely called the House of the Lord. During its construction it was typically called the “endowment rooms.”<sup>28</sup> Angell referred to the building on his plans as the “Temple Pro Tem” or “Temple Pro Tempore.” Near the time of its dedication it became known as the Endowment House.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, its function was perfectly represented by this name. Shortly after its completion, English traveler Frederick Piercy observed, “The Endowment House, on the N. W. Corner of [the] Temple Block, [is] used by the L. D. Saints for the purpose indicated by its name.”<sup>30</sup>

### THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE: EXTERIOR APPEARANCE

Angell’s architectural drawings are indispensable for determin-

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<sup>27</sup>Journal History, May 5, 1855, 1. On the day of its dedication, Wilford Woodruff also called it the “House of the Lord.” Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 4:316. In a sermon given the day after the dedication, Brigham Young said, “We have completed what some call the Endowment House, though what I call the House of the Lord.” May 6, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 3:159. Eight months later, the First Presidency stated in a general epistle that the building “received the name of the ‘House of the Lord.’” “Thirteenth General Epistle,” *Millennial Star* 18 (January 26, 1856), 5.

<sup>28</sup>The Journal History frequently referred to the building under construction as the “endowment rooms”: April 28, 1854, 1; September 11, 1854, 1; December 6, 1854, 1. This terminology was likely a carry-over from the “endowment rooms,” the term used for the rooms in the Council House. Journal History, January 3, 1852; 1; January 24, 1852, 1. However, as late as August 1855, Thomas Bullock noted that he was writing a letter for Heber C. Kimball in the “Endowments Rooms,” by which he must have meant the Endowment House which had been dedicated three months earlier. Journal History, August 31, 1855, 1.

<sup>29</sup>Journal History, May 5, 1855, 1, LDS Church Library. As early as March 29, 1855, George A. Smith, Letter to the Editor, *Millennial Star* 17 (June 23, 1855): 397, called the building the “Endowment House.”

<sup>30</sup>Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards/London: Latter-Day Saint Book Depot, 1855), 110. For a discussion of Piercy’s travels, art work, and publication of *Route from Liverpool*, see L. Matthew Chatterly, “Frederick Piercy: English Artist on the American Plains,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 4 (Fall 2003): 77–96.

ing the exterior appearance of the original Endowment House.<sup>31</sup> Also valuable are photographs of the building, a number of which have been published.<sup>32</sup> As useful as these photographs are, they show the building only after the 1856 additions (Photos 2 and 3). They also

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<sup>31</sup>Angell, Endowment House Drawings. His three drawings include floor plans, transverse sections, framing details, and plans of the cornice molding.

<sup>32</sup>“Endowment House, Temple Block, Salt Lake City,” undated photograph in Charles R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 420, Perry Special Collections; “Endowment House,” PH 482, photograph, dated ca. 1888, LDS Church Library; “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” undated photograph in Classified Photo Collection, Classification no. 726.18, p. 1, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. This photograph has been published in N. B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 229; Harold L. Snow, “Dedicating the Old Endowment House,” *Young Woman’s Journal*, 38 (July 1927): 418; Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone and Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 80; and Douglas F. Tobler and Nelson B. Wadsworth, *The History of the Mormons in Photographs and Text: 1830 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987), 206, reproduced as the third photograph in this article. “Endowment House, Temple Block, Salt Lake City” photograph dated ca. 1880, number PH 500 18 1, LDS Church Library; and “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” n.d., No. 726.18, p. 2, Utah State Historical Society. This photograph was taken on the same date as the one above, but from a slightly different location. Published in *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People*, based on the research and study of C. Mark Hamilton and written in collaboration with the concept and design of C. Nina Cutrubus (Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983), 198 (hereafter cited as [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*). “Endowment House,” photograph dated ca. 1875 in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 716, Perry Special Collections; “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” n.d., classification no. 726.18, p. 3, Utah State Historical Society; “Endowment House,” n.d. PH 1300 154, LDS Church Library. For published copies, see Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966), 580; William G. Slaughter, *Life in Zion: An Intimate Look at the Latter-day Saints, 1820–1995* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 43; Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, Plate 70, reproduced as the second photograph in this article. “Salt Lake Temple Square,” n.d., Classification no. 726.1, p. 2, Utah State Historical Society. This photograph shows the Tabernacle, completed in 1867, with the Endowment House in the background, printed in



*Photo 2. Endowment House, photograph by Charles William Carter, n.d. This photograph has a clear view of the eastern side of the building with its windows and blind windows. The northern extension is to the right. Plainly visible is its frame ridge-line passageway running the length of the extension's top, as well as the dark line on the passageway's extreme right, indicating a slit, or vent, opening into the interior. The door beneath the porch opens into the northern extension's interior. Partially hidden on the left is the one-story southern extension with its interior chimney and porch. Stones for the Salt Lake Temple are in the foreground. Photograph (PH 1300 154) courtesy of the LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City.*

only show the building's eastern and southern sides. There are no known close-up photographs of its northern or western sides. The following description is based mainly on Angell's drawings and the photographic record. I have also prepared elevations of the building as originally built (Plate 1) and its final appearance (Plates 2 and 3) for the reader's reference.

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[Hamilton and Cutrubus], *The Salt Lake Temple*, 195. "Endowment House," n.d., PH 481, LDS Church Library.



*Photo 3. Endowment House, ca. 1880s, photograph by Charles R. Savage. This view from the southeast clearly shows the building's southern extension on the left with its two windows and door beneath the porch, as well as its interior chimney. The greenhouse—then under construction—with its sharply downward slanted roof line is on the southern extension's far left. The northern extension is barely visible to the right. Photograph (PH 482) courtesy of LDS Church Library.*

### *The Building's Original Exterior Appearance*

As originally built, the Endowment House was a two-story gabled, adobe structure. After entering Salt Lake Valley, Church leaders at Young's direction decided that adobe would be the primary material used for construction.<sup>33</sup> Many of the Saints adopted Young's counsel: "The houses [of Salt Lake City] are built of adobe, and are generally

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<sup>33</sup>Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 107–8. After the Saints voted to build the Salt Lake Temple with "the best material that America affords," Brigham Young extolled the virtues of adobe, claiming it would outlast stone and endure for thousands of years. Brigham Young, October 9, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:218–20. In one sense, Young was correct. A guide to Utah stated, "Even in Salt Lake City old adobe houses stand up indomitably to the years, the very earth of their dooryards seem to have crumbled sooner. In smaller towns these houses retain their pioneer flavor of accomplishment; often they are still the best houses in town, despite modern structures of pressed brick, white-painted wood, or stone." *Utah: A Guide to the State*. American Guide Series (New York: Hasting House, 1945), 4.

small and one story.”<sup>34</sup> Adobe bricks made of unfired clay were a natural choice for building material because of the ready availability of water, clay, and sand, which was mixed with straw or grass. The bricks could be made in any convenient size, but were commonly six-to-eight inches thick, and eight-to-ten inches wide by twelve- to-eighteen inches deep. One source stated that the adobe bricks used in Salt Lake City structures were typically eight by sixteen inches.<sup>35</sup> Often the bricks were made on the building site. However, the relatively soft bricks, with their low load-bearing capacity, required thicker walls than those made with fired bricks. For this reason, adobe buildings like the Endowment House rarely rose more than two stories and required two-foot-thick walls. However, the thick walls proved beneficial, because they were “energy efficient, keeping interiors warm during the severe winters, and cool during the hot summer months.”<sup>36</sup>

The building was thirty-four feet wide by forty-four feet long, running on a north-south axis, with a twenty-foot-square one-story extension on the northern side. Sandstone footings supported its thick adobe walls. Four tall interior chimneys rose out of its wood-shingled roof, which had a moderate pitch. The main box of the Endowment House’s eastern side consisted of seven windows placed in four ranks, the two central ones containing four windows corresponding to the building’s two interior floors (Plate 1, East Elevation). The southernmost rank (to the left) had a single window at the ground floor and a blind window above it on the second floor.<sup>37</sup> The northernmost rank (to the right) had no window on the ground floor and only a blind window above it on the second floor. I will discuss the reason for this curious feature later. The windows and blind windows had stone lintels and sills, probably fashioned out of sandstone or limestone. The win-

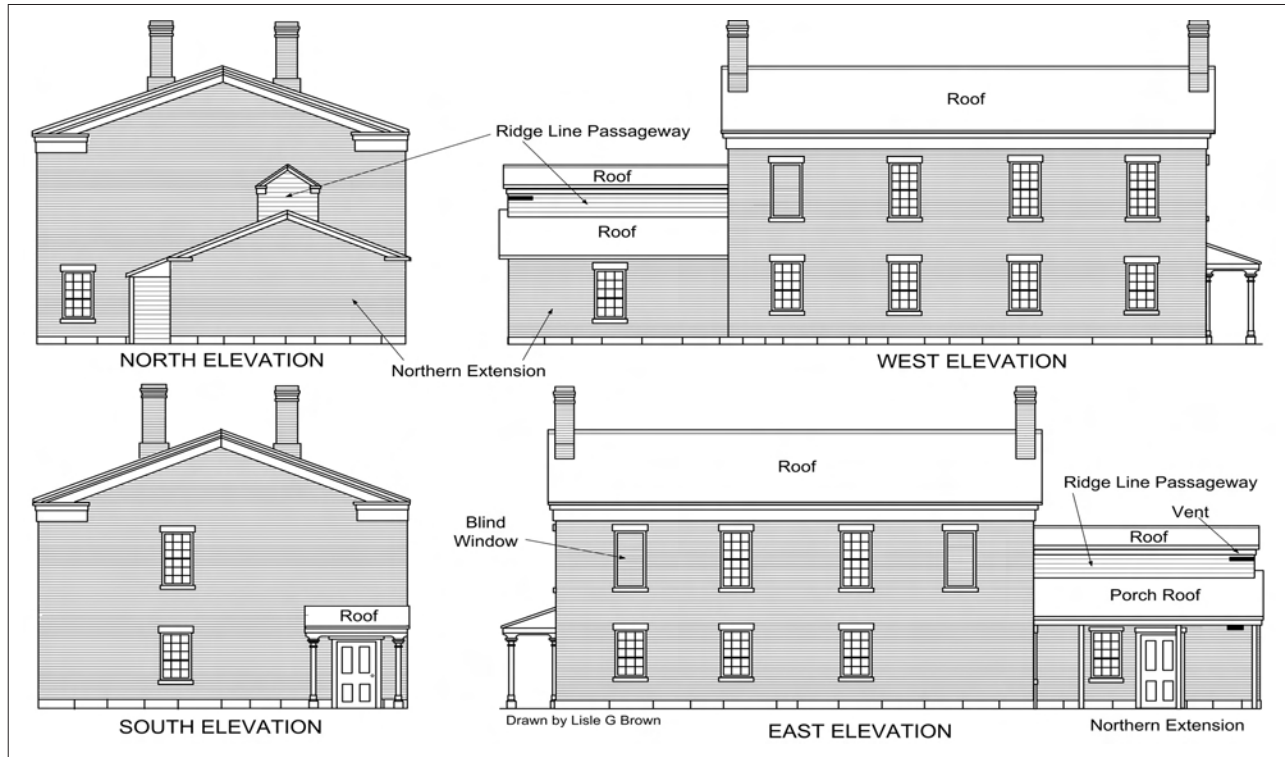
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<sup>34</sup>George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, eds., *The New American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of Knowledge*, 16 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858–63), 14:308.

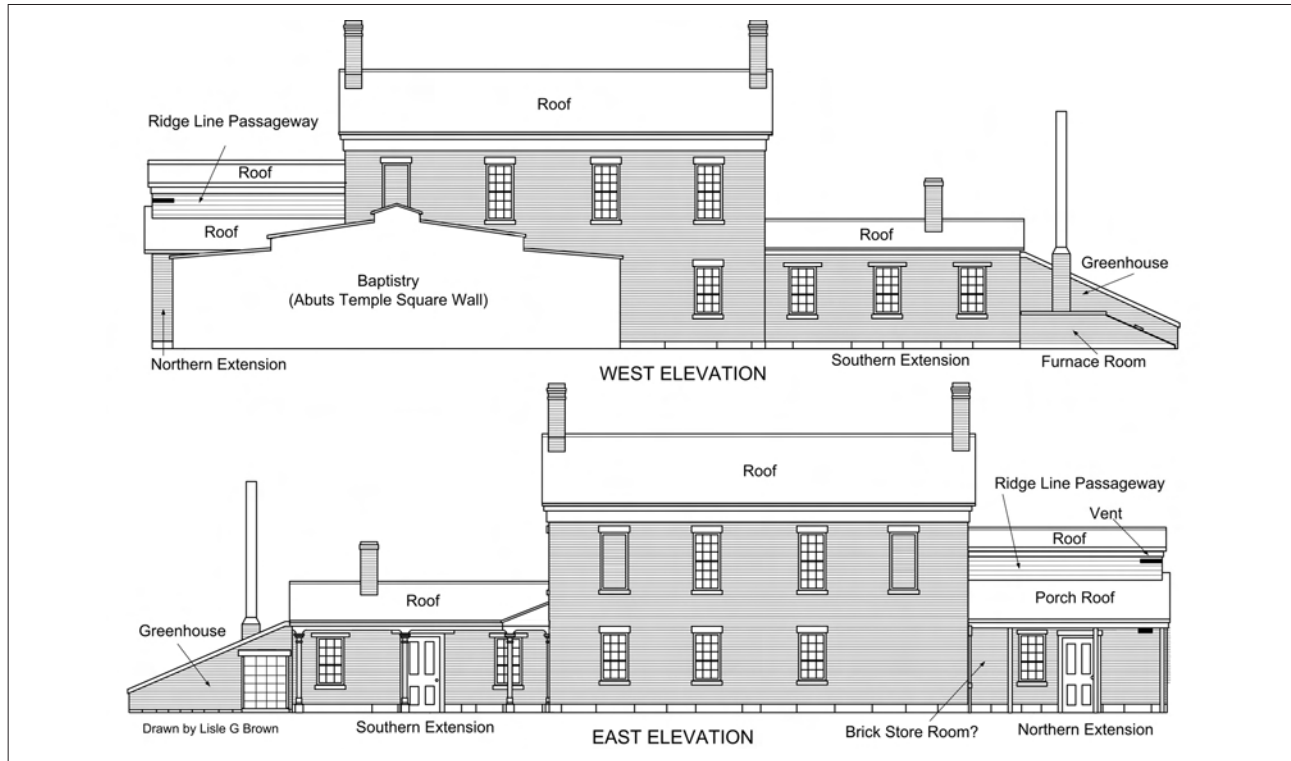
<sup>35</sup>Lawrence, Kansas, *Herald of Freedom*, January 27, 1855, quoted in Richard H. Thornton, *An American Glossary*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1912), 1:6.

<sup>36</sup>Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 107–8.

<sup>37</sup>A blind window is one that is filled in, “having the appearance of a window.” Francis D. K. Ching, *A Visual Dictionary of Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1995), 24. The Endowment House’s blind windows were filled with adobe bricks.

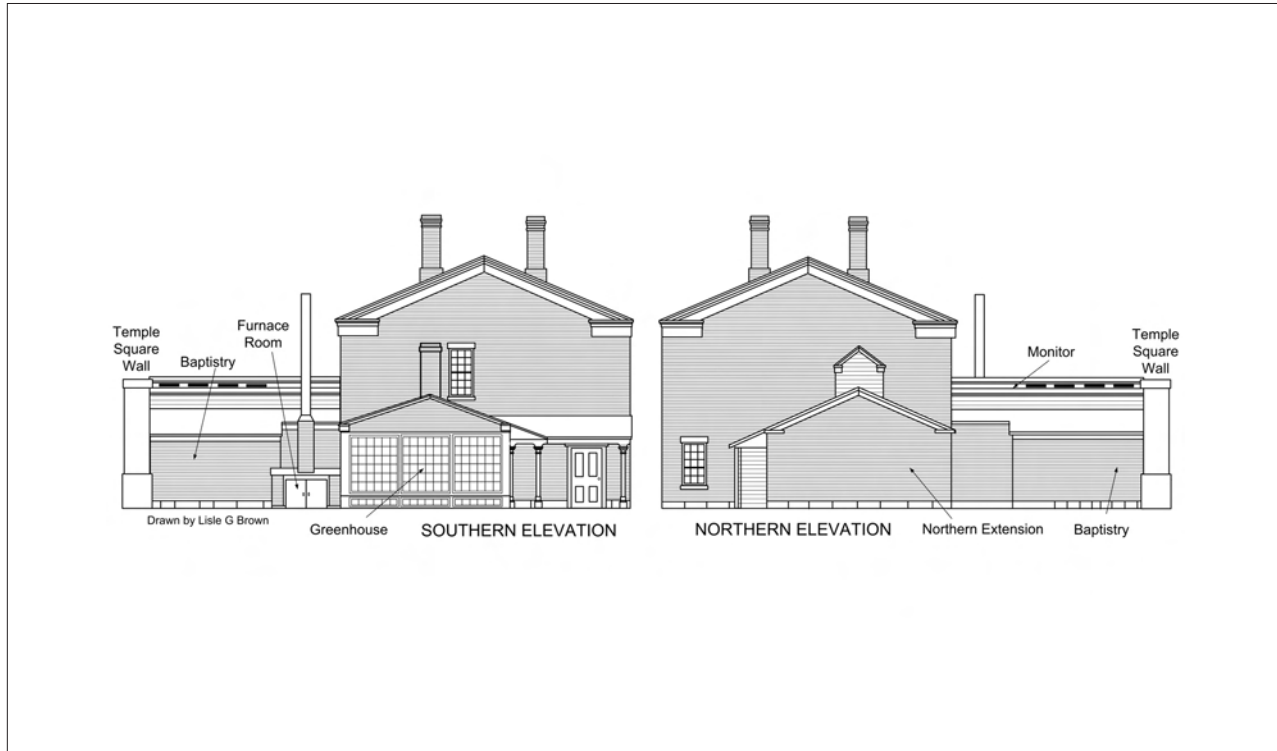


*Plate 1. Salt Lake City Endowment House, 1855, elevations of all four sides. Drawn by Lisle Brown.*



*Plate 2. Salt Lake City Endowment House, ca. 1889, east and west elevations. Drawn by Lisle Brown.*





*Plate 3. Salt Lake City Endowment House, ca. 1889, north and south elevations. Drawn by Lisle Brown.*



dows were double hung—the lower ranks with 9/6 lights and the upper ranks with 9/9 lights.<sup>38</sup> The building had a wide, plain continuous cornice.

The box of the western facade basically mirrored the Endowment House's eastern facade: eight windows in four ranks (Plate 1, West Elevation).<sup>39</sup> There are no known photographs of the western side of the building, but the windows must have been the same as those on the eastern side; the upper windows were double hung with 9/9 lights and the lower windows were double hung with 9/6 lights. However, the upper window in the northernmost rank (to the left) was a blind window. Again, the reason for this arrangement will be addressed later.

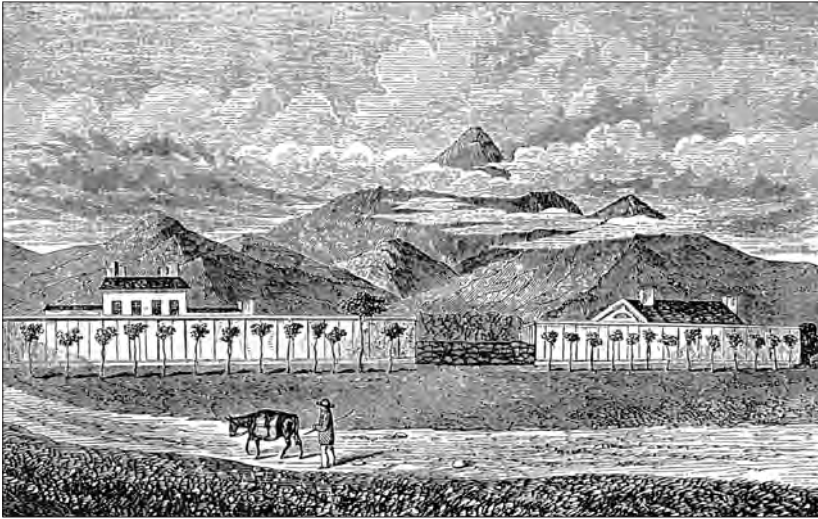
The only known depiction of the building's western side is a drawing, sketched by Sir Richard Burton, the noted world traveler, who visited Salt Lake City in 1860 (Plate 4). His drawing, made looking eastward from outside Temple Square, accurately depicts the building's roof line and chimneys and the upper portion of four windows half-visible over the top of the wall. Burton also left a brief description, "The building of which I made a pen and ink sketch from the west, is of adobe with a pent roof and four windows, one blocked up."<sup>40</sup> This description agrees with Angell's drawings, which shows that the west side had four windows on each floor, with a blind one occupying the northern rank of the second floor.

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<sup>38</sup>"Lights" refer to glass panes in a window. John Harris and Jill Lever, *Illustrated Glossary of Architecture, 850–1830* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1966), 41. The notations 9/6 and 9/9 refer to the arrangement of the panes in the sash. 9/6 means that the upper sash had nine panes of glass arranged in rows three across and three down and the lower sash had six panes arranged three across and two down. 9/9 means that both the upper and lower sashes had nine panes each, arranged three across and three down. Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 155–56.

<sup>39</sup>Angell, Endowment House Drawings.

<sup>40</sup>Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1862), 220. Burton's sketch is reproduced on page 221. Burton accurately described the blind window but did not depict it in his drawing. His drawing also shows the roof lines of the original northern extension and the later-added southern extension with its chimney.



*Plate 4. Drawing of the Endowment House (left) and first Tabernacle (right) from outside of the Temple Square wall. Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California (New York: Harper & Bros., 1862), 221.*

The southern gable end of the Endowment House had a single door, protected by a wooden porch with two pillars, near its eastern corner (Plate 1, South Elevation). Its two windows (the same design as those on the eastern and western facades) were placed left of center, one for each of the building's two floors. There were cornice returns on the gable ends, but no ornamentation in the gable.

The building's northern extension was an addition to the building, one-story high and twenty feet square. Because it was a single story, its adobe walls were only one foot thick. Its pitched roof extended out over a wooden porch that ran the full length of its eastern side (Plate 1, East Elevation). Three square, plain pillars supported the porch, which appears to have been enclosed on its northern side. The porch's roof protected a doorway and a single double-hung window. On the extension's western side was a single double-hung window (Plate 1, West Elevation).

A narrow covered passageway straddled the ridge of the roof, running the full length of the northern extension (Plate 1, two upper drawings and lower right drawing). This structure was covered with wood cladding and had a pitched roof. The function of this passage-

way will be addressed during the discussion on the interior of the Endowment House.

Photographic evidence suggests that the northern end of the extension, including the ridge passageway, had no windows. A number of photographs, taken from Arsenal Hill, show Temple Square, including the upper part of the Endowment House.<sup>41</sup> Because of the great distance from the camera lens to Temple Square, the photographs of the Endowment House lack detail. However, it is apparent that the northern side of the extension was windowless, and it is so depicted in Plate 1 (North Elevation).

In a photograph (Photo 2) of the northern extension's east side, there is a dark line at the far end of the ridge line passageway. This line suggests that there was a horizontal, narrow opening (actually a vent) in the side of the passageway, and so is depicted on Plate 1 (East Elevation). The photographs taken from Arsenal Hill show that this feature did not extend across the northern side of the passageway. Presumably there would have also been another opening on the western side (Plate 1, West Elevation). These two openings likely served for both lighting and ventilation.

A description in the *New York Times* summarized the building's original appearance, "The Endowment House is a plain two-story structure with an extension and [looks] very much like an ordinary dwelling house."<sup>42</sup> This was the Endowment House's appearance for about a year and a half until the completion of two additions to the building in the fall of 1856.

### *The Building's Final Exterior Appearance*

Apparently, the lack of a baptismal font in the city proved troubling. Charles Lyon recalled, "Since there was no baptismal found [sic] at the Endowment House at this time, the creek [City Creek]

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<sup>41</sup>See "Salt Lake Tabernacle," photograph, ca. 1867, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 181, Perry Special Collections; "West Side of Salt Lake City," photograph, ca. 1870, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 100, Perry Special Collections; and "Salt Lake City from Arsenal Hill," photograph, dated 1875, in C. R. Savage Collection, call no. PH 1778 2 2, LDS Church Library.

<sup>42</sup>"Mormonism Just As It Is," *New York Times*, May 27, 1887, 6.

nearby was damned off, and people were baptized in this.”<sup>43</sup> Church leaders decided to construct a font, or baptistry, on the western side of the Endowment House the year following its completion. By late August 1856, stone carvers had started on a baptismal font.<sup>44</sup> The work advanced quickly; and on September 3 masons began placing the font’s coping.<sup>45</sup> A group of brethren dedicated the font on October 2, 1856, with Heber C. Kimball offering the dedicatory prayer.<sup>46</sup> Three days later, Samuel W. Richards wrote, “A splendid Font of hewn rock has been built near the Endowment-house, inside the Temple Block wall, and dedicated for use.”<sup>47</sup> Brigham Young summarized the uses for the font: “We have a font that has been erected, dedicated expressly for baptizing people for the remission of sins, for their health and for their dead friends.”<sup>48</sup>

Defects in the font may have led to its repair or replacement. As

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<sup>43</sup>“Charles Lyon,” [http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles\\_Lyon](http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles_Lyon) (accessed October 29, 2007). Charles Lyon was born in England in 1847 and was raised by his grandparents. They all came to Utah in 1862 when he was fifteen. He married Mary Ball in 1869, and they had eleven children. In 1975, the family moved to a farm near Basalt, Idaho, in the Snake River Valley, where he was living at the time of his death in 1935. Anonymous, “Charles Lyon,” [http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles\\_Lyon](http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles_Lyon) (accessed October 29, 2007).

<sup>44</sup>Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff visited the workshop on Temple Square where masons were preparing the font. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:440.

<sup>45</sup>Journal History, September 3, 1856, 1. Coping is the final, top course of stone, indicating the font was nearing completion.

<sup>46</sup>Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:458–61.

<sup>47</sup>Samuel W. Richards, Letter to Editor, October 7, 1856, *Millennial Star* 19 (January 17, 1857): 42.

<sup>48</sup>Brigham Young, September 4, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:187. Baptisms for the living were also performed in this font. Reed Smoot was baptized in the Endowment House font at age eight, as were Louis G. Hoagland, Ross D. Lyon, John H. Taylor, and Fred Kohler. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (1901; rpt., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 1:180; 2:365, 540; 4:72, 416. However, records for living baptisms in the Endowment House were not kept. Ordinance statistics, *1975 Church Almanac*, F4; and Tingen, “Endowment House,” 14. Baptisms for renewal of covenants were administered after the 1856 dedication, but again

early as 1861 Young took note of defective workmanship, seeing a damaged stone that “had been stopped [from leaking water] with mortar, which was a permanent temporary remedy.”<sup>49</sup> On June 4, 1864, Young with a small party of men and women met to dedicate a “new font,”<sup>50</sup> an indication of a refurbished or even a newly constructed font. Up until this time, the font had been used almost exclusively for baptizing for the renewal of covenants, but on this occasion it was also rededicated “for Baptism for the dead. President Brigham Young was mouth & he named in his Prayer every thing from the foundation to the Top, and He said that He felt that the Lord Accepted the Dedication.”<sup>51</sup> The first proxy baptisms for the dead took place some two and a half months later, August 19, 1864.<sup>52</sup>

While the baptistry was under construction, a decision was also made to further enlarge the Endowment House. A. William Lund,

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no records were kept. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:459–61, 465, records numerous occasions when persons, including missionaries, were baptized for renewal of covenants. He also notes: “It was finally moved that all members of the Legislative Body of the Territory of Utah repent of their sins & go to [the] font at 6 o'clock On the Temple Block & be baptized for the remission of their sins which was Carried unanimously.” *Ibid.*, 4:524. Thirty-seven missionaries were also baptized on the same occasion. Baptisms for health were also conducted, but not recorded. Mary Ann Burnham Freeze recorded in her diary that her two children “were Baptized for the restoration of their health” in the Endowment House in 1876. Mary Ann Burnham Freeze, *Diary*, January 12, 1876, photocopy, Perry Special Collections. Bathsheba B. Smith spoke about “many and marvelous healings wrought by the power of God and faith of the Latter-day Saints in the holy [Endowment] House” “Sketch of Sister Bathsheba Smith: Worker in the Endowment House,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 4 (April 1893): 295–96. For additional information on baptisms for health, see Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, “‘They Shall Be Made Whole’: A History of Baptism for Health,” in this issue.

<sup>49</sup>Fred C. Collier, ed. *The Office Journal of President Brigham Young, 1858–1864, Book D* (Mona, Utah: Collier Publishing, 2006), 305. Strikeout in original.

<sup>50</sup>Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:173, 240.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 240. In a synopsis of his labors for 1864, Woodruff wrote, “Attended the Dedication of the Baptismal font for the Dead in the Endowment House President Young was Mouth.” *Ibid.*, 7:101.

<sup>52</sup>Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:240, wrote on August 19, 1864: “I Baptized Sister [Mary Woodard] Sprague in the New Font for & in Behalf of

long the Church librarian, gave the following reason: "Because of increased attendance, an addition was built on the south side of the building."<sup>53</sup> Work on the Endowment House's southern extension apparently did not start until the font in the baptistry was nearly completed. On September 15, 1856, workmen began to lay the southern extension's sandstone foundation.<sup>54</sup> The exact date of the completion of the southern extension is not known; it may have been about the same time as the baptistry, although a construction time of less than three weeks seems unlikely. If completed after the baptistry, there is no record that it was ever dedicated.

There are no drawings of the 1856 additions among Angell's plans. While these additions were being constructed, Young sent him to Great Britain on an architectural mission to study its churches and public buildings for his work on the Salt Lake Temple.<sup>55</sup> During Angell's absence, William Ward, an English convert who was an accomplished architect as well as a talented sculptor and painter, served as Church architect.<sup>56</sup> Although he may have prepared plans for the expansion of the Endowment House, he was not present for the build-

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his [Samuel L. Sprague's] first [wife] Eliza Caroline Everett Sprague. This was the first [proxy] Baptism in the Font." Although the first font dedication (1864) included the phrase, "We now dedicate this Font to Baptize the Living & the Living for the dead," (ibid., 4:459), apparently no proxy baptisms were conducted until after the 1864 dedication. Tingen, "Endowment House," 13-14, dates the first proxy baptisms at July 25, 1867.

<sup>53</sup>Lund, "Endowment House," 213.

<sup>54</sup>Journal History, September 15, 1856, 1.

<sup>55</sup>Angell departed on his architectural mission on April 1, 1856, met Apostles Orson Pratt, Ezra Taft Benson, and other missionaries in Boston, and arrived in Liverpool with them on July 13, 1856. After visiting various buildings in Great Britain and France, he returned to Boston on March 1, 1857, and arrived back in Salt Lake City on May 29, 1857. Whittaker, "Truman O. Angel," 154-57; Truman O. Angell, "Autobiography," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, compiled by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 10:195-213.

<sup>56</sup>Ward drew the first perspective elevation of the Salt Lake Temple, because of Angell's lesser abilities in such drawing. William Ward, Letter, March 1892, in D. R. Lyon, *Temple Souvenir Album, April 1892* (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing, 1892), 5-6; and "Who Designed the Temple," *Deseret Weekly News*, April 23, 1892, 10. Brigham Young had the drawing re-





*Photo 4. Enlargement of a photograph of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken by Charles R. Savage from the roof of the Salt Lake Temple, ca. 1892–93. It shows the southern extension building and its slanted-roof greenhouse, which remained after the demolition of the two-story Endowment House, which had stood where the plowed field is on the right (north). The whitened section on the inside of the west wall of Temple Square (right side of photo) shows where the baptistry had stood. Photograph (MSS P24 Item 496) courtesy of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.*

ing's construction. He suddenly left Salt Lake City in July 1856, apparently because he felt his work on the Salt Lake Temple had not received adequate recognition.<sup>57</sup> If he prepared any drawings, they have not survived.

Fortunately, the general footprint, rough dimensions, and orientation of the 1856 additions can be determined from two sources. One is a map of "Temple Block, Salt Lake City," prepared in the 1890s, which included an outline diagram of the then-razed Endow-

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produced and widely distributed. Ward also carved Utah's memorial stone for the Washington Monument and the recumbent lion for the Lion House. Allen D. Roberts, "More of Utah's Unknown Architects: Their Lives and Works," *Sunstone* 1 (Summer 1976): 47–48.

<sup>57</sup>[Hamilton and Cutrubus], *The Salt Lake Temple*, 52.

ment House in the northwest corner.<sup>58</sup> The second is an 1889 Sanborn Company fire insurance map of the structures on Temple Square, including the Endowment House.<sup>59</sup> The outlines of the building on the two maps are similar (Plate 5). There is, however, one major difference between them. The *Sanborn Map* indicates that the western end of the baptistry abutted Temple Square's western wall, whereas the "Temple Block Map" shows a gap of approximately four feet separating the two walls.

Sometime after the completion of the Salt Lake Temple's exterior walls in 1892, Charles R. Savage took a series of photographs from the temple roof, creating an "aerial" panorama of Salt Lake City. One of his photographs focused on the northwestern corner of Temple Square (Photo 4). That photograph clearly shows the white outline of the demolished baptistry on the Temple Square wall.<sup>60</sup> It appears that the baptistry's western interior wall was also Temple Square's western inside wall. This is good evidence that the *Sanborn Map* reflects the accurate positioning of the baptistry and that the "Temple Block Map" does not.

As noted above, Angell's drawings do not include the baptistry and there are no photographs of the completed western side of the Endowment House, except for Burton's drawing. His sketch did not depict the baptistry, apparently because its roof line was below the

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<sup>58</sup>"Temple Block, Salt Lake City," map reproduced in *House of the Lord: Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Salt Lake Temple* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893), 22 (hereafter cited as "Temple Block Map"). Since the map includes the Temple Annex, it must have been prepared in the 1890s, even though the Endowment House no longer stood. The map appears to be a later version of a map of Temple Square drawn before the Endowment House's demolition in 1889. For this earlier map, see [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 192.

<sup>59</sup>*Salt Lake City, Utah, 1889 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* (Chicago: Sanborn Co., 1889), Sheet 10 (hereafter cited as *Sanborn Map*).

<sup>60</sup>"Salt Lake City View," photograph, dated ca. 1880–93 in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 496, Perry Special Collections. Since the Endowment House does not appear in the photograph, it would have had to have been taken after 1889 when the Endowment House was demolished; 1892 is the most probable date for the series of photographs, since it is unlikely that Savage would have been permitted access to the roof after the temple's dedication in April 1893.



Temple Square wall. The general footprint and orientation of the baptistry can be determined from the two maps in Plate 5. The *Sanborn Map* color key indicates that it was built with adobe walls and had a roof.<sup>61</sup> The baptistry with its dressing rooms was approximately twenty-three feet wide and fifty-two feet long. It was connected to the main building on its eastern side (Plate 3). It appears likely that the northernmost window of the original building's four ground-floor windows was remodeled into a doorway to provide an entrance to the baptistry. In my opinion, the second window was likely enclosed as well, because it would be unnecessary and would have likely distracted from the baptistry's decor.

A photograph taken from atop the Tabernacle in 1866 during its construction by Edward Martin shows the southern side of the Endowment House and a part of the baptistry's roof, whose ridge line ran east and west (Photo 5).<sup>62</sup> The *Sanborn Map* indicates that it had a tin or slate roof with a wooden vent, rising from its ridge line. The ridge vent was probably a small monitor, which is a raised construction that straddles a ridge, providing the room below with light and ventilation through the use of windows or louvers.<sup>63</sup> The number and position of windows, if any, in the baptistry and dressing rooms are not known.

The southern extension was a one-story, gabled structure, also built of adobe (probably with one-foot thick walls like the northern extension), which was longer than its northern counterpart, although

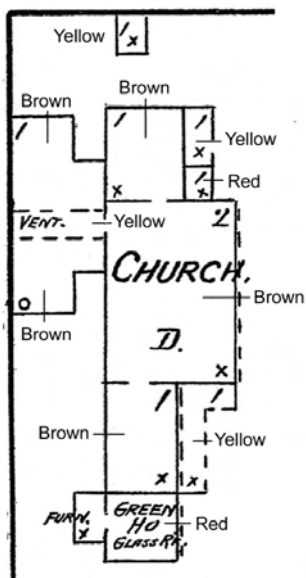
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<sup>61</sup>One author has speculated that the baptistry was not enclosed but was an "open-air font." Dale Van Boman, "Supplement to 'The LDS Temple Baptismal Font: Dead Relic or Living Symbol?'" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985), 8. Such an arrangement seems unlikely because the administration of the baptismal ritual would require privacy, as well as the obvious need for protection from the elements. There was no logical reason to leave it exposed to the open air. Further, the key of the *Sanborn Map* shows that the baptistry was an enclosed adobe building with a roof of tin or slate.

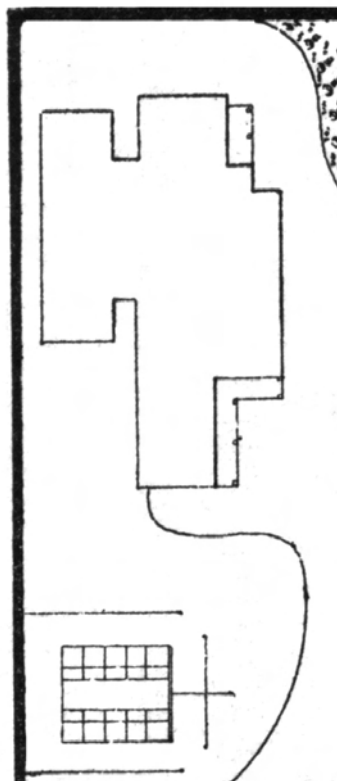
<sup>62</sup>The date of 1866 can be determined from the exposed Tabernacle's semicircular rafters in the foreground. These were in place by 1866 and the roof "was largely covered" by the spring of 1867. "The Great Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake," *Scientific American* 16 (June 8, 1867): 364. The entire Edward Martin photograph can be found in Wadsworth, *Set in Stone*, 51.

<sup>63</sup>Ching, *Visual Dictionary of Architecture*, 209.

## ENDOWMENT HOUSE



SANBORN MAP

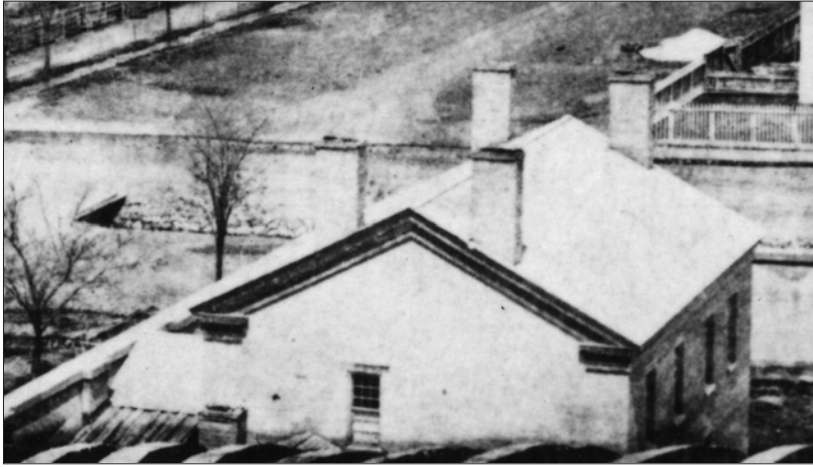


TEMPLE SQUARE MAP

**KEY**

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| x = Shingle Roof | o = Slate or Tin Roof |
| 1 = Single Story | 2 = Two Stories       |
| D = Dwelling     | Broken line = Cornice |
| Brown = Adobe    | Yellow = Frame        |
| Red = Brick      |                       |

*Plate 5. Diagrams of the Endowment House, enlarged from maps in House of the Lord (Cannon, 1893), 22, and Sanborn 1889 Salt Lake City Maps, sheet 10. The original Sanborn map is color-keyed; I have added the color names to the plate.*



*Photo 5. Enlargement of Edward Martin's photograph of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken ca. 1866 from atop the Tabernacle. No other known photograph shows any portion of the western side of the Endowment House and its baptistry. The roof of the baptistry can be seen projecting between the Temple Square wall and the four-chimneyed Endowment House. In the photograph's extreme foreground the Tabernacle's exposed rafters are barely visible. Photograph courtesy of the Photo Department, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.*

not as wide—nineteen feet wide by twenty-seven feet long.<sup>64</sup> On the east side its roof extended over a wooden porch (supported by three pillars), which connected to the roof of the porch over the door near the eastern corner (Plate 2, East Elevation). Beneath the new porch was a door and two double-hung windows. Its southern exposure was windowless.<sup>65</sup> The number and placement of windows on its west side are not known, although there were probably three windows cor-

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<sup>64</sup>These measurements are based on the scale used on the *Sanborn Map*. The scale on the “Temple Block Map” is too small to be used for such measurements. The *Sanborn Map* also indicates that it was constructed of adobe, the same as the Endowment House.

<sup>65</sup>See photographs in [Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 195; and “Endowment House,” photograph, dated ca. 1875, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 716, Perry Special Collections. I did not prepare a drawing of the original southern extension's south exposure but only as it

responding to the door and windows in its eastern wall. A large interior chimney rose out of the ridge line of its roof (Plate 2, “West Elevation”).

At some point a greenhouse (Plate 5, identified as a “GREEN HO” on the *Sanborn Map*) was also attached to the extension’s southern wall. Photographs of the building in the mid-1870s do not show this structure, so it must have been a relatively late addition. Two Savage photographs, usually dated in the 1880s, were taken near the time of its completion.<sup>66</sup> Although the quality of the photograph makes the details difficult to distinguish, there is a large, almost square opening in the eastern side of the greenhouse, through which it is possible to see its opposite wall, as well as the southern outside wall of the southern extension (Photo 3). The enlargement of the Savage photograph (ca. 1892–93), of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken from the temple’s roof (Photo 4), shows the entire southern extension (in the center) and the greenhouse (on its left) in their final state, minus the Endowment House proper, which had stood where the plowed field now appears on the far upper right. The greenhouse was fifteen feet by eighteen feet and its side walls were built of brick, not adobe; it had a sharply sloping roof that was made up entirely of panes of window glass (Plate 5, identified as “GLASS RF” on *Sanborn Map*). The *Sanborn Map* also indicates that a brick furnace room, measuring nine by twelve feet, was attached to greenhouse’s west side (Plate 5, identified as “FURN” on the *Sanborn Map*).<sup>67</sup>

The Savage photograph (ca. 1880s) shows a large, square chimney rising between the greenhouse’s walls (Photo 3). The later Savage photograph (ca. 1892–93), taken from the roof of the Salt Lake Temple (Photo 4), does not show this chimney. Instead a tall chimney pipe

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appeared after the addition of the greenhouse on its end (Plate 3, Southern Exposure).

<sup>66</sup>The photographs, the first two listed in footnote 32, suggest that the greenhouse was not completed when Savage took them. Small piles of dirt appear in front of the greenhouse. Through the opening, what appear to be temporary structural members in the interior are visible. Apparently, the earth inside the greenhouse has been excavated. Finally, the glass-pane roof had not been installed, a necessary step if the greenhouse were to provide a suitable environment for plants during winter.

<sup>67</sup>Measurements and building materials based on the *Sanborn Map*.

risers outside the greenhouse's west wall in the location of the furnace room on the *Sanborn Map*. This chimney suggests that the heat source for the greenhouse was initially inside the building proper but was later moved outside the building to a furnace room on the west. When and why this move occurred is not known.

### *The Endowment House's Architectural Style*

Little in its appearance distinguishes the Endowment House architecturally. As will be shown later, its interior was uniquely designed to fulfill particular sacerdotal functions, but its exterior did not convey that role in any meaningful fashion. It was so unremarkable that one non-Mormon visitor to Temple Square dismissed it as "not much of a building to look at," while another stated that it was "a plain and unostentatious adobe structure."<sup>68</sup> Indeed, the former author was amazed to learn that this plain building was the place where "all the baptisms as well as monogamous and polygamous marriages [were] celebrated."<sup>69</sup>

In 1988 Peter Goss and Thomas Carter published a groundbreaking handbook on Utah's historic architecture.<sup>70</sup> In it, the authors sought to describe the architectural form and style of Utah's early residential and commercial structures. They provided descriptions and pictorial examples of the buildings, including a number of Mormon and non-Mormon religious structures, but only as examples of various styles. They identified none of the Church buildings as uniquely Mormon in their architectural design. This gap was filled in 1995 with C. Mark Hamilton's thorough study of Mormon architecture and city planning.<sup>71</sup> Carter and Goss did not include the Endowment House in their study, likely because it was no longer available for analysis. Hamilton, however, briefly discussed the Endowment House

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<sup>68</sup>W. G. Marshall, *Through America; or Nine Months in the United States* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Irvington, 1881), 169; and Ambrose Bolivar Carlton, *The Wonderlands of the West with Sketches of the Mormons* (N.p.: Author, 1891), 22.

<sup>69</sup>Marshall, *Through America*, 170.

<sup>70</sup>Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847-1940: A Guide* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1988).

<sup>71</sup>Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*. Joseph H. Weston's *Mormon Architecture* (Salt Lake City: Weston Publishing, 1949), provides photographs of a variety of Mormon-built structures but does not accompany them with any

as one of four special building types that were constructed to meet a specific need.<sup>72</sup> He described the Endowment House's architecture in these words: "The simple vernacular structure sat on a sandstone foundation, and was surmounted by a medium-pitched roof. Continuous cornice with cornice returns was the only reference to a particular historical period in architecture."<sup>73</sup>

Although it was a "simple vernacular structure," the Endowment House can still be placed within the penumbra of a particular architectural style. Overall, it exhibited an affinity to the classical styles that were popular in the United States during the nineteenth century. It hearkened back to many of the residences built by the Mormons at Nauvoo, some of which were good examples of the Federal and Greek Revival styles. Some affinities to the classical style, particularly Greek Revival, as expressed in the Endowment House, included a harmonious and basically symmetrically balanced facade in its eastern and western elevations, stone lintels and sills, double-hung windows, interior chimneys, an unornamented entablature with a wide, plain continuous cornice, cornice returns, a moderate pitched roof, and paneled doorways.<sup>74</sup> It did not, however, incorporate the more fully developed expressions of Greek Revival, such as pediment lintels, a more fully articulated entablature, and pillars of a classical order supporting an entrance porch with a square or triangular pediment. Indeed, the greatest departure from the classical style was the lack of a prominent entrance on the building's exterior, which would have more clearly defined its architectural style.<sup>75</sup> Angell's relocation of the entrance to the northern extension—through a simple doorway without any elaborated surrounds—was a startling departure from the

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descriptive narrative.

<sup>72</sup>These four specialized types were: the Endowment House, the priesthood hall, the Relief Society hall, and the tithing office. Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 93–100, plates 70–80.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>74</sup>Carter and Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture*, 179–80.

<sup>75</sup>Typically, the entrance to a Greek Revival style house, which had three to five ranks of windows in the facade, was through a doorway set in the central rank with elaborate surrounds, often with classical columns supporting the roof's porch. Indeed, it is often the design of the entrance that helps to differentiate the various classical styles. McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 179–81.

Federal and Greek Revival styles.

Yet some of the building's exterior features also seem inexplicable. Angell adopted a classic motif, even adding blind windows to the balance the eastern and western facades when they were not functionally needed (Plate 1). But, it is unclear in that case, why he did not include a ground-floor blind window on the right side in the eastern facade, which would have brought the building into closer harmony to classical symmetry.

As a result, Angell's design for the Endowment House is a simplified expression of the Greek Revival, without extraneous decoration or ornamentation. Overall, Angell's was a functional and practical plan. But, the reaction of those who viewed Angell's work varied in the extreme. An Englishman who visited Salt Lake City in 1880 saw the Endowment House as "a lowering, forbidding-looking building," while another traveler in 1887 observed that it had "an innocent, modest, retiring look."<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the best description was penned by a writer, who compared it to "a small dwelling house, so as not to attract attention."<sup>77</sup>

#### THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE: INTERIOR APPEARANCE

Available sources provide quite a detailed picture of the Endowment House's interior. These sources include Angell's drawings of the original 1855 building. In 1879 the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* published a detailed floor plan of the building, which provides quite a bit of useful information.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, faithful Mormons left few, if any, descriptions of the building's interior. There are, however, several interior descriptions given as incidental comments by apostate

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<sup>76</sup>George Augusta Sala, *American Revisited* (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886), 526; and James Hale Bates, *Notes of a Tour in Mexico and California* (New York: Burr Printing House, 1887), 147. Sala's prejudice towards everything Mormon can be seen in his description of the Tabernacle: "It is a monstrous structure built of timber, with the exception of the twelve huge ugly pillars of sandstone which support the immense dish-cover-shaped roof" (522).

<sup>77</sup>Richard K. Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism* (New York: Police Gazette, 1881), 42.

<sup>78</sup>Mrs. G. S. R., "Lifting the Veil," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 28, 1879, 4; and reprinted in its entirety, October 10, 1879, 2. In some details, particularly the number and placement of windows and the size of the



Mormons who wrote exposés of temple ceremonies given in the Endowment House. These comments are consistent with each other and, when compared to Angell's drawings, matched quite closely. Despite the exposés' overall questionable nature, these descriptive comments can be reasonably used.<sup>79</sup>

Based on the above sources, I have prepared the following description of the Endowment House's interior, as well as floor plans of the building after its 1856 remodeling and the addition of a greenhouse in the 1870s (Plates 6 and 7). The benches, desks, and altars on the floor plans reflect the descriptions left in the printed exposés; but other furniture, such as tables, plants, and chairs are items for illustrative purposes only and do not reflect the actual arrangement or number of furnishings. The following sections follow the methodology adopted by James E. Talmage for describing the interior rooms of the Salt Lake Temple in his 1912 edition of *The House of the Lord*.<sup>80</sup>

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baptistry, the plan is clearly inaccurate; but overall, the drawing of the building's two floors compares favorably with the Angell's floor plans.

<sup>79</sup>The following exposés provide interior descriptions of the Endowment House: Mrs. G. S. R., "Lifting the Veil," Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism*, 42–51; Apostate (pseud.), "The Endowments," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, December 8, 1878, 4; Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets of the Mormon Church," *The Standard* 53 (May 13, 1911), 12–13; J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), 486–502; William Jarman, *U.S.A.: Uncle Sam's Abscess or Hell on Earth for U.S., Uncle Sam* (Exeter, England: Leduc's Steam Printing Works, 1884), 67–88; F. E. Bostwick, *As I Found It; Life and Experience in Utah among the Mormons* (St. Louis: Privately Printed, 1893), 72–84; Fanny Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington, 1875), 352–69; and Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19: The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé on Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrow, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Chicago: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875), 349–71. Because of the repetitive nature of these descriptions, I will not cite them unless I quote them.

<sup>80</sup>James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Books, 1912), 181–200, 261–317 (plates 10–27). Bookcraft reprinted a facsimile edition in 1962,



*The Reception Room*

The entrance to the Endowment House was through a plain doorway on the eastern side of the northern extension, which opened into a reception room. Today it would be called an annex. Angell's drawings indicate that this room was fourteen feet by eighteen feet, with an eight-foot-high ceiling. Two windows, one on the eastern wall and another on the western, provided outside illumination.

Although nineteenth-century public buildings were often painted in colors, sometimes even in intense hues, the sole piece of evidence about the color of the Endowment House's interior is the 1892–93 Savage photograph of the northwest corner of the Temple Square (Photo 4). Where the baptistry had abutted the Temple Square wall, the surface is distinctly white. Since it appears that the Temple Square wall was used as the baptistry's exterior west wall (otherwise why paint it at all?), it seems at least probable that the rest of the building's interior would also have been painted white. However, additional evidence can also be inferred from the precedent of the Endowment House's antecedents—the Church's first two temples. Church leaders selected white as the interior color for the Kirkland Temple, using “a pristine white paint.”<sup>81</sup> Indeed, one author mentioned that the “white reflective surfaces” of the inner courts introduced “a great deal of soft, even light

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but omitted Plate 27, the photograph of the Holy of Holies. For a description of the temple's interior updated to the 1960s, see James E. Talmage *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1968), 152–68, 201–15. This edition omitted the original plates, substituting a few color photographs of the temple's 1960s interior. For a recently expanded reprinted edition, see James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 111–59. This edition includes all the original edition's text and plates, and adds a new foreword by Harvard S. Heath. It also has an appendix with John A. Widtsoe's article, “Temple Worship,” as well a number of photographs not printed in the original edition, including those taken surreptitiously by Gisbert Bossard of the temple's interior, which provided the impetus for the Church to publish the book in the first place. Kent Walgren, “Inside the Salt Lake Temple: Gisbert Bossard's 1911 Photographs,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Fall 1996): 1–43.

<sup>81</sup>Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 158.

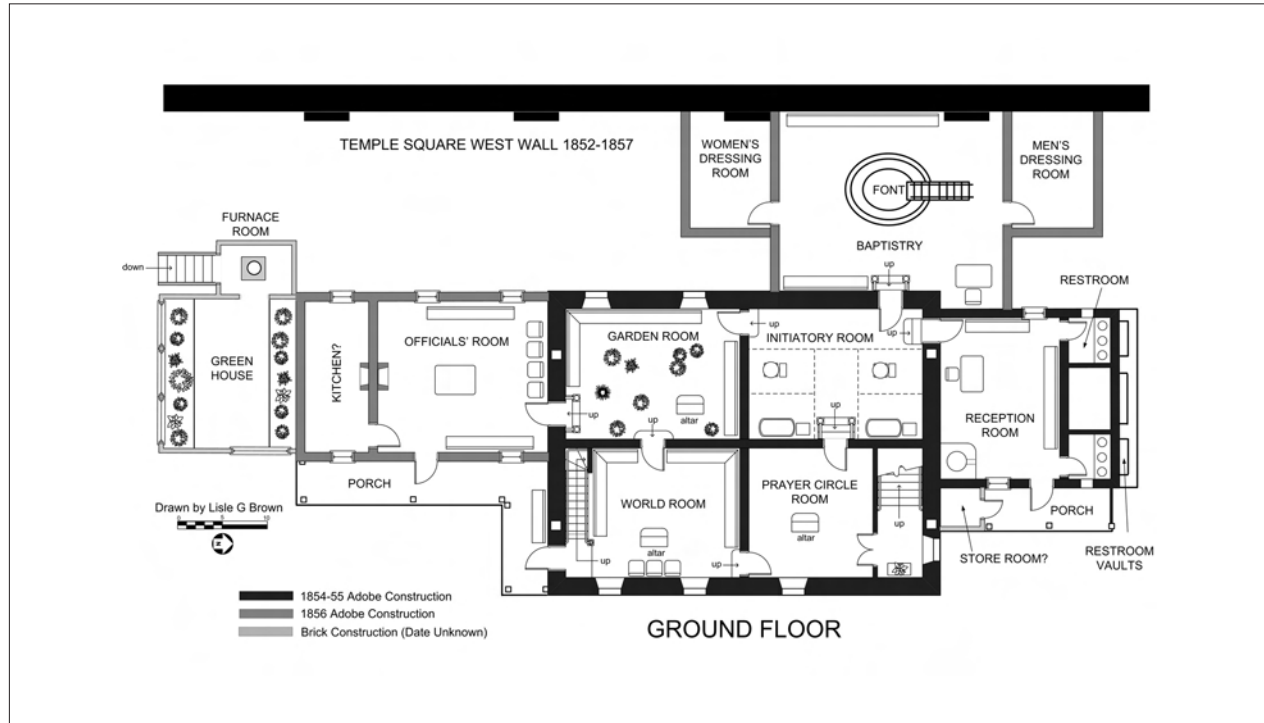


Plate 6. Salt Lake City Endowment House, a ground floor plan of the building's final state before its demolition in 1889. Drawn by Lisle G Brown.

into the space.”<sup>82</sup> Similarly, the leaders again chose white paint for the Nauvoo Temple. The Temple Committee records include entries for the purchase of linseed oil, turpentine and lead white for making the white paint of the interior.<sup>83</sup> Even in the Council House, “white screens” were used to divide the second floor room into compartments for the administering the endowment.<sup>84</sup> Finally, white is associated with purity, cleanliness, holiness, innocence and light, all concepts associated with temple rituals.<sup>85</sup> Since the Endowment House was intended for similar rituals as administered in these buildings, particularly those given in the Nauvoo Temple, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Young or Angell would have also selected the same color scheme.

The reception room’s furnishings were minimal and were designed to accommodate persons coming into the Endowment House for ordinance work: “A row of benches was arranged around the west and north sides of the reception room and a large desk was situated in the southwest corner of it.”<sup>86</sup> A door to the right of the desk opened into the Endowment House proper. In Angell’s drawing, a built-in stove stood in the southeastern corner, a necessary source for heating the room in the winter.<sup>87</sup> Some accounts mention carpets, and one writer even noted the “patterns of the carpets” in the building’s various rooms.<sup>88</sup> Heber C. Kimball spoke of “putting down carpets in the Endowment rooms” and of donating a rug of his own to “beautify the Lord’s house.”<sup>89</sup> So, it is likely that the reception room would have had rugs. Paintings may have also adorned the walls.

Set into the north wall were two narrow doors, which opened

<sup>82</sup>Robinson, *First Mormon Temple*, 59.

<sup>83</sup>McBride, *House of the Most High*, 324.

<sup>84</sup>Hyde, *Mormonism*, 91.

<sup>85</sup>Terry John O’Brien, “A Study of Effects of Color in the Utah Temple Murals” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986), 62.

<sup>86</sup>Apostate, “The Endowments,” 4.

<sup>87</sup>Since photographs of the building do not show a chimney in the northern extension, the stove was probably tied into one of the flues inside the northern wall, which were indicated on all three of Angell’s Endowment House Drawings.

<sup>88</sup>“The Sealing Ordinances,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 5, 1879, 2.

<sup>89</sup>Heber C. Kimball, February 1, 1865, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:83–84.

into two small rest rooms, four feet by five feet in size. Presumably, one was for men and the other for women, although they were not so identified by Angell on his drawings. Angell's drawings do not show any windows in these rooms, but photographs of the northern extension's eastern exterior wall show a small, dark opening near the roof line, suggesting an aperture.<sup>90</sup> It was likely meant for ventilation and perhaps for lighting the eastern rest room. There was probably a similar opening on the western side for the other rest room, because, as previously mentioned, the northern exterior wall was featureless with no openings. The inclusion of interior rest rooms clearly indicates that people using the Endowment House were intended to remain inside and not to leave the building for the public rest rooms, conveniently placed south of the building.<sup>91</sup> These rest rooms stood north of the Temple Square west gate and not in the location of the current extensive public rest rooms south of the west gate.

Unfortunately, Angell's drawings do not clearly show any method for removing waste from the rest rooms. Indoor plumbing was in its infancy in the 1850s, and it was likely quite an innovation for a public building on the far western frontier to have interior rest rooms. By modern standards, however, any plumbing in the Endowment House's rest rooms in 1855 would have been quite primitive. For example, on an architectural drawing of the period an indoor rest room was still labeled as a "privy."<sup>92</sup> Typically, 1850s buildings used wood or glazed earthenware pipes to drain effluent into a cesspool, which was simply a hole in the ground, its sides lined with stones and with a covered top. The *Sanborn Map* shows a unidentified wooden structure, approximately five by seven feet in size, some seven feet north of the Endowment House (Plate 5). It is tempting to identify this structure as the Endowment House's enclosed cesspool.

At this time, the toilet had no porcelain bowl like contemporary commodes. These indoor toilets were more like indoor privies. There

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<sup>90</sup>See Photo 2. The aperture becomes evident only when the photograph is greatly enlarged for close examination.

<sup>91</sup>See "Temple Square Map" in Plate 5. Although not shown on the *Sanborn Map*, the complete sheet shows that a single row of wooden privies stood south of the Endowment House.

<sup>92</sup>See copy of a residential floor plan in Maureen Ogle, *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840-1890* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 54.

were typically two methods to drain away waste from the toilet. The first used a flared pipe, called a “soil pipe,” that was attached to the hole beneath the seat and dropped directly into a cesspool below. This arrangement allowed gravity to drain the pipe. Since there would have been no running water in the rest room, pitchers of water were commonly provided to help flush away wastes. The second method used the same system of a flared pipe, but the waste dropped to a brick or stone vault directly beneath the toilet. An earthenware pipe from the vault drained the affluent to the cesspool set some distance from the building.<sup>93</sup> A feature drawn by Angell along the reception room’s northern wall suggests that there was a lined vault, divided into three sections, beneath each of the building’s three rest rooms. Such a vault would have been connected to a cesspool by pipes, although no pipes are drawn on the plans. A nearly similar representation of rest room, vault, and cesspool appears on the 1856 plan of a Massachusetts residence.<sup>94</sup> To reduce objectionable odors associated with such a system, a “stench trap” was constructed in the vault, which consisted of a “wooden angle or metal bend in a trough or pipe, to contain unpleasant smells.”<sup>95</sup>

Both the *Sanborn Map* and the “Temple Block Map” indicated that there was a small room beneath the southern end of the northern extension’s porch. The *Sanborn Map*’s color key indicates that it was constructed of brick. Such a structure was not drawn on Angell’s original plans, and its construction of brick instead of adobe is a good indication that it was a later addition. Its date of construction is not known nor is its purpose; it may have been a closet or storeroom and

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 48–49.

<sup>94</sup>The 1856 house plan is the work of architect Luther Briggs Jr. for Ephraim Merriam, which shows a nearly identical indication of an interior “privy” with three circles, the same as on Angell’s plan. Briggs’s plan includes a foundation plan which shows the vault beneath the privy, extending beyond the outside walls, similar to Angell’s plan, with a pipe running from the vault to the nearby cesspool. Ibid., 54–55.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 51. The stench trap was not wholly successful and some odor often seeped into the building. The modern U-shaped sink trap, which prevents the seeping of sewer gas and odors, was not invented until the 1870s, and it may have been added to the Endowment House plumbing then. Hopefully, as other plumbing improvements were discovered, they would have been added to the building’s original plumbing system.

is so indicated on the floor plans that accompany this paper (Plate 6).<sup>96</sup>

Finally, one woman wrote of the reception room—a comment that she extended to the entire building: “Everything within was beautifully neat and clean, and a solemn silence pervaded the whole place.”<sup>97</sup>

Although the building’s exterior exhibited features typical of the Greek Revival style, that similarity ended with its interior design. Whereas the classical style typically called for a symmetrical division of rooms along a central hallway, the Endowment House proper was divided into four equal quadrants or rooms on the ground level. Each room, except the one in the northeastern corner, was nineteen feet by fourteen feet. Entrance to the main building was through the reception room, by the doorway in the northwestern corner.

#### *The Initiatory Room*

After leaving the reception room, patrons immediately descended a stairway of three steps into the initiatory room in the building’s northwest corner. Of the four rooms on the ground floor, this room was the lowest in relation to the other three rooms. Its ceiling was ten feet high.<sup>98</sup> Before the construction of the baptistry, it had two windows, one of which was likely altered to provide a doorway into the baptistry. The remaining window would have probably also been filled in, since it would have opened into the baptistry and would not have provided any illumination. Without any outside windows after 1856, the light for this room would have had to come from artificial sources, probably oil lamps or candles.

Beginning in the early 1800s, whale oil lamps were often used for indoor illumination, but the fuel was expensive—a gallon cost \$2.00 ( about \$200 in present dollars), and it would have been certainly hard to acquire in the American West in the 1850s. Oil made from lard or other rendered fat, as well as a dangerous mixture of turpentine and alcohol, called burning fluid or camphene, was used for

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<sup>96</sup>See also “Temple Block Map” in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 192. The room is also visible in photographs in Slaughter, *Life in Zion*, 43; Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 580.

<sup>97</sup>Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 359.

<sup>98</sup>Ceiling height taken from Angell’s transverse drawing. Angell, *Endowment House Drawings*, Drawing 1.

lamps up to the 1860s.<sup>99</sup> These lamps were not particularly bright and required constant servicing. The camphene lamps were also potentially explosive.<sup>100</sup> Oil lamps or candles were probably the initial lighting source of choice for the Endowment House. The kerosene lamp, introduced in 1853 in Europe, did not become widespread in the United States until the 1860s. In 1865 the *Deseret News* cautioned its readers about the dangers of improperly extinguishing kerosene lamps—a good indication of the use of such lamps locally by that date.<sup>101</sup> Such lamps may have been used in the Endowment House.

By the 1880s, natural gas began replacing oil and kerosene lamps, including Temple Square structures. The Assembly Hall's construction in 1880 included beautiful gas chandeliers, which produced "a beautiful and steady flame of light."<sup>102</sup> The Tabernacle was retrofitted with gas lights in 1884.<sup>103</sup> However, there is no evidence that the Endowment House was ever fitted with gas lights. Probably, the use of kerosene or oil lamps would have continued to be used until its demolition in 1889.<sup>104</sup>

The initiatory room had partitions, draperies, and facilities for

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<sup>99</sup>Anonymous, "History of Lamps," <http://www.antiquelamps.net/history.html> (accessed April 20, 2008).

<sup>100</sup>Jane Nylander, "Two Brass Lamps," *Historic New England Magazine*, Winter/Spring 2003, <http://www.historicnewengland.org/NEHM/2003WinterSpringPage04.htm> (accessed June 21, 2007).

<sup>101</sup>"Caution," *Deseret News*, June 7, 1865, 1.

<sup>102</sup>"The Assembly Hall," *Deseret News*, April 7, 1880, 8. The lighting included one central chandelier with twelve jets, four smaller chandeliers with six jets each, two pillar lights on the stand, and fourteen bracket lights around the walls.

<sup>103</sup>"Gas and Steam and Tabernacle," *Deseret News*, March 26, 1884, 9.

<sup>104</sup>If lamps in a temple were not replaced by electric lights until the early 1900s, it is highly unlikely that the Endowment House's lighting would have been updated. The Logan Temple, built in the 1880s, was illuminated by lamps until 1915–16: "The art of illuminating with electricity being practically unknown when this building was constructed, no provision was made for the lighting of it other than by the oil lamp or tallow candle. It was necessary, therefore, to wire the building, which work was done, under the most modern and approved methods. Most of the wires are strung in conduits to avoid any possible chance of fire, the danger of which is increased without conduits in wiring an old structure. Modern electroliers and lights

administering certain temple rites. Angell had drawn on his floor plans faint lines for the positioning of curtains and tubs in this area.<sup>105</sup> Leading from the reception room door was a hallway, created by a canvas partition, that ran parallel to the outside western wall to a door at the initiatory room's southwestern corner. The rest of the room to the east was divided into four small cubicles, or booths, formed by hanging curtains, with partitions creating a hallway that ran east and west between them. The two booths on the east had large bath tubs, which were "supplied by streams of hot and cold water."<sup>106</sup> A cast-iron stove provided heat for warming the water.<sup>107</sup> The booths adjacent on the west had stools and other ritual implements. These booths were used for the initiatory ordinances commonly called, washings and anointings.<sup>108</sup>

At the east end of this hallway created by the booths was a staircase of three steps that terminated at a doorway opening into the building's northeastern room. This was the prayer circle room, but the temple worshiper would not have gone to it next. Instead, he or she would have proceeded to the garden room.

### *The Garden Room*

South of the initiatory room stood the garden room, occupying the floor's southwestern quadrant. The doorway between these

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were placed in each room." Edna L. Smith, "Improvements in the Logan Temple," *Improvement Era* 19 (March 1916), on *LDS Collector's Library 2005*, CD-ROM (Orem, Utah: Infobases Media Corp., 2004, 2005). Presumably this was also the situation in the St. George Temple, built in the 1870s. The Manti Temple's dedicatory prayer mentioned "fixtures for ventilating, warming and lighting," which suggests that the light fixtures might have been electric. Manti Temple Centennial Committee, *The Manti Temple* (Provo, Utah: Community Press, 1988), 52. By the 1890s the Salt Lake Temple was wired for electricity, and its rooms were illuminated by electric lights. Lyon, *Souvenir Album*, 26; *House of the Lord* (Cannon, 1893), 15-21.

<sup>105</sup>Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawings 1 and 2.

<sup>106</sup>Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 359.

<sup>107</sup>Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 94, noted, "Double chimneys at either end of the building [Endowment House] serviced the cast-iron heating stoves on [sic] the interior."

<sup>108</sup>Donald W. Parry, "Washings and Anointings," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1551.



rooms was one step higher. Its ceiling was nine feet, four inches high. The room was carpeted and the windows draped. Initially the walls of the room were not decorated; but during the winter of 1855–56, William Ward painted them to represent a garden.<sup>109</sup> His work was probably similar to the pastoral wall paintings that were popular in the United States from colonial times.<sup>110</sup> Nearly all accounts of the building's interior mentioned the singular visual impact of Ward's mural and its "beautiful scenes representing the Garden of Eden."<sup>111</sup> One anonymous source observed: "Probably the most unique feature about the Endowment House was the allegorical painting on one of the interior walls representing Garden of Eden."<sup>112</sup> A "Mrs. G.S.R." described:

The four sides of this room were painted in imitation of trees, flowers, birds, wild beasts, etc. . . . The ceiling [sic] was painted blue, dotted over with golden stars; in the centre of it was the sun, a little further along the moon, and all around were stars. In each corner was a Masonic emblem. In one corner is a compass, in another the square; the remaining two were the level and the plumb. On the east side of the room, next [to] the door, was painted an apple tree.<sup>113</sup>

Not only were murals on the walls, but a number of evergreen potted plants rested on the floor, enhancing the room's pastoral appearance. One of these plants served as the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Some fruit in season, such as "apples, raisins, oranges, or bunches of grapes" were hung on it and served as the forbidden fruit.<sup>114</sup>

Around the walls of the room ran long benches, and a small wooden altar stood near the northeastern corner. A small stove stood near the southern wall. Originally the room had three win-

<sup>109</sup>Journal History, February 11, 1856, 1.

<sup>110</sup>Rachel Cope, "John Fairbanks: The Man behind the Canvas" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003), 114.

<sup>111</sup>Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 12–13.

<sup>112</sup>"The Endowment House Going," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November, 17, 1889, 4.

<sup>113</sup>Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Vail," 4. Jarman, *U.S.A.*, 80, also mentioned the depiction of the "Compass, Square, Level and Plumbbob" in the Garden Room.

<sup>114</sup>Young, *Wife No. 19*, 364.

dows, two on the west and one on the south; but during the construction of the building's southern extension to the officials' room, the southern window was altered into a doorway with two steps ascending to that room. Over all, the garden room with its "gorgeous curtains and carpets, trees and shrubs in boxes, [and] paintings of mountains, flowers, and fountains, all shown in soft light and delicate tints, together [represented] a beautiful and impressive scene."<sup>115</sup>

### *The World Room*

A doorway, with another step up, in the center of garden room's eastern wall opened into the world room, which was also called "The Lone and Desolate World."<sup>116</sup> It occupied the ground floor's north-eastern quadrant. It was nineteen by fourteen feet, with an eight-foot, eight-inch high ceiling. Over the doorway, on the world room side, was a pair of "flaming swords."<sup>117</sup> It is not clear if these were actual swords or representations painted on the wall. Other than this decoration, the room had no ornamentation. It was "almost dark, heavy curtains shutting out all but a few rays of light."<sup>118</sup> There were benches around the walls and a small wooden altar also stood near the east wall with chairs behind it.

On the room's southern side a narrow, two-foot-wide stairway ascended to the second floor. Near the foot of the stairway was a door that opened to the outside. Another doorway on the south, again with another step higher, opened into the prayer circle room.

### *The Prayer Circle Room*

The prayer circle room occupied the northeastern quadrant of the ground floor. It was nearly square in size—thirteen feet by fourteen feet—with an eight-foot high ceiling. There was only one window on its eastern wall. The room was devoid of furniture, except for its most singular feature—an altar, which was placed in the center of the

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<sup>115</sup>Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 42.

<sup>116</sup>Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 13. It was represented as the "cold, cold world." Apostate, "The Endowments."

<sup>117</sup>Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 12.

<sup>118</sup>Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 495.

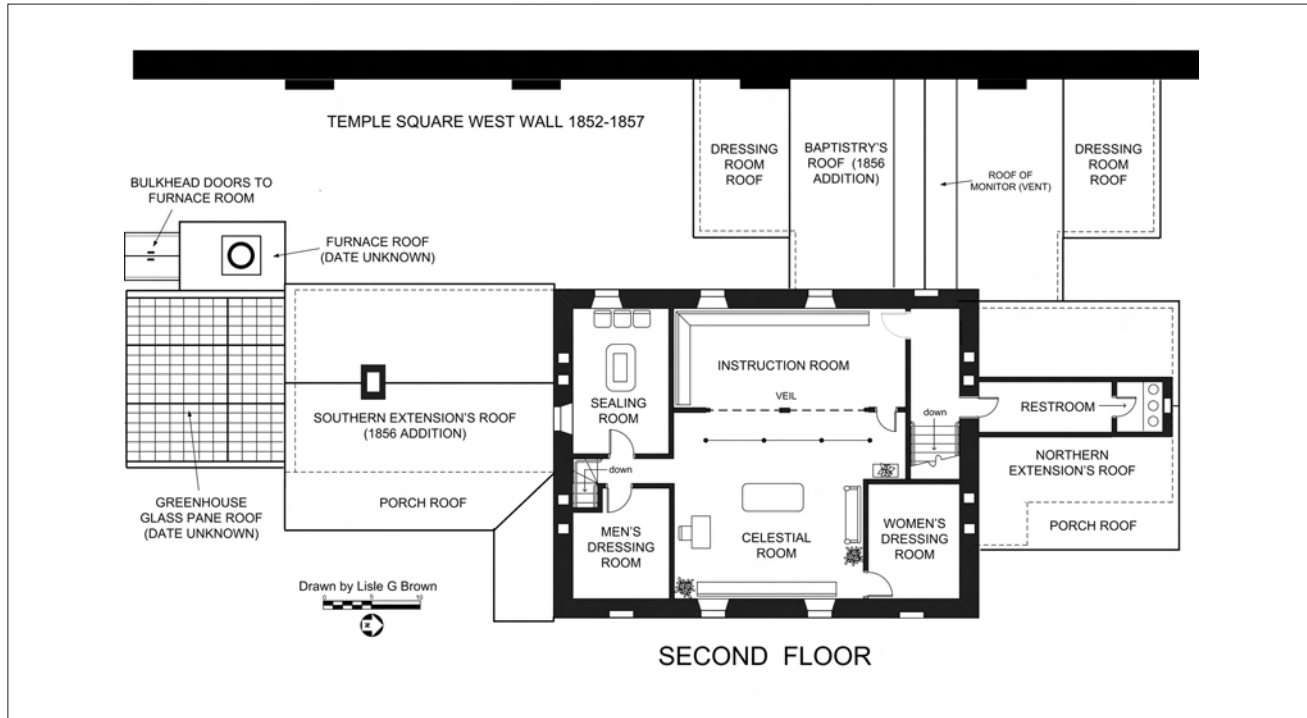


Plate 7. Salt Lake City Endowment House, second floor plan of the building's final state before its demolition in 1889. Drawn by Lisle G Brown.

room.<sup>119</sup> The room was likely carpeted. A door on its western wall opened into the initiatory room.

Near the northeastern corner a doorway opened into a landing at the foot of a staircase that rose to the second floor. In order to provide light for the landing and staircase, Angell moved the window from the eastern wall around to the northern wall, because the landing's wall would have bisected a window on the eastern wall.<sup>120</sup> This need for interior illumination accounts for the lack of a window on the building's outside eastern wall, but it is not clear why Angell did not substitute a blind window as he did in similar circumstances in other parts of the building.

### *The Second Floor*

From the prayer circle room, a broad, five-foot-wide stairway of fourteen steps rose to the second floor (Plate 7). This floor was not divided into quadrants like the ground floor but was divided into five rooms of differing dimensions, their size and placement depending on their functions. Each had its attendant windows and doors. There were also two staircases from the floor descending to the ground floor below.

At the head of the staircase from the prayer circle room was a hallway, ten feet long by five feet wide, running to the western exterior wall. Again, the hallway's wall would have bisected a window at the western wall, which prompted Angell to substitute a blind window on the exterior.<sup>121</sup> On the hallway's northern side was a door that opened into the narrow passage that ran over the reception room below. At the end of this passage was the building's third rest room, situ-

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<sup>119</sup>None of the exposés mention any chairs or benches in this room, nor do the floor plans in the exposé in the 1879 *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* depict any such furnishings, although they are shown in all the other lecture rooms.

<sup>120</sup>Angell's drawings of the ground floor do not show a wall for the landing and staircase. However, a wall must have been erected, otherwise there was no reason for eliminating a window on the eastern side and placing a window on the north side.

<sup>121</sup>Again, none of Angell's drawings show an enclosed landing, but the blind window on the west wall strongly indicates the presence of such a wall, which would have bisected an exterior window at the end of the landing.

ated over and between the two rest rooms on the ground floor below. As explained previously, this rest room sat high over a lined vault below and between the vaults for the ground-floor rest rooms. Along the hallway's southern wall was a door that opened into the instruction room.

### *The Instruction Room*

The instruction room occupied most of the western half of the second floor, twenty-four feet by ten feet, with a twelve-foot high ceiling, as were all the ceilings of the second floor rooms. This room would have corresponded to the terrestrial room in present-day temples. Along its western wall ran a long wooden bench; the room had no altar. Two windows on the western wall provided outside light.

Although the room was carpeted, its most distinctive feature was the veil, which occupied most of the room's eastern side. One writer described the area as follows: "Facing [the bench] about midway between floor and ceiling was a wooden beam that went across the room from north to south, and from which [there] was suspended a . . . piece of . . . white calico. This was called 'the Veil.'"<sup>122</sup> Writers represented the veil as calico, muslin, or linen, always white. There were two veil segments, supported by the "framework of the partition [of the veil]."<sup>123</sup> At the side of the veil, was "the door of the veil—the gate of heaven," which opened into the celestial room.<sup>124</sup> In the door was a hole, covered by a "curtain of muslin," just large enough to pass a hand through.<sup>125</sup>

### *The Celestial Room*

The celestial room, some twenty-four feet by nineteen feet in its largest dimension, occupied the room east of the veil. Two draped windows in the eastern wall provided outside light. It was likely that a screen was placed before the veil, as had been done in the celestial room of the Nauvoo Temple. Doorways opened into two dressing rooms. The floor was carpeted, and the room's princi-

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<sup>122</sup>Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

<sup>123</sup>Bostwick, *As I Found It*, 82. One segment may have been used by the men and the other by women. Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

<sup>124</sup>Apostate, "The Endowments," 4.

<sup>125</sup>Young, *Wife No. 19*, 369; Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 366.

pal piece of furniture was a large table in the center. Around the walls were chairs and benches. There was also a table or desk for a clerk. Further decorations likely included paintings or portraits of Church dignitaries on the walls, like the decoration of the Nauvoo Temple's celestial room.<sup>126</sup> The room had a comfortable appearance and "was supposed to be heaven."<sup>127</sup> A short hallway, ten feet long, ran south from the room to the head of the stairway leading to the world room below.

### *The Sealing Room*

On the western side of the short hallway was a door opening into the sealing room which occupied the southwestern corner of the second floor. This room, ten feet by fourteen feet, was "well carpeted."<sup>128</sup> It had two windows, one on the southern wall and another on the western. An altar stood in the center of the room, running east and west. One observer described it as "a kind of solid table, nicely cushioned" in red velvet with a convenient padded base upon which to kneel.<sup>129</sup> At the head of the altar was a large overstuffed chair or sofa, and several chairs were positioned around the walls. While this room may have also had paintings, there was no mention of any mirrors, such as those that commonly adorn the walls in opposing pairs in modern temple sealing rooms.<sup>130</sup> The sealing room in the Nauvoo Temple was also called the Holy of Holies, but there is no indication that the Endowment House

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<sup>126</sup>Jill C. Major, "Artwork in the Celestial Room of the First Nauvoo Temple," *BYU Studies* 41 (2002): 47–63.

<sup>127</sup>Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism*, 50.

<sup>128</sup>Hyde, *Mormonism*, 108. Although Hyde was endowed in the Council House, he and his wife were sealed in the Endowment House.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.* Another wrote that the men kneeled on the south side and the women on the north side of the altar, which is an indication that the altar's long axis was oriented east and west. Annie Thompson, "The Endowment House," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November 10, 1878, 1.

<sup>130</sup>See photograph in *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 13. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 4, explained the significance of the paired mirrors: "In some sealing rooms opposite walls are adorned with large mirrors so that one may stand near the altar and view on either side a corridor of diminishing images. It gives one the feeling of looking into in-

sealing room was ever similarly designated.<sup>131</sup>

### *The Dressing Rooms*

The two dressing rooms on this floor were both approximately ten feet by eleven feet. Angell's drawings do not show them, but most of the exposés mention them.<sup>132</sup> The second floor's blind windows, which were on Angell's plans, are good indications that Angell intended to have them. The dressing rooms were probably enclosed during the original construction. The women's room was in the northeastern corner, and the men's room was in the southeastern corner. Obviously lamps were used to illuminate these two rooms, since they had no windows.

Persons left the Endowment House through the door at the south. After completing their endowments or sealings and changing into their street clothes in one of the two dressing rooms, they descended the narrow stairway from the celestial room to the world room below and exited the building without having to pass through the other lecture rooms to the reception room. This was essentially the arrangement of the rooms in the Endowment House until the 1856 additions.

### *The Baptistry*

The 1856 remodeling saw the construction of the font and dressing rooms on the building's western side (Plate 6). Entrance to this baptistry was through a doorway from the hallway adjacent to the initiatory booths. Two steps led down from this doorway to the baptistry's floor, making this room the lowest of all the rooms in the building.<sup>133</sup> Using the outline plan of the Endowment House in the "Temple Block Map" and *Sanborn Map* for measurements, the font room was approximately twenty-six feet long by nineteen feet wide.

The font occupied the center of the room. There is no descrip-

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finity; into the eternities."

<sup>131</sup>Brown, "Sacred Departments," 373.

<sup>132</sup>They were also included in the Endowment House's floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

<sup>133</sup>The number of steps is found on the plan of the Endowment House. *Ibid.*



tion of the font, except that it was made of hewn stone.<sup>134</sup> One author speculated that the font “was to be temporary and probably was dug in the ground and lined with stone or cement.”<sup>135</sup> Wilford Woodruff’s diary might support the view that the font was below ground level because he wrote that, after its dedication, Brigham Young “*went down into the water* in the Font.”<sup>136</sup> This phrase is not, however, conclusive proof that the font was below grade; and I find it most likely that it followed the general configuration of the Nauvoo Temple font, whose base was partially sunk into the ground with the bowl above ground.<sup>137</sup> The font could have been any shape—square, rectangular, circular, or ovoid. Again, it seems plausible that it followed the oval design of the Nauvoo Temple’s limestone font, the only font the Mormons had built up to that time.<sup>138</sup> It may have also had the general dimensions of that font: twelve feet by eight feet.<sup>139</sup> There are no accounts of oxen supporting the font. It is also likely that benches around the room allowed persons waiting to use the font to sit. It is also likely that there was a recorder’s desk, but it is not mentioned in any accounts.

On either side of the font room were dressing rooms, each approximately eleven feet by sixteen feet. The northern room was for the men and the southern room for the women. The diagram of the Endowment House printed in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune’s* 1879 exposé, shows two windows for each dressing room; but given the overall inaccuracy of the diagram’s number and placement of windows and the

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<sup>134</sup>During its construction, Wilford Woodruff started to record its dimension, leaving room for two sets of numbers: “It was \_\_\_\_ feet long & \_\_\_\_ feet wide,” but he never filled them in. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:440.

<sup>135</sup>Boman, “Supplement to ‘The LDS Temple Baptismal,’” 8. Cement was an unlikely material used for lining the font, because it was not commonly used in construction until the wide dissemination of Portland cement in the United States beginning in the 1880s. “A History of Cement,” <http://www.rumford.com/articlemortar.html> (accessed October 15, 2007).

<sup>136</sup>Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:459; emphasis mine.

<sup>137</sup>*History of the Church*, 4:446.

<sup>138</sup>The floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., “Lifting the Vail,” 4, has a circle shape for the font.

<sup>139</sup>*Journal History*, June 17, 1875, 1. The original wooden font in the Nauvoo Temple measured sixteen by twelve feet and would have been too large to fit comfortably in the room. McBride, *House for the Most High*, 55, 233.

use of blind windows for the Endowment House's dressing rooms, this detail is probably wrong. A monitor in the ceiling would have provided ventilation as well as illumination to the font room, while the dressing rooms were probably illuminated by artificial means.

There is little information on the source of water for the font. The Nauvoo Temple had a well in its basement to provide its font with water, but there is no record of such a well in the Endowment House baptistry. At first those who used the font "had to fill it with Buckets from the Creek,"<sup>140</sup> meaning City Creek, which then ran through Temple Square just south of the Endowment House.<sup>141</sup> While the Endowment House was under construction, Young asked Walter Eli Wilcox to "devise a machine for boring logs to convey water to the Endowment House."<sup>142</sup> Wilcox succeeded in his task and laid about a quarter mile of pipe before Young had him stop. Presumably, Young halted the project when it met its purpose and it became the final method to fill the font. Later, when City Creek was channeled along North Temple Street, just beyond the Temple Square wall, it probably remained the source for the font's water.<sup>143</sup> When a municipal water system was installed during the 1870s for the city's business district, including Temple Square, it probably also supplied the Endowment House.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, used water from the font could have been flushed through another pipe back to City Creek; the same method that was used to empty the Nauvoo Temple font.

Apparently, the water was not heated. One missionary noted that, before leaving on his mission in December 1856, he was bap-

<sup>140</sup>Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:524.

<sup>141</sup>"One branch of the City Creek flowed across the site of the Temple block, south of the Endowment House." "Chronicles of Utah," *The Contributor* 2, no. 5 (February 1881), in *LDS Collectors Library 2005*, CD-ROM. The course of the creek near the Endowment House is shown on a map of Temple Square in Wallace Allan Raynor, *The Everlasting Spires: A Story of the Salt Lake Temple* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 26.

<sup>142</sup>Leroy W. Hooten Jr., "Salt Lake City's Old Water Conveyance," June 23, 2007, Salt Lake City, Department of Public Utilities, <http://www.ci.sl.c.ut.us/utilities/NewsEvents/news2007/news6272007.htm> (accessed October 6, 2007).

<sup>143</sup>*Sanborn Map* shows the open water channel running west on North Temple Street.

<sup>144</sup>Hooten, "Salt Lake City's Old Water Conveyance."

tized for the renewal of his covenants in the font's "chilly water" and was then reconfirmed in one of the Endowment House's upper rooms.<sup>145</sup>

There is also no indication of the material used for the baptistry's floor. Whether Young or Angell made the decision, he probably based it on the Nauvoo baptistry. There, the original wooden floor proved inadequate and was replaced in 1845 with a brick floor; at the same time, the wooden font was superseded by a stone font.<sup>146</sup> It is likely, therefore, that the Endowment House baptistry would have had an adobe or brick floor—perhaps similar to the herringbone pattern used in the Nauvoo Temple basement.<sup>147</sup>

### *The Officials' Room and Greenhouse*

The 1856 southern extension served a number of functions. There is little description of this area, other than indicating its function as the "Officials Room."<sup>148</sup> It contained a desk and table and probably served as an office as well as for storing records. However, the location of the chimney in the center of the extension suggests that there might have been at least two rooms, separated by a fireplace.

The second room in the extension may have been a cooking area with a fireplace. Shortly after the Endowment House was dedicated, Heber C. Kimball encouraged persons to "bring their eggs, butter, meat, bread, and flour, and the luxuries of life to grace the tables of the House of the Lord, to feed the men and women who administer unto them."<sup>149</sup> The people responded and "often brought food for the full-time workers."<sup>150</sup> Dining-in was necessary for a large company of persons because the endowment services could take up to eight

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<sup>145</sup>Journal History, December 30, 1856, cited in T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989), 244.

<sup>146</sup>Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 184–86; McBride, *House for the Most High*, 233–34, 324.

<sup>147</sup>Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on the Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, 1971), 25.

<sup>148</sup>Floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

<sup>149</sup>Journal History, May 19, 1856, 1.

<sup>150</sup>Lyon, *John Lyon*, 234. Nearly all exposé writers reported that they

hours.<sup>151</sup> The donated food was prepared in a kitchen by women employed for that purpose<sup>152</sup> and was probably eaten in the officials' room in the north extension.

Some time after the 1870s, workmen erected a greenhouse against the southern wall of the extension. It could be argued that it might have been built to house the potted evergreens used in the garden room. Since its windows were draped, there would have been little sunlight to keep the plants alive. The greenhouse could have been used to provide a suitable environment to keep the plants healthy, while they were transferred between it and the garden room as needed. However, at least two decades had passed without the need for such a greenhouse. Although it could have served this purpose, another (perhaps the main) purpose was the landscaping of Temple Square. With the dedication of the Tabernacle in 1875 and the Assembly Hall in 1880, the need for more formal landscaping may have made a greenhouse desirable as the modest beginning of what has since become the elaborate and beautifully groomed grounds. After the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple a spacious conservatory was constructed west of the original annex.<sup>153</sup>

Attached to the greenhouse on the west side was a furnace room. It was nine feet by twelve feet and constructed of brick with a flat roof. Photographic evidence suggests that a brick chimney sur-

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brought food with them.

<sup>151</sup>Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Utah, 1850–1886*, 39 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 26:358. The exposés report that the day's activities typically started at 7:00 A.M. and ended at 3:30 P.M.

<sup>152</sup>The wives of apostle Joseph F. Smith "supplemented their income by cooking at the Endowment House." Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 11.

<sup>153</sup>Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 206. It was called the William C. Staines Conservatory. For a photograph, see Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1998), 158. William Carter Staines (1818–81) was an English convert, an accomplished horticulturalist, and the Temple Square gardener. The conservatory was built ca. 1898. It stood until at least until the 1940s but was razed during a later remodeling of the north gate entrance to Temple Square. Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of the Covenant: The Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 284, 303.

mounted by a tall metal pipe rose from its center. Access to the room was on its southern side through a bulkhead door—a horizontal or inclined door over a stairway—that led down some steps to the furnace room’s floor. A photograph shows a portion of the furnace room entrance (Photo 4). In the photograph, the large whitish rectangle at the greenhouse’s southwestern (lower left) corner is the bulkhead door swung open; a small portion of the descending steps can also be seen. The *Sanborn Map* shows an opening between the furnace room and the greenhouse. This opening apparently was the greenhouse’s only entrance. The furnace was probably a large coal stove, which would have provided heat during the cold, winter months when sunlight hitting the greenhouse’s glass roof was inadequate to heat its interior.

Such was the exterior and interior appearance of the Endowment House and its baptistry from 1856 until 1889, when it was demolished.

#### DEMOLITION OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

The Endowment House became a casualty of the anti-Mormon polygamy crusade of the 1880s. The actual events leading up to its destruction began simply enough, with an incident that had taken place repeatedly within its walls: the solemnization of a plural marriage ceremony. On April 8, 1889, Apostle Franklin D. Richards officiated in sealing Hans Jespersen to his second wife, Laura Alice Dean, in the Endowment House’s sealing room. Jespersen returned with his new bride to Goshen, Utah. One of Jespersen’s neighbors became suspicious of Alice and informed the federal authorities in Provo. Jespersen was taken into custody; and on September 26, 1889, he was bound over by the commissioner of the Supreme Court for the crime of polygamy, awaiting the action of a grand jury in Salt Lake City. Jespersen was subsequently found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison on the polygamy charge and three years for adultery. As news of the case spread, it caused a public sensation and gave the Church leaders a good deal of consternation.<sup>154</sup>

Two days before Jespersen’s plural marriage, Wilford Woodruff was sustained as Church president on April 6, 1889, at the gen-

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<sup>154</sup>“A Plain Polygamy Case,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 27, 1889, 4; “Jespersen Polygamy Case,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1889, 2; *New York Herald*, October 13, 1889, rpt. as “A Strange Interview,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1889, 2; “How the Country Views It,”

eral conference. After his sustaining, he made a private decision that he would no longer approve any recommends for new plural marriages. This was in response to the federal anti-polygamy legislation, especially the Edmunds-Tucker Law and the threat of the Cullom Bill, the most punitive legislation yet proposed. He kept this decision to himself until September 9, 1889, when he told his two counselors. When the Jespersen case became public that same month, the First Presidency informed the Twelve Apostles of Woodruff's decision at a meeting held on October 2, 1889. After a lengthy discussion the men decided against making the president's decision public.<sup>155</sup> However, in an interview with a *New York Herald* reporter on October 12, Woodruff publicly revealed his decision, stating, "I have refused to give any recommendations for the performance of plural marriages since I have been president." He then referred to the Jespersen case and stated, "It seems incredible if it is true. . . . It is against all of my instructions. I do not understand it at all. We are looking into it and shall not rest until we get at all the facts."<sup>156</sup>

Within the week, the First Presidency and some of the Twelve met on October 18 to consider steps to defuse the situation. Charles W. Penrose opened the discussion on the Endowment House; and af-

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*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1890, 7.

<sup>155</sup>D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 37.

<sup>156</sup>*New York Herald*, October 13, 1889, rpt., as "A Strange Interview," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1889, 2. Woodruff's remarks seem a little disingenuous. Jespersen claimed that he "did not know who performed the ceremony, as the man stood behind a curtain." "Sentenced for Polygamy," *New York Times*, October 13, 1889, 12. Woodruff could easily have ascertained the facts of the case, since the marriage was recorded in the Endowment House marriage records, to which he obviously had access; furthermore, at any time he could have easily questioned Richards, who performed the sealing. Quinn, "New Plural Marriages," 38. Indeed, he still maintained his ignorance of the details of the Jespersen case when he signed the Manifesto nearly a year later, stating that a "marriage was performed in the Endowment House, in Salt Lake City, in the Spring of 1889, but I have not been able to learn who performed the ceremony." "Official Declaration, October 6, 1890," published as Official Declaration—1, LDS Doctrine and Covenants [1981], 291.

ter deliberation, Brigham Young Jr. “moved that the Endowment House should be taken down, but that the font with its dressing rooms be preserved for baptismal purposes.”<sup>157</sup> Those present approved the motion and decided to “have men employed to remove the Endowment House and erect a small building over the baptismal font.”<sup>158</sup> The decision may have also coincided with one of a number of work projects undertaken by the Church so that hundreds of men could qualify to register to vote against the anti-Mormon party in an upcoming city election.<sup>159</sup>

The erection of a small building over the font suggests that the men wanted to enclose the opening between the font room and the Endowment House, since the *Sanborn Map* shows that the font was already covered by a slate or tin roof. With his colleagues’ support Woodruff ordered the building’s immediate dismantling.<sup>160</sup> L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency, relayed the decision to Robert T. Burton, counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, and to future Church architect Joseph Don Carlos Young. These two oversaw the building’s demolition. By the time the action was taken, Woodruff had apparently also decided to raze both the font and dressing rooms.<sup>161</sup>

The exact dates of the building’s destruction are not known. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* reported in its Sunday, November 17, 1889, issue that the building was “being razed and will be a thing of the past,” which suggests that the demolition had begun the previous week.<sup>162</sup> Its destruction was probably completed the following week. By the end of November 1889, it was no longer standing at northwestern corner of Temple Square.<sup>163</sup>

However, the demolition of the Endowment House and the baptistry did not include the southern extension with its greenhouse;

<sup>157</sup>Nuttall, Journal, October 18, 1889.

<sup>158</sup>Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, October 18, 1889, Perry Special Collections, quoted in Tingen, “Endowment House,” 25.

<sup>159</sup>Quinn, “New Plural Marriages,” 38.

<sup>160</sup>“Official Declaration, October 6, 1890,” in *Doctrine and Covenants* (1981), 291.

<sup>161</sup>Nuttall, Journal, October 22, 1889.

<sup>162</sup>“The Endowment House Going,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November, 17, 1889, 4.

<sup>163</sup>Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1889), 179.



both were spared. The 1892–93 photograph (Photo 4) taken by Savage from the temple roof shows not only the white outline of the baptistry on the Temple Square wall but the entire southern extension and its greenhouse. Its porch has been removed, and it also appears that the large brick chimney, seen in Savage’s 1880s photograph (Photo 3), had also been replaced with a furnace room and a tall stove-like pipe. To the north, the site of the Endowment House was only a plowed area. Sometime between 1892 and 1898, the last remnant of the Endowment House, the southern extension/greenhouse, was also razed. All evidence of the building disappeared from Temple Square. An 1898 *Sanborn Map* of Temple Square shows that the southern extension/greenhouse had been replaced by a slightly larger brick greenhouse.<sup>164</sup>

For thirty-four years, the Endowment House admirably fulfilled its purpose as a temporary temple: “The primary ordinances performed in the Endowment House included sealings of living couples; sealings by proxy for the dead; sealings between couples in which one partner was living and the other dead; endowments for the living; and second anointings.”<sup>165</sup> The use of the Endowment House is beyond the scope of this paper, but the following number of ordinances were administered in it: 134,053 proxy baptisms for the dead; 54,170 endowments for the living (none were performed for the dead); 31,052 sealings in marriage for the living; 37,715 proxy sealings in marriage for the dead; and 694 second anointings.<sup>166</sup>

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

Scholars who have written about the significance and development of Mormon temple architecture and interior design, have passed over the Endowment House in their examination with little if any comment.<sup>167</sup> Only Hamilton in his *Mormon Architecture* gives it any—and quite cursory—attention. This neglect is perhaps understandable, because this simple and unassuming building was and con-

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<sup>164</sup>*Salt Lake City, Utah, 1898 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* (Chicago: Sanborn Company, 1898), Sheet 2.

<sup>165</sup>Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 168.

<sup>166</sup>Tingen, “Endowment House,” 15.

<sup>167</sup>See, for instance, David S. Andrew and Laurel B. Andrew, “The Four Mormon Temples in Utah,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30 (March 1971): 51–65; Laurel B. Andrew, “The Nineteenth Century

tinues to be overshadowed by the imposing temples built during its existence—the St. George Temple, Logan Temple, and Manti Temple. Furthermore, by 1893 when its successor on the Temple Square, the Salt Lake Temple, was finished, it had passed out of existence three and a half years earlier. Yet it exerted an influential role in the development of Church temple architecture and interior design.

The Endowment House was used to institutionalize many of the aspects of temple interior design which had only been temporary modifications to earlier structures used for ritual purposes. Indeed, the Endowment House set the pattern of permanent, separate lecture rooms for the endowment ritual, even assigning them the same names that had been used in the Nauvoo Temple (garden room, world room, etc.) But this influence goes far beyond just the names of the various rooms.

The physical arrangement of progressively ascending ordinance rooms, using stairs to emphasize the upward ascent, was first used in the Endowment House. It is not known if Young or Angell was responsible for this innovation, but it was clearly intentional. As persons left the reception room and entered the ground floor lecture rooms, they were required to descend three steps. As they passed through the various ground-floor rooms of the endowment ceremony, they ascended a step into each lecture room. After passing through all the ground-floor rooms, they ascended a wide stairway to the second-floor instruction room. James Dwight Tingen, a student of the Endowment House, astutely observed that this aspect of its interior design was a “physical attempt by the architect to imply to those progressing through the endowment ceremony that as they moved from room to room they were being raised up and were coming closer to our Father in Heaven.”<sup>168</sup> This pattern became standard in later temples, including those at Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake City, as well as in other temples. For example, a description of the Mesa Arizona Temple reads, “From the garden room, a flight of stairs, representing further progress, leads into a room depicting the ‘lone and dreary

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Temple Architecture of the Latter-day Saints” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1973); Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); Charles Mark Hamilton, “The Salt Lake Temple: An Architectural Monograph,” Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1978; [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*.

<sup>168</sup>Tingen, “Endowment House,” 11.

world,” and from there “up another flight of stairs in the progressive symbolism of the temple one enters the upper lecture room.”<sup>169</sup>

Not only this, but in the Endowment House the participants physically participated in the endowment in an ascending circular pattern. This innovation of ascending circular lecture rooms was not part of the conceptual interior of temples envisioned by Joseph Smith—a pattern that was defined by revelation for the Kirtland Temple and repeated in the Nauvoo Temple—of large assembly halls on the ground and second floors with opposing pulpits.<sup>170</sup> Smith’s pattern was not easily abandoned. In spite of his innovative Endowment House design, Angell’s plans for the interior of the St. George Temple followed the revealed pattern, or in the words of Lorenzo Snow, “the general features of the St. George Temple [were] in conformity to those of the Kirtland Temple”<sup>171</sup> One historian further observed that “its original interior arrangement [was] the same as the Nauvoo Temple’s with its two main halls and half stories.”<sup>172</sup> In the St. George Temple the arrangement of the original lecture rooms followed a pattern like the Nauvoo Temple’s; they were constructed with canvas partitions—though in the basement rather than in the attic like the Nauvoo Temple.<sup>173</sup> Likely the St. George Temple’s interior design was not entirely Angell’s decision, but was probably done at Brigham

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<sup>169</sup>Ira Judd, “Arizona Temple,” *Arizona Highways* 32 (April 1955): 23–24.

<sup>170</sup>For the “pattern” of the Kirtland Temple, see Doctrine and Covenants 94:2–5, 95:14–17; and for the Nauvoo Temple, see Weeks’s transverse drawing of the Nauvoo Temple, showing the framework for the two large halls. [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 68; Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 168–69.

<sup>171</sup>St. George Stake Historical Record, November 20, 1881, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*, CD-ROM.

<sup>172</sup>Hamilton, “The Salt Lake Temple,” 152.

<sup>173</sup>Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:292, mentions the partitions in preparing the temple for ordinance work: “I visited the Temple with President Young and we decided how to arrange the Rooms for Endowments.” He later made “arrangements about the Curtains,” probably referring to placing the partitions. *Ibid.*, 7:297. On January 1, 1877, Woodruff dedicated the basement rooms, saying, “We dedicate all the frame petitions with the Curtains and doors thereof,” which he called “the Creation, the Garden, the Telestial [and] the Terrestrial [rooms].” *Ibid.*, 7:305. In the dedicatory

Young's insistence.<sup>174</sup>

The revealed pattern was finally abandoned, but not without some resistance by Angell. Because of Angell's work load, his son, Truman O. Angell Jr, was given the responsibility for designing the Logan Temple.<sup>175</sup> The younger Angell followed the general style of his father's temple plans for the exterior of the St. George Temple, "primarily in the center towers," and of the Salt Lake Temple, both of which "made use of the castellated style and east-west tower groupings with the east being higher than the west."<sup>176</sup> He did not, however, have any allegiance to the interior two-hall plan. Instead, he drafted plans for "a series of progressively higher small ritual rooms occupying two floors," likely drawing on the decades of experience with the interior design of the Endowment House.<sup>177</sup> He sent his plans to President John Taylor with a cover letter, "Our late President Young said that it was not required that temples should all look alike, neither in the interior or exterior design and construction. I have the building planned for greater convenience but can easily change the location of said rooms if you see fit to order it so."<sup>178</sup>

Within two weeks Taylor gave his enthusiastic approval to

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prayer for the completed temple, Daniel H. Wells mentioned "the side rooms, with the partition walls . . . for the administering the Holy Ordinances of thy House." Quoted in Nels B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, 73. A renovation in 1903 included taking down the "screens" for cleaning. This arrangement endured until the lower court of the building's two courts was divided into lecture rooms in 1937–38. In 1974–75 extensive renovations were made to accommodate the movie version of the endowment. The renovation eliminated the creation room, the garden room, and the world room and replaced them with three new ordinance rooms that all fed into the terrestrial room, which opened through the veil into the celestial room. Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 48; Janice Force DeMille, *The St. George Temple: First Hundred Years* (Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishers, 1977), 89, 91–96, 110–18.

<sup>174</sup>[Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 109.

<sup>175</sup>Angell Jr. was not a formally trained architect but learned his craft while assisting his father. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 80 note 59.

<sup>176</sup>Andrew, *Early Temples*, 177; Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 153.

<sup>177</sup>Andrew, *Early Temples*, 177.

<sup>178</sup>Truman O. Angell Jr., Letter to John Taylor, May 8, 1878, LDS Church Library, as quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 68. Angell Jr.

Angell Jr.'s proposal, and the Logan Temple became the first temple with permanent progressive lecture rooms.<sup>179</sup> This decision set the stage for a confrontation between the Angells, father and son, over the Salt Lake Temple. After the dedication of the Logan Temple in May 1884, Angell Jr. returned to Salt Lake to assist his father. Within a year he developed similar interior plans for the Salt Lake Temple, which he submitted to Taylor with a cover letter comparing the revealed pattern with its "two large assembly rooms with two stands in each" with his new plans that he had "drawn up from a standpoint of experience and progression," clearly a reference to his experience with the Logan Temple.<sup>180</sup> Angell Jr.'s plans, drawn between February and March 1885, provided for a baptistry with its font and two dressings rooms in the center of the basement. Surrounding the baptistry stood nine washing and anointing rooms. On the eastern side, separated by a hallway, was the lower lecture (creation) room. Using the circular stairway in the southeastern corner tower, participants ascended to the ground floor. In Joseph Smith's model, the first floor contained the first large assembly hall; but here Angell Jr. divided the space into four quadrants, an arrangement similar to the Endowment House. The garden room (southeastern quadrant), the telestial room (southwestern), and the terrestrial room (northwest-

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was likely referring to Brigham Young's 1873 remarks when he said that he "asked the Lord what kind of a Temple should we Build & the Answer of the Lord was that He did not Make two things alike & we need not make two Temples alike so we need not look for two Temple alike." Quoted in Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:140-41. If this was not the incident, Angell Jr. might have been referring to a reported 1874 revelation to Young, quoted by Erastus Snow in a talk to the St. George Stake in 1881: "Oh, Lord how unto thy servants if we should build all temples after the same pattern? Do you after increasing your families build after the same pattern used when your family is small? So shall the growth of the knowledge of the principles of the Gospel among my people cause diversity in the pattern of Temples." "Revelations in Addition to Those Found in the LDS Edition of the D&C," quotation from the St. George Stake Historical Record, November 20, 1881, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*, CD-ROM.

<sup>179</sup>John Taylor, Letter to Truman O. Angell Jr., May 23-28, 1878, LDS Church Library, as quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 68.

<sup>180</sup>Truman O. Angell Jr., Letter to John Taylor, April 28, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69.

ern) were all equal in size, 39.5 feet by 44.5 feet. The celestial room (northeastern) was the larger: 39.5 feet by 70 feet.<sup>181</sup>

Although Angell Jr. included his father's name on his plans, Angell did not agree with his son's innovations. Before Angell Jr. even submitted his plans to Taylor, Angell sent his own letter to the president. He pointed out that Brigham Young had seen the temple in vision and that "the house was designed 34 years ago; and as I got the plans ready I took them to President Young and he approved them, both exterior and interior. . . . All we knew of temples then was what we had received through President [Joseph] Smith." He concluded, "It seems to me to alter the plans now would make a bad thing of the house. [But] I know it will do if you consent to the same."<sup>182</sup> It is not clear if Angell Jr. received the same approval for his proposal for the Salt Lake Temple that Taylor had extended to him for the Logan Temple. Even if Taylor agreed with Angell Jr. in principle, apparently he did not approve these specific plans. In 1886 Angell Jr. prepared two more revisions in an attempt to work out a satisfactory arrangement of the lecture rooms.<sup>183</sup>

However, neither the proposals of the father nor the son became the final design. Angell died on October 16, 1887. Angell Jr. continued as temple architect, and he was sustained as Church architect during the October 1889 general conference.<sup>184</sup> There is no indication that he did any further work on the interior design. Instead he turned his attention to the exterior, especially to the final form of the spires. At the April 1890 general conference, he was replaced by Joseph Don Carlos Young, a son of Brigham Young, who brought the temple's interior to completion. In principle Young followed Angell Jr.'s plan but relocated the garden room to

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<sup>181</sup>The plans are reproduced in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 70–71. A sealing room, 39 by 21.5 feet, appears between the garden and celestial rooms, with a hallway on its north side, which allowed passage between the two lecture rooms.

<sup>182</sup>Truman O. Angell, Letter to John Taylor, March 11, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69. Angell Jr.'s plans were submitted to Taylor April 28, 1885.

<sup>183</sup>Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 70; Angell Jr.'s plans, dated May and September 1886, appear on pp. 184–85.

<sup>184</sup>"Death of Truman O. Angell, Sr.," *Deseret Evening News*, October 17, 1887, 3; Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 81.

the northeastern corner of the basement. He then “revised the second [ground] floor by resolving the access corridor and dividing the remaining area into quadrant rooms arranged in a counter clock-wise movement.” This arrangement consisted of four quadrants, again reminiscent of the Endowment House. With the garden room in the basement, which provided additional space, he “subdivided the [southeastern] quadrant into sealing rooms, sealing annex, and the Holy of Holies.”<sup>185</sup> To his plans he also included steps when entering each of the rooms to reinforce the upward ascent of those being endowed. One of Young’s plans for this floor even included a heavy directional arrow showing that the circular flow from room to room was an intentional spatial device.<sup>186</sup>

Dale Van Boman, who wrote his thesis on the baptismal font, observed that the interior plans for the Salt Lake Temple “were altered [by Joseph D. C. Young] to follow a circular arranged system of Endowment rooms which had been formulated in the Logan and Manti Temples and in the Endowment House,” but neglected to mention that the Endowment House was the primary inspiration for the two temples.<sup>187</sup> Richard O. Cowan more accurately observed, “As early as 1855, the Endowment House . . . had set a new pattern, providing separate lecture rooms where different phases of man’s eternal life might be taught as part of the Endowment presentation. The lower portion of the Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake Temples (all completed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century) followed a similar plan.”<sup>188</sup> Indeed, one might say that the interior design by Angell Jr. and Young reflected the senior Angell’s legacy of the Endowment House’s progressive, circular, ascending lecture rooms.

However, this influence was not the least of the Endowment House’s influence on temple design and furnishings. The temporary lecture rooms in the Nauvoo Temple and the Council House had limited furnishings; only altars are actually mentioned in the accounts. However, there very well may have been some chairs, since the cere-

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<sup>185</sup>[Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 57.

<sup>186</sup>See plan reproduced in *ibid.*, 78.

<sup>187</sup>Boman, “LDS Temple Baptismal Font,” 9.

<sup>188</sup>Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 362–63.



mony lasted several hours.<sup>189</sup> If there were chairs, they were loaned for use only as long as they were needed and were returned to the owners along with all the furnishings when ordinance work ceased.<sup>190</sup> The Endowment House, however, was the first building to include planned permanent seating (benches) for participants to use, fulfilling the obvious needs of the participants. Each of the lecture rooms had benches around the walls with enough room to seat those using the rooms. When the St. George Temple was completed in 1877, its partitioned lecture rooms were furnished with benches—probably from the experience gained in the Endowment House. However, instead of being arranged around the perimeter of the room, they were repositioned into rows to accommodate more people.<sup>191</sup> The benches were fashioned from red pine and were “curved and shaped from 10 to 12 inch planks, being held together with a groove and spline joint.”<sup>192</sup> Subsequent temples routinely included such seating. Benches were installed in the Logan and Manti temples, and they were also planned for the Salt Lake Temple, but by the time the latter was finished, theater seating was substituted instead.<sup>193</sup> Benches continued to be used in only a few other temples, such as the Manti Temple to this day; nearly all of the

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<sup>189</sup>Neither chairs, nor benches were mentioned in the descriptions of the furnishings of the ordinance rooms in the Nauvoo Temple or Council House. Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 367–73; Hyde, *Mormonism*, 91–99. From available sources, it is possible to determine the approximate sizes of the Nauvoo Temple ordinances rooms. The two smallest ordinance rooms, the terrestrial and telestial rooms, were both about 12.5 feet by 20 feet. By computation, you could comfortably place about 18–20 chairs around the partition walls, which would have accommodated most of the members of an average endowment company—if not everyone, at least the women. The garden room, which was about 24.5 feet by 28 feet, obviously would have had enough room for chairs among the potted plants.

<sup>190</sup>Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 374.

<sup>191</sup>In his dedicatory prayer for the basement rooms of the St. George Temple, Wilford Woodruff mentioned the “Benches and all materials which Shall be used in the seating of thy People in the rooms of this house.” Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:305.

<sup>192</sup>Thomas Weston Welch, “Early Mormon Woodworking at its Best: A Study of the Craftsmanship in the First Temple in Utah” (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983), 27.

<sup>193</sup>Benches can be seen in a recent photographs of the Manti Temple

other temples have theater-style seating.

Another element of the Endowment House's interior design was the use of living potted plants in the garden room. This practice began in Nauvoo with the introduction of the endowment in Joseph Smith's store, where potted plants were temporarily placed in the upper room. Brigham Young had potted plants incorporated in the decor of the Nauvoo Temple's attic garden room compartment.<sup>194</sup> He also included dwarf mountain pines in boxes in a similar room in the Council House. The purpose of such decoration was to make the room look "something like a garden."<sup>195</sup> The Endowment House continued the practice. A holdover of this practice may have been continued with the use of artificial plants in the garden room of the St. George Temple, well into the 1970s when the temple was remodeled.<sup>196</sup>

Perhaps the Endowment House's greenhouse reflected, in part, Young's fondness for the greenery of living plants in the temple. Even if this was not the case, he obviously wanted to expand the use of actual plants in the garden room, because he asked Angell to include a full conservatory as the garden room for the Salt Lake Temple. The architect explained, "President Young said all along he meant to have a real garden and a house suitable to the accommodation of the same in connection within the [Salt Lake] Temple. This he urged on my mind for quarter of a century."<sup>197</sup> Angell responded by designing a free-standing conservatory, attached to the temple on its southern

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lecture rooms. Manti Temple Centennial Committee, *The Manti Temple*, 100–101; *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church Curriculum Department, 1999), 46–47. Both Angell Jr and Joseph Don Carlos Young's plans for the Salt Lake Temple included benches in the lecture rooms. Plans in [Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 70, 71, 75. However, "permanent adjustable seats" were installed instead. *House of the Lord* (Cannon, 1893), 15. Also see photographs of lecture rooms with benches in the Cardston Alberta Temple. Ensign, *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988) 3–5.

<sup>194</sup>Brown, "Sacred Department," 370.

<sup>195</sup>Hyde, *Mormonism*, 93.

<sup>196</sup>Paul L. Anderson, personal communication, April 4, 2008.

<sup>197</sup>Angell, Letter to John Taylor, March 11, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69.

side and reached through a short passageway.<sup>198</sup>

Angell Jr.'s design for the temple interior did not include a conservatory, which was one of Angell's principal objections to his son's proposal. Angell Jr.'s plan placed the garden room on the ground floor and his only concession to greenery in the garden room was a single potted plant in a front corner.<sup>199</sup> Joseph Don Carlos Young restored Brigham Young's desire for "a real garden" by relocating the garden room to the basement and attaching a narrow conservatory along the temple's exterior southern wall. As originally completed, the Salt Lake Temple had two "large doorways opening directly into a conservatory of living plants" from the garden room.<sup>200</sup> This conservatory functioned until the late 1920s or the early 1930s, when it was torn down and the doorways enclosed.<sup>201</sup>

If the Endowment House was the final building to have a garden room of potted living plants, it was the first to have a mural to enhance its pastoral setting. This wall painting was an innovation, which had not been used before.<sup>202</sup> It is not known who was responsible for this decision. Perhaps it was the suggestion of William Ward, the artist who was then serving as Church architect. Ward's mural became the inspiration for murals in subsequent temples. The St. George

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<sup>198</sup>See plan in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *House of the Lord*, 64. Patrons entered the garden room conservatory through a doorway from the creation room and left through a doorway to an intermediate landing on the stairway leading to the next floor.

<sup>199</sup>Plan in *ibid.*, 71. The single potted plant was probably meant to represent the tree of knowledge of good and evil with its forbidden fruit.

<sup>200</sup>Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 186.

<sup>201</sup>Paul C. Richards, "The Salt Lake Temple Infrastructure: Studying it Out in Their Minds," *BYU Studies*, 36 (1996–97): 209.

<sup>202</sup>There is archaeological evidence that a wall painting, pastoral in color scheme, once existed in the northwestern corner of the second floor room in Joseph Smith's Nauvoo store. However, there is no evidence that it was connected with the temple ceremonies conducted in the room, and it may have even been painted after the Mormons left Nauvoo. David Hyrum Smith, Joseph Smith's artistic son, lived for a time in the store and may have painted it. Nevertheless, it is suggestive that a pastoral mural existed on the walls of the very room where the endowment was initially administered. Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigation at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973), 73–74.

Temple was the first temple to have the walls of its garden room in the basement covered with a mural; three artists—Dan Weggeland, C. C. A. Christensen and Samuel Jepperson—were commissioned to create these murals in 1881.<sup>203</sup> One author recognized that Ward’s Endowment House mural was the “forerunner” to the St. George Temple murals, because it had inspired these artists, “who without doubt had seen them.”<sup>204</sup> The pattern was continued when Weggeland, William Armitage, and Reuben Kirkham painted murals in the Logan Temple in 1883–84.<sup>205</sup> Weggeland and Christensen also painted murals in the Manti Temple.<sup>206</sup> In 1892 Weggeland, John Hafen, and John B. Fairbanks completed the murals for the Salt Lake Temple.<sup>207</sup> When temples were constructed beyond Utah, murals continued to be part of the interior decoration, including those located at Laie, Hawaii

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<sup>203</sup>O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14–15. Weggeland and Jepperson were likely chosen for this commission, because of their work in painting the ceiling and cornice in the Logan Temple. Cope, “John Fairbanks,” 114. The original St. George Temple murals no longer exist, having been painted over in 1937–38 when the lecture rooms were moved to the next floor in order to make more room in the basement. Andrew Karl Larsen, *I Was Called to Dixie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 592. Joseph A. F. Everett and Peter M. Kamps painted murals in the new lecture rooms. When the temple was remodeled in 1974–75, these lecture rooms were altered for the film endowment, so that “long-time patrons [would] notice many changes, such as the absence of the murals.” DeMille, *St. George Temple*, 115. Some murals on canvas were saved; and some, though not all, have been reinstalled in the St. George Temple. Paul L. Anderson, personal communication, April 4, 2008.

<sup>204</sup>O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14.

<sup>205</sup>A newspaper article also recognized a “Brother Hurst” for his “ceiling decorations.” “The Event at Logan,” *Deseret News*, May 28, 1884, 8. See also, O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 13–14. When the Logan Temple was entirely gutted to incorporate the film version of the endowment in 1976–77, the Garden Room mural, which was painted directly on the plaster, was destroyed. The Creation Room and World Room had canvas-mounted murals that were removed and preserved by the Church Historical Department. But the renovated building had “no beautiful murals on the walls as formerly.” Nolan Porter Olsen, *Logan Temple: The First Hundred Years* (Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, 1978), 109–13, 218. See also, O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14–21.

<sup>206</sup>O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 18–19.

<sup>207</sup>*Ibid.*, 21.

(1919); Cardston, Alberta, (1923); Mesa, Arizona (1927), Idaho Falls (1945); and Los Angeles (1956). With the adoption of the filmed endowment in the Bern Switzerland Temple in the 1950s and the abandonment of progressive lecture rooms for a single ordinance room, the use of murals temporarily ceased. Indeed, the use of film “replaced the painted murals on temple walls, and single projection rooms replaced a series of themed rooms through which patrons normally made procession.”<sup>208</sup> It was not until the reconstruction of the temple at Nauvoo, Illinois (2001), the first temple to have progressive ordinance rooms since the 1950s, that murals were once again painted on lecture room walls. The response to the pleasant and dramatic effect of the Nauvoo Illinois Temple murals resulted in a resurgence of murals being included in subsequently constructed temples.<sup>209</sup> The beautiful murals in Mormon temples are the legacy of William Ward’s mural in the Endowment House’s garden room.

The Endowment House also contained the first sealing room specifically designed for marriages. During Joseph Smith’s lifetime, marriage sealings occurred in a variety of places, usually private homes. Brigham Young’s private office in the Nauvoo Temple, in which an altar was installed, doubled as a sealing room. Young’s room opened directly into the celestial room. Before the construction of the Endowment House, sealings continued to be administered in a number of localities, including the upper room of Brigham Young’s office, the Council House, and private residences.<sup>210</sup> Angell included a sealing room adjacent to the Celestial Room in his original plans. However, the Endowment House sealing room was not equivalent to a sealing room in a temple. In a discourse given in 1873, Brigham Young observed: “There are many ordinances of the house of God

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<sup>208</sup>Randy Castle and Gideon O. Burton, “A History of Mormon Cinema,” *BYU Studies* 46, no. 2 (2007): 72.

<sup>209</sup>A search of the online archive of the *Church News*, 1988 to the present, shows that the following recently dedicated temples have ordinance room murals: Palmyra New York, Columbia River Washington, Snowflake Arizona, Hague Netherlands, Brisbane Australia, Accra Ghana, Manhattan New York, Copenhagen Denmark, Newport Beach, and Aba Nigeria, <http://www.desnews.com/cn/> (accessed May 15, 2008).

<sup>210</sup>Notes on ordinances administered outside the temple, 1854–56, from microfilm 25165, pt. 9, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

that must be performed in a Temple.” He used as an example, “We also have the privilege of sealing women to men, without a Temple. This we can do in the Endowment House; but when we come to other sealing ordinances, ordinances pertaining to the holy Priesthood, to connect the chain of the Priesthood from father Adam until now, by sealing children to their parents, being sealed for our forefathers, etc., they cannot be done without a Temple. But we can seal women to men, but not men to men, without a Temple.”<sup>211</sup> Yet the inclusion of a sealing room in the Endowment House largely curtailed the practice of non-temple marriage sealings, insuring the inclusion of such rooms in all subsequent temples. Indeed, nearly all temples now have more than one sealing room.<sup>212</sup>

The Endowment House was also the first to have its own cooking facilities. The practice of providing meals had begun in the Nauvoo Temple, where a pantry was located just outside the attic lecture rooms, but there were no cooking facilities. Members simply brought food for themselves and those who officiated in the ceremonies.<sup>213</sup> As noted earlier in this study, this practice was also adopted in the Endowment House and was expanded by providing cooking facilities to prepare food, probably in the building’s southern exten-

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<sup>211</sup>Brigham Young, September 4, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:186. In the same discourse he said, “Neither will children be sealed to their living parents in any other place than a Temple,” and “No one can receive endowments for another, until a Temple is prepared in which to administer them.” *Ibid.*, 167-87. The sealing of men to men was the principle of adoption. For a discussion of rise and fall of this practice, see Gordon I. Irving, “The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900,” *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291–314.

<sup>212</sup>All Mormon temples (over fifty in number) built before the smaller temple program began in 1997, had multiple sealing rooms. The first of the smaller temples (in Monticello, Utah; Anchorage, Alaska; and Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico) dedicated in 1998, had only one sealing room. Beginning with the Columbus Ohio Temple in 1999, all the smaller temples were enlarged, including an additional sealing room. The Monticello Utah Temple was remodeled in 2002 and a second sealing room was added. The Anchorage Alaska Temple was also enlarged in 2003–04, but no sealing room was added, leaving it and the Colonia Juarez Temple as the only temples with single sealing rooms. *2008 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Morning News, 2008, 505–73.

<sup>213</sup>Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 367.

sion. Kitchen facilities for feeding those engaged in temple work continued with the construction of the Utah temples. A kitchen was provided in the Logan Temple annex when it was enlarged in August 1884 to include a dining room and bedrooms for two cooks.<sup>214</sup> The Salt Lake Temple annex included “kitchen and dining facilities for temple workers and patrons.”<sup>215</sup> This practice continued for temples until October 1997, when President Gordon B. Hinckley announced his innovation of smaller temples, which excluded cafeterias in those under a certain size. The Endowment House institutionalized permanent cooking facilities, which has continued and expanded into the well-equipped cafeterias in larger temples today.

Other features were also first seen in the Endowment House. The use of more than one veil segment was first introduced in the Endowment House, undoubtedly as a means to expedite the endowment ceremony. Multiple veil segments were adopted generally thereafter. For example, the Salt Lake Temple first had four such segments, and it was later extended to the present twenty-four.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, the Endowment House was the first building used for temple ordinances which had its own annex-foyer with rest rooms, where patrons presented their recommends, had their names and other information recorded, and assembled before entering the sacred precincts proper. Earlier structures temporarily used rooms adjacent to the lecture rooms for such purposes. Annexes have become a standard architectural design of many temples. Additionally, it was the first building to provide for permanent dressing rooms for the convenience of patrons, a feature later incorporated into all temples or their annexes.

Although the Endowment House lacked any exterior symbolism, symbols were incorporated into part of the building’s interior decoration. They included representations of the square, compass, level, and plumb on the garden room walls, the depiction of sun, moon and stars in the same room, and flaming swords over the door in the world room. Although rare today, interior symbols painted on the walls continue to be used in some current temples, such as the

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<sup>214</sup>“Logan Temple,” *Contributor 5* (June 1884), Infobases, *LDS Collectors Library 2005*, CD-ROM; Olsen, *Logan Temple*, 184.

<sup>215</sup>Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1968), 202.

<sup>216</sup>Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 189; Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1968), 207.



grip of fides (or fraternal handclasp) and the all-seeing eye, on the ceiling coping in the garden room of the Salt Lake Temple.<sup>217</sup>

In sum, the influence of the Endowment House on future temples was considerable. Church leaders and architects drew, perhaps unconsciously, on the experience gained through this temporary temple when designing and furnishing the four Utah temples, and that influence continued with those built during the early twentieth century. It is unfortunate that the Endowment House was demolished, which largely masked this influence. If it still stood, it would be a constant reminder of that legacy.

### CONCLUSION

The Endowment House has been largely overlooked and unappreciated. In this paper I have attempted to reclaim the importance of the building by recreating for the reader its exterior and interior appearance, as well as briefly describing its influence on the development of later Latter-day Saint temple architecture and interior design. However, it was a “Temple Pro Tempore” in many respects, principally as a place for conducting sacerdotal rites while actual temples were under construction, and as a vehicle for advancing temple interior design. It fulfilled both of these purposes admirably. However, the real significance of the building was not so much in its physical structure or interior furnishings, but as a sacred edifice of spiritual enlightenment and blessings for the thousands of Latter-day Saints who passed through its precincts during its brief existence. Matthias F. Cowley praised it: “It would be difficult even to estimate the sacred influence which that building has exercised upon the lives of untold thousands who felt themselves within its sacred precincts in the presence of their God.”<sup>218</sup> To them the Endowment House was literally the House of the Lord.

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<sup>217</sup>A photograph showing these symbols in the garden room appears in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 92.

<sup>218</sup>Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 372.