

William Weeks and the Ephemeral Temple at Nauvoo

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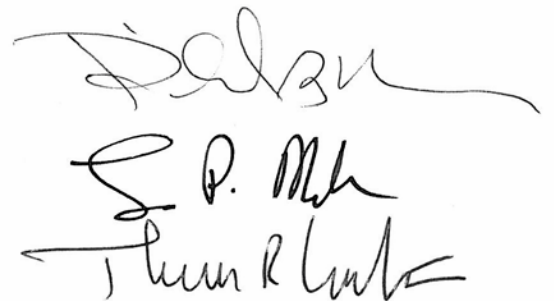
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Three handwritten signatures in black ink. The top signature is a stylized, cursive name. The middle signature appears to be 'S. P. Mh'. The bottom signature is 'Steven R. Cornell'.

Prospectus

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Central to the early Mormon concept of the City of Zion was the temple. Confronting violent opposition in Ohio and Missouri, in 1839 the Mormons fled to their new Zion at Nauvoo, Illinois situated along a horseshoe bend on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River. In 1840, work on a new temple commenced which would define and establish the permanency of Mormonism. The primitive theology and ritual surrounding the first Mormon temple in Ohio, developed and evolved for the more grandiose temple planned at Nauvoo. However, as Joseph Smith introduced new and controversial doctrines violent opposition increased from both inside and outside the Church. The temple rituals adapted with the expanding doctrine and necessitated an increasingly complex architectural program both on the temple's interior and exterior. The larger Nauvoo Temple, while generally following the established prototype at Kirtland, assumed new functions and forms not anticipated during its initial planning and construction.

The thesis will reexamine William Weeks's involvement as architect in the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple, in collaboration with Joseph Smith. In particular, as architect, William Weeks materialized a definitive moment in Mormonism's evolving cultural identity by reshaping ritual space, establishing Mormon material identity and introducing mystery and complexity in the ephemeral Nauvoo temple (1841-1846). The Nauvoo temple became the iconic symbol of Mormonism's revolutionary doctrinal teachings during the Nauvoo period.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

As architect, William Weeks materialized a definitive moment in Mormonism's evolving cultural identity by reshaping ritual space, establishing Mormon material identity and introducing mystery and complexity in the ephemeral Nauvoo temple (1841-1846). The Nauvoo temple became the iconic symbol of Mormonism's revolutionary doctrinal teachings during the Nauvoo period and its bombastic broadcast atop a prominent bluff overlooking the Mississippi River amplified the already harsh antipathy of the opposition.

On February 9, 1846, "The Twelve [Apostles] met in the attic and Brigham Young dedicated the temple thus far completed, leaving the building in the hands of the Lord,"¹ and the Mormons subsequently abandoned their shining City of Zion. The Nauvoo temple, the principle remaining artifact of Joseph Smith's utopian vision, remained a powerful symbol of Mormonism's presence and on May 13, 1846, *The Daily Missouri Republican* reported on the decision to sell the temple indicating that it would "cut off the last and only motive which could exist to induce them [the Mormons] to stay in Nauvoo, or to return to it at any future time."² Finally, on March 11, 1848, the temple was sold to David T. LeBaron, the brother-in-law of temple Trustee Almon Babbitt for a mere \$5,000.³ However, the sale of the temple did little to placate the hate riddled sentiments held by the enemies of Mormonism and on October 9, 1848, shrouded in quiet darkness, the great Mormon temple erupted into a chaos of intense heat and light in the early morning hours as fire seethed within its limestone walls and exploded violently

¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church. 7:580.

² *Daily Missouri Republican*. 13 May 1846.

through the delicate wood windows, ultimately breaching the conflicting chill of the autumn air. The calm ripples of the legendary Mississippi distorted the glowing spectacle on the bluff into an absurd dance, amplifying its agonizing and violent death across the gently undulating landscape of western Illinois.^{4,5}

Although the morning was tolerably dark, still, when the flames shot upwards, the spire, the streets and houses for nearly a mile distant were lighted up, so as to render even the smallest objects discernible. The glare of the vast torch, pointing skyward, indescribably contrasted with the universal gloom and darkness around it; and men looked on with faces sad as if the crumbling ruins below were consuming all their hopes.⁶

The ultimate desecration of the Nauvoo temple resulted from the collective effort of the enemies of the Mormon Church intent on eradicating the infant faith and evicting its lingering members remaining in the moribund city following the mass exodus of the Mormon Saints in 1846. Following the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's murder in 1844, the Nauvoo temple's own inevitable death became the culminating event marking what was to be the decisive defeat of Mormonism in Illinois. The *Warsaw Signal*, a press unequivocally antagonistic to Mormonism, reported: "The four blackened walls of stone will stand a monument of the rise, progress and downfall of one of the boldest and most nefarious systems of imposture of modern times."⁷ The brief physical existence and death of the Nauvoo temple epitomized the transient nature of the new Mormon faith and its certain and convincing demise in the eyes of its detractors. [Figure 1]

Less than a decade earlier in 1839, following ultimately fatal religious persecution in Missouri – a land proclaimed by Mormons as their Zion, the Saints revealed their

³ Hancock County Deeds, Book V. 93. The deed however was not recorded until November 12, 1848.

⁴ *Keokuk Register*, October 12, 1848.

⁵ Arrington, Joseph Earl. "Destruction of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo." 8. Arrington reports that the suspected arsonist was likely Joseph B. Agnew.

⁶ *Nauvoo Patriot*, October 9, 1848.

⁷ *Warsaw Signal*, October 12, 1848. The press was located in nearby Warsaw, Illinois. *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*. December, 1947. 7. The Warsaw Signal was well known for its bias against the Mormons.

zealous optimism and resilient vision upon arriving in the muddy environs of their future Nauvoo. There, situated on a horseshoe bend of the Mississippi River the Saints began building their Zion anew and on April 6, 1841, the cornerstones of that enigmatic sanctuary, the Nauvoo temple, were placed amid ostentatious ceremony.⁸

As the central fixture of the city, the Nauvoo temple was described at the time as “a style of architecture which no Greek nor Goth nor Frank ever dreamed ... the style of architecture is exclusively the Prophet’s own and must be known as the Mormon Order.”⁹ Joseph Smith remarked: “I know of nothing better than for you to call it ‘Jo Smith’s order.’”¹⁰ Charles Lanman at the time described the temple in stylistically ambivalent terms as “principally after the Roman style of architecture, somewhat intermixed with Grecian and Egyptian.”¹¹ [Figure 2 and 3] In reality, the design of the Nauvoo temple resulted from close collaboration between patron and architect. Joseph Smith was responsible for the conceptual beginnings of the temple and William Weeks, a talented twenty-eight year old appointed architect by Smith, was responsible for executing the initial concept, expanding upon it, and at length constructing the monumental form it assumed.

The temple measured eighty-eight feet north to south by one hundred twenty-

⁸ Flanders, Robert Bruce. Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. 56. Flanders published population estimates which were reported by several sources but appear to have been at least 10,000 by the end of 1842, and could have been as high as 16,000 with several thousand others in surrounding counties which would have rivaled with Chicago, Alton, Springfield, Quincy and Galena, Illinois.

⁹ Journal History; June 12, 1844. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church Archives. Quoted in Colvin, Don F. A Historical Study of the Temple at Nauvoo. Thesis, Brigham Young University, August 1962.

¹⁰ *Burlington Hawkeye*. February 12, 1846.

¹¹ Lanman, Charles. A Summer in the Wilderness. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1847. Cited in Colvin, Don F. A Historical Study of the Temple at Nauvoo. Thesis, Brigham Young University, August 1962.

eight feet east to west.¹² The walls from the ground to the eaves measured approximately sixty feet, while the temple reached an overall height of one hundred fifty-eight feet six inches to the top of the tower.”¹³ The exterior walls of the temple were comprised of a locally quarried gray limestone. Formally, the triple arched entrance vestibule of the principal façade evoked a triumphal arch, “symbolizing the transition from the realm of...the human to that of the divine.”¹⁴ Framing the window elements, the perimeter walls were adorned with thirty pilasters, each embellished with a moonstone base and sunstone capital, a distinctly Mormon architectural innovation at Nauvoo. In place of the Classical Greek pediment above the stone portico of the principal elevation was a stick-framed third story, derived more from commercial rather than religious typologies, which permitted access to the attic space from the north and south stair towers. The rectangular pediment was ornamented with pilasters framing rectangular sash windows. Balanced above the rectangular pediment stood a tall octagonal tower, a four tiered extrusion with a recumbent angel, trumpet in hand, mounted at the apogee announcing Mormonism’s message of the restoration of the ancient Christian gospel to the world.

The interior of the temple included four principal floors: a basement floor, ground floor, second floor and attic, with an additional ground floor and second floor mezzanine located at the north and south periphery of the exterior walls. [Figure 4-9] The peripheral spaces of the basement and attic, as well as the mezzanine levels, were reserved as office spaces while the ground floor, second floor and the central areas of the basement floor and attic were dedicated to the specialized liturgical functions of the

¹² *Times and Seasons*. December 2, 1844. Cited in Colvin, Don F. A Historical Study of the Temple at Nauvoo. Thesis, Brigham Young University, August 1962.

¹³ *The Nauvoo Neighbor*, July 30, 1845. Cited in Colvin, Don F. A Historical Study of the Temple at Nauvoo. Thesis, Brigham Young University, August 1962.

temple ceremonies. Elongated arched windows illuminated the main and second floor spaces while diminutive semi-circular arched windows were placed in the offices around the periphery of the basement. Circular windows were placed in the mezzanine spaces above the main floor and smaller circular windows hidden in the frieze illuminated the office spaces of the second floor mezzanine. The office spaces of the attic were illuminated by dormer windows partially hidden behind a rooftop balustrade while the central attic space was ceremoniously illuminated by a series of skylights penetrating the ridge of the roof.

Just four years following the Nauvoo temple's completion the four blackened walls which remained after the fire of 1848 succumbed to the forces of a freak tornado and collapsed into a heap of rubble, leaving only the principal façade weakly intact.¹⁵

[Figure 10] Parley P. Pratt, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles recalled in 1857:

On the way we saw Nauvoo and the ruins of the temple in the distance. This called up reflections which I will not attempt to describe. I thought of the Temple and city in their glory; of the twenty thousand Saints once busy there; of the vast congregations once assembled there in prayer and praise; of the martyred Prophet and Saints; of the wholesale murder and plunder perpetrated by ruthless mobs. I thought of my once happy but now fallen country. I greatly desired relief by tears, but tears would not come to my relief. I felt too deeply; but I felt some relief in assuming myself that at last justice could triumph and righteousness reign.¹⁶

News of the temple's destruction elicited bittersweet reaction on the part of the

¹⁴ Turner, Harold W. "From Temple to Meetinghouse: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship." University of Aberdeen. *Religion and Society*, 16. 1979. 24.

¹⁵ St. Joseph Adventure, 28 June 1850. "27 May 1850 – During 1849-1850 the Icarians had begun to repair the Temple, placing a series of new piers in the basement, planning on refurbishing the building for their use. On this day, as they were working, a tornado suddenly arose and toppled the north wall, leaving the east and south walls severely damaged. The workmen barely escaped with their lives, scrambling out of the ruins in stinging hail, pouring rain, thunder and lightening, all accompanied by violent winds." ; Harrington and Harrington. *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*. 6. 28 May 1850 -- Nauvoo city officials "declared that the southern and eastern walls would soon fall down, and that to avoid any serious accident, it was better to destroy them." The walls were then razed, leaving only the west facade standing. *Deseret News*. 24 Aug 1850.

¹⁶ Proctor, Scot Facer and Proctor Maureen Jensen, ed. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt: Revised and*

Mormon refugees in the deserts of the west. Brigham Young, Smith's theocratic successor, later recalled, "I hoped to see it burned before I left, but I did not. I was glad when I heard of its being destroyed by fire, and of the walls having fallen in, and said, 'Hell, you cannot now occupy it.'"¹⁷ In 1865 the *Carthage Republican* reported: "The last remaining vestage [sic] of what the famous Mormon temple was in its former glory has disappeared, and nothing now remains to mark its site but heaps of broken stone and rubbish."¹⁸

The architectural typology of the Nauvoo temple derived largely from the primitive proto-temple erected in Kirtland, Ohio in the 1830s. Nauvoo's designers integrated equivalent assembly spaces, yet supplemented these with new ritual space and sculptural innovations intrinsic to the developing theology in Nauvoo. [Figure 11] The Nauvoo temple further monumentalized the iconic typology and established its permanence and primacy in Mormon architecture. A notable Nauvoo temple scholar, Don F. Colvin, argued: "Nauvoo and its central structure, the temple, were to remain a silent symbol of the industry, faith, sacrifice, ideals, and dreams of its builders."¹⁹ Colvin's appraisal is accurate, but he failed to consider that the Nauvoo temple was also typified by the secrecy, volatility, and violence of the Nauvoo period, largely a result of the introduction and development of new doctrine and ritual practices. The most controversial of these invented practices became the culminating ritual of the Nauvoo temple, "The new and everlasting covenant" of marriage, which included in its scope the

Enhanced Edition. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company. 2000. 546. Entry dated October 17, 1857.

¹⁷ *Journal of Discourses*. 8:202-03. October 8, 1860. Brigham Young was the successor to Joseph Smith and played an integral role in realizing the completion of the Nauvoo temple.

¹⁸ *Carthage Republican*, February 2, 1865.

¹⁹ Colvin, Don. F. "Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith." Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 2002. 12.

practice of polygamy.²⁰ William Clayton, a personal secretary to Joseph Smith, recorded:

At 1 went to the temple with Ruth, Margaret and Diantha. We waited until about 8 o'clock before we could be waited on. We then dressed and then went into Room No. 1 and were sealed to each other on the alter by President B. Young.²¹

The Nauvoo Temple became the most significant and compelling structure in the inventory of Mormon architecture, both early and modern, arguably becoming more venerated with the passage of time and with its passage from memory. Its brief physical existence was memorialized as a macabre specter through rare misty daguerreotypes. [Figure 12-14] Without Weeks's involvement in design and construction, the Nauvoo temple would have achieved little, if any, distinction from the temple at Kirtland, by comparison a quaint sanctuary grounded in the architectural traditions of Protestant meetinghouse design. Despite its humble form, the Kirtland temple commenced a revolutionary shift in Mormon worship as the first example of the quintessential Mormon building type. Weeks supplemented the basic typological elements present at Kirtland and reinvented the temple to accommodate the developing doctrinal palette, ultimately realizing Joseph Smith's conceptual vision.

Scholarship on Weeks is sparse, in part due to his obscurity before and after the Nauvoo period and his eventual estrangement from the Mormon Church. Past consensus has consistently maintained that Weeks acted merely as a builder working under the design acumen of Joseph Smith. This limited assessment fails to recognize, however, the dynamic and collaborative relationship existing between Weeks and Smith, the result of

²⁰ Doctrine and Covenants 132: 4 and Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, Volume 5: 501-507. The Doctrine and Covenants is a compilation of revelations given through Joseph Smith and his successors contained in 138 sections or chapters, and two official declarations. As such it is regarded as canonical scripture in Mormon doctrine along with the Bible, The Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price, which contains the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham.

²¹ Smith, George D. ed. An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton. Signature Books: Salt Lake City, Utah. 1995. 197.

which exposed how the temple envisioned conceptually and structurally in Smith's mind was ultimately translated into architectural reality by Weeks. Weeks played an integral role as architect of the Nauvoo temple beginning with his profound contributions at the iterative stages of the development of the initial architectural concept. Furthermore, he refined and finalized the Nauvoo design, developed countless architectural details establishing its singular design and eventually directed the complex construction of the unique religious structure on the banks of the Mississippi. The materialization of the Nauvoo temple is a complicated narrative entwined by Joseph Smith's claim to receiving prophetic revelation regarding the design of the temple. The qualitative and empirical methodology by which the intangible "revelation" was translated into material form is fundamental to understanding Weeks's important contribution. In summation, in the brief span of five years, Weeks revolutionized the fledgling and provincial religion, monumentalized the Nauvoo temple and established the temple typology as a primary and permanent architectural fixture of Mormonism.

Chapter 2:

The Mormon Temple: A Brief Primer

The unpretentious advent of Mormonism began in the fertile religious milieu of the Great Awakening in 1820 in rural New York when a fourteen year old farmboy named Joseph Smith claimed to have received a divine vision. In 1823, the location of “Gold Plates,” containing an ancient record of the Americas, was ostensibly revealed to Smith. By 1830, the ancient record had been translated with the aid of “seer stones” out of their archaic reformed Egyptian into English and subsequently published in Palmyra, New York under the title of “The Book of Mormon.” The Book of Mormon presented the narrative of two civilizations on the pre-Columbian American continent. The first group, the Jaredites, migrated from Mesopotamia when God confounded the languages at the Tower of Babel.²² The second group consisted of a small band of Jewish émigrés led by a prophet out of Jerusalem around 600 B.C.E., who inherited a “promised land.”²³ The primary narrative played out over a period of approximately one thousand years with two rival nations emerging, the Nephites and the Lamanites. The Nephites were portrayed as a righteous, god-fearing nation while the Lamanites were portrayed as atheists and savages, their differences fueling the opposition.

The Book of Mormon account culminates when the resurrected Jesus Christ visited the Americas following his crucifixion in Jerusalem and established the American counterpart to the ancient Church of Christ, ushering in a millennial-like period of relative peace on the war torn continent, which lasted nearly four centuries. Both nations

²² The Book of Mormon. Ether 1:33. “Which Jared came forth with his brother and their families, with some others and their families, from the great tower, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people, and swore in his wrath that they should be scattered upon all the face of the earth; and according to the word of the Lord the people were scattered.”

ultimately fell into decadence, and the Nephites were annihilated, including women and children, in a final blood-bathed battle against the Lamanites circa 400 C.E. One survivor from the Nephite nation, Moroni, a prophet-historian, abridged the historical record and religious teachings of the civilization's brief history on gold plates and buried them in a hill named Cumorah prior to his death, located in what eventually became the state of New York.²⁴ These were subsequently recovered and translated by Smith in 1830 following a series of heavenly visitations by the same ancient steward Moroni, wherein Smith was instructed on their highest use. Shortly thereafter, on April 6, 1830, Smith organized the Church of Christ, which was considered a complete and exact restoration of the original church that Christ established.²⁵ The New Testament prophesy of a "restitution of all things" was literally understood by Smith to include all ancient "ordinances and duties" subject to the priesthood authority of any prior period.^{26,27}

Central to the Mormon idea of restitution was the establishment of the City of Zion, the New Jerusalem, or "City of God" which was considered the millennial counterpart to the ancient city of Jerusalem.^{28,29} By its faithful adherents, the Church of Jesus Christ of

²³ The Book of Mormon. 1 Nephi 2:20.

²⁴ There is a current conflict regarding the location of the Hill Cumorah, currently and historically Mormon ecclesiastical authorities have maintained that it was located in New York, while current scholarship posits the existence of a second Hill Cumorah in South America.

²⁵ Initially the church organized by Joseph Smith was known simply as the Church of Christ (see Doctrine and Covenants 20:1). At the organization of the church on April 6, 1830 the following was related "After prayer, the conference proceeded to discuss the subject of names and appellations, when a motion was made by Sidney Rigdon, and seconded by Newel K. Whitney, that this Church be known hereafter by the name of 'The Church of the Latter-day Saints.' Remarks were made by the members, after which the motion passed by unanimous vote," (Smith, Joseph. History of the Church 2:62-63) In April 1838, Joseph Smith received a revelation which expanded the name of the church to "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." (See Doctrine and Covenants 115:4).

²⁶ Bible King James Version. Acts 3:21-22.

²⁷ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church. 4:210-211: "For all the ordinances and duties that ever have been required by the Priesthood, under the directions and commandments of the Almighty in any of the dispensations, shall all be had in the last dispensation, therefore all things had under the authority of the Priesthood at any former period, shall be had again, bringing to pass the restoration spoken of by the mouth of all the Holy Prophets." See also Doctrine and Covenants 77:9-14.

²⁸ McConkie, Bruce R. Mormon Doctrine. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966. 532. See Revelation 3:12:

Latter-day Saints is believed to be the literal fulfillment of various Old Testament prophecies concerning the establishment of the spiritual (or ecclesiastical) kingdom of God in the last days. This kingdom of God is believed to reside within the walls of the City of Zion.³⁰ The revelation to the “Church of the Latter Day Saints”³¹ through Joseph Smith on March 7, 1831, in Kirtland, Ohio, introduced the theological concept of the City of Zion, and through the faith and effort of the Saints, on July 20, 1831 the precise location of Zion was revealed to be Independence, Missouri and was designated by the Lord to be “the land of promise, and the place for the City of Zion.”^{32, 33} Despite the substantial Mormon population in Kirtland, Ohio, Independence became designated as the center place of Zion, and within the boundaries of the sacred city on a lot consecrated by the Lord, a temple would be constructed.³⁴ Although Zion had been consecrated and

“Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my god, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name.”

²⁹ Doctrine and Covenants 45:65-67. “And with one heart and one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you.

And it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the Most High God; And the glory of the Lord shall be there, and the terror of the Lord also shall be there, insomuch that the wicked will not come unto it, and it shall be called Zion.”

³⁰ Isaiah 2:2 which states: “in the last days, that the mountain of Lord’s House shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.”

³¹ At this time the name of the church existed in abbreviated form, it was later changed to “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

³² Doctrine and Covenants 45:64-67. “Wherefore I, the Lord, have said, gather ye out from the eastern lands, assemble ye yourselves together ye elders of my church; go ye forth into the western countries, call upon the inhabitants to repent, and inasmuch as they do repent, build up churches unto me. And with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you. And it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the Most High God; And the glory of the Lord shall be there, and the terror of the Lord also shall be there, insomuch that the wicked will not come unto it, and it shall be called Zion.”

“Western countries” here refers to Missouri. Previously in Doctrine and Covenants 28:9 the location of Zion was hinted to be near the western frontier of the United States on the borders of the Indian (Lamanite) Territory, “And now, behold, I say unto you that it is not revealed, and no man knoweth where the city Zion shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter. Behold, I say unto you that it shall be on the borders by the Lamanites.”

³³ Doctrine and Covenants 57:1.

³⁴ Doctrine and Covenants 57:3. “And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse.”

dedicated in August of 1831, and inhabited by the Saints beginning at that time, due to increasing political and religious opposition in Missouri the official plat for the City of Zion bearing the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, was not sent to the “brethren in Zion” until June 25, 1833. [Figures 15-16]

The central idea of the plan was a multitude of temples with one principle temple, shown on an unsigned and crudely drafted sheet depicting the plan, front and side elevations alongside an articulate description.³⁵ The principle temple in the scheme was described as “The house of the Lord for the Presidency” and was to be one of twenty-four similar temples, or “houses of worship, schools, etc.” which were to accommodate the projected 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants of the proposed City of Zion.³⁶ Each of the planned twenty-four “houses of worship, schools, etc” was to be at least as large as the specifications found in the drawings for the principal temple of the Presidency, but was to be dedicated to and managed by the various quorums in the two levels of Mormon Priesthood, the Aaronic and Melchizedek.³⁷ [Figure 17-18]

The initial architectural designs for the “House of God” were promptly superseded with a revised set in July, 1833. [Figure 19-20] This was signed by Frederick G. Williams, second counselor in the First Presidency, and was produced to correct oversights in the original.³⁸ Elwin C. Robison³⁹, an important scholar of the Kirtland

³⁵ The unsigned set of rough drawings for the temple included just one sheet with the plan and specifications on the front, and front and side elevations and written specifications on the back. Robison, page 9 and 12. Temple plans were sent with the plat by in the summer of 1833. Description found in Smith, Joseph. History of the Church 1: 359-62. Robison argues the inexperience of the First Presidency in construction contributed in part to the lack of refinement of the drawings.

³⁶ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 1:357-59.

³⁷ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church 1:357-59.

³⁸ Hamilton, 17-19. Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. The revised plat was prepared by Frederick G. Williams to correct oversights in the original plat and was sent to Bishop Edward Partridge in Independence in August of 1833. In the revised plat the total area was increased from 1 mile to 1.5 miles square, the number of half acre lots was increased from 968 to 2,600 which reduced the average number of people projected per lot from an

temple suggested that apart from the improved draftsmanship the revised edition effectively added four windows to the long side of the building, thereby extending it ten feet.⁴⁰ The select architectural elements included in the specifications and drawing set were the windows and doors “with Gothic tops,” a “middle window” and doors on the facade with “side lights,” two elliptically arched halls one directly above the other, “Venetian blinds” details for all doors and windows, the addition of “a belfry” above the roof structure and a fanlight in the pediment, both in the east end.⁴¹

Due to increased pressure and persecution in Missouri, plans to erect the twenty-four temples were postponed when the Mormons were barred from Jackson County, Missouri in 1833. The plat, however, was used as a template for successive Mormon settlements. Kirtland had been demoted as a subordinate center of the church and during the two year attempt to establish the City of Zion in Jackson County its small population was sustained. The construction of a temple was announced in Kirtland in December of 1832 by revelation. With this revelation, Kirtland maintained its prominence and importance to the Church and attracted new converts, which necessitated the drafting of a

estimated 15.5 to 20.7 persons per lot to an estimated 5.8 to 7.7 persons per lot. One of the three central public blocks (used for storehouses and schools) was removed and the remaining central public blocks were reduced in size from the rectangular 15 acres to 10 acres square which created a uniform block pattern throughout. The axial direction of the central public blocks were changed from a north-south to an east-west direction, the uniform street width of 132 feet was limited to the four major cross-axis avenues and the remainder streets were reduced to 82.5 feet. Finally, names or numerical designations were included for the streets in the revised plat. Hamilton is quoting Charles Sellers.

³⁹ Elwin C. Robison recently published the most comprehensive study of the design and construction of the Kirtland Temple to date, under the title, The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple, published by Brigham Young University Press in 1997.

⁴⁰ Robison, Elwin C. The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press. 1997. 8-9, and 12. Also see Cowan, Richard O. 108. “The House of the Lord in Kirtland, A Preliminary Temple.” Robison implies that Frederick G. Williams may also be the author of the first drawing set. He states incorrectly that the length of the building extended 20 feet. Laurel Andrew suggests that the drawings were by two different authors, since the handwriting on the unsigned set differs from the signed set and “has not been identified.” Andrew, 33.

⁴¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 1:361-2.

plat to accommodate the growth.⁴² The similarities between the 1833 plat of Kirtland and the revised plat for the City of Zion included the “two-block central arrangement, street designations, and overall grid pattern.”⁴³ The plat for Kirtland did not include however the central axial avenues, or the variation in street width found in the revised plat.”⁴⁴

As described above, the interior description of the “houses” specified a stacked lower and higher court, programmatically designated as assembly spaces measuring fifty-five feet by sixty-five feet.⁴⁵ [Figure 20a] The intended function of the lower court was similar to that of a traditional Protestant meetinghouse which included sacramental offering, preaching, prayer, and fasting.⁴⁶ The higher court was more exclusive, reserved and dedicated to the sacerdotally anointed School of the Prophets which existed to instruct the Church’s male ecclesiastical leadership in both religious and secular matters.⁴⁷

Initially just the two houses dedicated for the presidency and for printing were planned as a first phase of construction of the twenty-four temples at Kirtland; the functional practicality and a paucity of resources dictated otherwise, and these were scaled back further to a just a single building housing the presidency. The similarity of Mormonism’s central blocks containing the complex of temples to the urban planning ideals of the Shaker communities at Harvard, Massachusetts is striking. Charles F. Priest

⁴² Hamilton, 20.

⁴³ Ibid, 20.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 20.

⁴⁵ Doctrine and Covenants 94: 4-5; Doctrine and Covenants 94: 11; Doctrine and Covenants 95 :15.

“Court” is common Old Testament terminology referring to Solomon’s Temple. 2 Chronicles 4:9

“Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.”

⁴⁶ Doctrine and Covenants 95:16.

⁴⁷ Robison, 7. “And let the lower part of the inner court be dedicated unto me for your sacrament offering, and for your preaching, and your fasting, and your praying, and the offering up of your most holy desires unto me, saith your Lord. And let the higher part of the inner court be dedicated unto me for the school of mine apostles, saith Son Ahman; or, in other words, Alphas; or, in other words, Omegas; even Jesus Christ

devised a plat in August of 1833 showing a complex of thirty buildings with numbers, many of which were designated as “Houses.”⁴⁸ Interestingly, Joseph Smith’s initial plat for the City of Zion was conceived in July of 1833, almost exactly contemporaneous with the Shaker plat. The gridded plan shown on the plat for the city of Zion was not uncommon in the United States during this time, and was primarily based on the Federal land survey of 1785, however, it was the “utopian premise behind Smith’s plan and how it was to be implemented” which distinguished Zion from other contemporary American cities.⁴⁹

The “house,” whether used by the presidency for “all things pertaining to the church and kingdom” or for printing the revealed scriptures, served the same purpose of communication between heaven and earth.⁵⁰ On July 23, 1833, the cornerstone of the Kirtland Temple was placed, a milestone which “marked the beginning of what would become the most important building type within Mormonism.”⁵¹ [Figure 21-25] The houses were akin to the Holy of Holies in the City of Zion, a temple within a temple, as Solomon’s temple was within the holy city of Jerusalem. The Kirtland ceremony included three ordinances: washing and anointing, blessing and sealing, and washing the feet. These ordinances were conspicuously patterned after Old and New Testament rituals.⁵²

your Lord. Amen.” Doctrine and Covenants 95:16-17, Smith, Joseph. History of the Church. 1:351-2.

⁴⁸ Nicoletta, Julie. The Architecture of the Shakers. Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press. 1995. 16-17.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, 16-17.

⁵⁰ Cowan, Richard. “The Pivotal Nauvoo Temple.” Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History. ed. Milton V. Backman, Jr. Ohio. 1990. 113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁵² Buerger, David John. The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship. San Francisco: Smith Research Associates. 1994. 11. The ritual of washing and anointing involved first washing the body with pure water and then applying what was commonly referred to as holy oil on the individuals head. The blessing and sealing ritual involved the pronouncement of blessings on the individual which had just been washed and anointed, which were then sealed (or secured) on the individual by the power of the Holy Ghost. The washing of the feet was the most sacred ritual of the Kirtland

Robison suggested that the exterior of the temple at Kirtland falls within a well defined class of Protestant building types found in Ohio (Great Western Reserve) and in New England, yet with its own important differences, such as the two double ended assembly halls.⁵³ While the temple maintained common elements of contemporaneous houses of worship, such as the entry vestibule, the pulpit, bell tower and gothic windows it represented a truly unique and unprecedented innovation within its genre. The interior spaces and patterns of use for the Kirtland temple diverged drastically from that of a traditional Protestant meetinghouse. James White's exhaustive study of the relationship between liturgy and space in Christian architecture does not address the origin of the unique Mormon typology. However, White does provide two examples which verge on establishing a compelling precedent to the Mormon temple, despite the geographic and temporal separation with Kirtland. The first of these is St. Peter's Church (1758) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. [Figure 26-27] The second is Pompion Hill Chapel (1763) situated above the Cooper River in South Carolina. [Figure 28] White noted:

In both of these buildings, the one a sophisticated city church, the other a remote country chapel of ease, altar-table, and pulpit are at opposite ends of rectangular structure. At St. Peter's, box pews made it possible for the congregation to face whichever liturgical center was being used, the pulpit and reading desk in the west or the altar-table and font in the east. At Pompion Hill the slip pews run parallel to the long sides of the building.⁵⁴

Although interesting, these comparative examples should be dismissed given their programmatic implausibility with the Kirtland and Independence temples.

By comparing the terminology used to describe King Solomon's temple, one can begin to understand where the concepts for the Independence design and, ultimately, the

ceremony. This involved a group of individuals who washed each others feet who were then administered a sacrament of bread and water. This ritual mimicked that performed by Jesus during his last supper with his disciples prior to his capture and crucifixion.

⁵³ Robison, 17-19.

⁵⁴ White, James F. Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical

physical creation of the Kirtland temple were derived. Joseph Smith adapted biblical language as a method of form generation. By imbuing traditional Protestant architectural typology with biblical language, his interpretation of Solomon's model took shape in the Kirtland and Independence temples. The major elements which defined King Solomon's temple also defined the early Mormon temple at Kirtland. These included an outer and inner court, the pillars of Jachin and Boaz and a system of veils used to subdivide the large assembly spaces. Diverging from the typical uni-directional focus of the Protestant meetinghouses the lower and upper courts of the Kirtland temple contained two sets tiered of pulpits placed at either end of the hall, creating a bi-directional tension.⁵⁵ The double-ended upper and lower courts are the most innovative and decidedly curious feature of the Kirtland temple and clearly fulfill the revelatory directive to build "not after the manner of the world."⁵⁶ The interior of the Kirtland temple represents the formal materialization of the Mormon priesthood hierarchy which included a higher order priesthood, the Melchizedek, and a lesser order, the Aaronic, each of which was divided into smaller quorums headed by a male presidency consisting of three individuals. These sacerdotal orders were hierarchically symbolized vertically in the arrangement of the upper court (Melchizedek) and lower court (Aaronic) and horizontally within each individual hall. The interior organization of the Kirtland temple was furthermore a microcosm of the City of Zion. Just as there were to be twenty-four temples (including one principal temple) in Joseph's utopian city, the interior of each hall of the Kirtland temple would have twenty-four pulpits. At each end of the court were three tiers of

Considerations. New York: Oxford University Press. 1964.

⁵⁵ Andrew, Laurel B. The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1978. 46.

⁵⁶ Doctrine and Covenants 95:14.

pulpits with a fourth tier situated at the base of these pulpits used for sacramental purposes.⁵⁷ Each tier contained three seating positions. The tiers of pulpits at the west end were designated for the Melchizedek priesthood, the upper three pulpits reserved for the “President and his council,” the middle three pulpits for the “Bishop and his council,” the lowest tier for the High Priests, and the table for the Elders. On the east end the pulpits were reserved for the Presidency of the Aaronic Priesthood which occupied the uppermost tier. Each of the three offices, Priests, Teachers and Deacons, occupied the remaining tiers in descending order.⁵⁸ Depending on which of the two priesthoods presided over the meeting determined which liturgical end would be used and which direction the congregation would face. To say that this arrangement was novel is a grievous understatement.

The general scheme of both the Kirtland and Independence temples were nearly identical, and the design of both the Kirtland and Independence temples allegedly originated in a vision to Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, thus fulfilling an earlier promise to “let it be built after the manner which I shall show unto

⁵⁷ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 1:356. The pulpit in the west end of the house is to be occupied by the High Priesthood, as follows: Number 1, is for the President and his council; number 2, for the Bishop and his council; number 3, for the High Priests; and number 4 for the Elders: each of these is eight feet long, containing three coves or stands for the respective speakers; and those seats opposite them are for visiting officers, who are to occupy seats according to their respective grades. The two spaces in the middle are stairs two feet wide. The middle pulpit is to be elevated; the first seats one foot, the second two feet, the third three feet, and the fourth four feet. And those upon each side are also to be elevated: the first one eight inches, the second sixteen, the third twenty-four [sic], the fourth thirty-two. The corner seats are to be occupied by singers, and elevated-the first seat six inches, the second twelve, the third eighteen, the fourth twenty-four, and the fifth thirty-two inches. The pulpit in the east end of the house is to be occupied by the Lesser Priesthood. Number 1, is for the Presidency of the Lesser Priesthood; number 2, for the Priests; number 3, for the Teachers; and number 4, for the Deacons; and the seats by their sides, are also to be occupied by visiting officers; each one opposite his respective grade. The pulpits are to be finished with panel work, in the best workmanlike manner; and the building to be constructed of stone and brick of the best quality. Observe particularly that as there are pulpits at each end of the house, the backs of the congregation must be to one of them, and they will want occasionally to change. In order for this the house must have pews instead of slips, and in the pews let the seats be loose, that they may slip from one side of the pew to the other, so as to face either pulpit, as occasion may require.

⁵⁸ Robison, 19.

three of you...”⁵⁹ Writing in 1884, Truman O. Angell Sr., the head carpenter in the upper hall of the Kirtland Temple and later Church architect of the Salt Lake temple, verified the legitimacy of the vision by relating the account as told by Frederick G. Williams to a temple carpenter.

At this time Frederick G. Williams, one of Pres. Smith’s counsellors, came into the Temple, when the following dialogue took place in my presence. Carpenter Rolph said, ‘Doctor what do you think of the House?’ He answered, ‘It looks like to me the pattern precisely.’ He then related the following: ‘Joseph received the word of the Lord for him to take his two counselors Williams and Rigdon and come before the Lord, and He would show them the plan or model of the House to be built. We went upon our knees, called on the Lord, and the building appeared within viewing distance, I being the first to discover it. Then we all viewed it together. After we had taken a good look at the exterior, the building seemed to come right over us, and the makeup of the Hall seemed to coincide with what I there saw to a minutiae.’⁶⁰

The Kirtland temple represented a liturgically inventive and original deviation from the traditional liturgical space, yet remained architecturally consistent with the ubiquitous Protestant meetinghouse. The Nauvoo temple’s fundamental interior spaces were consistent with the precedent spaces established at Kirtland, nevertheless the use of those spaces represented a fresh approach to the infant building type. In addition the Nauvoo temple fulfilled the need for additional administrative space for the growing church. Office spaces were cleverly inserted at the mezzanine level above the two assembly halls, and in the attic and basement on the periphery of the north and south walls. The integration of administrative space further bolstered the idea of the temple as a microcosmic City of Zion, with each office representing individual “Houses of the Lord,” a concept evolving from the original plans at Independence and Kirtland. Mysterious rituals were integrated in the Nauvoo temple which further distinguished it

⁵⁹ Ibid., 9. Also quoted in Smith, Joseph. History of the Church. 1:350, Doctrine and Covenants 95:14. “Therefore, let it be built after the manner which I shall show unto three of you, whom ye shall appoint and ordain unto this power.”

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8. Quote taken from Truman O. Angell “Journal.” Also noted by Elwin Robison is a statement by Orson Pratt on April 9, 1871, “When the Lord commanded this people to build a house in the land of

from its predecessor at Kirtland. Smith's initiation as a Freemason has been cited as his inspiration for the overhaul of the endowment ritual in Nauvoo. Roughly six weeks after his induction into the ranks of Freemasonry Joseph Smith preached a sermon in the grove which discussed the keys of the kingdom. His journal entry of May 1, 1842 stated:

I preached in the grove, on the keys of the kingdom, charity, &c. The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed ... There are signs in heaven, earth and hell; the Elders must know them all, to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition. The devil knows many signs, but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus. No one can truly say he knows God until he has handled something and this can only be in the holiest of holies.⁶¹

Although the Masonic ritual was an important precursor to the Nauvoo rituals, David Buerger, in The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship stated:

This pattern of resemblances indicates that Smith drew on Masonic rites in shaping the temple endowment and specifically borrowed tokens, signs, and penalties, as well as possibly the Creation narrative and ritual anointings. Still, the temple ceremony cannot be explained as wholesale borrowing, neither can it be dismissed as completely unrelated.⁶²

The more complex Nauvoo endowment expanded the comparatively primitive ritual at Kirtland, and necessitated adjustments to the ritual spaces within the precedent typological pattern.⁶³ As well, surrounding the Nauvoo endowment ritual was a vow of secrecy and.⁶⁴ Laurel B. Andrew⁶⁵, an important early Mormon temple scholar, suggested that this new ritual established the temple as a place set apart and, therefore, differentiated the temple from the Church and its congregational functions. The Nauvoo

Kirtland, ... he gave the pattern by vision from heaven ...” in Journal of Discourses, 14:273.

⁶¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:608. Sunday, May 1, 1842.

⁶² Buerger, 56.

⁶³ Andrew, 85. She presents this as one possible explanation for the change.

⁶⁴ Brown, Lisle. “The Holy Order of Nauvoo.” Published on www.lds-mormon.com. 1995.

⁶⁵ Laurel B. Andrew published two important works on early Mormon temples. The first was her thesis entitled The Nineteenth-Century Temple Architecture of the Latter-Day Saints, published at the University of Michigan in 1973. The second work, and more complete version, was The Early Temples of the Mormons : The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West, published in 1978 by the

temple clung to the congregational functions as originally planned for the main floor assembly hall, but with new ordinances, the public meetings held in the assembly halls presented a problem and a secluded space within the temple was required for the clandestine ritual.⁶⁶ These exclusive rituals were performed during Joseph Smith's lifetime in the attic of Smith's Red Brick Store, a surrogate temple awaiting the completion of the Nauvoo sanctuary. Smith remarked to Brigham Young, "Brother Brigham, this is not arranged right but we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed..."⁶⁷ Moreover, the Nauvoo temple's unique exterior iconography boldly exposed Mormonism's mysterious secrets and unorthodox theology. Its audacious presentation incited an unprecedented degree of hatred and violence by its detractors alongside an equally unprecedented degree of veneration and devotion by its faithful adherents. Through this opposing duality the Nauvoo temple surpassed the more traditional Kirtland design, and thereby memorialized the idiosyncratic Mormon temple in its reinvention and revolution.

State University of New York Press in Albany.

⁶⁶ Andrew poses an interesting question: "How the ritual would have affected the use of the temple had the Saints remained in Nauvoo is no certain. There is no indication that Smith intended for the rituals to be made public once the temple was completed, but if they remained clandestine there would have been some difficulty keeping the meeting halls open for general worship while prohibiting access to the basement and attic. In all likelihood the temple would have been closed to outsiders." 89.

⁶⁷ Buerger, 73.

Chapter 3

William Weeks: Architect of the Nauvoo Temple

I. History of William Weeks

Past scholarship has typically demoted William Weeks's professional status to builder rather than architect, a conclusion conceivably founded on his lifelong experience in the building trades. This traditionally held view fails to fully recognize Weeks's singular talent which distinguished him professionally as an architect in the 1840s.

Dr. Joseph Earl Arrington⁶⁸ argued that Weeks:

...deserves to be better known today, not that he was a great architect outside his group and time, but because he helped to translate the purposes and ideals of the Latter-day Saints into architectural terms and because his work represented the zenith of temple building activities during the lifetime of the prophet Joseph Smith.⁶⁹

Arrington credited Weeks as a vital contributor in the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple and emphasized his key role in materializing the esoteric mysticism of Joseph Smith's religion. Weeks's Nauvoo temple would have profound impact on the subsequent Mormon temple typology and secure its status as the most significant building type within Mormonism.

Joseph Smith is certainly responsible for establishing the general typological plan of the temple in Independence and Kirtland, a pattern which persisted at Nauvoo; Weeks improved upon it, made it memorable and imbued it with a mystery and complexity not seen in the precedent example at Kirtland. The professional relationship between Weeks

⁶⁸ Joseph Earl Arrington published numerous works on the Nauvoo temple. Archives of his vast research material and notes are held by the Brigham Young University L. Tom Perry Special Collections Department. A key document which was never published is included in this archive under the title, The Story of the Nauvoo Temple. His other key contributions to the scholarship on the Nauvoo Temple include his article entitled "William Weeks: Architect of the Nauvoo Temple," which was published in the periodical *Brigham Young University Studies* and his article entitled "Destruction of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo," which was published by the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

⁶⁹ Arrington, 337. "William Weeks: Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." *Brigham Young University Studies* 19(3). 1979. 337-359.

and Smith was unusual, influenced intimately by Smith's ecclesiastical position as Prophet. Following his conversion, Weeks remained a lifelong devotee of Joseph Smith. According to Mormon belief, the Prophet's status as sole diviner of "all things pertaining to this house," by default enlisted Smith as the oracle through which the architectural design of the temple was transmitted. As a result it has been frequently construed that Weeks was consigned to the subservient role of architectural draftsman, transcribing the plans in Joseph's mind onto paper. The Kirtland temple was constructed under the management of a comparably inexperienced building committee while the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple, in addition to the building committee, was copiously managed by an architect. Despite Weeks's experience to guide, design and manage the temple's construction, most scholars still credit Smith as the primary designer of the temple and fail to fully understand Weeks's necessary role in the process. Exemplary of this notion, Robert Bruce Flanders, a Nauvoo historian concluded, "The conception of the building was the prophet's own, at least he gave that impression."⁷⁰

In reality, the mutual contribution of Weeks and Smith, however complicated and volatile the relationship may have been, was absolutely necessary to developing the temple's final design and realizing its construction. With Smith's unbridled ambition and patronage the Nauvoo temple's abstract beginnings were conceived. Smith's renaissance imagination produced the tabula rasa on which the temple would spawn; Weeks marked and defined it and by so doing established the permanence of the Nauvoo temple.

Without Weeks, the Nauvoo temple would have borne a much closer resemblance to the comparatively banal and smaller Kirtland temple. [Figure 29] Each man's importance in

⁷⁰ Flanders, Robert Bruce. Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. 193.

the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple cannot be overstated.

William Weeks was born April 11, 1813 at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. The Weeks family was well acquainted with building trades; William and his elder brother, Arvin L., born in 1811, apprenticed with their father, James Jr., who was trained in the traditions of the New England trades as an "architect or a builder."⁷¹ William worked with his father until the age of twenty-one, and then sometime after accompanied his elder brother Arvin whose "early building activities were in South Carolina and Augusta, Georgia," ... "then at Manchester, New Hampshire building churches, etc., for two years."⁷² [Figure 30] Weeks's physical presence was unassuming as described by his nephew late in life: "Weeks was a small man about five feet tall, wore whiskers under his chin which were white with age, had a large nose, gray eyes, of course his hair was white."⁷³ Weeks was raised in the Quaker traditions of his father, and later baptized into Mormonism while living in the South.⁷⁴ He likely joined the main body of the Church in Missouri and was numbered among the itinerant body of Saints as they sought refuge in Illinois, although the evidence supporting this speculation is scarce. He settled in Quincy, Illinois, for about one year before relocating to Nauvoo. At the age of twenty-six he married Caroline M. Allen on June 11, 1839, in a ceremony performed by a friend and colleague, Abraham O. Smoot.⁷⁵ Smoot served a mission to Charleston, South Carolina

⁷¹ Arrington, 338. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." Cited in Robert D. Weeks, "Genealogy of the Family of George Weeks," Manuscript, 300 ; see also Church Archives, Kimball, Stanley B. The Nauvoo Temple: An Essay on its History, Architecture, and Destruction. Typescript, Department of History, Southern Illinois University. 974; also Caroline Griffin, daughter of William Weeks, "The Life History of William Weeks," Manuscript, 1. Also Arrington's Manuscript , 83.

⁷² Arrington, 83. Arrington, Joseph Earl. "The Story of the Nauvoo Temple," unpublished manuscript. Microfilm of typescript. Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Lee Library

⁷³ Arrington., 82. Manuscript. "Story of the Nauvoo Temple" MSS 2040/2. Recalled by nephew F.M. Weeks, letter dated March 17, 1932.

⁷⁴ Arrington, 338. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." Also Arrington, 80. Manuscript.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 338-339. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." Caroline was born in Tompkins County, New York on April 16, 1823.

and Tennessee and may have been involved with Weeks's conversion to the Mormon faith while Weeks was in the South working with his brother Arvin sometime after 1832.⁷⁶

Weeks's itinerant behavior during these formative years follows a pattern described by J. Ritchie Garrison called tramping, a term which was in colloquial use by craftsmen working during the early nineteenth century and which is still used by modern carpenters. Tramping refers to the process of moving to find work, which was necessitated by the oscillations of regional economic conditions. Garrison observed an indirect result of this behavior: "tramping prepared young journeymen to become master carpenters and provided a conduit for diffusing architectural information."⁷⁷ Garrison specifically documented the early building activities of Calvin Stearns in New England and concluded that Stearns's tramping activities allowed him to work with other carpenters, observe new construction techniques and details, and gain knowledge of different building traditions from "several masters and distinguished architects that would supplement the local architectural vocabulary he grew up with."⁷⁸ Tramping was an essential influence in Stearns's training and, likewise, was an important aspect of Weeks's career and ultimately the foundation for his *pièce de résistance* at Nauvoo. Weeks's tramping allowed him to observe varying architectural styles all along the eastern seaboard from New Hampshire to Georgia, a broad inventory of styles, to say the least.

Interestingly, Weeks's brother Arvin settled in Sheboygan, Wisconsin in 1848,

⁷⁶ Arrington, 80, Manuscript.

⁷⁷ Garrison, J. Ritchie. Carpentry in Northfield, Massachusetts: "The Domestic Architecture of Calvin Stearns and Sons, 1799-1856." Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture. Vol. 4, (1991) 10-11.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

and became a prominent builder and architect constructing residences, commercial buildings and eventually became the “architect and superintendent of the County Courthouse, and also built the first schoolhouse, besides some of the most prominent businesses and private buildings.”⁷⁹ In addition to these more prominent works, Arvin designed utilitarian structures such as grain elevators and lumber mills in the Sheboygan area. Arrington surmises that William may have participated with Arvin’s early building projects in the East and South “and also about 1848 when he was in Wisconsin following his sojourn in Nauvoo, but this remains uncertain.”⁸⁰ Arvin is credited with the First Baptist Church (1850) in Sheboygan, a small austere Greek revival meetinghouse bearing strong formal similarities to the Nauvoo temple. [Figure 31] Speculation suggests William may have been involved with his brother in its design and construction given the temporal proximity with Weeks’s sojourn in the area. Arvin may have persuaded the younger William to come back to Wisconsin for employment knowing that Weeks’s position as Church architect was in jeopardy.

Arvin’s sons, Arvin L. and William C. (named after his uncle, ostensibly as an honor to William), became “builders and architects” like their father.⁸¹ William C. is credited among others for the Jung Shoe Manufacturing Company Factory (1900) in Sheboygan and Arvin L. is credited for the Third Ward School (1900) in Sheboygan.⁸² Following Arvin Sr.’s death in 1898 his business interests were assumed by his son William C. Weeks who established W.C. Weeks, Inc., an architectural firm based in Sheboygan. The firm engaged with the prominent Chicago firm of K. M. Vitzthum and

⁷⁹ Arrington, 83-83a Manuscript. Quote taken from History of Northern Wisconsin, plate 998, Chicago 1881.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 83. Manuscript.

⁸¹ Ibid., 83. Manuscript.

Company as architects for the new Court House in Sheboygan in 1933. The Weekses' descendents were highly influential in building trades in early Sheboygan and continue to be an influential force today.⁸³ The prosperity of the Weekses' descendents is just one example of both Arvin's and William's profound architectural influence.

⁸² Both building are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

⁸³ Guequierre, Helga C. "Four Generations of Weeks." Pamphlet held at the Sheboygan County Historical Society, Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin.

II. Beginnings of the Nauvoo Temple

On August 1, 1840, shortly after the Saints' arrival in Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith sent a communiqué to "the Saints gathered abroad" which among other things emphasized planning for a new temple in Nauvoo.⁸⁴ On October 3, 1840, during the annual general conference of the Church, the issue of the temple's construction was proposed by Church leadership and ratified by the general assemblage of Church members resulting in the formation of a building committee for the Nauvoo temple. The select committee included Alpheus Cutler, Elias Higbee and Reynolds Cahoon and was charged primarily with oversight of the temple's construction.⁸⁵ In "An Epistle of the Prophet to the Twelve" given October 19, 1840 Joseph Smith wrote:

You will observe, by the Times and Seasons, that we are about building a temple for the worship of our God in this place...It is expected to be considerably larger than the one in Kirtland, and on a more magnificent scale, and which will undoubtedly attract the attention of the great men of the earth.⁸⁶

Following the October conference, plans for the temple were presented to Joseph Smith by several individuals. William Clayton's historical account of the Nauvoo temple recorded: "Several plans for the temple were submitted by various individuals, but the only one which was satisfactory to the Prophet was the one drawn and presented by William Weeks."⁸⁷ William's nephew, F.M. Weeks, further corroborated the process of Weeks's selection as architect by recalling in 1932 that, "[William] said several architects presented their plans, but no one seemed to suit Smith. So when he went in and showed

⁸⁴ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:184. August 31, 1840. "Believing the time has now come, when it is necessary to erect a house of prayer, a house of order, a house for the worship of our God, where the ordinances can be attended to agreeably to His divine will." Also in Times and Seasons: June 15, 1843, IV, No. 15, 233.

⁸⁵ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:205. October 3, 1840.

⁸⁶ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:229. October 19, 1840. Epistle of the Prophet to the Twelve.

⁸⁷ Collier, Fred C., ed. The Nauvoo Diaries and Writings of William Clayton. 1990. 3. The edited version of William Clayton's journal entitled "An Interesting Journal."

his plans, Joseph Smith grabbed him, hugged him and said ‘you are the man I want’ ”⁸⁸ Evidence suggests that the appointment of an architect or at least the expansion of the architect’s authority occurred after the foundation was botched by the supervision of the building committee.⁸⁹ What this refers to specifically is vague but archaeological evidence unearthed in the 1960s revealed that the basement had been excavated in two phases.⁹⁰ The botched foundation, therefore, may have referred to the failure on the part of the building committee to provide for the divinely mandated baptismal font in the basement. Joseph Smith experienced many difficulties with the relatively simple building project at Kirtland and may have been inclined to rely fully on an expert of Weeks’s caliber for the much more complex Nauvoo Temple. Whatever the case, Weeks assumed a key role during the critical planning phases, although he still answered to the building committee.

Weeks’s design proposal appealed to Smith’s grandiose vision and must have been quite superior to have elicited such an enthusiastic appraisal. Charles Mark Hamilton, a prominent authority on Mormon architecture and city planning, suggested, “William Weeks’s plans were most near what Smith had seen in vision.”⁹¹ Hamilton’s statement credits Weeks with the architectural vision equal to Smith’s, but the idea that Weeks’s proposal further expanded Smith’s vision of the temple remains controversial. The contents of Weeks’s original submission remain open to conjecture, however, a lithographic map of the city of Nauvoo published by John Childs of New York in 1842 included a small perspective rendering of Nauvoo temple signed by William Weeks inset

⁸⁸ Arrington, 351. Also FM Weeks letter to author (Arrington) 7 March 1932.

⁸⁹ Andrew, 61. From a letter from Truman O. Angell to John Taylor dated 11 March 1885.

⁹⁰ Harrington, 24-31.

⁹¹ Hamilton, 40. Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning.

in the upper left hand corner. [Figure 32] The drawing of the temple on Childs's map is clearly a small facsimile of a larger original which is no longer extant. Given the inclusion of this Nauvoo Temple rendering on the map – the only other illustration on the page being a stoic pose of Lieutenant General Joseph Smith in full army regalia with a drawn saber – leads one to believe that the original perspective rendering may have been the principle element of Weeks's submission that so convincingly persuaded Smith. The general form of the built temple is clearly visible in this early rendering, as are general architectural elements such as the pilasters, the multi-tiered tower, the arched and circular windows and the triumphal arched entry. Even precursory details which became the most identifiable features of the "Mormon order" were included in primitive form such as the moonstone bases and sunstone capitals. This perspective view represents the earliest known, if not the first, rendering of the Nauvoo temple. [Figure 33]

On January 19, 1841, the temple project was further validated by a revelation to Joseph Smith with an additional charge commanding the Saints "to build a house" to the Lord. Despite the established Kirtland endowment the directive implied there were still rituals hidden from the Church: "For there is not a place found on earth that He may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or which He hath taken away, even the fullness of the Priesthood..."⁹² In that same revelation regarding the future temple in Nauvoo, the Lord stated that He would impart to Joseph Smith "all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof."⁹³ Given that Weeks was well engaged in the design of the temple by this point and given the thematic framework referencing the priesthood in the surrounding text, it seems plausible that the term "all things" was

⁹² Doctrine and Covenants 124:27-30.

⁹³ Doctrine and Covenants 124:42. "And I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this

limited to the functional aspects of the temple as it related to ritual, assembly and administrative space rather than to specific details regarding the temple's architecture. Arrington ultimately concluded that Joseph Smith was the "chief architect of the temple... [and] the Saints fully believed that Joseph received the structural pattern through a vision."⁹⁴ He cited several contemporaneous newspaper accounts to substantiate his claim.⁹⁵ For example, Charlotte Haven writing in Nauvoo in 1843 stated that "the temple has its origins with Joseph Smith."⁹⁶ A reporter for the *St. Louis Gazette* "learned from the lips of the prophet himself, the style of architecture is exclusively his own."⁹⁷ Parley P. Pratt, one of Joseph's most loyal followers, testified that Joseph Smith learned "sacred

house, and the priesthood thereof, and the place whereon it shall be built."

⁹⁴ Arrington, 341. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple."

⁹⁵ Ibid., 341. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." All following articles are quoted in Arrington:

Burlington Gazette, the rising temple was "the conception of the prophet, General Smith." New York Gazette, quoted in New York Tribune, 15 July 1843, 3.

Pittsburgh Gazette, editor reports that the prophet told him, "I am not capacitated to build according to the world, I know nothing about architecture and all that, but it pleases me; that's the way I feel." Pittsburgh Gazette, quoted in Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, 40, (19 Oct 1843): 1.

Josiah Quincy in "Figures of the Past from the Leaves of Old Journal," p. 389, "Being, presumably, like something Smith had seen in vision."

Edward Stiff wrote that the temple was "the result of the fertile brain of Gen. Smith." The Prophet, (New York) 1 June 1844. 2.

St Louis Gazette reporter "learned from the lips of the prophet himself, the style of architecture is exclusively his own." St Louis Gazette, as quoted in the Deseret News, 30 September 1857. 234.

Southern Literary Messenger, Richmond Virginia, September 1844. 536. Reported the Prophet "to have been the architect who planned the building."

New York Sun, quoted in Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 6:3. "It is no small thing, in the blaze of this nineteenth century, to give to men a new revelation, found a new religion, establish new forms of worship, to build a city, with new laws, institutions, and orders of architecture."

Burlington Hawkeye, 12 Feb. 1846. 2. Major JB Newhall, "Jo Smith's order."

Thomas Ford. "History of Illinois from its Commencement As a State in 1814 to 1847." 1854. 404. Their temple "Was commenced without any previous plan; and that the master builder, from day to day, during the progress of its erection, received directions immediately from heaven as to the plan of the building."

JW Gunnison, in Westminster Review, London, Jan 1853. 214, "heard in Utah that the pattern for the Nauvoo temple was given to Joseph by his angel, that all the details were explained orally, and that a "gentile architect was employed to draft it by dictation." Harpers News Monthly Magazine, NY, April 1853. 612.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 341. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." Quoted in Overland Monthly. 16 (December 1890) 620.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 341. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." St Louis Gazette reporter "learned from the lips of the prophet himself, the style of architecture is exclusively his own." St. Louis Gazette, as quoted in the Deseret News, 30 Sept 1857. 234.

Architecture” from “angels and spirits from the eternal worlds.”⁹⁸ Matthew Brown, a Mormon historian, in Symbols in Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration, concurred with the idea that the temple pattern was given in vision and cites the revelation in which Joseph would be shown all things pertaining to the Nauvoo temple as evidence to support this claim. Brown argued that on August 2, 1841 the *Times and Seasons*, the local Mormon press in Nauvoo, published a poem entitled “The Temple of God” written by Eliza R. Snow – incidentally one of Joseph Smith’s plural wives – thus fulfilling the revelation: An excerpt from her prose reads: “As it anciently did, to the saints upon earth! Hark! A scheme is divulg’d-‘twas concerted on high.”⁹⁹ Although the verse represents the opinion of Snow, and alone is inconclusive, it is nonetheless useful in identifying the Saints’ collective expectation regarding the divine origin of the temple’s design.

⁹⁸ Journal of Discourses, 2:44.

⁹⁹ Matthew Brown. Symbols in Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration. American Fork, Utah : Covenant Communications. 1997. 208. Quote taken from *Times and Seasons*. Vol. 2, No. 19. 493. Monday, August 2, 1841. Eliza Snow was a prolific poet and lyricist in the early church and eventually became one Joseph Smiths nearly 34 recorded wives in June 1842.

III. Collaboration Between Weeks and Smith

Typical of contemporaneous design processes, Arrington argued that Weeks's "designs and labors were subject to the approval, modification, or rejection by the temple building committee, Church leaders, and ultimately by the Prophet himself."¹⁰⁰ Joseph Smith eventually granted Weeks greater authority over the building committee early in the construction process when he recorded in April of 1843:

In consequence of misunderstanding on the part of the Temple committee, and their interference with the business of the architect, I gave a certificate to William Weeks to carry out my designs and the architecture of the Temple in Nauvoo, and that no person or persons shall interfere with him or his plans in the building of the Temple.¹⁰¹

While this directive enhanced Weeks's level of autonomy with regard to the building committee, it also confirmed his continued subordination to the autocratic design authority of the Prophet. More importantly, however, it is evidence of Smith's trust in Weeks's expert management of a complex building site. Smith referred to "my designs and architecture of the Temple," implying a level of independence on Smith's part, without crediting revelation as the source of the Nauvoo design. By contrast, the divinely revealed plan of the temple was completely integral to the Independence and Kirtland designs. Further statements from Smith correct the contradiction that he himself designed the Nauvoo temple and identify him rather as the agent through which the design was received. "I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building illuminated, and will have it built according to the pattern shown me."¹⁰² Arrington concluded, "William Weeks, then was merely an instrument used by Joseph Smith to translate his vision of the new temple into the actual blue printed structure, ready for

¹⁰⁰ Arrington, 340. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple."

¹⁰¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 5:353. April 12, 1843.

erection.”¹⁰³ Neither Smith nor his building committee ever graphically represented the building in Smith’s mind, but rather relied on Weeks’s talent to extract, define, resolve and eventually construct it.

In 1953 Keith Wilcox, later Church architect overseeing the design and construction of the Washington D.C. temple (1974), analyzed the relationship between Prophet and architect within the ecclesiastical constructs of Mormonism in his architectural thesis entitled An Architectural Concept of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He theorized that two concepts are employed during the design of temples: First, the prophet is the originator and ultimate authority on the design and second, the architect is accountable to implement the instructions of the prophet.¹⁰⁴

Hamilton accepted Wilcox’s presumption and concluded that this same hierarchical structure was in force during the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple.

Joseph Smith established the doctrinal basis of the first tenet of the Mormon concept of architectural design through proclaimed revelation and direct overseership of the design and construction of the Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples. The distinguishing difference between the two building programs would be the appointment of an architect/builder to resolve Smith's design proposals. The presence of an architect/builder as a design consultant and construction supervisor to President Smith established the second tenet of the design concept.¹⁰⁵

Hamilton further confirmed: “There is no question that Weeks refined Smith’s proposals, but his major contribution was the detailed structural renderings to fit the predetermined “pattern” established by Smith.”¹⁰⁶ Hamilton qualified his assessment by suggesting that the predetermined “pattern” referred to the interior movement necessary to facilitate the enactment of the temple ordinance and would have been based on the

¹⁰² Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 6:196-197. February 5, 1844.

¹⁰³ Arrington, 89 Manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ Wilcox, Keith. An Architectural Concept of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Masters Thesis, University of Oregon, 1953. 45.

¹⁰⁵ Hamilton, 20. The Salt Lake Temple: An architectural Monograph.

Kirtland precedent.¹⁰⁷ This statement bears some truth, but the Nauvoo endowment ritual was not conceived until May of 1842, more than a year after the start of the temple's construction in April of 1841. As well, the new ritual differed so greatly from the Kirtland ceremony that it necessitated major modifications to the established pattern. Initially, the clandestine ritual was only revealed to a small group of nine male individuals, known as the Holy Order.¹⁰⁸ These were an exclusive group of Saints having a close personal relationship to Joseph Smith and members of his male dominated hierarchy. The ritual was initially performed in the privacy of the upstairs room of Smith's Red Brick Store during the temple's construction.

When the endowment ritual was finally integrated into the nearly completed temple in the winter of 1845 it was not placed in the most predictable location, the second floor assembly hall, but hidden away in the most architecturally insignificant space, the attic, which came to be known as the Council Chamber.¹⁰⁹ In other words the temple rituals had completely outgrown the spaces included in the revealed pattern (i.e., the two double ended assembly halls) and required new ritual spaces at Nauvoo, not conceived in the initial design. The outcome was that Weeks was obligated to adapt his design well after the start of construction to fit his client's evolving program.

Details of the collaborative relationship between Weeks and Smith can be gleaned from several historical accounts. Clayton recorded in the fall of 1841 that plans to build a temporary wood baptismal font were underway. "President Joseph Smith approved and accepted a draft for the font, made by William Weeks; and on the 18th day of August of

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 20. The Salt Lake Temple: An architectural Monograph. Also Hamilton, 9. Authorship and Architectural Influences on the Salt Lake Temple. Cites Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple by Virginia and J.C. Harrington, 1971, 3.

that year, Elder Weeks began to labor on the construction of the font with his own hands.”¹¹⁰ Certainly, Smith conveyed general instructions to Weeks regarding specific requirements for the font, such as its shape, the number of oxen supporting the font, as well as their size and arrangement, etc. However, it was Weeks’s responsibility to architecturally develop Smith’s conceptual ideas. Since details are excluded in the preceding account, one cannot speculate on the origin of the design itself, whether from Weeks or Smith. What can be stated, however, is that Weeks played a dual role, as designer and craftsman. Both are important to consider. Weeks’s skill was not limited to creating original architectural imagery, but he was deftly capable of executing his ideas in whatever medium or material specified by his design, in this case wood. Later on when the wooden font was replaced by the more permanent stone font, Weeks again displayed his practical inclination. F.M. Weeks, his nephew, related how his uncle (William) described that the baptistery plans called for:

...twelve life sized oxen made out of solid stone; they were to stand in a circle, their heads outward, their hind parts together. On top of their backs was to be a large solid stone bowl for baptismal purposes. He said they advertised for stonecutters. Some of the best in America came. They said no one could cut those oxen out; he told them it could be done. So he took a chisel and a mallet and cut out one just to show them it could be done, and yet he was not a stone cutter.¹¹¹

Again when the highly accomplished stonecutters were having trouble carving the oxen’s eyes, Weeks’s daughter recalled, “The stone masons could not form the eyes of the oxen so Father borrowed their tools and formed the eyes himself.”¹¹² Weeks’s practical training primed him for the egalitarian participation in the construction of his designs shoulder to shoulder with the craftsmen in his employ. Weeks uniquely

¹⁰⁸ Buerger, 36. In 1843 women were included in this group.

¹⁰⁹ Brown, Lisle. “The Holy Order in Nauvoo.”

¹¹⁰ Collier, Fred C. The Nauvoo Diaries and Writings of William Clayton. Salt Lake City, Utah : Collier's. 1990. 11.

possessed both a theoretical and practical knowledge of the art of building. More than just imparting verbal instruction or referencing graphical illustrations, he was able to demonstrate his method of construction. Traditionally, architects in the nineteenth century were first craftsmen, trained in the art of building and then architects. Weeks fits this established model. What remains equally impressive about Weeks is that he mastered the art of building and design at such a young age.

Another incident occurred on February 5, 1844, which helps to define the relationship between Weeks and Smith. Joseph Smith recorded:

In the afternoon, Elder William Weeks (whom I had employed as architect of the Temple,) came in for instruction. I instructed him in relation to the circular windows designed to light the offices in the dead work of the arch between stories. He said that round windows in the broad side of a building were a violation of all the known rules of architecture, and contended that they should be semicircular - that the building was too low for round windows. I told him I would have the circles, if he had to make the Temple ten feet higher than it was originally calculated; that one light at the centre of each circular window would be sufficient to light the whole room; that when the whole building was thus illuminated, the effect would be remarkably grand. "I wish you to carry out my designs. I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building illuminated, and will have it built according to the pattern shown me."¹¹³

Most scholars have interpreted this passage as evidence confirming Smith's undisputed role as principal designer of the temple, although Smith himself concedes the fact that he has "seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building" and that Weeks is the "architect of the Temple." The events described therein occurred at a time when the walls were at least "as high as the arches of the first tier of windows all around the building."¹¹⁴ The citation does not reference a change in the design of the temple because

¹¹¹ Arrington, 93. Manuscript. Weeks, F.M., letter dated March 7, 1832.

¹¹² Ibid., 93. Manuscript. Griffith, C.F. Letter dated April 25, 1932.

¹¹³ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 6:196-197. The date of this meeting is given as February 5, 1844, and occurred nearly 2 years after Weeks' original drawings had been submitted with the round windows so adamantly desired by Joseph Smith.

¹¹⁴ Colvin, 30. A Historical Study of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois. MS Thesis at Brigham Young University, August 1962. Taken from Jenson, Historical Record, VIII, 864. This statement was given at the close of work in the winter of 1843. William Claytons Journal also supports this: "There was no other hindrance until the next Winter set in, which was rather early, and at which time the walls were up

each of Weeks's iterative drawings depict round windows on the "broad side of a building," beginning with the first drawing which was completed either prior to or sometime in 1842, nearly two years prior to the above account. Weeks's final two drawings only depict the principal west elevation of the Nauvoo temple, but by logical extrapolation it should be assumed that round windows were planned as well for the side and rear elevations to maintain consistency with the vertical rhythm established on the principal elevation and preserve design continuity with the original perspective rendering. Smith is careful in his wording however, reporting that, "I instructed him in relation to the circular windows *designed* to light the offices in the dead work of the arch between stories." In other words, the discussion may have centered on an existing aspect of the design, consistent with the fact that round windows were included on all of the drawings done by Weeks. Perhaps, Weeks was just now voicing his concern over an earlier design decision with which he disagreed, and desired to address the issue before the stonework in that area commenced in the spring of 1844. Laurel Andrew speculated that the exchange between the two may have been embellished by Smith to maintain his status as "supreme architectural dictator," a role the Saints expected of their Prophet.¹¹⁵ This exchange potentially may not have referred to the round windows between the first and second floor arched windows at all, but to the round windows required to light the second floor mezzanine office spaces, and which were not included in the first two renderings executed by Weeks. [Figures 33, 34] More importantly, however, Weeks was fulfilling

as high as the arches of the first tier of windows all around. In this state the building was left through the Winter and until the Spring of 1844." 20.

¹¹⁵ Laurel Andrew is one scholar who dissents. She concludes that the exchange between Smith and Weeks in 1844 and the existence of the first drawing in at least 1842 sets up an anachronism. She asserts: "Perhaps Smith was altering the facts slightly to suit his conception of himself as supreme architectural dictator, especially since he intended his journal to become part of the public literature of the church." Andrew, 62.

his appointed role as architect of the Nauvoo temple. By disagreeing with Smith, it is evident that Weeks considered his structural and aesthetic advice as informed and, more significantly, as invited. He was confident that his aesthetic taste in architectural matters conformed with a level of acceptable, if subjective, professional standard. If one is to accept the exchange at face value, and as unembellished, then despite Weeks's attempts to dissuade Smith, his client disagreed, and the round windows remained.

IV. Weeks as Architect

Traditionally, most historians have agreed with Arrington's conclusion and credit Joseph Smith as the primary source for the design of the temple and Weeks as the "draftman-engineer."¹¹⁶ With regard to Weeks, Laurel Andrew proposed, "an architect with any kind of professional training in this part of the country at such an early date, associated with a fringe sect, would have been unusual in the extreme." She suggested "the carpenter-builder as the most common architect of this time and place."¹¹⁷ Certainly she is correct but carpenter-builders were also designers and by strict definition, a professionally trained architect at this time was extremely rare anywhere. Nuanced distinctions can be made between the titles of architect, draftman-engineer and carpenter-builder, all of which befit William Weeks, but given the rarity of professional accreditation during the 1840s, the terms are all vaguely synonymous. Dell Upton in "Pattern Books and Professionalism" legitimized the ambiguity of the various titles:

The majority of American builders, trained in the physical craft of building, refused to recognize any essential vocational division, preferring to think of architects and builders as variants of the same occupation. The architect's ability to draw was really the only thing that set him apart from his humbler colleagues.¹¹⁸

Colloquially, the title of architect was understood as: "... A person skilled in the art of building; one who understands architecture, or makes it his occupation to form plans and designs of buildings, and superintend the artificers employed."¹¹⁹ Typically, the title of architect was bestowed following practical experience in the building trades and mastery of the art. Upton further argues that Asher Benjamin in his 1811 publication

¹¹⁶ Flanders, 193.

¹¹⁷ Andrew, 62.

¹¹⁸ Upton, 118.

¹¹⁹ Webster's 1828 Dictionary.

of the American Builder's Companion, referred to himself as “Architect and Carpenter,” but made no distinction between the two until later publications of The Practical House Carpenter. Authors of builder's handbooks were seasoned carpenters and builders.

Edward Shaw, author of the builder's handbook, Modern Architect, noted:

In answer to many inquiries respecting my practical knowledge as a Carpenter and Joiner, I would say, that I served in that capacity twenty years – fourteen of which as a contractor and builder, drawing all of my own plans and designs for private and public dwellings costing from five hundred to forty thousand dollars each; since which time I have spent fifteen years in the theoretical practice and science of Architectural Drawings and Plans, both ancient and modern.¹²⁰

The arguments surrounding Weeks's professional status are important, but by no means diminish or supersede the grand work accomplished by Weeks in Nauvoo. What is important is that Weeks designed and managed the construction of a monumental temple in Nauvoo that forever defined the new religion. Weeks's significant supervisory role in the construction of the Nauvoo temple was subject only to the authority of Joseph Smith and later the Quorum of the Twelve under the direction of Brigham Young. An entry in the Church's historical ledger on December 16, 1844 assists in establishing Weeks's important role in the continuing design and construction of the temple following Smith's death:

They [the Twelve and the Trustees] concluded to employ fifteen persons steadily as carpenters, and that the architect [Weeks] be authorized to select such men as he has confidence in – men who are well qualified to do the work that is wanted...¹²¹

Clearly Weeks was regarded as more than a builder by his peers. Numerous sources from the official Church records refer to Weeks as architect for the Nauvoo

¹²⁰ Upton. 119. Quoting Edward Shaw, “Modern architect.” p.iiin.

¹²¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church. 7:326. December 16, 1844.

Temple.¹²² In addition, several contemporaneous newspaper sources refer to Weeks as the architect of the temple. For example, “The Prophet” on November 30, 1844 reports: “Mr. William Weeks, a native of Martha’s Vineyard is the architect.”¹²³ Weeks, in fact, referred to himself in a professional setting as architect for the Nauvoo temple, and signed his professional letters as such: “William Weeks Architect.”¹²⁴ Arvin Weeks, “often mentioned his brother William of whose ability as an architect he was very proud.”¹²⁵ William Weeks’s obituary in 1900 listed him as “the architect who planned the great Mormon temple at Nauvoo, Illinois, and superintended the construction of it.”¹²⁶

Weeks was eminently qualified as architect of the Nauvoo temple and given his token architectural knowledge among the Latter-day Saints, he would have been considered architect by default by the collective Mormon community. Matthew McBride, in his recent treatise on the original Nauvoo temple noted, “Despite Joseph

¹²² Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 5:353. April 12, 1843. “In consequence of misunderstanding on the part of the Temple committee, and their interference with the business of the architect, I gave a certificate to William Weeks to carry out my designs and the architecture of the Temple in Nauvoo...”
 Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 6:196 – 197. “In the afternoon, Elder William Weeks (whom I had employed as architect of the Temple...”

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:314. “...Brother William Weeks the architect at the Temple Office...”

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:323. “These stones are very beautifully cut, especially the face and trumpet stones, and are an evidence of great skill in the architect and ingenuity on the part of the stonecutters.”

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:321. “...the brethren of the Twelve, the Trustees; the Temple Committee and architect. The duties of the Temple Committee and architect were explained.”

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:382. “Attended council at the Trustees’ Office: present—a quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Presidency of the Seventies, Temple Committee, Trustees and Architect.”

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:411. “I wrote a letter to the architect directing him to place a stone in the west end (front) of the Temple with the inscription ‘Holiness to the Lord’ thereon.”

¹²³ Arrington, 84. Manuscript.

“the architect named Weeks.” 84 Maysville Eagle, October 26, 1845. XIII. no 153. p. 2.

“...its architect was a gentile named Weeks.” Charles A. Dana. The U.S. Illustrated. I. p. 39-40.

“Mr. William Weeks, a native of Martha’s Vineyard is the architect.” The Prophet. November 30, 1844. I. no. 28. p. 3.

¹²⁴ MS 4744. Archives-Johnson Family Collection. Folder #1 0044. Letter dated February 13, 1846. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹²⁵ Arrington, 359. “William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple.” C.W. Weeks to J.E. Arrington, 10 June, 1931.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 359. “William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple.” J.M. Weeks, “Obituary of William

Smith's direct involvement, however, he admitted to a reporter in 1843: 'I am not capacitated to build according to the world. I know nothing about architecture and all that.'" McBride concluded naturally that, "Weeks thus played a critical role in realizing Joseph's ideas. His contributions included formalizing the design, drafting the plans, planning the building's structural engineering, and supervising the design's implementation on-site."¹²⁷ McBride's objective evaluation accurately describes both Smith's and Weeks's role within the contextual realities of the project.

Given the ambiguities of professional distinction, a more intensive analysis of the culture of architecture as it existed in the 1840s is needed. Upton hypothesized that:

The mid-century consensus among architectural writers identified architects not as people necessarily outstandingly talented, or as ones with an inherent quality different from that of their clients, but as ones with a native capacity more highly developed than that of their neighbors. Architects were experts, but experts of a particular kind. The ultimate result of the architects' attempt to make a place for themselves was that they cast themselves as the first professional reformers-or perhaps the second, after the clergymen.¹²⁸

Upton proposed a model by which one can measure the level of professionalism of individuals practicing architecture at this time, based on a model developed by sociologist, Magali Sarfatti Larson, termed the "market professions." The market professions are explained by Upton as "those early nineteenth-century occupational groups who depended upon selling their time and intangible skills, rather than clearly defined products, to their clients; her [Larson's] own examples are physicians and attorneys." The market professions were differentiated from other "organizational professions" such as engineering, and "trades" profession, such as building crafts, both of

Weeks."

¹²⁷ McBride, 9. Quoting David Ney White, "The Prairies, Nauvoo, Joe Smith, the Temple, the Mormons, etc.," Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Weekly Gazette 14 September 1843, 3; reprinted in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 1:438-44.

¹²⁸ Upton, Dell. "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic

which produced a tangible product. Architects and market professions in general, on the other hand, could produce only an intangible idea. The professionalism of such an intangible claim was achieved by convincing the client that only an architect was capable of accomplishing the desired results, something Larson called “the negotiation of cognitive exclusiveness.”¹²⁹ In other words, Upton argued that the model of market professionals created “a distinctive product by producing distinctive practitioners.”¹³⁰ He continued:

Through the enforcement of common standards of training and codes of conduct, they ensured that all members, be they lawyers or physicians or architects, acted in a predictable way that demonstrated to outsiders their coherence as a group and their difference from other claimants to the same market.¹³¹

Upton maintained that establishing oneself as a professional architect was a “social process,” because the term was couched in the language of personal qualification.¹³² This qualification, according to Upton, spawned the development of a professional middle class, which defined itself through the “development of personal potential by the disciplined acquisition of a mental skill,” and not through “raw labor power, as a lower class might, and not in terms of inherent quality and economic prerogative, as an upper class might.”¹³³ He stated:

With the benefit of hindsight, we realize that it involved the negotiation between architect and client and was based on the sale of intangible commodities whose very existence and value needed to be established. The achievement of the recognition required the demonstration of distinctive accomplishments by a

Architecture in America, 1800-1860.” Winterthur Portfolio. . 1984 Autumn. Vol. 19. No. 2-3. 128.

¹²⁹ Upton, 112. Upton does an excellent job of summarizing Larson’s argument and applying it to the culture of the building professions. I am summarizing his conclusion. Upton is basing his summary on: Magali Sarfatti Larson, Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977; and Kevin Daughtery, “Professionalism as Ideology.” Socialist Review. 49. 10. no. 1. (January/February 1980): 187-93.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 112.

¹³¹ Ibid., 112.

¹³² Ibid., 113.

¹³³ Ibid., 112.

sizable group of practitioners over time.¹³⁴

Upton further illustrated that the scientific enterprise of architecture “embodied a major precondition for the establishment of a market condition as defined above: the creation of a distinctive and specially qualified body of practitioners.”¹³⁵ The distinction between builder and architect was blurred in the mid-nineteenth century, but Upton argued that certain criteria helped to clarify the ambiguity, notably, adequate ‘scientific’ training, artistic capacity, and the highly subjective category called, “taste.”¹³⁶ The objective of the architectural handbooks, for the most part, was to instill in its user the unwritten standards of the profession as defined here. Not only was the architect expected to effectively use the builder’s handbooks but was required to understand the principles behind them, otherwise the user would be considered a mere builder. The books were not meant to “replace an architect’s services, but only disguise their absence.”¹³⁷

The most effective way to verify that one indeed possessed the necessary personal qualification in the market professions would have been through college training and professional licensure.¹³⁸ However, in the 1840s the profession of architecture lacked a nationally recognized licensing board, accredited educational institutions, and minimum competency standards through uniform testing. The 1840s American architects achieved the prestigious title through experience and apprenticeship. The legal professionalization of architecture occurred in 1857 with the formation of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) with the mission “to promote the artistic, scientific, and practical

¹³⁴ Ibid., 113.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 118.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 118-123.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 122.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 112.

profession of its members; to facilitate their intercourse and good fellowship; to elevate the standing of the profession; and to combine the efforts of those engaged in the practice of Architecture, for the general advancement of the Art.”¹³⁹ Richard Morris Hunt should be credited as a key contributor in facilitating its legal foundation with Richard Upjohn serving as its first president. Hunt was formally trained at the prestigious École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and returned to America to practice architecture in 1855. He founded the Tenth Street Studio Building, in 1857, which was the first modern venue dedicated solely to serve the needs of artists and architects. The first formal collegiate level programs in architecture were founded by William Ware, a student of Richard Morris Hunt, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1866 and Columbia in 1881. Prior to these key moments professionalism was chaotic and lacked uniform definition, especially on the frontier. While Weeks’s official title was that of architect, the professionalism associated with the term was wholly dependent on Weeks’s capacity to commodify the intangible architectural ideas of early Mormonism, as defined by Upton, enough so that when Weeks’s plans were initially presented “Joseph Smith grabbed him, hugged him and said ‘you are the man I want.’”¹⁴⁰

Weeks’s role in the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple can be more accurately established by situating Weeks within the context of architectural practice during the 1840s. Jacob W. Holt (1811-80), described by architectural historian, Catherine Bishir, as an “American Builder” was a contemporary of William Weeks, who worked in North Carolina and Virginia and “was one of the many practical builders – carpenters, housewrights, masons, and mechanics – who not only constructed but also

¹³⁹ <http://www.aia.org/about/history>

¹⁴⁰ Arrington. F. M. Weeks to Joseph Earl Arrington. 7 March 1932.

shaped the design of much of the nations architecture.”¹⁴¹ This vast group of practical builders was trained in the apprentice system as craftsmen and worked closely with their clients in what Bishir described as the “unified process of design and construction.” This group utilized examples in familiar builder’s handbooks but modified them to suit regional variations in social, economic and ethnic conditions to achieve an architecture of “continuity and change.”¹⁴² Holt’s specific adaptation of Bishir’s theoretical model are important and help define Weeks’s modus operandi at Nauvoo.

Holt was hired by a wealthy landowner, Dr. Robert D. Baskerville in 1857 in Mecklenburg County, Virginia to construct an imposing and stylish estate. Holt and Baskerville collaborated to “produce a highly original composition.”¹⁴³ The succinct contractual agreement referenced a precedent example in Ranlets Architect (a popular builder’s handbook) but also cited specific variations to suit the client’s individual preference and necessity. Bishir described the subsequent building process which followed as evolutionary and reasoned that the final built structure was arguably Holt’s finest project “in its dramatic towering form and atypical plan reflecting the productive cooperation of builder and adventuresome client.”¹⁴⁴ She concluded that builders, such as Holt, while collaborating with clients, successfully satisfied regional continuity while acknowledging changing trends integral in establishing the “lively, expressive character of American Architecture.”¹⁴⁵ Weeks’s practice is surprisingly similar and the continuity and change achieved in the Nauvoo temple resulted from the close collaboration between

¹⁴¹ Bishir, Catherine. “Jacob W. Holt: An American Builder.” Winterthur Portfolio. Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1981) 1. Bishir was head of the Survey and Planning of the Archeology and Historic Preservation Section at the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

¹⁴² Ibid., 1-2.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 27.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 29.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 31.

client and architect. Although Holt himself rejected the title of architect he, along with Weeks, can be grouped into the larger general category of vernacular designers or bricoleurs, a term defined by Thomas Hubka.

Folk builders are not often given the status of architectural designers. This is unfortunate because folk builders have rigorous, highly structured design methods for generating and refining spatial form. Although folk design methods differ from those employed by modern architectural designers, their object is the same – the conversion of ideas into spatial form.¹⁴⁶

Hubka argued that a bricoleur's design strategy involves the unremitting practice of "composition and decomposition within a vocabulary of existing building forms."¹⁴⁷ The resulting architecture constitutes a reorganization of the "hierarchy of ideas (schemata)" included within the stylistic customs and techniques of existing buildings. The Nauvoo temple is a classic experiment in bricolage and by decomposing traditional architectural language with which he was familiar Weeks created a novel material response to shifting theological and ritual practices.

Laurel Andrew suggested that the "belief fostered by the Prophet that Weeks drafted the plans under his dictation is no doubt true to a certain extent, but the building from its earliest stages clearly manifests a more sophisticated acquaintance with architectural styles than Smith and his associates had exhibited in Kirtland."¹⁴⁸ Andrew concluded that, "The most plausible assessment of each man's part in the building is to assign to Weeks those elements which are purely architectural, while crediting the determination of functional and symbolic requirements to the president himself."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Hubka, Thomas. "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form" in Upton Dell, and Vlach, John Michael, ed. Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture. University of Georgia Press. Athens, Georgia. 1986. 426.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 429.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew, 62.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 62-63. This suggestion is also confirmed by Arrington in reference to an essay by Charles Mark Hamilton entitled "Authorship and Architectural Influences on the Salt Lake Temple. Master's Thesis,

Although Andrew does not expand the definition of “functional and symbolic requirements,” these presumably reference the programmatic function of various architectural spaces (i.e., ritual, assembly, and administrative spaces) and the symbolic scriptural references which Smith wanted embedded into the architecture. Andrew’s conclusion places Smith in a client role directing the designer through an established programmatic scope, while Weeks’s responsibility was to provide a building adequate to perform the intended function and formalize its distinctively Mormon architectural flourish. The level of craft and forethought revealed in Weeks’s Nauvoo drawings was unlike any exhibited for the Independence or Kirtland Temples, and the contrast clearly demonstrates both the lack of experience of the designers of the earlier edifices (Smith and his counselors Frederick G. Williams and Sidney Rigdon) and Weeks’s own superior mastery of the art.

Colvin argued conversely that the “temple was a product of Joseph Smith, who planned its architecture in line with his concept of the building's purposes and supervised the project during much of its construction.” He concluded that the “actual drawings were done by William Weeks, who drafted them under the dictation of the prophet.”¹⁵⁰ Implied in Colvin’s interpretation is that Weeks performed a very minor role in the design of the temple acting as draftsman rather than architect. The relationship proposed by Colvin between Smith and Weeks bears similarity to that between Smith and Oliver Cowdery, who served as scribe to Smith during translation of the Book of Mormon. Smith translated the defunct reformed Egyptian found on the ancient Gold Plates by use

University of Utah.

¹⁵⁰ Colvin, 131. *The Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith*. Cited in Gunnison, John W. *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*. Philadelphia J.B. Lippincott. 1856. 116. See also Jenson, *Historical Record* 8 (June 1889): 858.

of seer stones, given him by an angel, and dictated the translation to Cowdery. In this case, the methodology of translating concepts from one language to another, even if separated by numerous centuries, is far simpler than the translation of the visual image in Smith's mind to various artistic media. Even if one accepts Colvin's theory the image can be translated (or dictated in this instance) only through the interpretative lens of the artist. Assuming that the design of the temple was given to Joseph Smith by revelation as Colvin assumed, the icon envisioned in Smith's mind still would have required the necessary artistic skill and constructional knowledge for a successful translation. Smith, talented though he was, unfortunately was not capable of extracting the image of the temple in his mind and therefore relied on Weeks's creative talent to execute the translation.

Evidence to the contrary is suggested in the account of Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, who visited Nauvoo in 1844. Purportedly, as Quincy and Smith were strolling around the temple construction site a stone laborer queried the Prophet whether the sunstone he was carving was being carried out according to Smith's vision. Quincy recounted the contrived exchange:

Near the entrance to the Temple we passed a workman who was laboring upon a huge sun, which he had chiselled from the solid rock. The countenance was of the negro type, and it was surrounded by the conventional rays.
 "General Smith," said the man, looking up from his task, "is this like the face you saw in vision?"
 "Very near it," answered the prophet, "except" (this was added with an air of careful connoisseurship that was quite overpowering) – "except that the nose is just a thought too broad."¹⁵¹

Clearly the laborers working on the temple were under the assumption that Smith received every detail of the Nauvoo temple in vision, similar to Truman Angell's 1884 accounting of how the design of the Kirtland temple was received by vision "to a

minutiae.¹⁵²

Benson Whittle, a sculptor who assisted in creating prototypes for the replicated stonework on the reconstructed Nauvoo temple in 2002, contended that the design of the sunstone would have been previously worked out in collaboration with Charles Lambert, the head stonemason working on the Nauvoo temple prior to Quincy's visit. Whittle speculated:

The question of Smith's participation in the design of the sunstones and of the entire temple is a fascinating one. Since a "vision," no matter how eidetic it is in the mind of the person experiencing it, can be made visual only by means of art, drawings (and possibly a maquette) were made-and none of them by Smith. The prophet inspired and in some sense guided and approved the sunstones but certainly did not design them.¹⁵³

Given that Weeks included an early variation of the sunstone capitals on the earliest known rendering of the temple in 1842, then reiterated and refined those capitals on successive renderings (and provided detailed designs for the interior sunstone capitals, as well) one can conclude that Weeks, in fact, designed and drafted the iconic Mormon capitals. It is interesting to follow the evolution of the sunstone capital from the earlier iterations wherein Weeks included recognizable acanthus leaves with a bashful, if slightly voyeuristic, sun peeking out from behind. In later iterations the acanthus leaves morphed until they resembled clouds which, in the final drawing, were fully parted allowing a full view of the now emboldened surface. [Figure 36] The iterative processes and the continued collaboration between Weeks and Smith was the norm throughout the entire design and construction of the temple. Weeks's *modus operandi* included the submission of formal drawings to the craftsmen and, if necessary, demonstration through pedagogical

¹⁵¹ Quincy, Josiah. *Figures of the Past*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883. 389.

¹⁵² Robison, 8. Quote taken from Truman O. Angell "Journal," Also noted by Elwin Robison is a statement by Orson Pratt on April 9, 1871, "When the Lord commanded this people to build a house in the land of Kirtland, ... he gave the pattern by vision from heaven ..." in *Journal of Discourses*, 14:273.

¹⁵³ Whittle, Benson. "The Sunstones of Nauvoo An Interpretive Account of the Temple Capitals."

methods of craft.

In the case of the sunstone capitals, Lambert was the expert craftsman directing work on the exterior masonry elements but certainly would not have been involved in the iterative design process. Further, given Weeks's constant oversight during construction, he would have had numerous discussions with Lambert regarding specific design requirements as they related to the stonework for the walling of the temple including coursing, size, etc., as well as the more complex sculptural program of the various architectural elements being executed in stone. Since Weeks provided five renderings of various sunstone capitals, the meetings between Weeks and Lambert would have undoubtedly centered on those design drawings as the template for Lambert to utilize as he directed and instructed the laborers in creating uniformity in the thirty copies of the capital. Returning to Whittle's argument, the method by which the temple envisioned by Smith was ultimately translated and processed into an architectural reality is the fundamental issue. As architect, Weeks was the vital conduit through which Smith's ambitions materialized into built form. Without Weeks, Smith's conceptual ideas would have remained hollow and vacuous and the Nauvoo temple would likely have borne a striking resemblance to the Kirtland temple, likely exhibiting the same awkward eclecticism.

If Smith simply dictated the design to Weeks as Colvin suggested, it would still represent Weeks's interpretation of Smith's vision. Colvin's assessment is closely tied to Smith's authority as the one true prophet of God on Earth and, therefore, his ability to divine all aspects of the modern restoration of the ancient Church of Christ follows necessarily. If that premise is valid then the question remains why Nauvoo deviated so

drastically from the Kirtland prototype. Although the Nauvoo temple demonstrates Weeks's capacity to invent, it was always constrained by the precedent temple established in Kirtland. Nauvoo was a direct continuation of the accepted and revealed typology, the primary feature of which included the two double-ended assembly halls. This typological constraint was either a precondition established by the building committee prior to the call for submissions in 1840 or was simply anticipated by Weeks as he conceived his initial plans knowing that the Kirtland design derived from revelation to Joseph Smith. Regardless, the inclusion of the necessary interior features in the Nauvoo design qualified it as a close sibling to the precedent example, thereby validating the sanctuary at Nauvoo as a "House of the Lord."

V. Differences Between Nauvoo and Kirtland

The Kirtland temple is evidence of how successfully or not Joseph Smith's architectural ideas materialized without the aid of an architect's holistic vision to design the form and then direct and unify the craftsmen involved in its construction. The architecture of the Kirtland temple is understood to have been divinely revealed, yet there is a quantifiable gap between the revealed design as recorded and drawn and the final built form. Furthermore, the Nauvoo temple design, although based on the Kirtland and Independence prototypes, further widens the abyss of disconnect between the original revealed design for the Independence temple(s) and Nauvoo's final built form. Hamilton attributed the changes in the design between Nauvoo and Kirtland to the appointment of an architect, the initiation of temple ritual, and the relative prosperity of the Church in the Nauvoo period.¹⁵⁴ Arrington seconded Hamilton's argument: "The Church in Nauvoo was in better circumstances and financial means to erect a more pretentious temple at Nauvoo, and did so."¹⁵⁵ Expanding on Hamilton's theory and probing the causal relationship between factors underlying each of the design deviations, the prosperity of the Church in Nauvoo made possible the appointment of an architect of Weeks's caliber, and the design resulting from that appointment made possible the ritual changes which were effected in Nauvoo. At Kirtland, the concept envisioned by Smith was imparted to the building committee, which included Smith, and constructed under its direct supervision. For a first attempt, the temple executed at Kirtland was architecturally sophisticated given the primitive nature of the young sect. The dissociation between the

¹⁵⁴ Hamilton, 23. The Salt Lake Temple: An Architectural Monograph. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1978.

unsophisticated design drawings and the temple as constructed in Kirtland is the most conclusive evidence of the lack of experience of Smith and his building committee. The fluid transition from Weeks's drawings to the final built temple at Nauvoo contrasts sharply with the obvious dissociation between the original drawings and the temple erected in Kirtland. At Nauvoo, the design of the temple was rendered, not by Smith or his building committee, but by his architect, William Weeks. The revelation concerning the temple at Independence was recorded and ultimately included in the official scriptural canons of the Church, and the tedious verbal details and drawings associated with the revelation were included in the official historical records of the Church. No such descriptions exist for the Nauvoo temple. The Nauvoo temple building committee was tasked with managerial responsibilities such as finances, purchasing, etc. It is clear that the Nauvoo temple's fundamental elements were based on the initial prototype, but the appointment of Weeks directly resulted in the pretentious temple at Nauvoo. Fundamentally, the Nauvoo temple design deviated from the Kirtland temple in four significant ways and William Weeks, as architect, played an influential role in each.

The first deviation was the reversed orientation of the Nauvoo temple plan. Kirtland's principal facade was oriented to the east and, by contrast, Nauvoo's was oriented to the west. The reversal was specific to the Nauvoo site which permitted the temple to overlook the Mississippi River from atop the bluff and, conversely, for the temple to be viewed from the well traveled river, fulfilling in part the prophesy that "a city set upon a hill cannot be hid."¹⁵⁶ At Kirtland, the hierarchically superior Melchizedek pulpits were placed on the west end of the assembly halls and the inferior

¹⁵⁵ Arrington, 1347. Manuscript.

¹⁵⁶ Bible King James Version. Matthew 5:14

Aaronic pulpits were placed on the east end, which adhered in part to traditional Protestant orientation with the pulpit positioned at the western end.¹⁵⁷ At Nauvoo, the interior arrangement was switched as well with the Melchizedek pulpits placed on the east end opposite the entrance and the Aaronic pulpits on the west end of the main floor assembly hall. Interestingly, the Salt Lake temple's principle façade was reoriented to face east, reversed once again back to the original Kirtland orientation. Meanwhile, the position of the Melchizedek and Aaronic pulpits in the single assembly hall at Salt Lake followed the interior orientation established at Nauvoo rather than reverting back to the Kirtland arrangement.

In the Nauvoo plat of 1839, the waterfront intersection of Main and Water Streets was intended as the commercial center of Nauvoo. Joseph Smith's homestead (The Mansion House) and his hotel (The Nauvoo House) were strategically located here.¹⁵⁸ This intersection was to be "the civic and commercial center of Nauvoo and the focal point for a dam and canal," while the bluffs were planned as a "raised and secluded religious site," set apart for the revelation of ordinances in the temple.^{159, 160} [Figure 32a] This urban reorganization of Zion contrasted with the earlier Independence plat where the temple occupied the physical and spiritual center of the city. With the building of the temple on the bluffs overlooking Nauvoo, a tensile duality of opposing centers was established. Not surprisingly, during the temple's construction the commercial and residential developments migrated to the bluffs due to lower land costs, fewer drainage

¹⁵⁷ Andrew, 91.

¹⁵⁸ Hamilton, 23; Flanders, 43.

¹⁵⁹ Hayden, Delores. Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975. Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. 1976. 121-124.

¹⁶⁰ Doctrine and Covenants 124:27, 40. "And with iron, with copper, and with brass, and with zinc, and with all your precious things of the earth, and build a house to my name for the Most High to dwell therein... And verily I say unto you, let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances

problems and the needs of the laborers working to construct the temple.¹⁶¹ The removal of the temple from the center of the city represented a sharp divergence from the precedent set by the previous Mormon plats for settlements in Independence and Kirtland. One possible explanation for this divergence was the scaling back of the Law of Consecration and Stewardship in 1838.¹⁶² This change essentially eliminated the need for the communal storehouses in the city center, a change which was evident at the Far West [and Independence] settlements.¹⁶³ The temple was still planned at the center of the city although only one temple block was proposed. The temple block, block 20 on the plat and designated as “Temple Square,” established its importance through its divergent west street face where the block was warped to follow the concavity of the bending river. Given the importance of the temple to early Mormon settlements, the center of the city would still have developed around the central temple block. However, with the building of the temple on the bluff, a change was wrought in “the focal point of the community.”¹⁶⁴ Given the predetermined location of temple site on the bluff, as shown on the plat of 1839, Weeks’s responsibility involved providing a striking architectural symbol on the prominent site and would have necessarily oriented the façade toward the river and the expanse of the city below. Siting the temple on the bluff physically and symbolically established both the center and apex of city and Weeks design of the temple transformed that center, known as block 20, into sacred space.

The second deviation was the inclusion of a new space assigned to specific

therein unto my people.”

¹⁶¹ Hayden, 124.

¹⁶² Doctrine and Covenants 119. The Law of Consecration and Stewardship was scaled back to include only surplus property. Verse 24 states: “And after that, those who have thus been tithed shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually; and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord.”

¹⁶³ Hayden, 111.

programmatic function, namely proxy baptisms for the dead, a doctrine which developed in the interim between the Kirtland and Nauvoo periods.¹⁶⁵ The new ritual was mandated by revelation to be housed in the basement of the Nauvoo temple. “For a baptismal font there is not upon the earth, that they, my Saints, may be baptized for those who are dead; For this ordinance belongeth to my house...”¹⁶⁶ The term “my house” referred to the temple, yet the ritual was not included in the Kirtland program nor was it found in the descriptions or plans for the Independence temple. The ordinance of baptism in Mormon belief is considered an essential saving ordinance, and therefore those who were not baptized in this world are given the opportunity to receive the benefits through vicarious ordinance. The ordinance involved a proxy participant who was baptized in the basement font on behalf of the dead individual, thus securing the dead’s eternal salvation. The implicit message in the stated revelation is that the Temple’s sole purpose was to house the new baptismal ritual. No mention is yet made of future ritual functions which became so integral at Nauvoo. The introduction of the baptismal ordinance significantly changed the plan of the temple as previously established at Kirtland.

Excavation of the temple site in the 1960s yielded valuable information leading to an informed, if partially conjectural, layout of the basement plan. On the periphery of the north and south basement walls stood twelve rooms of non-uniform size but identical to those opposite. The archaeologists concluded that the incorporation of the baptismal ritual into the temple basement occurred after construction had commenced. Their conclusion was based on evidence that the floor space had been re-excavated after the foundations were in place and sloped down from all sides to the center of the room where

¹⁶⁴ Hamilton, 23.

¹⁶⁵ Doctrine and Covenants 124. An epistle which contains “further directions on baptism for the dead.”

the font was positioned. The additional excavation increased the ceiling height necessary to house the tall baptismal font. Two wells were constructed in the basement, one at the west end of the temple under the vestibule and one located just east of the font, the latter serving as a water supply for the font.¹⁶⁷

The first baptism for the dead during the Nauvoo period occurred in the Mississippi River in 1840, prior to the temple's construction, on behalf of Joseph Smith's brother Alvin, who was previously deceased; the ordinance for Alvin was repeated formally in the basement of the unfinished Nauvoo temple in 1841.¹⁶⁸ The introduction of this ordinance established a continuity with the Hebraic precedent in the Old Testament when the prophet Malachi stated the Lord will "turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers."¹⁶⁹ According to Mormon eschatology this passage referred to the connection of humankind through the saving ordinances of Christ's restored church with the baptismal ordinance acting as the fulfillment of this prophecy and the key precursor in preparing the world for the prophesied millennial condition.¹⁷⁰ The baptismal font used for the vicarious baptism symbolically represented the grave and the eventual resurrection from the dead and was thereby positioned below grade in the basement of the temple.

To be immersed in the water and come forth out of the water is in the likeness of the resurrection of the dead in coming forth out of their graves; hence, this ordinance was instituted to form a relationship with the ordinance of baptism for the dead, being in likeness of the dead. Consequently, the baptismal font was instituted as a similitude of the grave, and was commanded to be in a place underneath where the living are wont to assemble...¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Doctrine and Covenants 124:28.

¹⁶⁷ Harrington, 24-31.

¹⁶⁸ Porter, Larry C., and Backman, Milton V., Jr. "Doctrine and the Temple in Nauvoo." Brigham Young University Studies. 32(1-2). 1991. 51.

¹⁶⁹ King James Version. Malachi 4:5.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew, 80.

¹⁷¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 5:150. September 5, 1842. Also Doctrine and Covenants 128:12-13.

At Nauvoo, the baptismal ritual was the first in a sequence of temple rituals one participated in as one progressed through the hierarchical spaces of the temple, ultimately arriving in the Celestial room located in the attic, the most sacred space within the Nauvoo temple. The original font was temporary in nature, carved out of wood, and was later replaced with a more permanent font fashioned of stone. “There was a font erected in the basement story of the Temple, for the baptism of the dead, the healing of the sick and other purposes; this font was made of wood, and was only intended for the present use.”¹⁷² The font was located in the center of the basement under the main hall of the temple and measured sixteen feet east to west and twelve feet north to south. It stood seven feet off the ground being supported by twelve oxen carved from pine plank which were “copied after the most beautiful five-year-old steer that could be found in the country.” The oxen were situated so as to give the impression that they were emerging below the belly of the font. There were four at each of the long sides and two at each end. The font itself was accessed by a flight of stairs in the north and south sides.¹⁷³ The design of the font was taken from the template of the “molten sea” (a term synonymous with the baptismal font in Mormon interpretation) provided in the Biblical account of the description of King Solomon’s temple.¹⁷⁴

The wooden font was removed in 1845. The Times and Seasons, a local Church sponsored newspaper in Nauvoo, reported, “as soon as the stone cutters get through with

¹⁷² Times and Seasons, January 15, 1845, Volume VI. 779.

¹⁷³ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:446-447. Monday, November 8, 1841.

¹⁷⁴ Andrew, 80. This passage is found in 1 Kings 7:23-25, “And he made a molten sea (*baptismal font in Mormon theology*), ten cubits from the one brim to the other: it was round all about, and his height was five cubits: and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about. And under the brim of it round about there were knops compassing it, ten in a cubit, compassing the sea round about: the knops were cast in two rows, when it was cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set above upon

the cutting of the stone for the walls of the Temple, they will immediately proceed to cut the stone for and erect a font of hewn stone.”¹⁷⁵ The replacement font was considerably more grand, being constructed of stone and designed by William Weeks.¹⁷⁶ As described by Young, “This font will be of an oval form and twelve feet in length and eight wide, with stone steps and an iron railing; this font will stand upon twelve oxen, which will be cast of iron or brass, or perhaps hewn stone.”¹⁷⁷ The stone oxen of the font were festooned with tin horns and ears applied to the stone base.¹⁷⁸

The preceding sequence of events is key in identifying how developing doctrine shaped new space within the temple at Nauvoo. Evidence suggests that Smith lacked a clear understanding about where the new ritual would be housed. At Nauvoo a monumental liturgy by necessity dictated a monumental house, and vice versa. By comparison the subdued and familiar nature of Kirtland’s architecture corresponded with the relatively simple prototype ceremony performed within its walls. A necessary precondition for the integration of the new baptismal ritual, the larger Nauvoo temple was further primed for future ritual changes in coming in 1842. William Weeks created the inherent potentiality of the Nauvoo space which in turn made possible the facile negotiation of ritual integration.

The third deviation involved the quasi-spontaneous decision to utilize the attic space for ritual purposes. Its subsequent coup d’état to become the primary functional space of the temple was unanticipated and the subsequent reorganization of the interior plans resulted in the diminishing use of the two double-ended assembly halls on the first

them, and all their hinder parts were inward.”

¹⁷⁵ *Times and Seasons*. January 15, 1845, Volume VI. 779.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew, 80. *Times and Season*. January 15, 1845.

¹⁷⁷ Smith, Joseph. *History of the Church*, 7:358. January 14, 1845.

and second floors. Interestingly, the precedent for relocating ritual function to the attic space was established first at the Kirtland temple. The attic in Kirtland was never intended as usable space, and was certainly never intended to house the sacred temple rituals, a fact made abundantly clear through the revealed plans. Over time at Kirtland, however, certain rituals migrated from the assembly halls, where they were originally housed, to the unanticipated attic spaces, and more particularly to Smith's private office, which eventually became synonymous with the biblical reference to the most sacred chamber of the temple, the Holy of Holies in Solomon's ancient temple. At Nauvoo the attic's use was expanded dramatically and this secondary, subsidiary, hidden, unwanted and unusable space assumed the most important architectural position in the Nauvoo. Having been plastered and painted in late November 1845 the attic space was finished with temporary items such as canvasses, rugs, potted plants, mirrors, etc. [Figure 37] In his voluminous journal, Clayton provided a detailed description of the upper attic story of the Nauvoo temple. His entry of December 11, 1845 stated:

The main room is 88 feet 2 inches long and 28 feet 8 inches wide. It is arched over and the arch is divided into six spaces by cross beams to support the roof... The main room is divided into apartments for the ceremonies of the endowment. Beginning from the door at the west is an all[e]y about 5 feet wide extending to about 3 feet beyond the first Beam of[f] the arch. On each side of the Alley is a small room partitioned off where the man is created and a help mate given to him. From these rooms to the third partition in the Arch is planted the garden, which is nicely decorated and set off with shrubs and trees in a pot and Boxes to represent the Garden of Eden. In this apartment is also an altar. Here the man and woman are placed and commandments given to them in addition to what is given in the creation. Here also after the man and woman has eaten the forbidden fruit is given to them a charge at the Alter and the first and second tokens of the Aaronic Priesthood. They are then thrust out into a room which is dark being the one on the north side between the fourth and fifth division of the arch which represents the telestial kingdom or the world. Opposite to this is another apartment of the same size representing the terrestrial kingdom and between these two is an alley about 4 feet wide. In the telestial kingdom, after the man has proved himself faithful he receives the first signs and tokens of the Melchizedek Priesthood and an additional charge. Here also he vouches for the conduct of his companion. They are then left to prove themselves faithful, after which they are admitted into the terrestrial kingdom, where at the alter they receive an additional charge and the second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood and also

¹⁷⁸ Harrington, 37-38.

the key word on the five points of fellowship. There are words given with every token and the new name is given in the preparation room when they receive their washing and anointing. After received all the tokens and works and signs they are led to the vail where they give each to Eloheem through the vail and are then admitted to the Celestial Room. The Celestial room occupies the remainder of the main room being the space between the two divisions of the Arch. This is adorned with a number of splendid mirrors, painting and portraits... There are also a large number of maps. A large map of the world hangs on the North side wall, and three maps of the United States and a plot of the City of Nauvoo hangs on the West partition. On the South wall hangs another large map of the United States, besides a number of large mirrors and paintings. In the centre and body of the Celestial Room are two splendid tables and four splendid sofas. Also a small table opposite the large Window on the East end of the room on which stands the Celestial and terrestrial Globes. All the rooms are nicely carpeted and has a very splendid and comfortable appearance. There are a number of handsome chairs in it.¹⁷⁹

According to Matthew Brown the arrangement of the three major temporary spaces of the attic described above symbolized the various strata of Mormon afterlife and “also corresponded respectively to the Courtyard, Holy Place, and Holy of Holies in the temples of ancient Israel.”¹⁸⁰

The established Kirtland rituals became “initiatory” or preparatory and devolved into subordinate functions at Nauvoo. As described above, the washing and anointing ordinance, instituted initially at Kirtland, constituted a small part of the larger endowment ritual in Nauvoo, and was performed in the preparation room of the attic space. The system of veils and curtains were based on the Kirtland prototype, but in Nauvoo were utilized to partition the attic space to satisfy the functional demands of the new ritual. The initiates of the endowment ceremony were dressed in a strange undergarment called a robe which was all one piece with a hole in the center of the breast and in one knee. On the left breast was the symbol of the Masonic compass and on the right breast that of the square.¹⁸¹ In the endowment ceremony the participants viewed a drama depicting the creation and the Fall of Adam. The individual was also given passwords, various grips and handshakes which were all explained by Joseph Smith as “the keys are certain signs

¹⁷⁹ Smith, 206. Smith, George D. ed. An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton.

and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true.”¹⁸² The introduction and emphasis of new temple rituals climaxed at Nauvoo, yet did not engage well with the established Kirtland template and therefore, by association, neither did they engage well with the interior plan installed at Nauvoo. The new ritual ultimately required new spatial configurations at Nauvoo which were more completely worked out in subsequent Utah temples. The establishment of the monumental typology at Nauvoo preceded and required a ritual consistent with the new architectural standard designed by Weeks. For example, essential features of the original temple typology became underutilized, intentionally or not, such as the ‘redundant’ second assembly hall whose function waned at Nauvoo and was retired completely at the Salt Lake temple. Eventually, both double ended assembly halls disappeared entirely, displaced by the unassuming confines hidden in the attic of Nauvoo.¹⁸³

The implicit message is that the plan established by Weeks preceded the decision to utilize the space. Weeks’s structural plans for the Nauvoo temple fortuitously provided the potential for usable space in the attic by utilizing a series of modified Queen post trusses, a system which presupposed its eventual habitation. [Figure 46] Whether this was a result of Smith’s instruction or simply a result of the particular framing method preferred by Weeks remains uncertain. However, unlike the designers at Kirtland, Weeks may have anticipated the likelihood of having usable space in the attic and therefore

¹⁸⁰ Brown, 221. Symbolism in Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration.

¹⁸¹ Flanders, 271.

¹⁸² Andrew, 84.

¹⁸³ The assembly hall was retained in the St. George, Utah temple. The St. George temple, therefore, is the closest relative to Nauvoo, except that the attic space is unoccupiable which may have been an additional factor behind the demise of the second assembly hall. The second assembly hall in St. George was retrofitted with veils or curtains as had been done in the attic space at Nauvoo. See Demille, Janice. The St. George Temple: The First 100 Years. Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishers. 1977. 64. The assembly hall function, so prominent in the early temples would completely be deleted, except for a few

engineered the Queen post system to secure that advantage. Based on Arrington's research, the attic floor was converted into usable space during the temple's construction, much like the basement was re-engineered during construction to house the baptismal font. He stated:

...builders wanted to convert the attic into a serviceable floor, but the vestibule entrance was taken up largely by the structural elements of the steeple base and stairway landings. It was necessary to construct a double width vestibule of 40 feet for double service to the attic floor and steeple. The additional space for it was taken from the inner attic wall, leaving the length of that hall only 88 feet.¹⁸⁴

The only architectural requirement for performing the endowment ritual following the 1842 change was that of a large unobstructed space, a pre-condition to which the attic was adequately suited and which was satisfied during Joseph Smith's lifetime in the attic of Smith's Red Brick Store. The integration of the endowment ritual in May of 1842 guaranteed the spatial modifications necessary for the Nauvoo temple. The individual circulation patterns and necessary partitioning were satisfied by temporary curtains hung from the exposed heavy timbers comprising the roof structure. Given the impending migration to the Great Salt Lake Valley and the desire of the leadership of the Church to endow its adherents with "power from on high," the attic space was annexed late in the construction process.¹⁸⁵ Following the arrival of the main body of Mormons to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, forty-six years passed until the Salt Lake temple was completed in 1893. Therefore, the urgency with which the members were ushered through the Nauvoo temple initiation is understandable.¹⁸⁶ The length of time required to complete Nauvoo's unfinished second floor assembly hall was not a feasible option. As Arrington noted, "This [attic] arrangement within the building was forced by the general situation that

exceptional examples such as the Washington D.C. temple.

¹⁸⁴ Arrington, 20. Manuscript.

¹⁸⁵ Doctrine and Covenants 95:8.

finally led to the removal of the Saints.”¹⁸⁷ Therefore, it follows that Weeks modified his original plans allowing access to the attic and, thereby, satisfied the necessary programmatic functions of the endowment ritual. Although the attic was an interim space, utilized in a dire moment, and surrogate to the primary assembly hall where the ritual ordinance work was initially planned, it was nevertheless a necessary space. The original Nauvoo form as designed by William Weeks preceded the integration of Joseph Smith’s ritual functions.

Following Smith’s death, as the temple was nearing a state of sufficient completion in January of 1845 it is clear that there was some confusion as to where the endowment ritual would be performed. Smith seems to have failed to leave instructions for its specific location in the temple. Initially, Brigham Young planned the ceremony for the mezzanine level between the first and second stories, but later in the month settled on the use of the “upper story of the Temple in which they could receive their washings and anointings and endowments.”^{188, 189} The attic space of the temple was finished on December 10, 1845. Young reported: “at 3:45 p.m., we completed the arrangements of the east room, preparatory to giving endowments.”¹⁹⁰ He continued: “And at Four-twenty-five p.m., Elder Heber C. Kimball and I commenced administering the ordinances of endowment.”¹⁹¹ They continued the administration of the endowment ceremony until 3:30 am the following morning. The flurry of endowments continued for less than two months until the closing of the temple on February 7, 1846 when the migration to the western wilderness was abruptly commenced. Two entries in the History of the Church

¹⁸⁶ Church leaders erected a “temporary” Endowment House until the Salt Lake temple was ready for use.

¹⁸⁷ Arrington., 94. Manuscript.

¹⁸⁸ Smith, Joseph. *History of the Church*, 7:364. January 26, 1845.

¹⁸⁹ Brown, 366. *Symbolism in Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration*.

specify the number of individuals receiving the endowment. “Friday, [February] 6 – Five hundred and twelve persons received the first ordinances of the temple,” and “Saturday, [February] 7 – ...upwards of six hundred received the ordinances (i.e. of the Temple)”¹⁹² All told, 5,669 ordinances were performed in the Nauvoo temple during that short period.¹⁹³ Arrington suggested that “the performance of the priesthood functions of the endowments in the attic converted this floor into one of equal importance to any of the other floors of the Nauvoo temple.”¹⁹⁴ The attic space was sufficient in fulfilling the requirement demanded by the new ritual. In the short span of two months during the brief existence of the Nauvoo temple, the most undistinguished space of the temple became the most sacred and hierarchically important space and persists as such today in symbolic form in the modern Mormon temple, while the idiosyncratic and somewhat mysterious double ended assembly spaces have entirely disappeared.¹⁹⁵ Arrington further suggested that the congregational function of the early temple was temporary in nature, planned initially in the early Utah temples.¹⁹⁶ However, as the temples were built they were reconfigured and specialized in the performance of ritual ordinance work and therefore de-emphasized their assembly function.¹⁹⁷ Although this does not dismiss the integral nature of the assembly hall in the temple, it downgrades their primacy. Intended initially as a dual-use ritual and assembly space, those that remain are limited to

¹⁹⁰ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:541. December 10, 1845.

¹⁹¹ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:542. December 10, 1845.

¹⁹² Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:580. February 6 and 7, 1846.

¹⁹³ Roberts, Brigham H. History of the Church: Period II. Vol. VII. xxv.

¹⁹⁴ Arrington, 1355. Manuscript. The number of ordinances performed differs from the number of individuals who received the endowment due, perhaps, to the fact that individuals were performing multiple ordinances.

¹⁹⁵ The Washington D.C. temple (1972) and the reconstructed replica temple at Nauvoo (2002), both have a dedicated assembly hall patterned after the early halls in Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake.

¹⁹⁶ The St. George, Logan, Manti and Salt Lake City temples were erected in 1877, 1884, 1888 and 1893 respectively.

¹⁹⁷ Arrington, 22a. Manuscript.

specialized assembly functions, such as highly restricted priesthood meetings, and remain extremely mysterious to modern members of the Church. In the end, the narrative annotating their demise is surprising given their original status as revealed and primary ritual spaces and symbolic microcosms of Zion.

The fourth deviation involved the formal monumentality imbued in the Nauvoo temple's architecture, achieved by virtue of its increased mass and coherent sculptural program. Its monumentality further emphasized the importance of mystery and ritual within the tenets of Mormon belief. The Kirtland form was confined within traditional parameters established for Protestant meetinghouse design while the Nauvoo temple represented an entirely new phenomenon yet still within the bounds of a traditional and recognizable Grecian form, a trend Bishir referred to as "change and continuity."¹⁹⁸ Andrew observed that Greek Revival architects preferred an adaptation of the classical Greek forms rather than a pure archaeological accuracy.¹⁹⁹

The monumentality of the Nauvoo temple demanded a ritual equal to its monumental form. Perhaps Smith anticipated the coming ritual changes and his desire to erect an architecture worthy of the ritual formed the impetus for his initial vision of the Nauvoo temple. The Nauvoo temple's ornamental program achieved its own unique style by emulating the revolutionary concepts of Mormon theology and ritual developed during the Nauvoo period. In contrast, there was a certain sense of perceived quaintness and simplicity in the early ritual at the Kirtland temple, a fact which was reflected in its more traditional form. The unique and coherent ornamental program established at Nauvoo further fostered its distinction from the temple at Kirtland. Kirtland lacked the

¹⁹⁸ Bishir, Catherine "Jacob W. Holt: A Vernacular Builder?" Winterthur Portfolio. Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1981). 1-31.

stylistic coherency observed at Nauvoo, and instead relied on an eclectic aggregation of Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival and Gothic elements coupled with unprecedented interior spaces to establish its divine nature and render it “not after the manner of the world.”^{200, 201} By contrast, the divinity of the Nauvoo temple was achieved through the coherency of the new forms and details rather than through eclectic inconsistency. Although the ornamental program at Nauvoo was based on a palette of typical Grecian details and proportions being copied in the United States during the 1830s and 1840s, Weeks adapted the revival idioms and conceived a novel architectural language all his own, uniquely tailored to the religion it defined. The result was a coherent, revolutionary and peculiar cloak on an otherwise mundane structural frame.

Weeks successfully epitomized form invention in creating a vernacular style referred to as the “Mormon order”²⁰² or “Jo Smiths order of Architecture.”²⁰³ The “Mormon Order” was loosely based on the Corinthian order, the highest order of Grecian architecture. Invented by Weeks, the Mormon Order was refined with each successive drawing of the Nauvoo temple proving Weeks’s astute ability to translate Mormon doctrinal language into a formidable architecture. Richard Oman, currently Senior Curator of the Museum of Church History and Art, suggested that, “In the Nauvoo temple, the architectural details seemed to have played a pedagogical role. The Saints

¹⁹⁹ Andrew, 71.

²⁰⁰ Robison, 16, and Andrew, 38. Andrew points out the reason for the architectural and stylistic eclecticism. Ohio was located on a migration route which originated in the Berkshires and moved to the Midwest. 3.5 million acres of the Western Reserve in Ohio was deeded to the state of Connecticut and this became an area of relocation for many Connecticut resident in the early 19th century. 41.

²⁰¹ *Doctrine and Covenants* 95:14.

²⁰² Colvin, 94. The term Mormon order derives from the Journal History entry June 12, 1844.

²⁰³ Arrington, 88. Burlington Hawkeye, Feb. 12, 1846, VII, No. 38. 2. Mayor J.P. Newhall of Iowa coined this term.

apparently received sermons with their eyes as well as their ears.”²⁰⁴ For example, the anthropomorphic qualities of the exterior sunstone identified humankind’s capacity to achieve the highest order of exaltation promised by Mormon belief, the Celestial kingdom. Similarly, the moonstone and starstone represented the lesser states of salvation, the Terrestrial and the Telestial kingdoms, equal to the glory of the moon and stars, respectively.

Likewise, the exterior sculptural program defined and identified the hierarchical ritual spaces located in the attic of the temple: the Telestial room, Terrestrial room and Celestial room. The Celestial room of the Nauvoo temple literally and figuratively represented the abode of God and Jesus Christ. The initiate toiled progressively through higher and higher orders of Mormon afterlife, eventually reaching the Celestial room at the apex of the temple, the holy of holies. The Celestial room was situated at the eastern end of the attic space in full view of the rising sun through a large elliptical arched window. The unique exterior motifs befit the equally unique ritual space on the interior of the temple. Weeks delivered a veritable sermon in stone and established a monumental iconograph through his representation of the mystery of Mormon belief in the architecture of the Nauvoo temple.

²⁰⁴ Oman, Richard. “The Nauvoo Temple: Some Architectural Forms and Their Possible Interpretations.” March 20, 2001. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives. CR 100 221. 24.

VI. Architectural Influences on Weeks

Whether Weeks is considered a carpenter-builder, draftsman-engineer, vernacular designer, bricoleur or architect is ultimately of minor importance, all are appropriate titles and generally describe Weeks's professional standing. What is important to define, rather, is Weeks's ability to capably satisfy the demands of the architectural profession; the Nauvoo temple is the best evidence supporting this claim. However, this raises the question of how Weeks arrived at his final design for the Nauvoo temple.

Weeks's principal role in the design of the Nauvoo temple can be substantiated through careful examination of Edward Shaw's 1832 builder's handbook entitled Civil Architecture. An original copy of the book was recently donated by William Weeks's descendents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives Department in Salt Lake City, Utah. According to family sources the publication was owned by Weeks himself.²⁰⁵ [Figures 38-39] The cover and frontispiece are missing and William Weeks's signature does not appear anywhere in the book, but it twice bears the name of his brother Arvin, once on the page preceding Plate 84 and once on page 115. [Figure 40] The volume may have been given to the younger William while the two collaborated in the Eastern and Southern states building churches. Alternatively, William may have given it to Arvin after learning that he would not be continuing in his role as Church architect following his sojourn in Sheboygan in 1848. Nevertheless, many intriguing comparisons exist between Shaw's Civil Architecture and Weeks's Nauvoo temple drawings which

²⁰⁵ Shaw, Edward. Civil Architecture. 1831. In Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, MS17352. This claim was verified by Scott Christensen of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives Department and in an article entitled "Rebuilding the Nauvoo Temple" Clem Labine's Traditional Building, May/June 2003, Volume 16, No. 3. 15.

will be studied in detail in the following pages.

Weeks's Nauvoo temple drawings illustrate the evolution and development of the Nauvoo temple design and are evidence of the resolute determination of Smith to not just construct a "house," but to create a Mormon monument worthy of the "attention of the great men of the earth."²⁰⁶ Weeks's participation in the design and construction of the temple did not merely facilitate the desired goal but was key to realizing Smith's lofty objective. Arrington suggested that the iterative drawings done by Weeks, showing the development of the design, were no doubt motivated at the request of Joseph Smith.²⁰⁷ However elsewhere he noted that, "the literature is silent on the motivation for these changes and concerning those who effected them."²⁰⁸ Given the collaborative nature of the project, changes would have necessarily originated from both patron and architect.

Comparing the bulk and sophistication of the Nauvoo drawings with the relative paucity and plainness of the Independence drawings, little doubt exists that the drawings commissioned for Nauvoo were the result of an expert with a much higher level of practical and theoretical experience. The Independence drawings, on the other hand, exposed the virtual inexperience on the part of their authors. Weeks produced three primary renderings of the Nauvoo temple, the earliest being a perspective drawn from the southwest and the latter two being elevations of the temple's principle west façade.

The first rendering only exists as a facsimile inset at the upper left hand corner of J.P. Childs Map of Nauvoo which was published in 1842. The original copy of this perspective view is lost. [Figure 32-33] The original was likely prepared in the fall of

²⁰⁶ Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 4:229. "Epistle of the Prophet to the Twelve." October 19, 1840.

²⁰⁷ Arrington, 342. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple."

²⁰⁸ Arrington, 94dd. Manuscript. He continued: "We know that Joseph Smith made some changes in the architectural plans from time to time...but the real basis for these changes and just who was responsible for

1840, in response to Smith's solicitation for designs of the Nauvoo temple. Given the overtly enthusiastic reaction of Smith to Weeks's submitted design of the temple, this rendering may represent Weeks's original submission. The rendering certainly exhibited qualities to which Smith would have been immediately attracted. Whether this rendering was in fact the one submitted in response to the call for designs or not, Smith, obviously, was fond enough of the drawing to include it on the official map of Nauvoo. Its inclusion on Childs advertising brochure irrefutably established the Nauvoo temple as the singular and central element in Smith's new utopian urban model of Zion. Weeks signed the original drawing of the temple with the caption: "The Temple, Nauvoo; Drawn by W. Weeks Nauvoo." Dating the drawing is complicated given the lack of a date in the caption and its publication in 1842. Most scholars agree that the drawing was prepared in 1842. However, the extent of the temple's foundation plans would have been finalized between Weeks and Smith after the submission of Weeks's original rendering in October 1840 but prior to the excavation and construction of the foundation walls in early 1841. William Clayton recorded: "18 Feb 1841 – Temple Committee having laid out the temple foundation, workmen begin to dig the foundation and basement, starting with the four corners."²⁰⁹ Therefore, Weeks's original drawing of the Nauvoo temple can be definitively dated sometime between October 1840 and February 1841.

The grainy quality of the print obscures some of the detail, but it clearly depicted a variation of a Greek peristyle temple which Weeks modified by substituting pilasters in place of freestanding columns. The Greek form was surmounted by a disproportionately large orthogonal tower. Even in this earliest depiction one is able to pinpoint the

the specific features of the change, are speculative matters, since the contemporary records are silent in regard to them."

embryonic seed of the anthropomorphic ‘Mormon order’ in the bases and capitals of the pilasters. The pilaster bases depict a crescent moon and the capitals, although difficult to determine if sculpted with the imposing sun face, do as Andrew suggested, “possess some kind of applied ornament resembling the two heavenly hands holding trumpets seen on the capitals as they were carved.”²¹⁰ Nonetheless, the idiosyncratic sculptural accoutrement was born.

The second drawing – the first full elevation drawing – is an undated drawing of the west façade of the temple and clearly shows the iterative progression beyond the initial design concept. [Figure 34] This drawing was likely executed sometime during 1842, but prior to the beginning of major construction that spring.

8 Jun 1842 -- Work commenced in late-Spring 1842 and progress was slow until the arrival during the month of William W. Player, a master stone mason from England, who came specifically to Nauvoo to work on the Temple. On this date he began supervision of the masonry work and under his leadership the work accelerated.²¹¹

Weeks maintained the general scheme in his original rendering but included minor alterations. He refined and enhanced the anthropomorphic features of the pilasters and removed the three circular windows above the triple arched opening, ostensibly to emphasize the entry by increasing the height of the portico. Weeks retained the orthogonal tower base but refined the upper sections with a more sophisticated octagonal form. In this iteration Weeks somewhat awkwardly adapted the form and structure of the traditional Corinthian order to reflect the particular tenets of Mormon belief by retaining the acanthus leaves below the somber sunfaces. Weeks maintained the round windows at the mezzanine level of the first floor but in the frieze, and aligned with the windows

²⁰⁹ Clayton, Nauvoo Temple History Journal, 4.

²¹⁰ Andrew, 71.

below, he included what appears to be a sculpted stone element, bearing some resemblance to clouds.²¹² This particular sculptural motif would have been consistent with the overall astrological symbolism on the temple. Interestingly, cloud stones were included on the Salt Lake temple and represent an impediment to the glory of the sun. It is possible that these billowing forms could have represented windows with curtains showing from behind, but this conjecture is unlikely given the lack of other window details such as muntins and frames which are present on other windows found on this rendering. Windows would have been necessary to light the second story mezzanine office spaces which were eventually built and their exclusion here suggests that those office spaces had not yet been conceived in the Nauvoo temple design. It is interesting to note that Weeks included an elliptical arched window in the pediment although the attic space had not yet been formally designed to be inhabitable space. At this stage the elliptical window was simply an architectural feature providing harmony to the façade.

The third, and final, drawing of the west façade shows none of the awkward design investigations found in the previous drawing. [Figure 35] The modifications in this drawing were limited to elements above the pilaster capitals, suggesting that the temple, below that line, had already been erected, including the capitals. If correct, it suggests that this drawing was likely done sometime during late 1844 or perhaps even during the off season during the early months of 1845. On December 6, 1844 Church records indicated:

The last of the capital sunstones were placed on the temple walls. There were problems in raising the stone, causing a delay of an hour and a half, when it was finally placed at 10:30 a.m., which closed the construction season for 1844. The last stone had been cut by Harvey Stanley. Twelve of the capitals were still

²¹¹ Journal History, 11 Oct 1842, CA.

²¹² Interestingly the Salt Lake temple had cloud stones with rays of light emanating toward the earth.

lacking their trumpet stones, which would not be placed until the following spring.²¹³

Construction resumed again in the spring: “12 Mar[ch] 1845 -- William Player began the working season on the temple.”²¹⁴ The sunstones were carved and sculpted months in advance of their installation, with the first sunstone capital placed in the fall of 1844: “23 Sep 1844 -- The first sunstone capital stone was placed on the temple walls. Each stone weighed about two tons and cost some \$300.”²¹⁵ The sunstone capitals depicted on this drawing remained consistent with the previous representation, with only slight modifications. These changes included a more human-like surface and replacement of the acanthus leaves with a form more akin to a cloud at the base of the distinctive capital. Weeks may have updated this particular element on the drawing to more closely approximate the capitals as they had been sculpted the previous year.

Joseph Smith’s untimely death in June of 1844 was still painfully recent in the minds of the Saints in the fall and winter of 1844 and the devout William Weeks was no exception. Historic evidence suggests that Weeks and Young had at best a distressed relationship. On October 28, 1844, Brigham Young records: “I attended a council with my brethren of the Twelve, the Trustees, the Temple Committee and Brother William Weeks the architect at the Temple office, settling the differences existing between the Temple committee and Brother Weeks.”²¹⁶ Although speculative, the dispute may have been over proposed modifications to the Nauvoo design and the protection of design authority by Weeks.

The innovative rectangular pediment, so unique to the Nauvoo design, appeared

²¹³ Smith, Joseph. *History of the Church*, 7:323-324.

²¹⁴ Clayton, “Nauvoo Temple History Journal.” 32.

²¹⁵ Clayton, “Nauvoo Temple History Journal.” 29.

for the first time in this iteration. This drastic change ostensibly followed a late decision to utilize the attic story and required that the triangular pediment be altered where the stair towers were located at the north and south corners of the west elevation, thus allowing access to the space. Weeks's modification to the traditionally dogmatic form represents the agility of his creative pragmatism. The alternative design solution would have included a combination of triangular and rectangular forms to reconcile function with form. Weeks generated a new formal order unlike any seen in ecclesiastical architecture until that time, deviating from the traditional Grecian temple form and reconciling form with function. The radical exterior formalism was but a glimpse of the revolutionary practices occurring on its interior.

As shown on the third drawing, Weeks designed semi-circular windows in the face of the rectangular pediment. This detail was short-lived however when: "The Twelve overruled Weeks's plan for semi-circular windows in the pediment, substituting rectangular widows."²¹⁷ The determination for this change may have been influenced by the lack of sufficient time and resources to finish the temple and to begin endowing the Saints.

One of the most overlooked differences between the second and third revisions of the west elevation is found in the frieze. Weeks skillfully introduced a round window in the frieze in place of each of the 'cloud' stones of the previous rendering and alternated in a star stone which together formed an adapted triglyph and metope composition. Each of the round windows drawn by Weeks depicted an inverted pentagonal star of stained glass to match the adjacent star stone of the frieze. These windows became necessary to light

²¹⁶Smith, Joseph. History of the Church, 7:314. October 28, 1844.

²¹⁷ Journal History, 6 Jun 1845.

the office spaces of the second story mezzanine. Had Weeks not inserted these round windows into the frieze, the total height of the temple would have been necessarily increased to make room for them in “the broad side of the building,” below the frieze as Smith intoned earlier. One speculates whether these specific round windows were those debated between Weeks and Smith in their oft-quoted exchange. If so, the instruction by Smith to include them in the broad side of the building, irrespective of the required adjustments to the height of the building, was ingeniously solved by Weeks when he included them in the frieze thus eliminating the need to increase the overall height and thereby maintaining the “known rules of architecture” by which Weeks’s design was guided.

In addition, Weeks refined the tower enhancing it with an octagonal form from base to spire. On the tower Weeks placed Corinthian columns supporting the base of the tower, consistent with the Classical approach of stacking the orders. Some evidence suggests that these capitals may have been anthropomorphized with faces although it remains difficult to determine on the extant daguerreotype.²¹⁸

Other minor modifications include varying the glazing patterns in the arched and round windows and including a more detailed moonface at the base of the pilasters, which may represent an update of an element already in place as was suggested for the sunstones as well. This final drawing is the closest approximation to the temple as it was eventually built, and demonstrates the progressive refinement of architectural details and the integration of ritual program into the design by Weeks.

Each of the drawings described above demonstrate the evolutionary progression

²¹⁸ FFKR Architect’s, a Salt Lake City architectural firm, preliminary analysis of the original temple included this supposition. They did not replicate this feature due to the lack of clear evidence.

of design as Weeks continued to refine and develop his initial concept. Each iterative step was undoubtedly being presented to Joseph Smith, or the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and Brigham Young following Smith's death. The remaining sheets in Weeks's Nauvoo temple collection depict aspects of various construction details developed for the Nauvoo temple. The drawings range from detailed finish drawings to structural framing diagrams. Some are intricately shaded and detailed while others are plain and unembellished; however, they all bear Weeks's distinctive artistic hand.

Since Weeks had Shaw's Civil Architecture in his possession, a thorough comparative analysis with Weeks's Nauvoo details and those depicted in Shaw's Civil Architecture will necessarily follow. The analysis will compare technique, composition and formal details between the two authors, with the intent of establishing that Weeks was not only in possession of the builder's handbook in question but that his methodological approach paralleled that put forth by Shaw. Weeks's talent embraced a tremendous proficiency to start with established patterns in Shaw's handbook and then modifying those patterns to fit the unique parameters of his project.

The first comparison will examine a shading technique described by Shaw, as found on Plate 22, and Weeks's own shading technique he employed on details for the cornice of the temple found on drawing MS 11500 – Items 5 and 6. [Figure 41-42] Shaw utilized a complex system to execute his shadow lines involving such variables as reflectance, distance, direction, etc. He essentially defined his shading boundaries by establishing an angle of incidence forty-five degrees above the horizon and then drafting construction lines from the “origin of the luminary.” While Weeks's shadows were less refined than those in Shaw's publication, in part due to the reduced scale of Weeks's

Interestingly, Corinthian capitals on the tower of St. Michaels in Charleston, South Carolina have faces.

drawings and the nature of charcoal as a medium; the use of the technique as described by Shaw nevertheless conjures compelling similarities.

Juxtaposing Weeks's Doric column base on MS11500 – Item 5 with Figure 2 on Plate 23 of Shaw's builder's handbook, one clearly perceives a comparable shading technique. [Figure 43] Shaw described a method of shading the torus, cincture and scotia elements of a column base. Although Shaw's graphic remains unshaded, it demonstrates his shading methodology on these complex elements; the shading area is simply outlined. Weeks's drawing is shaded as expected, consistent with details found elsewhere on the same drawing sheet. Shaw's image depicts a Roman base, while Weeks's base is more akin to Grecian antecedents. Weeks's resulting shadow varies slightly, given the dissimilar profile, but demonstrates his ability to adapt and apply the technical concept across a larger set of variables. In this example he aptly revised Shaw's given instruction to his desired profile.

The various versions of acanthus leaves drawn by Shaw on Plates 28 and those depicted by Weeks on his sunstone capital found on MS11500 – Item 5 are closely related. [Figure 44] In this drawing Weeks utilized the Corinthian acanthus leaf for the sunstone capital, thereby correlating the Mormon order with the Corinthian.

On the sheet MS11500 – Item 5, which is signed "Drawn By Wm. Weeks for Temple in the city Jan 1, 1846", Weeks depicted an elevation from column base to cornice. [Figure 45] The composition was undoubtedly intended to be included on the exterior of the temple given the drip relief detail on the cornice. This is somewhat perplexing given the temple was to a large extent complete by this time; in fact the main body of Saints left Nauvoo in February 1846 just a month following the date shown on

the drawing. It may have been a detail for the tower but this is unlikely given that by August 23, 1845 “The cupola or dome [was] raised to the top of the temple tower with Bro. Goddard riding it up.”²¹⁹ Alternatively, this may have represented a study for interior finish details in the two assembly halls. Regardless, one should note the compositional technique employed by Weeks in comparison to Shaw’s drawing for the Temple of Minerva at Athens on Plate 36. Both drawings place the dimension bar on the left hand side of the drawing. Weeks’s vertical dimension bar is dashed in where his frieze intersects it, but otherwise they are nearly identical. Weeks’s divisions of the dimension bar show the profile projection in the left column, the total height in the central column and the height of individual elements in the right column, duplicating Shaw’s dimensional annotation precisely. Also noteworthy is the correlation of the general organizational pattern with the major architectural element of the drawing positioned to the left side of the sheet with the dimension bar on the far left. The drawings are highly detailed with intricate shading employed on both. The supporting architectural details are shown to the right side of the drawing sheet and are rendered to a lesser extent, but essential in elaborating the principle element.

Comparing Shaw’s “Designs for Roofs” on Plate 92 with Weeks’s drawing of the Nauvoo temple roof truss found on CR 679 – Item 11, one immediately perceives obvious similarities between the method of structural detailing and the rendering style of both drawings. [Figure 46] Weeks utilized a modified Queenpost roof truss with kickers in the attic with a Kingpost truss above to frame skylights. Although both drawings depict fairly conventional details, the similarities between the vertical posts and the buttressed joints are apparent.

²¹⁹“John Taylor Journal.” Brigham Young University Studies, 23 [Summer, 1983]: 85-86.

In some cases Weeks drafted nearly the exact detail illustrated in Shaw's builder's handbook. For example, Shaw's detail of a Corinthian column base from the portico of the Pantheon in Rome on Plate 58 is nearly the exact detail Weeks drew on MS11500 Item 10. [Figure 47] Weeks even included the dimension bar on the right following Shaw's model, although he did not populate it. The similarities of these two details are so nearly exact that it would be difficult to argue that Weeks was not using Shaw's handbook as a template to generate his forms.

Comparing the shaded elevation of column and entablature on the left side of the same drawing, MS11500 – Item 10, and Shaw's drawing for the column and entablature of the Temple of Thesus at Athens on Plate 38, one discovers one of the most compelling comparisons. [Figure 48] Although Shaw's drawing remained unshaded and details such as the fluting on the column shaft in Weeks's drawing were lost because of his solid poché, the drawings are nearly identical and establish an unmistakable derivation.

Comparing Weeks's detail of a fluted column on MS 11500 Item 5 and Shaw's detail of a Doric column from the Baths of Diocletian in Rome on Plate 54, a similar compositional technique is evident. [Figure 49] Both drawings position the plan of the column below the elevation. Although only Weeks's drawing shows the contrasting top and bottom diameters of the column on the elevation, both illustrate that difference in plan.

Weeks's detail on MS 11500 Item 5 and Shaw's illustration of the Grecian Doric from the Portico of Philip King of Macedon on Plate 39 display interesting similarities. [Figure 50] Both drawings show canted mutules below the soffit which function as a drip release. The cornice profiles are similar in both although Weeks's drawing has

progressed to the point in his design where the traditional Doric details have been adapted to fit the themes of Mormonism.

Weeks's cornice detail of the sunstone capital on MS 11500 Item 5 and Shaw's cornice detail of the capital from the Grecian Doric on the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus on Plate 42 display a similarity in the profiles. [Figure 51] The profile in Weeks's detail seems to be an aggregate of the profiles found on Shaw's detail.

Weeks's cornice detail found on MS 11500 item 10 and Shaw's detail of the Grecian Ionic from the Temple of Minerva Polias at Priene on Plate 48 are proximally similar. [Figure 52] In particular, the cyma recta profile is similar in both as is the extended soffit below the corona. The elongated Greek ovolo molding profile is similar in both as well.

Weeks's entablature detail from MS 11500 item 11 and Shaw's illustration of the same from the Grecian Ionic at Ilisus at Athens on Plate 45 is very similar, although Weeks's detail was left unshaded. [Figure 53] Both have a steep cyma recta cornice with a Greek ovolo bead below. As well the taenia molding, the raised band at the top of the architrave, is nearly identical in both drawings with a flat vertical molding, an ovolo and astragal bead.

Comparing Weeks's cornice detail on CR 679 - Item 3, entitled "South of Temple" and signed "Drawn by Wm. Weeks" with Shaw's cornice detail from the Temple of Minerva at Athens on Plate 36, figure 3, one finds that Weeks utilized an assortment of molding profiles to generate his entablature details. The ovolo profiles in both drawings are similar as are the bird's beak and other profiles below. [Figure 54]

Plate 39 of Shaw's book depicts a cornice detail in Figure 2 from the Portico of Philip King of Macedon. Comparing that detail to Weeks's cornice detail found on CR 679 - Item 3, the ovolo and bird's beak profiles are similar as is the drip relief profile below the corona. [Figure 55] The mutules in both drawings are sloped as well, however, Weeks sloped the entire soffit rather than just the attached element, a detail unique to Weeks.

Weeks's ovolo profiles on drawing CR 679 - Item 3 and Shaw's profiles for "Modern Mouldings" on Plate 67, item K, are very similar. [Figure 56] The Grecian ovolo of both display a quirked edge and the proportional massing of each are nearly identical.

Again comparing Weeks's drawing on CR 679 - Item 3 with Shaw's Grecian Doric from the Temple of Minerva at Athens on Plate 37, Figures 2 and 3 in the upper right corner of the page, one can discern a similarity in the drip relief profile. Interestingly, the dashed line used by Shaw to indicate the extension of the profile beyond the cut line is used by Weeks as well. [Figure 57]

The taenia on Weeks's drawing on CR 679 - Item 3 is similar to that shown on Shaw's drawing for the Doric Portico of Athens on Plate 41. The tiers of the orthogonal molding are proportionally identical in both. [Figure 58]

The quirked cyma reversa and half round astragal drawn by Weeks on MS 11500 Item 11 is nearly identical to that drawn by Shaw for the temple of Ilisus at Athens shown on Figure of Plate 45. [Figure 59] Although the extension of the drip relief profile in Shaw's drawing is longer, the derivation is apparent.

Weeks's drawing on CR 679 - Item 10, is most likely a door casing profile given

the context of additional elements on the sheet. [Figure 60] Comparing this profile with Shaw's pilaster profiles on Plate 80, there are obvious similarities with the quirked astragals shown in both drawings. Interesting as well are the similarities found between the quirked cyma reversa profiles of Weeks's profile with Shaw's profile, second down from the top of the page. In contrast, Weeks repeated the cyma reversa detail on his drawing, scaling it down in size from the primary profile.

Another obvious similarity can be observed between Weeks's drawing of a Tuscan column on MS 11500 – Item 10 and Shaw's drawing in Figure 4, in what is determined to be Plate 61 although the page has been worn away. Shaw described this plate as "A modern example of the Tuscan order."²²⁰ Although the size of the columns shown varies between the two authors, the diameter of Weeks's base is drawn as 47 minutes as opposed to Shaw's which is drawn at 30 minutes, the relative proportions and profiles of the plinth, the torus and the fillet are nearly identical. [Figure 61]

Shaw's detail of a scotia on Plate 65 is nearly identical with Weeks's detail of the same on MS 11500 - Item 10. [Figure 62] Shaw's detail of a quirked ovolo on Plate 65 again is nearly identical with Weeks's detail of the same on MS 11500 - Item 10. [Figure 63] Shaw's detail of a cyma reversa molding on Plate 65 is nearly identical to Weeks's detail of the same on MS 11500 - Item 10, although Weeks lacks the quirk. [Figure 64] Shaw's detail of an echinus ovolo on Plate 65 is again nearly identical to Weeks's detail of the same on MS 11500 - Item 10. [Figure 65]

Shaw's detail of a Roman Doric entablature from Andrea Palladio on Plate 55 bears an interesting similarity with Weeks's drawing on MS11500 Item 5. [Figure 66]. The metope detail on Shaw's drawing is similar to Weeks's round window with the

inverted five-pointed star. Weeks may have drawn inspiration from this example for his window solution.

Weeks's drawing of a Doric capital base on MS 11500 - Item 10, found on the reverse side of the sheet, and Shaw's drawing of the same from the Baths of Diocletian on Plate 54, are nearly identical. [Figure 67] The plinth, torus, astragal and fillet of Weeks's drawing remained unshaded but nonetheless were generated using the same proportional system established by Shaw.

Weeks's detail of the drooping quirked ovolo on MS 11500 – Item 10, on the reverse side of the sheet, and Shaw's detail of the same on Plate 65, figure 3, are similar and again the derivation is apparent given the unique distinction of the profile. [Figure 68]

Finally, Weeks's entablature detail on MS 11500 - Item 11 is nearly identical with Shaw's drawing of the Doric from the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus on Plate 42. [Figure 69] The bird's beak is the most prominent profile on the page but the general detail is nearly identical and again provides irrefutable evidence of Weeks's utilization of Shaw's book for the design of the Nauvoo temple. Comparing another of Weeks's details found on MS 11500 – Item 11 with those on Plate 42 further enhances this argument; that both of these are on the same page almost guarantees it. Note the similar bird's beak profile of each. [Figure 70]

Weeks's drawings on MS 11500 – Item 11 show the development of various molding details. [Figure 71] In particular, many of the profiles and details drawn by Weeks on this sheet can be found on numerous plates from Shaw's publication. Weeks's unique ability to modify and adapt Shaw's prescribed forms is readily visible for various

²²⁰ Shaw, 101.

tower profiles he executed on the sheet MS11500 – Item 9. [Figure 72] Weeks harvested details from Shaw, and certainly elements of these unique profiles can be found in Shaw's handbook, but Weeks invented new forms from those initial templates. Weeks was playful, uninhibited and experimental in his quest for innovative design. Weeks's competent ease in shedding the restrictions of the accepted classical idioms and his ability to devise his own interpretation positively establish his mastery of the art of architecture. Weeks's inventive talent can be extrapolated generally to the larger architectural elements of the Nauvoo temple. His consummate alteration of the Corinthian order to the distinctive sunstone capitals and moonstone bases is the most obvious example. A sampling of Weeks's full drawing sheets are included in Figures 73-80 to give the reader an understanding of both the depth of content in the drawings and the profound experience producing them. Weeks not only engineered the skeletal framework of the sacred Nauvoo edifice but he dressed it in a way that was uniquely adapted to the new Mormon faith and in its own way redefined the faith in a wholly unanticipated manner.

Figure 81 represents Weeks's drawing of the Masonic Temple planned for Nauvoo. Based on his expert reputation, established during the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple, Weeks was selected as the architect for this important structure as well. The only drawing remaining is this eccentric elevation showing a large Masonic all-seeing eye in the pediment in place of the elliptical arched window he developed for the Nauvoo temple. Though the built structure underwent numerous changes during its lifetime, as originally constructed it deviated from the original design drawn by Weeks and remained more modest. [Figure 82-83]

On CR 679-10 item 4 [Figure 84] Weeks drafted an elevation of a window ostensibly intended for the Nauvoo temple, however, in the center of the arch he drew the same Masonic all-seeing eye. His eccentric reiteration of the same symbol on the Masonic temple represents the progression of his architectural confidence since the first Nauvoo temple design. His appointment as architect of the Masonic temple is evidence of the extent of his influence and his status as designated Church architect during the Nauvoo period.

Ample material evidence suggests Weeks was drawing inspiration from sources other than just Shaw's Civil Architecture. For example, James Gibbs's famous London church St. Martins in the Fields, published in his A Book of Architecture in 1728, has been cited as a model for the Nauvoo temple by Laurel Andrew. Andrew argued that Weeks's first drawing, the perspective rendering of the Nauvoo temple, is a clear Greek derivative of Gibbs's model. She elaborated her thesis by calling attention to the similar vantage point from which each drawing was constructed. Moreover, she argued that the balustrade, which does not belong in either the Georgian or Greek idiom, is present on both drawings and suggests a possible derivation.²²¹ Hamilton bolstered Andrew's argument by suggesting that Weeks and Angell had access to architectural books by the British architect Peter Nicholson which reproduced images of St. Martins in the Fields. These books included such titles as the Carpenters New Guide, The New Practical Builder, and Workman's Companion and The Principles of Architecture.²²²

Gibbs's church was liberally copied by American builders in the early nineteenth century, mostly due to the inclusion of an American version in multiple books published

²²¹ Andrew, 71.

²²² Hamilton, Charles Mark. The Salt Lake Temple: An Architectural Monograph. Dissertation, Ohio

by Asher Benjamin. [Figure 85] Leland Roth, a prominent American architectural historian, identified these books beginning in 1797 with The Country Builder's Assistant (Greenfield Mass., 1797) and The American Builders Companion (Boston, 1806), which went through six editions until 1827.²²³ As noted previously, Robison conclusively established that Benjamin's volumes were in the possession of craftsmen working on the Kirtland Temple. Roth affirmed:

Even the Mormon Temple at Kirtland, Ohio, designed by Joseph Smith in 1833, shows the adaptation of Benjamin's designs to serve the needs of the fledgling Mormon Church, and Benjamin's manuals were taken by the Mormons to Illinois and from there to Utah.²²⁴

He continued:

Westward dissemination of Benjamin's influence is well illustrated in the Congregational church at Tallmadge Ohio, built in 1822-25 by Lemuel Porter, a master builder who came to the Connecticut Western Reserve (later northeastern Ohio) from Waterbury, Connecticut.²²⁵ [Figure 86]

Robison proposed Lemuel Porter's Congregational Church as a potential precedent for the Kirtland Temple. Although not involved in the Kirtland project, Weeks was, at the very least, acquainted with these ubiquitous publications given the Church's ownership of the volumes. Comparing Weeks's Nauvoo drawings with illustrations from Asher Benjamin's The American Builders Companion, the direct influence of Benjamin's

State University, 1978. See also Andrew, 74-6.

²²³ Roth, 117. Leland Roth. American Architecture: A History. Westview Press, 2001.

²²⁴ Ibid., 120. Roth also states that: "Benjamin's books The Rudiments of Architecture, (Boston 1814, The Practical House Carpenter, (Boston, 1830), Practice of Architecture, (Boston, 1830), The Builders Guide, (Boston, 1839), and Elements of Architecture, (Boston, 1843), were carried by settlers throughout the Northwest territory, and even to Utah, Oregon and California."

²²⁵ Ibid., 120-121. He further suggests: "Extremely practical books aimed at the carpenter and mechanic rather than the gentleman-amateur, filled with plates showing moldings, profiles, windows, staircases, and other details, Benjamin's first volumes established a refined New England Federalist style as Connecticut's Western Reserve (later northeastern Ohio). Later volumes, and later editions of the early books with updated plates, presented the Greek and Roman revival after 1820. Evidence suggests that Benjamin's books (or at least the memory of his designs) were carried as far west as Oregon."

famous publication on Weeks is vivid. Benjamin's elevation of the Doric order on Plate VI, from the 1839 edition of his handbook is nearly identical to Weeks's drawing of the Doric on MS 11500 Item 10. [Figure 87] Comparing Asher Benjamin's molding profiles from Plate 11 of his 1820 version with Weeks's molding profiles on the reverse side of MS11500 Item 10 one can readily identify multiple similarities. [Figure 88] Although the molding profiles in question are standard, the particularities of the composition and drawing execution are comparable between both Weeks and Benjamin. As an example, by comparing Benjamin's Ionic capital in his 1820 publication to that drawn by Weeks on MS 11500 Item 4, one can begin to establish Benjamin's model as a precedent reference. [Figure 89]

To further establish the connection between Benjamin's publications and the early Mormon temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo an examination of the architectural landscape during the 1830s and 1840s shall follow. The formalism of the Nauvoo temple can be classified into a fairly universal New England meetinghouse typology, the essential features of which include a triangular pedimented portico, a belfry, and a large rectangular massing enclosing the main congregational spaces. Asher Benjamin and Ithiel Town's First Congregational Church (Center Church, 1812-1814) in New Haven, Connecticut was conventionally modeled on Gibbs's St. Martins in the Fields and was an example repeated throughout New England until the 1860s."²²⁶ [Figure 90] Roth reported that: "The Center Church ... is heavily indebted to the eighteenth century Georgian Wren Gibbs type. Such quality of design – well studied, well proportioned, well detailed, but rather conservative – characterized the seven books by Benjamin..."²²⁷

²²⁶ Ibid., 120.

²²⁷ Ibid., 120.

In addition to proportional similarities between the major elements of both the Nauvoo temple and Center Church, three key similarities exist between the two buildings: the first is the inclusion of a balustrade along the edge of the roof, the second is the transition from a square tower to an octagonal tower, and the third is the inclusion of pilasters on the side elevations. In fact, as Roth reports, “Variations on Benjamin’s traditional meetinghouse design presented in The Country Builder’s Assistant appeared throughout New England.”²²⁸ Weeks was familiar with the New England landscape, having grown up in the region and having worked in the building trades there early in his career. Therefore, the diluted replication of St. Martins in the Fields in existing structures in and around New England was certainly familiar to Weeks given his penchant for travel. Interestingly in Weeks’s copy of Shaw’s Civil Architecture the word “Manchester” appears numerous times, ostensibly referring to Manchester, New Hampshire. During the 1830s and 1840s, Manchester experienced a burgeoning growth period with a population of 877 in 1830 and 13,932 in 1850. The Weeks brothers may have had their sights set on this boomtown and, according to Arrington, actually were “at Manchester, New Hampshire building churches, etc., for two years.”²²⁹

Additional regional examples based on Benjamin’s Center Church include: Lavius Filmore’s Congregational Church in Bennington, Vermont (1806) [Figure 91]; Samuel Belcher’s Congregational Church in Old Lyme, Connecticut (1816-17) [Figure 92]; David Hoadley’s Congregational Church in Milford, Connecticut (1823) [Figure 98]; and L. Newall’s Congregational Church in Litchfield, Connecticut (1828-29) [Figure

²²⁸ Ibid., 120.

²²⁹ Arrington, 83. Arrington, Joseph Earl. “The Story of the Nauvoo Temple.” Unpublished manuscript. Microfilm of typescript. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

99].²³⁰ These represent but a small sampling of many examples which were based on Benjamin's Center Church prototype. As further evidence of Benjamin's direct influence on William Weeks, Roth stated:

Therefore it is quite probable that Weeks was exposed to design elements which were influential in working out the design of the Nauvoo temple. Lesser known examples should be included as well, such as the simple Congregational Church, built in 1823 in Blandford, Massachusetts by Isaac Damon.²³¹ [Figure 95]

The most notable similarities between the Blandford Congregational Church are found in the pilaster treatment and the triumphal arched entry on the main façade. The Blandford Church also has a five bay layout that closely resembles that of the Nauvoo temple. The second Nauvoo drawing done by Weeks seems to most closely resemble Damon's Church in Blandford, with its triangular pediment and square tower which transitions vertically to an octagonal form. Found on the interior of the Blandford church are niches which were built on both ends of the congregational space. This "double ended" room, although likely not influential in the earlier Kirtland design or later Nauvoo design where the dual directionality of the assembly spaces was implemented, represents an interesting architectural feature, if nothing else. Damon's other churches which bear some resemblance to the Nauvoo temple include the Congregational Church (1824) in Southwick, Massachusetts; the Unitarian Church (1824) in Deerfield, Massachusetts; and the Congregational Church (1818) in Springfield, Massachusetts which, incidentally, is another church based on Gibbs's eminent model.

The Lancaster Meetinghouse (1815-1817) in Lancaster, Massachusetts, designed by Charles Bulfinch bears similarity to the Nauvoo temple worth noting. [Figure 96] Most notably of which is the triumphal-arched entry vestibule and its overall formal

²³⁰ Roth, 117.

massing. Interestingly, Bulfinch created a rectangular ‘pediment’ behind the traditional triangular Grecian pediment. This was to allow access to the attic through the front stair towers. As discussed previously, Weeks utilized a similar method. The combination of rectangular and triangular forms in Bulfinch’s pediment was elaborated upon by Weeks. It seems an obvious solution to a longstanding problem; Weeks simply made the pediment the form required of its function without genuflecting to traditional forms through flimsy references. If one were to remove the triangular portico from Bulfinch’s church, a façade starkly similar to Nauvoo would remain. Furthermore, Bulfinch included large pilasters from stylobate to cornice, applied as a dividing element between bays, thus regularizing the façade. The Nauvoo temple bears a similar architectural treatment.

Moreover, given that Weeks ostensibly spent time in South Carolina with his brother, an obvious comparison with Gibbs’s prototype which surely would have been known to Weeks had he spent any amount of time in Charleston is St. Michael’s Anglican Church (1752-1753), designed by master builder Samuel Cardy. [Figure 97] A telling comparison between St. Michaels and the Nauvoo temple is found in the round architectural elements located above the arched windows of St. Michael’s principal elevation which is similar in appearance and placement to the round windows of the Nauvoo temple. [Figure 98] Equally striking is the nearly identical pilaster order on the side of the building and the double row of arched windows set in between. The orthogonal stone base of St. Michael’s tower with its delineation of stone block over smooth stucco also bears striking resemblance to the base of the tower depicted on the first perspective drawing done by Weeks circa 1842. [Figure 99] The excessively

²³¹ Ibid., 120.

oversized tower of St. Michaels relative to the massing of the building bears some resemblance the same disproportionate relationship found on the first drawing of the Nauvoo temple, though it is somewhat less pronounced.

The most appealing comparison between St. Michaels Anglican Church and the Nauvoo temple emerges on Weeks's third drawing of the temple. [Figure 99] The orthogonal tower base depicted in the previous two drawings by Weeks was transformed into the rectangular attic space on the third drawing. The Nauvoo tower in its final version and that of St. Michaels can both be subdivided into three tiers. The lowest octagonal tier in each consists of an elongated arched louver, with Corinthian columns positioned at each of the corners at Nauvoo and Ionic pilasters at St. Michael's. In the second tier, each bay of the octagon alternates between a round clock face and an elongated arched window, with Corinthian pilasters at St. Michael's and blank corners at Nauvoo, in contrast. In the third tier of St. Michaels exists an open arcade, which serves as an observation deck having engaged Corinthian columns at each corner. Interestingly, at St. Michaels the keystones in the arches display a sculpted face which may have had some influence on Weeks's design for his Corinthian capitals on the tower at Nauvoo which may have included a sculpted face. At Nauvoo, each bay of the third tier possesses an elongated arched window with Doric pilasters finishing each corner. There were slight variations between the third tiers of the third Nauvoo drawing and the final built temple which suggest an operable sash. This tier was likely intended as an observation deck as at St. Michaels.²³² The inclusion of round windows in the square base of St. Michael's tower is similar to Nauvoo's round windows which, by contrast, appear on the main walls. In addition, originally there was a parapet wall running along the north and

south sides of St. Michael until 1847 when it was removed; this clearly followed Gibbs's prototype and resembled what was designed and ultimately built at Nauvoo.

The preceding comparisons demonstrate convincingly that Weeks not only utilized Shaw's prototypes but that Shaw's compendium, Civil Architecture, was Weeks's primary architectural reference throughout the duration of the design and construction of the Nauvoo temple. Combined with his vast experience in the building trades, the repertoire of exemplary buildings with which he was familiar and other volumes of builder's handbooks, a fertile soil was generated from which the unique Mormon sanctuary on the banks of the Mississippi sprung.

²³² McGavin, Cecil E. The Nauvoo Temple. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company. 1962. 241.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

The prosperous city of Nauvoo and its iconic architectural monument were abandoned following intense mobocratic and political pressure in 1846, eventually becoming an atrophied paradox of the untouchable millennial fortress it once represented. The majority of Nauvoo's Mormon population followed Brigham Young and embarked on an arduous and unrelenting trek across the Midwestern plains and eventually through the heart of the rugged and perilous Rocky Mountains to their new Zion.²³³ The Saints' emotional struggle in leaving their beloved city can be gleaned from an excerpt from the journal of Dr. Priddy Meeks, a devout Mormon adherent and later an important colonizer in Southern Utah, most noted for his establishment of Orderville, Utah.²³⁴ Dr. Meeks later recalled in 1879, "while crossing over a ridge seven miles from Nauvoo, we looked back and took a last sight of the temple we ever expected to see. We were sad and sorrowful. The emotions of our mind at that time I cannot describe."²³⁵ The Mormon émigrés eventually arrived in the hostile and arid desolation of the Great Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1847. This early group was armed with an undying optimism epitomized by the historical account describing the wagon trains descent into Emigration Canyon when Young, ill with fever, sat up and viewing the Salt Lake Valley for the first time uttered, "This is the right place. Drive on."²³⁶ Content with their new Zion in the

²³³ The succession of Joseph Smith was contested mainly by Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young. Following the majority appointment of Brigham Young, however, many Mormon splinter groups were formed, the main group being the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (now the Community of Christ) which was organized by Joseph Smith III, Joseph Smith's son.

²³⁴ Orderville, Utah was a test colony for the United Order, a communistic concept in early Mormonism which called for equal possessions, etc.

²³⁵ Priddy Meeks Journal, 22 October 1879 LDS Church Archives.

²³⁶ Gibbons, Francis M. *Dynamic Disciples, Prophets of God*. Salt Lake City, Utah. Deseret Book Company. 1996. 44.

west, for over one hundred fifty years the Mormon presence in Nauvoo was just a whisper of its majestic past, while the Nauvoo temple defiantly eroded into its grave, groaning to communicate its troubled life like a last dying breath.²³⁷ Its physical absence perpetuated the paradigmatic and contentious moment so formative in Mormon theology during the Nauvoo period. The ghost of the ephemeral and mysterious temple lurked in the shadows and awaited its triumphal return.

Then, on April 4, 1999, during the closing remarks of the 169th Annual General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the late Prophet of the Church, Gordon B. Hinckley, spontaneously announced the reconstruction of the Nauvoo Temple stating that “the new building will stand as a memorial to those who built the first such structure there on the banks of the Mississippi.”²³⁸ The moment of triumph in Nauvoo finally arrived when the temple was painstakingly coaxed out of its grave and reconstructed in detail by the Mormon Church in 2002, catalyzing the forceful return of Mormonism to Nauvoo. [Figure 100-101]

The replica temple incarnated the ghost of the original temple which had inhabited and characterized the sacred place since its destruction in 1850. On its exterior the replica temple is nearly identical to the original with a few minor exceptions such as the modern trumpeting angel atop the spire. On its interior, although the new temple hints at the original floor plans, it is unfortunately entirely consistent with modern Mormon temple design and rejects historical accuracy to the original Nauvoo temple. [Figure 102-107] The architecture of the replica temple fomented new dialogue on the

²³⁷ Stones were placed to mark the foundation of the original temple which were later removed during the reconstruction of the new temple.

²³⁸ Hinckley, Gordon B. *The Ensign*. May 1999. The Church was just embarking on an ambitious frenzy of temple building activity throughout the world, dedicating 48 temples in between the years 1999 and

original temple by overshadowing the original discourse with the sanitized reinvention. While the flurry of chatter revolving around the replica reconstruction has substantially subsided a close examination of the original temple, and by association its architect William Weeks, was timely. The groundbreaking ceremony of the replica temple in Nauvoo occurred on October 24, 1999 with unprecedented speed following an accelerated construction period, described by the architect, Roger Jackson, as “a wild ride.”²³⁹ The temple was completed and dedicated in a widely attended ceremony on June 27, 2002, purposefully the one-hundred fifty-eighth anniversary of Joseph Smith’s death. Hinckley offered:

This is Joseph's temple...There will be with us today an unseen audience, with Joseph and Hyrum among them, as well as many who gave their time and even their lives for this temple.²⁴⁰

The deliberate timing of the replica temple’s dedication revealed the Church’s conscious effort to establish a direct conduit to its controversial past, unapologetically claiming direct lineage to the early Church and its contentious teachings as presented by Joseph Smith while at the same moment displaying the Church’s conceit by reportraying the historical events of the Nauvoo period through the lens of a misleading architectural narrative. The newly completed temple, at first blush, is a stirring and inspiring monument and does in fact evoke the temporal and spiritual sacrifice and commitment of the early Saints to the Church, as Hinckley so ably foretold. However, at the same moment, the replica temple re-presents the original Nauvoo temple within a novel and distinctly foreign context. The replica temple embodies the vitality, wealth, power and

2000. <http://www.lds.org/temples/> .

²³⁹ Jackson, Roger P. “Designing and Construction the “New” Nauvoo Temple: A Personal Reflection.” *Mormon Historical Studies*. 221.

²⁴⁰ Stack, Peggy Fletcher. The Salt Lake Tribune. June 28, 2002. “Hinckley Dedicates New Nauvoo Temple.”

global influence of the modern Mormon Church, conditions all of which were crucial and requisite in the Church's triumphant return to Nauvoo. Hinckley affirmed at the dedication ceremony that the replica temple showed the resilience of the Church which was forced out of Nauvoo.²⁴¹ Resilience may be too gentle a term. Rather, the replica temple is symbolic of the absolute and final victory of the Mormon Church in Nauvoo, whereas the nagging presence of the scant physical remains of the original temple served as a bleak reminder to modern Mormons of the humiliating defeat and death of the early Church in Nauvoo, a demeaning detail which stubbornly persisted into the twenty-first century. The replica temple is an ersatz referent of the original Nauvoo temple. It symbolizes the permanence of the modern Church and ubiquity of the modern temple by continuing the imperialistic progression of rapid global temple development and displaces the fragile ephemerality the original Nauvoo temple embodied during its life. Nevertheless, the replica temple, at least in part, fulfills Parley P. Pratt's stubbornly optimistic prediction when he wrote, "...I felt some relief in assuming myself that at last justice could triumph and righteousness reign."²⁴²

The ornamentation of the original temple served as a material sermon of the paradoxical concepts of the divinity of man and the mortality of god, both key doctrinal developments during the Nauvoo period. The didactic symbolism is recreated on the replica temple, yet it is entirely subservient to the larger symbol of the modern temple and demoted to quaint decoration, misunderstood and overlooked by the modern adherent. The replica temple, both in its material approximation and its modern and invented interpretation, ousts the original temple and all its strange mystical theological

²⁴¹ Washington Post. June 29, 2002. "Mormons Begin Dedicating Temple."

²⁴² Proctor, 546.

trappings inherent in the practice of early Mormonism. The original temple was the materialization of millennial preoccupation and was the central element to Mormonism's utopian concept of Zion. In short, the original temple was a unique cultural expression of a people, place and time, all of which has passed into history.

The replica temple is hyperreal, supplanting both the physical being and symbolic meaning of the original temple with an invented symbolism reflecting the cultural expression of the modern Church. Umberto Eco, the Italian novelist and philosopher, explained the post-modern neologism in this way:

The 'completely real' becomes identified with the 'completely fake.' Absolute unreality is offered as real presence. The aim ...is to supply a 'sign' that will then be forgotten as such: the sign aims to be the thing, to abolish the distinction of the reference, the mechanism of replacement. Not the image of the thing, but its plaster cast. Its double, in other words.²⁴³

The replica temple is superficially understood as a modern reconstruction of the original, however. As Eco went on to explain, "the American imagination demands the real thing, and to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake."²⁴⁴ The replica temple realized its own monumentality and significance as the boundary between the hyperreal and the real became ambiguous and contested. The dedication plaque (a replica of the original as well) creates added confusion by implying that the construction of the hyperreal temple was initiated on April 6, 1841.

The House of the Lord
Built by
The Church of Jesus Christ
Of Latter-day Saints
Commenced April 6, 1841
Holiness to the Lord

The capstone, found at the southeast corner, bears the only textual reference of the

²⁴³ Eco, Umberto. Travels in Hyper Reality. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1986. 7.

reconstruction and dispels some of the confusion through a muted and somewhat misleading homage to the original temple. It reads:

Originally Built 1846
Rebuilt 2002

With respect to the hyperreal temple Richard Oman, pointed out:

As a significant and spiritual and historical reference for temple building the impact of the Nauvoo temple can scarcely be overemphasized. The rebuilding of this sacred edifice seems to be a perfect embodiment of the Lords directive in Doctrine and Covenants 124. The building of temples in Palmyra, Nauvoo, and Winter Quarters, helps to link the Saints with the spiritual foundations that called the early history of the Church into being.²⁴⁵

The original Nauvoo temple has been characterized as a transitional temple, bridging the architectural and theological gap between early and modern Mormon orthodoxy.²⁴⁶ James E. Talmage, an early twentieth century Mormon apostle and its first identifiable scholar, in his seminal work on the temple entitled, The House of the Lord, posited that the Nauvoo and Kirtland Temples, while divinely inspired, were temporary prototypes for later temples:

Even among the temples of the present dispensation there is a graded variety in the details of construction. The first temple of modern times was in a measure incomplete as compared with the holy houses of later construction. The fact was doubtless known to the Lord, though wisely hidden from common knowledge, that the Kirtland temple would serve but for the beginning of the re-establishment of those distinctive ordinances for which temples are essential. Even as the tabernacle of old was but an inferior type of what would follow, designed for temporary use under special condition, so the earlier temples of the latter-day dispensation, specifically those of Kirtland and Nauvoo, were but temporary Houses of the Lord, destined to serve for short periods only as sanctuaries.²⁴⁷

Talmage's explanation for the retrograde temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo is evident in the evolving spatial and programmatic functions observed in their sequential

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 7.

²⁴⁵ Oman, 1.

²⁴⁶ Cowan, 1. The Pivotal Nauvoo Temple. Refers to the temple at Kirtland as 'preliminary' and the Nauvoo as 'pivotal.' He states that to understand the Nauvoo, one must first understand the Kirtland. Cowan, 113. "The House of the Lord in Kirtland, A Preliminary Temple."

²⁴⁷ Talmage, James E. The House of the Lord. Signature Books: Salt Lake City. 1998. Reprint of the 1912

construction, ultimately leading to the culmination of those ideas in the Salt Lake temple which was completed in 1893. [Figure 108]

The precedent for change in the revealed pattern, which was initially observed between the Kirtland and the Nauvoo temples, continued between the Nauvoo and the Salt Lake temple. The Nauvoo temple is, in the truest sense, a transitional temple which reconciled the early and modern interpretations of the unique Mormon building type. The dynamically programmed interior spaces underwent a constant state of flux during this transition period. Regarding the Salt Lake temple, Young stated:

I scarcely ever say much about revelations, or visions, but suffice it to say, five years ago last July I was here, and say in the Spirit the Temple not ten feet from where we have laid the chief cornerstone. I have not inquired what kind of temple we should build. Why? Because it was presented before me. I have never looked upon this ground, but the vision of it was there. I see it as plainly as if it was in reality before me. Wait until it is done. I will say, however, that it will have six towers, to begin with instead of one.²⁴⁸

Hamilton suggested that Young was the ultimate arbiter of the Salt Lake temple design: “The fact is, divine or not, architectural origins for the Salt Lake temple originated with Young's experiences.”²⁴⁹ Young himself stated:

Concerning this house [Temple], I wish to say, if we are prospered we will soon show you the likeness of it, at least upon paper... with the assistance of my brethren [twelve apostles]; when these are exhausted, if any improvements can be made, all good men upon the earth are at liberty to introduce their improvements.²⁵⁰

Evidently, Young's experience compelled him to select adobe as the primary building block for the Salt Lake temple. Unfortunately, the adobe brick turned out to be a substandard foundation material and could not bear the weight of the massive structure above. Foundation cracks began to appear very early in the construction process and the decision was made to remove the adobe foundation and replace it with a more robust

Edition.

²⁴⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, I: 133.

²⁴⁹ Hamilton, C. Mark. Masters Thesis University of Utah. 1972. 22.

granite foundation, quarried from Little Cottonwood Canyon to the east. Young's constructional misstep echoes that of his predecessor and their fumbling of the foundation design for the Kirtland temple.

Even if Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had a clear vision of the temple "in minutiae" in their minds, there was no clearly defined method of extracting that vision from its intangible and amorphous form to the final built form of the Nauvoo and Salt Lake temples. In the case of the Salt Lake temple, Young did not provide enormous amounts of detail concerning the temple design, instead he stated generally that it would have six towers, which turned out to be accurate.²⁵¹ Hamilton suggested that there was a basic pattern outlined by Smith in Nauvoo established on revelation, and, therefore, it would have been imperative for Young to adhere to that pattern. Hamilton concluded that the Salt Lake temple should "bear strong inherent resemblances" to the Nauvoo temple.²⁵² In fact, early plans for the Salt Lake temple show them to be identical.²⁵³ The Salt Lake temple also resembles Nauvoo in its north and south facades, with eight bays and five stories. Two of the stories have the famed round windows, two have attenuated rectangular windows with crescent arched tops, and a basement story of abbreviated windows.²⁵⁴ Hamilton concluded:

So, it may be stated that the relationship between the Nauvoo and Salt Lake temples is evident in the basic design. However, the six spires at Salt Lake, plus the medievalizing characteristics there, must of course be seen as having no connection with the neo-classic design of the Nauvoo structure. It should be understood that the Nauvoo temple was originally conceived by William Weeks as a classical, free-standing, peristyle temple dominated by a massive Georgian tower rather than the highly modified neo-classical structure with pilasters which it eventually became."²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ *Journal of Discourses* I: 133. See also *Journal of Discourses* I: 278.

²⁵¹ *Journal of Discourses* I: 278.

²⁵² Hamilton, 33. Masters Thesis University of Utah 1972.

²⁵³ Hamilton, 35. Masters Thesis University of Utah 1972. See Figure 5.

²⁵⁴ Hamilton, 34. Masters Thesis University of Utah 1972.

²⁵⁵ Hamilton, 36. Masters Thesis University of Utah 1972.

One should note that Weeks's revision of the precedent established at Kirtland for his design of the Nauvoo temple was significant in shaping future temple design. The Salt Lake temple simply reinforced and continued a precedent established by Weeks, as do most of the early Utah temples.

Weeks was selected to be part of the vanguard company heading west in the spring of 1846 despite ongoing work on the Nauvoo temple. His early departure likely indicated the intent of Young to select Weeks as architect of a new temple in the Saints' future home.²⁵⁶ Truman Osborne Angell, the "Superintendent of joiner work," was left in charge of finishing construction of the Nauvoo temple.²⁵⁷ Weeks gallantly transferred full authority to Angell:

City of Joseph February 13, 1846

I, William Weeks, by the authority vested in me by Joseph Smith and his councilors [sic] and the Twelve do appoint Truman O. Angel to be my successor as Superintendant [sic] over the finishing of the Temple and Nauvoo House in the City of Joseph according to the plans and designs given by me to him – and no person or persons shall interfere with him in the carrying out of these plans and designs.

William Weeks Architect²⁵⁸

Weeks, however, deserted the Salt Lake settlement with three other families on October 6, 1847, heading north to Goodyears (now Ogden, Utah).²⁵⁹ Weeks's eventual desertion from the Mormon Church and departure from Utah in 1848 may well have caused the postponement of the Salt Lake temple's design and construction, especially in light of the previously mentioned financial and labor deficiencies that plagued its early momentum. Yet, even in the absence of adequate labor, Weeks could have begun and completed the Salt Lake temple designs well before the eventual April 6, 1853

²⁵⁶ Truman Angell, Sr. Autobiography 1884, 7. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 6-7.

²⁵⁸ Johnson Family Collection. MS 4744. Folder No. 1, 0044.

²⁵⁹ Journal History Oct. 11, 1847; Oct 6, 1847; and Oct 14, 1847.

cornerstone laying. Weeks was under the impression that the Salt Lake temple would never be constructed without his direct involvement. A journal entry by Thomas Bullock recorded: “In the spring of 1848 Brother Weeks left, saying, ‘They will never build the temple without me.’”²⁶⁰ It seems logical that the design of the Salt Lake temple would have commenced immediately if Weeks had remained. Weeks knew of Young’s original intention to begin at once on the Salt Lake temple and this likely drew the architect to Salt Lake City in the first place. Weeks had previously established an intimate personal, ecclesiastical and professional relationship with Smith, yet it is apparent from historical evidence that the relationship between Weeks and Young was troublesome. Ultimately, Truman Angell was appointed official Church architect of the Salt Lake temple at the April general conference of the Church in 1852.²⁶¹ Angell’s journal entry reads:

Soon after my arrival I was chosen Architect for the Church, – the former architect William Weeks having deserted and left for the East; thereby taking himself from the duties of the said office, – which position I hold to this day.²⁶²

Angell went on to tremendous prominence in the Church. He recorded, “After I was called to be architect of the Church, the buildings of almost every description throughout the Territory and especially Salt Lake were placed in my charge.”²⁶³ Despite Weeks’s brief sojourn with Mormonism, he laid the groundwork for future temple commissions, not only at the local scale but on a global scale as membership of the Church exploded in the twentieth century. The original Nauvoo temple defined Smith and his revolutionary religion and, paradoxically, the replica temple continues to define the blander version of that same religion today. As architect, William Weeks materialized a definitive moment in Mormonism’s evolving cultural identity by reshaping

²⁶⁰ Thomas Bullock Journals, 1844-50, 8 July 1848, LDS Church Archives.

²⁶¹ Hamilton, 71. Cited in Wendell J. Ashton, “Theirs is the Kingdom.” Salt Lake City Bookcraft, 1945.139.

²⁶² Angell, 8. Truman Angell, Sr. Autobiography 1884

ritual space, establishing Mormon material identity and introducing mystery and complexity in the ephemeral Nauvoo temple. The Nauvoo temple became a permanent fixture of Mormonism, in its brief life, protracted death and reconstructed hyperreal self.

²⁶³ Ibid., 8.

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The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

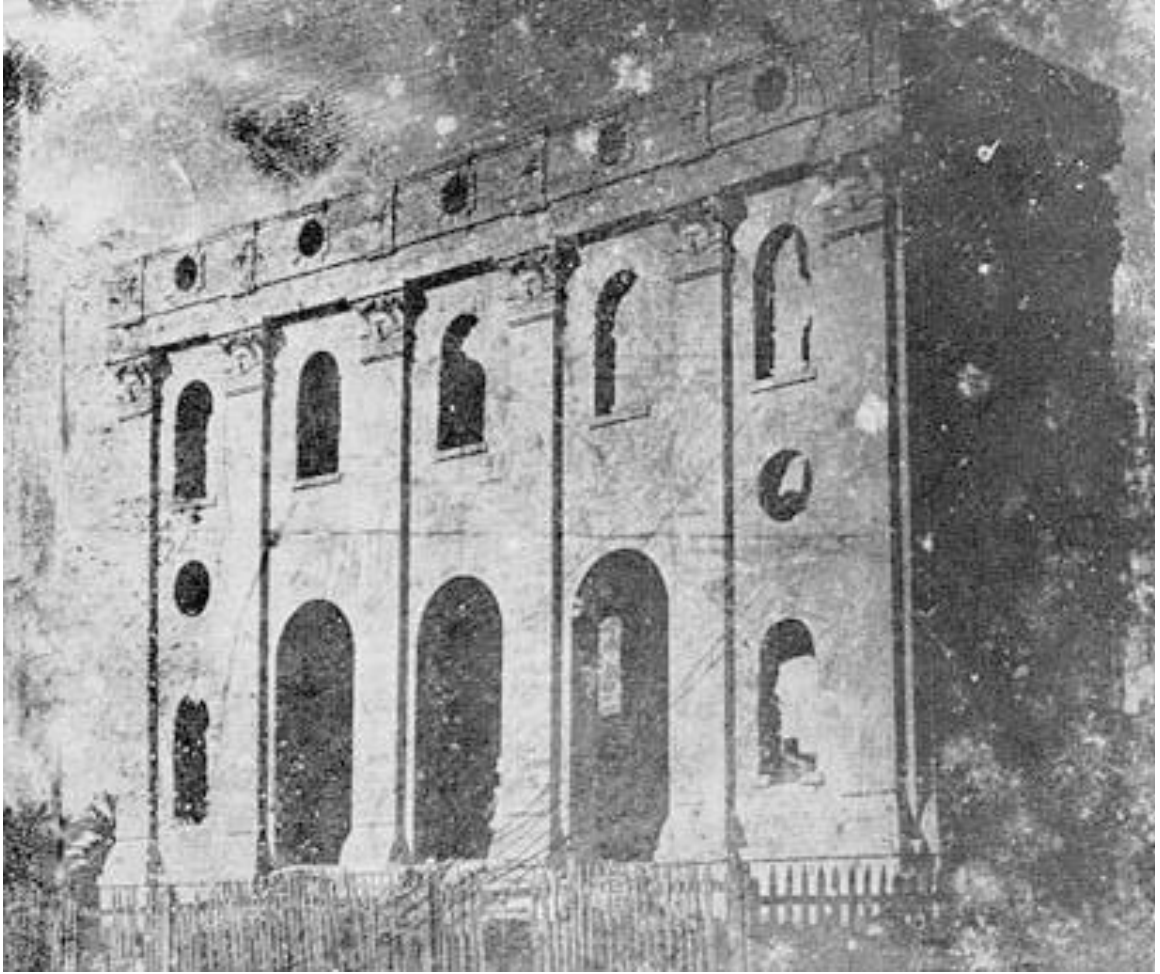


Figure 1. Tintype taken by T. W. Cox in 1850 after a tornado damaged the temple's north wall and the east and south walls were razed. Photo courtesy of LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, p1950.



Figure 2. Panoramic view of Nauvoo circa 1844. Courtesy of LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, p5724.



Figure 3. Southeast view of the Nauvoo Temple as it appeared circa 1847. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, p5321.

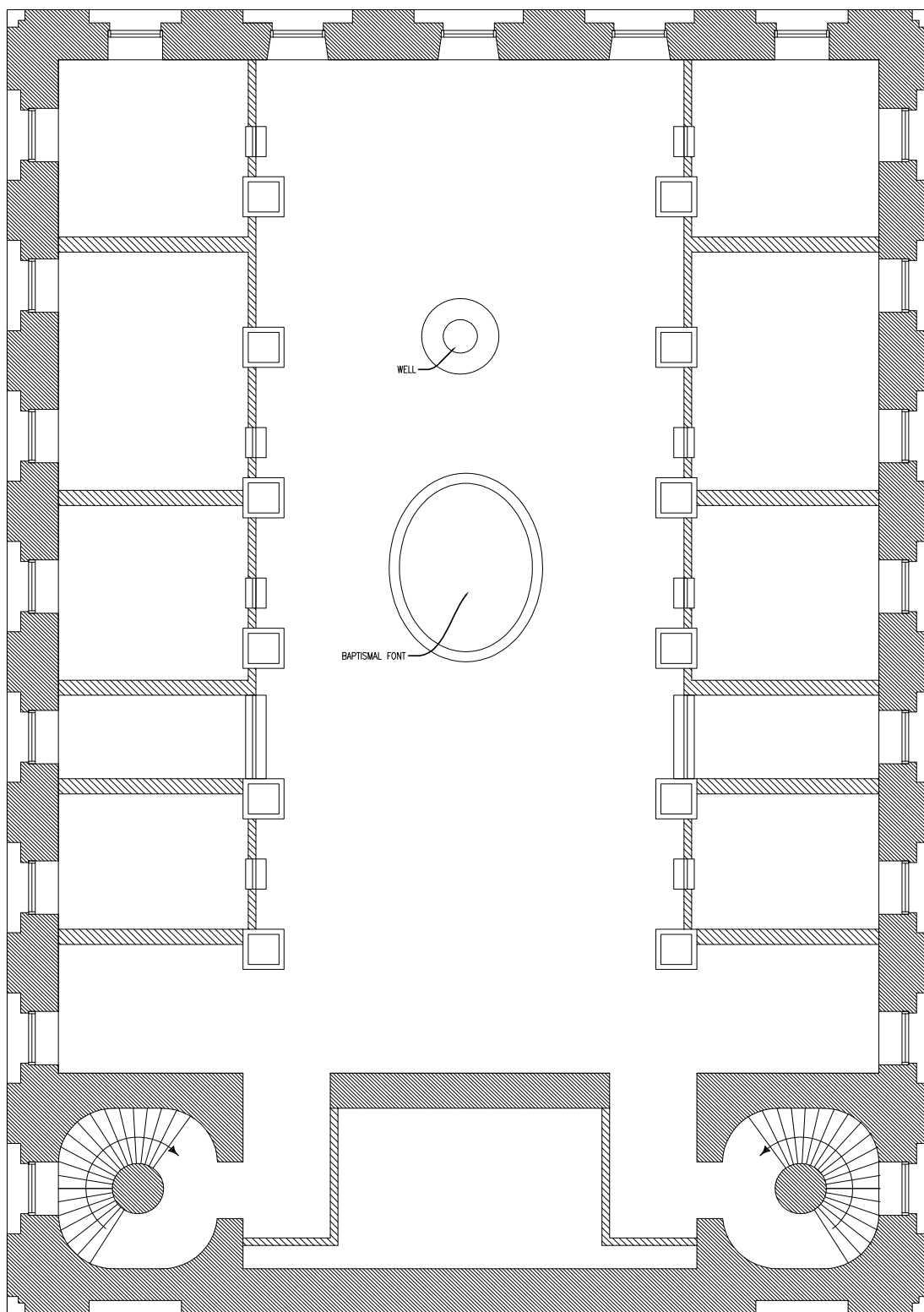


Figure 4. Basement floor plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.

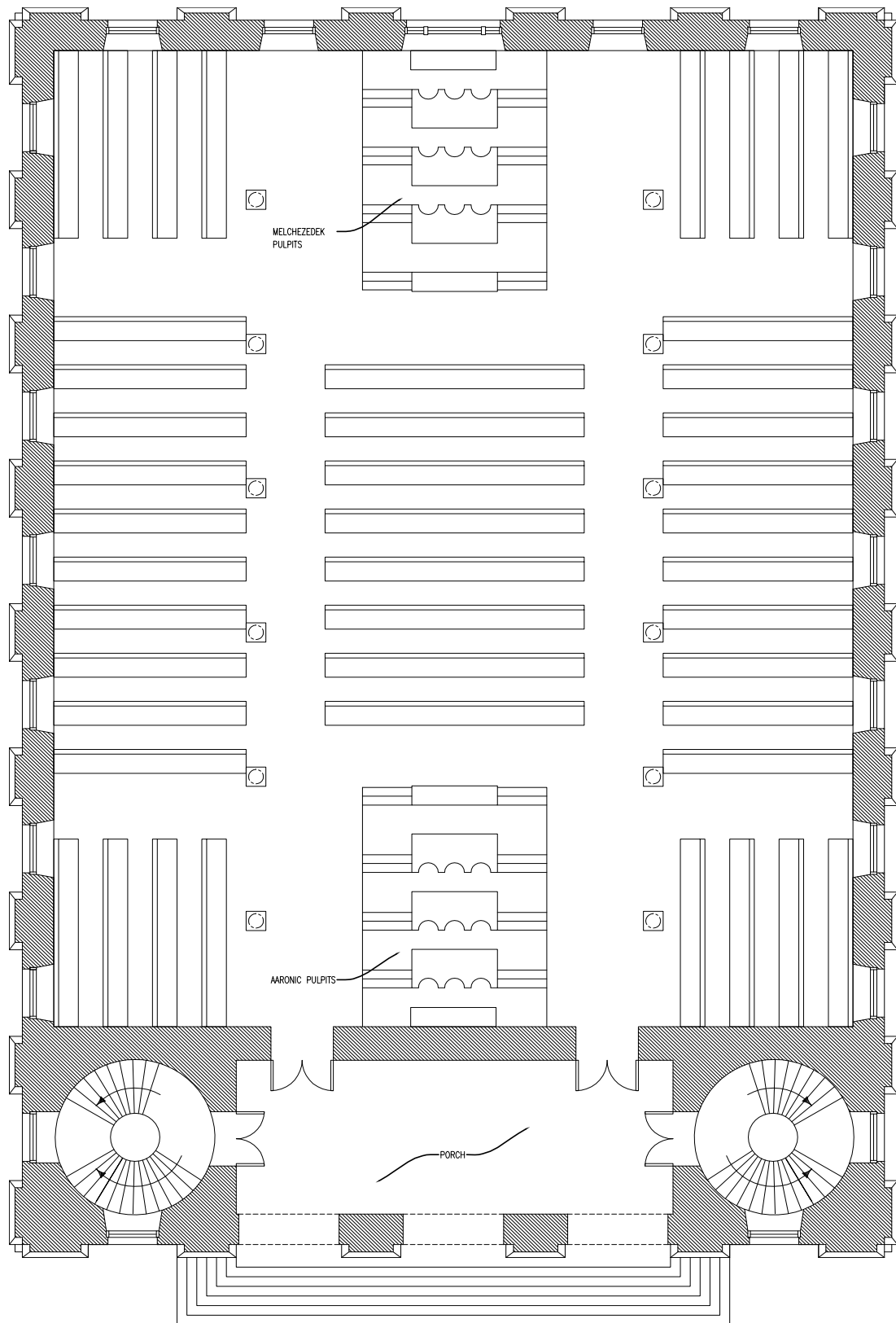


Figure 5. First floor plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.

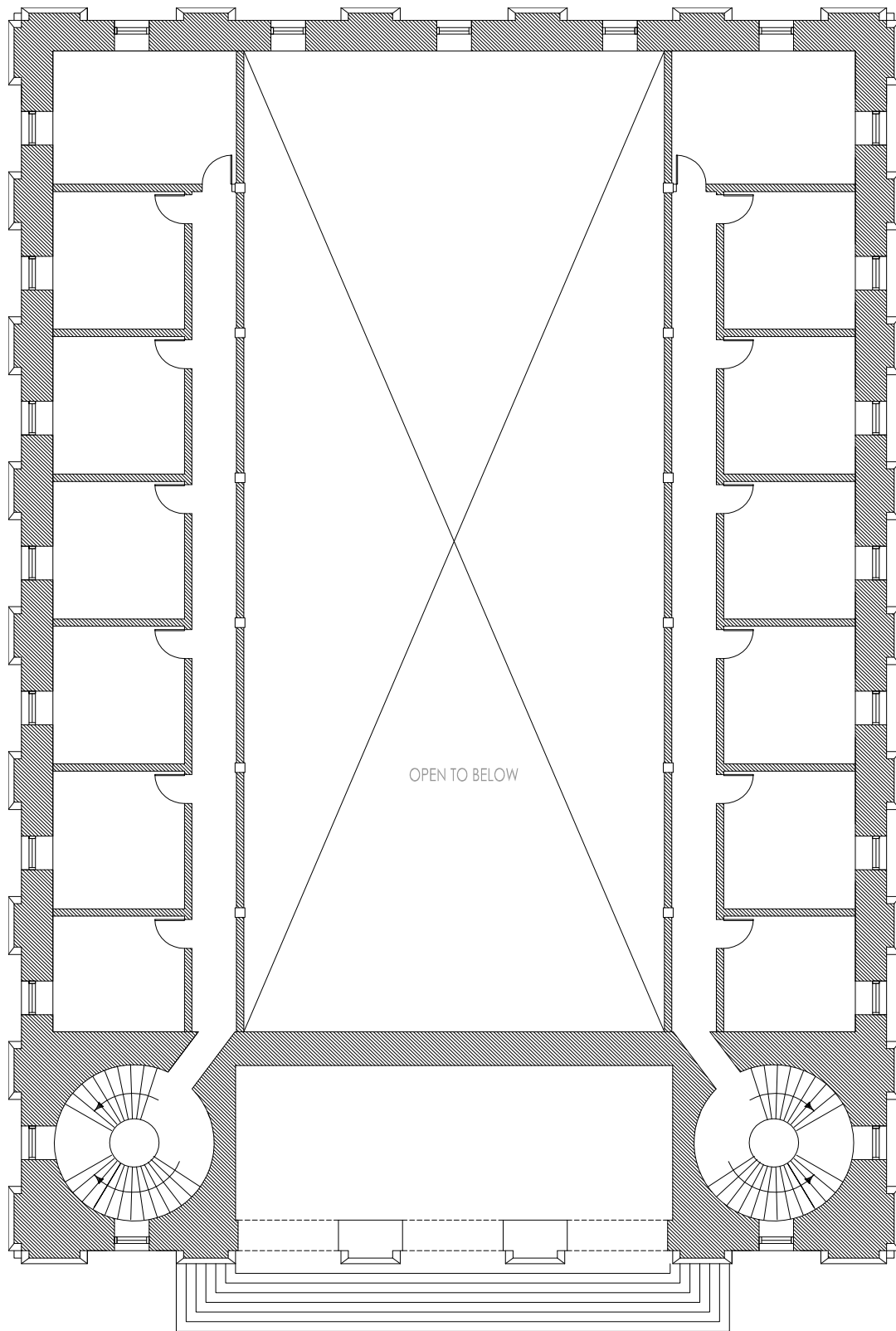


Figure 6. First floor mezzanine plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.

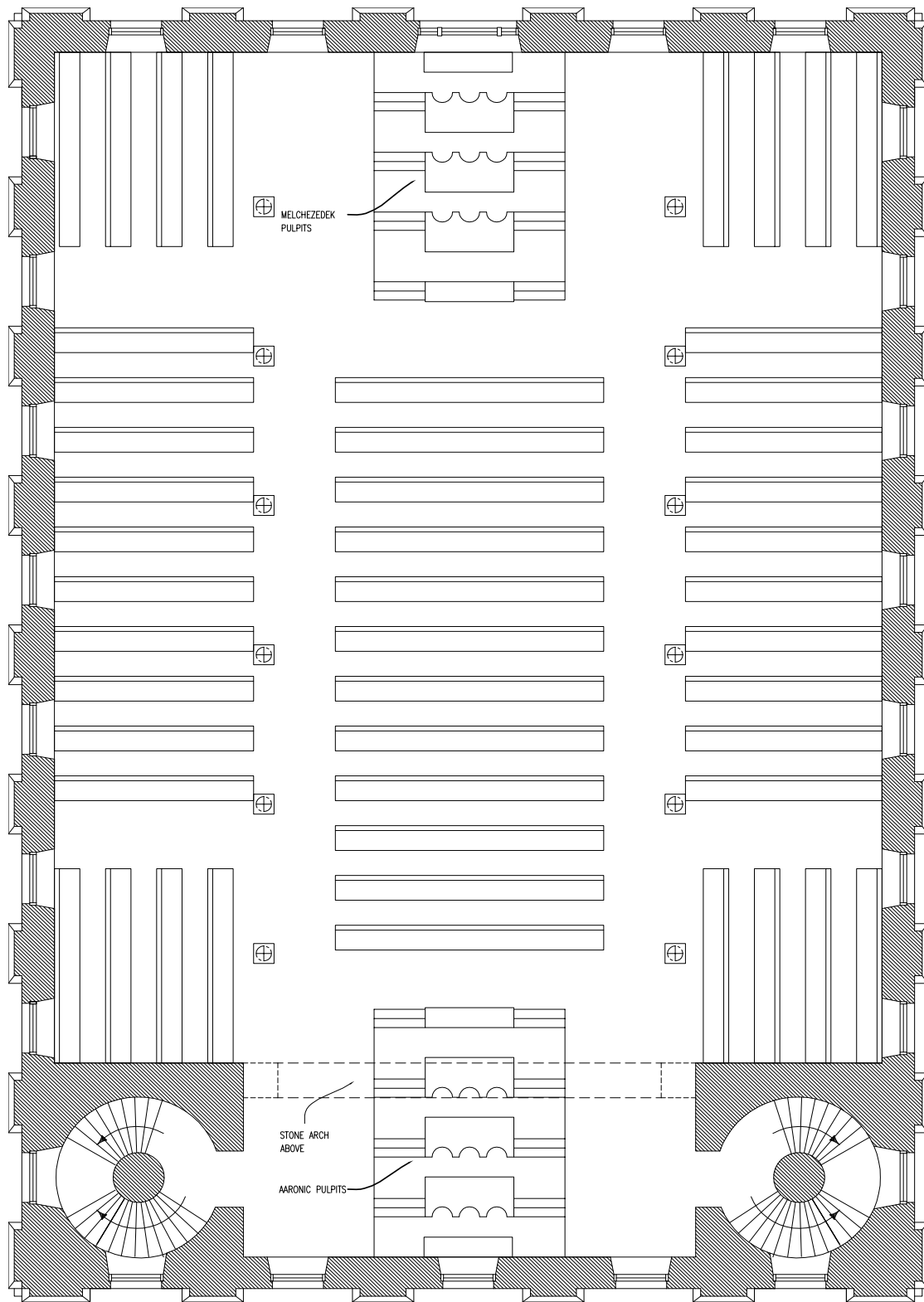


Figure 7. Second floor plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.

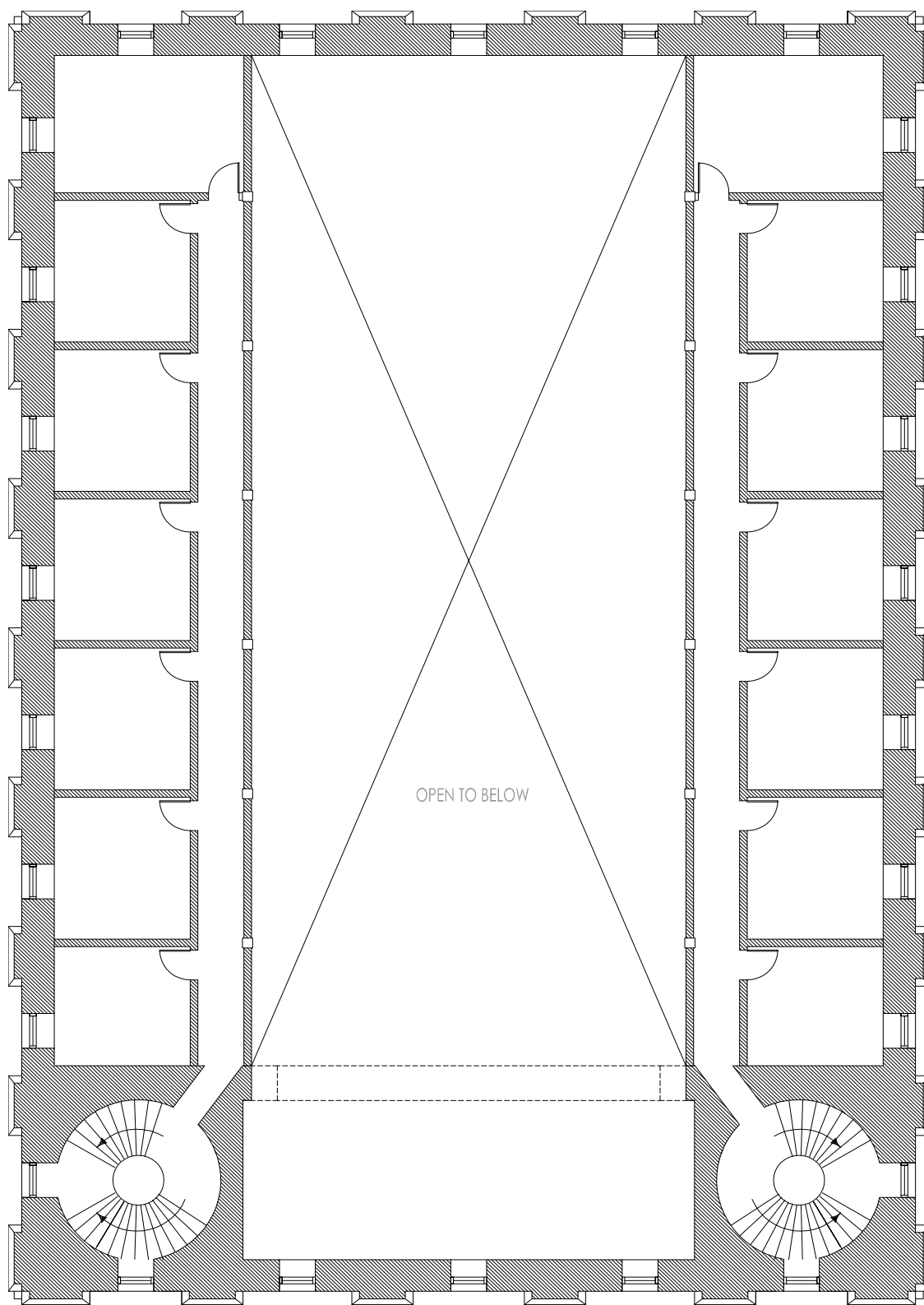


Figure 8. Second floor mezzanine plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.

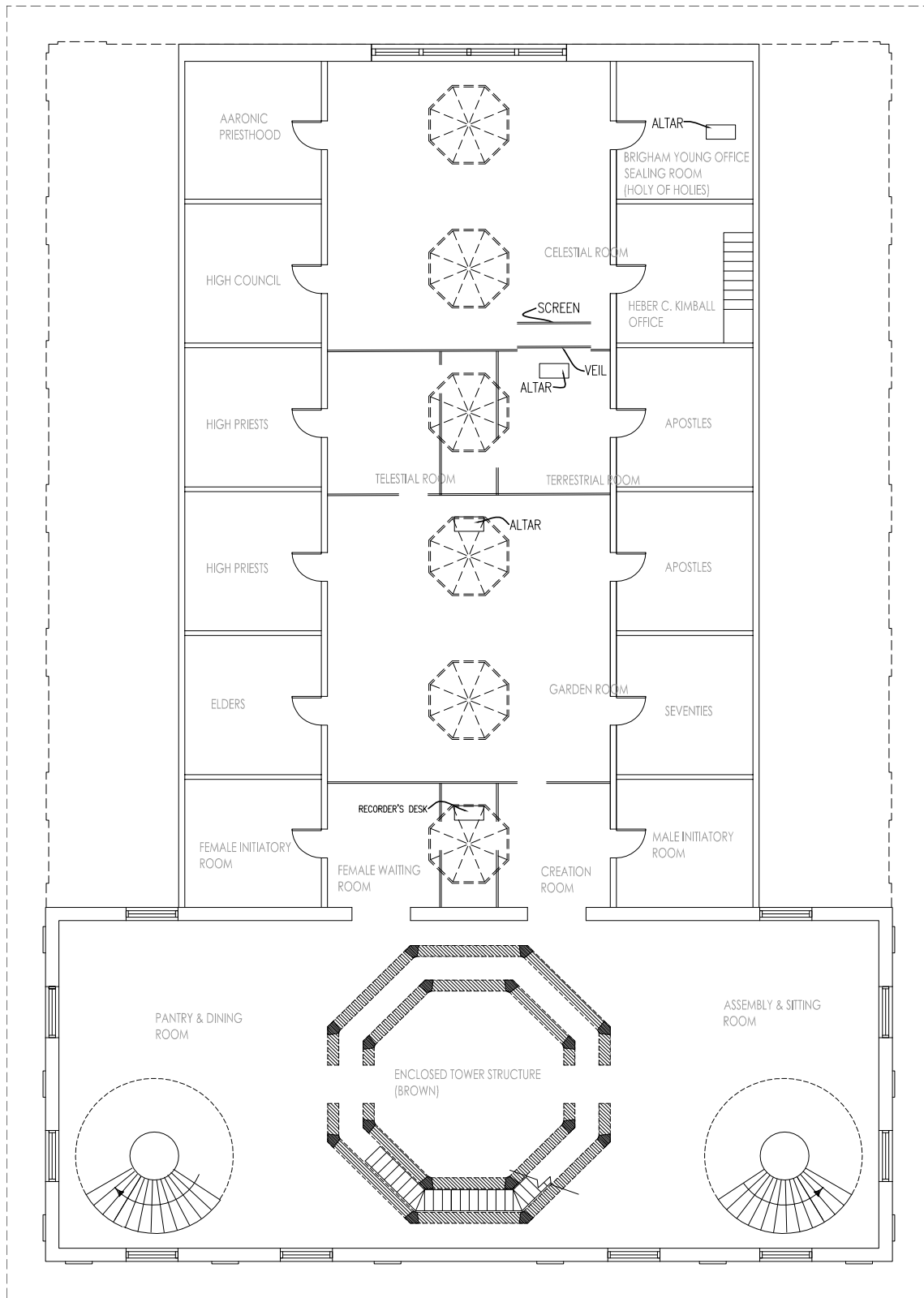


Figure 9. Attic floor plan based on Lisle Brown and FFKR Architects reconstruction drawings. Drawn by author.



Figure 10. Drawing of the Nauvoo Temple ruins by Frederick Piercy, made during a visit to Nauvoo in 1853. The drawing was published in Piercy's *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, London, 1855. This is the only known depiction of the temple's interior.



Figure 11. View of the Kirtland temple by Carl F. Waite, Photographer. April, 1934. The view shows the northeast elevation. HABS OHIO, 43-KIRT,1-4. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 12. Daguerrotype taken by Thomas M. Easterly between 1846-1848. The original is in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.



Figure 13. Daguerrotype taken between 1846-1848. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, p570.



Figure 14. View of the abandoned Nauvoo Temple, probably taken by Lucian Foster, in the spring of 1846. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, p1300 135.

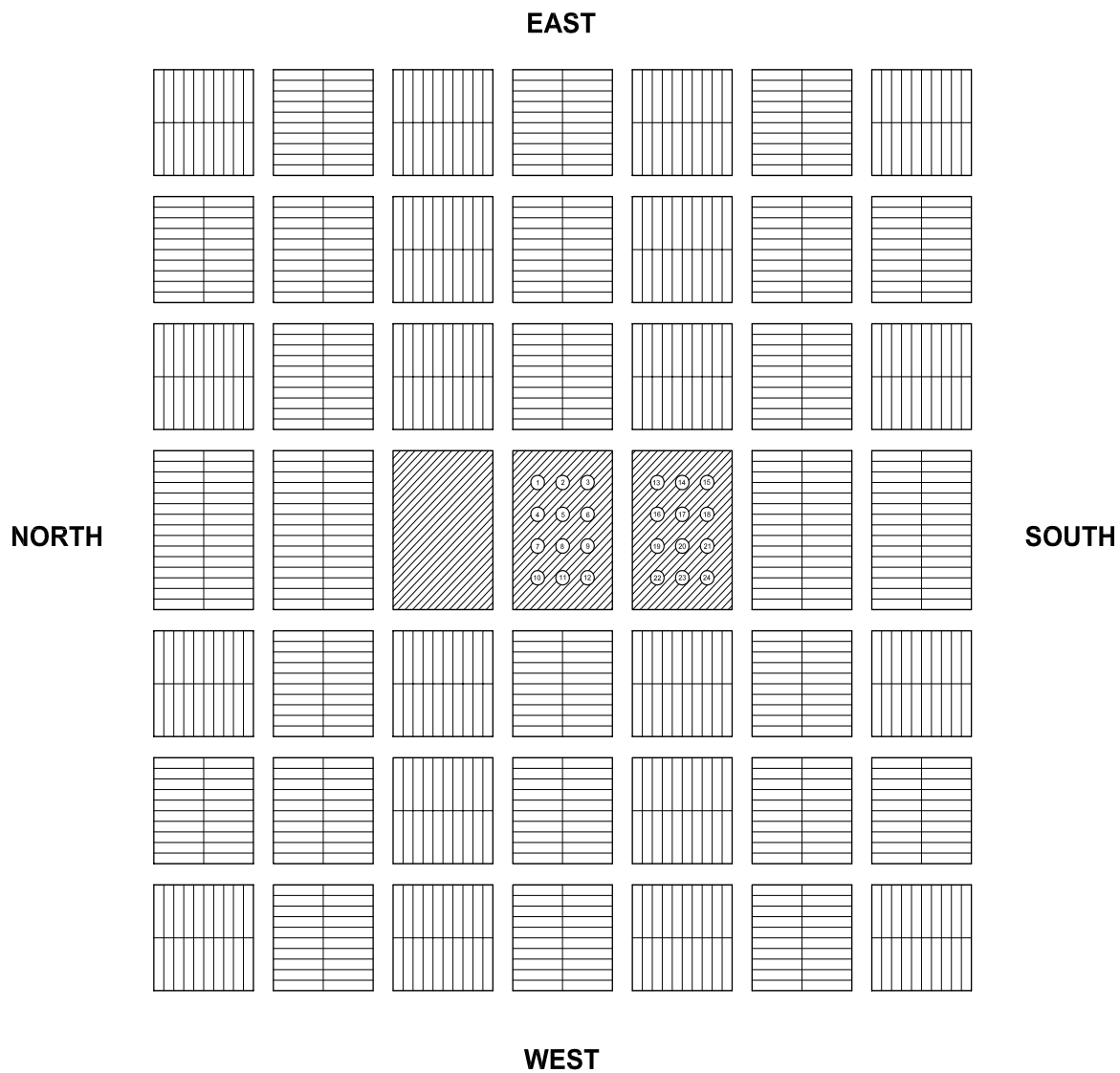


Figure 15. Reconstruction of the original 1833 plat for the City of Zion in Independence, Missouri by Joseph Smith, et al. See next image for detail of temple blocks. Drawn by author.

**RECONSTRUCTION OF THE THREE CENTRAL BLOCKS FROM THE
1833 ORIGINAL PLAT FOR THE CITY OF ZION**

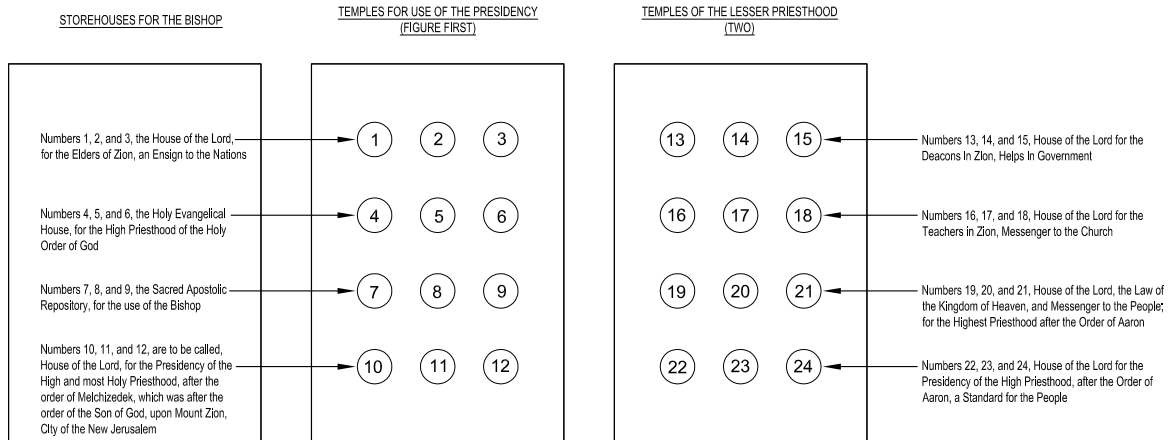


Figure 16. Detail of the original 1833 plat for the City of Zion in Independence, Missouri by Joseph Smith, et al., showing the three central blocks with each numbered circle representing one of the planned houses. Drawn by author.

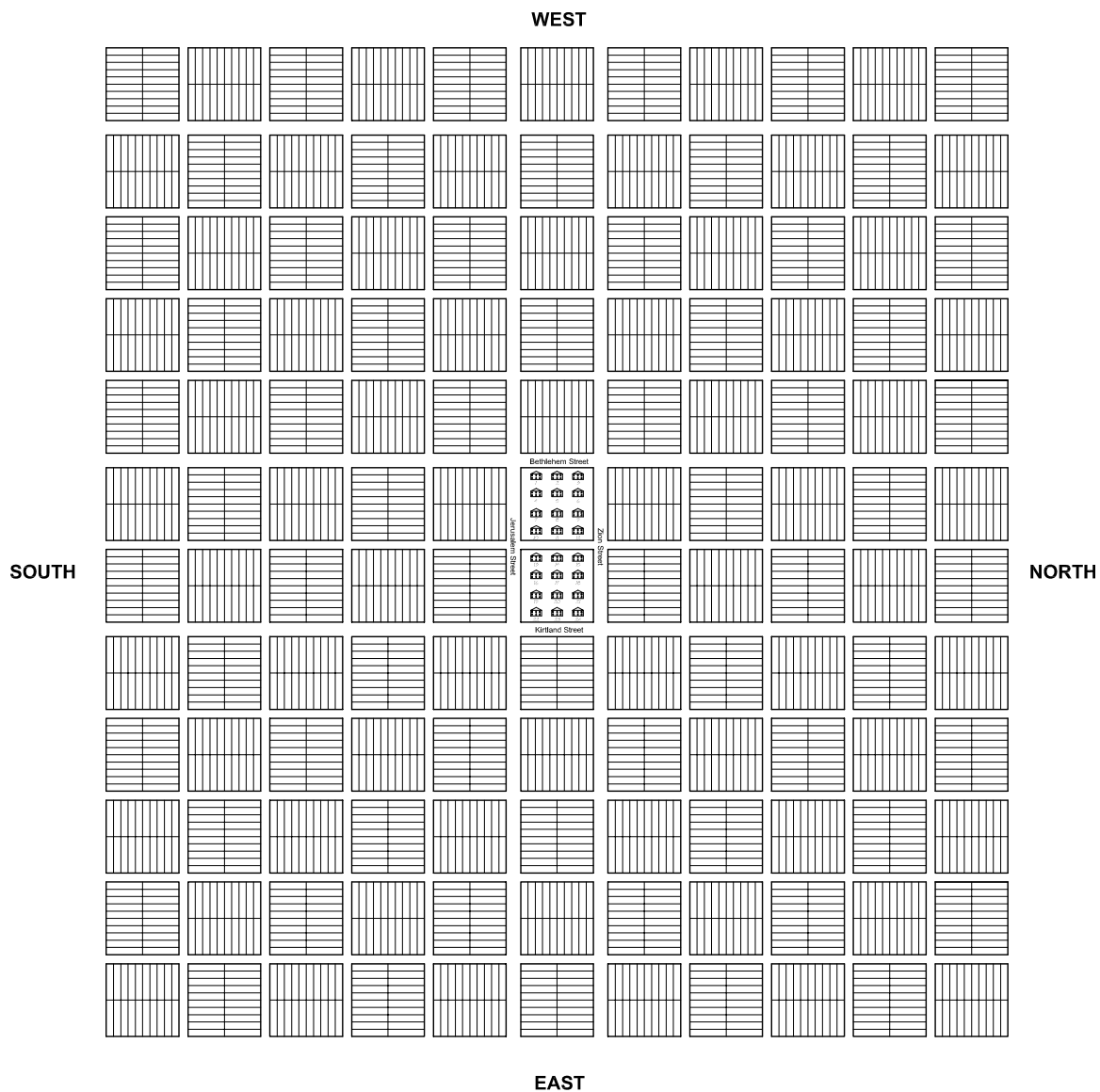


Figure 17. Reconstruction of the 1833 revised plat for the City of Zion in Independence, Missouri by Joseph Smith, et al. Drawn by author.

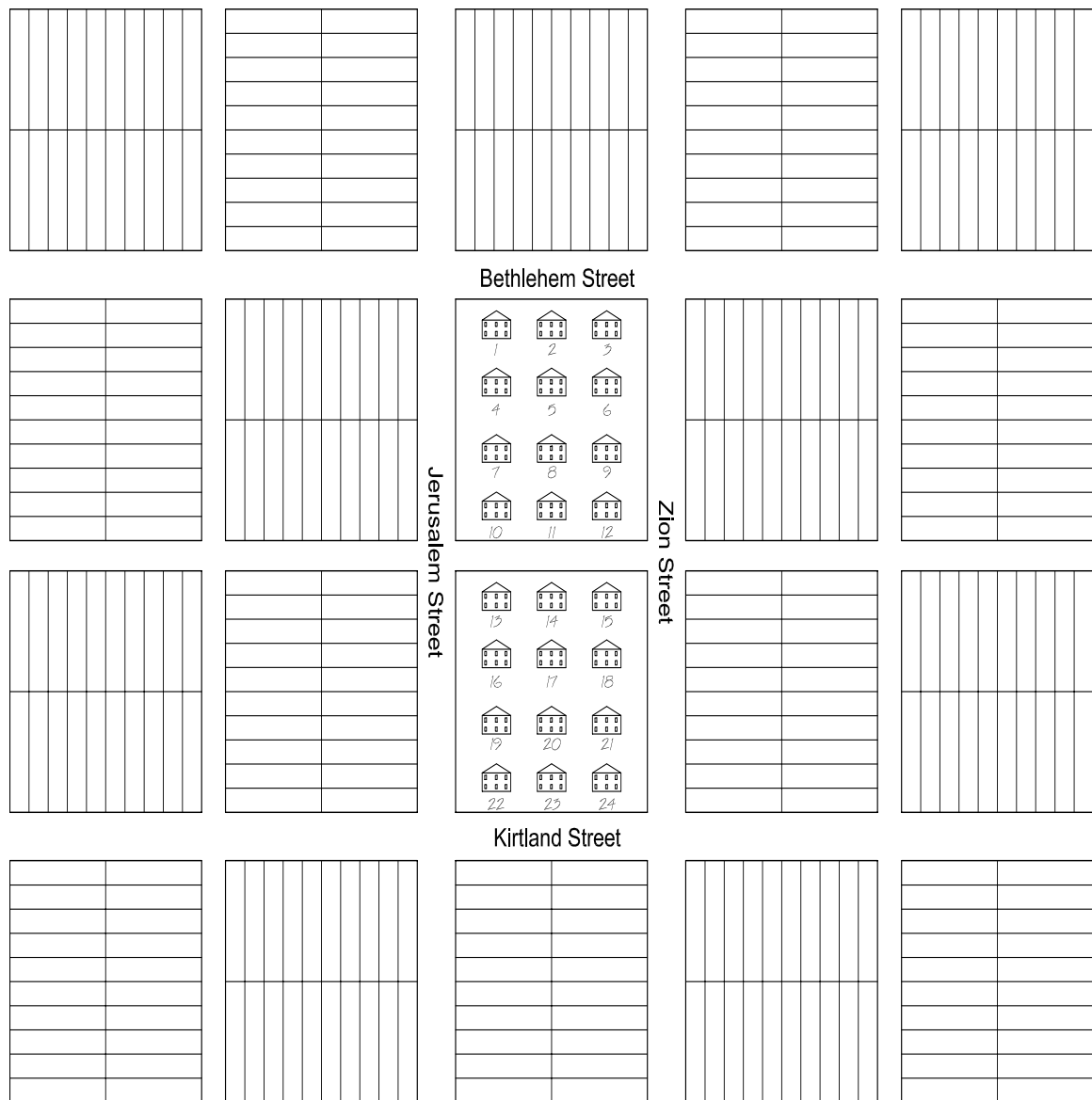


Figure 18. Detail of the 1833 revised plat for the City of Independence, Missouri by Joseph Smith, et al., showing the two central temple blocks and the wider avenues surrounding the central blocks. Drawn by author.

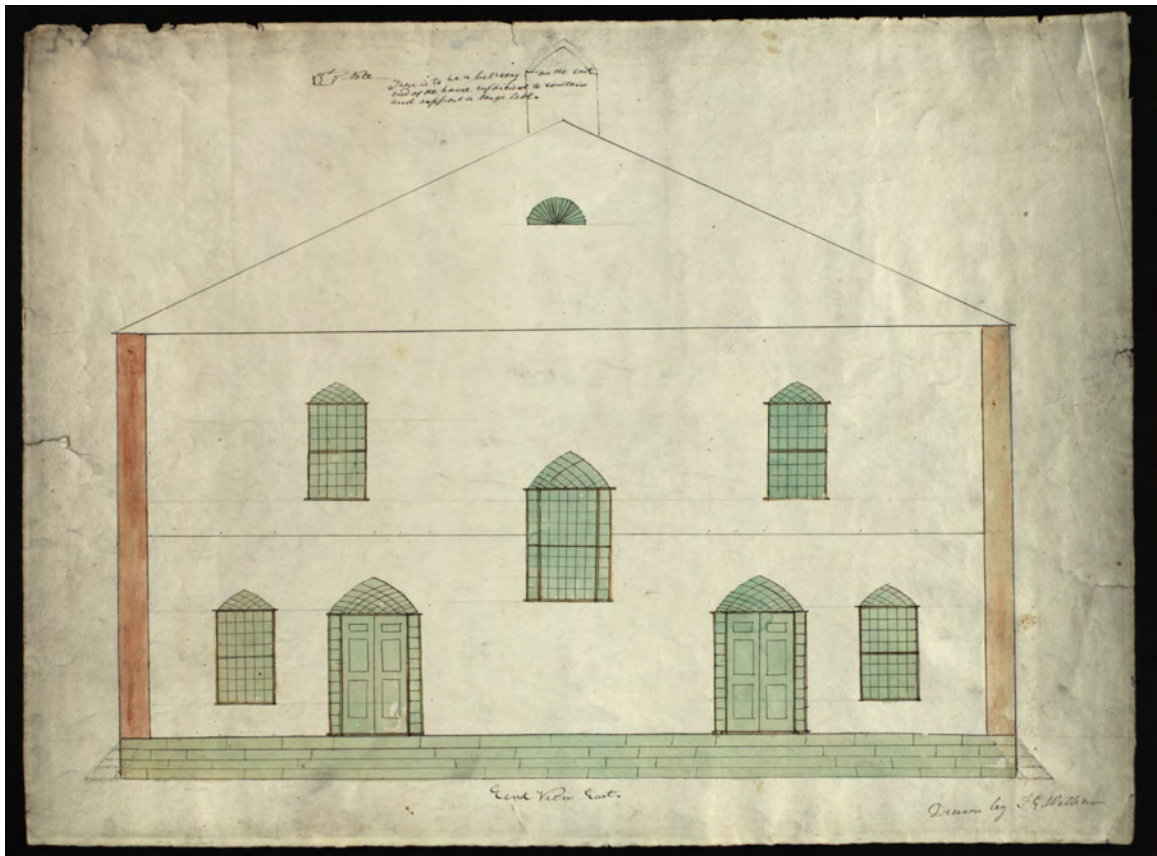


Figure 19. Independence Temple elevation, drawn by Frederick G. Williams, 1833.
Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 2568 Fd 2 00003.

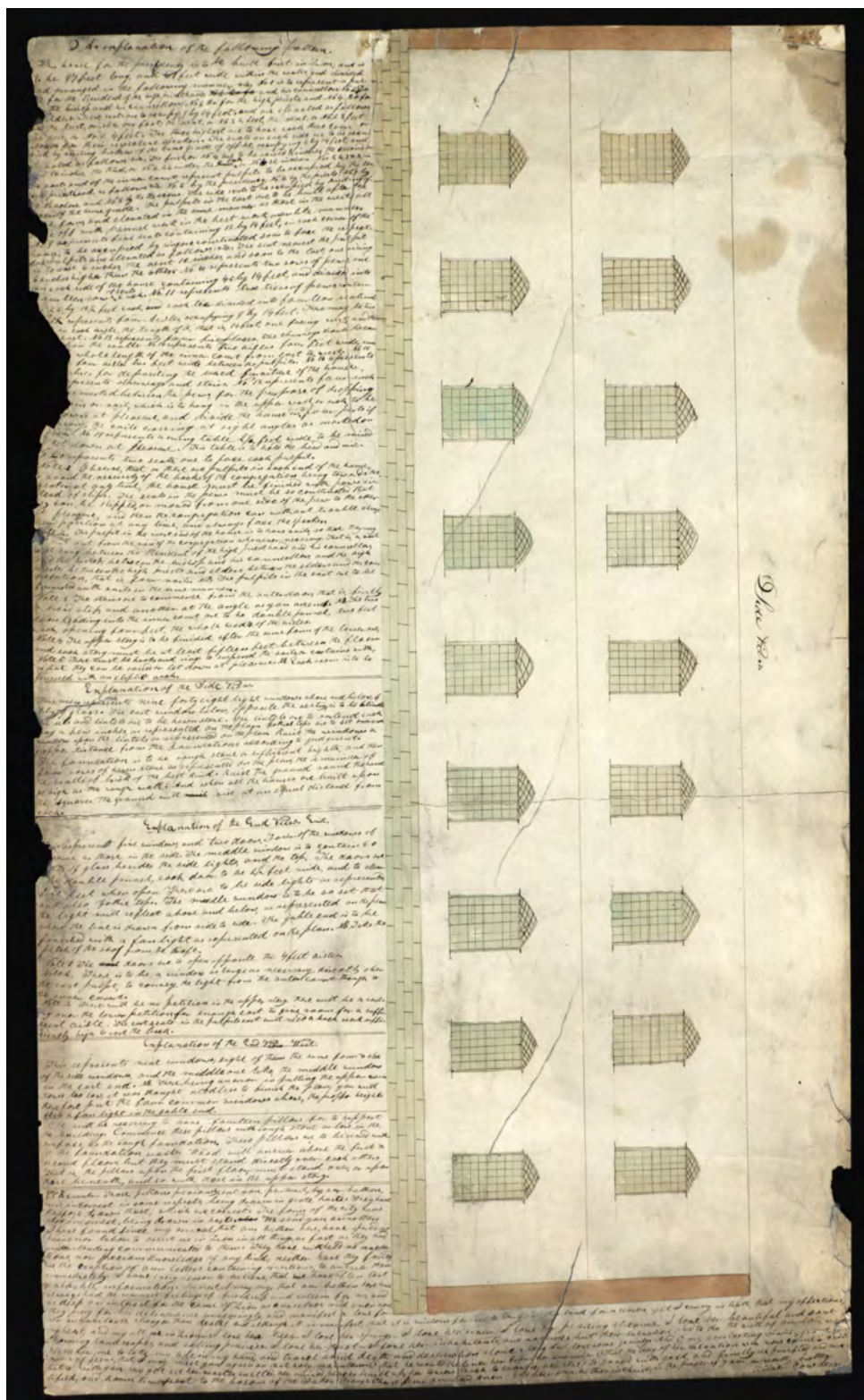


Figure 20. Independence Temple elevation, drawn by Frederick G. Williams, 1833. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 2568 Fd 2 00001.



Figure 20a. Independence Temple plan, drawn by Frederick G. Williams, 1833.
 Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 2568 Fd 2 00002.

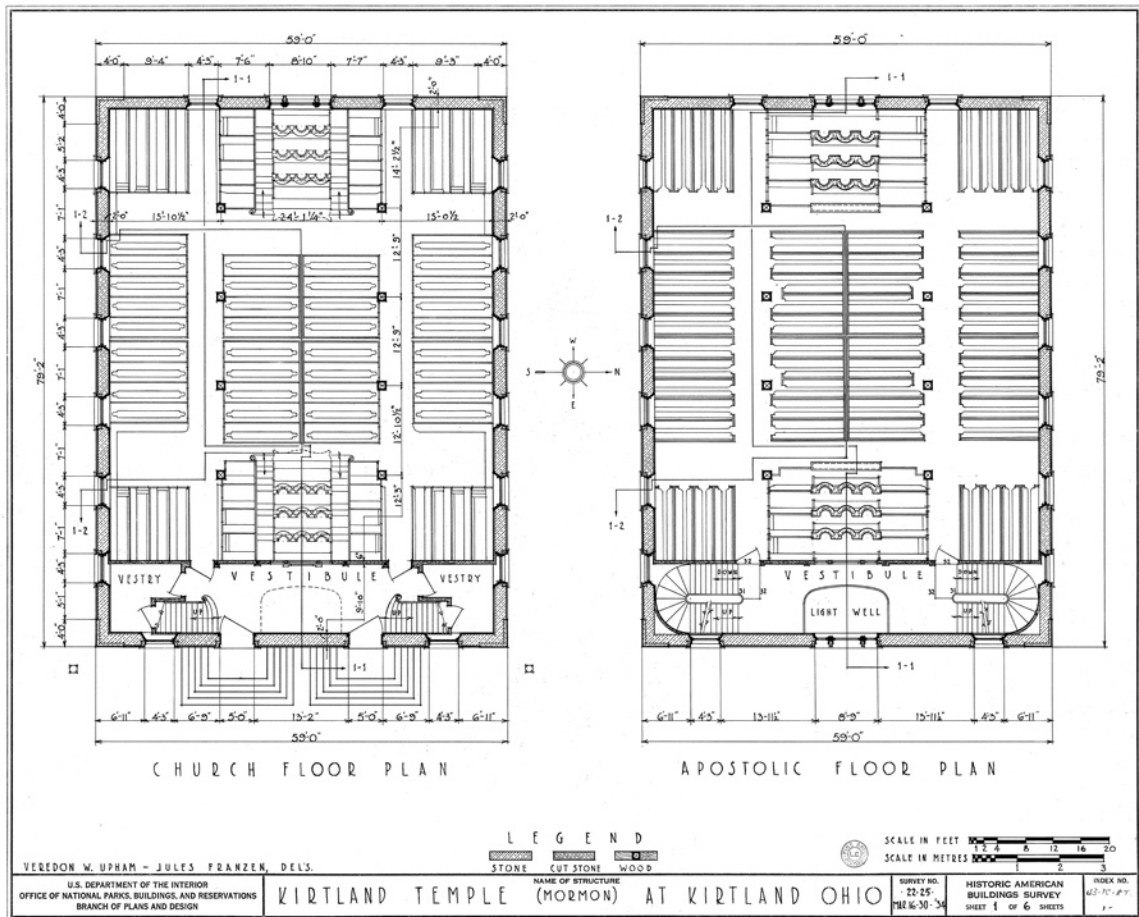


Figure 21. Church floor plan and apostolic floor plan of the Kirtland Temple. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

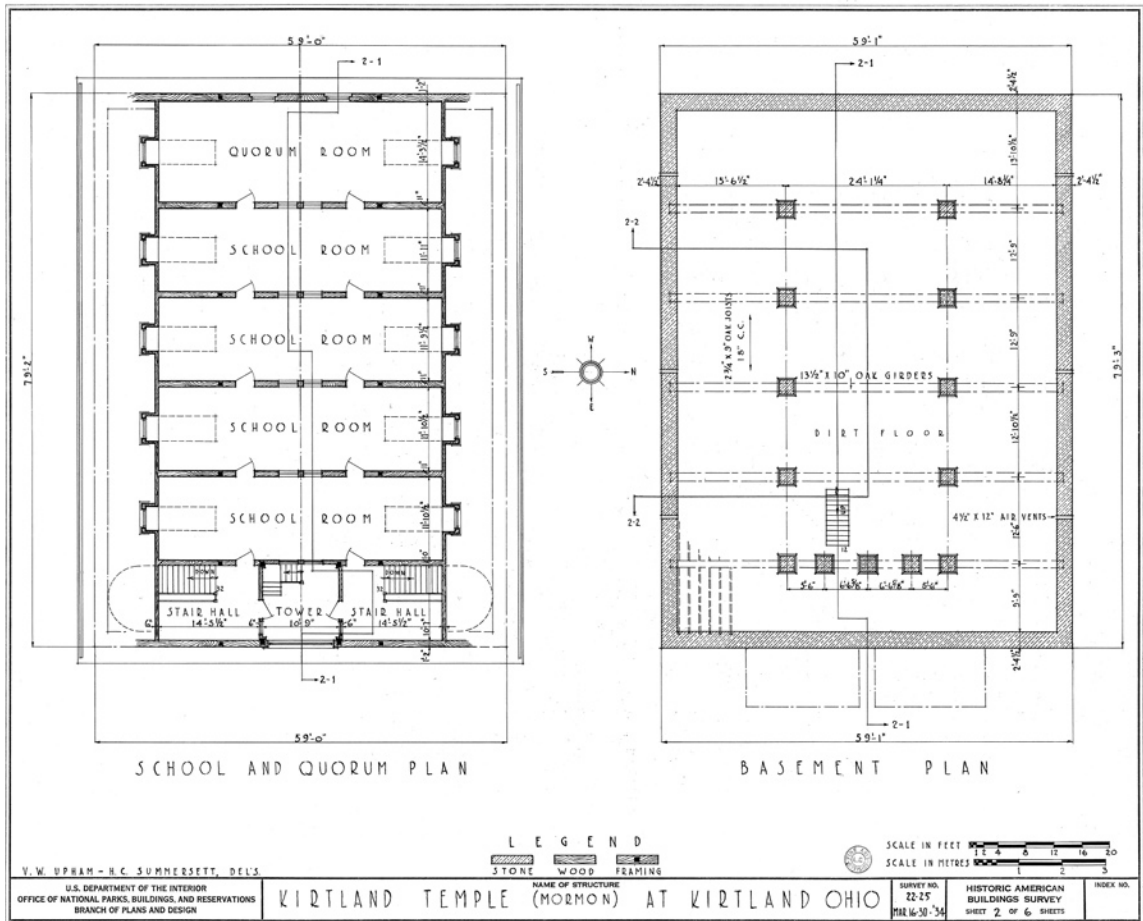


Figure 22. School and Quorum plan and basement plan of the Kirtland Temple.
Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

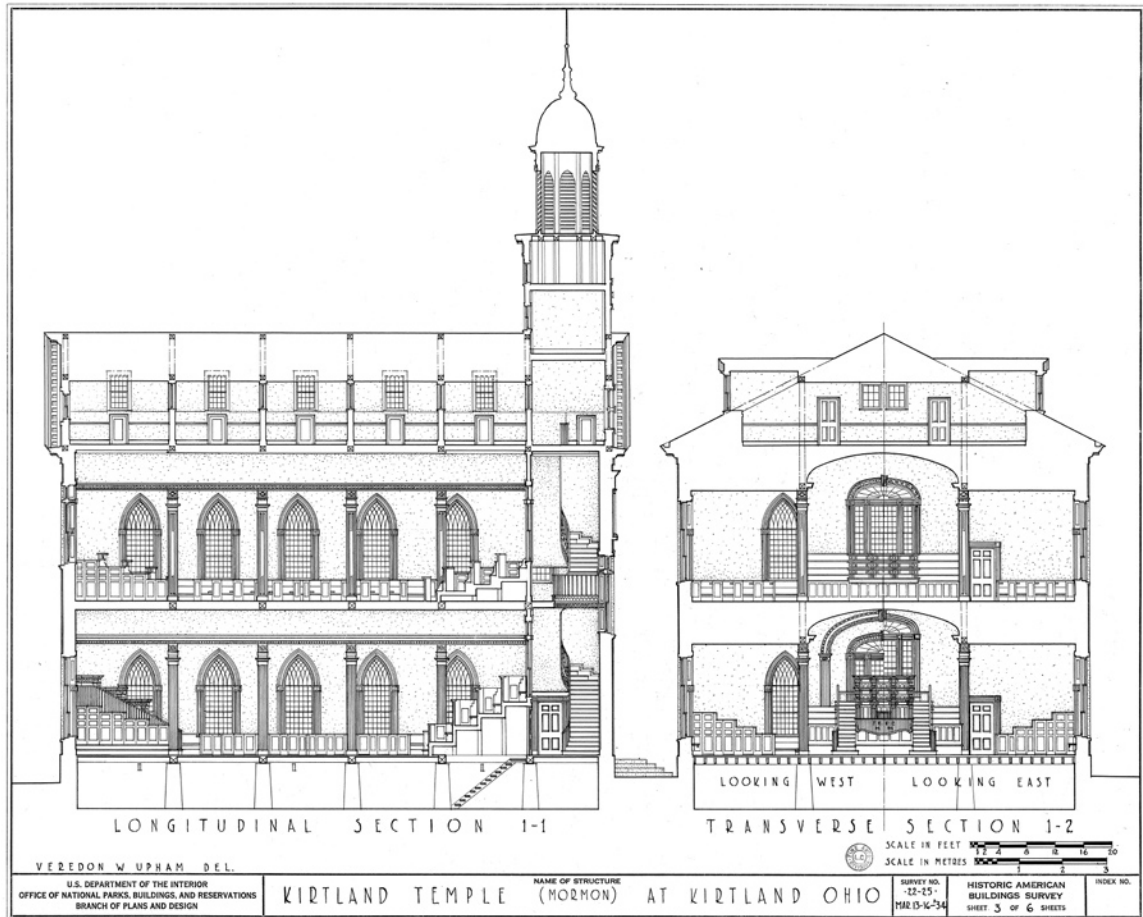


Figure 23. Longitudinal and transverse section of the Kirtland Temple. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 24. Interior view of the upper Assembly Hall, or the School of the Prophets of the Kirtland Temple. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 25. Interior view of the upper Assembly Hall, or the School of the Prophets of the Kirtland Temple. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 26. Exterior of St. Peters (1758), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

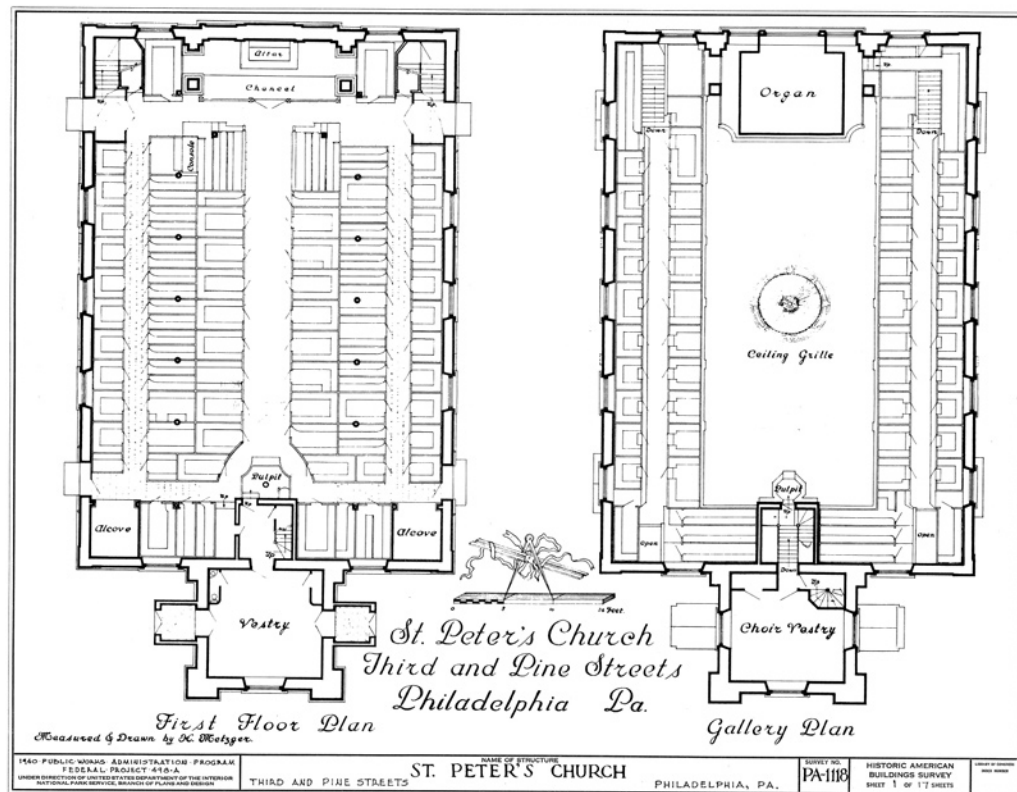
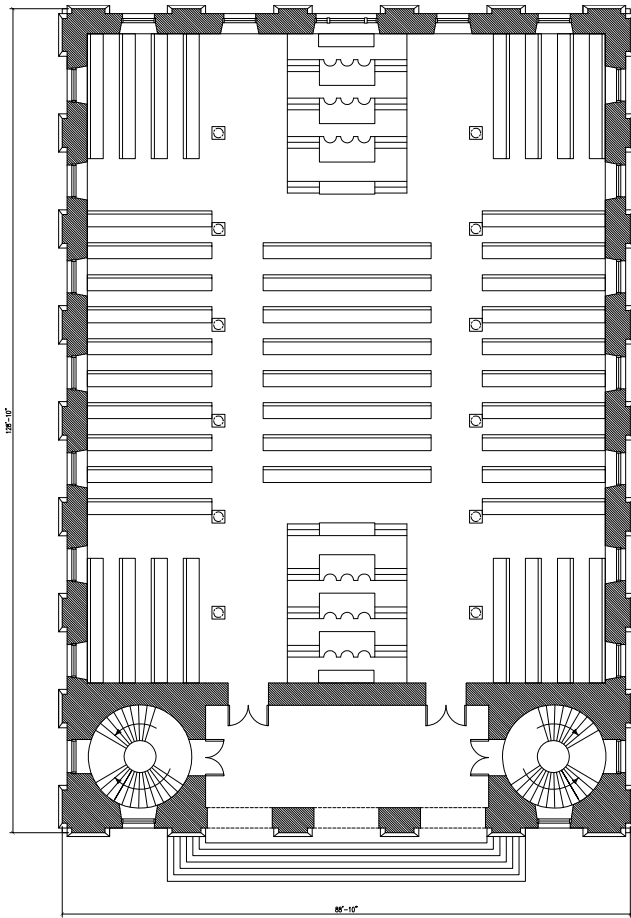


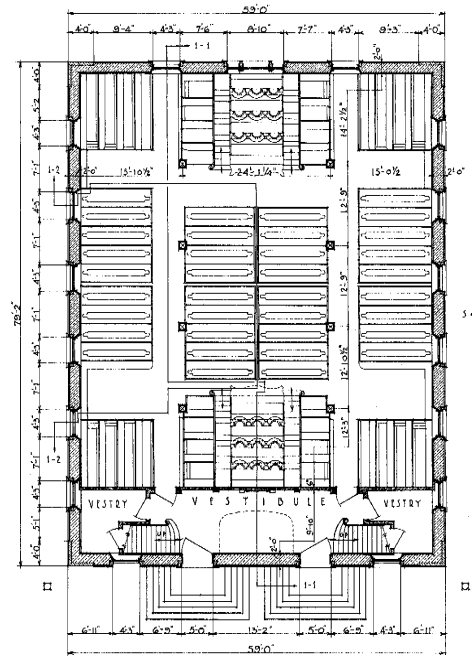
Figure 27. Plan of St. Peters, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, showing the double ended liturgical space. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 28. Pompion Hill Chapel (1763) above the Cooper River in South Carolina.
Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Nauvoo Floor Plan



Kirtland Floor Plan

Figure 29. Size comparison between the Nauvoo temple on the left and Kirtland on the right. Nauvoo plan drawn by author, Kirtland plan courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 30. Image of Arvin L. Weeks, William's elder brother. Guequierre, Helga C. "Four Generations of Weeks." Pamphlet held at the Sheboygan County Historical Society, Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin.



Figure 31. First Baptist Church (1851), Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Arvin Weeks is credited as the architect. Courtesy Sheboygan Historical Society.



Figure 32. J.P. Childs map of the city of Nauvoo, ca. 1842. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

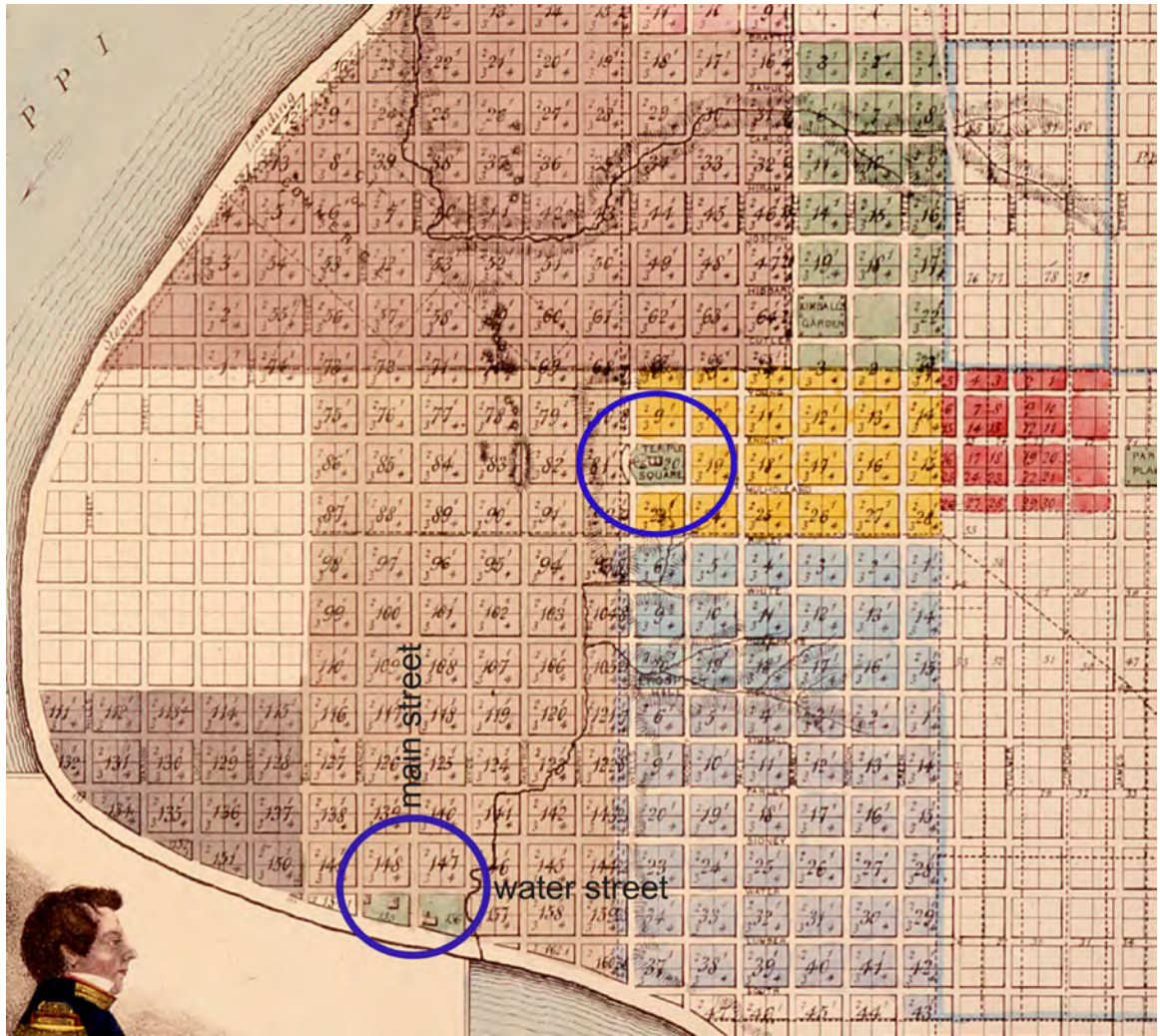


Figure 32a. Detail of J.P. Childs map of the city of Nauvoo showing the the commercial and religious centers of the city. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, PH 4563 38.



Figure 33. The first known rendering of the Nauvoo Temple ca. 1841, published on J.P. Childs map of the city of Nauvoo in 1842. The caption reads, "The Temple. Nauvoo; Drawn by W. Weeks Nauvoo." Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, PH 4563 38.

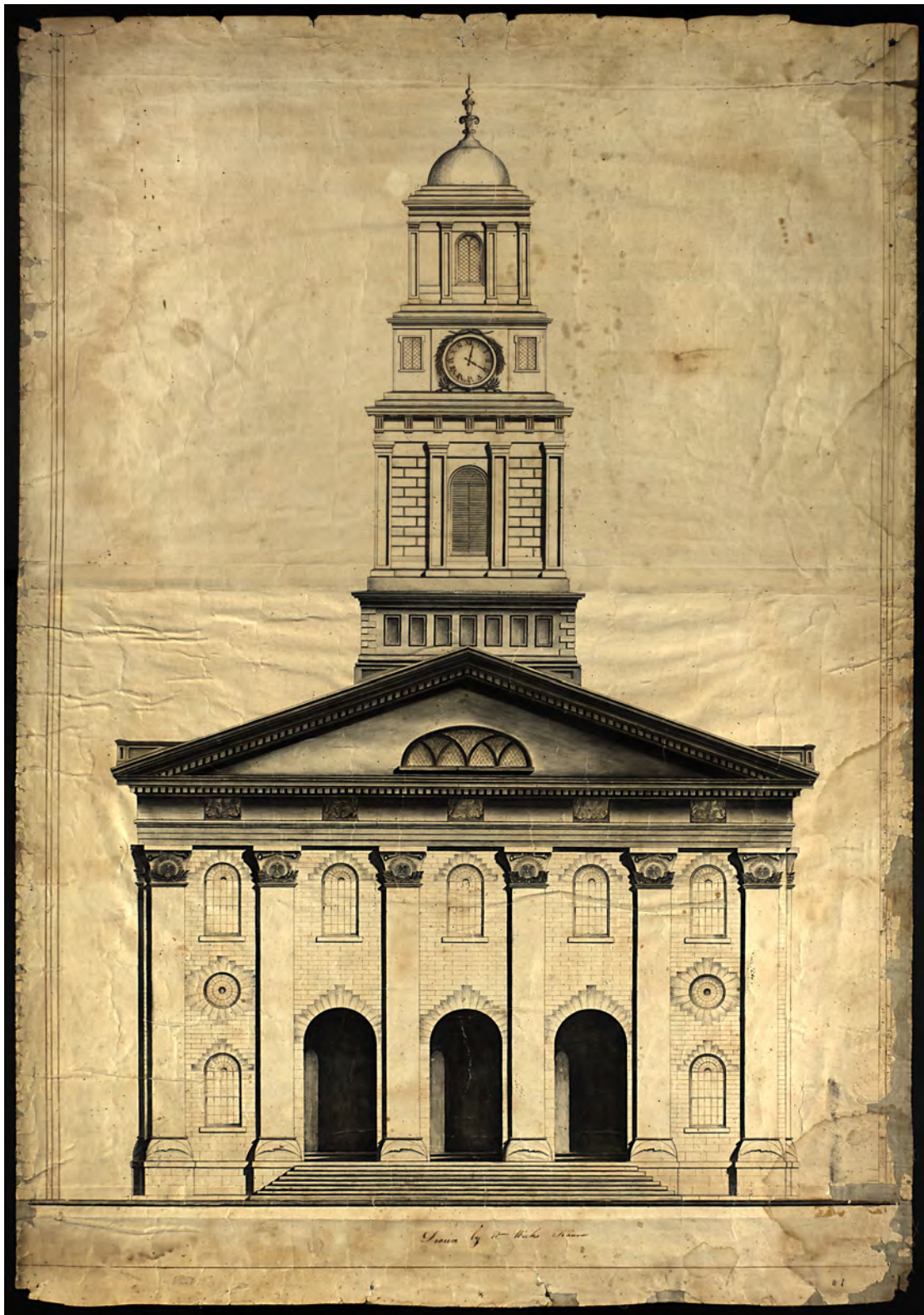


Figure 34. The second rendering of the Temple (ca. 1842) by William Weeks. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS11500 1 1.



Figure 35. The third and final rendering of the Temple (ca. 1844) by William Weeks shows the west façade in close resemblance to the as built condition. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS11500 2 2.

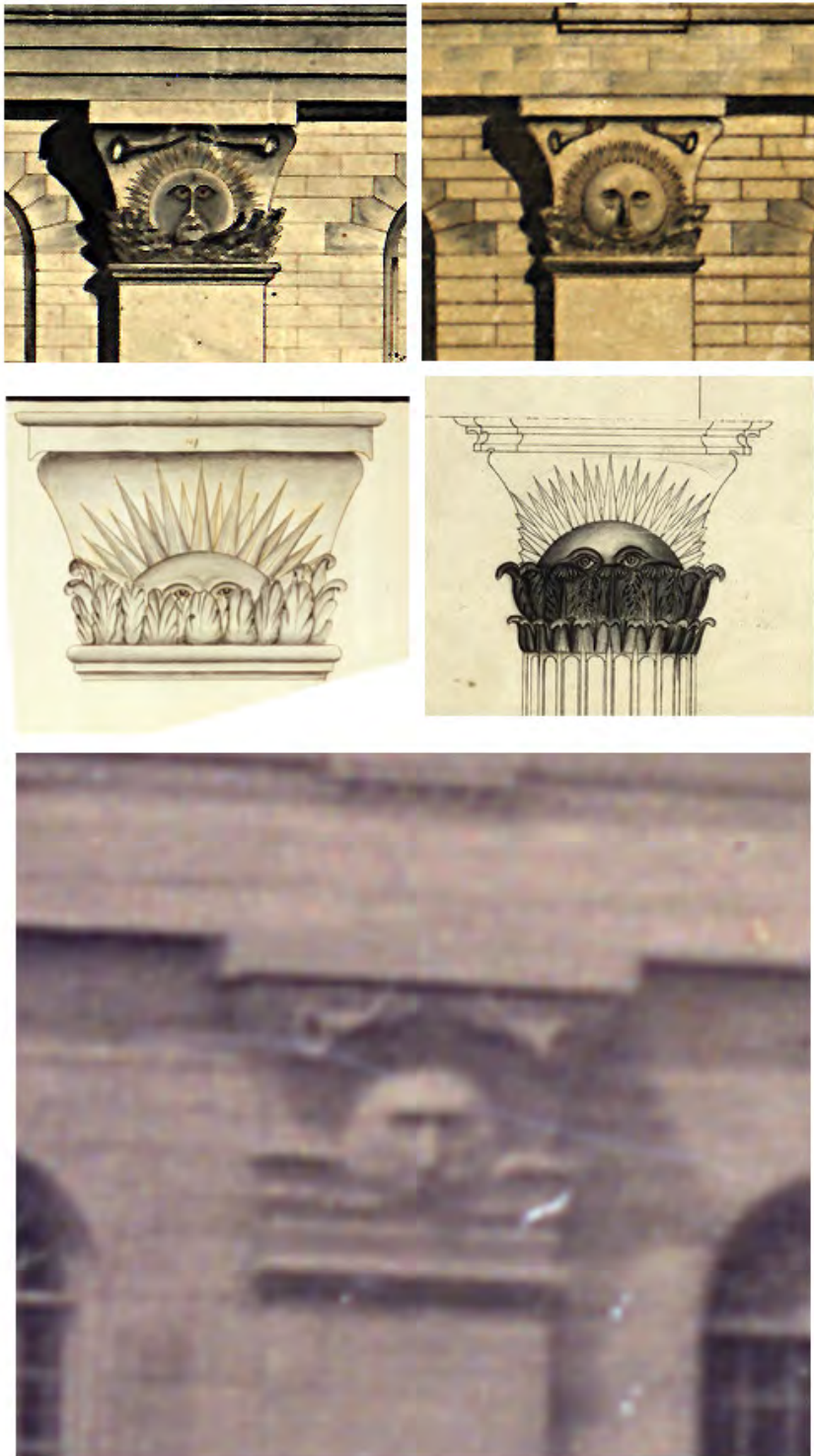


Figure 36. Comparative analysis showing 4 of the 5 known drawings to have included the sunstone capitals. The two images at the top are from Weeks drawing of the west facade. The middle two are from Weeks drawings from the interior and tower details of the temple. The larger photograph is the sunstone capital in situ on the original building. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.



Figure 37. Conjectural reconstruction of the attic space looking toward the east window, drawn by author.

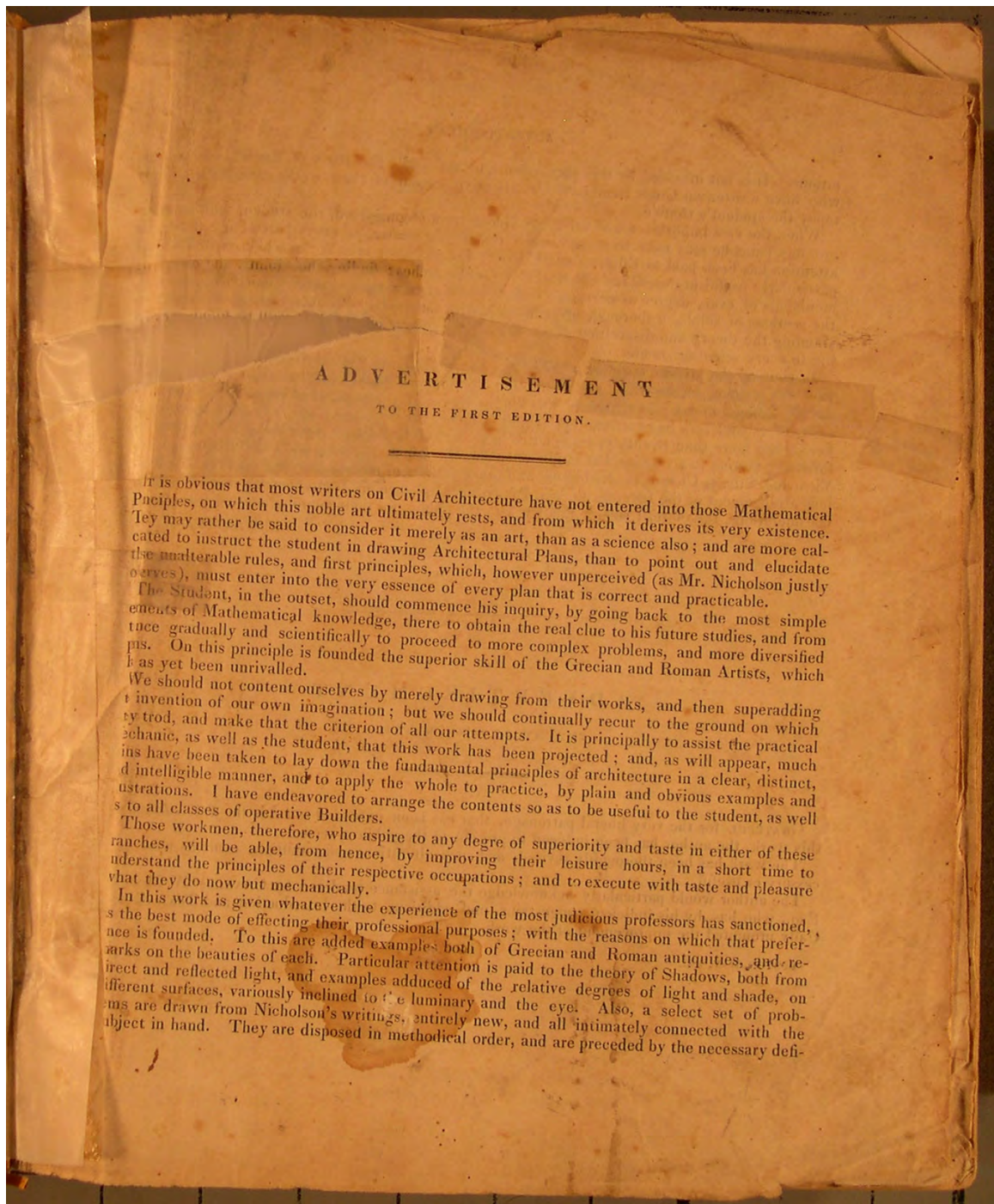


Figure 38. The Frotispiece for Edward Shaw's 1832 edition of Civic Architecture. This book was owned by William Weeks. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

nitions. It is not intended by this part, wholly to set aside the study of Euclid, and authors who have written on Conic Sections. An attentive perusal of their works will always amply repay the student's trouble.

When the vast importance and utility of Geometry are considered, the student will never regret any pains he may take to make himself thoroughly master of every part of it. Particular attention has been paid to Ellipses, and Curves; the problems relating to which, will be found particularly useful in describing elliptical and Gothic arches; finding their joints, and describing mouldings of every degree of curvature under various circumstances, with Conic Sections—also, the sections of solids, a thorough acquaintance with them being absolutely necessary for understanding the theory and disposition of shadows, the explanation of which will highly gratify every scientific reader.

In view of the present taste for architectural knowledge, and the inadequacy of the present state of that science, arising from the costly and voluminous works of the subject, I was chiefly induced to compile a work of this kind. Being fully convinced of its utility, from very arduous research into its constituent principles, from my early apprenticeship to the present time—having had more than twenty years practice in the art of Building, I have brought together the following system in a concise, but intelligent manner; which consists principally of extracts from Vitruvius, Stuart, Chambers, Nicholson, and other authors of eminence. If I have made a judicious arrangement of the several subjects, I have accomplished all I anticipated; and under these considerations, therefore, I submit this work to the public, for their approbation and patronage.

EDWARD SHAW.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

GRATEFUL for the very liberal patronage, that has been extended towards the *first edition* of this work, the author has been induced to present to the public a second.

The work has been thoroughly revised, and such alterations and additions made as were necessary or useful.

The author would particularly acknowledge the assistance rendered by CHARLES W. MOORE, Esq., who has, by his judicious suggestions, and additions to the Introduction and Text, essentially promoted the improvement of the work.

BOSTON, MAY, 1832.

E. S.

Figure 39. Continuation of The Frontispiece and Advertisement for Edward Shaw's 1832 edition of *Civic Architecture*. This book was owned by William Weeks. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

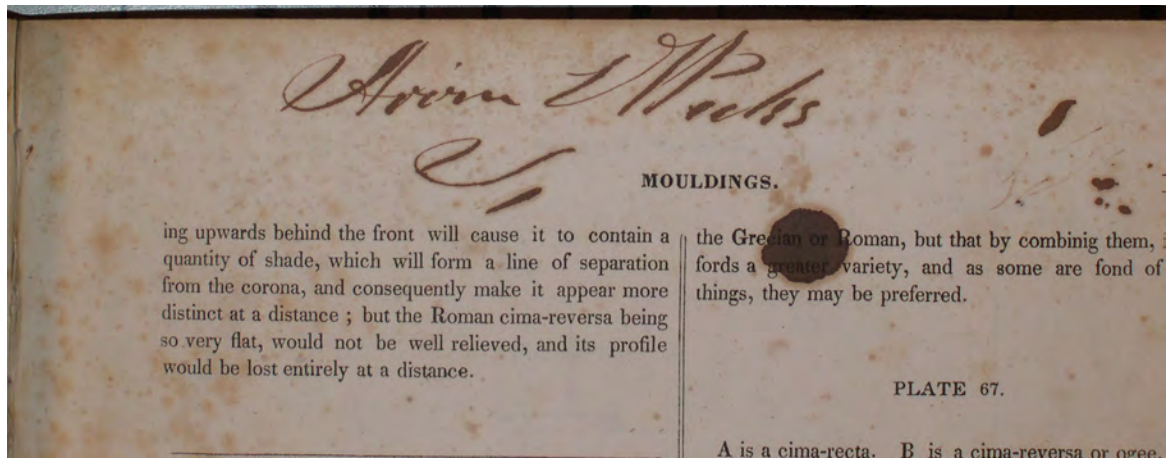


Figure 40. Edward Shaw's 1832 edition of Civic Architecture. This book was owned by William Weeks and on page bears the name of his older brother, Arwin Weeks. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

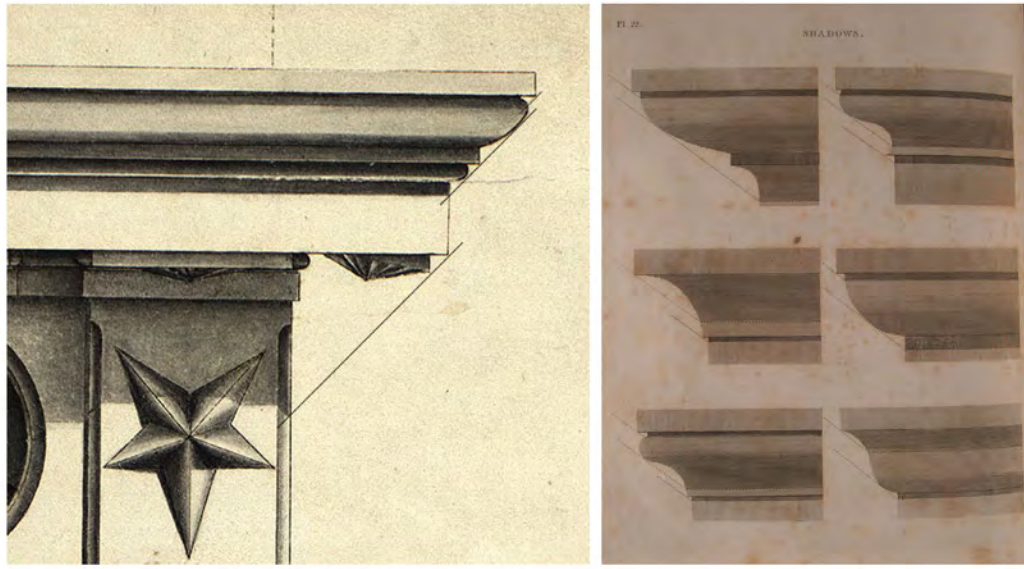


Figure 41. Detail of shading technique between Weeks's drawing MS 11500 – Items 5 and Plate 22, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. (Construction lines on Weeks's drawings added by author for clarity). Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

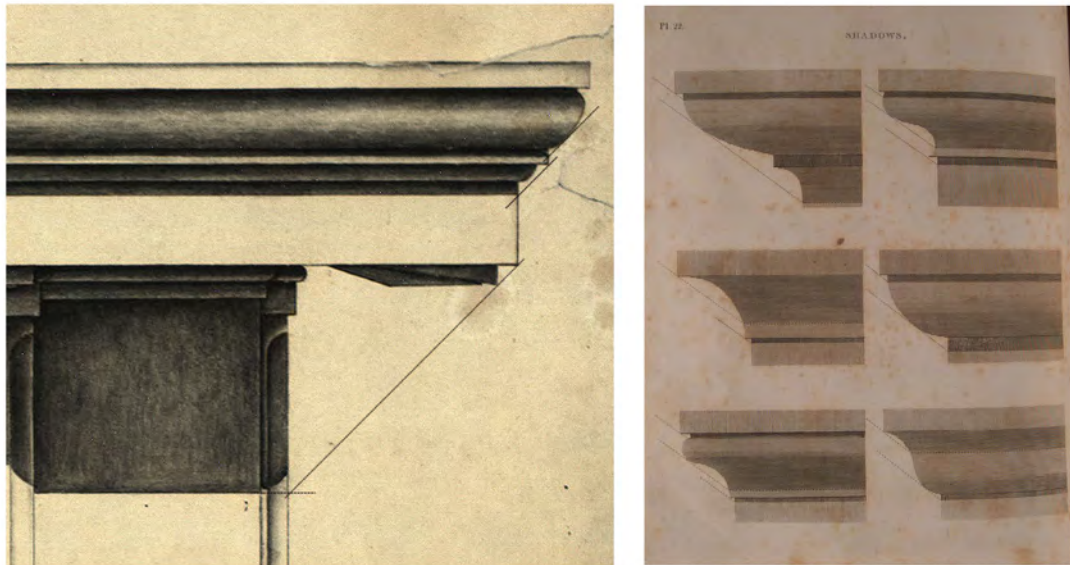


Figure 42. Detail of shading technique between Weeks's drawing MS 11500 – Items 6 and Plate 22, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. (Construction lines on Weeks's drawings added by author for clarity). Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

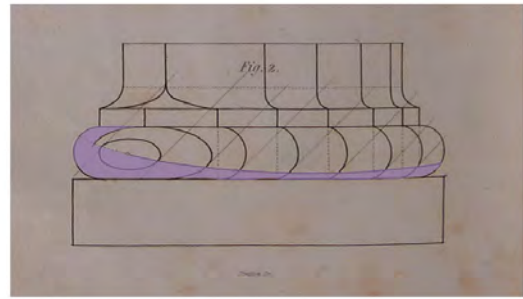
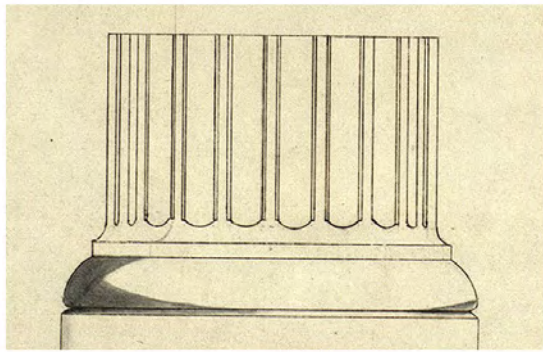


Figure 43. Detail of MS 11500 – Items 5 showing Weeks's shading technique at the base of a column on the left and Shaw's detail of the shading technique at base of column on the right, Plate 23, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. (Blue shading on Shaw's drawing added by author for clarity). Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

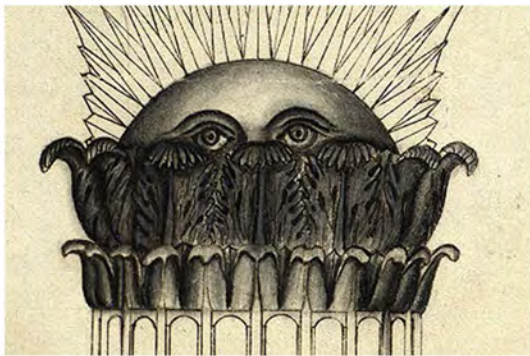


Figure 44. On the left, detail of MS11500 – Item 2 showing Weeks's acanthus leaves measurably based on Shaws detail of Acanthus leaves, Figure 3, Plate 28 on the right, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

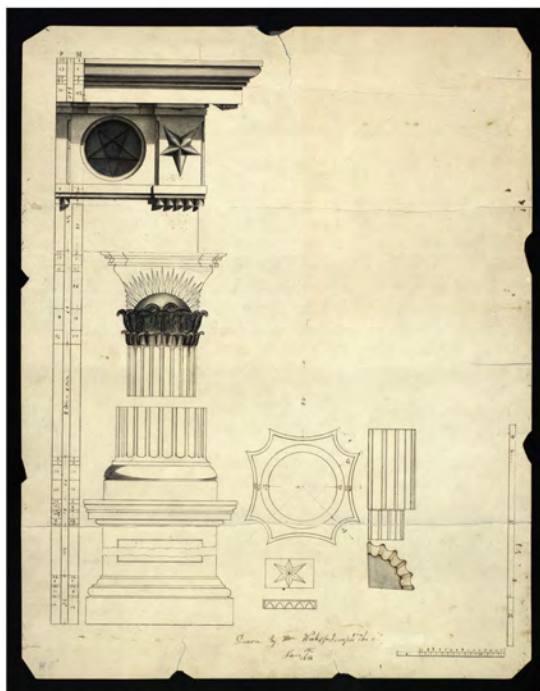


Figure 45. Weeks's drawing MS11500 – Item 5 on the left is signed “Drawn By Wm. Weeks for Temple Temple in the city Jan 1, 1846” and Shaw's Temple of Minerva at Athens on Plate 36 is on the right, “Civil Architecture” by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

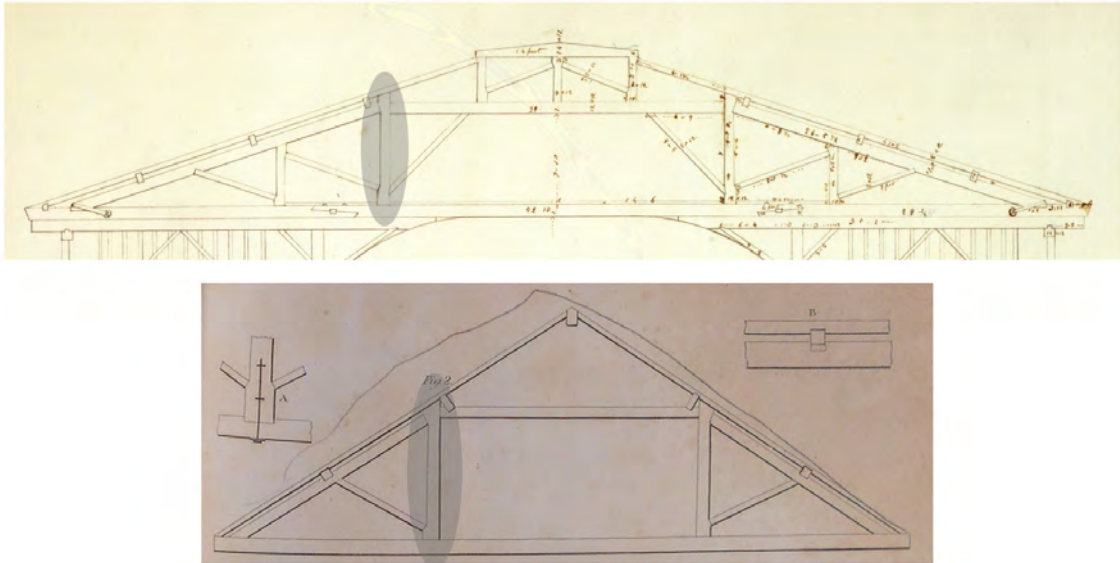


Figure 46. Above Weeks's drawing of the roof trusses of the Nauvoo temple found on CR 679 – Item 11 and below Shaw's drawing of a roof truss on Plate 92. Highlighted posts added by author for clarity. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

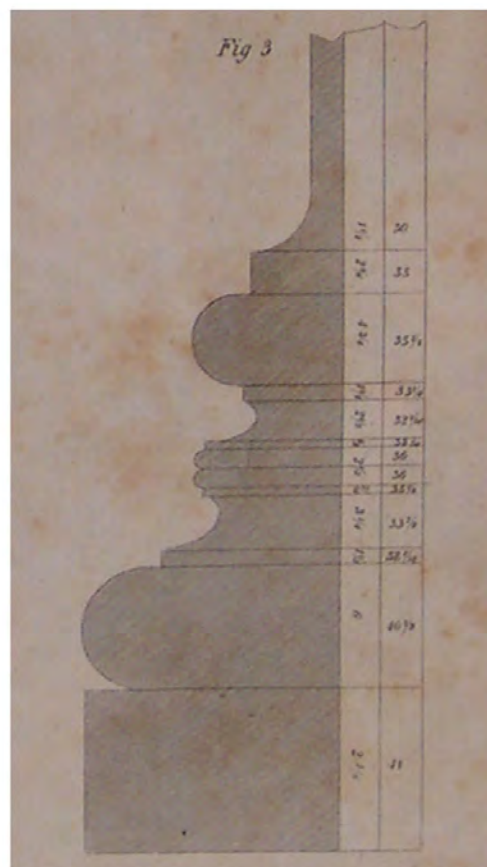
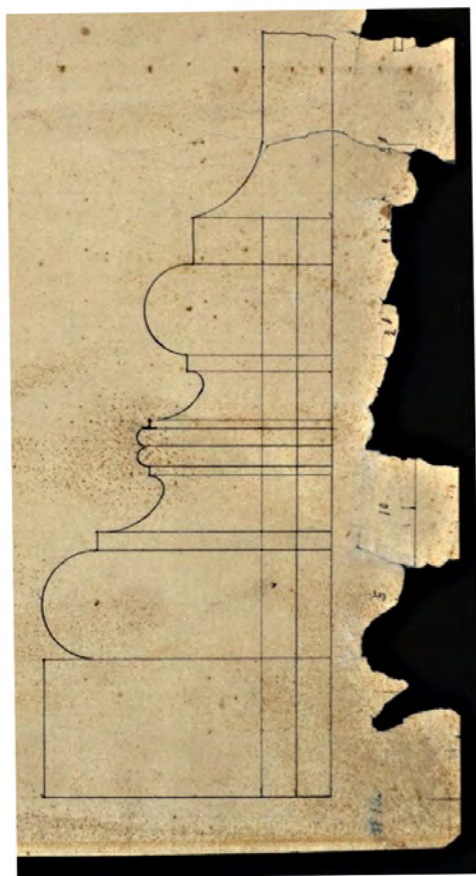


Figure 47. Weeks's drawing of a column base on the left, MS 11500 item 10 and Shaw's on the right, a Corinthian base from the Portico of the Pantheon at Rome, Plate 58. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 48. On the left, Weeks’s detail of MS11500 – Item 10. Weeks has drawn nearly the exact detail shown in Shaw’s pattern book. Shaw’s drawing on the right for a column and entablature of the Temple of Thesus at Athens on Plate 38, “Civil Architecture” by Edward Shaw.

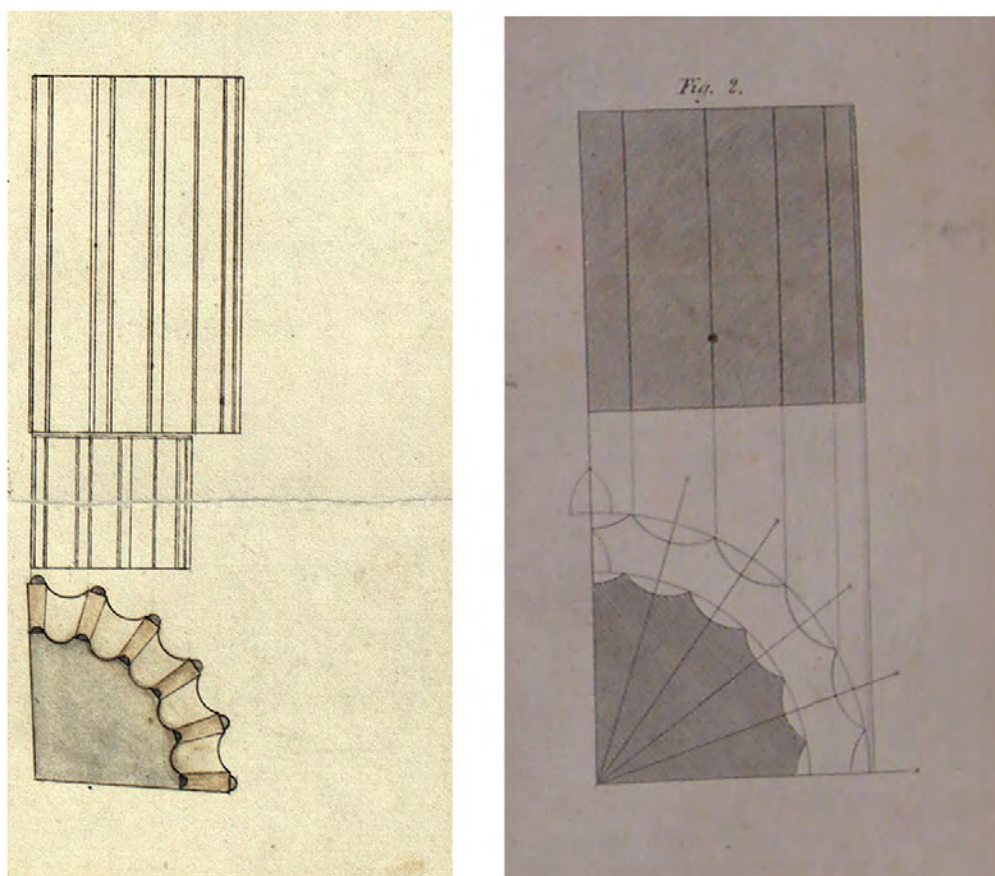


Figure 49. On the left, Weeks's drawing MS 11500 item 5 of an adapted Doric column and Shaw's version of a Roman Doric on the right from the Baths of Diocletian, Plate 54. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

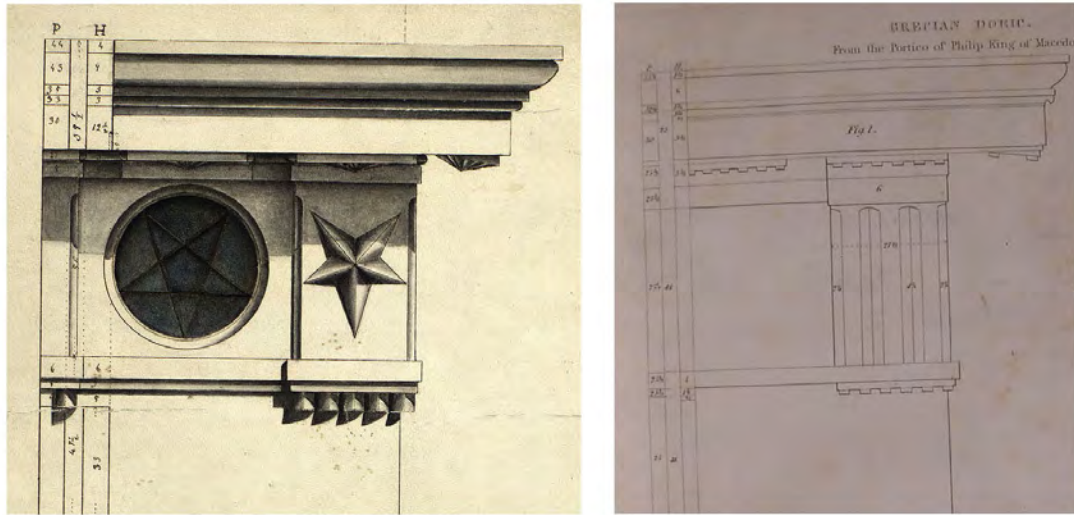


Figure 50. On the left, Weeks's drawing of an adapted Doric entablature on MS 11500 item 5, and Shaw's version of a Doric entablature on the right, Plate 39. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

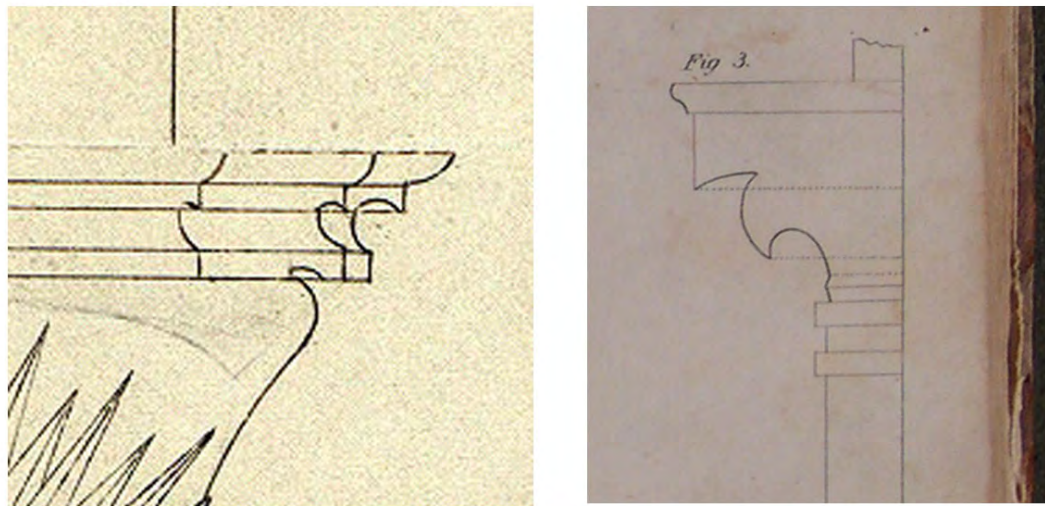


Figure 51. On the left, Weeks's drawing of a sunstone capital, MS 11500 Item 5, and Shaw's profile of a similar detail on the right, Plate 42. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

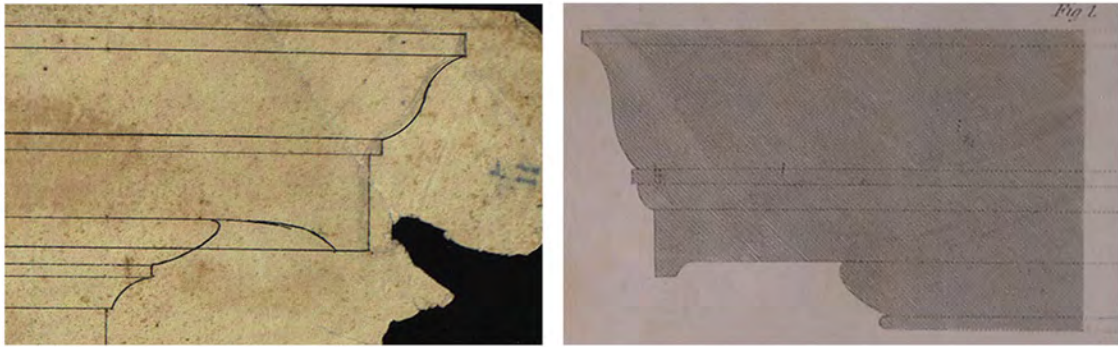


Figure 52. Weeks's drawing of a cornice detail on the left, MS 11500 item 10, and Shaw's similar detail on the right, plate 48. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

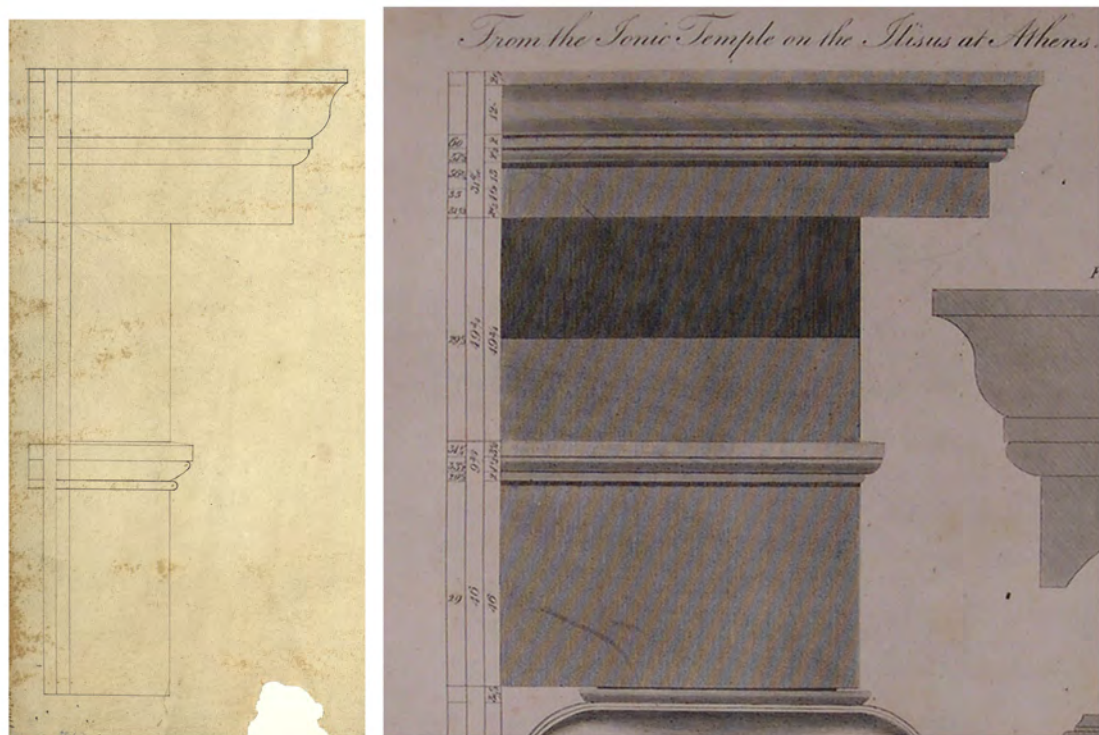


Figure 53. Weeks's drawing of a cornice detail on the left, MS 11500 item 11, and Shaw's detail on the right, Plate 45. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

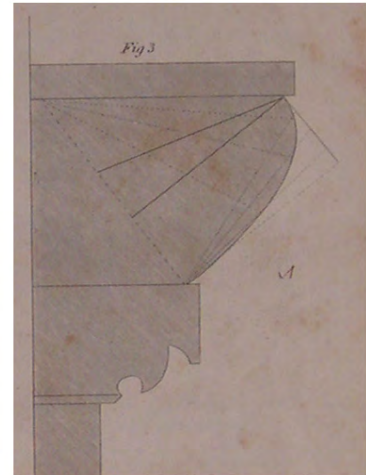
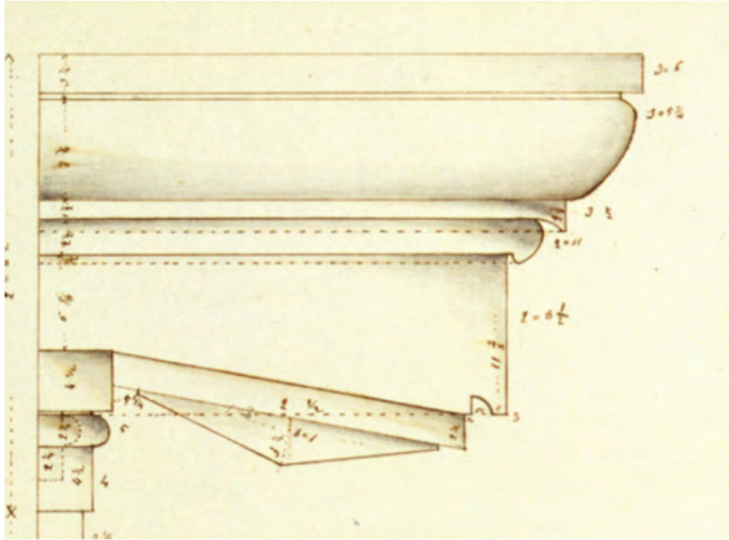


Figure 54. Comparison of similar profiles between Weeks's detail CR 679 Item 3 on the left and Shaw's detail from Plate 36 on the right, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

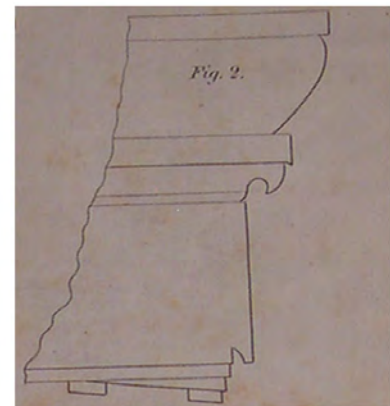
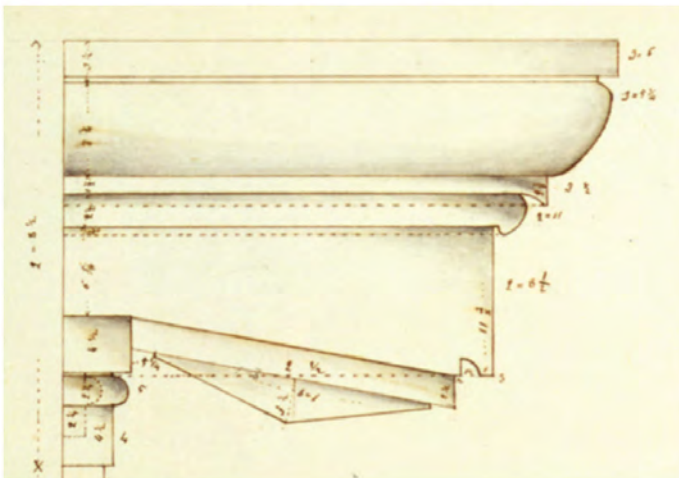


Figure 55. Comparison of similar profiles between Weeks's detail CR 679 Item 3 on the left and Shaw's detail from Plate 39 on the right, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

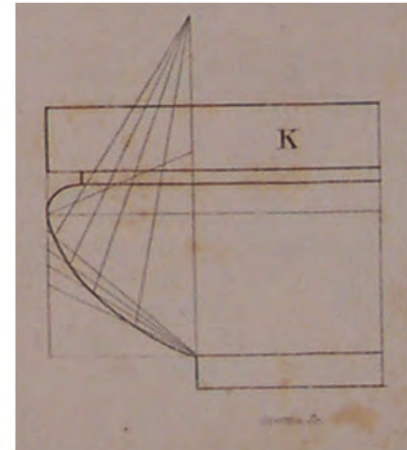
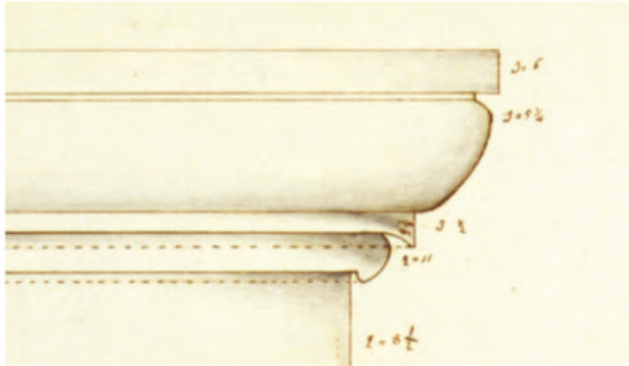


Figure 56. On the left, Weeks's CR 679 - Item 3, compared to the ovolo profiles on Shaw's drawings for "Modern Mouldings" on Plate 67, item K. The Grecian ovolo profile of both display a quirked edge and the proportional massings of both profiles are nearly identical. "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

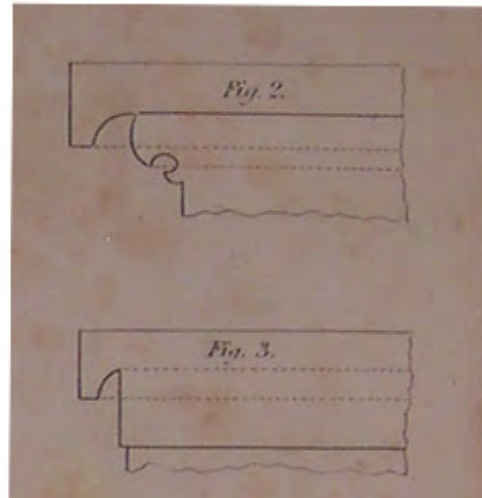
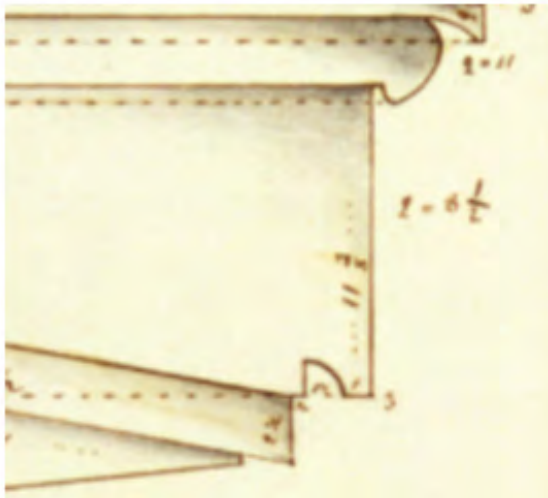


Figure 57. On the left, Weeks's drawing on CR 679 - Item 3, compared to the profiles on Shaw's drawings on Plate 37, Items 2 & 3. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

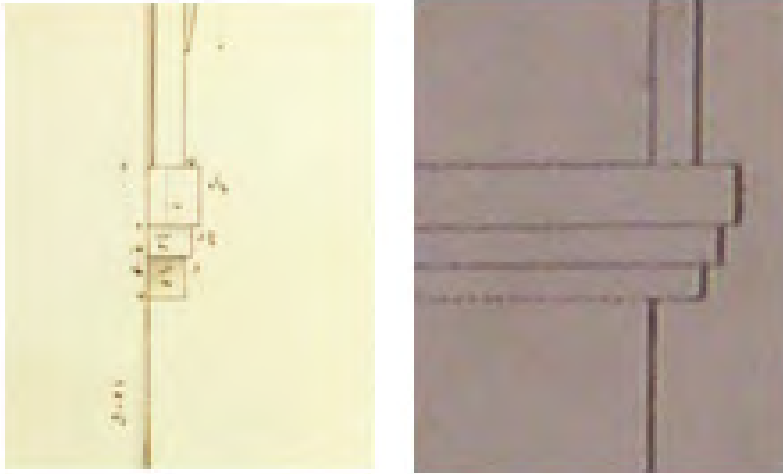


Figure 58. On the left, Weeks's detail on CR 679 - Item 3 , and Shaw's on the right, Plate 41 showing taenia, regula and guttae. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

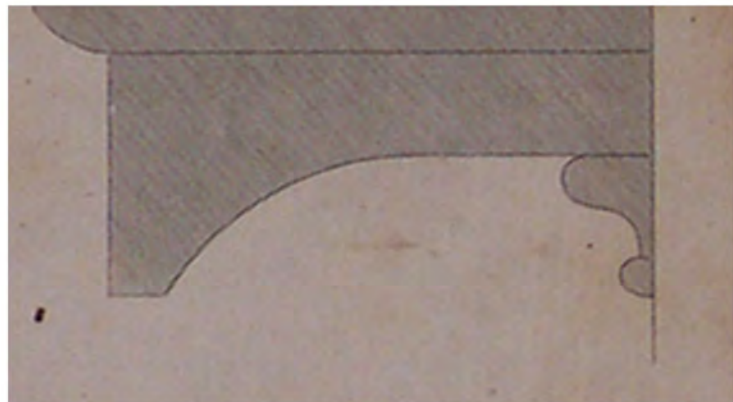
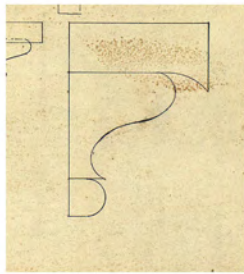


Figure 59. Weeks's detail on the left on MS 11500 item 11, and Shaw's on the right, Plate 45, Figure 3. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

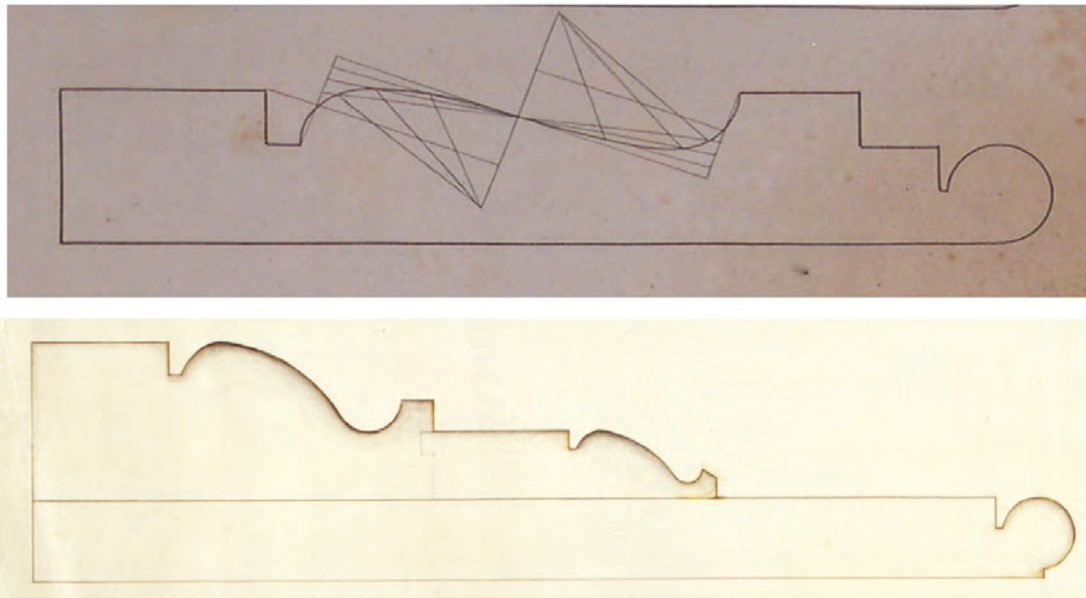


Figure 60. On the top is Shaw's molding profile found on Plate 80 and on the bottom is Weeks's drawing on CR 679 - Item 10. Obvious similarities are apparent with the quirked astragal beads and the ogee profiles, "Civil Architecture" by Edward Shaw. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

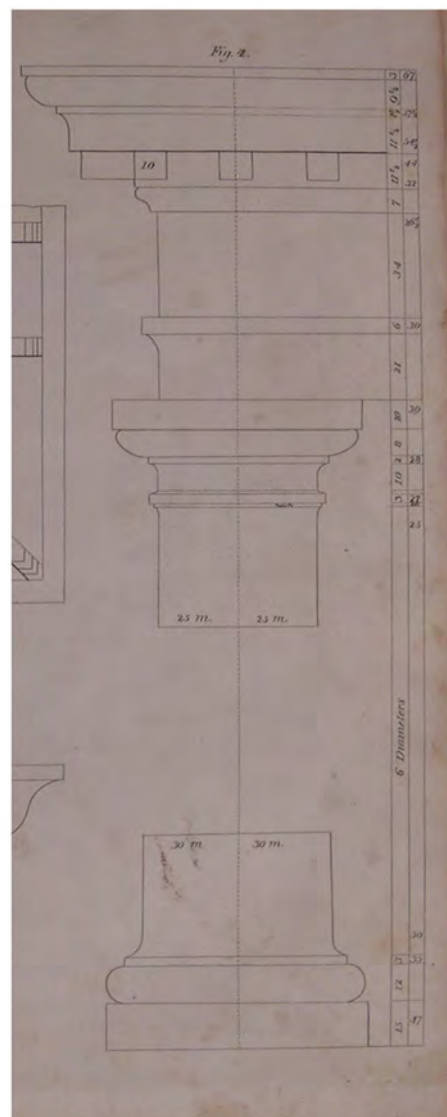
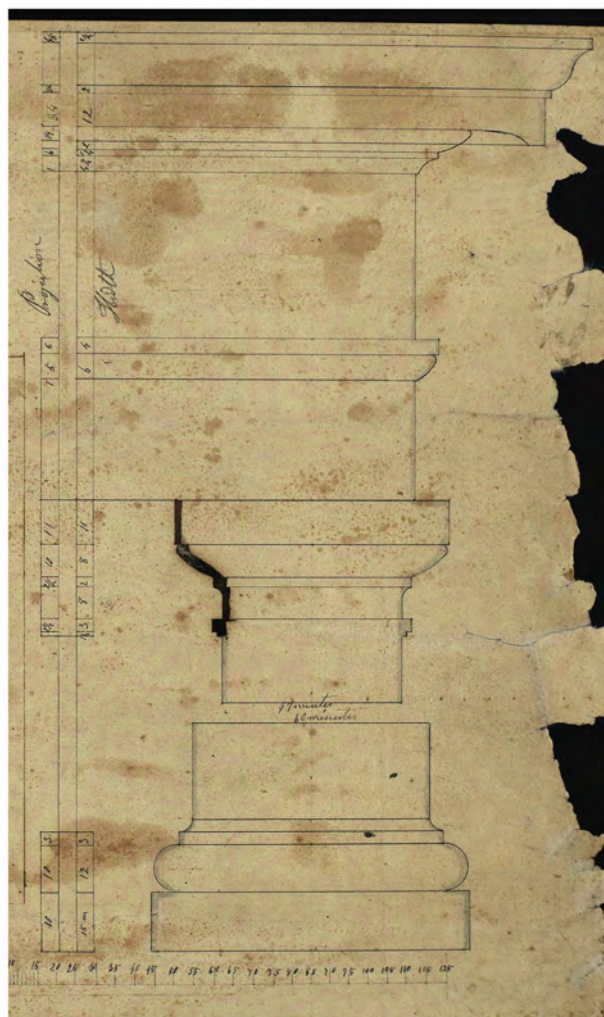


Figure 61 – On the left is Weeks’s drawing on MS 11500 Item 10 and on the right is Shaw’s drawing on Plate 61, Figure 4. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

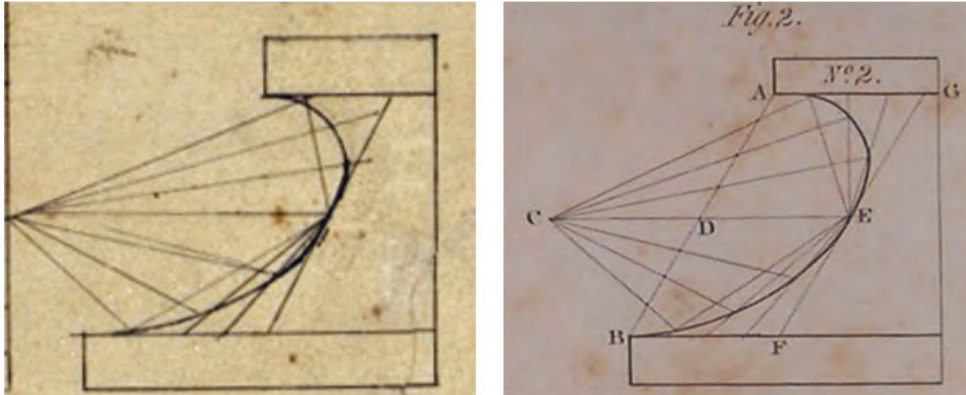


Figure 62. On the right, a detail of Shaw's scotia profile on Plate 65 and on the left is Weeks's detail on MS 11500 - Item 10. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

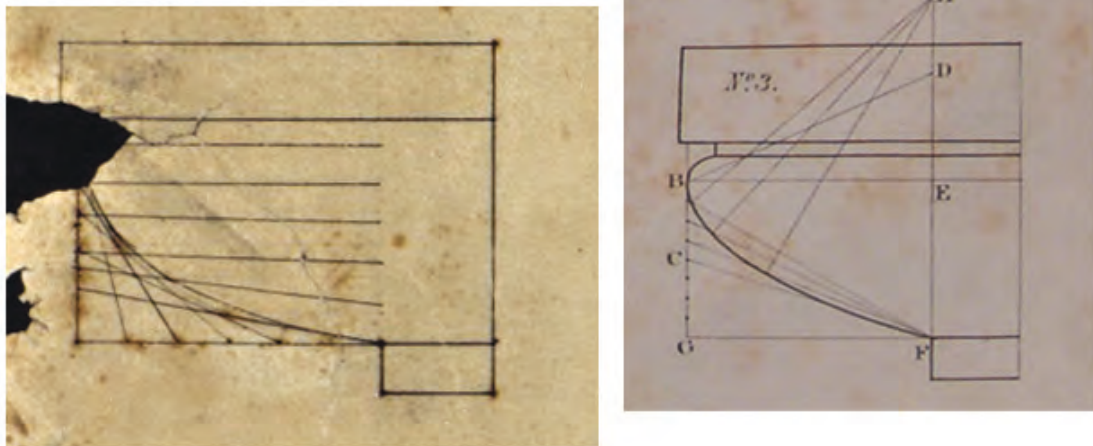


Figure 63. On the right, a detail of Shaw's quirked ovolo on Plate 65 and on the left is Weeks's detail MS 11500 - Item 10. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

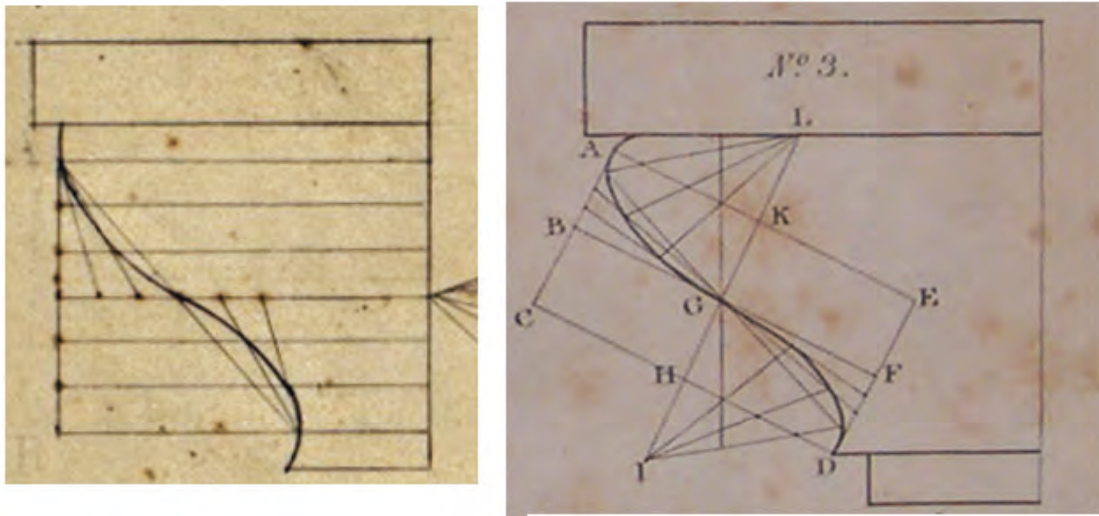


Figure 64. On the right a detail of Shaw's cyma reversa molding on Plate 65 and on the left Weeks's detail 11500 - Item 10. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

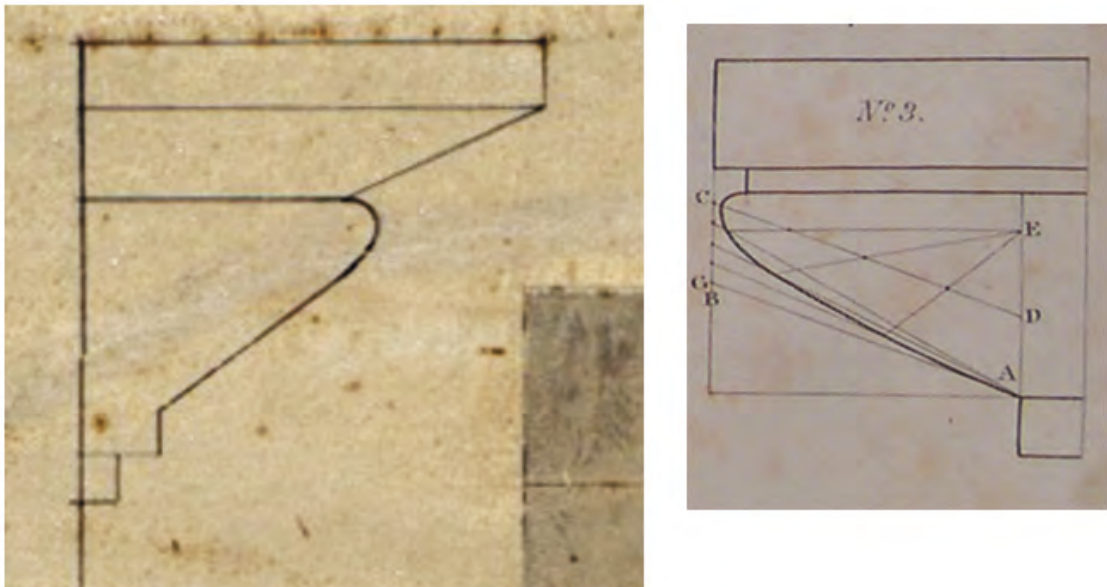


Figure 65. On the right a detail of Shaw's echinus ovolo molding on Plate 65 and on the left Weeks's detail 11500 - Item 10. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

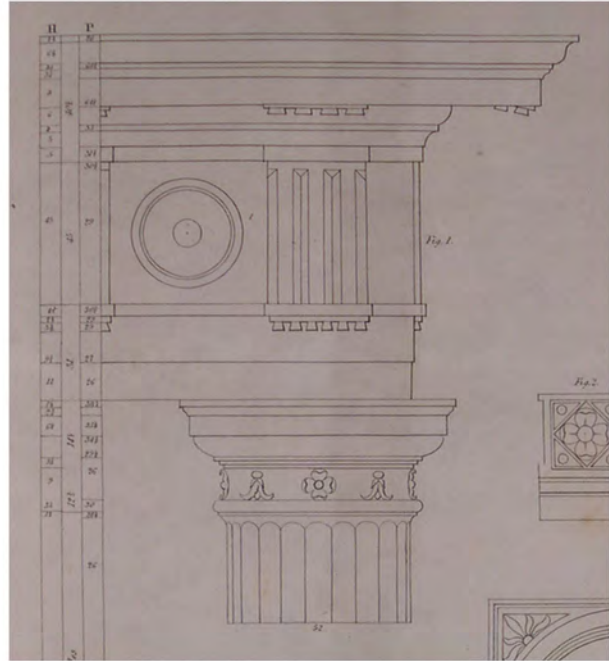
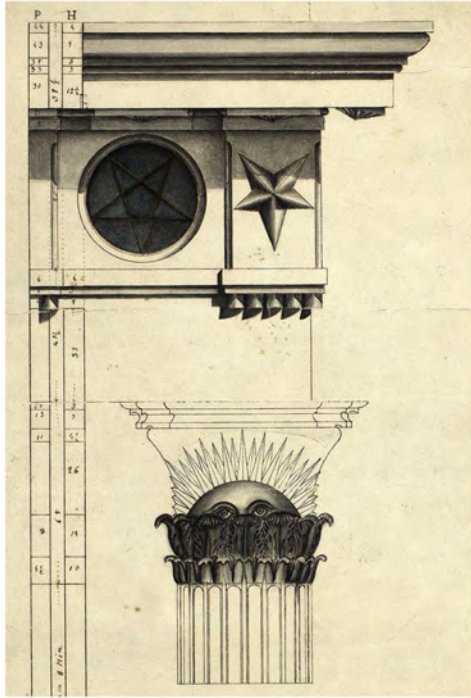


Figure 66. On the left, Weeks's drawing on MS 11500 - Item 5, and on the right is Shaw's drawing on Plate 55. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

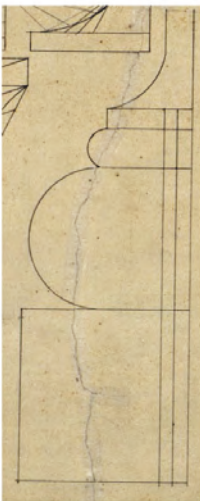


Figure 67. On the left, Weeks's drawing on MS 11500 - Item 10 and on the right is Shaw's drawing on Plate 54. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

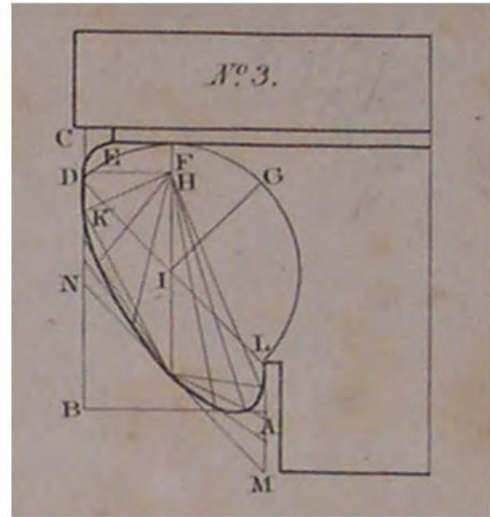
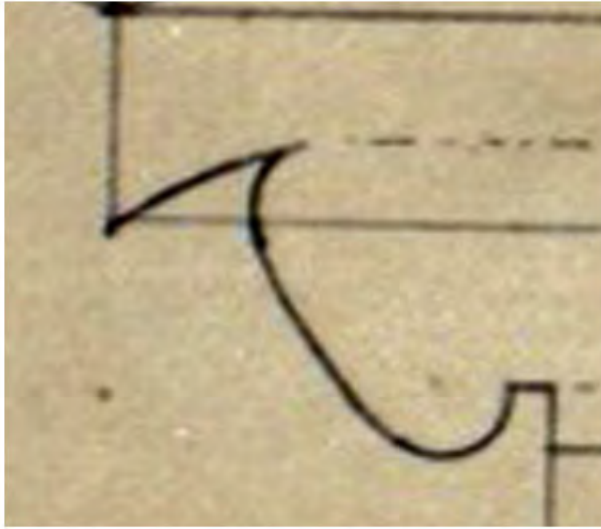


Figure 68. On the left is Weeks's drawing on MS 11500 Item - 10-2 and on the right is Shaw's drawing on Plate 65, no. 3. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

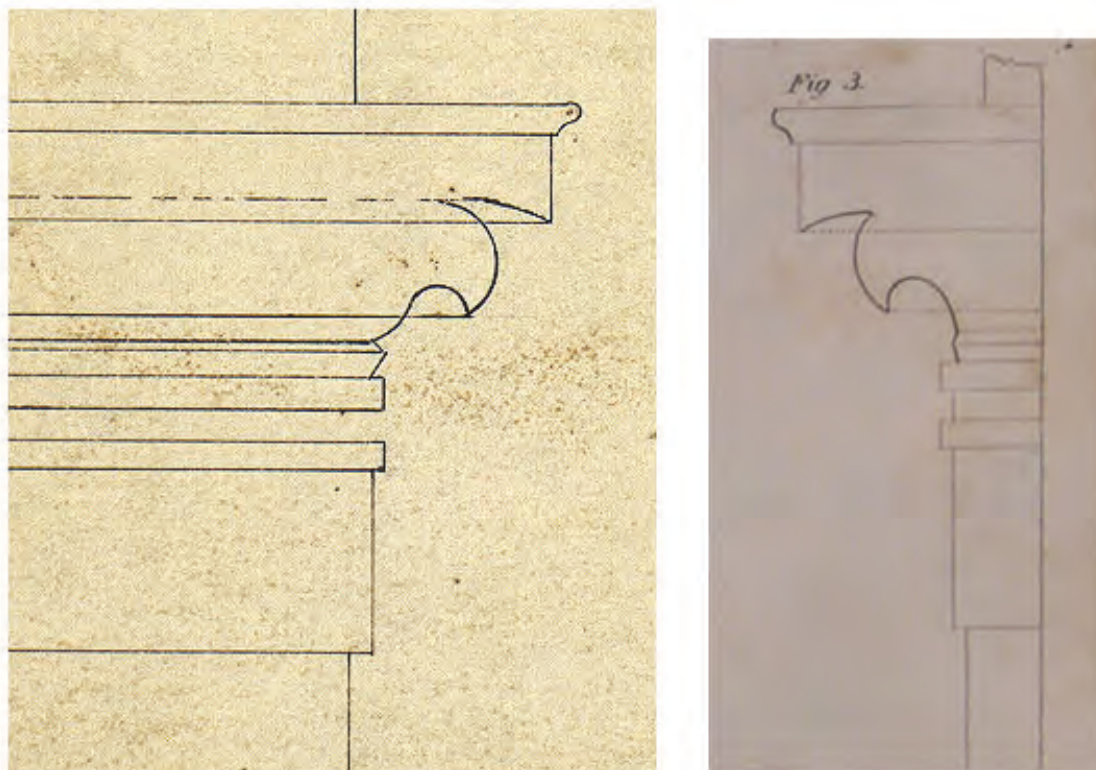


Figure 69. On the left is Weeks's drawing on MS 11500 - Item 11 and on the right is Shaw's drawing on Plate 42. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

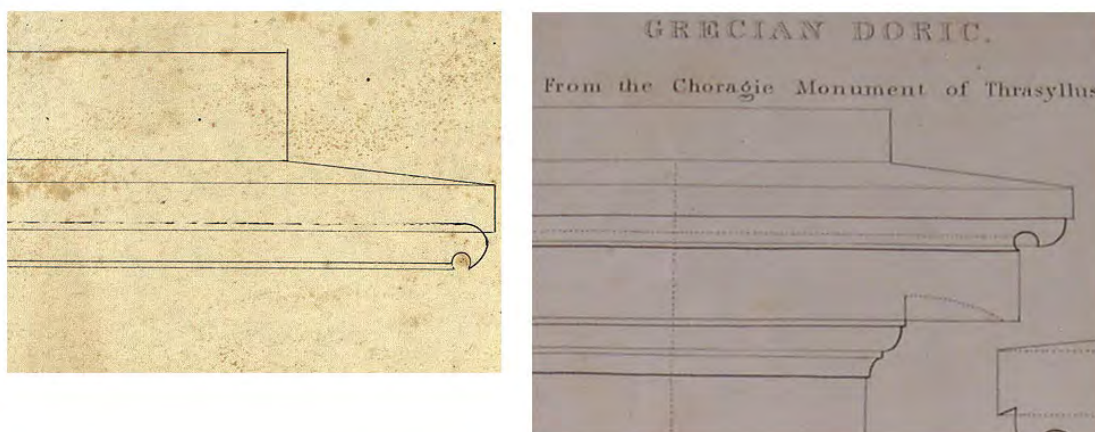


Figure 70. On the left is Week's drawing on MS 11500 - Item 11 and on the right is Shaw's drawing on Plate 42. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

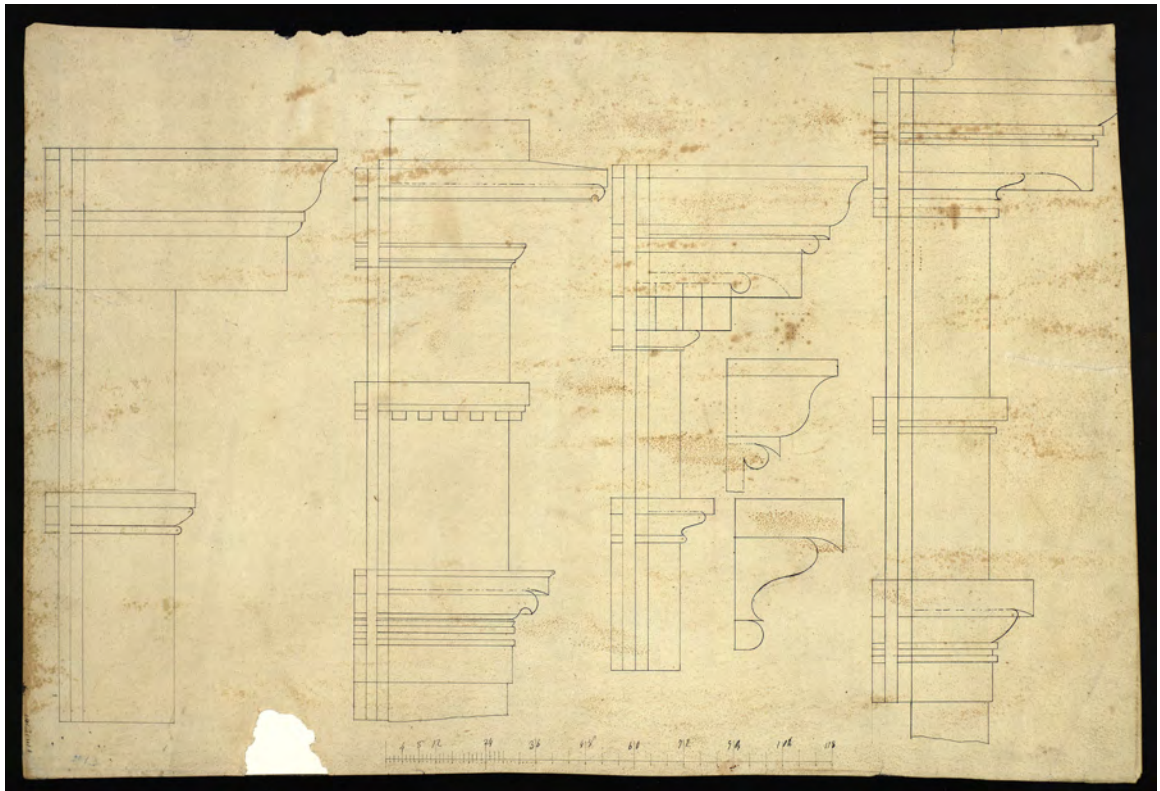


Figure 71. MS 11500 - Item 11. Weeks was developing various iterations of entablature details. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

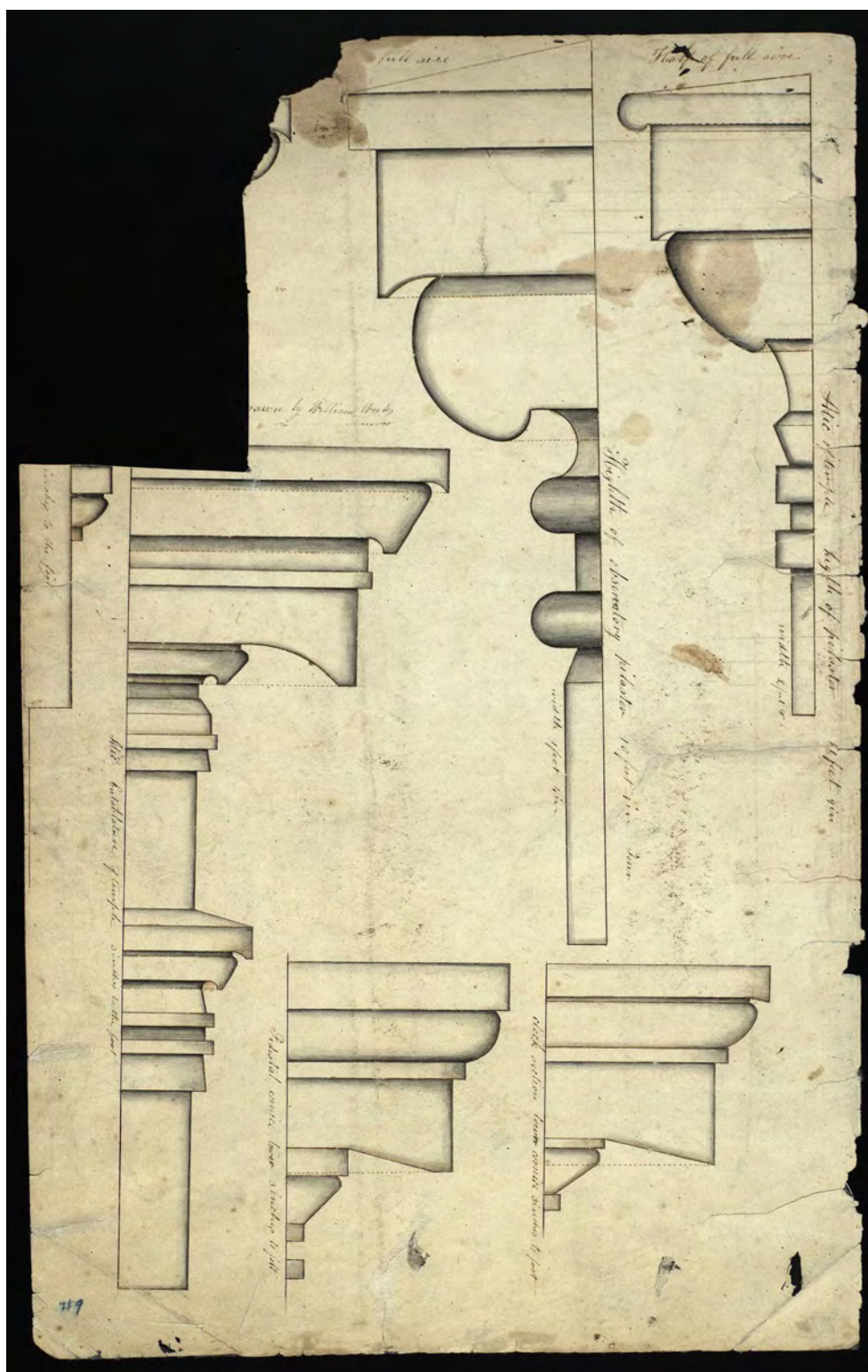


Figure 72. MS 11500 – Item 9. To illustrate Weeks’s ability to modify and adapt pre-scribed forms one simply has to examine the drawing he executed for various tower profiles. Elements of these can be found in Shaw’s patterns but Weeks invented new forms. He was playful, uninhibited and experimental. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

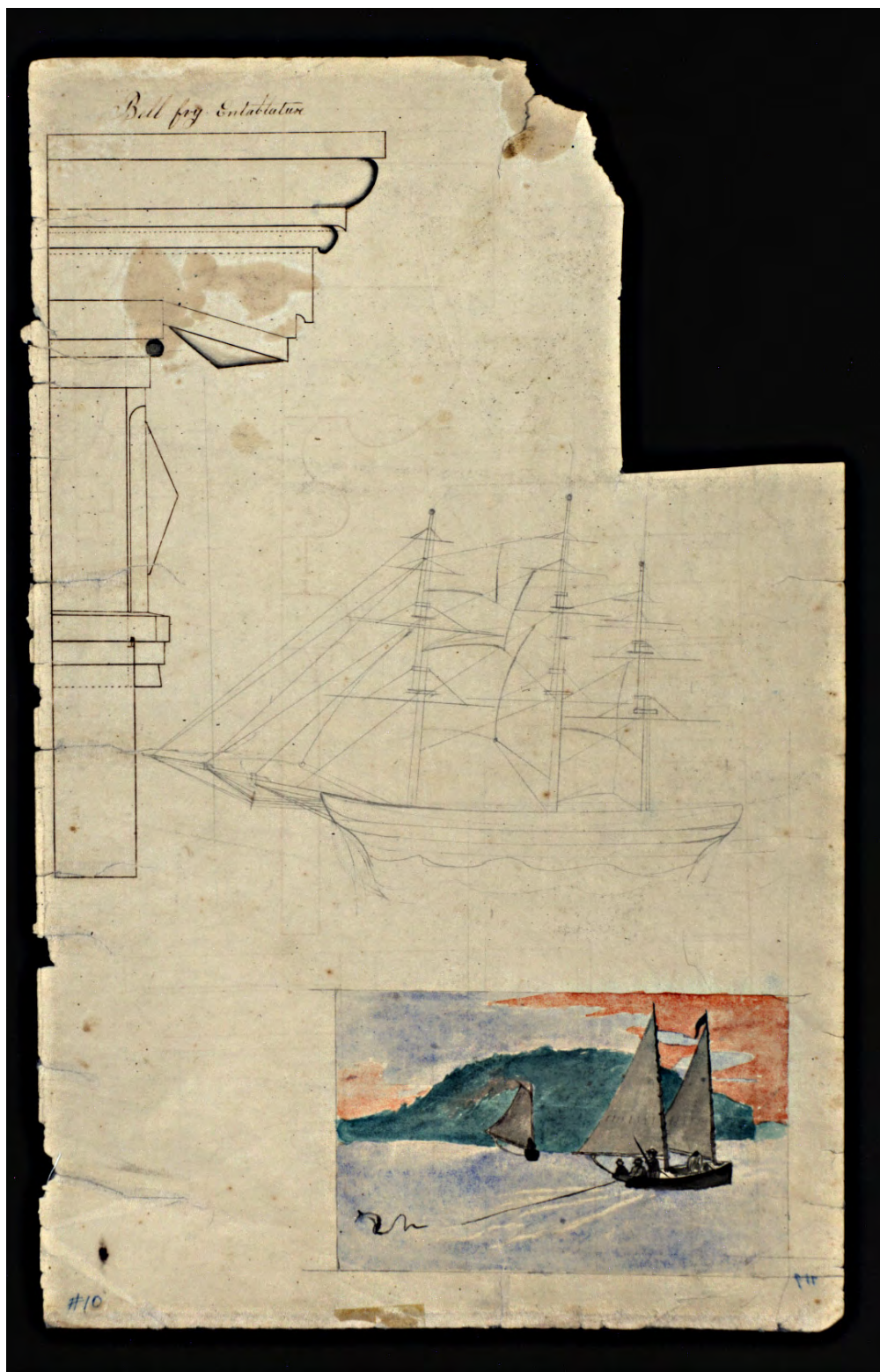


Figure 73. MS11500 – Item 9. Reverse of previous image. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

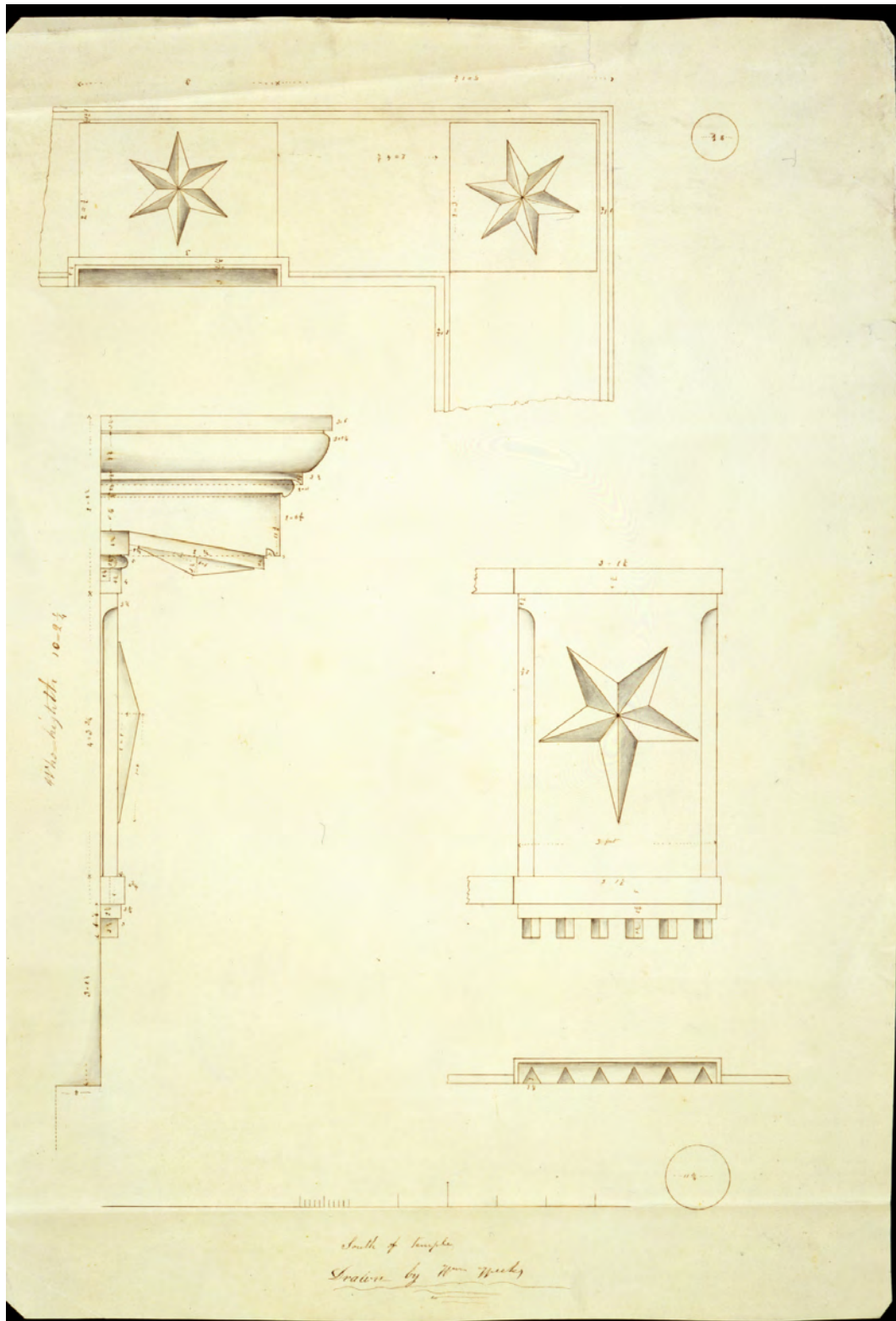
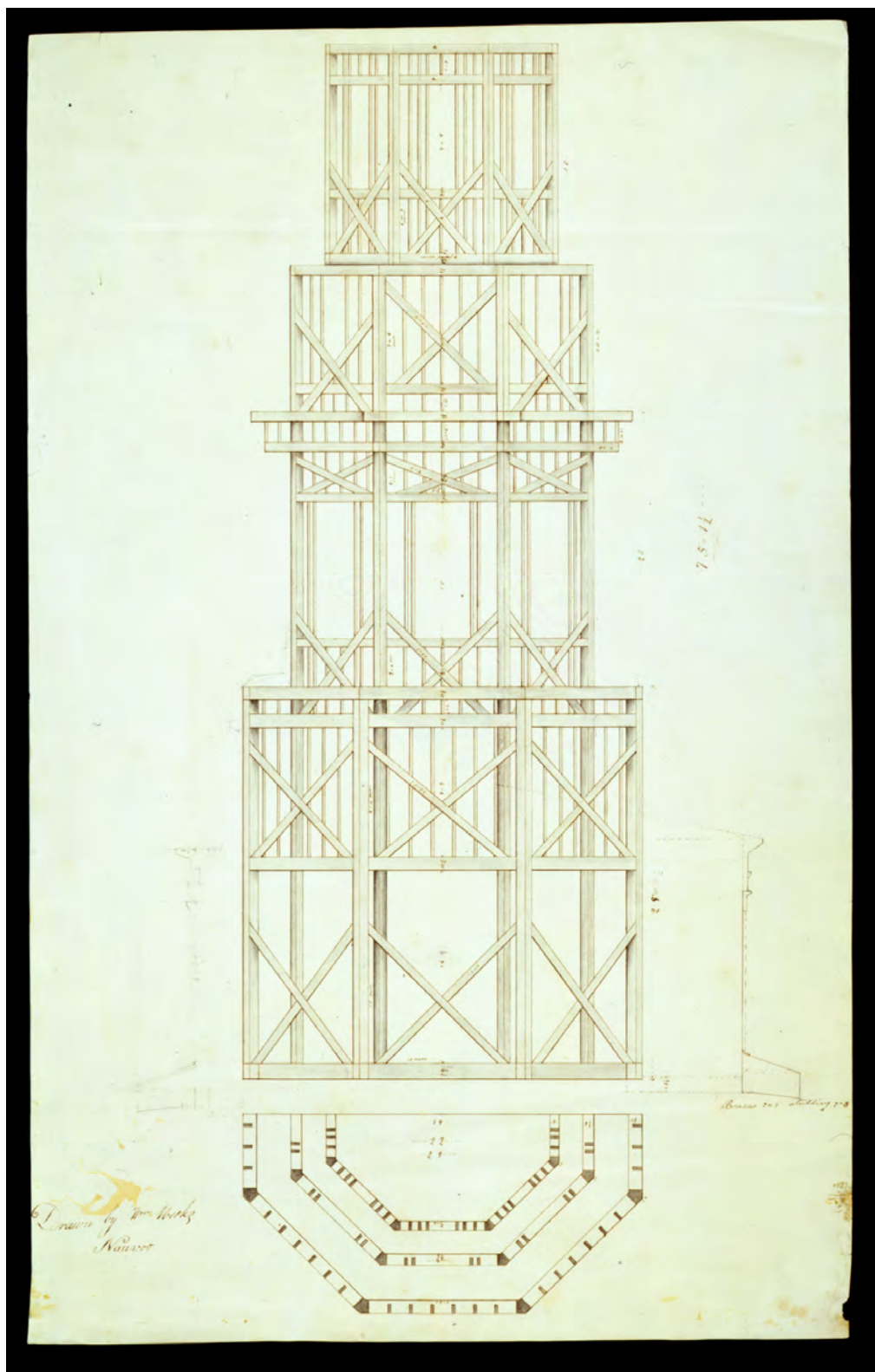


Figure 74. CR 679 - Item 3. Entitled "South of Temple" and signed "Drawn by Wm. Weeks." In this drawing Weeks was utilizing a collection of molding profiles to generate his entablature details. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



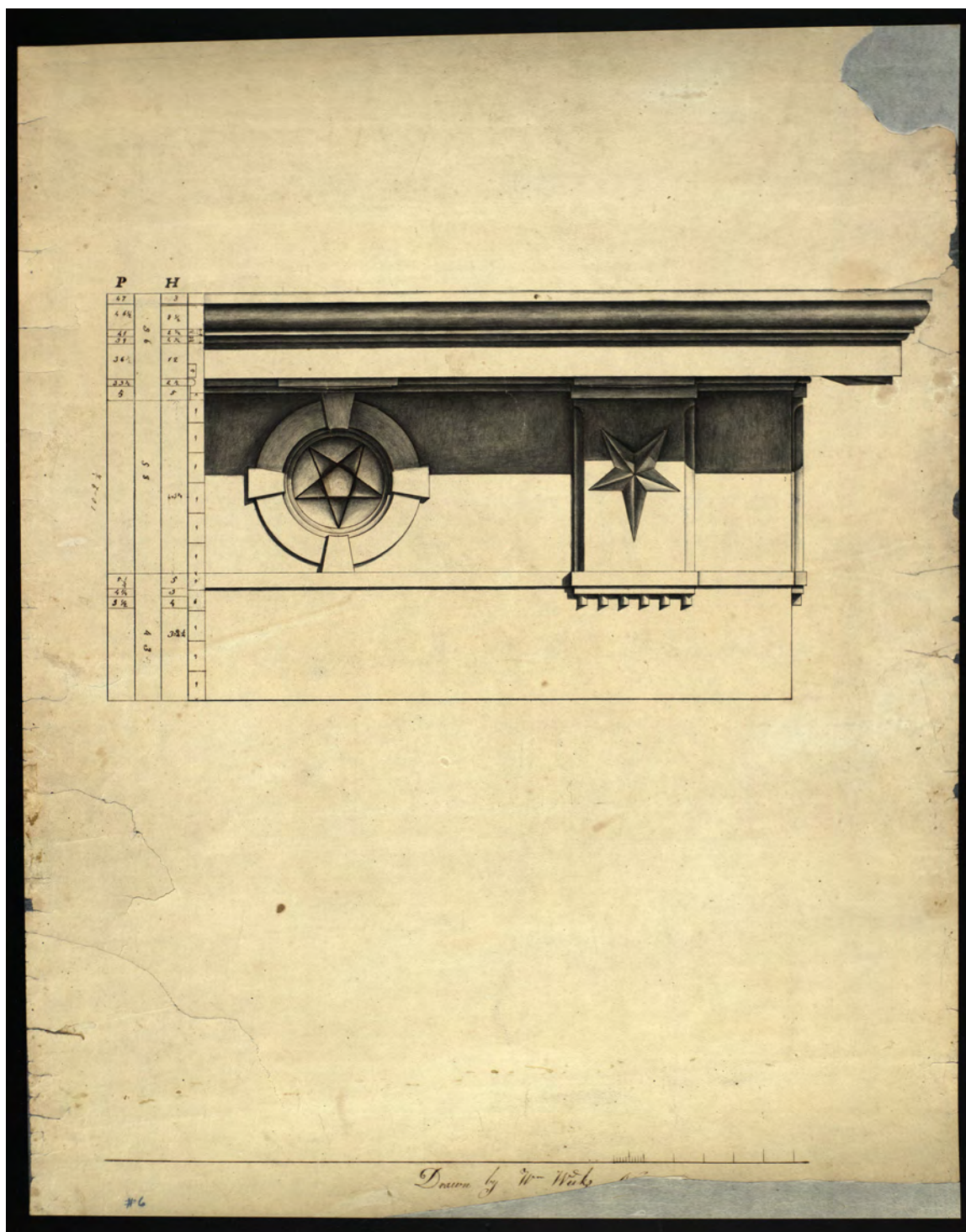


Figure 76. MS 11500, Item 6. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

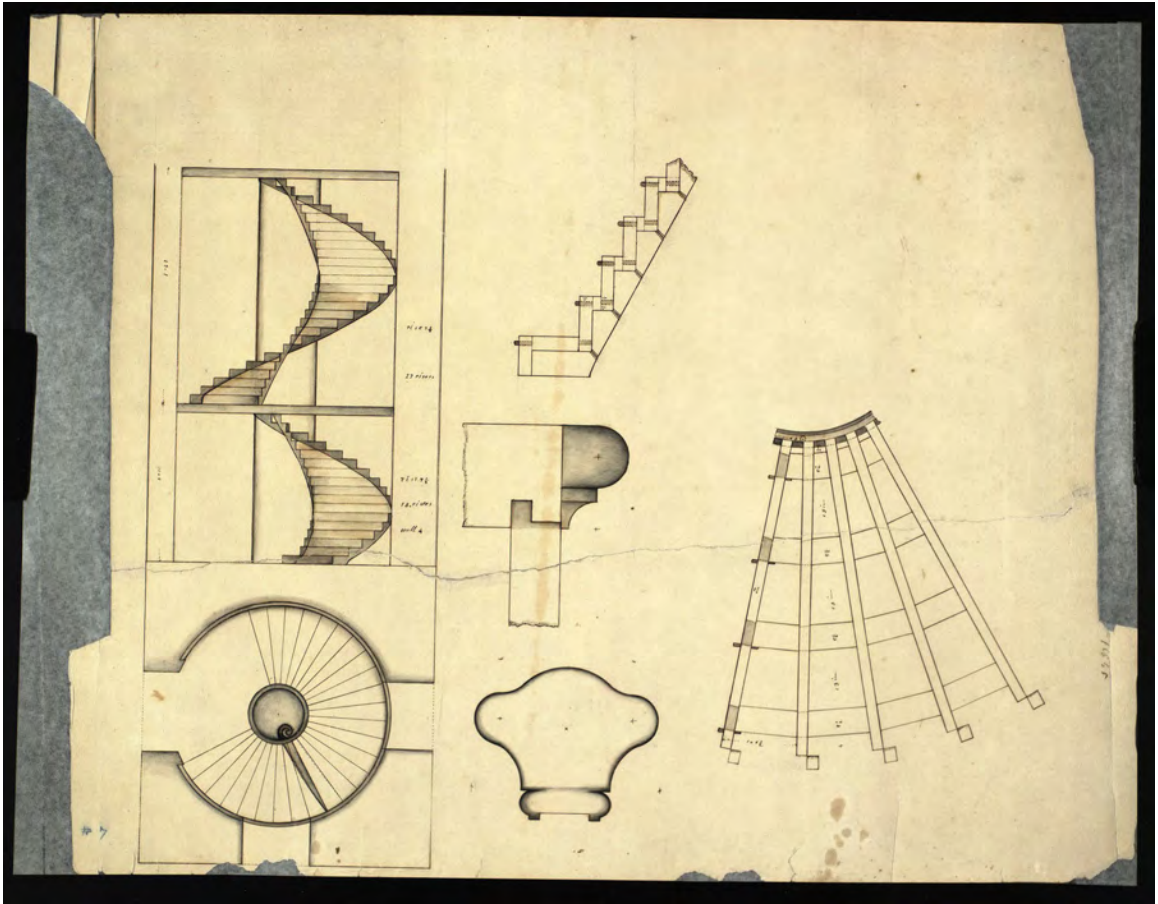


Figure 77. MS 11500, Item 7. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

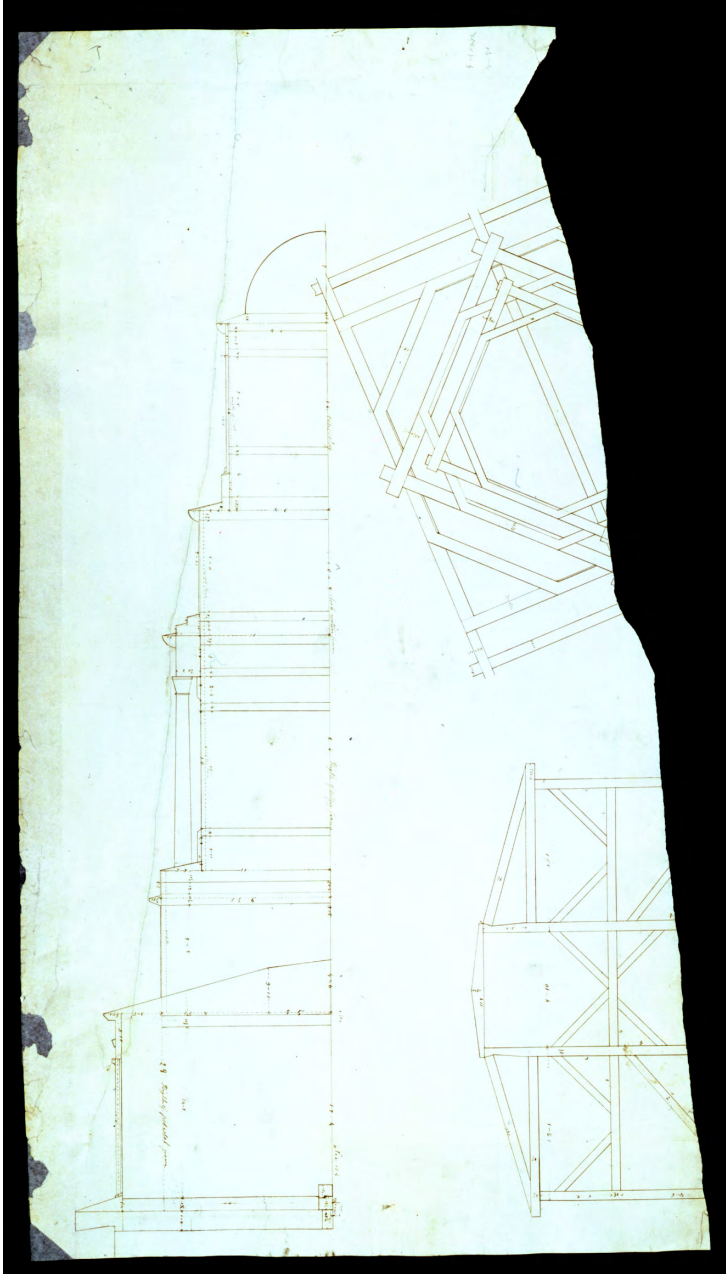


Figure 78. CR 679 10 item 15. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

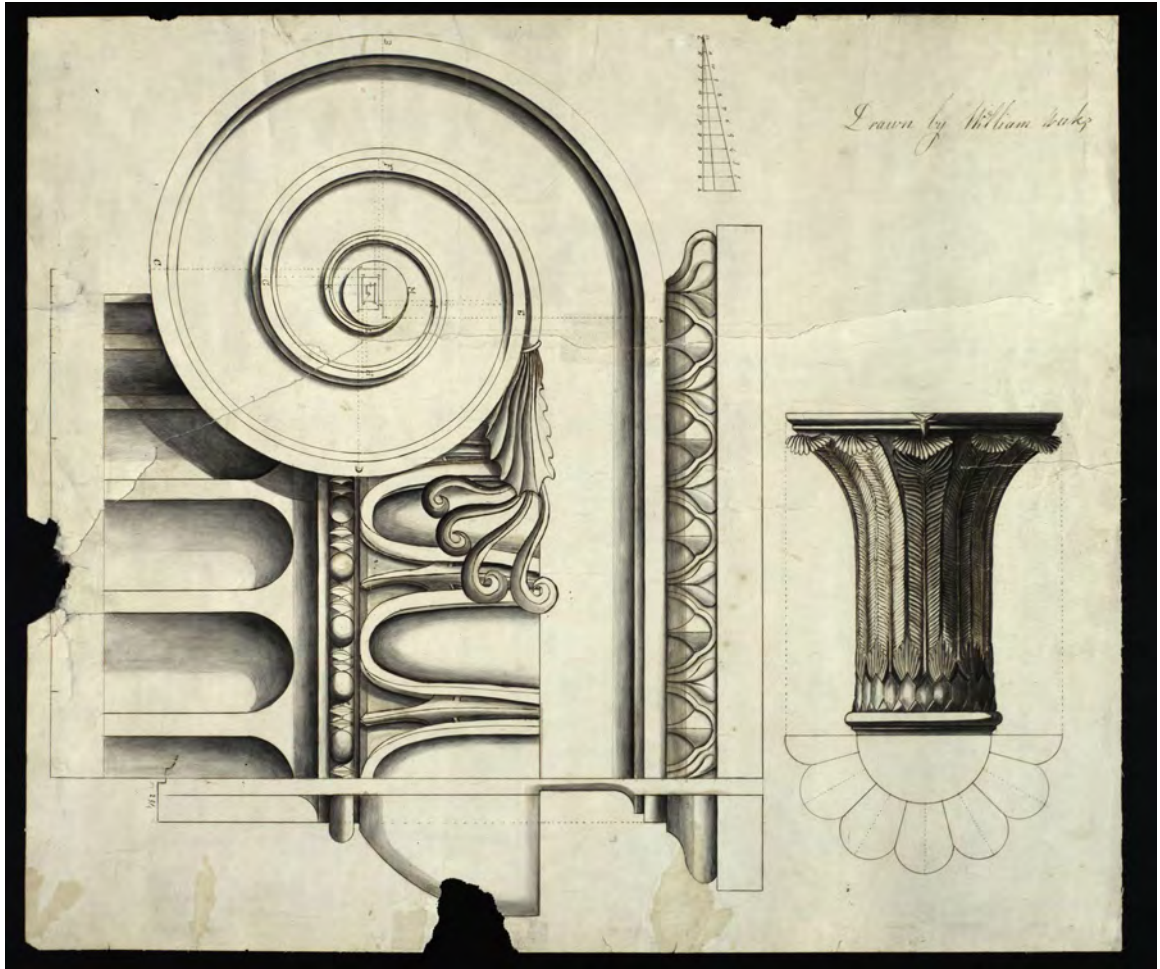


Figure 79. MS 11500 Item 4. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 80. MS 11500 Item 12. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

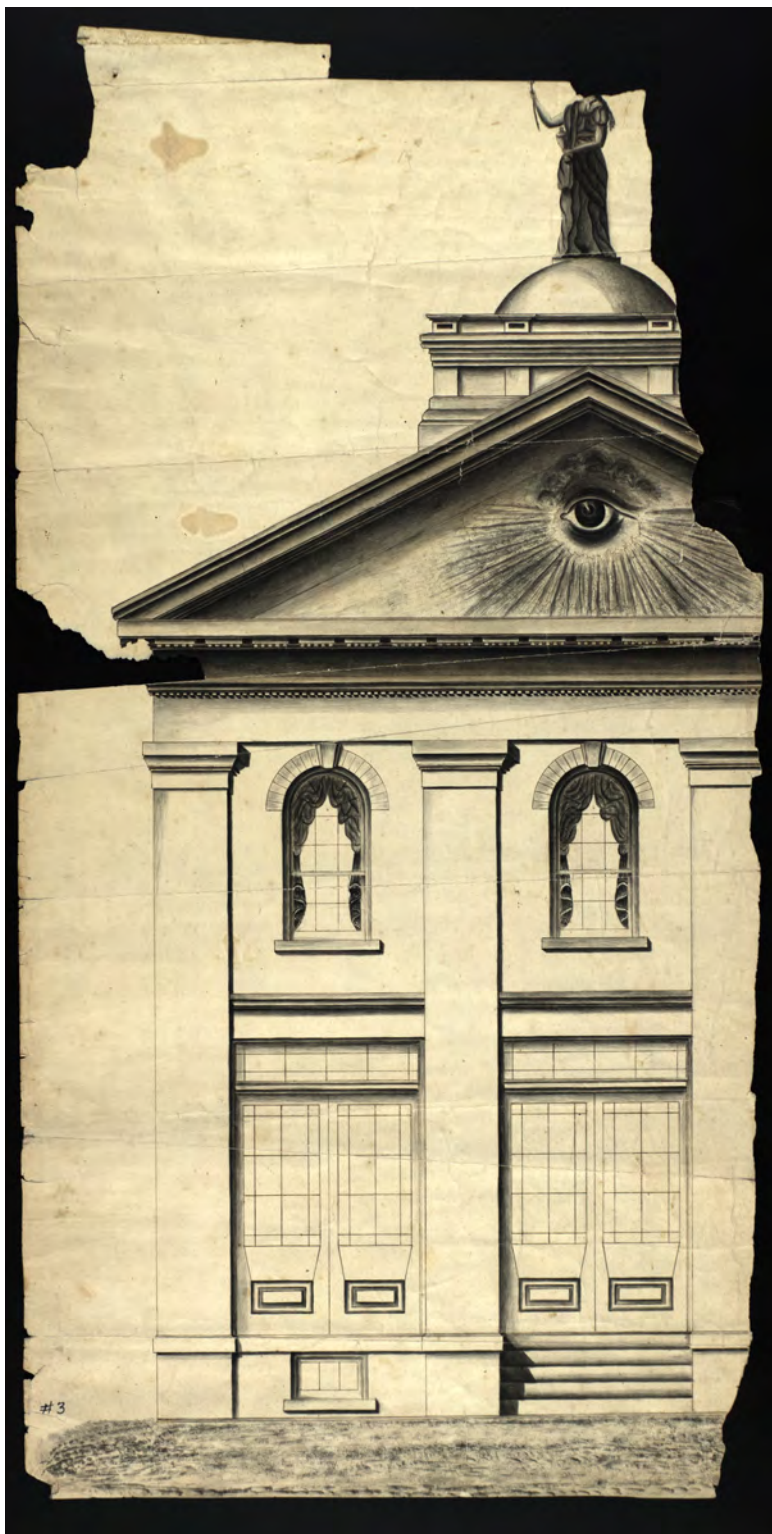


Figure 81. MS 11500 Item 3. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 82. Item 9. Image showing the Masonic hall in the late 19th century. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 83. Image showing the Masonic hall after renovation in the 1960s by Nauvoo Restoration Inc. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

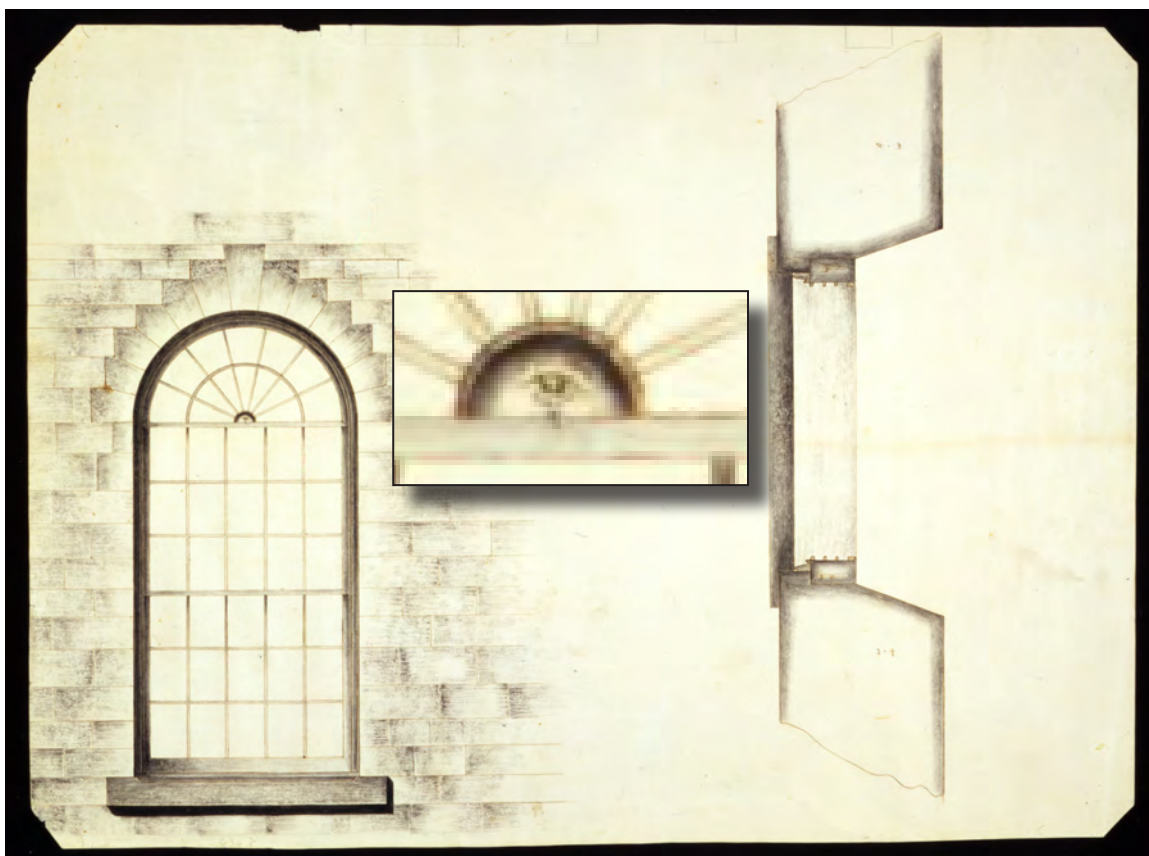


Figure 84. CR 679-10 item 4 Image showing a window elevation for the Nauvoo Temple. Inset is a detail of the center of the arch. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 85. Image of Asher Benjamin's elevation for a church on Plate A from his 1820 publication of "The American Builders Companion."

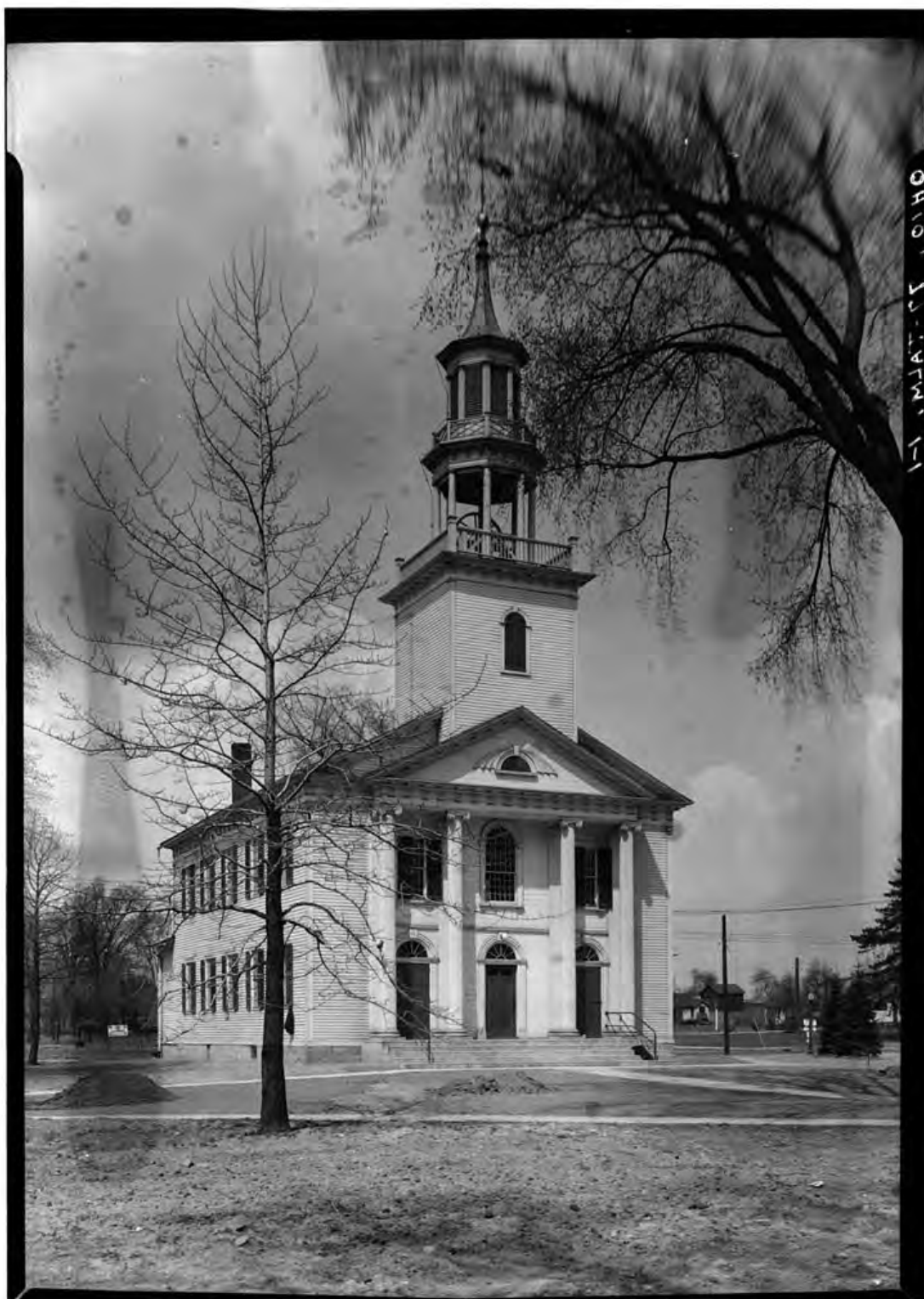


Figure 86. Congregational church at Tallmadge OH, built in 1822-25 by Lemuel Porter, a master builder who came to the Connecticut Western Reserve (later northeastern Ohio) from Waterbury, Connecticut. Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

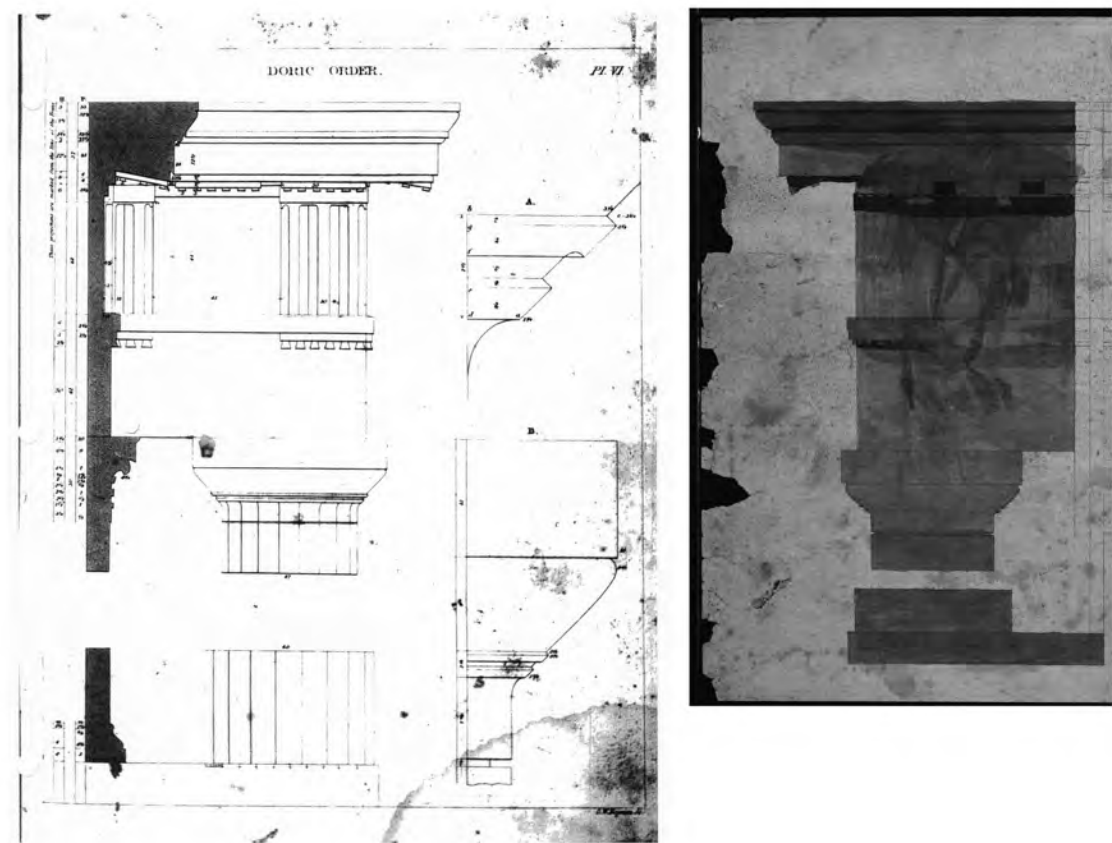


Figure 87. Asher Benjamin, the Doric Order, Plate VI, from the 1839 edition of “The Country Builder’s Assistant,” and Weeks drawing of the Doric on MS 11500 Item 10. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

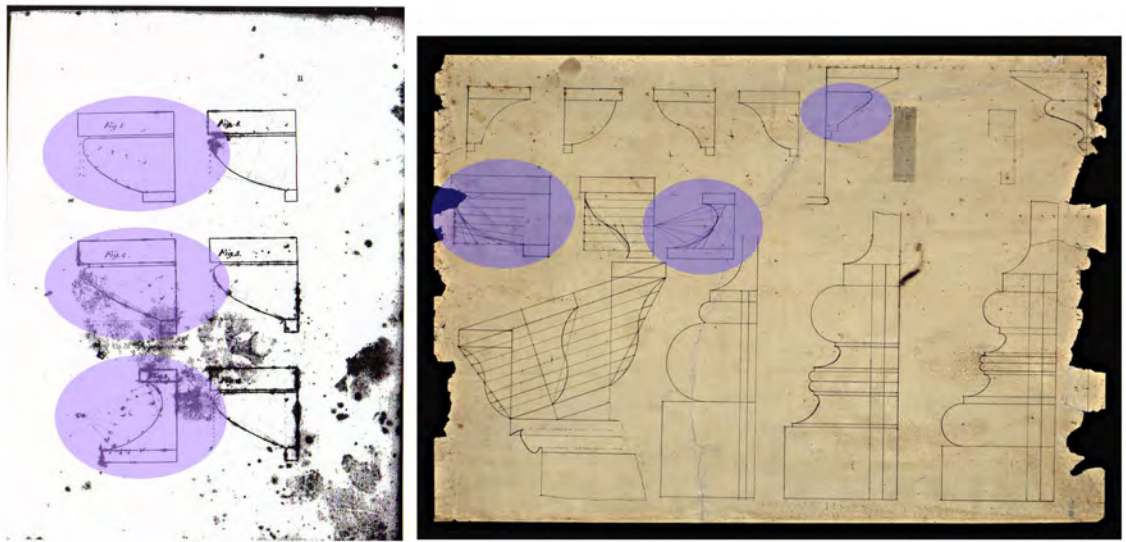


Figure 88. Asher Benjamin, Plate 11 of the 1820 edition of “The Country Builder’s Assistant.” Details of molding profiles showing similar profiles by Weeks’s highlighted. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

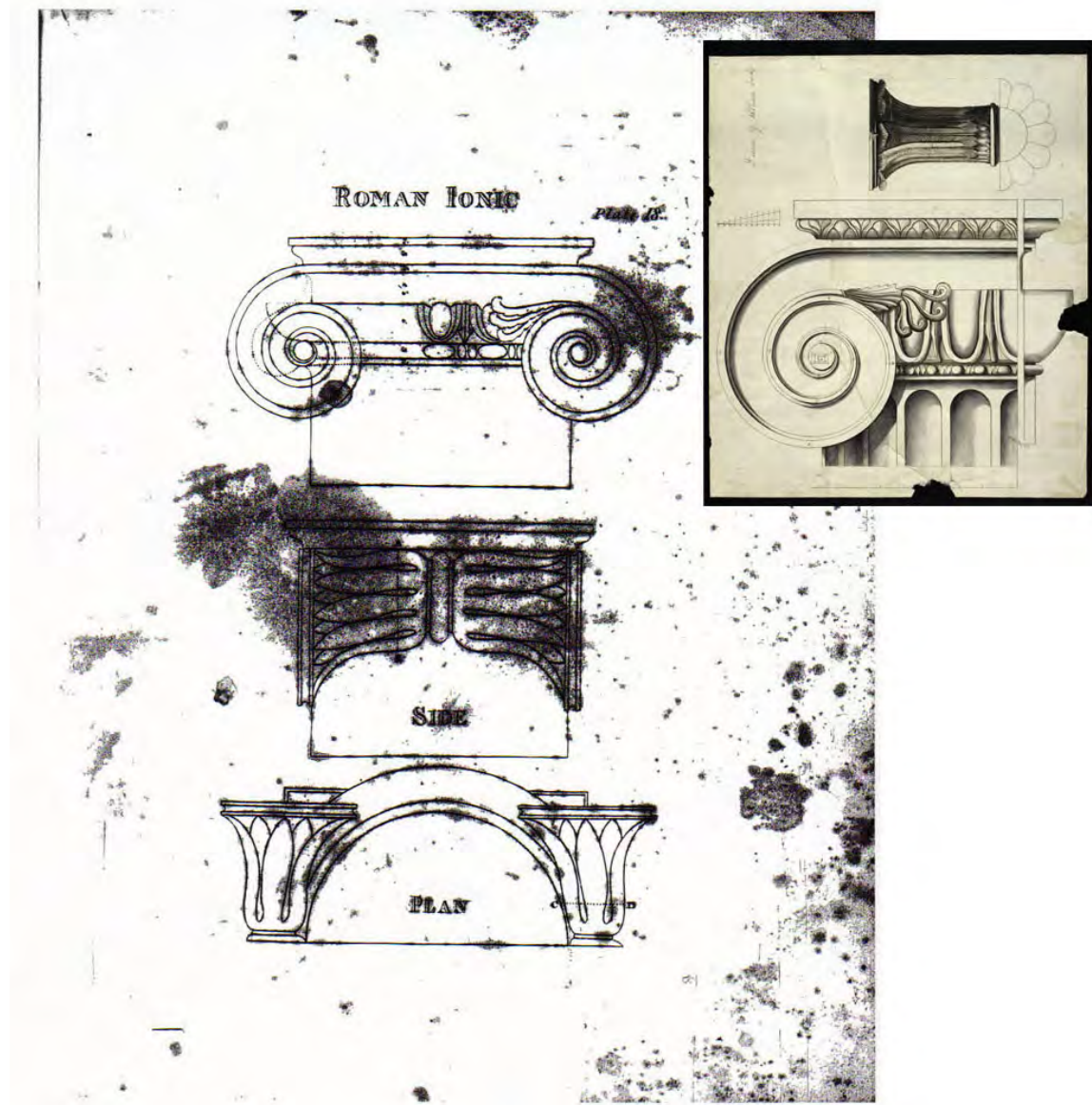


Figure 89. Asher Benjamin, 1820 edition of “The Country Builder’s Assistant.” Detail showing similarities between Benjamin’s ionic capital and that created by Weeks on MS 11500 Item 4. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Figure 90. Asher Benjamin's and Ithiel Town's First Congregational Church (Center Church, 1812-1814) in New Haven, Connecticut was conventionally modeled on Francis Gibbs's St. Martins in the Fields in London, England and was repeated throughout New England until the 1860s. Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 91. Lavius Filmore's Congregational Church in Bennington, Vermont (1806).
Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

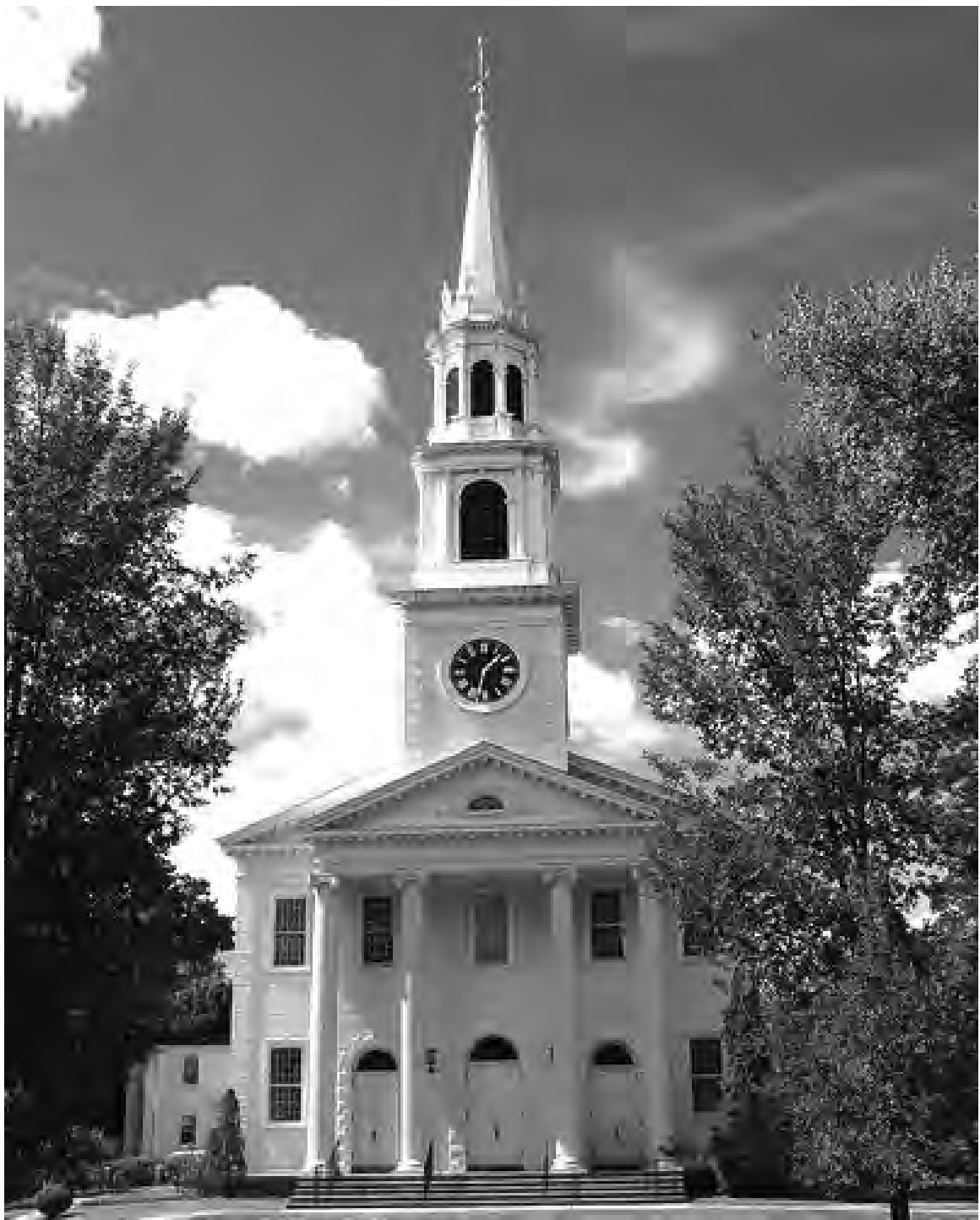


Figure 92. Samuel Belcher's Congregational Church in Old Lyme, Connecticut (1816-17).



Figure 93. David Hoadley's Congregational Church in Milford, Connecticut (1823)



Figure 94: L. Newall's Congregational Church in Litchfield, Connecticut (1828-29).
Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 95. Congregational Church, built in 1823 in Blandford, Massachusetts by Isaac Damon. The most notable similarities between the Blandford Congregational Church are found in the pilaster treatment and the triumphal arched entry on the main façade.



Figure 96. The Lancaster Meetinghouse (1815-1817) in Lancaster, Massachusetts, designed by Charles Bulfinch. Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 97. St. Michael's Anglican Church (1752-1753) Charleston, South Carolina, designed by master builder Samuel Cardy. Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

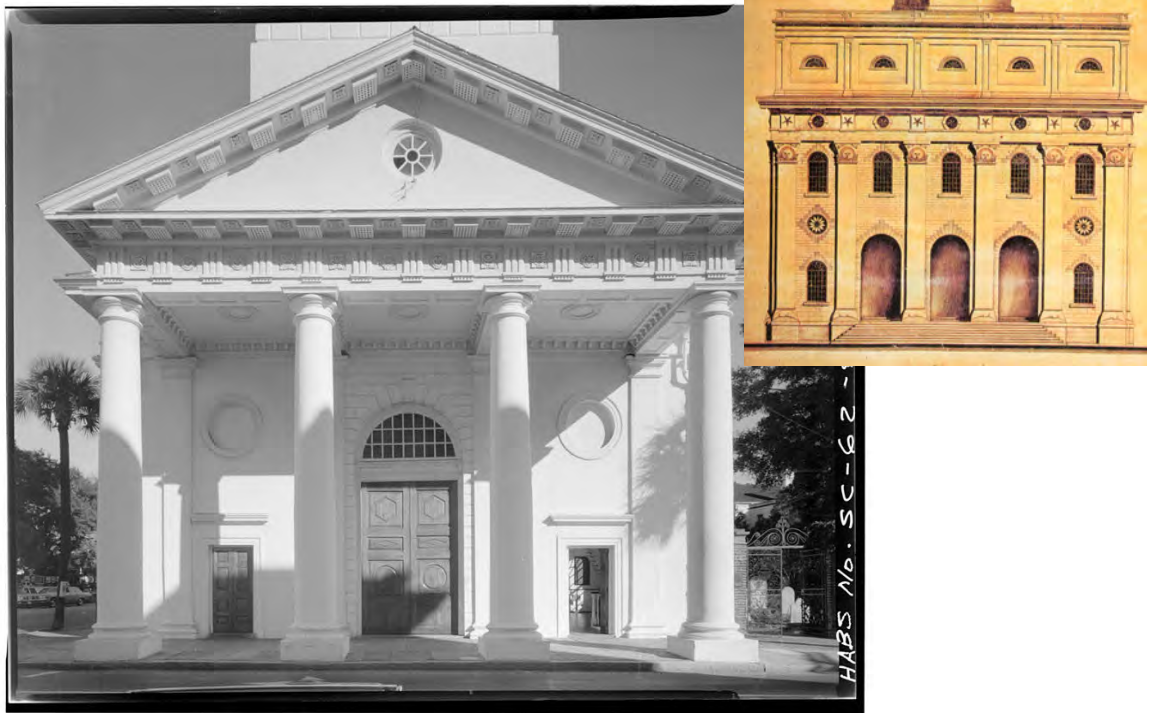


Figure 98. St. Michael's Anglican Church (1752-1753) Charleston, South Carolina. Detail of the entry portico. Note the round windows on the facade. Nauvoo west facade inset. Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.



Figure 99. St. Michael's Anglican Church (1752-1753) Charleston, South Carolina. Detail of the bell tower. Nauvoo temple towers inset chronologically beginning with the ca. 1841 rendering, the 1842 rendering, the ca. 1844 rendering and the tower as built. St. Michael's Photo courtesy Historic American Building Survey.

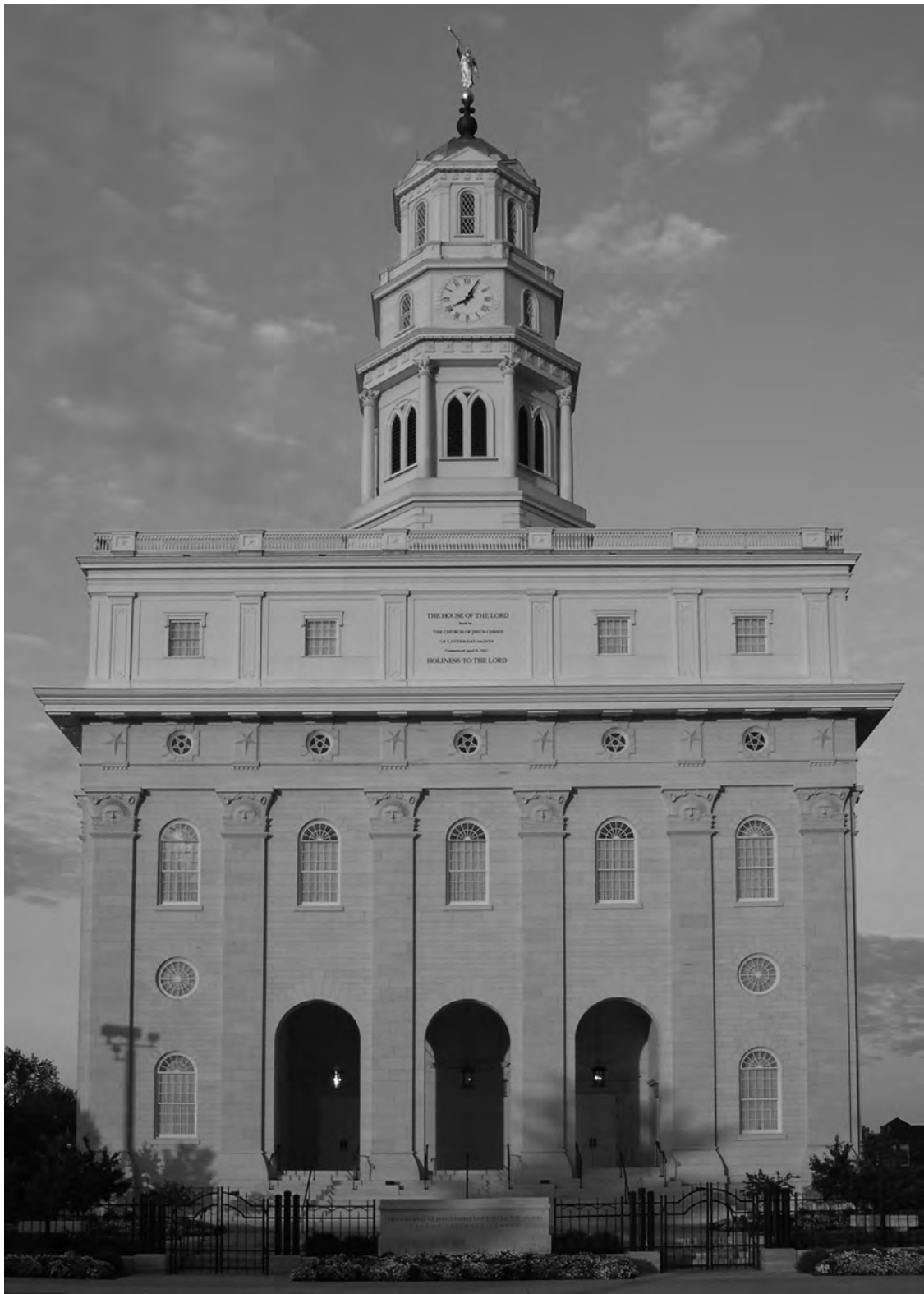


Figure 100. View of the west facade of the new Nauvoo Temple, Nauvoo, Illinois.
Photograph by William T. Cornell.



Figure 101. Southeast view of the new Nauvoo Temple, Nauvoo, Illinois.
Photograph by William T. Cornell.

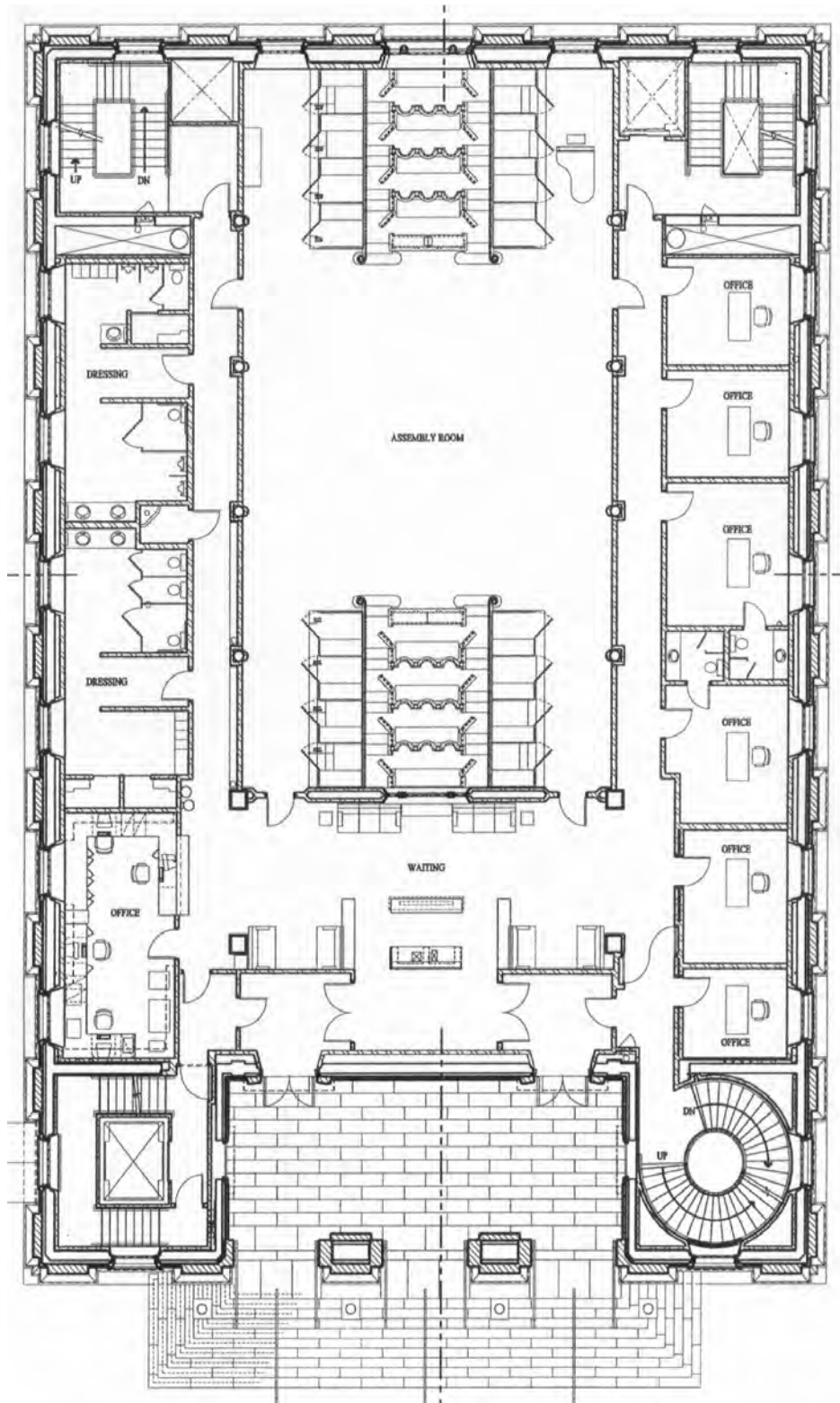


Figure 102. Main floor plan of the new Nauvoo temple. The assembly hall on this floor was included but was reduced in size to allow for modern temple programmatic requirements and code compliance. Compare with original plans of the main floor on Figure 5. Courtesy FFKR Architects.



Figure 103. Main floor plan of the new Nauvoo temple showing the east end of the assembly hall. Courtesy Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

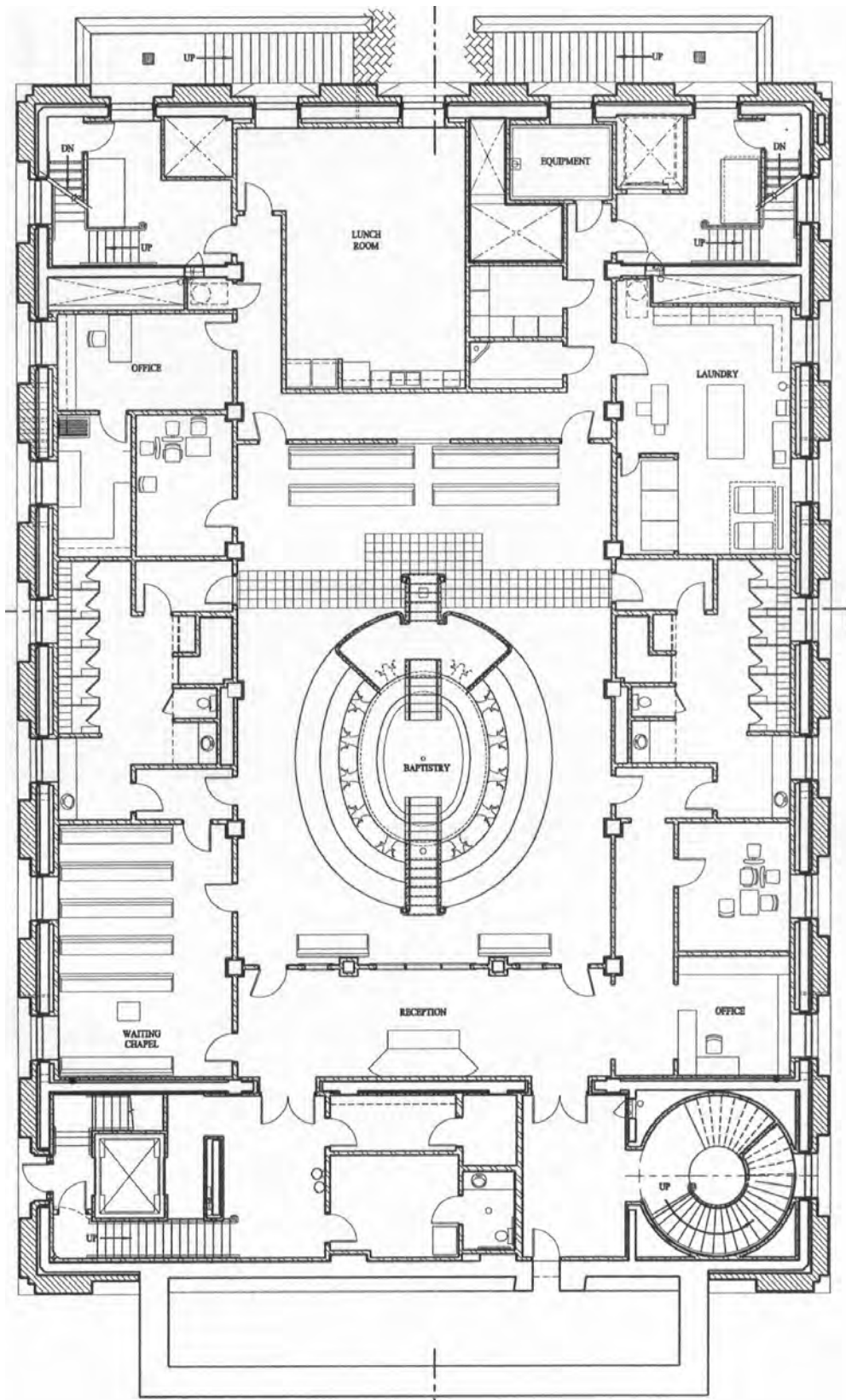


Figure 104. Basement floor plan of the new Nauvoo temple. Compare with original plans of the main floor on Figure 4. Courtesy FFKR Architects.

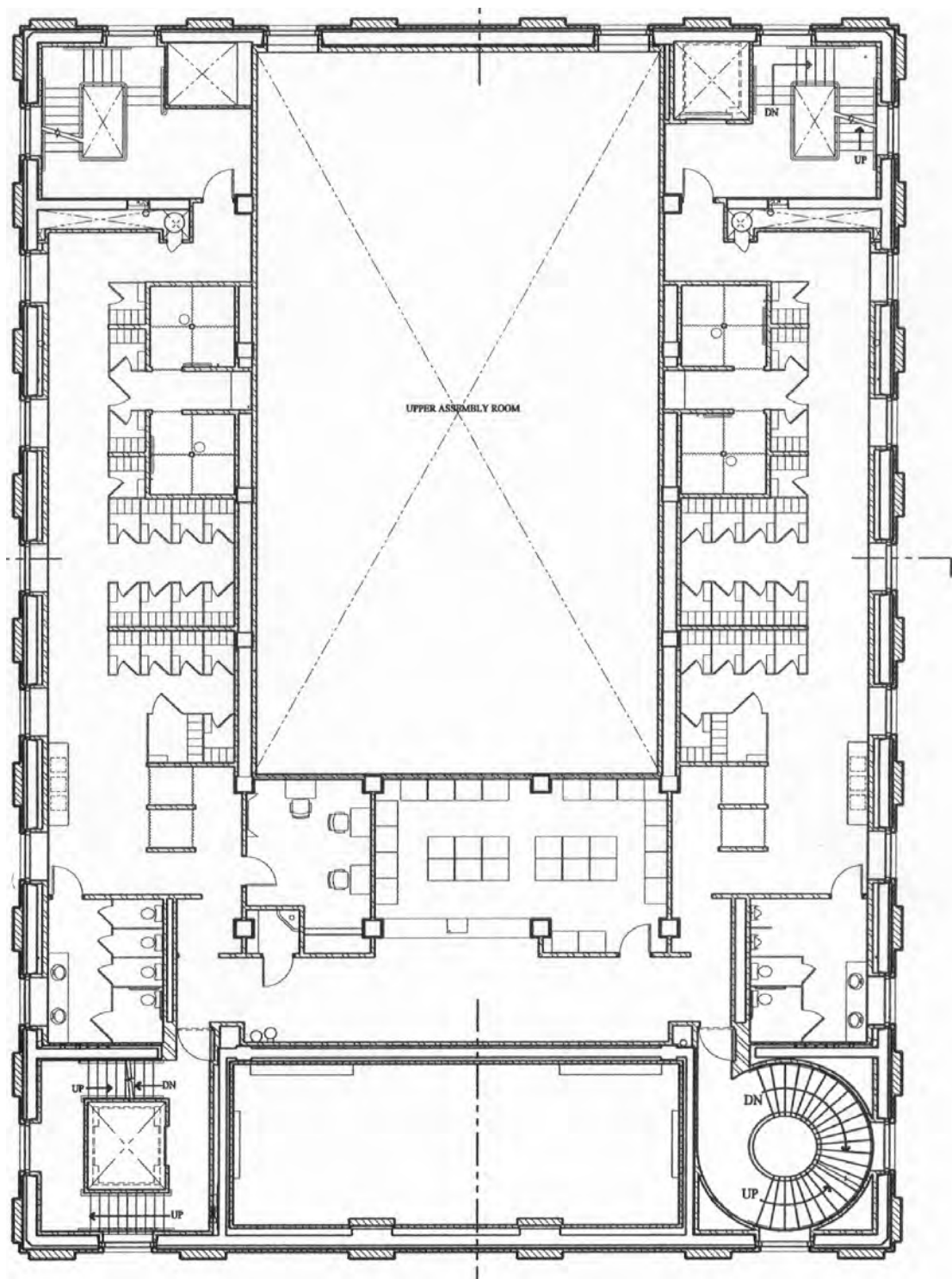


Figure 104. Main floor mezzanine plan of the new Nauvoo temple. Compare with original plans of the main floor mezzanine on Figure 6. Courtesy FFKR Architects.

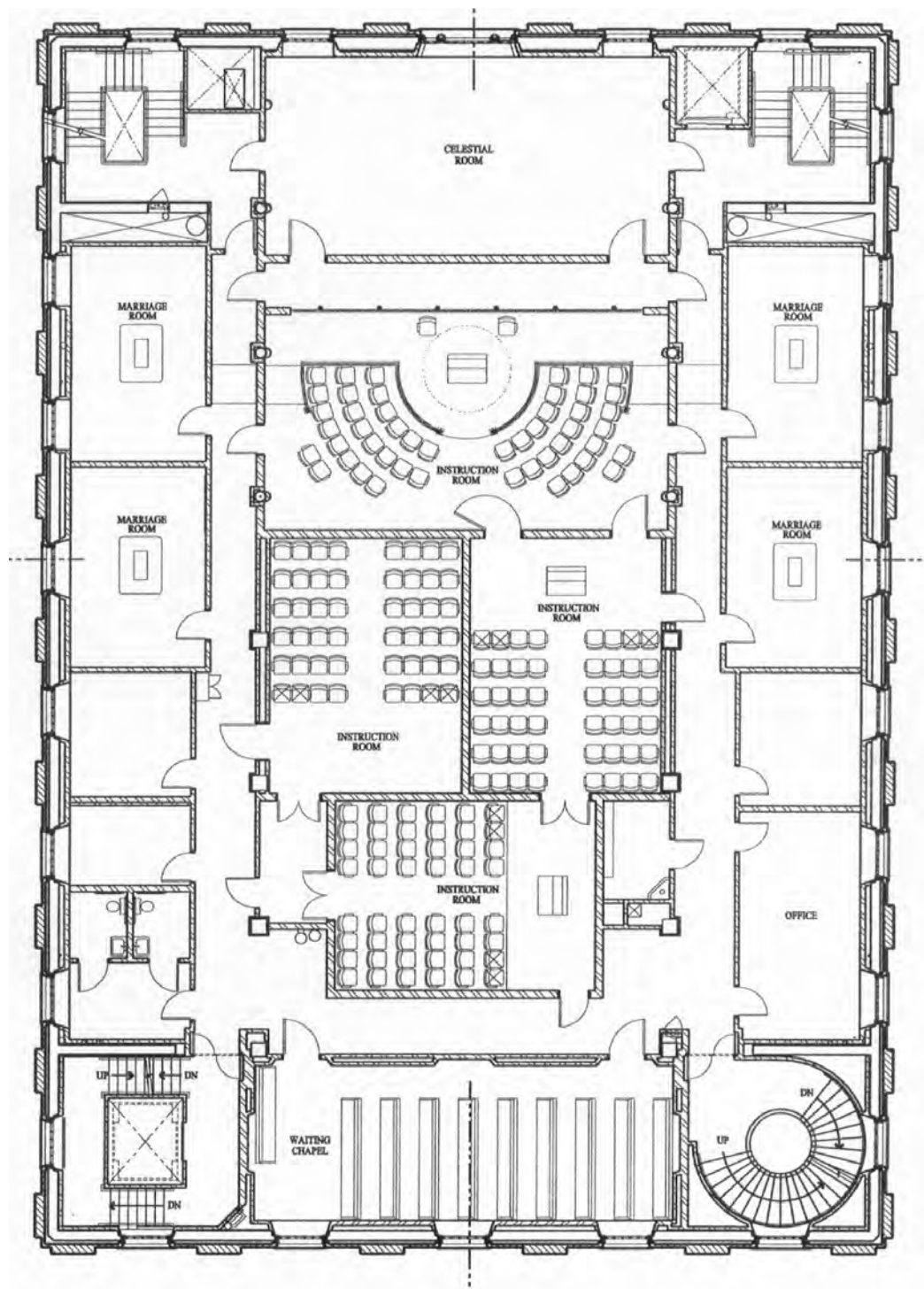


Figure 105. Second floor plan of the new Nauvoo temple. Compare with original plans of the main floor on Figure 7. Courtesy FFKR Architects.

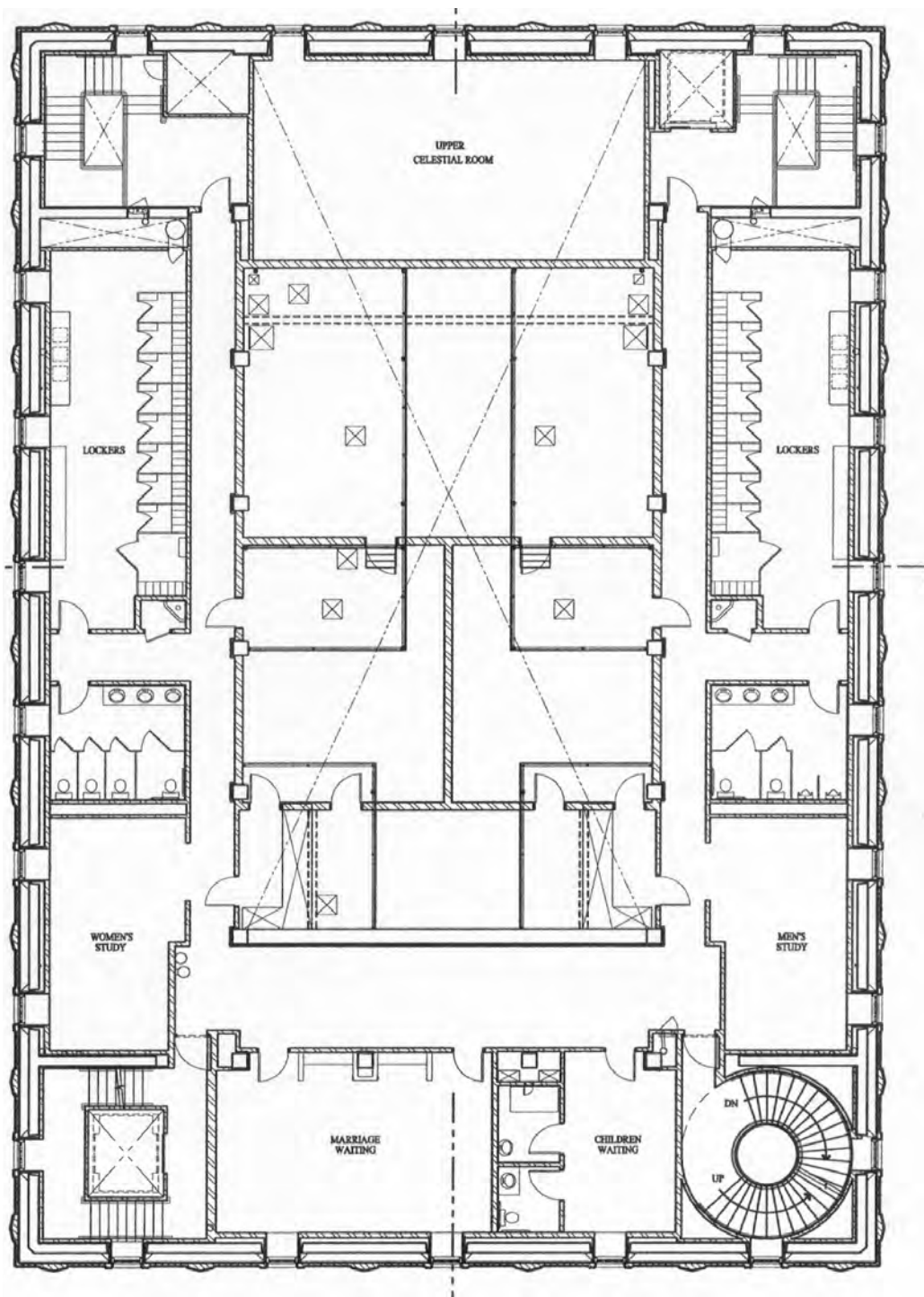


Figure 106. Second floor mezzanine plan of the new Nauvoo temple. Compare with original plans of the main floor on Figure 8. Courtesy FFKR Architects.

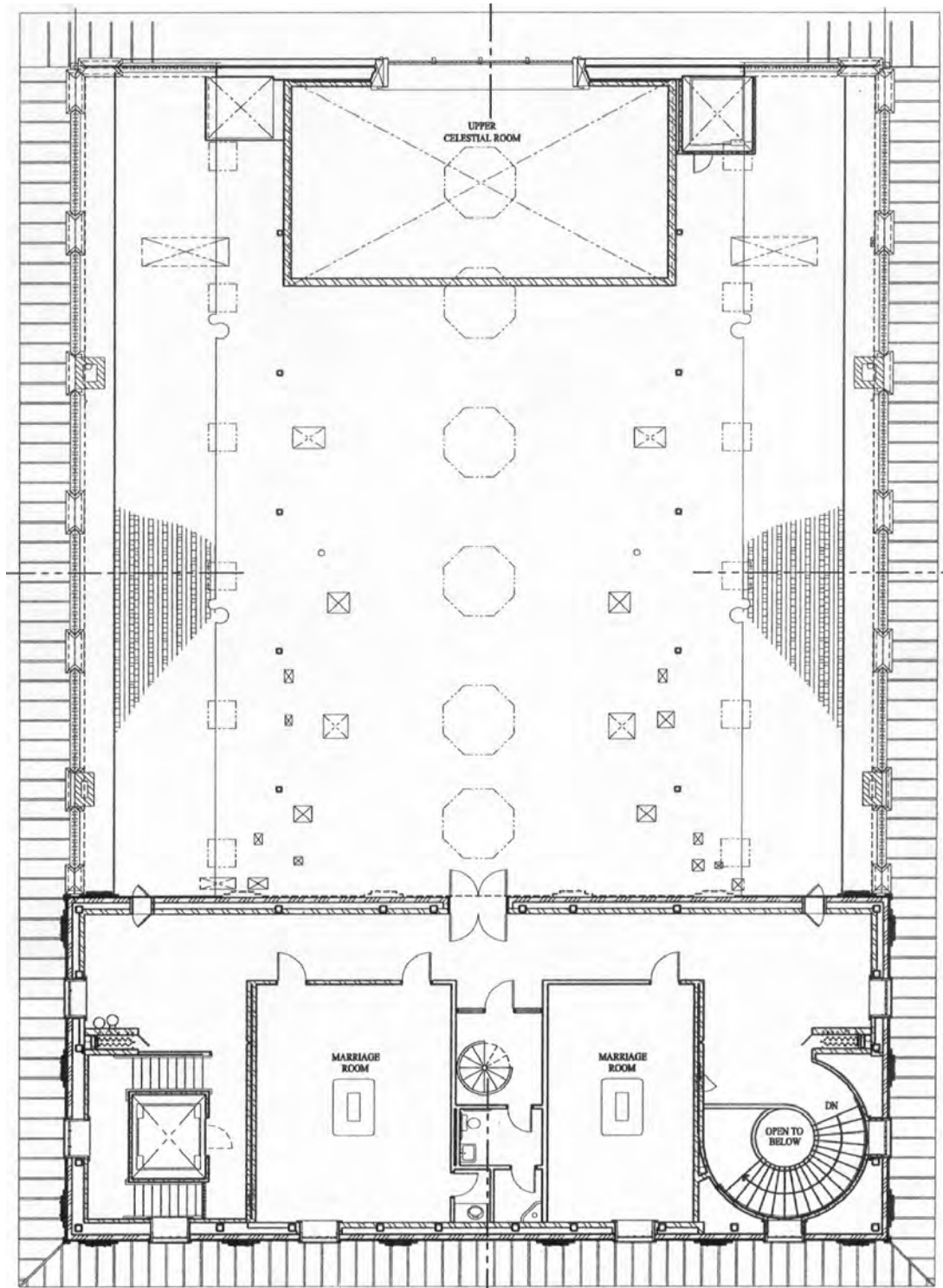


Figure 107. Attic floor plan of the new Nauvoo temple. Compare with original plans of the main floor on Figure 9. Courtesy FFKR Architects.



Figure 108. Historic American Building Survey, Gift of Thomas C. Vint, Chief of Design and Construction, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., view of 1892 laying of the capstone ceremony. Photocopied 1960. Courtesy Historic American Building Survey.