

# Inside the Salt Lake Temple: Gisbert Bossard's 1911 Photographs

*Kent Walgren*

THE BANNER HEADLINE ON SUNDAY'S 17 September 1911 edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune* greeted morning readers: "Gilbert [sic] L. Bossard, Convert, is Named as One Who Photographed Interior of Salt Lake Temple. Revenge Is Sought by Him after Trouble with the Church; Has Left the City." The sensational article began:

No local news story published in recent years has caused so much comment as the exclusive story in yesterday's Tribune regarding the taking of photographic views in the Salt Lake Mormon temple by secret methods. . . . The most important development of the day was the identification, through efforts of a Tribune representative, of the man who took the views. This man is Gilbert L. Bossard, a German convert to Mormonism, who fell out with the church authorities and secretly took the pictures in a spirit of revenge.<sup>1</sup>

For faithful Mormons, the thought that someone had violated the sacred confines of the eighteen-year-old Salt Lake temple, which he desecrated by photographing, was "considered as impossible as profaning the sacred Kaaba at Mecca."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Unless otherwise stated, the sources for all quoted material are news stories in either the *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16-21 Sept. 1911, or in the *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Sept. 1911. Other major sources include James E. Talmage's personal journal, Talmage Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Talmage Journal); materials in Scott Kenney Papers, Ms. 589, Western Americana, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter Kenney Papers); and photographs of certificates issued to Bossard by the LDS church described in the Inventory (numbers 9-15) following this essay. Basic genealogical information on Bossard, his parents, his wife, and their children was obtained from family group sheets in the LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

2. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 Sept. 1911.

## GISBERT L. BOSSARD

Gisbert Ludolf Gerhard Bossard was twenty-one years and one month old when Salt Lake City residents learned the identity of the photographer of "every nook and corner" of the Salt Lake temple. He was born in Coeln, Rheinland, Prussia, on 12 August 1890 to Gisbert Von Sudthausen and Maria Louise Franziska Pollock. By 1898 his natural father was gone, having either died or left his family, and his mother had remarried Theodor Bossard, who later adopted Gisbert. In 1905, when Gisbert was fourteen, his mother died. Within a year Theodor and his adopted son converted to Mormonism and emigrated to America. In a *Tribune* interview with Theodor the day after his stepson became famous, he explained: "When we first arrived [Gisbert] was a Latter-day Saint in good standing. However, he soon fell away from the church, and although he says he still believes that the gospel is true, he said he thinks the administration of the business affairs of the church is crooked."

Only the barest skeleton exists of Gisbert's church participation after immigrating to America. He was baptized in January 1907 at age sixteen in the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward. Before the end of that year his father remarried in the temple. In October 1908 Gisbert paid tithing of \$5.10 to Bishop Edwin F. Parry of Salt Lake's Sixteenth Ward, possibly in anticipation of his (non-temple) marriage the next month to Elsbeth Elfriede Elisabeth Luck, known familiarly as "Elsie."<sup>3</sup> Two weeks after exchanging wedding vows, he was ordained a priest in the Aaronic priesthood; five months later, on 26 April 1909, he was ordained an elder. Despite these outward appearances of religious commitment, according to his father, Gisbert was already fantasizing about photographing the inside of the temple. About the time of the birth of Gisbert and Elsie's first child in the fall of 1909, an undisclosed difficulty resulted in Gisbert's being tried for his church membership. At least from the church's point of view, the matter was amicably settled and Gisbert was soon restored to his original standing.<sup>4</sup> A year later Gisbert and Elsie welcomed their second child into the world. The "Certificates of Blessing" show that neither child was blessed by Gisbert.<sup>5</sup>

In June 1911, a few months after the second child was blessed, Gisbert announced to his father: "I know what's in there [the temple] and I

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3. She is so listed in the 1920 *Amsterdam, New York, Directory*.

4. *New York Times*, 21 Sept. 1911.

5. Bossard is listed in *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Salt Lake Directory* for 1907 through 1911. Through 1910 he is described as a machinist, probably working for his father, Theodor. In 1911 he is listed as General Manager and Master Mechanic at The Specialty Co., 317 S. State. Bossard's address changes in each of the five years.

know what they do in there." When his father asked him how he knew, Gisbert winked and replied: "I had a vision." By mid-August 1911 he had explained in detail to his father how he had obtained the photographs and was boasting that he could sell the negatives for hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Some months earlier Gisbert, described as an expert photographer and film developer, had received permission from LDS church president Joseph F. Smith to photograph the interior of the Beehive House, ostensibly to share the views with relatives in Germany. When he did not return the plates, the church referred the matter to Salt Lake City's chief of police. During questioning in early August 1911 Bossard expressed to Chief Barlow his resentment of the church and threatened to take pictures of the interior of the temple "and expose the iniquities of the church to the world." Bossard, who had in fact already taken the pictures, bragged to Barlow that gaining entrance to the temple would be easy and coyly inquired what penalty could be imposed for such an act. Barlow answered that Bossard "stood an excellent chance of getting himself into serious difficulty."

It is unlikely, however, that the Beehive House was the real reason Barlow was interested in Bossard. Bossard, perhaps anonymously, had already contacted Joseph F. Smith about the church's purchasing negatives of the interior of the temple. In his 18 September *Tribune* interview, Bossard's stepfather stated that his son "had the pictures about two months without attempting to do anything with them, except sell them to the church," but those attempts came to nothing. In the same interview the elder Bossard also revealed how Gisbert had obtained access to the temple. The son, realizing that "he never could get in the right way," had cultivated a friendship with assistant temple gardener Gottlieb Wutherich.<sup>6</sup> Wutherich, who slept in a room next to the temple, not only had keys to the temple but was expected to enter the building many times a day to take care of the flowers inside.<sup>7</sup> After befriending Wutherich, and reportedly convincing him that "although the church was all right, the officials were not," Bossard enjoyed easy access. He confided to his father that upon entering the temple grounds, "he hid the cameras under his coat and that some of the pictures were taken during the daytime and others at night by flash light."

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6. Also spelled "Wuthrach" in some articles. The confusion may in part have been caused by an umlaut, the actual spelling being "Wütherich" or "Wuetherich." The LDS Family History library lists a Gottlieb Wuethrich, born in Bern, Switzerland, on 26 August 1875, died on 3 January 1936, who may be the assistant gardener.

7. The Garden Room annex to the temple was filled with flora; see caption for photograph number 45.

Once suspicion began to focus on Bossard and Wutherich,<sup>8</sup> matters escalated quickly. In his *Tribune* interview, the senior Bossard continued:

One day, after he had told me that he had the pictures, we were standing on the corner of Third South and State Streets, when he said, "See, there's a detective following me and there's another," and he pointed two men out to me. Sure enough, they were following us.

A few nights after this, while my son was away, his house was entered and ransacked. However, nothing was carried away and no clue was left behind by those who had accomplished this work. He did not keep the pictures in his house, however. On two occasions after this his house was entered and ransacked, and as on the previous occasion, nothing was taken away.<sup>9</sup>

Bossard remained in Salt Lake only a week or two longer. On 1 September, after incorporating a capital stock company with Wutherich and a local theater promoter named Max Florence to dispose of the pictures, Bossard and Elsie, six months pregnant, caught a train for Denver.<sup>10</sup>

#### MAX FLORENCE

From here on Max Florence, entrepreneur extraordinaire, handled matters.<sup>11</sup> Negatives in hand, he left immediately for New York City, arriving about 7 September.<sup>12</sup> After settling into a room at the Hotel Imperial, Florence placed eight photographs in a package, scrawled Joseph F. Smith's name on the front wrapper, and dropped his bomb in the mail-

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8. In early July 1911 W. F. Nauman, head landscape gardener and florist of the temple grounds, in whose department Wutherich was employed, somehow became aware that photographs of the temple interior had been taken and notified Benjamin Goddard, the temple's head custodian. A few days later, when Bossard and Wutherich arrived at the temple block, Chief Barlow was waiting for them. They were released after denying any connection with the affair. Nevertheless, in about mid-July Wutherich was fired. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 Sept. 1911. This interview apparently preceded the one which focused on the Beehive House photographs.

9. The church denied that it had "shadowed" Bossard. *Deseret News*, 18 Sept. 1911.

10. Prior to taking the photographs, Bossard and Wutherich also apparently induced a man named William Seiler to invest \$300 in the scheme. According to the 19 September 1911 *Salt Lake Tribune*, after Seiler had invested his money, Bossard and Wutherich told him it might become necessary to murder the guard to gain admission to the temple. Frightened, Seiler left for Portland, Oregon. This episode, the only detail of the affair which hints at violence, seems out of character for Bossard and unnecessary given Wutherich's access.

11. For a detailed account of Florence's role, see Gary James Bergera, "'I'm Here for the Cash': Max Florence and the Great Mormon Temple," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 54-63. A more recent treatment is Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), "Epilogue: The Max Florence Affair," 355-78.

12. After settling his wife and children temporarily in Denver, Bossard joined Florence in New York City.

box. On 16 September—the day before Bossard's part was made public—the pictures hit the front pages of the *Tribune* and the *Deseret Evening News*.<sup>13</sup> Florence's letter to Smith accompanying the photographs read:

During the past several years, "certain" parties were admitted into the temple and while there managed to make and obtain a large number of photographs of the interior settings, scenery, surroundings, etc.—sixty-eight negatives. The pictures show almost every nook and corner from the basement to the steeples. I arranged to purchase an interest in these pictures while in Salt Lake City and have done so since arriving here, as a purely business proposition. . . . My associates and myself have canvassed, "in an off hand way," the market here for such pictures . . . and we have found out what we can do by selling these pictures to postal card makers, lecture bureaus, magazines and a great many other profitable purposes; but we have decided that if you are willing to make us a reasonable business offer . . . we will give the same due consideration. . . . We are sending you a few prints under separate cover. . . . If you do not want these pictures suppressed we know of many persons who are very anxious to begin giving them publicity at once.

President Smith replied testily: "I will make no bargain with thieves or traffickers in stolen goods. I prefer to let the law deal with them." He stated further that he did not believe the pictures had been taken by flashlight. "They look to me," he said, "as if they were taken within the time that the temple was given a thorough cleaning during the last few months. In fact, some of the pictures show that the furniture was covered with canvas as it was during the cleaning process."<sup>14</sup>

The headline in the *Deseret Evening News Extra* the same evening read: "Max Florence Fails to Scare Church." The *News* reproduced seven of the eight photographs,<sup>15</sup> reminded readers that over 600 non-Mormons had been invited to walk through the temple prior to its dedication in 1893, and reproduced a narrative description of much of the temple's interior from a booklet titled *The Great Temple*.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the *News* cited Florence's domestic failures and unsavory reputation as a local saloon keeper, informing readers that near the site of the newly constructed Boston and Newhouse buildings Florence had once run a saloon, in the rear of which "were several wine rooms where men and women congre-

13. The 16 September 1911 *Tribune* article stated that as early as Wednesday, 13 September, Apostle John Henry Smith had admitted to a *Tribune* reporter that someone had taken pictures of the temple's interior. Florence may have dropped a note to the news media at the same time he mailed the photographs.

14. Close examination of the lighting indicates that a few of the photographs were probably taken at night.

15. The photograph not reproduced was probably Joseph F. Smith's private office and curtain leading to his bedroom in the Beehive House; see number 105 in the Inventory.

16. Duncan McNeil McAllister, *A Description of the Great Temple, Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Information, 1909).

gated nightly in drunken debauches." The *News* hinted that Florence may have intentionally set fire to some of his movie houses, presumably to collect the insurance.<sup>17</sup>

The next morning Sunday *Tribune* readers awoke to news of Bossard's identity as the photographer.

#### ISAAC K. RUSSELL

As the *Tribune* ran follow-ups the next several days, more details—some of them obvious figments of Florence's grandiose imagination—spilled out. When church attorneys advised that Florence had probably committed no crime, and that Bossard could only be charged with trespassing, the church was forced to change its course. On Monday, 18 September, James E. Talmage had written to the First Presidency suggesting that it steal Florence's thunder by publishing a booklet on the temple with photographs of the interior. Three days later Talmage wrote in his journal: "Had interview with the First Presidency, and was appointed by them to special work viz. The preparation of the manuscript for a booklet on temples and temple work. . . . The authorities have since announced that pictures of the interior will be made, and that copies of the same may be obtained by reputable publishers."<sup>18</sup>

News of the church's counterattack was widely disseminated, and church authorities promised to distribute the booklet of photographs without cost.<sup>19</sup> When Florence heard of the church's new plan, he responded by promising to copyright his photographs: "Then the Mormons can't take anymore [photographs] like them in their own holy of holies, at least not for sale. Say, how'll that be for putting one over on them?"<sup>20</sup> In a rush to obtain copyright Talmage and photographer Ralph Savage, son of pioneer photographer Charles R. Savage, were already in the Salt Lake temple taking photographs as early as 26 September. By the 30th Savage's views had been dispatched to the copyright office.<sup>21</sup>

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17. After losing his saloon license for selling liquor on Sunday, Florence went into the moving picture business, owning at least six Salt Lake theaters at one point. Apparently from expanding too quickly, however, he went broke.

18. Talmage Journal, 21 Sept. 1911. The First Presidency's official written commission to Talmage, dated 22 September 1911, accepted Talmage's offer and specified that his manuscript "be revised by a committee to be appointed by ourselves for that purpose."

19. *New York Tribune*, 22 Sept. 1911; *Salt Lake Telegram*, 21 Sept. 1911.

20. At one point Florence threatened to legally enjoin the church from publishing its own views. *Salt Lake Telegram*, 21 Sept. 1911.

21. Talmage notes in his journal that he also photographed the inside of the temple on 2 October 1911. In a 5 October article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Florence states that Bossard's photographs, including the eight mailed to Joseph F. Smith, were copyrighted on 22 September 1911. In a communication from Ben E. Rich to Joseph F. Smith on 4 October 1911, Rich expresses his intention to go to Washington, D.C., and through J. Reuben Clark and Preston Richards find out if Florence had actually established copyright.

Florence and Bossard were unaware that the church's counterattack was two pronged. The second was Ben E. Rich, church representative in New York City, who, unknown to Florence and Bossard, had *New York Times* newspaperman Isaac K. ("Ike") Russell in his pocket. Russell, a native Utah Mormon and grandson of Parley P. Pratt, had gone east to make a living as a journalist.<sup>22</sup> Covering the story for the *Times*, he became acquainted with Florence and Bossard, and by 4 October Rich had written to Smith: "Of course, [Florence and Bossard] know nothing about Russell, only as a newspaperman. . . . Ike Russell has rendered me great service . . . and seems to be able to get almost anything he wants to out of these black guards."<sup>23</sup> A week later Rich reported that Florence and Bossard "do not seem to have the slightest idea who Russell is and they appear to be somewhat stuck on him. He no longer hunts them up but they seek him. Russell is to see them again tonight and if they have a picture of Bossard in Temple robes, as mentioned in the interview, we will try to get it and send the same to you."<sup>24</sup>

In the same letter Russell recounted for Rich a recent conversation in which Bossard explained one of the irritants which had driven him to apostasy. "Not only has President Smith got five wives," said Bossard,

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22. B. H. Roberts Papers, Marriott Library. In a 21 November 1911 letter, Russell addresses Rich as "Uncle Ben," suggesting that Russell was Rich's nephew. Kenney Papers, Box 4, Fd. 15. In 1913 Russell offered to provide Joseph F. Smith "a complete roster of all the anti-Mormons working east of Chicago with a fairly complete biography of each and a number of sample sermons and list of societies with which each is affiliated." Kenney Papers, Box 4, Fd. 17.

23. Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15. On 25 September 1911 Rich communicated to Smith: "Yesterday morning a wire came to the New York Times from the Salt Lake Tribune, saying they understood Florence had a photo of your bedroom, showing 4 beds and asking the Times to interview him on the same. The matter is in Russell's hands who will see the DAMN cuss today and I will then report to you. The longer I live, the more firmly I believe some fellows should die. Yours faithfully."

24. Ibid. In early October Florence and Bossard had publicity photographs taken of themselves at Scherer Studios in New York City. In nine of the twelve photographs Bossard is dressed in temple clothing. See Inventory, numbers 8, 46-48, 63, and four unnumbered photographs. The poses he strikes and the arrangement of his clothing suggest that he was unfamiliar with the endowment ceremony. By 15 October Russell had obtained copies of six photographs of Bossard in temple robes, all of which lack the temple apron. On 20 October, after receiving the photographs, Joseph F. Smith wrote to Rich: "I note with some pleasure that the dress of young Bossard, in the photos just received, is by no means a pattern of the clothing that he means to represent as you yourself will perceive. It is evident to me that he has made his dress from his memory and that he has not evidently in his possession the true clothing." Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15. In three other photographs taken in the studio which were not provided to Smith, Bossard is wearing the apron over white pants and shirt but without the robes and cap. See Inventory, numbers 46-48. Three photographs of a man in full temple clothing had been published during the Reed Smoot Hearings seven years before (14 Dec. 1904) on the front page of the *Washington Times* and *New York Herald*.

but Pres. [Anthon H.] Lund has two wives at least. I carried flowers to them, and so did the gardener who is now in cold storage with us. The gardener told us about it and told me to address the second lady as Mrs. Lund when I gave her the flowers. I did so and she would say "Yes, I am Mrs. Lund," and would take the flowers. I took flowers to one house on North Temple Street across the road from the Temple and another on West Temple near the home of John Henry Smith.

Bossard also told Russell how he had been able to gain access to the temple:

I always came out through the annex but never went in that way. . . . The engineer of the temple hired me and my chum. We were to string some electric cables and I would chisel away into concrete right above my head with the chips falling into my eyes. . . . There is a tunnel runs to a new heating plant and to the Sharon Building and the Utah Hotel. I found that there was an old tunnel that ran west of the temple to the west side of West Temple just opposite the temple gate or a little south of it and that it had been extended with new concrete to the heating plant. . . . We found a spot on the temple grounds where we could lift up an iron cover, drop down into the tunnel, and there be perfectly safe. . . . While working for the gardener I could always slip down into this tunnel and then go prospecting with my chisel along the old concrete.<sup>25</sup>

By the end of the third week after the appearance of the sensational headlines, Florence and Bossard were getting nowhere. Bossard told Russell that Florence, who was now planning a public lantern show, had been unable to reserve an empty theater.<sup>26</sup> On Saturday, 7 October, during the church's semi-annual general conference weekend, the *Deseret News* reported: "Florence's Temple Pictures Still Unsold." Undaunted, the creative Florence offered the Mormon prophet a new proposition:

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25. Ike Russell to Ben E. Rich, 11 Oct. 1911, Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15. A 1911 map of Temple Square prepared by Sanborn Map and Publishing Co., Ltd., shows stone or concrete tunnels connecting the temple and annex, temple and boiler house on the north end of temple square, temple and tabernacle, tabernacle under West Temple to north side of steam plant, annex to boiler house, and along the west half of the north wall of the temple to the west wall of the temple. Neither the 1911 Sanborn map nor the 1950 map (the next in the series) shows tunnels between the temple and Sharon Building (57 West South Temple, just east of the Temple Square Hotel) or Hotel Utah, although the tunnel to the Hotel Utah is well-known.

In this same conversation Bossard denies that Wutherich, the gardener, let him in, claiming he had at least three ways to enter and had invented the story about the gardener to divert attention from his true point of access. Although Bossard probably discovered more than one means of entry, it seems unlikely that he would have taken the time to cultivate Wutherich's friendship and involve him in the scheme if it were unnecessary. It also seems unlikely that he would have lied to his father at a time when he had no incentive to mislead.

26. Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15.



What is the chance of getting the Tabernacle, two nights to exhibit 68 views of the interior of the Salt Lake Temple, with an excellent lecture, given by Elder Gisbert L. Bossard. It's understood that seventy-five percent of the proceeds must go to the poor of every denomination in Salt Lake.

Twenty-five percent to be divided equally between both parties. . . . As further consideration, Elder Bossard makes his statement, that you should put your best speaker, or yourself against him, before the public in the Tabernacle.

Should your speaker, or yourself, succeed in convincing Elder Bossard, by argument, that Elder Bossard did wrong or committed a sin against the Holy Ghost, by taking photographs in the temple, he would surrender all pictures and everything pertaining to it to you.<sup>27</sup>

It is unlikely Smith favored Florence with a response.

The church also successfully interfered with Bossard and Florence's efforts to profit from magazine publication of the photographs. In late October 1911 *Leslie's Weekly* published, "courtesy of President Smith," seven of the Savage photographs with a brief introduction critical of Florence.<sup>28</sup> When Bossard tried to entice *Leslie's* to publish his photographs the following month, the church intervened with *Leslie's* editor John A. Sleicher.<sup>29</sup> In January 1912 four of the Savage photographs were also published with a short introduction in *Popular Mechanics*.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE SHOW AT THE BIJOU

Between mid-October and early November 1911 Florence and Bossard were preparing their upcoming show at New York City's Bijou Theatre. They hired a newspaper cartoonist named Toner to draw at least four cartoons which were made into slides<sup>31</sup> but kept running into obstacles in producing and promoting the photographs. On 25 October Ben E. Rich wrote to Joseph F. Smith that the same company Florence and Bossard had attempted to hire to produce their temple slides—Levi Company of 1560 Broadway—had dropped them and was now producing a

27. Florence to Joseph F. Smith, 10 Oct. 1911, Kenney Papers, Box 6, Fd. 12.

28. *Leslie's Weekly*, 26 Oct. 1911, article titled: "Mysteries of the Mormon Temple Unveiled." This is the first publication of any of the Savage photographs.

29. Letter of rs (recording secretary?) to John A. Sleicher, 11 Nov. 1911. An 11 November 1911 entry in Joseph F. Smith's letterpress book states that "Sleicher has been a particular and valuable friend of mine." Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15.

30. *Popular Mechanics* 17 (Jan. 1912): 38-39. I am indebted to Nyal Anderson, Beehive Collector's Gallery, Salt Lake City, for this information.

31. See Inventory, numbers 23-25, and one unnumbered. Slide number 25, a cartoon which has Bossard in temple robes, was probably drawn from one of the photographs taken in the New York studio.

competing slide show to be sponsored by the church.<sup>32</sup> Upon hearing of the competing show, Florence and Bossard responded on 24 October with a sworn affidavit:

We, Max Florence and Gisbert L. Bossard do hereby certify that the only and genuine contract for the making of the stereopticon slides of the Interior Views and Facts about the Mormon Temple Lecture, which consists of 105 slides, controlled and owned exclusively by us, is that one executed to A. J. Clapham, Fine Art Slide Maker, 130 West 37th St., New York. . . . The above mentioned lecture set is reproduced from the only genuine photographs ever taken of the Mormon Temple by Gisbert L. Bossard, and which were the cause of the controversy between President Joseph F. Smith of the Mormon Church and the undersigned.<sup>33</sup>

The show finally opened on Saturday, 11 November, at the Bijou Theater, 13th Street and Broadway. The 13 November *Deseret News* reviewed the performance:

The show is advertised in a way that shocks even the least refined. The chief poster in front of the theater depicts a large bedstead filled with women, all engaged in fighting. . . . Florence and Bossard occupied the lobby of the theater before the performance trying to induce patrons to enter, much on the order of barkers before a tented show. . . .

Reputable papers like The World, Herald, Times and American have refused to mention Florence's show and do not even carry his advertisements.

At Saturday's show, when the time to begin arrived, there were only two persons in the audience, one of whom was The [Deseret] News correspondent. The unspeakable poster at the entrance had failed to attract the great crowds who had passed it all day long. During the progress of the lecture, six other persons entered the house, making an audience of eight, all told. . . .

The photographs used to illustrate the show were the ones which had been published in The Deseret News and several others which were pronounced fakes, some being drawn by local newspaper cartoonists and others the infamous Jarman pictures.<sup>34</sup> In his lecture Bossard said that he crawled through underground tunnels to enter the building. The papers ignore the

32. Rich to Smith, 25 Oct. 1911, Kernney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15. Rich stated, "The firm has tried hard to please me." The church's show, which Rich arranged with "fp" (First Presidency?) to beat out Florence, had forty slides.

33. The affidavit was photographed and included in the show at the Bijou. See Inventory, number 7. At some point prior to this, Wutherich's interest must have been purchased by Bossard and Florence. Wutherich's withdrawal may have been behind Bossard's insistence at this time that he had other ways of entering the temple than with the gardener.

34. One of the unnumbered hand-colored slides is titled: "The Great Salt Lake Hell Exposed. By W. Jarman, Ex-Mormon Priest from Salt Lake City." William Jarman is best known for U.S.A. *Uncle Sam's Abscess, or, Hell upon Earth* (Exeter, Eng.: H. Leduc's Steam Printing Works, 1884).

show completely and no mention whatever, favorable or unfavorable, has been given it so far. . . .

Bossard's lecture, admittedly, was written by New York ministers who have taken part for a number of years in anything and everything that seemed to be anti-"Mormon" in its aspect, but Bossard's delivery was absolutely unintelligible and for Sunday's shows he was supplanted by a professional lecturer who could speak English. The whole affair was a dismal failure and it is expected that another day will see the close of the show.

### THE LONG ROAD TO FORGIVENESS

The failure at the Bijou broke not only the pocketbooks but also apparently the spirits of Bossard and Florence, portending an inevitable falling out. In October, after being made aware of his excommunication, and again in early November, Bossard had sent letters to his ward bishop in Salt Lake City justifying his course of action against the church.<sup>35</sup> But in early December Elsie gave birth to their third child in Denver, and by the end of the month the *Salt Lake Tribune* was reporting that Bossard, "friendless and alone, has taken a decidedly repentant attitude with regard to the picture deal."<sup>36</sup> In January 1912 the church published nine of the Savage photographs in a new edition of D. M. McAllister's *The Great Temple* and issued the same nine photographs as postcards, foreshadowing the publication nine months later of James Talmage's *House of the Lord*.<sup>37</sup> On 20 January Bossard wrote from New York to President Smith:

You will no doubt be surprised to receive a line from the undersigned; but I feel it my duty to apologize and ask your forgiveness for the unjust attacks I made upon you.

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35. The 4 October *New York Times* and 5 October *Salt Lake Tribune* ran notices of Bossard's excommunication. Bossard responded defiantly in a long letter dated 8 October 1911 to Bishop Edwin F. Parry in which he blames Joseph F. Smith for making the whole affair public, challenges Smith's status as a prophet, and demands reinstatement. Bossard copied the letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, where it was published in full on 9 October 1911.

36. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 Dec. 1911. In a 3 January 1912 article in the same paper Bossard denied being repentant. The *Tribune* added that "Florence telegraphed that he, too, was not repentant," concluding tongue-in-cheek: "No one suspects that Max has repented."

37. McAllister, *A Description of the Great Temple, Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Information, 1912). The postcards of the Savage views were published in 1912 by Souvenir Novelty Co. in Salt Lake City. The series is described by Neal West in "Mormon Postcards," *Postcard Collector*, Apr. 1986, 44-45. At some point at least eight of Bossard's views were also published as postcards. The official date of publication of *The House of the Lord* was 30 September 1912. Although the Savage photographs in McAllister appear at first glance to be the same as those printed in *The House of the Lord*, close inspection reveals that most of the photographs in McAllister are unique to it. Twenty-four of the Savage temple photographs were reproduced in C. Mark Hamilton and C. Nina Cutrubus, *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People* (Salt Lake City: University Services, Inc., 1983), 111-37.

The latest developments have shown me that every member should thank God that leadership of the Church is in the hands of such men like you.

I searched for truth, and I found it, which makes me a strong supporter of your policy and the gospel. It means that the case of Paul has itself repeated once more in history. My first act will consist in turning over the temple photos to you, without charge. Mr. Florence will leave Monday for Salt Lake, and turn everything over to the church. I sent Bishop Parry a letter, in which I explain everything in detail.<sup>38</sup>

Bossard was unsuccessful in getting forgiveness. He tried again in 1915 and 1916 to regain his church membership, but the wound was too deep, the scar too fresh. In a 29 April 1916 letter to Walter P. Monson, president of the church's Eastern States Mission in New York, Joseph F. Smith's First Presidency ordered that Bossard not be rebaptized, explaining: "[T]he treachery and greed which prompted this desecration of the House of the Lord is entirely another thing, something which cannot be so easily disposed of."<sup>39</sup>

Some time after 1911 Gisbert moved with his family to Amsterdam, New York. On 9 March 1917 two letters signed by him appeared in Amsterdam newspapers critical of Vernon J. Danielson and Lulu Shepard, two anti-Mormons who had recently held a meeting there.<sup>40</sup> In both letters Bossard vigorously defended the LDS church:

The entire "expose" of Mr. Danielson is nothing but a hoax. . . . I find that at their very best they are nothing more or less than the old stale stories printed in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* about 6 years ago. . . . Polygamy in Utah is a thing of the past and any man that ever lived in Utah for any length of time knows it. . . . The temple is not secret, and Dr. James E. Talmage's book "*The House of the Lord*," contains 34 actual photographs of the interior of the Salt Lake Temple, together with a full description.<sup>41</sup>

About 1920 Bossard and his wife moved from Amsterdam to Troy,

38. Kenney Papers, Box 5, Fd. 15.

39. In a 13 January 1915 letter to Monson the First Presidency had written: "[W]hile we are glad to learn of his [Bossard's] repentance, we are not prepared to extend to him the hand of fellowship; neither do we think he ought to expect such leniency at this time in view of the gravity of his offense. It will therefore be in order for him to continue to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and be content to wait for the mercy of the Lord to come to him." Facsimile transmission from Scott Kenney to Kent Walgren, 17 Nov. 1995.

40. *Amsterdam Morning Sentinel*, 9 Mar. 1917, and *Amsterdam Evening Recorder*, 9 Mar. 1917. Danielson is the author of *Mormonism Exposed; or the Crimes and Treasons of the Mormon Kingdom* (Independence, MO, 1917); Lulu Shepard authored *Getting Their Eyes Open. A Program for Missionary Societies Showing Popular Fallacies of Latter Day Saints* (Pittsburgh, PA: National Reform Assn., n.d.).

41. *Amsterdam Morning Sentinel*, 9 Mar. 1917.

New York, where their sixth child was born in 1920.<sup>42</sup> Between 1920 and 1925 the *Troy Directory* lists Bossard as president of the Bossard Railway Signal Corp. In 1925 he moved his company to Albany.<sup>43</sup> Sometime during his residence there, probably in the late 1920s, and apparently tired of waiting to be forgiven, he retook to the anti-Mormon stump. An undated Albany newspaper headline reads: "Bossard Will Tell Secrets of Mormons. Correspondence School Manager Has Photos of Interior of Temple. To Be Shown in Albany."<sup>44</sup>

Bossard was not forgiven during his lifetime. About 1930 Elsie left him and returned to Utah, divorcing him in 1932. That same year she received her temple endowments and was sealed to her parents in Salt Lake City, remaining a member of the church until her death in 1978.<sup>45</sup>

Gisbert moved to Ohio and remarried. When he died on 1 February 1975, at age eighty-four, he was living in Orange City, Florida, and was still a non-Mormon. Finally, on 15 November 1985, a decade after he died, he was rebaptized into the LDS church by proxy, and on the following 10 December he finally received his temple endowments "the right way."

#### THE PHOTOGRAPHS

The photographs which follow are the earliest known taken of the interior of any Mormon temple.<sup>46</sup> For more than eighty years, from 1912 until late 1993, the whereabouts of all but a handful of Bossard's photographs was a mystery. In December 1993 I discovered some glass negatives and two sets of lantern slides in four wooden boxes in the library of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Utah in Salt Lake City. No one there knows how, when, or by whom the views were deposited. Max Florence died in 1932 in Farmington, Utah. In *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass* photojournalist Nelson Wadsworth describes how a few of the lantern slides were

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42. A fourth child had been born in 1917 in Amsterdam. A fifth, also born in Amsterdam, on 29 December 1918, died two days later. The sixth and last child, born in Troy, New York, on 15 June 1920, was the only one baptized into the Mormon church at age eight. Of the five surviving children, only one remained in the church.

43. The 1925 *Albany Directory* lists Bossard as president of the Bossard Railway Signal Corp. and Bossard Electric Home Service of New York. He does not appear in the 1926 and 1927 directories but is again listed in the 1928 *Albany Directory* as being involved in real estate. After 1929 he is not listed in the *Albany Directory*. According to family tradition, Bossard invented both the railway crossing signal and the doorbell but never substantially profited from either.

44. The brief article begins: "With a manuscript entitled 'The Mormon Temple and Its Secrets,' and a collection of 400 photographs of the interior of the costly temple . . . at Salt Lake City . . . Gisbert L. Bossard, manager of the International Correspondence schools, 51 State Street, this city, is planning an expose of what he claims is the truth about Mormonism."

45. She was living in Los Angeles when she died on 17 February 1978.

46. Except the Kirtland temple, in which no endowment rituals were performed.

uncovered in the floorboards of Florence's former Farmington home after it burned in 1944,<sup>47</sup> indicating that Florence kept the lantern slides after returning to Utah. Recalling the ransacking of Bossard's home, Florence may have hidden the five boxes in the floorboards of his new residence. Later, when he (or perhaps his wife, Celia, who survived him) removed the boxes, perhaps he failed to reach far enough for the fifth box. This fifth box of slides was subsequently deposited in Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan. In addition, the LDS church has in its possession prints from forty-six of Bossard's negatives.<sup>48</sup>

The photograph numbers in the captions and in the Inventory are handwritten numbers on the black-and-white glass lantern slides.<sup>49</sup> The plans of the four floors of the Salt Lake temple are based on drawings by Joseph Don Carlos Young, which show the temple as it was completed in 1893.<sup>50</sup> All of the Bossard views are published courtesy of the Grand Lodge of Utah, which has deposited a complete set of the photographs described in the Inventory in the Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

References in the captions are to Talmage (*The House of the Lord*), McAllister (*A Description of the Great Temple*) (1912 ed.), and Hamilton and Cutrubus *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People*.

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47. *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass*, 377-78n16. The Van Fleet lantern slides are now in Special Collections, Utah State University Library.

48. Access to these prints is currently restricted.

49. The numbering may generally represent the order in which Bossard took the photographs as he proceeded through the temple. Entry through the Garden Room annex supports such a conclusion.

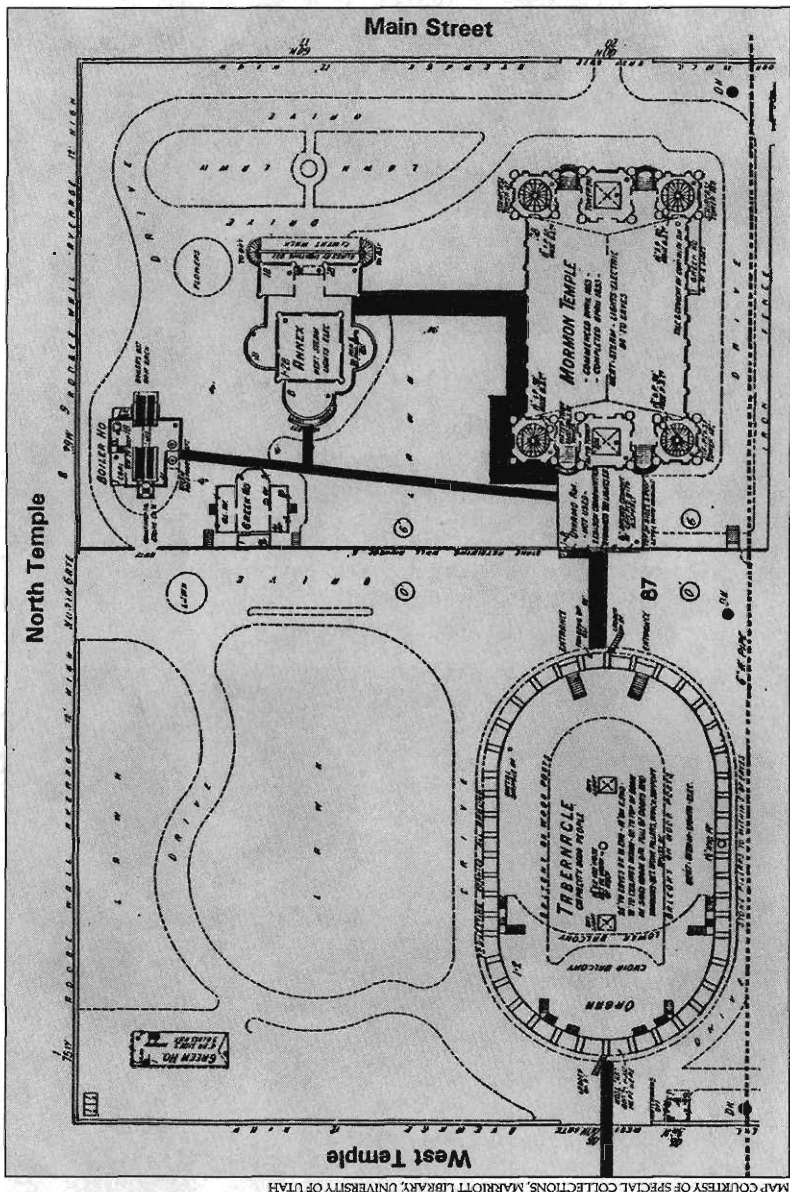
50. See Hamilton and Cutrubus, 70, 75, 78 and 79, in which the captions are not always accurate. On page 22 of his 1912 edition of *Description of the Great Temple*, McAllister states that there had been no alterations in the temple since its completion in 1893.



No. 1. Title lantern slide which began the show at the Bijou Theatre in New York City on 11 November 1911. On this view only, the edges have not been cropped.

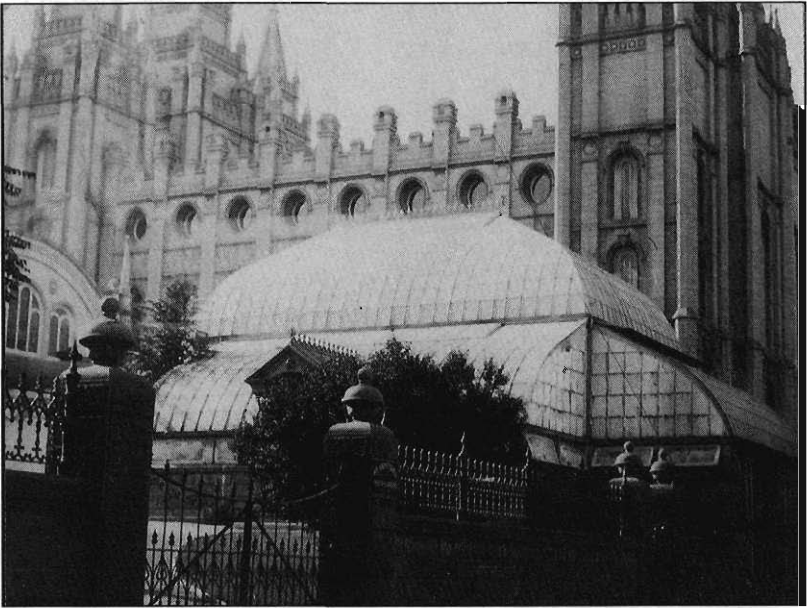
Unnumbered.  
 Bossard left;  
 Florence right.  
 Taken at Scherer  
 Studios in New  
 York City in early  
 October 1911.





1911 Sanborn Map of Northern Portion of Temple Square  
 Showing Underground Tunnels from Temple to Annex, Boiler House and  
 Tabernacle, and from Tabernacle under West Temple to Steam Heating Plant.

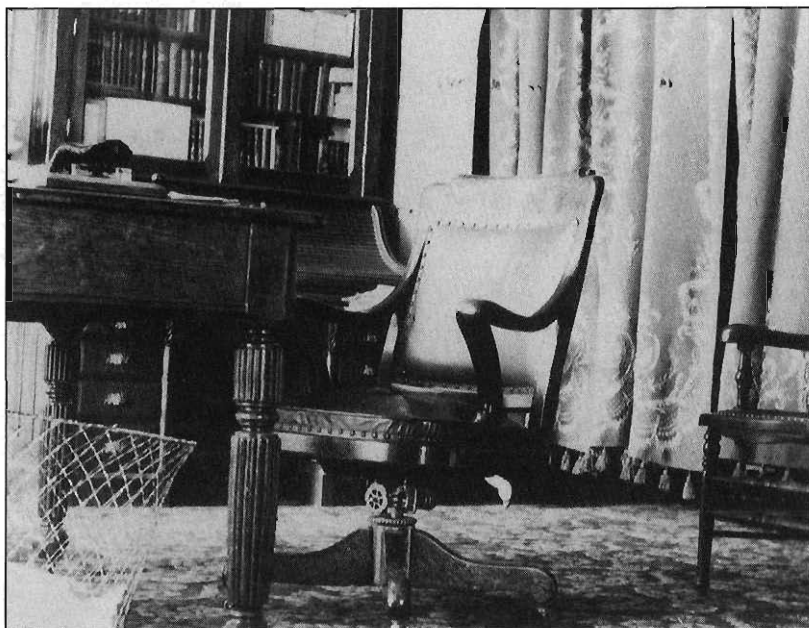




No. 40. From just inside North Temple Street entrance (midway between Main and West Temple streets) looking southeast. Left, old Annex; right, William C. Staines Conservatory (greenhouse). The sign on the right gatepost reads: "No Admittance. Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted."



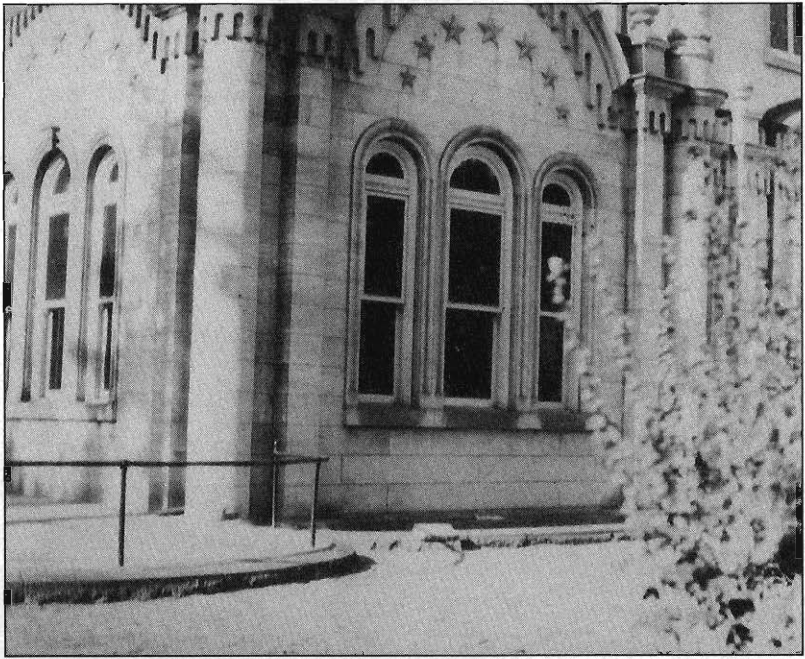
No. 27. Joseph F. Smith, left; John Henry Smith, right, in front of Tabernacle.



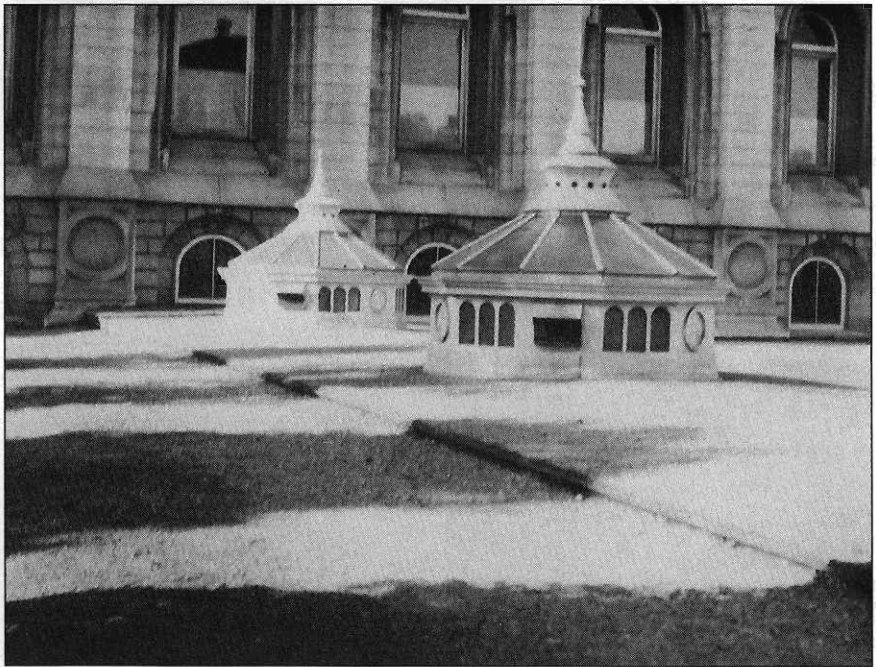
No. 105. Beehive House, main floor. Joseph F. Smith's (formerly Brigham Young's) bedroom, looking toward northwest corner. "[I]n showing the [photograph] of your private office at the Beehive House he [Florence] said to [Isaac] Russell: 'Well, this may not amount to very much, but you just ought to see what is on the other side of that curtain.'" Ben E. Rich to Joseph F. Smith, 4 Oct. 1911.



No. 104. Beehive House, main floor, southeast corner room.



No. 38. Southeast corner of old Annex, ninety feet north of temple.



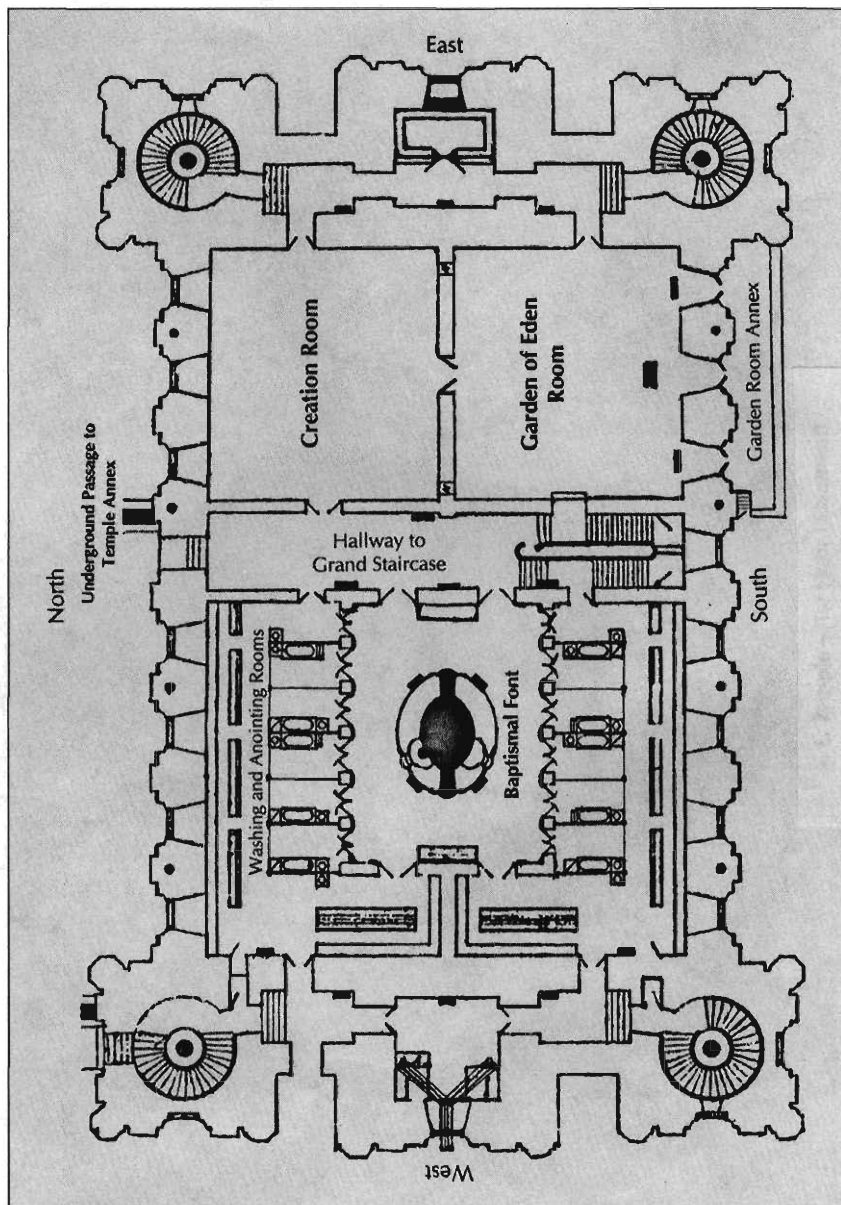
No. 39. Two of the three skylights above the ninety-foot long underground passage leading from the old Annex into the basement of the temple. See Talmage, Plate 9, for a photograph of the inside of the passageway.



No. 45. Entrance to Garden of Eden Room annex which once ran along the east half of the south wall of the temple. The sides and roof were glass to provide light for the plants and flowers. "On the sides of the altar are large doorways opening directly into a conservatory of living plants." Talmage, p. 186. Bossard, with Wutherich's help, probably entered the temple through this door. The Garden Room annex was removed sometime between 1940 and 1951.

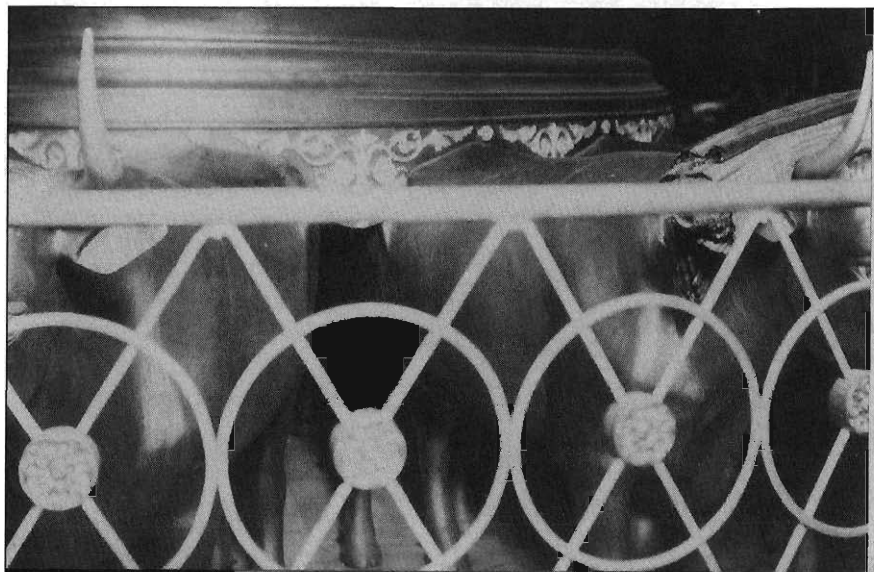


No. 49. Sword in sheath and folding chair at bottom of stairs just inside door to Garden Room annex. At a certain point in the ceremony, "a sword is waved through the curtain" in the Garden Room. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1906.

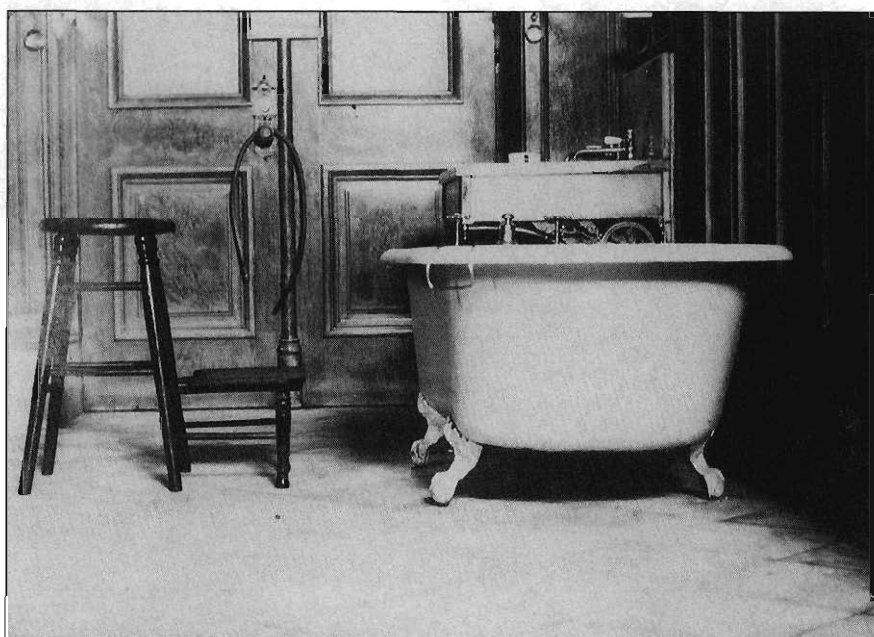


S. L. Temple - 1st Floor (Basement)

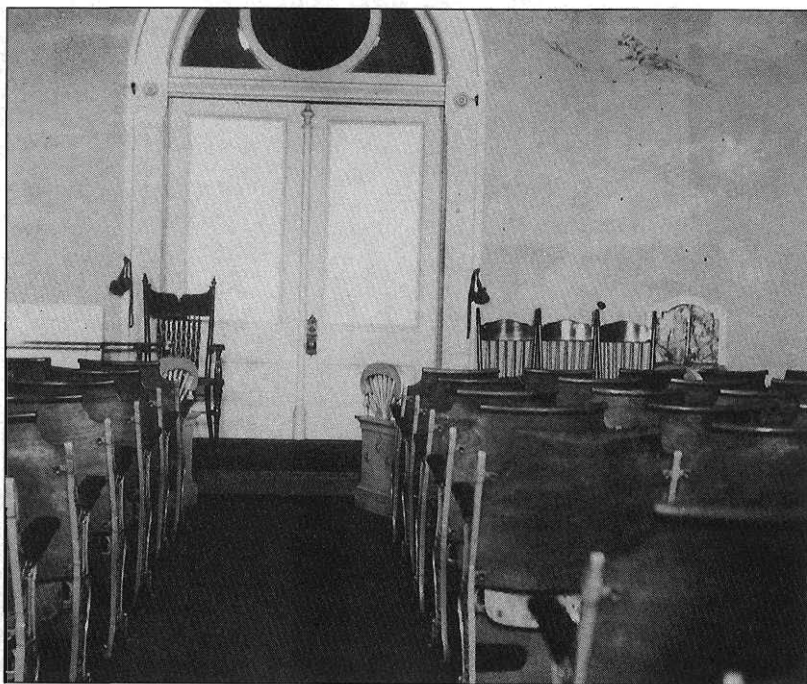




No. 59. Baptismal font in temple basement. Note rolled up rag rugs on ox horns.



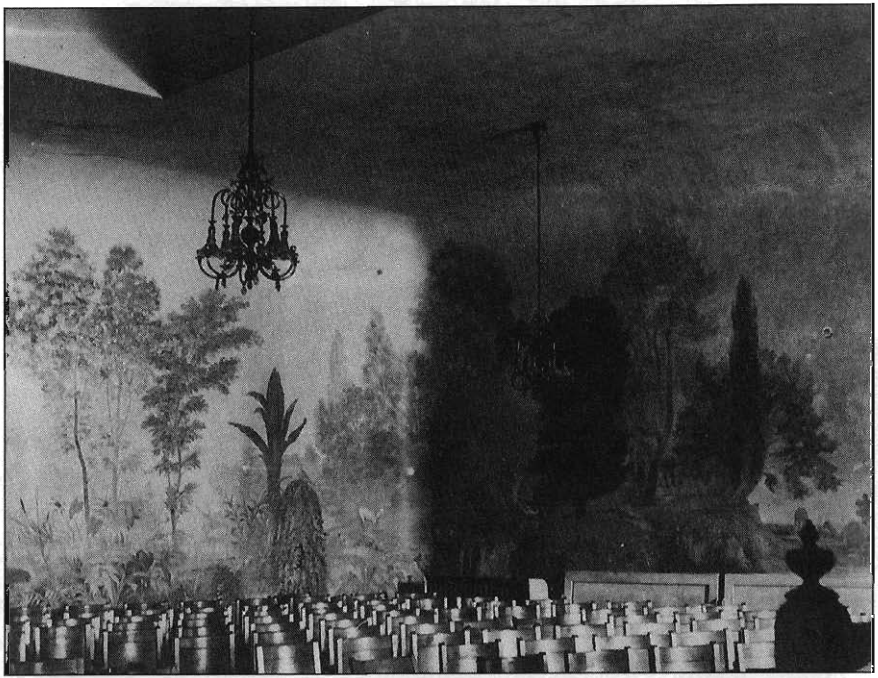
No. 57. First floor (basement). One of ten washing and anointing rooms. Behind the door is the baptismal font. For description of washings and anointings, see *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1906.



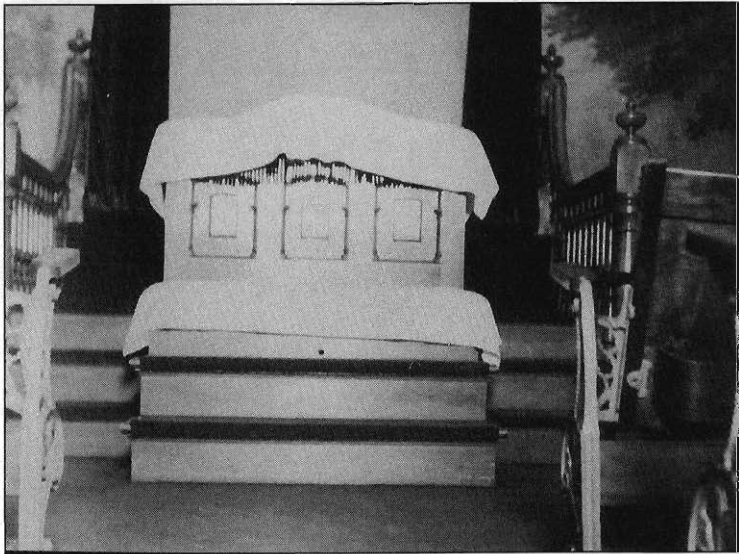
No. 55. First floor (basement). Creation Room (Lower Lecture Room) looking south before the walls were painted with murals. The door leads directly into the Garden of Eden Room.



No. 53. First floor (basement). Garden of Eden Room from the southeast corner looking north. The entrance from the Creation Room portal is to the left.

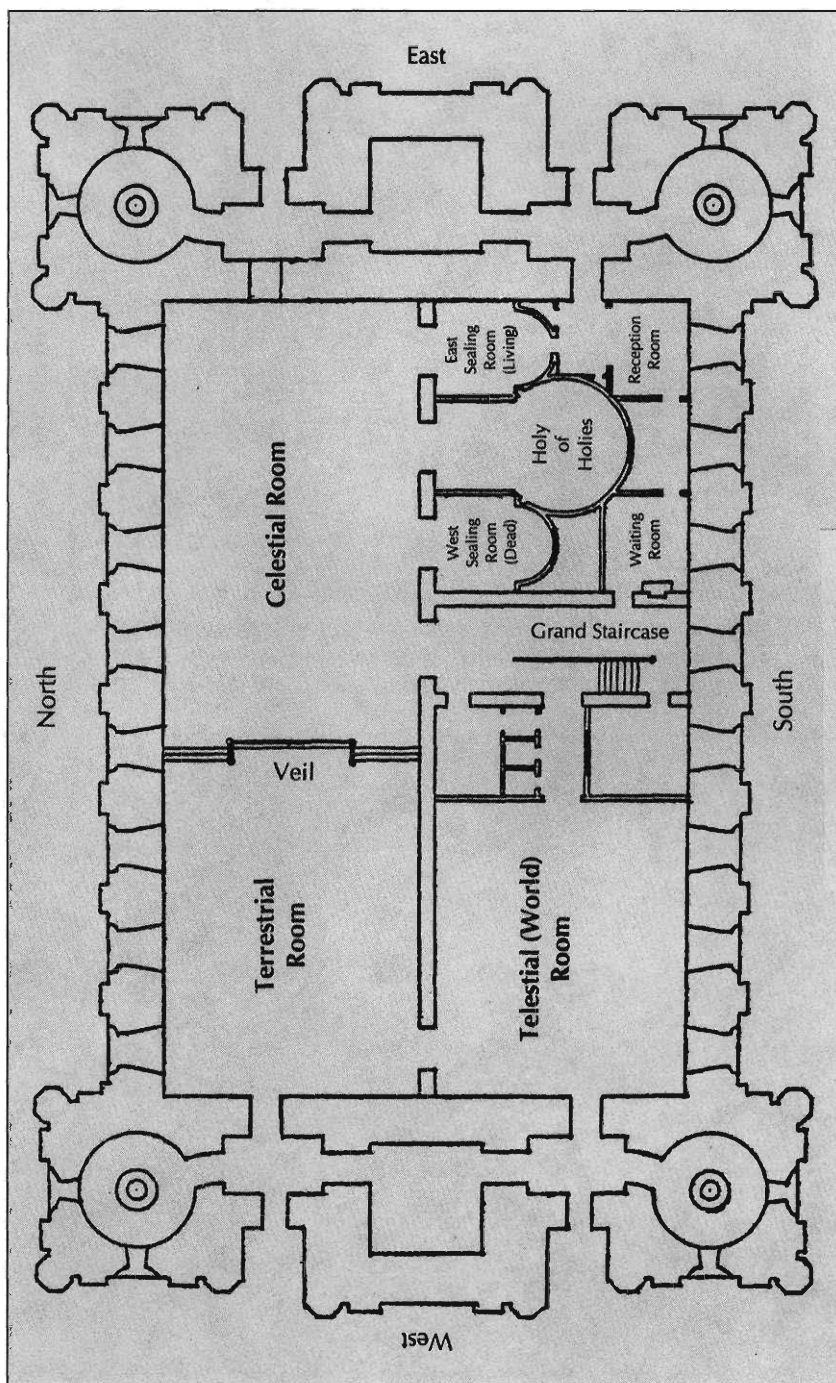


No. 52. First floor (basement). Garden of Eden Room from southwest corner looking northeast. The light on the back (north) wall is from the Garden Room annex, which is behind the altar to the right.

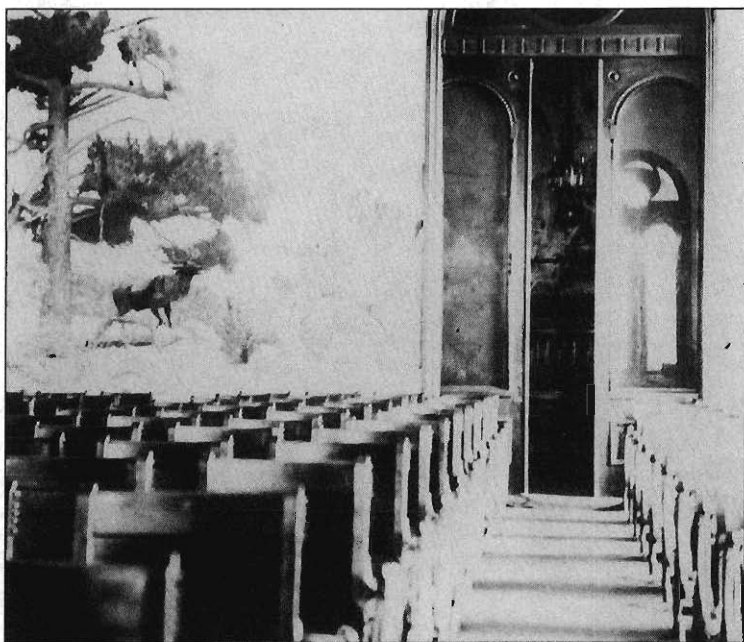


No. 51. First floor (basement). Altar at south end of Garden of Eden Room. To the right and left are portals leading to the conservatory (greenhouse) in the Garden Room annex. See McAllister, p. 15, and Hamilton and Cutrubs, p. 115.





S. L. Temple - 2nd Floor

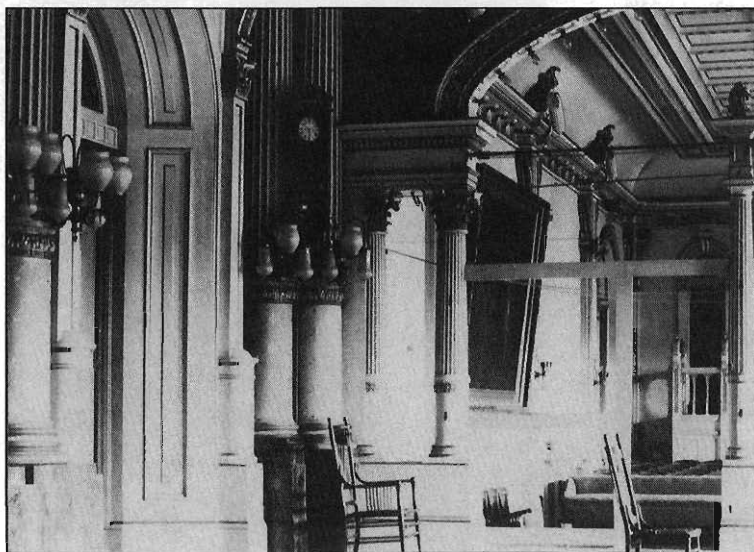
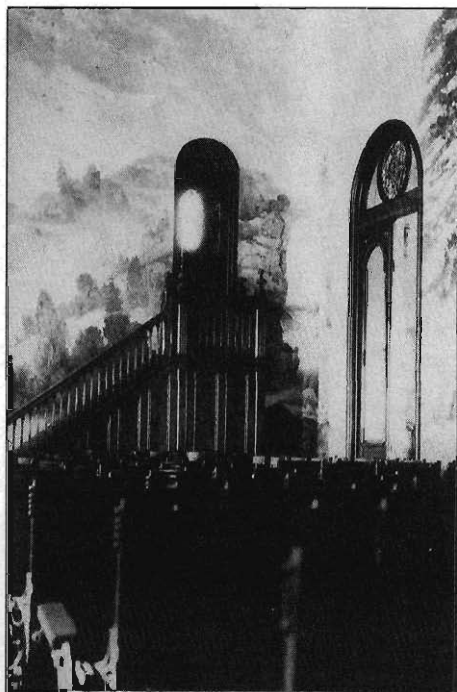


No. 65. Second floor. Telesial or World Room, from near altar looking east through partially opened sliding doors into upper level of grand staircase, from which this room is entered.

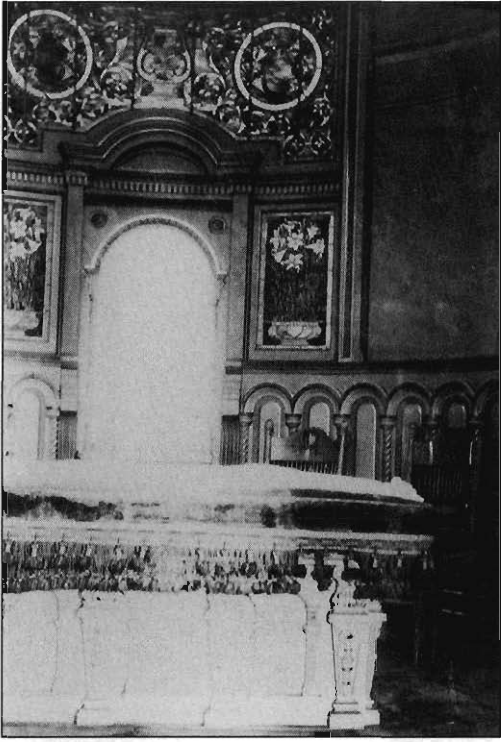


No. 68. Second floor. Telesial or World Room, from southwest corner looking at north wall.

No. 70.  
Second floor.  
Telestial or  
World Room  
from east  
entry (see No.  
65) looking  
northwest. The  
door on the  
right enters  
the Terrestrial  
Room.



No. 74. Second floor. From east end of Celestial Room looking southwest into Terrestrial Room. The veil, which normally hangs from the partition, has been removed for cleaning.



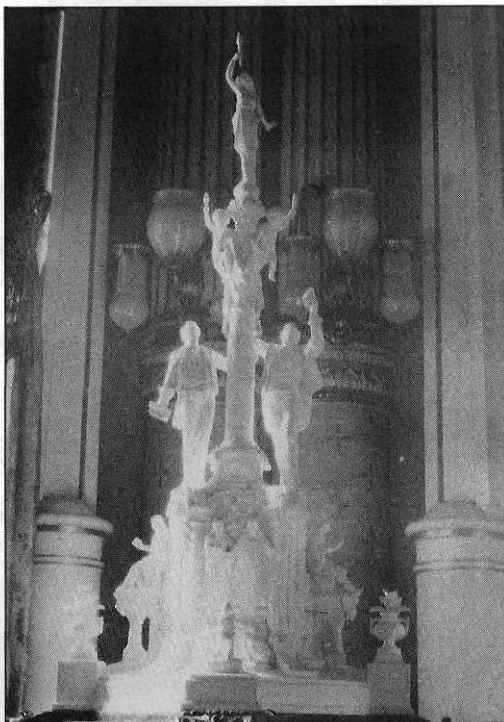
No. 79.  
Second floor.  
East Sealing  
Room (for  
the living)  
from door  
between it  
and Celestial  
Room.



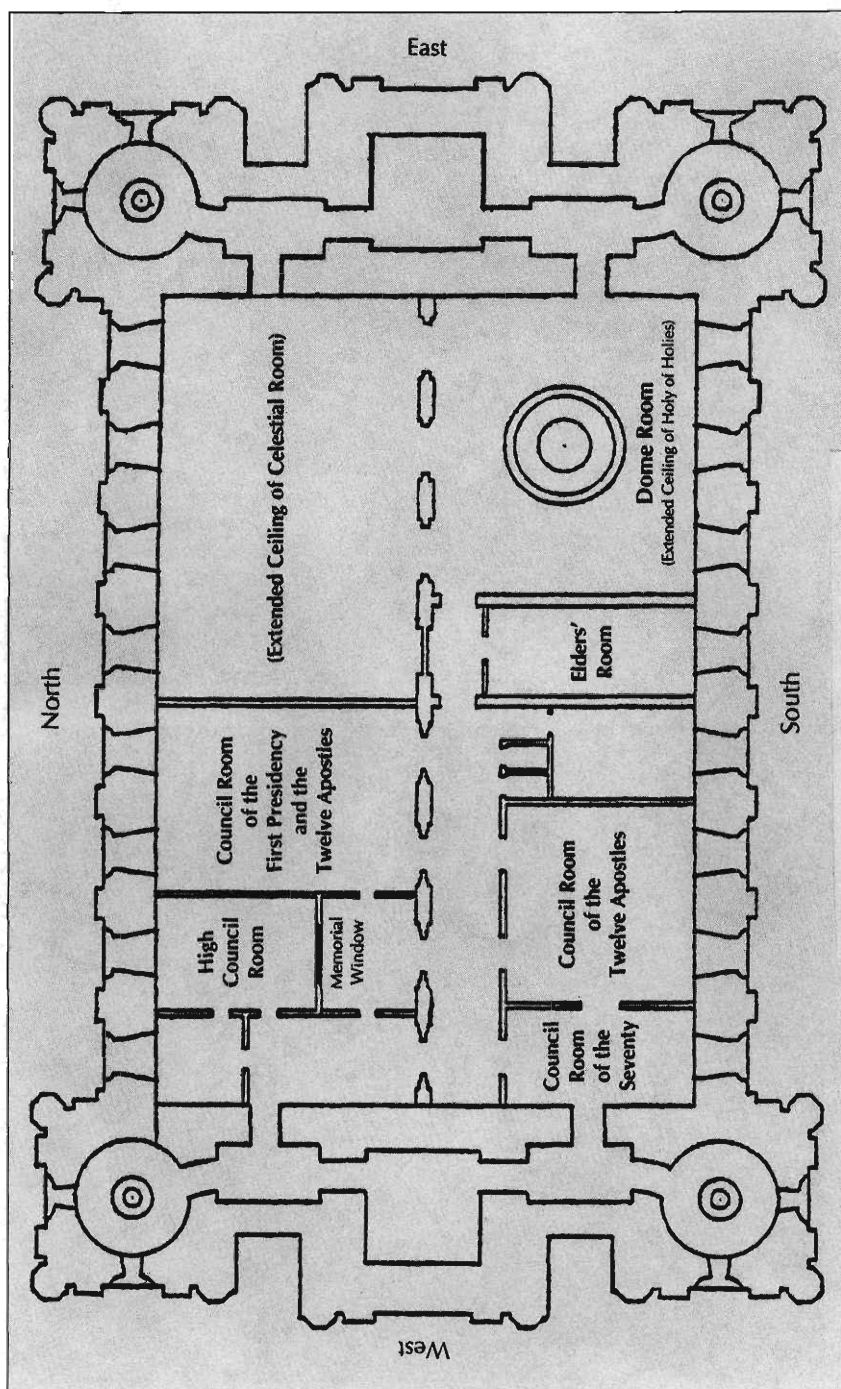
No. 61. Second floor. Reception room south of East  
Sealing Room, looking south.

No. 80. Second floor.  
Statuary group in  
northeast corner of  
Celestial Room.

From top: woman  
with torch; cherubs;  
Joseph Smith, right,  
and Hyrum Smith,  
left; Father and Son  
appearing to Joseph  
Smith (kneeling),  
flanked by women  
reading.

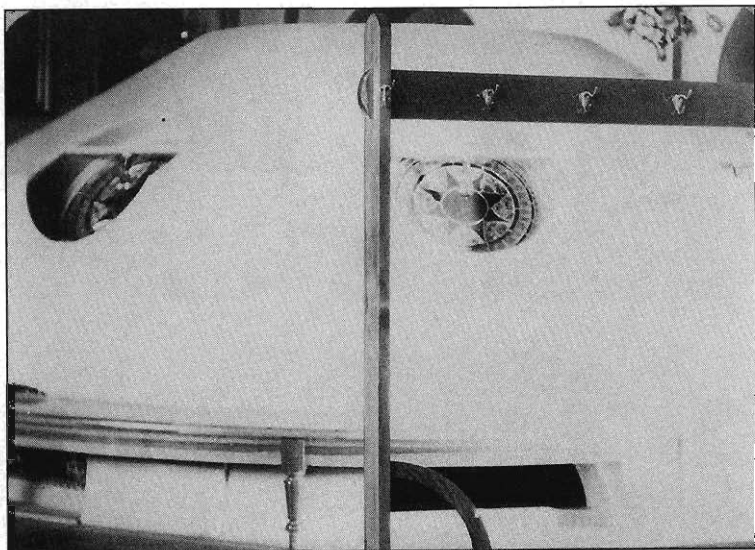


No. 76. Second floor. Furniture in Celestial Room. The door  
in the rear enters the Holy of Holies sealing room.

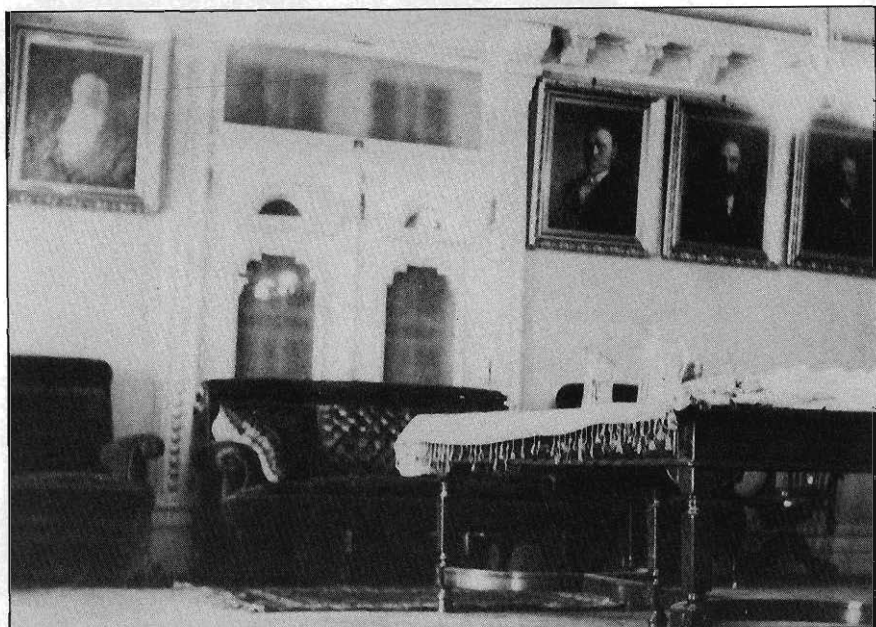


S. L. Temple - 3rd Floor (Administrative)





No. 78. Third (Administrative) floor. Dome Room in southeast corner of third floor. This is the extended ceiling of the Holy of Holies. "In the center appears a large dome, fifty-one feet in circumference at its base and seven feet high. This is set with seventeen jeweled windows." Talmage, p. 194.



No. 88. Third (Administrative) floor. Council Room of the Twelve Apostles, from the east wall looking west toward the blocked door into the Council Room of the Seventy. See Talmage, Plate 32, McAllister, p. 17, and Hamilton and Cutrubus, pp. 132-33.

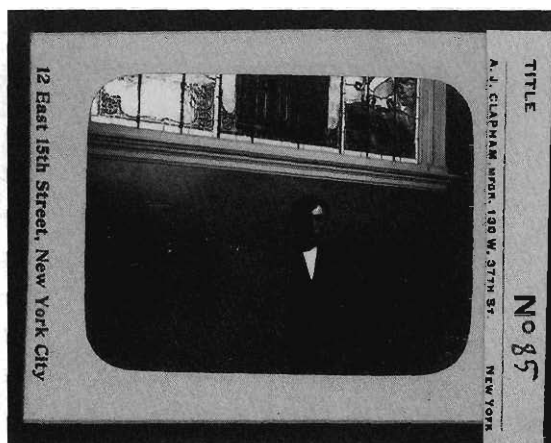


No. 87. Third (Administrative) floor. Council Room of the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles, looking toward east wall.  
Note top of a spittoon between the chairs.

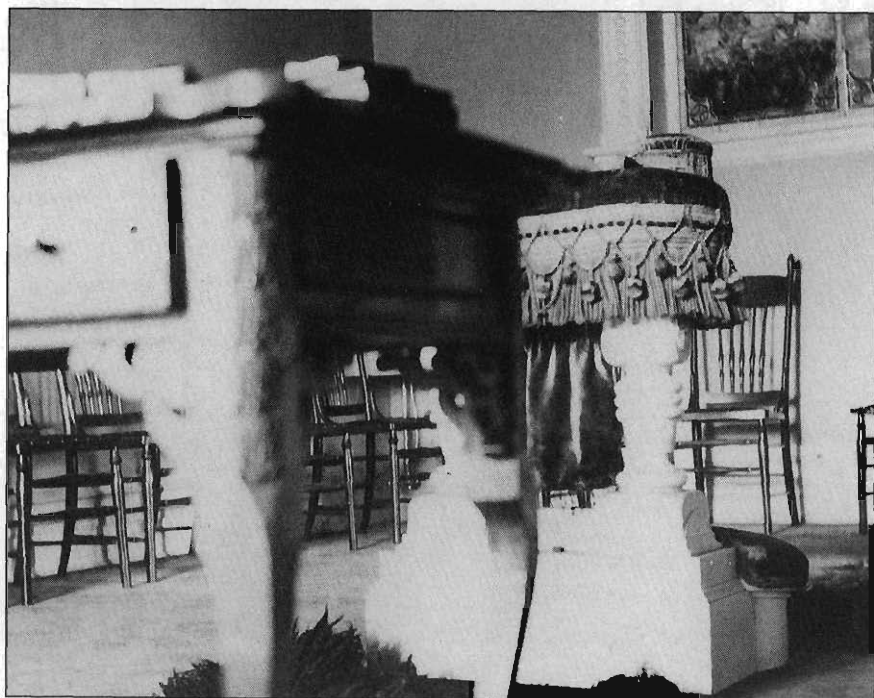


No. 89. Third (Administrative) floor. Council Room of the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles, from northwest corner looking southeast. Note spittoon at left. McAllister, p. 21, shows the spittoon on the left and another at the base of the right table leg at the far right. For Plate 33 in Talmage, Ralph Savage removed spittoons and retook the exposure.

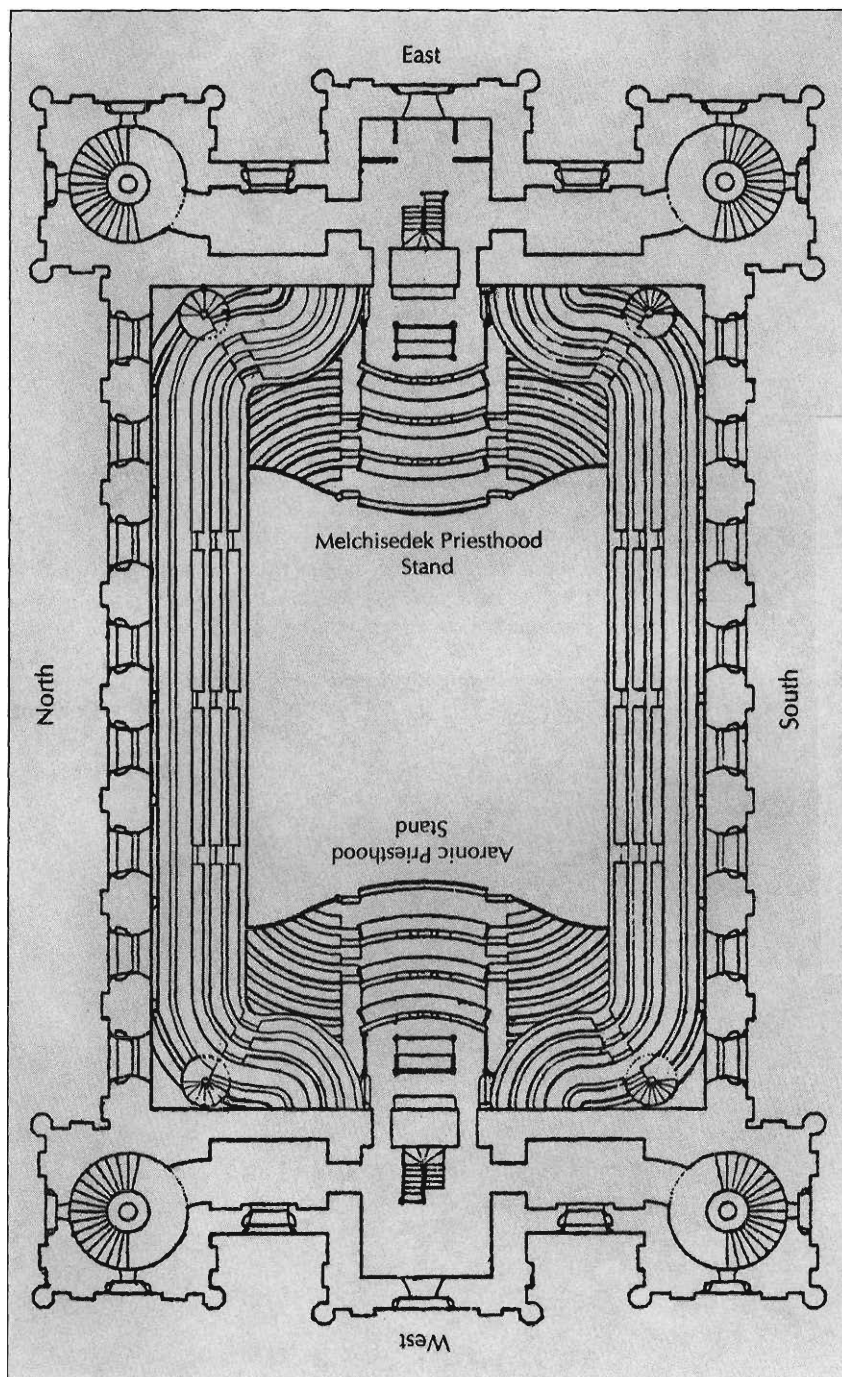




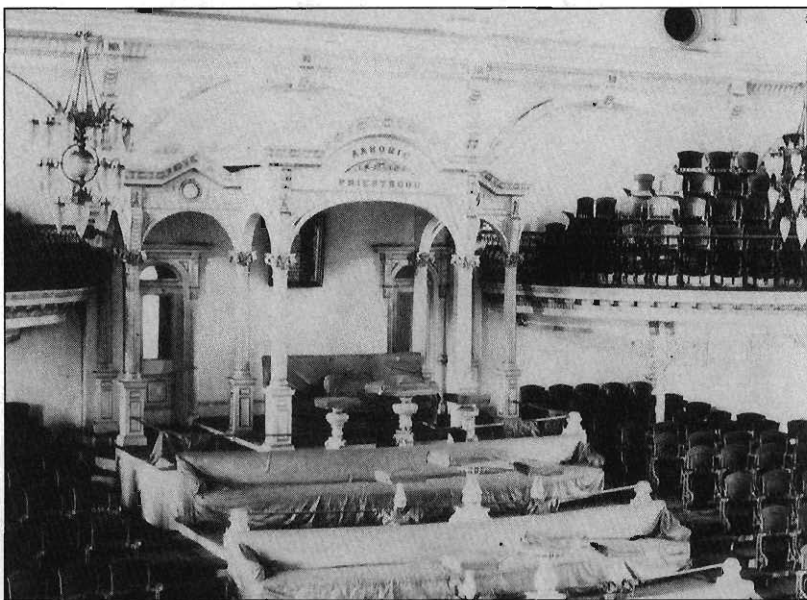
No. 85. Third (Administrative) floor. Bossard standing in front of Memorial Window in Memorial Window Room, looking north. See Talmage, Plate 34. Florence stated in the 18 September 1911 issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune*: "In one room he [Bossard] wanted a picture that was a good one and he stacked two chairs up, one on top of the other, and put his camera on top of them, and as the room was dark it was to be a slow exposure, why he walked around in front and had his own picture taken in the room."



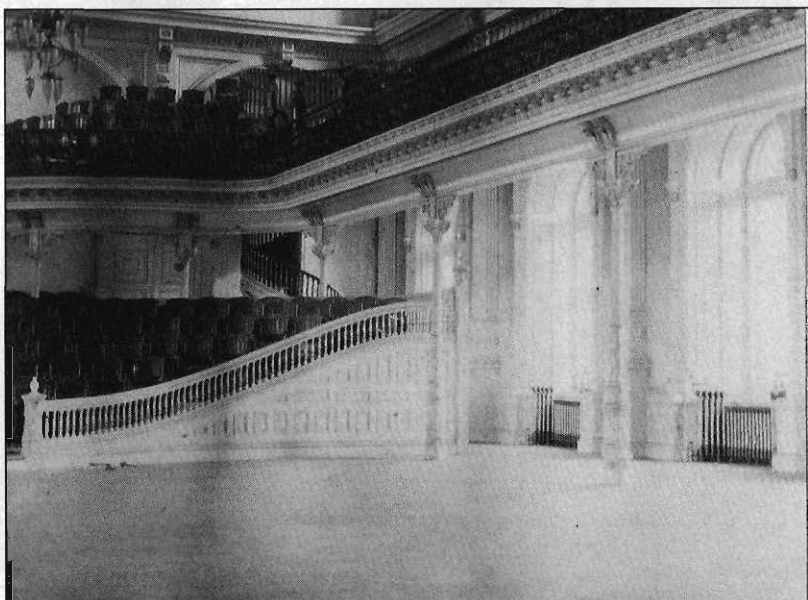
No. 86. High Council Room from north side looking south toward the back side of the Memorial Window.



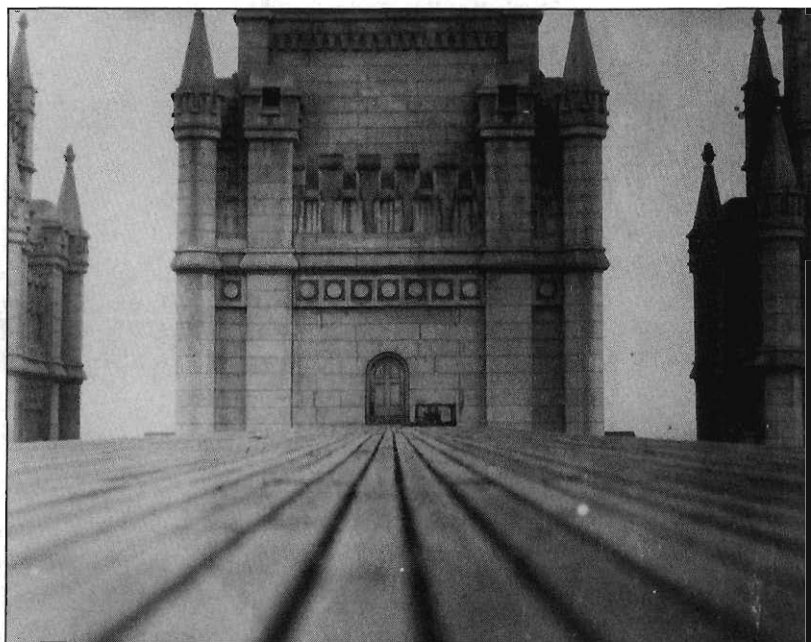
S. L. Temple - 4th Floor (Main Assembly Room)



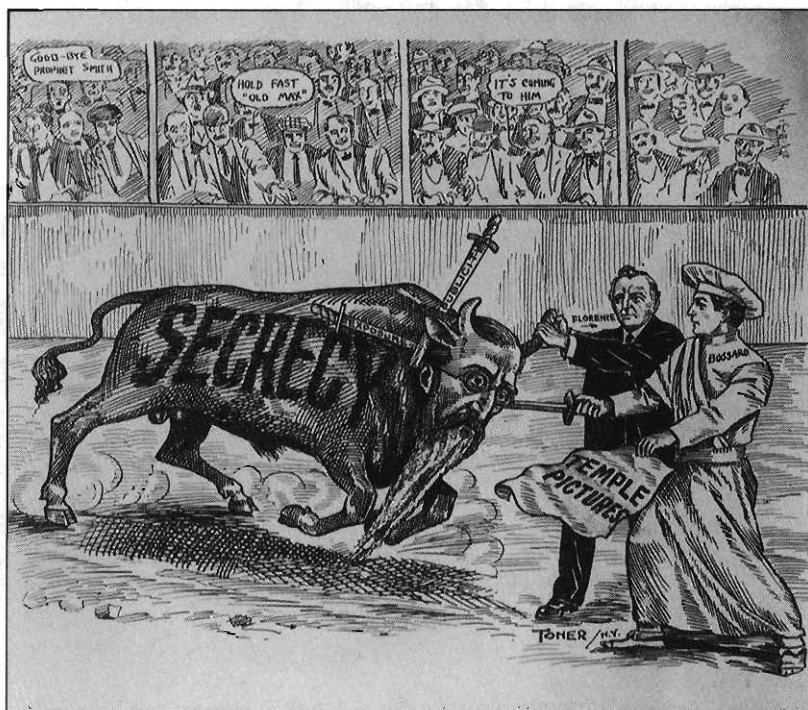
No. 92. Fourth floor. West end of Main Assembly Room. Aaronic priesthood stand and pulpits. Note that the upholstered terraced seats are covered with canvas for cleaning.



No. 90. Fourth floor. Northwest corner of Main Assembly Room, bathed in June sunlight.



No. 94. Roof of temple from east end looking west.



No. 25. Original cartoon drawn by Toner, New York City, in late October or early November 1911.

## APPENDIX: DESCRIPTION OF LANTERN SLIDES AND NEGATIVES

Unless otherwise stated, the photographs were taken by Gisbert Bossard. The interior photographs of the Salt Lake temple were taken in or about June 1911. Those outside the temple were probably taken about the same time. The publicity photographs of Bossard (in suit or temple clothing) and Max Florence were taken at Scherer Studios in New York City in early October 1911. Except as noted, the glass negatives and positive lantern slides at the Utah Masonic Grand Lodge Library in Salt Lake City, which are stored in four cloth-covered wooden boxes, include: (a) 134 3½"×4" second-generation glass negatives, probably made from the original Bossard negatives (location unknown); (b) 132 3½"×4" positive glass lantern slides, probably made from the glass negatives described above; (c) 130 3½"×4" positive glass lantern slides (duplicates) which have been hand-colored; (d) 6 7"×5" original glass negatives from Scherer Studios in New York City of Bossard (in suit or temple clothing) and Florence, including one of a small icon of three monkeys (see no. 17). Two of the original numbered black-and-white lantern slides (nos. 16 and 89) and three of the original numbered hand-colored slides (nos. 45, 110, and 116) are in Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

The 24 October 1911 affidavit of Bossard and Florence states that their lecture consists of 105 slides. They were probably referring to the black-and-white slides, the 105th of which (of 109 which are numbered) is Joseph F. Smith's private office and curtain leading to his bedroom, which Florence considered sensational. At the Bijou Theatre, the hand-colored slides were undoubtedly shown. Their numbering varies somewhat from the black-and-white slides, continuing through No. 125. The extra hand-colored numbered slides are photographs of anti-Mormon cartoons from other publications.

The inventory which follows describes: (a) the hand-numbered black-and-white lantern slides; (b) one unnumbered black-and-white cartoon by Toner, which was probably not used because of marginal quality; (c) six unnumbered black-and-white lantern slides of Bossard (in suit or temple clothing) and Florence taken at Scherer Studios in New York City. For comprehensiveness, nos. 106-109, the remaining hand-numbered black-and-white slides, are also included. The remaining unnumbered slides, which were probably not numbered because of marginal subject matter or poor quality, are not included in the inventory. The views which are known to have been made into postcards by Florence and Bossard are noted.

# BLACK-AND-WHITE LANTERN SLIDES

1. Title slide: "Inside Views and Facts about the Mormon Temple. By Gisbert L. Bossard. Copyright 1911. Max Florence, Mgr. Slides Mfd. by A.J. Clapham, 130 W. 37th St. N.Y." Mormon temple in background.
2. Front page of *Deseret Evening News Extra*, 16 Sept. 1911.
3. Subsequent page of *Deseret Evening News Extra*, 16 Sept. 1911.
4. Front page of *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911.
5. Subsequent page of *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911.
6. Bossard, left, in suit and hat holding camera, facing Florence, right, in suit and hat, with his right hand on Bossard's shoulder.
7. Affidavit, dated 24 October 1911, signed by Florence and Bossard, witnessed by Michael A. Testa and Frank Morris. Florence and Bossard "certify that the only and genuine contract for the making of the stereopticon slides of the Interior Views and Facts about the Mormon Temple Lecture, which consists of 105 slides, controlled and owned exclusively by us, is that one executed to A.J. Clapham, Fine Art Slide Maker, 130 West 37th St., New York. All slides distributed will bear the signature of Max Florence, Mgr. on each and every slide. . . ."
8. Florence, left, sitting, holding *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911; Bossard, right, standing in temple robes, cap, and slippers, pointing Florence to a passage in a book (T. B. H. Stenhouse's *Rocky Mountain Saints*). *Deseret Evening News Extra* of 16 Sept. 1911 is displayed at the foot of Florence's chair.
9. Certificate of baptism of Gilbert [sic] Bossard, Fifteenth Ward; baptism 4 Jan. 1907; certificate dated 6 Jan. 1907.
10. Bishop's Store House tithing receipt for \$5.10 issued to Gisbert Bossard, Sixteenth Ward, dated 12 Oct. 1908.
11. Aaronic priesthood certificate of ordination for the office of priest to Gisbert Bossard. 16th Ward, dated 14 Dec. 1908.
12. Elder's certificate for Gisbert Bossard being ordained an elder on 26 April 1909.
13. Certificate of quorum membership issued to Gisbert Bossard, 18 Oct. 1909.
14. Certificate of blessing for Virginia Elfriede Bossard, daughter of Gisbert and Elsie Luck, born 24 October 1909, blessed in Twenty-eighth Ward, 5 December 1909.
15. Certificate of blessing for Gisbert Erl Bossard, son of Gisbert L. and Elsie E. Luck, born 24 November 1910; blessed 2 April 1911.
16. Drawing of a woman behind bars, with caption: "The White Slave." (Original lantern slide at Merrill Library, Utah State University.)
17. Small icon of three monkeys: hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil.

- Probably taken at Scherer Studios in New York City, early October 1911.
18. Copy of portrait of Joseph Smith, Jr.
  19. Copy of illustration of Joseph Smith receiving gold plates and spectacles from Moroni.
  20. Not used or missing.
  21. Copy of photograph portrait of Brigham Young.
  22. Copy of photograph portrait of Joseph F. Smith.
  23. Copy of original cartoon drawing by Toner, New York City; see no. 23.
  24. Copy of original cartoon drawing by Toner, New York City; see no. 24.
  25. Copy of original cartoon drawing by Toner, New York City; see no. 25.
  26. Copy of photograph of Tabernacle choir and organ.
  27. Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith, in hats, walking near Tabernacle.
  28. Probably Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith from the back as they leave Temple Square.
  29. Back of John Henry Smith and another with streetcar in the background.
  30. North Temple Street looking east from West Temple Street.
  31. Bureau of Information inside south entrance to Temple Square, with three women on stairs.
  32. People exiting Assembly Hall, Temple Square.
  33. Inside of Assembly Hall with organ. Blurry.
  34. Joseph and Hyrum statues on Temple Square.
  35. Two men behind iron fence with sign: "No Admittance." Watchman's Office at east entrance to Temple Square.
  36. Copy of photograph of Salt Lake temple.
  37. Man in hat standing in front of east side of temple.
  38. Old annex on north side of temple.
  39. Two of the three skylights above underground tunnel between temple and annex.
  40. William C. Staines Conservatory (greenhouse) northwest of temple, with old annex on left and temple in background.
  41. Engine room at base of west side of temple.
  42. Gisbert Bossard, in suit and white hat, standing near southwest corner of temple.
  43. Three males (temple gardeners?) standing near flower bed in temple square.
  44. William C. Staines Conservatory facade, Temple Square. Underexposed.



45. Garden Room Annex on eastern half of south side of temple.
46. Gisbert Bossard in white shirt, white pants, slippers, and apron holding what looks to be a fishing pole. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
47. Gisbert Bossard in white shirt, white pants, slippers, and apron, kneeling on right knee with left arm to the square and left hand over his heart. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
48. Gisbert Bossard in white shirt, white pants, slippers, and apron with hatchet in left hand poised to split a piece of wood. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
49. Sword in sheath with closed folding chair, probably at bottom of stairs which enter Garden Room Annex on south side of temple.
50. Garden Room, probably west wall. Poor quality. See Hamilton and Cutruba, p. 115.
51. Altar in front of south wall of Garden Room. See Hamilton and Cutruba, p. 115.
52. Garden Room from southwest corner looking northeast. Issued as a postcard.
53. Garden Room from southeast corner looking north.
54. Garden Room, probably from altar looking northwest. Poor quality.
55. Creation Room looking south.
56. Temple basement. Probably benches and hangers north or south of washing and anointing rooms. Poor quality.
57. Bathtub and wooden stool for washing and anointing in basement of temple.
58. Baptismal font in basement of temple. Underexposed.
59. Baptismal font in basement of temple. Ox at right with rolled-up rag rug on horns.
60. Baptismal font in basement of temple. Rolled-up rug resting on horns of ox in center, chair at right.
61. Second floor reception room for sealings taken from doorway of east sealing room looking south. See Hamilton and Cutruba, p. 127.
62. Wall painting, possibly second floor near grand staircase or waiting rooms for sealings. Poor quality.
63. Gisbert Bossard in temple robes, cap, and slippers (without apron), standing behind pedestal with two books and small icon of Salt Lake temple. The large book is T. B. H. Stenhouse's *Rocky Mountain Saints*.
64. Telestial Room from near altar looking east toward door which enters from grand staircase; doors at left closed. Postcard.
65. Telestial Room from near altar looking toward east wall and entrance. Sliding doors partially open. Issued as a postcard.



66. Telestial Room, from south side looking toward north wall and northwest corner. Underexposed.
67. Telestial Room, from south side looking toward north wall; bears at far left.
68. Telestial Room, from southwest corner looking toward north wall; bears just left of center.
69. Telestial Room, from south wall, looking toward northwest. At left, entrance to Terrestrial Room; bears near center.
70. Telestial Room, from east entry looking toward northwest. Door on right enters Terrestrial Room. Issued as a postcard.
71. Telestial Room, from east entry looking west. The door exits into west foyer.
72. Telestial Room, from east entry looking toward window in southwest corner. Issued as a postcard.
73. Terrestrial Room, from northeast corner near veil, looking southwest toward entrance from Telestial Room. Issued as a postcard.
74. From eastern part of Celestial Room looking southwest into Terrestrial Room. Veil has been removed for cleaning. Issued as a postcard.
75. Celestial Room ceiling.
76. Celestial Room furniture; entrance to Holy of Holies in rear.
77. Celestial Room, looking through opened door into west sealing room with portrait of Lorenzo Snow on left. Overexposed.
78. Dome Room in southeast corner of third (administrative) floor. This is the extended ceiling from the Holy of Holies.
79. East sealing room, looking south from Celestial Room. Issued as a postcard.
80. Statuary grouping in northeast corner of Celestial Room. From top to bottom: woman with torch; two cherubs; Joseph and Hyrum Smith; God and Jesus appearing to Joseph Smith, flanked by women reading on each side.
81. Statuary grouping in northeast corner of Celestial Room.
82. Painting, poor quality.
83. Painting, poor quality.
84. Small desk, probably in northwest corner room of third (administrative) floor.
85. Third (administrative) floor. Bossard standing in front of Memorial Window (Tiffany) in Memorial Window Room, looking north. Opposite side of Memorial Window shown in no. 86.
86. High Council Room from north side looking south toward back side of Memorial Window. Opposite side of Memorial Window shown in no. 85.
87. Council Room of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve

Apostles. *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Sept. 1911, incorrectly refers to this as the Assembly Room of the Council of the Twelve.

88. Council Room of the Twelve Apostles from the southeast corner looking west toward blocked door leading into Council Room of the Seventy.
89. Altar in Council Room of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles from northwest corner looking toward the southeast. (Original lantern slide in Merrill Library, Utah State University.)
90. Fourth floor. Northwest corner of Main Assembly Room.
91. Fourth floor Assembly Hall, from east looking west to Aaronic priesthood stand.
92. Fourth floor Assembly Hall, from south gallery looking down on Aaronic priesthood stand.
93. Fourth floor Assembly Hall, from west looking east toward Melchisedec priesthood stand.
94. Temple roof, from east end looking west.
95. Temple roof, west end looking northeast.
96. Not used or missing.
97. Brigham Young Monument, Main and South Temple streets, with Hotel Utah in background.
98. Hotel Utah.
99. Main and South Temple streets looking toward Hotel Utah, with pedestrians and horse-drawn carriage.
100. Not used or missing.
101. Two women seated on grass, one man stooping and one standing, at rear of Beehive and Lion houses.
102. Two men and two women standing outside rear of Beehive House.
103. Child sitting on couch, probably in Beehive House. Overexposed.
104. Beehive House, main floor, southeast room.
105. Beehive House, main floor. Joseph F. Smith's (formerly Brigham Young's) private office with curtain into bedroom.
106. Female child, about five years old, standing in garden.
107. Unknown room with secretary-bookcase and rocking chairs.
108. Room in unknown house.
109. Unknown room with bookcase and chair.
  - Bossard, left, in suit and hat facing camera; Florence in suit and hat with right hand on Bossard's shoulder. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
  - Bossard, left, in temple robes, cap, and slippers (without apron), showing Florence, right, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911, and *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Sept. 1911, between. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.

- Florence, left, back to camera, showing Bossard, right, in temple robes, slippers, and cap (without apron), newspaper. Foreground: pedestal topped with small Salt Lake temple icon and book. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
- Florence, left, seated in ornate rococo chair, holding *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911, in left hand; Bossard standing at right in suit and tie. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
- Bossard, left, in temple robes, slippers, and cap (without apron) facing Florence, seated, with *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1911, and *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Sept. 1911, between. Bossard's right hand is raised nearly to the square and his left hand rests across his abdomen. Scherer Studios, New York City, early October 1911.
- Florence left, with right hand on pedestal, facing Bossard in temple robes, cap, and slippers. Bossard's right hand is raised to the square; in his left he holds an open book. On a pedestal rest a large book and a small icon of the Salt Lake temple. Scherer Studios in New York City, early October 1911. (Original in Merrill Library, Utah State University.)
- Photograph of original cartoon by Toner, New York City. Bull (with face of Joseph F. Smith) marked "Conspiracy." A man in a suit has bull by the tail, pulling him away from Bossard and Florence, each of whom has a rope tied to one of the horns. Uncle Sam stands between the bull and a number of innocent females who plead: "Protect us." Caption: "Uncle Sam. Here he is. Do your duty." Uncle Sam says to Bossard and Florence: "All right boys! I'll attend to him." Bossard holds a small flag marked "Facts." Florence holds one marked "Views."