

Chapter 8

MASONIC ACTIVITY IN NAUVOO

Several of the prominent Mormons had been members of the Masonic lodge for years before a dispensation was granted to the brethren in Nauvoo. The roster of members in the fraternity included such outstanding persons as Hyrum Smith, Heber C. Kimball, Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, John C. Bennett, Austin Cowles, Lucius N. Scovil, John Smith, Elijah Fordham, and several others.

These brethren had petitioned the Grand Master of Illinois to allow them to set up a lodge in Nauvoo. In October, 1841, Grand Master Abraham Jonas gave them permission to conduct their lodge meetings, yet they were not permitted to add additional members until the petition could be acted upon by the Grand Lodge, and a special dispensation granted.

For several months these brethren, at least twenty of them, held their lodge meetings in Nauvoo, awaiting the day when a dispensation would authorize them to add new members, and even form new lodges in the city.

It was not until March 15, 1842, that the Grand Master accepted their invitation, and set up the lodge in Nauvoo. No regular charter was given to Nauvoo at this time, or subsequently. During the months that the lodge was in

existence it was known as U.D., meaning "under dispensation."

Mr. Jonas was a shrewd politician. He sought a seat in the state legislature, and is thought by some to have had his eye on the executive mansion of the state. Though Masons in neighboring towns had requested that he ignore the petition of the Mormons, he knew the Mormons were a political force whose friendship he must court.

The Grand Master was so anxious to win the approval of the Mormons that he acted unwisely in the matter, definitely turning the Masons in neighboring towns against them. They at once accused him of making Joseph Smith a Mason "on sight." They objected seriously to his public installation at the grove, and their ire was further kindled against the Mormons when he published a long article in his home town newspaper, praising the Mormons for their industry, intelligence, and perseverance.

The Mormons were not to blame for these initial errors which turned the Masons against them from the moment the lodge was installed at Nauvoo. Though the Grand Master was at fault in this regard, the Mormons suffered the censure of the other Masons who deliberately refused to fraternize with them. Thus they entered the lodge at a great disadvantage, two strikes called on them before they started.

As their work progressed, they brought upon themselves further discredit from the fraternity because, in the absence of the close supervision and instruction from the Grand Lodge and the sympathetic and loving interest from the older lodges in neighboring towns, they were left free to conduct their labor as they chose. It was a dangerous procedure to set up a new lodge, and then immediately sever all connections with the state and municipal organizations. It is not surprising that they made a few departures from

the ancient landmarks and introduced some changes in the procedure which brought upon them the full weight of Masonic displeasure.

It should be observed that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon attended three meetings of the lodge under the leadership of Grand Master Jonas, being duly initiated once at each meeting. At the third meeting, they were raised to the sublime degree, which simply means that they had received the first three degrees of Masonry, a very humble beginning in the fraternity. The Prophet was so busy with Church matters that he never took an active part in lodge work. It seems from the meager records that are extant, that Joseph Smith attended as many meetings on those two days as he did during the rest of his lifetime. Initiated in haste and hurriedly promoted through three degrees, he learned scarcely nothing about the secret practices and elaborate ritual of the Masons. In the months that followed, he left the lodge work in the hands of others, never attending more than three subsequent meetings and never receiving a higher degree than the one the Grand Master conferred upon him at the third meeting he attended.

On the third day of the protracted meeting the Grand Master was kept busy instructing the lodge, yet Joseph Smith did not attend a single meeting of the fraternity that day. It was not his plan to neglect Church business in order to promote the lodge. The morning of March 17, he attended a meeting of the high council, at which Oliver Olney was excommunicated. Later on that historic day, he organized the Relief Society. From that moment, he never took an active part in Masonry.

The Masons in neighboring cities were enraged when they learned that their Grand Master had rejected their advice and had set up a lodge in Nauvoo. Their resentment became even more extreme when they read the tribute he

had paid to the Mormons. They looked upon him as a conniving politician, eager for self-aggrandizement at their expense. They deliberately refused to fraternize with the Mormons and petitioned that the dispensation be withdrawn and the Mormons expelled from the fraternity.

Much has been said about why the Masons disliked the Mormons even at that early date. One reason, no doubt, was political, and one reason lies in their religious prejudice. They were bitterly opposed to the strange religion of the Mormons, and would never extend the hand of fellowship to members of that religion. Imbued with this spirit, they would be alert to grasp the earliest opportunity to magnify the slightest irregularities in the procedure of Masonic business.

Mr. Samuel H. Goodwin, former Grand Master of Utah, has summarized the critical situation in these words:

From the very first the movement to establish a Masonic Lodge in Nauvoo appears to have been regarded with suspicion and distrust by Masons elsewhere in the state, more particularly by the members of Bodley Lodge No. 1, at Quincy.

Neighboring lodges became unfriendly to the Lodge in Nauvoo—the members of Bodley Lodge lost no opportunity to embarrass the Grand Master; and the Lodge minutes and the proceedings of the Grand Lodge show how this situation reacted unfavorably on the Nauvoo Lodges.¹

These prejudiced Masons reported to the Grand Lodge that the irregularities in the method of balloting in the Nauvoo Lodge were sufficient to justify the expulsion of the Mormons from the fraternity.

At this time there were only two hundred twenty-seven Masons in Illinois outside of Nauvoo. These were distributed among eleven lodges, making an average of twenty-one members in each lodge. The largest lodge was in Springfield, with a membership of forty-three.

¹ S. H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry*, p. 13.

Within five months, the Mormons initiated two hundred eighty-six members in Nauvoo, and forty-five in the Rising Sun Lodge at Montrose, Iowa.

Thus there were more Masons in Nauvoo in a few weeks than there were in all other lodges in Illinois combined. The members of the fraternity in other towns were fearful that the Mormons would soon control the Grand Lodge, so they were determined to have the Mormons expelled from the order, instead of granting a charter to them. They added to their list of grievances the complaint that the Mormons balloted for more than one applicant at a time, even initiating one person of "doubtful character upon his promise of reformation."

Warsaw and other towns were jealous of the growth of Nauvoo, and were determined that the Mormons should not control the Grand Lodge of the state. The citizens of Warsaw could see Nauvoo gradually gaining control of the political offices of Hancock County, and robbing her of her trade. The Warsaw harbor was filling up with sand bars, thus closing it to the commerce she desired. A good harbor was available at near-by Warren, where the Mormons were making many land purchases, thus increasing the anger of the citizens of Warsaw.

When the editor of the *Warsaw Signal* learned of the number of Mormons settling at Warren, he wrote, "we sincerely hope this curse will be spared us." This expressed the feeling towards the Mormons in all the Illinois towns where Masonry had a foothold. It is not surprising that the dispensation authorizing the Nauvoo lodge was suspended within a few weeks after it was granted.

MASONRY SUSPENDED IN NAUVOO

The opposition to the Nauvoo lodge became so bitter that the Grand Master was prevailed upon to put an end

to the work he had authorized in Nauvoo. This was no easy assignment, since he courted the favor of the Mormons and did not want to be humiliated by the other Masons whose wishes he had ignored when he set up the lodge in Nauvoo. The course he must pursue was dictated to him, and he was compelled to write a letter to the Nauvoo brethren insisting that all labor cease immediately until the records of the lodge could be carefully examined by the Grand Lodge.

This injunction was officially served on the lodge August 11, 1842, where it was accepted without hesitation. All activities of the lodge ceased immediately, and the records were submitted to the Grand Lodge for examination. When the records were examined, it was decided by the Grand Lodge to remove the injunction and again authorize the lodge to operate under dispensation.

By that time, Grand Master Meredith Holm had replaced Abraham Jonas, yet his letter authorizing the Nauvoo brethren to resume their labor was as courteous and considerate as the correspondence of their former friend, Mr. Jonas.

He spoke of their "errors in judgment rather than of intention," yet empowered them to resume work as a regular lodge and to continue operation until the next annual meeting of the Grand Lodge. This welcome news set the movement in motion in Nauvoo, as new members were added every week to the ledgers of the lodge.

The following October, Lucius Scovil and H. G. Sherwood were appointed delegates to the Grand Lodge, representing the Nauvoo brethren. Before going to Jacksonville, where the Grand Lodge was scheduled to convene, these delegates went to Quincy for the purpose of obtaining a recommend from that lodge that a charter be granted to the Nauvoo lodge. The Quincy brethren refused to favor

such a recommendation on the grounds that they were "not acquainted with us, and other reasons."

The two delegates proceeded to the convention with all the proper credentials, books, records, and papers from their lodge, so that they could make a complete report of their proceedings in the hope of calming the troubled spirit that was rising against them.

When they arrived at the Grand Lodge, they were requested to pay their annual dues at once. They explained that they had refused to pay their dues because they realized that the full weight of censure rested upon them. They objected to making that large payment one day and likely being expelled the next day. It was agreed that the delegates must pay a large portion of the assessment before they would be allowed to be seated in the convention. This they did, and were seated as regular members of the Grand Lodge. At once, a committee was appointed to examine their records.

After an examination of the records, it was reported that "their books and papers are fair," yet the committee insisted that the Nauvoo lodge be suspended for one year. At this point, past Grand Master Jonas arose and made a "flaming speech" in defense of the Mormons. He was proud of the fact that he had installed the lodge in Nauvoo, and repeated his tribute that they were a peace-loving people, "quiet and genteel as any people he had been among." He said if they were not Mormons, they would "stand the highest of any lodge that had come before the Grand Lodge."

The secretary also spoke in defense of the Mormons, after which the fearless Lucius Scovil was invited to defend his persecuted lodge. He had been a Mason for years and knew how the Mormons had been "kept at arm's length" by other members of the fraternity. With great courage and eloquence he called attention to the fact that there

were present in the Grand Lodge members from the Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Protestant churches, even Jews being present and given the full benefits of the fraternity, yet the Nauvoo brethren were made unwelcome simply because they were Mormons.

He called their attention to the fact that Masonry is open to all who believe in a God, yet "why not open your doors and your hearts to Mormons?" he demanded.

The delegation from Quincy were the first to be heard in reply to his remarks. They refused to recommend the Nauvoo lodge to the Grand Lodge. They called attention to another objection, never advanced before — that John C. Bennett was an expelled Mason when he went to Nauvoo, and thus should never have been taken into the Nauvoo lodge.

It was made clear during the argument that followed, that the injunction had been served in August, 1842, because of the testimony given by Bennett after he had been expelled from the Nauvoo lodge and from the Church. Lucius Scovil scathed them bitterly for accepting the statements of Bennett in preference to those of Grand Master Jonas.

The Grand Lodge appointed three men to visit Nauvoo and make a thorough investigation of the matter. Two of them later made a favorable report, while Dr. H. N. Rogers' report was unfavorable. When the Grand Lodge considered this divided report, they ordered all work in the Nauvoo lodge suspended, yet this injunction seems to have been removed later and the labor in Nauvoo allowed to continue. The records of the Grand Lodge show that on October 5, 1844, the sum of \$33.33 had been received from Nauvoo.

On September 24, 1844, the Mormon brethren from the Keokuk lodge addressed a long communication to the Grand Lodge, demanding an explanation for the attitude toward

the Mormon brethren. "We have written twice to the Grand Secretary," they asserted, "and received no answer." They concluded by saying that since they had been informed from outside sources that they had been suspended, "We have ceased to meet and work as a lodge of Masons."

The Grand Lodge, in the autumn of 1844, issued a final decree in an effort to put an end to Masonry in Nauvoo, officially at least. It was resolved that all fellowship with the lodges in Nauvoo be withdrawn "and the associations of Masons working these lodges are hereby declared clandestine, and all the members hailing therefrom suspended from all the privileges of Masonry within the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge, and that our sister Grand Lodges be requested to deny them the same privileges."

The Grand Secretary was requested to address a circular letter to all Grand Lodges, notifying them of this decision and requesting that they publish the information in their publications.

Members of the fraternity are instructed not to converse upon the secrets of Masonry with a clandestine Mason, or with one who is under the sentence of expulsion or suspension. From this time, October, 1844, the Mormons were definitely severed from the Grand Lodge, yet three months before when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were martyred, the Masons had withdrawn the hand of fellowship from the Nauvoo brethren as surely and completely as they ever did. In April, 1844, when the Masonic temple was dedicated in Nauvoo, a Mason from Bellview had been expelled from Masonry because he attended the dedicatory service in Nauvoo.

It is evident that when the first injunction was removed, the Masons in neighboring towns refused to acknowledge that removal. They continued to regard the Nauvoo brethren as clandestine or definitely severed from all connection

with the Grand Lodge. From the same reasoning, it seems that the Nauvoo brethren ignored "the removal of the removal," and continued their labor in the lodge after the second injunction was served. Though deprived a seat in the Grand Lodge and completely severed from all Masonic ties, the Nauvoo brethren seem to have struggled along for a season by themselves.

It was even reported by Masons in neighboring towns that women were admitted to the lodge in Nauvoo.² After Bennett's expulsion, there was no limit to the fantastic reports and rumors that were spreading abroad in order to prejudice the Grand Lodge against the Nauvoo brethren, yet it was never said that the Mormons had taken any of their ritual as a part of the Temple endowment.

The severest complaints against the Mormons were that they were advancing members too fast, taking some on a promise of reformation, and otherwise endangering the "ancient landmarks" of the fraternity. Yet after this decision was announced, the lodge at Warsaw hastily initiated and promoted three men who were under indictment for the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Another person, long a member of the Order, was at the first opportunity promoted from steward to Worshipful Master in the Warsaw lodge. These promotions were made so that the cloak of the fraternity could be thrown about those culprits in order to protect them.

WHY THE MORMONS WERE UNPOPULAR

Many reasons have been suggested to justify the Masons in refusing to fraternize with the Mormons in Nauvoo. The basic cause of all the trouble, however, was religious prejudice. The other minor excuses would have been overlooked if they concerned any people but the Mormons.

² George W. Warvells, *Compendium of Freemasonry in Illinois*, I, 31.

Moreover, the Grand Master set up the lodge in Nauvoo at a very inopportune time, so far as the popularity of the Mormons was concerned. It seems that Grand Master Abraham Jonas was anxious to establish a record by installing as many lodges as he could. This was at a time when Masonry was slowly recovering from the bitter persecution it had experienced for several years. The movement was new in Illinois, and the Grand Master seemed very desirous of establishing a membership record during his administration.

In the previous fifteen years, thousands of members had deserted the ranks of Masonry throughout the United States. In New York there had been 227 lodges in 1827, while in 1835 there were but 41. About 1838, a new development set in, and the number of candidates rose in great numbers. By 1842, "the anti-Masons were out of business in the United States."³

Masonry was first sent into Illinois by the Grand Lodges of Kentucky and Indiana. Because of the Morgan excitement and other elements of opposition, Masonry slowly became inactive in Illinois, its lodges suspending their meetings until their charters were considered void. During the revival of the Order, between 1835 and 1840, many members of the disbanded lodges petitioned the Grand Lodge of Missouri and obtained charters. These lodges remained members of the Grand Lodge of Missouri until 1840 when, by permission, they withdrew and formed the present Grand Lodge of Illinois.⁴

Helen Mar Kimball has written of the persecution of the Masons at the time her father, Heber C. Kimball, became a Mason:

³ Eugene Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, p. 176.

⁴ J. W. S. Mitchell, *The History of Freemasonry and Masonic Digest*, p. 638.

It reminds me of a time in my father's early history, previous to his hearing of "Mormonism." It was in 1823 when he received the three first degrees of Masonry in the lodge at Victor Flats, Ontario Co., New York, and in 1824, previous to receiving all of the rights up to the Royal Arch Masons, the Morgan affair broke out and the Masonic Hall in Canandaigua was burned by anti-Masons, and all their records consumed. It seems that the Masons were persecuted and the same unjust proceedings were heaped upon them by the anti-Masons that have been upon those who hold the Priesthood. "Not as many as three of us," father says, "could meet together, unless in secret, without being mobbed. I have been driven from my houses and possessions with many of my brethren belonging to that fraternity five times, by mobs led by some of their leading men. . . I have been as true as an angel from the heavens to the covenants I made in the lodge at Victor. . . . I wish that all men were Masons and would live up to their profession, then the world would be in a much better state than it is now." The Prophet Joseph after becoming a Mason said that Masonry had been taken from the Priesthood. In Nauvoo I was acquainted with the widow and daughter of Morgan who exposed Masonry. I remember once, when but a young girl, of getting a glimpse of the outside of the Morgan's book exposing Masonry, but which my father always kept locked up. Now if men should be true to Masonry and hold sacred their covenants to that or any other fraternity, why in the name of conscience should not *our* covenants to the *Great Master Mason* be held as sacred? Yes, and more binding and the greater should be our obligations.⁵

Grand Master Jonas was a clever politician who courted the Mormon vote and acted contrary to the wishes of many Masons when he set up the lodge in Nauvoo. The Grand Lodge of Illinois was barely one year old at the time, with only about one hundred members in the state. He was anxious to point with pride to the record he had made as Grand Master. He was a candidate for a seat in the state legislature, to which he was elected soon after he had installed the Nauvoo lodge.

For political reasons, the Grand Master had many enemies among the prominent people of the day, including

⁵ *Woman's Exponent*, XII, 126.

members of the fraternity. This certainly reacted unfavorably upon the Mormons.

At the time the Mormons applied for membership in the Order, a campaign was under way to remove the county seat from Quincy to Columbus. Bodley lodge was located in Quincy, while Grand Master Jonas lived in Columbus. Mr. Jonas and some of his friends went to St. Louis and purchased a printing press and began to publish the *Columbus Advocate*, the very name of which indicates its purpose.

Before purchasing the printing press, however, Mr. Jonas, a brilliant lawyer, had written several articles in favor of Columbus as the county seat of Adams County. These articles had been refused by the Quincy newspapers. Strong resentment and antagonism resulted, all of which would prejudice the Masons in Quincy against the actions of their Grand Master.

"One result was," writes a Masonic historian, "apparently, that the members of Bodley lodge lost no opportunity to embarrass the Grand Master, and the lodge minutes and proceedings of Grand Lodge show how this situation reacted unfavorably on the Nauvoo lodges."⁶

The resentment of the members of Bodley lodge was increased when they learned that Grand Master Jonas, on the eve of the election and at the height of the controversy about the location of the county seat, had gone to Nauvoo, set up a lodge and, worst of all, "had raised Joseph Smith on sight to the sublime degree." When Mr. Jonas returned to Columbus, he published a long article relating his visit to Nauvoo and paying a glowing tribute to the builders of Nauvoo.

As the citizens of Quincy were piqued because of the county seat dispute, and also jealous of their thriving neighbor, Nauvoo, some of the members of Bodley lodge took

⁶ S. H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry*, p. 13.

advantage of the opportunity to display their ill will by adopting the following resolution, which would greatly embarrass the Grand Master and at the same time punish their unpopular neighbors:

Resolved, that Bodley lodge, No. 1, of Quincy, request the Grand Lodge of the State of Illinois that a committee be appointed at the next annual meeting of said lodge to make inquiry into the manner the officers of the Nauvoo lodge were installed by the Grand Master of this state, and by what authority the Grand Master initiated, passed, and raised Messrs. Smith and Rigdon to the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason at one and the same time, and that the proceedings of the committee be reported for the benefit of this lodge.

No mention is made of this resolution, however, in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge. It is not unlikely that the men who controlled that body were of the opinion that the Grand Master had authority to hold a public installation of officers as well as to grant a special dispensation for conferring the three degrees on one or more candidates at the same communication. It is significant that Harrison Dill presided at the meeting when the resolution was adopted. He was a well-informed Mason, and later became a Grand Master.

Several Masonic historians have made extensive studies of this subject. Since their works are not available to many readers, we shall quote at length from their conclusions. They were in a position to know the facts, yet it is thought-provoking how they fail to repeat the charge made by less informed writers that the Mormons copied their Temple ceremony from the Masons.

A MASONIC HISTORIAN IS HEARD

In 1910, Joseph E. Morcombe published his authoritative and exhaustive work, *History of the Grand Lodge*

of Iowa. From Volume I of this history, we reprint a few pages which give the opinions of this historian respecting this disputed question. It must be remembered that he is a Mason and was writing for the Masons. If he had prejudices, they were certainly against the Mormons, not the Masons. Though we cannot accept all his statements as the official point of view of the Church, the reader will find them interesting:

But the sincerity of these leaders can not be questioned. Men may risk slander and persecution on chance of immediate gain, but they must be convinced of the righteousness of a cause before challenging imprisonment, injury and death. It may therefore be conceded that the Latter Day Saints of the 40's were generally actuated by pure motives, whatever may have been the eccentricities of their creeds or however indiscreet their methods. For it must be granted, that these men, leaders and followers alike, were lacking in worldly wisdom. They failed to estimate the forces opposed to them. Carried away by the initial material successes of their communities, they became arrogant and were unreasonable in their aspirations and demands. Relying upon rapidly increasing numbers, they over-rated their political importance. Had the Mormon leaders more truly gauged the real power of their church, and more accurately estimated the forces in opposition, they might by a series of adjustments and compromises have fortified their position and even increased their influence beyond all possible fear of successful assault. Inflexibility and arrogance were characteristics of these leaders. These are the indispensable concomitants of proselyting zeal, but are certain to arouse and aggravate antagonism.

So much for the Saints and their leaders. The elements opposed to them were neither notable for respectability nor sincerity. There were of course those who were honest in condemnation, but these were infected by an unreasoning fanaticism. The mass of the anti-Mormons, whether in Missouri or Illinois, was irresponsible and vicious. It was largely composed of those undesirable and dangerous persons which advancing settlement ever carries with the first of its rising tide. These collect in the eddies formed at state or national boundaries and whirl in disturbing confusion until stranded and left harmless by an efflux or carried away by advancing waves. It requires only a dispassionate reading

of the annals of the times to judge this class correctly. The Mormons were distinguished for industry. First in Missouri they had attacked the wilderness, and wrested from the virgin soil beauty and abundance. Their communities were self-governing and peaceful entities, in sharp contrast to the lawlessness about them. Driven from the homes they had conquered from the wild, by mob violence and continued persecution, these people were welcomed to Illinois. With new courage and hope the religionists in 1839 found location at Nauvoo for their Zion. . . (143)

They had become objects of envy to the idle and vicious. The avaricious joined in the movement of persecution, hoping to benefit by an expulsion of the Saints. Politicians were either angered by Mormon opposition to themselves or their measures, or were too fainthearted to face the mob. State officials of high and low degree either shirked the duties of the time or pandered openly to the lawless element.

Yet even at this period, and indeed up to the time of final storm and the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, it might have been possible to have averted serious trouble had the Mormon leaders been more adaptable to conditions. To the envy of the indolent and the hostility engendered by religious differences there was added a fear on the part of many that civic and political privileges granted the chief Mormon community were not compatible with the basic principles of good government. The charter granted to Nauvoo constituted that community an independent governing body within the state—in but few things amenable to a higher authority. . . The Prophet and his followers, relying unduly upon their own strength, political and of numbers, and doubtless with a reliance upon supernatural guidance, ignored the exigencies of the time and the plain path of safety. A voluntary surrender of special privileges would have disarmed many of their opponents. Taking place simply as citizens of the commonwealth, they could more readily have appealed to the better element for support. But the problem was too great for the men upon whom its solution devolved, and what might have been an important social experiment ended in disaster, involving an innocent people in ruin and staining the state with crime which has never been atoned.

There was further complication caused by the fact that many unprincipled men joined with the Mormons, or at least sheltered themselves in the community and claimed the privileges of the religionists. These, by vicious habits, brought discredit upon their protectors. Their crimes, excesses and immoralities were seized upon by the anti-Mormon element and represented as being

fostered and even encouraged by the church. It was asserted that the new religion was used as a mere cloak to vice.

The peculiar claims and observances of the Saints were denounced by those who could not understand their meaning. It is an old cry of the mob—that of immorality raised against the adherents of a new faith.

The early Christians complained that their enemies accused them falsely of promiscuous lust, impiety and intended rebellion against established authority. All these accusations are joined to the fear that an accepted religion is endangered. It is easy to enlist first the weak and well-meaning, who hope by passive opposition to stay the spread of new ideas. This failing, recruits must be had from the real mob—those without faith or principles, who will join in any cry in the hope that disturbance will bring spoils. Such were the cause of Mormon troubles, such the elements arrayed against them, and the results will be forever remembered to the discredit of the states of Missouri and Illinois. The Saints were unduly aggressive, inordinately ambitious and greedy for special privileges. Their leaders lacked tact and were stubbornly and fatally insistent on non-essentials. But all this can not excuse the antagonism aroused against a people who were industrious, peaceful and law-abiding. The leaders were such from interested motives, the mob easily led because spurred by envy and hopeful of gain.

DEPARTURE FROM THE ANCIENT LANDMARKS

Masonry is an ancient institution. Its landmarks are sacred and must be preserved. From the distant past, its leaders have attempted to keep it inviolate. The slightest change in its regulations has been regarded with suspicion.

The Mormons were careless in some respects, failing to realize the sanctity of the "ancient landmarks" and feeling free to make small innovations without consulting the Grand Lodge. Such a step, though not intended to trample underfoot the honored customs of the past, was perfectly natural for them. Their religion was a revolutionary one. They never attempted to follow the religious pattern of the world, being free to introduce many teachings and institutions that were not practiced in any other church.

This spirit of freedom and newness of growth with no

attempt to follow the theological path of the past, may have influenced them to deviate from the ancient landmarks of Masonry. Such a deviation was certainly not intended to produce serious consequences and would have been taken without much opposition if it had come from any other community than Nauvoo.

Objection has been made to the fact that a day-book used by Joseph Smith, now in possession of the Iowa Masonic Library, reveals that the "lodge funds were considered as but a department of the community resources." Similar objection might be made because the "Lodge Room" in Nauvoo was used for other purposes. The Relief Society was organized two days after the lodge was installed in Nauvoo, yet in their meeting on the 24th of March, 1842, the minutes state that they met in the "Lodge Room." They continued to meet there for many months.

This room was also used as the private office of Joseph Smith. No attempt was made to restrict its use to the lodge. After the Masonic Hall was completed, it was restricted more for lodge business, though not entirely. While preparing for the exodus from Nauvoo, the Masonic Hall was used as a storehouse for grain.

Since the Mormons were so completely ignored by the Masons in neighboring towns and by the Grand Lodge also, they were likely to make many errors as they sought to put their lodge in motion. There was a spirit of freedom in all their religious activities, never for a moment feeling bound by the traditions of the past, but always free to make revolutionary changes in the matter of religious ritual and practice. This feeling may have crept into the lodge work and resulted in some changes that would be frowned upon by other Masons. The complaints about voting and initia-

¹ *The New Age*, May, 1905.

tions may have been well founded, yet those same mistakes were not uncommon in young lodges.

The Masonic constitutions and instructions make it perfectly clear that the ancient landmarks of the fraternity must be carefully safeguarded at all costs. "Let a single lodge resolve that they shall change one landmark," we read, "and that lodge is dissolved; let the whole Order resolve to do the same thing and the whole Order is dissolved."⁸ On the question of voting, it is said that the ballot must be strictly secret and the voting must be unanimous. Each applicant must be voted for on a separate ballot. This was a slow and cumbersome method in comparison with the dispatch with which the voting was conducted in Church assemblies, so it is not unlikely that they violated the strict Masonic regulation concerning balloting. If other Masons had extended the hand of fellowship and manifested a spirit of fraternity, such abuses could have been prevented without the slightest friction or trouble, yet it seems that other lodges gloried in the mistakes of the Mormons so they could expel them from the fraternity.

No sooner was the lodge set up in Nauvoo than the brethren in Quincy began a determined effort to embarrass the Grand Master as well as the Mormons by insisting that the "irregularities" of the Grand Master as well as those of the Nauvoo brethren be called to the attention of the Grand Lodge. A few paragraphs from Joseph E. Morcombe's *History of the Grand Lodge of Iowa*, Volume I, are enlightening:

At the Grand Lodge session of 1842, held at Jacksonville, Grand Master Jonas reported the granting of dispensations to brethren at Nauvoo, Illinois, and at Montrose, Lee County, Iowa Territory. The work of the latter lodge seems to have been satisfactory. The Committee on Returns and Work reported the

⁸ Dr. George Oliver, *The Ancient Landmarks*, II, 219.

Rising Sun Lodge work correct, and recommended granting of a charter as No. 12, which was done, and Breth. Davis and Williams admitted as representatives of that Lodge.

But the lodge at Nauvoo though but a few months in existence was already under suspension and did not fare as well in Grand Lodge. The same committee submitted special reports as follows:

"The Committee on Returns and Work of Lodges ask leave to report that they have examined the returns of Nauvoo Lodge, under dispensation, together with the papers and correspondence referred to your committee connected therewith.

"Your Committee regret that the original records of the work of said lodge have not been set up, as required by the M. W. Master, in his order suspending the labor of said lodge. But from the report, as well as the transcript of the proceedings of the lodge exhibited, the work appears to meet the requirements of the Grand Lodge. (p. 147).

"It appears, however, from documentary and other evidence before the committee that there is some reason to fear that the intention and ancient landmarks of our institution have been departed from, to an inexcusable extent. The facts in the case, however, your committee are all of the opinion, can only be satisfactorily ascertained by a careful inspection of the original records, and thorough investigation of the whole proceedings. Such a course your committee believe is due, as well to the brethren of Nauvoo Lodge, and the Craft generally, and should our fears prove groundless as the committee still hope they will, none will be more benefited by the investigation than the lodge under consideration, but should they in any considerable degree be realized, the sooner the facts are ascertained the better.

"It appears, from the records, that the dispensation was granted October 15th, 1841, and the lodge installed and set to work on the 15th of March, 1842, by the M. W. G. Master. Up to the 11th of August, at which time their labor was suspended, the lodge initiated 286 candidates, and passed and raised nearly as many.

"In view of all the circumstances connected with this subject, the committee would respectfully recommend adoption of the following resolutions:

"1st. Resolved, That the injunction suspending the labors of Nauvoo Lodge, U. D., be continued until the next regular communication of this Grand Lodge.

"2nd. Resolved, That a special committee be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the original minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, and diligently enquire into any irregularities or misconduct alleged to have been committed by said lodge, and report the facts at the next regular communication of this Grand Lodge."

The situation as viewed by the brethren of Quincy is thus stated:

"May 2nd (1842) a letter was received and read from Nauvoo Lodge, U. D., inviting Bodley Lodge No. 1, to participate with them in celebrating the anniversary of St. John, the 24th of June. On motion it was resolved that the secretary be directed to answer the communication, declining to accept of the invitation on account of the great distance and of our present pecuniary exigence, and that the secretary also say in his letter, that Bodley Lodge regrets that anything, extraneous from pure Masonry, should be coupled with this communication; it having been, throughout all ages, the peculiar characteristic of Masonry, that she has sent forth her pure flame of living light, before the world, uncontaminated by political doings, and untinged by religious distinctions."

July 16 a special meeting of Bodley lodge was called. "The W. M. stated the object of the meeting to be, to take into consideration the charges made against Nauvoo Lodge, U. D. After remarks the following preamble and resolutions were read:

"Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of Bodley Lodge No. 1, of Quincy, from sources of information which can not be doubted, that Nauvoo Lodge has, since the granting of their dispensation, conducted in a manner un-Masonic, and highly dangerous and injurious to our beloved institution, to subvert and destroy the great, good and beneficial influences of Masonic principles; therefore—

"Resolved, that the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of this State, be requested, and is hereby requested, to suspend the authority which has been granted the Nauvoo Lodge by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of this State take the subject of said charges into consideration, and dispose of the same in such a manner as they shall deem essential to the ends of justice, and the welfare and prosperity of the institution of Masonry."

This action, taken on the 16th of July, was almost immediately resultful, as the lodge was suspended on August 11, following.

But this was not all. At the same meeting Bros. Davis and Ralston were appointed a committee to furnish the Grand Master with information, as indicated in the foregoing resolutions. The

following resolution was also offered and adopted. This, like a lady's postscript, has in it the real kernel of opposition:

"Resolved, That Bodley Lodge No. 1, of Quincy, request of the Grand Lodge of the State of Illinois, that a committee be appointed at the next annual meeting of said lodge, to make inquiry into the manner the officers of the Nauvoo Lodge, U. D., were installed, and by what authority the Grand Master initiated, passed and raised Messrs. (Joseph) Smith and Sidney Rigdon to the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason, at one and the same time, and that the proceedings of the committee be reported for the benefit of this lodge." (p. 150)

This would seem rather an attack on the Grand Master than upon the Nauvoo lodge. The Illinois historian adds to the above: "All this goes to prove, first: that the lodge at Nauvoo had become involved in the same brawl as the 'saints,' and second: that the right of the Grand Master to 'make Masons at sight' (a right we doubt) was not known in Illinois in 1842."

HISTORIAN REYNOLDS TESTIFIES

The historian and prolific writer, John C. Reynolds, agrees that the objections from the lodge in Quincy were directed against Mr. Jonas as much as against the Mormons. From Mr. Reynolds' valuable book, *History of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, we quote these pages:

The principal antagonism to the Mormon communities was directed from Quincy and Warsaw, and the brethren at these places certainly did not show themselves capable of rising to the level of dispassionate consideration of matters in controversy. It is evident too, that Bro. Ralston, a member of Bodley lodge, and one of those instructed to push the case against Nauvoo, was not a proper person to have been placed upon the Grand Lodge Committee on Returns and Work. This was equivalent to giving the accuser position upon the bench as judge.

It must be kept in mind, that the period we have reached was that in which passions were first aroused, which finally resulted in assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo. Much disturbance was caused in May, 1842, by a bitter controversy between General John C. Bennett and Joseph Smith. The former repudiated all connection with the church and asserted that he had joined with the "Saints"

only that he might the more completely expose them and their leaders. This was in reality the beginning of a schism, which brought about the most serious of subsequent troubles. Bennett was forced to resign as Mayor of Nauvoo, and that office was pressed upon and accepted by Joseph Smith. Bennett was later tried for un-Masonic conduct by the lodge at Nauvoo, and expulsion followed. An explanation of this action was the offending manner in the communication to Bodley lodge. The latter espoused Bennett's cause, and chose to believe the self acknowledged adventurer and deceiver. It was this affair which the Secretary of No. 1 was instructed to reprehend as "contaminated by political doings and tinged by religious distinctions." (p. 151).

In this same month of May, 1842, ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri, under whose administration the Mormons had been driven from that state, was shot and severely wounded by some person unknown. The assault was committed during the heat of a political campaign, while partisan feeling ran high. Yet because the ex-governor had been severe in his treatment of the Saints it was at once assumed by enemies of the latter that the deed had been instigated by Joseph Smith and was committed by some Mormon adherent. The far greater possibility of a political opponent being involved was ignored. In the controversy which followed this unfortunate affair the public press of Quincy revealed temper of that community by almost openly accusing the Mormons of the attempted assassination.

It should not be assumed, however, that the Masonic lodge at Nauvoo was free from blame, or that it was merely suffering from the persecution of prejudicial brethren. This lodge was something of an anomaly. It was recognized as a part of the religious community. In the Iowa Masonic Library there is preserved a day-book used by Joseph Smith, "the Prophet," for several years, and including the period under review. In it are to be found many accounts, both debit and credit, but a department of the community resources. The Grand Master of Illinois was, in the first place, indiscreet in "making Masons at sight" of the "Prophet" and his chief councilor, at least under the circumstances. Then the members of the lodge, finding in the organization something which might be bent to their peculiar uses, and perhaps used to further Mormon ambitions, were eager to recruit their numbers, and soon overstepped the bounds of prudence. Thus we find that from March 15, 1842, to August 11, of the same year, "at which time their labor was suspended, the lodge initiated 286 candidates, and passed and raised nearly as many." "The average," says Past Grand Master Joseph

Robbins of Illinois, "was five a day, Sundays included—a good showing for a religious revival, but rather questionable activity for a Masonic body." (p. 152).

The report made by Nauvoo lodge for the year 1842, and the only one ever made is given in the article by Bro. J. C. Smith before mentioned. "It is unique," says he, "but not in the number of Masons said to have been made, for many of our present lodges in their eagerness for the almighty dollar have incurred the censure of Grand Masters, and have been forbidden the running of an endless-chain ballot machine." To the list of officers given I have been able to add in several cases positions in the church.

RETURN OF NAUVOO LODGE, U. D.

Held at Nauvoo on the first and third Tuesdays in each month.

George Miller, W. M. (Bishop of the Church)
 Hyrum Smith, S. W. (Brother of Joseph Smith—Patriarch)
 Lucius Scovil, J. W. (Of frequent mention in history of church both in Missouri and Illinois.)

William Clayton, Sec'y. (Clerk of Joseph Smith)

Newel K. Whitney, Treas. (Bishop of the Church)

Charles Adden, S. D.

Heber C. Kimball, J. D. (Elder—one of the Twelve)

Wm. Felshaw, Steward.

Hyrum Clark, Steward. (High Priest, etc.)

Samuel Rolfe, Tyler. (Priest and counselor)

Past Masters—Asahel Perry, Daniel S. Miles, Hezekiah Peck.

Master Masons—243

Fellow Crafts—4

Entered Apprentices—9

"*Expelled*—John C. Bennett, M. M., about 38 years of age; 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high; dark complexion; dark eyes; Roman nose; lost his upper front teeth; quick spoken; good language; by profession a physician; residing in New York; for gross un-Masonic conduct; on the 8th day of August, 1842.

"Initiated—285."

A glance at the membership of lodges in Illinois for the year 1842 will serve to indicate a fear that Masonry in that Grand Jurisdiction might soon be swamped and controlled by Mormon adherents. These figures given are; Bodley No. 1, 25; Harmony No. 3, 23; Springfield No. 4, 43; Columbus No. 6, 16; Macomb No. 8, 22; Juliet No. 10, 25; Rushville, U.D., 20; Western Star, U.D., 23; Cass, U.D., 12; St. Johns, U.D., 10; Warren, U.D., 8; a total of 227. The lodge at Nauvoo reported 285 and Rising Sun

lodge at Montrose, Iowa Territory, 45, a total of 330. The growth in these latter bodies was out of all proportion to anything which might be expected by the other lodges. These figures may serve to explain action otherwise inexplicable.

The report of the committee appointed to investigate the affairs of Nauvoo lodge is appended to the Illinois proceedings for 1842. Its paragraphs reveal, by implication, the charges brought against the lodge.

"The committee appointed to proceed to Nauvoo and investigate the charges of irregularity which have been preferred against Nauvoo Lodge, U. D., have performed that duty, and beg leave to report that after a careful and laborious examination of both persons and papers they have, with due deference, concluded to submit the following suggestions and resolutions.

"The principal charges which had been made against the lodge, your committee found groundless, and without proof to sustain them. Irregularities have obtained in the work of the lodge, which your committee thinks strike at once at the vital principles of our order, and the correction of which should not be passed over in silence:

"1st. The practice of balloting for more than one applicant at one and the same time.

"The privilege of balloting for or against an applicant, your committee think one of the inalienable rights of our time-honored institution. The lodge has no right to introduce within its walls any applicant who may be obnoxious to any one of its members. Neither has it the right to inquire into the motive which actuated or influenced the ballot of any member. (p. 155).

"Should a member (forgetful of those Masonic principles so often inculcated within our sacred walls) reject a worthy applicant out of private pique or malice, the wrong is his own, and to God alone is he accountable. And better far it is, in the estimation of your committee, that worthy applicants should be rejected time and again, than that the sacredness of the ballot box should be invaded.

"2nd. On one occasion an applicant, of at least doubtful character, was received on a promise of reformation and restitution with a view of holding his future conduct in check, and making him a worthier and a better man. In this instance the motive, your committee do not doubt, was good, but whilst they applauded the motive, they must condemn the practice, as one fraught with too much danger to the Craft ever to be indulged in.

"In review of the whole subject, your committee find much to regret, much to deplore—yet they can not bring themselves to believe that the good of the fraternity requires that the injunction should be tempered with mercy, and therefore beg leave to submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the dispensation of Nauvoo lodge U. D., be continued until the next grand annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Illinois and should the M. W. Grand Master approve our suggestions, that some brother be appointed to attend, at some given time, to remind the brethren of the irregularity of their proceedings, and admonish them in the most friendly manner to avoid all such in future."

This report was signed by Bro. Jonathan Nye, Past Grand Master of Vermont, and Bro. W. B. Warren, Grand Secretary. These are eminent names and it is to be presumed that these brethren investigated the affair in an impartial manner. Reduced to its lowest terms the report indicates an ignorance of Masonic procedure, a fault common to Western lodges at that time. It also shows that in the desire to secure members the wise and ancient restrictions of the fraternity were disregarded. But certainly such indiscretions were not confined to the Mormon lodges. There was also trouble over black balling—a perennial source of difficulty.

Acting upon the foregoing report Grand Master Helm issued an order, dated November 2, 1842. In this is set forth the action of Grand Lodge, and of the committee appointed under its authority. He finds in the character and experience of the committee sufficient warrant for correctness of conclusions reached, and says the opinions and recommendations of all the committees "should remove from the minds of all any fears that may have been entertained respecting the motives and designs of Nauvoo lodge." He therefore ordered the injunction of suspension removed, and the dispensation granted to Nauvoo lodge continued in full force and effect and to remain in operation till the next annual communication of Grand Lodge.

The energetic character of these Mormon Masons may be judged from a communication presented by Rising Sun Lodge of Montrose, Iowa Territory. This body, far in advance of all others of the jurisdiction outside of Nauvoo, had built a new hall during their first year of existence, had completely furnished the same and had procured suitable jewels and Masonic clothing. To accomplish all this they had strained their income and resources, and were forced to ask a year's time, within which to pay for charter just issued. This favor was granted.

At the Grand Communication which convened at Jacksonville, October 2, 1842, the Mormon lodges had grown to five in number, all being represented at the session. The Mormon question had by now attracted much attention, both in and out of the fraternity and far outside the state of Illinois. Grand Master Helm, in his annual address, thus refers to the subject: "The action of the Grand Lodge has been made the object of much animadversion, criticism and remark. Several communications from eminent and honored names in Masonry have been addressed to me, calling in question the correctness of the course pursued by you in relation to this subject, and strongly protesting against the prudence and propriety of allowing a Masonic lodge to exist in Nauvoo. I call your attention to these facts, solely for the purpose of suggesting that justice to our Nauvoo brethren, courtesy and respect for those who object to our past conduct towards them, and a proper regard for the good opinion and welfare of the fraternity at large, alike require that every step of your proceedings in this matter should be marked by the utmost care, caution and deliberation . . . Should you finally determine to grant a charter to Nauvoo lodge, and thus perpetuate its existence, I would suggest the propriety, nay the absolute necessity, of dividing it into at least four, if not more, distinct lodges. The number of its members is too large for convenience in working and is otherwise objectionable, a fact of which they are themselves aware. A short time ago they applied to me to divide them into several distinct lodges; but as this application was made at a period very near to our annual meeting, I thought it proper to wait and refer the whole matter, as I now do to the Grand Lodge."

But such an increase of lodges under Mormon influence was certainly not to the taste of the Illinois brethren, nor would it have been wisdom on their part thus to yield control of the Grand Lodge to this rapidly growing sect. The ambitions of the church leaders were now full blown and no longer kept secret. Relying on growth in point of numbers, in special privileges already gained and on the complaisance of politicians and office holders, Joseph Smith and his followers at this time regarded themselves destined to control the state, perhaps even the nation. The "Prophet" was announced in the church press as a future candidate for governor of Illinois. The allcovering ambitions of these churchly leaders embraced the Masonic fraternity as being a means ready to hand by which their influence and power might be extended. Had Grand Lodge concurred in recommendation of Grand Master

Helm, creating new lodges at Nauvoo, Masonry in Illinois would most likely have originated a schism, a period of utter confusion would have followed, and the fraternity itself have probably become extinct and a thing of reproach in that state for many years. (p. 158).

Grand Master Helm had aided this Mormon domination so far as possible. During the interval between the annual communications of 1842 and 1843 he had granted his dispensation to brethren at Nauvoo to form Nye and Helm lodges, and to others of the same faith at Keokuk, Iowa Territory, for establishment of Eagle lodge. These, with Nauvoo and Rising Sun lodges, made considerable show in representation, though one brother (L. N. Scovil of Nauvoo lodge) was present as representative of both the bodies in Iowa Territory.

Bodley lodge No. 1 of Quincy was again the first to raise protest. The political and social rancor of the community had as a matter of course to a certain extent infected the lodge. But we must also credit them with a discernment of consequences if Mormon ambitions were given free scope. It may also be said that while location possibly favored a prejudiced view, it also permitted a greater knowledge of affairs in Nauvoo and the other river towns, in which influence of the Saints was supreme. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the records of Bodley lodge (September 29, 1843) should show such action as the following:

“Resolved, That, the delegates of Bodley lodge vote against granting a charter at Nauvoo, and to use all their endeavors to procure withdrawal of all dispensations now granted.”

The Committee on Returns and Work at this session of 1843 found it necessary to condemn all the Mormon lodges. They found the work of Eagle lodge U. D., at Keokuk “very irregular and highly censurable,” instancing several cases where ballot was had in less period than the full lunar month required. But they add: “In every other respect the work appears to have been correct.” In the returns of Nauvoo lodge they found “the work in some measure correct, but in many instances there appear irregularities, and matters to our committee inexplicable. The lodge had failed to bring their record before the committee, which is a matter of surprise, knowing the severe lesson the said lodge was taught at the last grand communication. The greatest irregularity of which your committee would complain is, that there appears to be a disposition to accumulate and gather members without regard to character, and to push them on through the second and third degrees, before they can be perfectly skilled in the first

and second. Your committee . . . feel certain that the ancient landmarks of the order require that the lodge should know that the candidate is well skilled in one degree before he is advanced to another. Your committee will not doubt but there are many worthy and skillful brethren in Nauvoo lodge; brethren who would under other circumstances be an ornament to the institution of Masonry, but we are reassured that their influence is entirely lost and obscured by the conduct of other less worthy; nay, of those who entirely disregard the ties that should bind us together as a sacred band of friends and brothers." The work in Helm lodge U. D. (Nauvoo) is characterized as "irregular" and "imprudent," and that of Nye lodge U. D. (Nauvoo) is considered objectionable for like reasons. The returns from Rising Sun lodge No. 12 (Montrose) are "altogether informal," and "the work irregular." (p. 160).

It thus appears that all these bodies were open to censure. Nothing is even hinted at in these reports of the real causes of difficulty. The matters criticised are not in themselves sufficient to justify the action recommended and taken—they were used only to veil or hide the social, political and religious difficulties, which were rightfully regarded as dangerous subjects to bring before the Grand Lodge. The following resolutions were presented and adopted:

"Resolved, That the charter of Rising Sun Lodge No. 12 be suspended, and that the Master and Wardens be cited to appear at the next grand annual communication of this Grand Lodge to show cause, if any they have, why their charter should not be revoked.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Grand Lodge it is inexpedient and prejudicial to the interests of Free-masonry longer to sustain a lodge at Nauvoo; and for the disrespect and contempt that Nauvoo lodge and Helm lodge have shown in refusing to present the records of their work to the Grand Lodge:

"Resolved, That their dispensations be and they are hereby revoked and charters refused . . .

"Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to inform the Grand Master of this state that the Nauvoo, Keokuk and the other lodges in and about Nauvoo continue to work, that they have given notice in a public paper of their intention to consecrate their Masonic hall on the 5th inst., and that the said Masons pretend not to be in possession of official notice that they were deprived of their charter and dispensations."

This statement of facts was doubtless correct. In the Joseph Smith account book before mentioned the entries for and against the Masonic lodge (there seems to have been but one such account indicating that the various bodies kept a common fund) were continued to within a few days of the assassination of the "Prophet" and his brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844. It is known, also that the lodges at Montrose and Keokuk retained their organizations until after that date. . . .

"Resolved, By this Grand Lodge, that all fellowship with said lodges and members thereof be withdrawn, and the associations of Masons working these lodges are hereby declared clandestine, and all the members hailing therefrom suspended from all the privileges of Masonry within the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge, and that our Sister Grand Lodges, be requested to deny them the same privileges.

"Resolved, That the Grand Secretary be directed to address a circular on the subject to all the Grand Lodges in correspondence with this Grand Lodge, and request the same to be published in all the Masonic periodicals." (p. 164).

During the year 1844 the popular passions, which had heretofore been at least partially repressed, broke out in unrestrained violence against the Mormons. Joseph Smith and his brother, despite the pledged faith of a weak and vacillating governor, were assassinated in the jail in Carthage. The Saints at Nauvoo were persecuted and endangered beyond the point of further endurance, and finally driven from the homes they had made beautiful and prosperous. The Mormon Masonic lodges, at least in Illinois, were thus effectually dispersed and were heard of no more. But the murders at Carthage nevertheless proved matter of Masonic concern, and as such were heard of in Grand Lodge.

Grand Master Lusk reported to the communication of 1845 that Bro. Montague and two others, appointed to investigate affairs of the lodge at Keokuk, had found it inconvenient to act. The necessity for action had passed, and the subject was forthwith dropped. Brother Montague and other members of the lodge at Warsaw had troubles of their own. This town, located on the river below Keokuk, was the strong point of opposition to the Mormons. The farcical trials which followed the assassinations at Carthage involved Warsaw citizens. To show popular support of the men accused of the assassinations, they were unduly honored. Several of them, while under indictment for murder, made application to, and were hurriedly elected to membership in

Warsaw lodge No. 21—a proceeding certainly as un-Masonic as any of which Mormon Masons had been accused.

This outrageous disregard of Masonic rectitude was brought to the attention of Grand Lodge. The Warsaw body had failed to make any return of work, hoping thus to cover its faults. A resolution was adopted, however, providing for the appointment of a special committee, which should demand the books of the lodge, and ascertain, by means in their power, whether said lodge has conferred any of the degrees upon any person or persons while under indictment, and to report to the M. W. Grand Master."

This committee, it seems, formulated its report after an *ex parte* hearing, and informed the Grand Master "That perhaps it will not be necessary to inflict punishment to the extent of his authority; for although the lodge erred, and greatly erred, yet they (the committee) conceive the error was one of the head and not of the heart; that all the harm has been done in the case that can be done; the men have been since tried by the laws of their country, and a jury of their peers and acquitted.

This committee based its report upon a letter written by Bro. Montague, and approved by Warsaw lodge.

The report and recommendation of the committee was adopted by the Grand Master, and no punishment was inflicted upon the lodge, "attention having been called to the subject of caution and circumspection in all proceedings, and especially in the introduction of members into the Masonic family, a great end had been answered, and with this it would be well to let the lodge off."

The Montague letter, which was the case of the lodge, was approved at a communication of Warsaw lodge No. 21, March 14, 1846. It admits that three of the nine men indicted for murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been proposed for membership, were elected and had received the degrees. It is explained that "at the time said petitions were presented, the fact of these individuals being under indictment for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, was referred to, and the question of propriety of their admission fully discussed. It was admitted that these individuals were worthy members of society and respected by their fellow-citizens—no objection to their initiation therefore existed, except the fact of the pending of the aforementioned indictment. In relation to that matter, it was argued that the indictment was no evidence of crime; in this instance, particularly, it was publicly known that the indictment against said applicants had been procured by the testimony of perjured witnesses who had been suborned by the Mormons, for the purpose of procuring indictments

against certain prominent men of the county, who had become obnoxious to them. The standing of these individuals in the community had not been at all impaired by the indictment, but, on the contrary, they are regarded with greater consideration than before, from the fact that they had been particularly selected as the victims of Mormon vengeance. The community regard the proceedings against them as a persecution rather than a prosecution, and the event of the final trial proved the correctness of the conclusion. Under these circumstances it could not be considered that these individuals should be regarded in the light that persons ordinarily are, who are arraigned for crime. Besides, this, Bro. M. Aldrich, who has held an honorable standing in the fraternity for upwards of twenty years, was also under indictment for the same offence. There would therefore seem to be equally as good grounds for his suspension as for rejecting the petitions of the individuals referred to. But to do this when there was evidence of his guilt, would be to reverse the fundamental principles of the order and cast off a brother because he was in trouble." (p. 166).

Without seeking to make out the Mormon contention that these men were guilty of the crime with which they were accused, it is certain that this defense is very weak. Were it within the providence of this paper to analyze the evidence it would at least be shown that the Mormon persecution so much dreaded was purely imaginary. It was another case of the wolf accusing the lamb of fouling the stream from which he drank, as an excuse for devouring the offender. (p. 167).

The matter proved, as might be expected, destructive to the usefulness of the Warsaw lodge, and on the 9th day of May, 1847, it surrendered its charter. . .

One curious and interesting reference is noted, which again indicates the Masonic standing of those Mormons who passed through the state of Iowa on their way to the new Zion in the Great Salt Lake Valley. These emigrants sought different routes across the unsettled territory converging at Kaneshville, on the Missouri river. The winter of 1845-6 overtook a party of these refugees at an Indian trading post a few miles west of Iowa City. The horrors of that season for these destitute and poorly protected wanderers can not be told here. Suffice it to say a plot was formed by a party of roughs haunting the wild border to arrest the men on a trumped up charge "so that they might, without risk, plunder the camp and ravish the women." This was frustrated by the firmness and intelligence of the officials. The suffering condition of the campers was then ascertained and appeal made to the decent

people of the community for aid. To this there was ready and instant response. The narrative continues: "Most of these Mormon men were Freemasons, and when the diabolical plot against them was made known, and confirmed by the fact that their accusers never dared to appear in court where law and reason ruled, very naturally a strong interest and sympathy was awakened in their behalf, among members of that fraternity and others. As a result of this they were supplied with many things for the relief and comfort of their destitute people at the camp, and they departed with light hearts and heavy loads." (p. 172).

With whatever further connection there may have been between the Craft and the Latter-day Saints this chapter has no concern. Whether or not it be true that the Mormon church in Utah has borrowed from Masonry some of its peculiar ceremonies is altogether apart from our present interest. The events here imperfectly traced have some value, historical and sociological, and have not before been written connectedly. Its publication may serve to bring out further facts and to correct errors and misconceptions. (p. 173).

Rising Sun Lodge of Montrose went down, as is related at length elsewhere, with the lodges at Nauvoo, from which it sprang, and with which it had remained intimately connected. While there is excuse for action taken against the Nauvoo bodies, in that the Grand Lodge of Illinois feared it might be swamped and vitiated by Mormon Masonry, this was no reason why the lodges in Iowa Territory might not have been permitted to join the new Grand Lodge. The alleged offending, "irregularity of returns," might have been charged with equal force against almost any other lodge of that time in the newer west.

Thus one fearless historian assures us that the first proposal to establish a Grand Lodge in Iowa came from Rising Sun lodge at Montrose, yet when this proposal became a reality, the Mormon lodges were denied fellowship. Furthermore, at the election of the Grand Master an unexpected thing happened. Ansel Humphreys was the logical candidate for Grand Master, and his election had been regarded as a foregone conclusion. But because of the opposition to the proposal that the Mormon lodges be admitted to membership, antagonism developed, and Oliver Cook,

who bitterly opposed the Mormons, was elected Grand Master.

From the records of the Grand Lodge and from every other reliable source, it seems that religious hatred was the basis of all the trouble in Nauvoo. The Mormons were determined to break down the resistance of the enemy, yet after a few years of defiance, they acquiesced and put an end to Masonry within the Church.

On April 10, 1845, Elder George A. Smith recorded in his journal, "We advised Lucius N. Scovil, keeper of the lodge, to suspend the work of that institution in consequence of information furnished us by Dr. Goforth, of hostile actions on the part of the Grand Lodge of Illinois against the lodge at Nauvoo."

Masonry died hard in Nauvoo, yet its death among the Mormons was definite and final. It was a casualty of the exodus. As the caravans of the exiles crept across the prairies and mountains toward the west, the subject of Masonry was a dead issue. As they reclaimed the westland and built their cities, no attempt was ever made to revive an interest in the subject, nor did any of its ritual ever get into the Temple endowment.