

“Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry”: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism

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MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO REED C. DURHAM, JR., director of the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, delivered his presidential address at the Mormon History Association in Nauvoo, Illinois, on the topic of Mormonism and Freemasonry. He concluded his controversial remarks by stating that the Mormon temple endowment “had an immediate inspiration from Masonry,” that “the Prophet first embraced Masonry and, then in the process, he modified, expanded, amplified, or glorified it,” and that similarities between the two ceremonies were “so apparent and overwhelming that some dependent relationship cannot be denied.”¹ Soon afterwards Durham was censured by Church Education System administrators and issued a public apology. He has not subsequently participated in the Mormon History Association, and his presidential address was never submitted for publication.² Although

1. There are at least three versions of Durham’s article: Reed C. Durham, Jr., “Is There No Help for the Widow’s Son?” *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 11-16; (Nauvoo, IL: Martin Publishing Company, 1980), 15-33; and (Salt Lake City: Research Lodge of Utah F. & A.M., 16 Sept. 1974).

2. Reed C. Durham “To Whom It May Concern,” n.d., in Patricia Lyn Scott, James E. Crooks, and Sharon G. Pugsley, “A Kinship of Interest: The Mormon History Association’s Membership,” *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 153, 156.

unauthorized versions of his speech have been published, Durham has publicly refused further comment on the subject.

Reaction to Durham's speech, and other works on the same topic,³ demonstrates that discussion of the rituals of Freemasonry and Mormonism is problematic at best.⁴ Those who deny any relationship, or argue that similarities between the two are superficial, are concerned that Joseph Smith's use of Masonic rites is inconsistent with his prophetic claims. Others concentrate on similarities to buttress claims that Smith borrowed heavily from Freemasonry without the benefit of inspiration. This "all-or-nothing" approach combines with the secrecy associated with the rituals to create a reluctance to discuss the subject in any meaningful detail.

Even non-Mormons have noted this void in LDS history. Social historian Mark C. Carnes has observed: "The best history of the Mormon church, written by Mormons, skirts this issue. The authors refer to Smith's 'purported use of the Masonic ceremony in Mormon temple ordinances' and note that Mormons recognized that there were 'similarities as well as differences' in the rituals; there is no further elaboration."⁵ He also writes, "Whether Smith stole the temple rites from Freemasonry, as the Masons claim, or received them as revelation from God is ultimately a question of faith," but it "cannot be disputed . . . that quasi-Masonic ritual figured prominently in the lives of most Mormon men."⁶ Likewise, Paul J. Rich, a British social historian, has commented, "Historians cannot afford to overlook the Masonic ingredient, which manifests itself in surprising ways" including the "pertinent case . . . of the world-wide Mormon movement"

3. See, for example, Mervin B. Hogan, "Freemasonry and Mormon Ritual," 1991, privately circulated; Don J. McDermott, "Joseph Smith and the Treasure of Hiram Abiff," *The Cryptic Scholar*, Winter/Spring 1991, 40-50; Robin L. Carr, *Freemasonry in Nauvoo* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club and Illinois Lodge Research, 1989); David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 33-76; and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90; as well as Kent L. Walgren, "James Adams: Early Springfield Mormon and Freemason," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75 (Summer 1982): 121-36; Kent L. Walgren, "Fast and Loose Freemasonry," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 172-76; and Robert N. Hullinger, *Joseph Smith's Response to Skepticism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 99-120.

4. See Clara V. Dobay, "Intellect and Faith: The Controversy over Revisionist Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 92, 96; Roger D. Launius, "The 'New Social History' and the 'New Mormon History': Reflections on Recent Trends," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 109, 123-24.

5. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 173n22.

6. *Ibid.*, 6-7.

which "has an enormous debt to Freemasonry."⁷ The failure to address this subject has led prominent British Masonic writers to claim that "Mormonism perpetuates and practices anti-Masonry—perhaps the only body to do so for reasons of self-preservation."⁸

Such thinking by non-Mormons should not be distressing to believers. Mormon sociologist Armand L. Mauss has observed that although the "most emotional and controversial aspect" of the temple endowment "involves possible borrowings from Masonry,"

this should [not] be such a big issue, except to those with a fairly limited understanding of how a prophet gets ideas. Since prophets and religions always arise and are nurtured within a given cultural context, itself evolving, it should not be difficult to understand why even the most original revelations have to be expressed in the idioms of the culture and biography of the revelator.⁹

To those who believe in continuing revelation, the divine origin of the LDS temple endowment does not depend on proving there is no relationship between it and Masonic rites or that Joseph Smith received the endowment before his initiation into Freemasonry. In what follows I do not address the divine origin of the temple ceremony. It seems reasonable to believe, and for my purposes to assume, that Joseph Smith was inspired in introducing the endowment. While there is room for belief, there is also room to accept the candor of Smith and others that there was a close connection between Freemasonry and Mormonism. Within this context, I discuss and analyze the thesis that the rituals of Freemasonry had some impact on the origin and development of the LDS temple endowment, and hopefully demonstrate that this is not only factually tenable but that early LDS leaders recognized this connection and did not consider it too sacred or controversial to discuss. In fact, Nauvoo Masons who took part in both rituals were much more comfortable discussing the relationship between the two than twentieth-century Mormons who are not familiar with the Craft.

7. Paul J. Rich, *Chains of Empire, English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom* (London: Regency Press, Ltd., 1991), 137.

8. John Hamill and R. A. Gilbert, *World Freemasonry, An Illustrated History* (London: Aquarian Press, 1991), 201. See also Henry W. Coil, *Conversations on Freemasonry* (Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., Inc., n.d.), 237-38.

9. Armand L. Mauss, "Culture, Charisma and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 79-80.

THE ORIGINS OF FREEMASONRY

Any discussion of the relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism becomes even more complex by inquiry into the origins of Freemasonry. One historian has concluded, "The origin of Freemasonry is one of the most debated, and debatable, subjects in the whole realm of historical inquiry."¹⁰ Another prominent Masonic commentator has concluded that the origin and development of Emblematic Freemasonry is "a great Dramatic Mystery with its origin in the clouds."¹¹ To understand the origins of the Craft, one must "distinguish between the legendary history of Freemasonry and the problem of when it actually began as an organized institution."¹² Most Freemasons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other Mormon leaders, believed that "Operative" Masonry, or the craft of building through architecture and geometry, was as old as the world. This myth was institutionalized by James Anderson, a Presbyterian minister, who was authorized by London's Grand Masonic Lodge to write *Constitutions of Freemasons* in 1723¹³ in which he traced Masonry from Adam to the building of Solomon's temple. Anderson's book gave historical legitimacy and social respectability to the Craft and perpetuated this historical myth for more than 150 years. Anderson's thesis was revalidated by William Preston, arguably "the most important thinker in eighteenth century English Freemasonry,"¹⁴ in his *Lectures* used in giving the degrees of Freemasonry beginning in 1772,¹⁵ and by William Hutchinson in *The Spirit of Masonry* in 1775 which also received the imprimatur of the Grand Lodge.¹⁶ Those thus initiated into Freemasonry believed they represented Adam in his "sincere desire to make advances in knowledge and virtue."¹⁷

The first Freemasons also believed that Masonic lodges were eventually organized in which teachings and rituals associated with Solo-

10. Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 209.

11. Arthur Edward Waite, *A New Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 2 vols. (London: William Rider and Son Limited, 1921), 1:351-52.

12. *Ibid.*

13. James Anderson, *The Constitutions of Freemasons* (London, 1723).

14. Carnes, 48; Roy A. Wells, *Understanding Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8-9.

15. Colin Dyer, *William Preston and His Work* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1987), 236.

16. William Hutchinson, *The Spirit of Masonry*, intro. Trevor Stewart (Wellingborough, Eng.: Aquarian Press, 1987), xx, xxii, 9, 169.

17. Carnes, 49; Salem Town, *A System of Speculative Masonry*, 2d ed. (Salem, NY, 1822), 22-3, 67, 71-2; John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, 2d. ed. (Westfield: H. Newcomb, 1828), 168. The endowment has been linked to the Masonic ritual on this basis. See Coil, 237.

mon's temple were practiced. Preston taught that this new form of "Speculative" Masonry began with Solomon.¹⁸ Freemasonry institutionalized this belief by teaching that the ritual, with special tokens, signs, and words identifying Masons from non-Masons, was first used in connection with the building of that structure.¹⁹ Brigham Young and other early LDS leaders similarly taught that Solomon's temple was built "for the purpose of giving endowments" but that the temple ritual was only fully restored by Joseph Smith.²⁰

Although early Freemasons believed in the antiquity of the Craft—"that the mediaeval Building Guilds were lineal descendants of the architectural fraternities of antiquity, who were initiates of the old Instituted Mysteries, and that there was hence always a speculative element in Masonry"²¹—more recent scholarship demonstrates that it is of recent origin. Nevertheless, Masonic scholars continue to debate whether ritual Freemasonry evolved out of the Operative guilds or whether the rituals were superimposed on them by outsiders.²² Those who subscribe to the direct link theory hold that "Masonry is the last development and transfiguration of some simple Mystery current among the old Building Guilds."²³ Under this theory the Operative lodges—which have been traced to the sixteenth century²⁴—began to accept non-stonemasons in the 1600s (hence the term "accepted masons") who eventually "transformed them into speculative lodges."²⁵ Others, who reject the direct link theory, argue that outsiders took control of the lodges, in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, to advance their own esoteric or philosophical system "of building a better man in a better world" by adopting the tools and function of the building trade as symbols and allegory.²⁶ These outsiders have been identified variously as Knights Templar (assuming they still existed in the sixteenth century, which most historians doubt), Rosicru-

18. Dyer, 236. See also Hutchinson, 139.

19. Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry* (London: Wm. Reeves, n.d.), 49-50; David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1829), 94-95; Hutchinson, 139; Wellins Calcott, *Calcott's Masonry, with Considerate Additions and Improvements* (Philadelphia: Robert DeSilver, 1817), 123-24.

20. See *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: Latter-day Saints' Bookseller's Depot, 1854-86), 18:303 (hereafter *Journal of Discourses*).

21. Waite, 1:284.

22. *Ibid.*, 351; Hamill and Gilbert, 9-17.

23. Waite, 1:284.

24. Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Genesis of Freemasonry: An Account of the Rise and Development of Freemasonry in Its Operative, Accepted and Early Speculative Phases* (Manchester, Eng.: University of Manchester, 1947), 41-46.

25. Hamill and Gilbert, 9-11.

26. *Ibid.*, 15.

cians, and other esoteric thinkers who had knowledge of Ancient Mysteries and Hermeticism. David Stevenson maintains that there were non-Operative Masons in Scotland as early as 1599²⁷; Frances Yates believes that Robert Moray of Edinburgh—a member of the Royal Society with alchemical interests—was initiated in 1641²⁸ and that Speculative Freemasonry existed by 1646, when Elias Ashmole—founding member of the Royal Society, collector of antiquarian books, and a man with an extensive knowledge of Rosicrucianism—was initiated in England.²⁹ Some of the earliest citations to Freemasonry also link it to Jewish mystical (Kabbalistic) traditions associated with Solomon's temple.³⁰ Some modern scholars, relying in part on such evidences, have concluded that the development of Speculative Freemasonry was influenced more by the esoteric thinking of Hermeticism and Rosicrucianism than by Operative Masonic craft guilds.³¹ Of course, Masonic commentators who reject these specific theories of intervention also recognize that a combination of evolution and intervention could have taken place³² and that the "mystical" form of Speculative Masonry was also, in part, "a reaction to Protestantism by providing a substitute for banished rituals."³³

While the origins of Speculative Freemasonry remain shrouded in mystery it is known that various Masonic lodges (although the name was not officially used until the eighteenth century) were organized before the turn of the eighteenth century, but it was not until 1717 that the Grand Lodge of London was organized (later called the Grand Lodge of England). At least seventeen Masonic documents have been located—seven of which were published "from motives of curiosity, profit, or spite," and ten of which were prepared by Masons for personal use and to serve as *aides-mémoires*—which demonstrate that a Speculative Masonic ritual existed as

27. David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons, Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), 8-9.

28. Yates, 210-11.

29. See *ibid.*, 209-19; Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Pocket History of Freemasonry* (London: Hutchinson, 1991), 39.

30. Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1933), 107-10. Kirk's manuscript was written in 1691 and first published in 1815. Waite noted a "Kabalistic element in the Traditional History of the Craft." Waite, 1:424-25.

31. See Yates, 206-19. For an earlier version of the same argument, see Thomas De Quincey, "Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons," *London Magazine* (1824), reprinted in *Collected Works*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1890), 13:384-448, which relied heavily on a book by J. G. Buhle published in German in 1804. For Masonic responses, see Waite, 1:77, 181; Arthur Edward Waite, *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* (London: George Redway, 1887), 403-4; and Hamill and Gilbert, 28-35.

32. Waite, 1:79-80.

33. *Ibid.*, 10; Rich, 135; Stevenson, 156-57; Waite, 1:80-81.

early as the mid-seventeenth century.³⁴ However, this ritual did not include all three degrees of Craft Masonry—Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason—or the Hiram legend until 1723 or 1725, and it was not until 1730 that the first widely-circulated Masonic exposure, which purported to reveal “the full ceremonies and catechisms for the three Craft degrees,”³⁵ was published by Samuel Prichard. Prichard’s book, *Masonry Dissected*,³⁶ went through numerous printings during its first few weeks,³⁷ and thereafter many other editions appeared. The three-degree system was then officially recognized in the 1738 edition of Anderson’s *Constitutions*.

Prichard’s book caused some Masonic lodges to revise their now-public ritual, and in 1751 a rival Grand Lodge of “antients” was organized in London, in part because of changes in the ritual instituted after Prichard’s disclosures and because some lodges began feuding over the membership of non-Christians and the perception that the “moderns” were not strictly adhering to Masonic customs and practices.³⁸

Following the appearance of Prichard was a gap of thirty years (for English language exposés³⁹) before a series of new exposures was published in the 1760s—which purported to be word-for-word representations of the entire (then three-degree) Masonic ritual—some of which proved to be popular for more than half a century. *A Master-key to Freemasonry*⁴⁰ appeared in 1760; *The Three Distinct Knocks*⁴¹ appeared the same year; *Jachin and Boaz*⁴² in 1762; *Hiram: the Grand Master-key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-masonry*⁴³ in 1764; *Shibboleth*⁴⁴ in 1765; *Mystery of Freemasonry Explained*⁴⁵ in 1765; *Mahhabone*⁴⁶ in 1766; and in the same year an exposé

34. Harry Carr, *An Analysis and Commentary of Samuel Prichard’s Masonry Dissected 1730* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club, 1977), 20-26.

35. John Hamill, *The Craft, A History of English Freemasonry* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986), 45.

36. Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (London, 1730).

37. See Carr, 43. I am indebted to Kent L. Walgren for sharing a portion of his considerable knowledge of Masonic bibliography.

38. Pick and Knight, 88.

39. During this thirty-year period a number of French exposures were published. See Harry Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club, 1981), 28-60; Harry Carr, ed., *The Early French Exposures* (London: Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1971); and A. C. F. Jackson, *English Masonic Exposures 1730-1760* (London: A. Lewis, 1986).

40. J. Burd, *A Master-key to Freemasonry* (London: n.p., 1760).

41. W-O-V-n, *The Three Distinct Knocks* (London: n.p., 1760).

42. Anonymous, *Jachin and Boaz* (London: n.p., 1762).

43. Anonymous, *Hiram: The Grand Master-key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-masonry* (London, 1764).

44. Anonymous, *Shibboleth* (London, 1765).

45. W. Gordon, *Mystery of Freemasonry Explained* (London, 1777).

46. J. G. Tupographos, *Mahhabone* (Liverpool, 1766).

entitled *Solomon in All his Glory*.⁴⁷ Finally, Charles Warren published *The Freemason Stripped Naked*⁴⁸ in 1769. The most influential of these works were *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz*⁴⁹ in Great Britain; by this time exposés were also circulating in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

During this second wave of Masonic exposés published in England in the 1760s William Preston, a printer, was initiated into the Craft. The next decade he developed a system of lectures to modify and standardize the lectures being given with the widely-divergent rituals being practiced in the various lodges in England.⁵⁰ His book, *Illustrations of Masonry*, published in 1772 and in many subsequent editions, was patterned after his oral lectures.⁵¹ Other Masonic authors published books during this period which emphasized the philosophy and symbolism of Freemasonry including Calcott's *Candid Disquisition* in 1769, Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* in 1775, and Smith's *The Uses and Abuses of Freemasonry* in 1783.

Although Preston was unsuccessful in his efforts to standardize the rituals—one Masonic writer has listed forty-eight separate rites or ceremonies designed to convey "Masonic ideals" developed in England and the continent during the century after the organization of the Grand Lodge,⁵² and in 1861 a French Masonic writer identified "seventy-five kinds of 'Masonry', fifty-two Rites, and thirty-four quasi-Masonic Orders"⁵³—he was widely read by both "antients" and "moderns," and the Grand Masters of both Grand Lodges after years of discussion eventually signed Articles of Union in 1813.⁵⁴ These articles included creation of a Lodge of Reconciliation, recommended ceremonies and practices, and creation of the United Grand Lodge of England.⁵⁵ Lodges of Instruction, including the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, also began to flourish after a ritual was agreed to by the Union, which attempted to unify the rituals of the various lodges. Even so, Masonic ritual never became completely uniform in either England or the United States.⁵⁶

47. Thomas Wilson, *Solomon in All his Glory* (London, 1766).

48. Charles Warren, *The Freemason Stripped Naked* (London, 1769).

49. Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz*, 1-2.

50. Coil, 91.

51. Roy A. Wells, *The Rise and Development of Organized Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1986), 207; Dyer, 116; Coil, 90.

52. Robert Macoy, *General History, Cyclopeda and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1872), reprinted as *A Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Bell Publishing, 1989), 326-29.

53. Hamill and Gilbert, 58.

54. Pick and Knight, 106.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, 112.

FREEMASONRY IN AMERICA

Shortly after formation of the Grand Lodge of London in 1717 English Freemasonry was introduced to North America. If the British ritual lacked uniformity, "the situation in America was even more chaotic."⁵⁷ In 1730 Daniel Coxe was appointed Provincial Grand Master for New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and three years later Henry Price was appointed Provincial Grand Master for New England.⁵⁸ Although there was apparently a lodge in Philadelphia as early as 1731,⁵⁹ where Benjamin Franklin joined the Craft and published the first American edition of *Anderson's Constitutions*,⁶⁰ it was not until 1734 that the first lodge in America was engraved on the list of English lodges (Boston Lodge No. 126)⁶¹ followed by the second in 1736 (Savannah/Province of Georgia Lodge No. 139).⁶²

After 1751 the competing Grand Lodge of the Antients warranted Provincial Grand Lodges in the colonies, most of which were not registered with the Grand Lodge of London. By the time the American colonies achieved independence from Great Britain, lodges were spread throughout the eastern seaboard—the Grand Lodge of London had appointed twenty-three Provincial Grand Masters and the Antients Provincial Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania had authorized over fifty lodges in North America and the Caribbean.⁶³ Beginning in the 1780s lodges in the United States were independent of competing Grand Lodges in the United Kingdom. The Grand Lodge of New York was formed in 1781, and by 1800 Freemasonry claimed eleven Grand Lodges, 347 subordinate lodges, and 16,000 members in the United States.⁶⁴ By 1826 there were as many as twenty-six Grand Lodges, 3,000 constituent lodges, and between 100,000 and 150,000 members.⁶⁵ In New York State alone, which had the largest Masonic member-

57. Carnes, 23.

58. Hamill, 88. See also Coil, 99; Allen E. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History* (Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., Inc., 1985), 12-13. According to a respected Masonic historian, two Masons immigrated to the province of "East Jersey" in 1682: one returned a year later, and one served as deputy-governor of the province from 1685-90. There is no evidence that either formed a lodge. See Robert F. Gould, *Gould's History of Freemasonry Throughout the World*, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 6:1-2.

59. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History*, 18.

60. *Ibid.*, 19-21.

61. *Ibid.*, 23.

62. *Ibid.*, 30.

63. Hamill, 88.

64. Ronald P. Formisano with Kathleen Smith Kutolowski, "Antimasonry and Masonry: The Genesis of Protest, 1826-1827," *American Quarterly* 29 (Summer 1977): 139, 143.

65. See *ibid.*, 143n18; Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic. Antimasonry and the*

ship in the country, there were as many as 500 lodges and 20,000 members.⁶⁶

As the various lodges were organized in the United States, the forms of ritual, which passed informally from mouth to ear, also proliferated.⁶⁷ Although William Preston was not completely successful in standardizing British ritual, and it is difficult to ascertain how widely his book was read after its publication in the United States in 1804,⁶⁸ his system of lectures was adopted and truncated by Thomas Smith Webb, an American Freemason, who published *The Freemason's Monitor* in 1797. Like Preston, Webb attempted to standardize the ritual of American lodges and freely acknowledged his debt to Preston in the preface to his book.⁶⁹ His *Monitor* became a "standard textbook" used by lecturers in the lodges, thereby spreading Preston's method to America.⁷⁰ Ironically, the rituals in America better reflected Preston's vision than the rituals in England.⁷¹ In 1798 a General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons (in which Webb became the Deputy General Grand High Priest in 1816) was organized to help unify and systematize the rituals of the Royal Arch⁷² which extended beyond the three degrees of Craft Masonry and had previously been performed in a Master Masons Lodge. Webb's work was published in various editions until it was supplemented by works written by other lecturers and officers associated with Royal Arch Masonry, including Salem Town's *A System of Speculative Masonry*⁷³ in 1817 (with the approval of Dewitt Clinton who was General Grand High Priest when Webb was Deputy⁷⁴); and in 1820 by Jeremy L. Cross, author of *The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor*⁷⁵ (who later became Grand Lecturer of the General Grand Chapter of the

Great Transition in New England, 1826-1836 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3; *The Freemason's Library* (Baltimore, 1828), cited by Henry Dana Ward in *Freemasonry* (New York, 1828).

66. See *A Report on the Abduction of William Morgan* (New York, 14 Feb. 1829). This number may be inflated since the *Freemason's Library* of approximately the same time listed 157 Masonic lodges in New York State. See also Henry Leonard Stillson, ed., *History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, and Concordant Orders* (Boston: Fraternity Publishing Co., 1910), 261; James C. Odierno, *Opinions on Speculative Masonry* (Boston, 1830), 198; and Formisano, 143.

67. Coil, 99-100.

68. Dyer, 125, 128-29.

69. [Thomas Smith Webb], *The Freemason's Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry* (Albany: Spencer and Webb, 1797), A2; Coil, 100; Dyer, 154.

70. Coil, 99; Dyer, 154.

71. Coil, 100.

72. Roberts, 222; Carnes, 48.

73. Carnes, 49.

74. Roberts, 222.

75. Jeremy L. Cross, *The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor* (New Haven: John C. Gray, 1820).

Royal Arch). Cross produced for the first time a series of Masonic emblems in pictorial form, several of which accompany this essay (see Illustrations 1, 2, and 6).⁷⁶

Despite the contributions of these books, great disparity continued to exist in the ritual. In 1810 DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York and Grand Master of New York, observed that most lodges worked their own version of the Masonic ritual and he organized a committee to attempt to standardize it. These efforts failed. "If a venerable and ancient Masonic tradition existed, no one could determine what it was."⁷⁷ As a result, "American ritualists invented their own Masonic rituals or variants . . . American Freemasonry took many forms, the legitimacy of each determined by the persuasiveness of its innovator."⁷⁸

Given the success and growth of Freemasonry in the United States and its association with the British Craft, it is not surprising that the American Craft had its detractors and that the first Masonic exposés published in the United States were British transplants. Benjamin Franklin (before he became a Mason) reprinted *The Mystery of Free-Masonry*, which originally appeared in the London *Daily Journal* (August 15, 1730), in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* in December 1730.⁷⁹ This was followed by American editions of Prichard⁸⁰ (1749), *Hiram*⁸¹ (1768), and most significantly *Jachin and Boaz*⁸² which was published in twenty editions from 1794 to 1828. The first serious attack on the Craft in America occurred after the French Revolution, when a series of books, originally published in Europe, began to appear charging that a group of Bavarian Freemasons, known as the Illuminati, were prepared to take control of world government and that they had taken their first step by plotting the fall of the French Monarchy.⁸³ These were soon

76. Waite, 1:159.

77. Carnes, 23.

78. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

79. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (issued "From Thursday, December 3. To Tuesday December 8. 1730.") This information was obtained from Allen E. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History* (Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Co., Inc., 1985), 10-11; Pick and Knight, 280-81; and from information kindly supplied by Art deHoyos, a knowledgeable student of Masonry and Mormonism.

80. Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (n.p. 1749).

81. Anonymous, *Hiram: on the Grand Master-Key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-Masonry* (New York: John Holt, 1768).

82. Anonymous, *Jachin and Boaz* (Boston: J. Bumstead for E. Larkin, 1794).

83. The Protestant case was made by John Robison, *Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and reading societies*, 4th ed. (New York: G. Forman, 1798); The Catholic case was made by Abbé Augustin Barruel, *The Anti-Christian and Anti-Social Conspiracy* (Lancaster, PA: Joseph Ehrenfried, 1812). (Barruel's 1813 Lancaster edition is but a partial translation of a four-volume work published in French in 1797.) Preston responded to these works in the

followed by books of authors claiming the existence of American “secret conspiracies” and attacking the motives of the Craft in America.⁸⁴

The next wave of anti-Masonic propaganda in the United States—including books, conventions, newspapers, mock ceremonies depicting Masonic rites, and even a political party—occurred during the 1820s. Prior to 1826 *Jachin and Boaz* was the most frequently consulted exposé in America, but there were others. In 1825 Richard Carlile’s *Manual of Freemasonry* was first published in weekly issues of *The Republican* in London; portions were eventually published in book form in 1831; and the full version appeared in 1843.⁸⁵ Carlile’s work included the first exposé of some of the higher degrees of Freemasonry, and perhaps for that reason the author claimed that his “exposure of Freemasonry in 1825 led to its exposure in the United States.” In 1826 John G. Stearns published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*⁸⁶ not as an exposé, but in an attempt to expose the “evils” of the Craft to be used by anti-Masons.

Although it is unclear what impact these books had on William Morgan, they must have been of some interest. Morgan, a disgruntled Mason, may not have been regularly initiated, passed, and raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason.⁸⁷ Still it seems he had been exalted,

10th edition of his book published in 1801. Some Masonic writers maintain that the Bavarian Illuminati were “not primarily Masonic, and evidently not founded by Masonic authority, though it pirated or paraphrased Masonic rituals and at one time or another had a number of prominent Freemasons in the group” (see Henry W. Coil, *Encyclopedia*, 545). Others have reached opposite conclusions. See Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); Jan Rachold, ed., *Quellen und Texte zur Aufklärungsideologie des Illuminatenorden (1776-1785)* (Berlin: Akademie, 1984). Waite writes that “it is a matter of history” that “Illuminism sought to turn Masonry in the direction of its own intent” but that it is “a matter of history also that the attempt failed” (Waite, 1:66).

84. John Cosens Ogden, *A View of the New England Illuminati: who are indefatigably engaged in destroying the religion and government of the United States; under a feigned regard for their safety—and under an impious abuse of true religion* (Philadelphia: T. Carey, 1799); Seth Payson, *Proofs of the real existence, and dangerous tendency of Illuminism, containing an abstract of the most interesting parts of what Dr. Robison and the Abbe Barruel have published on this subject; with a collateral proofs and general observations* (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, 1802).

85. Richard Carlile, *Manual of Masonry, with an Introductory Key-stone to the Royal Arch* (London, 1843). A later edition of Carlile: Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry, in three parts, with an Explanatory Introduction to the Science, and a free translation of some of the Sacred Scripture names* (London, 1853). Art deHoyos pointed out to me that Carlile claimed some credit for Morgan’s exposé and that the first exposé of so-called *haut grade* Masonry in America, by Mary Harlon, *Revelations of Masonry, Made by a Late Member of the Craft, in Four Parts* (New York: Printed for the Author, 1827), was a plagiarism, at least in part, of Carlile.

86. John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry* (Utica, NY, 1826).

87. Many members of the Craft, including Art deHoyos, do not believe that Morgan

perhaps by misrepresenting himself as a Mason, into Royal Arch Masonry (which had four regular degrees and one honorary degree which were normally received after obtaining the first three degrees of "Craft" Masonry) in LeRoy, New York, on May 23, 1825. He became bitter when he was refused membership in a newly-formed Royal Arch chapter in his hometown of Batavia. During the summer of 1826 Morgan (a stone mason by trade) and David Miller, editor of the *Batavia Republican Advocate*, prepared an exposé of the first three degrees of the Craft (which some Masons claimed was copied from exposés previously published in England⁸⁸), including its signs, tokens, obligations, and penalties.

Incensed by Morgan's blatant disregard of Masonic oaths never to reveal the rituals of the Craft (which he may not have taken if he had misrepresented himself as a Master Mason to the Royal Arch Chapter), local Masons first attempted to seize the manuscript and may have started a fire in Miller's office, although some Masonic observers have claimed the fire was initiated by Miller himself. When efforts failed to recover the manuscript, some Masons took it upon themselves to abduct Morgan on September 12, 1826, prior to the book's publication. Although Morgan's wife, Lucinda, later attempted to trade Morgan's manuscript for his freedom,⁸⁹ Morgan was never heard from again and his book, *Illustrations of Masonry*,⁹⁰ the same title as Preston's pro-Masonic work, was published by Miller in November.⁹¹ Morgan's abduction and the publication of his exposé pro-

was a regular Mason. Although no record of his initiation has been located, it is not impossible that such records were destroyed after his disappearance. For a discussion of William Morgan, see Keith Muir, "The Morgan Affair and Its Effect on Freemasonry," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 105 (1992): 217-34; Stanley Upton Mock, *The Morgan Episode in American Free Masonry* (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1930); John C. Palmer, *The Morgan Affair and Anti-Masonry* (Washington, D.C.: The Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1924); Rob Morris, *William Morgan: Or Political Anti-Masonry, Its Rise, Growth and Decadence* (New York: Robert McCoy, 1883); William L. Stone, *Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry addressed to the Hon. John Quincy Adams* (New York: O. Halsted, 1832), 123-297; and Clarence O. Lewis, *The Morgan Affair*, 1966 typescript, Niagara County Historical Society and Lockport Public Library, Lockport, New York. See also John E. Thompson, *The Masons, the Mormons and the Morgan Incident* (Ames, IA: Iowa Research Lodge, n.d.).

88. Mock, 28-29.

89. See deposition of Mrs. Lucinda Morgan, in *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827).

90. [William Morgan], *Illustrations of Masonry* (Batavia, NY: Printed for the Author, 1826).

91. *Wayne Sentinel*, 17 Nov. 1826. For an anti-Masonic perspective of the Morgan episode, see *Proceedings of United States Anti-Masonic Convention, held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830* (New York: Skinner and Dewey, 1830); and David Bernard, *Light on Masonry: A Collection of the Most Important Documents on the Subject of Speculative Free Masonry* (Utica, NY: W. Williams, 1829). For a Masonic perspective, see Rob Morris, *William Morgan: Or Political Anti-Masonry, Its Rise, Growth and Decadence* (New York: Robert McCoy,

vided the catalyst for an anti-Masonic fever that swept the nation, including creation of an anti-Masonic party which was a force in national politics. Morgan's *Illustrations* was the first American-born exposé and appeared in at least twenty editions between 1826 to 1830, the height of anti-Masonic fervor in the United States.

Since Morgan's exposé was limited to the first three degrees of Freemasonry, a convention of seceding Masons appointed the Lewiston Committee to write and publish the first exposé of the higher degrees in the United States. The preface to this work claims that in order to learn the secrets of the Royal Arch degree "a companion was despatched [sic] to reside in the vicinity of that [General Grand] Lecturer [of the United States] (Jeremy L. Cross), who attended his Lectures until the entire degree was accurately written out."⁹² Cross denied this and declared that he never allowed notes to be taken by any of his pupils.⁹³

Morgan's *Illustrations* and the Lewiston Committee's *Revelation* were followed by David Bernard's *Light on Masonry*⁹⁴ in 1829 and Avery Allyn's *A Ritual of Freemasonry* in 1831.⁹⁵ Bernard, like many prominent anti-Masons, was a seceding Mason and a minister. Many clergy in the first half of the nineteenth century resented the growing influence of Freemasons as their disestablished churches were losing theirs.⁹⁶ Bernard served as Recording Secretary for the first anti-Masonic convention and claimed to be the first seceding Mason after the Morgan affair. He used Morgan's exposé, unpublished manuscripts of the Mark Master, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master degrees, obtained from Morgan's widow,⁹⁷ other higher degrees published by the Lewiston Committee in its *Revelation*, and further expanded Morgan's research to include over forty degrees. His book also contains Bernard's rationale for violating his Masonic oaths (which later

1883). See also William Preston Vaughn, *The Anti-Masonic Party in the United States 1826-1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

92. The Lewiston Committee, LeRoy Convention, *A Revelation of Freemasonry as Published to the World by a Convention of Seceding Masons* (Rochester, NY: Weed and Heron, 1828). I am indebted to Kent L. Walgren for pointing out this bridge between Morgan and Bernard.

93. William O. Cummings, *A Bibliography of Freemasonry* (New York: Press of Henry Emmerson, 1963), 47.

94. David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1829).

95. Avery Allyn, *A Ritual of Freemasonry, Illustrated by Numerous Engravings. To Which is Added a Key to the Phi Beta Kappa, the Orange, and Odd Fellows Societies* (Philadelphia: John Clarke, 1831). Art deHoyos pointed out to me that Allyn's exposé contains degrees not included in Bernard.

96. Carnes, 24. See also Stone, 388-97.

97. The Lewiston Committee, LeRoy Convention, *A Revelation of Freemasonry as published to the World by a Convention of Seceding Masons* (Rochester, NY: Weed and Heron, 1828).

became a staple in Mormon temple exposés).⁹⁸ Bernard's book was published in six variant states in 1829. Allyn's book included several important degrees not contained in *Light on Masonry* which made it essential reading for anti-Masons. Morgan and Bernard accurately exposed the Masonic ritual as worked in upstate New York in the late 1820s.

These exposés, and other works published against the Craft, also ridiculed the claimed antiquity of Freemasonry,⁹⁹ the legend of Hiram Abiff,¹⁰⁰ the legitimacy of Freemasonry's desire to provide light and knowledge to permit its members to enter a celestial lodge,¹⁰¹ and attacked Rosicrucian and Kabbalistic elements borrowed by the Craft.¹⁰² Yet it was these very teachings of Freemasonry which attracted some key young men who would later become followers of Joseph Smith, including claims to antiquity, the tradition of a temple, international brotherhood, a lodge to bring like-minded men together, and a ritual to journey from this life to the next.

Prior to the Morgan affair, a man named Joseph Smith was initiated, passed, and raised in Ontario Lodge No. 23, Canandaigua, New York, between December 26, 1817, and May 17, 1818.¹⁰³ It is doubtful that this man was the father of the Mormon prophet since the Smith family never lived in Canandaigua—according to the 1820 census nine "Joseph Smiths" and one "Joseph Smith, Jr." lived in Ontario County—and the Masonic lodge in Palmyra (Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112) was much closer to the Smith home in 1818. But it is certain that thirteen years later, Joseph Sr. visited Eli Bruce, a prominent Freemason and sheriff of Niagara County, New York, at the time of Morgan's disappearance. On November 5, 1830, during Bruce's nearly twenty-eight-month imprisonment in the Canandaigua Jail in connection with the abduction of William Morgan, Smith and Bruce had a "long talk" concerning Smith's commission "by God to baptize and preach this new doctrine" and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon.¹⁰⁴ Although Joseph Jr. did not become a Freemason until 1842, many

98. See Mock, 119-20, 125-26, 128-29.

99. See, for example, Henry Dana Ward, *Free Masonry* (New York, 1828), 1-5.

100. Morgan, 69-70; Bernard, 58-9. Morgan admits that Hiram Abiff was an Old Testament figure (2 Chr. 2:13), although the name Abiff is not used.

101. Bernard, 62: "Masonry professes to bring men to heaven, and yet it denies its blessings to a large majority of the human family. All the fair part of creation, together with the old, young and poor, are exempted. How unlike the glorious gospel of the Son of God! In this there is no restriction of persons; the high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, male and female, are all one in Christ Jesus."

102. See D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 164.

103. *Records of the Grand Lodge of New York.*

104. Rob Morris, *The Masonic Martyr. The Biography of Eli Bruce* (Louisville, KY: Morris

others who eventually embraced Mormonism, joined Freemasonry during the 1820s, including Hyrum Smith (Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112, Palmyra, Ontario County, New York), Heber C. Kimball (Victor Lodge No. 303, Victor, Ontario County, New York), Newell K. Whitney (Meridian Orb Lodge No. 10, Painesville, Lake County, Ohio), and George Miller (Widow's Son Lodge No. 60, Albemarle, Milton County, Virginia).

Masonic publications, including Masonic newspapers, transplanted English- or American-born commentaries,¹⁰⁵ and exposés by those opposing the Craft, enabled initiates and students of Freemasonry to become familiar with the philosophy of Freemasonry and to discover a number of legends concerning temple building, ancient records, and key words preserved since the time of Adam which were intended to allow initiates access to the true knowledge of God. At least two members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff,¹⁰⁶ had access to Masonic exposés. Although they were probably used in connection with both men's membership in Nauvoo Masonry, either as *aides-memoires* or as texts for advanced degrees, they may also have reinforced previous observations made by Joseph Smith concerning similarities between Masonry and the Mormon temple endowment. Masonic rites have evolved during the last 250 years and quasi-official Masonic publishers now republish editions of British and American exposés to enable those interested to study the evolution of Masonic rites.¹⁰⁷

These books discussed in detail the degrees and legends of the Craft, including the Craft's claim that it could trace its origins from Adam, Enoch, Moses, and Solomon; that its organization, teachings, and ritual were preserved through the building of temples; and that it taught a philosophy

& Konsarrat, 1861), 266-67. For a note on this visit, see John E. Thompson, "The Patriarch and the Martyr: Joseph Smith, Senior and Eli Bruce in the Canandaigua (NY) Jail," *Restoration* 5 (Oct. 1986): 22.

105. Thaddeus Mason Harris, *Discourses Delivered on Public Occasions; Illustrating the Principles, Displaying the Tendency and Vindicating the Design of Free Masonry* (Charlestown, 1801); Joshua Bradley, *Some of the Beauties of Free-Masonry; Being Extracts from Publications, Which have Received the Approbation of the Wise and Virtuous of the Fraternity: With Introductory Remarks, Designed to Remove the Various Objections Made Against the Order*, 2d ed., (Albany: G. J. Loomis & Co., 1821).

106. See Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:545 (9 May 1845): "I spent the day at Clithore at Sister Duckworth copying a work from an account of the 5 first degrees upon Masonry"; and Helen Mar Whitney, *Women's Exponent* 11 (15 July 1882): 26: "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 (Heber C. Kimball) always kept locked up."

107. Examples are Harry Carr, *An Analysis and Commentary of Samuel Prichard's Masonry Dissected 1730* (Bloomington, IL: The Masonic Book Club, 1977); and Harry Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz* (Bloomington, IL: The Masonic Book Club, 1981).

of life through a presentation of the world and a spiritual journey into the "Celestial Lodge above through language and symbolism."¹⁰⁸ In short, Freemasonry was, according to its exponents, the only institution which had "withstood the wreck of time. All others have sunk into oblivion."¹⁰⁹ It was "the most moral institution that ever subsisted,"¹¹⁰ the one "founded on the Rock of Ages"¹¹¹ which provided "eternal and invariable principles of natural religion" by which men could pattern their conduct.¹¹² Several of these legends would have particular significance to Masons who later joined the Mormon church. These include the following.

The Gold Plate of Enoch. In a dream the Old Testament prophet Enoch was shown a triangular plate of gold which contained the true name of God.¹¹³ He made a triangular plate of gold similar to the one he had seen in his dream and engraved "ineffable characters," or true name of Deity, on it, placed it on a triangular pedestal, and deposited it in the deepest arch of an underground temple he had built. Only Enoch knew of this treasure. To insure that the treasure would not be lost Enoch placed a stone door over the cavern where the gold plate was hidden, built two pillars above the door, one of brass to withstand water and one of marble to withstand fire, and placed engravings on the pillars describing the treasure. He also placed a ball containing maps of the world and universe on top of the brass pillar which also served as an instrument "for improving the mind and giving it the most distinct idea of any problem or proposition."¹¹⁴ This gold plate was later discovered by King Solomon near the site where his temple was built. He thereafter deposited the gold plate in a "sacred vault" in his own temple.¹¹⁵

Hiram Abiff. During construction of Solomon's temple, the Grand Master (or widow's son) Hiram Abiff was murdered by three ruffians because he refused to reveal the "Master's word" to them.¹¹⁶ Subsequent to Abiff's

108. Morgan, 102; see also Hutchinson, 82; Stearns, 43.

109. *Masonic Mirror*, 27 Nov. 1824.

110. Webb, 52.

111. *Masonic Mirror*, 27 Nov. 1824.

112. Rev. Cheever T. Felch, *An Address Delivered before Mount Carmel Lodge at Lynn, June 1821* . . . (Boston, n.d.), 7.

113. For an Old Testament parallel to this legend, see *Exodus* 28:36-38, which reads, in part: "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and engrave upon it, like the engraving of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD."

114. Webb, 83. Enoch's legend is contained in the Knights of the Ninth Arch Degree. *Ibid.*, 242-61.

115. Webb, 249-57.

116. According to some exposés, the signs, tokens, and words were used to distinguish the grades of masons and their wages. See, for example, Carlile, 49-50; Bernard, 94-95. See also Hutchinson, 139; Calcott, 123-24.

death, King Solomon gave "the grand hailing sign of distress" by which every Freemason may seek help from other Masons when truly in distress. One of the symbols of Freemasonry includes a virgin "weeping over a broken column, with a book open before her" symbolizing the "unfinished state of the temple at the time of Hiram Abiff's murder."¹¹⁷ Following Abiff's death, the "Master's word" was lost, and it became necessary to use substituted words. After completion of Solomon's temple, certain signs, tokens, penalties, and emblems were revealed which the ritual teaches are necessary to progress to a fuller knowledge of God.¹¹⁸ One of the ruffians was eventually beheaded, and a pledge was taken to revenge the murderers of Hiram Abiff and those who betray the secrets of Freemasonry.¹¹⁹

The Restoration of the Master's Word and Gold Plate. During reconstruction of Solomon's temple by Zerubbabel, approximately 490 years after the original construction, the Master Mason's word, which was lost when Hiram Abiff was murdered, was rediscovered in the ruins of the temple.¹²⁰

JOSEPH SMITH AND THE BOOK OF MORMON

According to Joseph Smith's official account, in the spring of 1820 at the age of fourteen in Palmyra, New York, he sought guidance on what church to join and received a vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ. He was told to join no church and to prepare himself to participate in the restoration of Christ's true church. Three years later, on the evening of September 21, 1823, he received a vision from a celestial messenger named Moroni. Moroni told Joseph that he was a resurrected being who had lived many centuries earlier on the American continent and

[T]here was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the sources from whence they sprang. He also said that the fullness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants; also that there were two stones in silver bows—and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim—deposited

117. Morgan, 78-103; Bernard, 61-74. The legend of Hiram Abiff is contained in the Master Masons degree. For biblical references to Hiram [Abiff], see 3 Chr. 2-3; 4:16; 1 Kgs. 7:14.

118. The emblems include the Beehive and the All-Seeing Eye. See Morgan, 78-103, and Bernard, 61-74.

119. Bernard, 196-199. The beheading of the third ruffian and the pledge to revenge his death is contained in the Elected Knights of Nine Degree. See also 1783 Francken, Ms., archives of the Supreme Council, 33°, Northern Jurisdiction, Lexington, Massachusetts.

120. Bernard, 124-44. The restoration of the Master's Word is contained in the Royal Arch Degree.

with the plates; and the possession and use of these stones were what constituted "Seers" in ancient or former times; and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book.¹²¹

Joseph received this vision three times that evening and once the next morning. Although Moroni allowed him to see the plates, sword, breastplate, and Urim and Thummim immediately, he did not allow Joseph to remove them from the hill or to translate them at that time. Instead Joseph was instructed to return to the hill one year later and continue to do so until he was ready to receive the plates. Smith followed these instructions, and Moroni eventually allowed him to take the plates four years later on September 21, 1827. Shortly thereafter, he began to translate them through the Urim and Thummim and other "seer stones." The translation was finally published by E. B. Grandin in early 1830 under the title of the Book of Mormon.¹²²

The Book of Mormon is a history of the inhabitants of the American continent from the time of the Tower of Babel until approximately 400 A.D. It describes the voyages of the ancestors of the native Americans from the Old World to the New; the division which occurred between the sons of Lehi (the Nephites and Lamanites) who became enemies; as well as their wars, ministries, and cultures. During the history chronicled in the Book of Mormon, two civilizations perished in large part because of the growth of "secret societies" which used secret signs and secret words (see, for example, Hel. 2:5-11; 6:21-24; Ether 10:33; 11:15, 22; 13:18; 14:8-10). Recalling this history, one of the last prophets in the Book of Mormon warns future generations against "secret combinations" and their works of destruction (Ether 8:22-26).

The Book of Mormon went on sale in Palmyra on March 26, 1830, and on April 6 Joseph Smith, Jr., and others, organized the Church of Christ. As part of his prophetic calling, Smith received and recorded revelations, which were eventually published in the Doctrine and Covenants, including the restoration of truth, ritual, ordinances, and scripture which had been lost or defiled since the creation of the world. This restoration eventually included the retranslation of portions of the Bible, new scripture, either through revelation or ancient texts, and the introduction of patriarchal priesthood, plural marriage, the Kingdom of God, and temple rituals.

121. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 1:12.

122. *Ibid.*, 9-17.

THE WILLIAM MORGAN EPISODE AND THE MORMON CONNECTION

Some observers believe that Mormonism was an "Anti-Masonic religion" because of passages in the Book of Mormon which describe secret societies and secret combinations. This claim was first made in the *Painesville Telegraph* and the *Ohio Star* in 1831¹²³ and later by Ebenezer Robinson—a Mormon convert who was a Mason in Nauvoo before leaving to become a counselor to Sidney Rigdon following Joseph's death.¹²⁴ Robinson wrote in his memoirs that initially Mormons were "strenuously opposed secret societies" but that "a great change in sentiment seemed to take place."¹²⁵ One prominent Masonic writer even claims that William Morgan knew Joseph Smith, Jr., and that Morgan was "a halfway convert" to Mormonism (which is impossible since Morgan disappeared in 1826 and the Mormon church was not organized until 1830) and "had learned from him to see visions and dreams." There is no documentation for this claim and is most likely based on the author's attempt to further blacken Morgan's reputation by associating him with the Mormon prophet.¹²⁶ More recently, it has been claimed that Joseph Smith, Sr., signed a petition in the "rabidly anti-Masonic newspaper, *The Seneca Farmer and Waterloo Advertiser*" for the purpose of soliciting "Christian humanitarian concern" and "assistance to Morgan's unfortunate wife."¹²⁷ Although Joseph Sr. may have signed the petition, it is curious that an anti-Mason would have been welcomed into the jail cell of a prominent Mason, Eli Bruce, particularly for the purpose of converting him to Mormonism.

While it is unknown if Joseph Smith, Jr., knew Morgan, or if Smith's father was a Mason or anti-Mason, Mormonism did count among its ranks several prominent renouncing Masons and others who were anti-Masons, who may have been attracted in part by the Book of Mormon's warning against secret societies. These anti-Masons included Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, who participated in an anti-

123. See *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH) 2d Series II (22 Mar. 1831): 40; *Ohio Star*, as quoted in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 23.

124. Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 119.

125. Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," *The Return* 1-3 (1888-90): 90.

126. Morris, *William Morgan*, 196.

127. Mervin B. Hogan, "The Two Joseph Smith's Masonic Experiences," 17 Jan. 1987, 13. Hogan assumes that Joseph Smith, Sr., was a Mason and that he became an anti-Mason. Although this may prove true, there is no corroborating evidence that the Joseph Smith who joined Ontario Lodge No. 23 and signed a petition published in *The Seneca Farmer and Waterloo Advertiser* was the prophet's father. The New York 1820 census demonstrates that there were other Joseph Smiths in the vicinity.

Masonic vigilance committee in Palmyra, New York, in 1827¹²⁸; William Wines Phelps, who edited two anti-Masonic newspapers in New York before becoming publisher of the first Mormon newspaper and a member of the Zion Stake presidency¹²⁹; and George Washington Harris, who was associated with William Morgan in Batavia, New York, and who appeared at an inquest with Lucinda Morgan and identified a body which had been washed up on the shore of Lake Ontario as Morgan's remains (although it was later determined that he and Lucinda were mistaken) before becoming a member of the Nauvoo High Council.¹³⁰ Martin Harris joined the LDS

128. Harris was quoted in 1831 as stating that The Book of Mormon is "the Anti-Masonick Bible" (*Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831). He also participated in an anti-masonic committee in Palmyra in 1827. See *Wayne Sentinel*, 5 Oct. 1827, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Martin Harris, the Honorable New York Farmer," *Improvement Era* 72 (Feb. 1969): 20.

129. See Bernard, 413-17; 452-59; Milton W. Hamilton, *Anti-Masonic Newspapers, 1826-1834* (Portland, ME: Southworth-Authoosen Press, 1939), 82. (Phelps and R. M. Blumer established the *Ontario Phoenix* on April 28, 1829, in Canandaigua, New York.) See also Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90. (W. W. Phelps was the "[a]uthor of at least two anti-Masonic newspapers, one in Trumansburg, New York, called the *Lake Light*, and another in Canandaigua, New York, named *The Ontario Phoenix* . . .") See also *The Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY) 5 (7 Mar. 1828). (After renouncing Masonry in 1828 Phelps announced his intention of publishing the various Masonic degrees.) Phelps received a copy of the Book of Mormon on April 9, 1830, three days after the church was organized, and continued as editor until May 18, 1831, when he traveled to Kirtland, Ohio, and was baptized. See D&C 55. Soon thereafter he arrived in Jackson County where he was called to be a printer for the church. See D&C 57:11. In June 1832 he began publishing *The Evening and Morning Star* in which extracts from the Book of Mormon appeared which warned against "secret combinations." See *The Evening and Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 8; 1 (Jan. 1833): 2. Phelps later became a member of the presidency of the Stake of Zion on July 3, 1834. He also was instrumental in the publication of the Book of Commandments, the Doctrine and Covenants, and *A Selection of Hymns*. Although he was excommunicated on March 17, 1839, he was reinstated in 1841 and became a member of the Nauvoo City Council. While in Nauvoo, Phelps became a temple ordinance worker where he frequently played the part of the devil who had Masonic symbols on his apron. He continued to play this role in Utah, where he was also a member of the territorial legislature and published the *Deseret Almanac* from 1851-65. See Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen Historical Co., 1901-36), 3:692-97.

130. William Morgan and his wife resided above Harris's Silversmith shop in Batavia. See deposition of George W. Harris in *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827). See also Morris, *William Morgan*, 258-59. Harris was expelled from Batavia Lodge No. 433 on August 15, 1826, "for the enormous depravity of his masonic conduct." A notice of his expulsion was published by the Lodge at the same time as a "Notice and Caution" that William Morgan was a "swindler and a dangerous man." See *Masonic Mirror and Mechanic's Intelligencer* 2 (2 Sept. 1826): 290. Kent L. Walgren pointed out this notice to me. Although both Harris and Lucinda claimed that a body found on the shore of Lake Ontario was Morgan's, see *Supplementary Report of the Committee Appointed to Ascertain the Fate of Captain William*

church in 1830, Phelps in 1831, and George W. Harris in 1834. Martin acted as a scribe to Smith when he dictated his translation from the gold plates, helped finance publication of the Book of Mormon, was one of the three witnesses who testified that he saw the gold plates from which the book was translated and the angel who entrusted them to Smith, and stated in 1831 that the Book of Mormon was "the Anti-masonick [sic] Bible."¹³¹ Both Phelps and George Washington Harris attended a convention of seceding Masons held in LeRoy, New York, on February 19-20, 1828, and subsequent conventions in the same village on March 6-7 and July 4-5 of the same year. Among other things, these conventions confirmed that Morgan's *Illustrations of Masonry* was accurate and appointed a committee to prepare a new exposé of the higher degrees (published as *A Revelation of Freemasonry* in 1828¹³² and incorporated into Bernard's *Light on Masonry*), appointed another committee to draft an invitation to attend another meeting in LeRoy on July 4, and listened as orators attacked the secrecy of Freemasonry as a "great danger to our republican institutions."¹³³ During the July 4 meeting Phelps and Harris joined David Bernard, John G. Stearns, David C. Miller, and other prominent anti-Masons¹³⁴ who signed a "Declaration of Independence." This "Declaration of Independence" sought "to abolish the order of Free Masonry, and destroy its influence in our government."¹³⁵ After signing this document, and listening to a public reading of it at the Presbyterian church, selected participants gave dinner toasts. Phelps's toast was the only one given in honor of Morgan, whom he hailed as "the morning star of more light."¹³⁶

Non-seceding Masons who authored anti-Mormon accounts include Pomeroy Tucker¹³⁷ and Abner Cole (pseudonym "Obediah Dogberry"),¹³⁸ both of whom were members of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112

Morgan (Rochester: Printed for the Committee by Edwin Scranton, 1827), it turned out to be a Canadian named Timothy Munro. See Morris, *William Morgan*, 258-59.

131. *Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831. Another anti-Mason whose name has become associated with the Book of Mormon was Ethan Smith, author of *View of the Hebrews; or The Tribes of Israel in America*. See *Brief Report of the Debates in the Anti-Masonic State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston: John Marsh, 1830).

132. *A Revelation of Freemasonry . . .* (Rochester: Weed & Heron, 1828).

133. *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827); Bernard, 460-78.

134. Mock, 137ff.

135. Bernard, 452.

136. *Republican Monitor* (Kazenovia, NY), 15 July 1828, 3. Of course, Phelps later published the first Mormon periodical entitled *The Evening and the Morning Star*.

137. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867).

138. Art deHoyos, who provided the information concerning Cole's Masonic

with Hyrum Smith, and Orsamus Turner,¹³⁹ who knew the Smith family in New York and (like Eli Bruce) was one of the Masons incarcerated in connection with Morgan's abduction. It is interesting, however, that these authors did not comment on those passages in the Book of Mormon which referred to secret societies—which others had concluded were anti-Masonic—or charge that Mormonism was an anti-Masonic religion. Although these facts demonstrate that there were anti-Masonic Mormons in the early 1830s and that some Masons who knew the Smith family in New York were anti-Mormons, they do not support the conclusion that Mormonism was anti-Masonic. Most of the Masons who became Mormons in the early 1830s, including Hyrum Smith, Heber C. Kimball, Newell K. Whitney and George Miller, did not renounce the Craft after the Morgan affair even though some were persecuted for being Masons. Kimball was driven from his home five times by mobs because he was a Mason¹⁴⁰ and was prevented from being exalted into Royal Arch Masonry because the Masonic Hall was burned down by anti-Masons.¹⁴¹ More significantly, even if passages in the Book of Mormon, Book of Moses, and Doctrine and Covenants, as well as statements by Joseph Smith,¹⁴² occasionally betrayed an element of anti-Masonic rhetoric, there is no evidence that Martin Harris, W. W. Phelps, or George Washington Harris continued their anti-Masonic activities after joining the Mormon church or that Joseph Smith either advocated or adopted anti-Masonic tenets or practices.¹⁴³ Even Eber D. Howe, who eventually argued that there were anti-Masonic passages in the Book of Mormon, initially con-

membership, obtained it from Kathleen M. Haley, assistant librarian, Grand Lodge of State of New York (Haley to deHoyos, 21 Oct. 1992). Cole published the first extracts from and commentary about the Book of Mormon in *The Reflector*, published in Palmyra on January 2, 1830. In an earlier issue the newspaper had reported: "We understand that the Anti-Masons have declared war against the Gold Bible.—Oh! How impious" (*The Reflector* 1 [23 Sept. 1829]: 14). Cole was raised a Master Mason in Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112 on June 24, 1815.

139. Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, NY: William Alling, 1851); Morris, *William Morgan*, 191-92, 206, 209, 224, 228.

140. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1945), 11-12.

141. *Millennial Star* 26 (23 July 1864): 471-72.

142. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 380, 405-406; "Proclamation, To the Citizens of Nauvoo," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 May 1843): 184.

143. Even though there were sporadic references to "secret combinations" in the Doctrine and Covenants (see 42:64; 123:13; and also 38:28; 117:11), these were not directed specifically at Masonry. But see the Book of Moses 5, and the reference to "Master Mahan" in a revelation given in December 1830. Dan Vogel speculates that Smith's views concerning Freemasonry changed shortly after publication of the Book of Mormon. See Vogel, 27-29.

tradicted the claim that Mormonism was an anti-Masonic religion by noting that the Book of Mormon was published by a "masonic printing office" and that its tenets were comparable to those of Masonry.¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the Morgan affair, which preceded the most serious anti-Masonic campaign in American history, does have an important connection in Mormon history. In 1830 Morgan's wife, Lucinda, married George Washington Harris,¹⁴⁵ even though Morgan's body was never found and he would not have been legally dead until seven years after his disappearance.¹⁴⁶ The Masonic fraternity was relieved, writing that "Anti-Masonry is no more!" and "This celebrated woman who, like Niobe, was all tears and affliction, whose hand was ever held forth to receive contributions from the sympathetic Anti-Masons, who vowed eternal widowhood, pains and penance, is married! Is married, and, tell it not in Gath, is married to a Mason!"¹⁴⁷ But Harris was no longer a Mason, and in 1834 both he and Lucinda converted to Mormonism.¹⁴⁸ In 1836 the couple moved to Far West, Missouri, where they lived with Joseph Smith and his family for at least three months.¹⁴⁹ They eventually followed the Saints to Nauvoo and lived across the street from Joseph and Emma.¹⁵⁰ In the City of Joseph, Harris was called to serve on the Nauvoo High Council (D&C 124:131-32). Sometime during these years, either in Missouri or Illinois, Lucinda became Joseph's plural wife while she was still married to Harris.¹⁵¹ Although one writer has recently speculated that, assuming Morgan was still alive, "Lucinda may have had three living husbands in the early 1840s, something almost unheard of in nineteenth-century America,"¹⁵² Joseph, unlike Morgan and Harris, was never her legal or even acknowledged husband.

144. Joseph Smith consulted Thurlow Weed, editor of the *Rochester Telegraph*, an anti-Masonic newspaper, after initially being turned down by E. B. Grandin of Palmyra, New York. He was eventually able to convince Grandin to publish the book. Thurlow Weed, *Life of Thurlow Weed*, ed. Harriet A. Weed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1883), 358-59.

145. Morris, *William Morgan*, 276-77.

146. *Ibid.*, 277-78.

147. *Ibid.*, 277.

148. Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 50 vols. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1986), 21:40.

149. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1977), 227.

150. Brodie, 436-37.

151. See Wilhelm Wyl, *Mormon Portraits, Joseph Smith the Prophet, his Family and his Friends* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Publishing Co., 1886), 60, cited in Brodie, 336-37. See also Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975, 112-13.

152. Martha Taysom, "Is There No Help for the Widow? The Strange Life of Lucinda Pendleton Morgan Harris," 5, paper presented at the Mormon History Association, Lamoni, Iowa, May 1993.

Following the prophet's death Lucinda was observed weeping over his body holding an open copy of Stearn's anti-Masonic treatise,¹⁵³ and shortly thereafter she was officially sealed to him as a plural wife, while Harris acted as proxy for the prophet.¹⁵⁴ Within a decade she abandoned Harris, who sued her for divorce in Pottawatomie County, Iowa, in 1856,¹⁵⁵ and eventually joined the Catholic Sisters of Charity rather than marry a fourth husband.¹⁵⁶

THE MORMON TEMPLE ENDOWMENT IN KIRTLAND, OHIO

In January 1833 Joseph Smith was commanded in a revelation to build a temple to the Most High in Kirtland, Ohio (D&C 88:119). According to Brigham Young, this

was the next House of the Lord we hear of on the earth, since the days of Solomon's Temple. Joseph not only received revelation and commandment to build a Temple, but he received a *pattern* also, as did Moses for the Tabernacle, and Solomon for his Temple; for without a pattern, he could not know what was wanting, having never seen one, and not having experienced its use.¹⁵⁷

Six months later Smith was rebuked for failing to commence construction of the temple where God would "endow those whom I have chosen with power from on high" (D&C 95:8). According to Heber C. Kimball, Smith met with a council of High Priests on June 23, 1834, to choose those who would be "the first elders to receive their endowment."¹⁵⁸ On February 15, 1835, Joseph read a revelation to the newly-called Quorum of Twelve Apostles to "[t]arry at Kirtland until you are endowed with power from on high."¹⁵⁹ The following October Joseph told his apostles of an awaited endowment¹⁶⁰; the next month informed them that "in order to make the

153. *Deseret News*, 22 Nov. 1875.

154. Andrew Jensen, *The Historical Record*, Dec. 1899; Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 61; *Lee County Democrat*, 1 Oct. 1842; Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Women's Exponent* 10 (n.d.): 20.

155. Morris, *William Morgan*, 278-79.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

158. *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 Feb. 1845): 804-805. Kimball recounted this same experience after arriving in Utah. See *Journal of Discourses* 10:76-77. See also *History of the Church*, 2:112-13.

159. *History of the Church*, 2:197.

160. *Ibid.*, 287; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 61.

foundation of this Church complete and permanent" it would be necessary to restore "the ordinance of washing of feet"¹⁶¹; and on January 21, 1836, he introduced ritual washings and anointings, sealing and washing of the feet.¹⁶²

Joseph introduced this endowment to a chosen few—members of the Twelve and others—before the temple was completed (as he would later do in Nauvoo) in the attic of the printing office.¹⁶³ Further anointings were performed on January 28 and 30.¹⁶⁴ Those anointed had their blessings sealed on February 6¹⁶⁵ and at the dedication of the temple on March 27, and in the days that followed the general priesthood and male members also received their ordinances. Following completion of these ceremonies the Mormon prophet announced that he "had now completed the organization of the Church, and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies."¹⁶⁶

After this announcement, Joseph received a new revelation in which Elijah gave him the sealing power of the Melchizedek priesthood (D&C 110), which he did not reveal or use in Kirtland.¹⁶⁷ Brigham Young taught that because of "mobocracy" no one received anything beyond a portion of his first endowments in the Kirtland temple, "or we might say more clearly, some of the first, or introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment,"¹⁶⁸ and that the preparatory ordinances administered in the Kirtland temple "were but a faint similitude of the ordinances of the House of the Lord in their fullness."¹⁶⁹

FREEMASONRY IN NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

Following the Morgan episode, many Masonic lodges in the United States disbanded—from 1826 to 1828 the number of lodges in New York decreased from 500 to less than 100—including the Grand Lodge of Illinois, which was organized in 1805. Shortly after the arrival of Joseph Smith and the Mormons in Commerce (later Nauvoo), Hancock County, Illinois, in

161. *History of the Church*, 2:308.

162. *Ibid.*, 379-82, 391-2; Jesse, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145, 156.

163. *History of the Church*, 2:379-82.

164. *Ibid.*, 386-88.

165. *Ibid.*, 391-92.

166. *Ibid.*, 410-33. Additional washing, anointing, and washing of feet was performed on April 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1837. See *ibid.*, 475-77.

167. See David John Buerger, "The Fullness of the Priesthood": The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 15-16.

168. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

169. *Ibid.*, 31.

May 1839, the chartered lodges in the state organized a new Grand Lodge. On April 6, 1840, Abraham Jonas was elected Grand Master and James Adams was elected Deputy Grand Master.¹⁷⁰

At the time the Grand Lodge of Illinois was reorganized there were only about 2,000 Freemasons in the United States and little more than 100 in Illinois. Adams was a Mormon who had been baptized on December 4, 1836, and was acquainted with Joseph Smith.¹⁷¹ Shortly after the organization of the Grand Lodge, John C. Bennett, a former Campbellite minister who had known Sidney Rigdon and other early converts in Ohio,¹⁷² and a Mason who was initiated in Belmont Lodge No. 16, St. Clairsville, Belmont County, Ohio, in 1826, wrote at least three letters to Joseph Smith and Rigdon expressing his interest in joining the Saints and tendering his services to the church. At the time Bennett was Quarter Master General of Illinois and resided in Fairfield.¹⁷³ In August 1840 Smith responded to Bennett's first two letters by informing him that he was welcome to relocate in Nauvoo. Within days Bennett wrote that he would soon leave Fairfield for Nauvoo. On September 1, 1840, Bennett arrived in Nauvoo and one month later spoke "at some length" during church general conference.¹⁷⁴

Bennett soon became a prominent member of Nauvoo society. He was appointed by Smith to help secure a city charter, which he successfully accomplished in December 1840, and in January he was publicly cited as one of the "principal men in Illinois, who have listened to the doctrines we promulgate, have become obedient to the faith, and are rejoicing in the same."¹⁷⁵ Smith then received a revelation to build a temple and Bennett was specifically enlisted to "help [Smith] in your labor in sending my word to the kings and people of the earth, and stand by . . . Joseph Smith, in the hour of affliction, and its reward shall not fail, if he receive counsel."¹⁷⁶ Shortly afterward Bennett was elected mayor of Nauvoo, chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo, Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, and in April 1841 became assistant president in the First Presidency.¹⁷⁷

On June 28, 1841, at the height of his influence, and while most of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles were in England serving missions, Bennett

170. *The Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, from its Organization in 1840-1850 Inclusive* (Freeport, IL: Journal Reprint, 1892), 1-5.

171. Mervin B. Hogan, "Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode," *The Little Masonic Library* 2 (1977): 311.

172. Van Wagoner, 27, 39n2.

173. *History of the Church*, 4:168-70, 172.

174. *Ibid.*, 177-79.

175. *Ibid.*, 270.

176. *Ibid.*, 275-76.

177. *Ibid.*, 287, 293, 295-96, 341.

addressed a communication to Bodley Lodge No. 1, Quincy, Illinois, perhaps at the urging of James Adams,¹⁷⁸ asking that it recommend that a Masonic lodge be established in Nauvoo. His request was denied because Mormons were "unknown to this lodge as Masons."¹⁷⁹ If Joseph Smith, Sr., was an anti-Mason, his son had prudently waited until after his death in 1840 to authorize Bennett to seek a charter. W. W. Phelps had been excommunicated in 1838, and although he was reinstated in 1840, his influence on the issue of Freemasonry was apparently negligible.¹⁸⁰ On October 15, 1841, without Quincy Lodge's recommendation, Grand Master Jonas, perhaps to obtain Mormon votes in the next election and further his own political ambitions, issued a dispensation authorizing the organization of a lodge in Nauvoo. When he issued this dispensation, Jonas apparently waived the requirement that an existing lodge make a recommendation and chose instead to do it on his own.¹⁸¹ When this dispensation was issued there were more than 100 members in the constituent lodges of Illinois.¹⁸² During the next two years, dispensations were authorized for four additional lodges made up almost exclusively of Mormons: Helm and Nye lodges in Nauvoo; Eagle Lodge in Keokuk, Iowa; and Rising Sun Lodge in Montrose, Iowa.

On December 29, 1841, eighteen Mormon Masons met in the office of Hyrum Smith to organize the Nauvoo Lodge. George D. Miller was elected Grand Master; John D. Parker, Grand Warden; and Lucius Scovill, Junior Warden. The following day Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon petitioned for membership in the Lodge. Their petition was reported favorably by an investigative committee of the Grand Lodge on February 3, 1842.¹⁸³ On March 15, 1842, the Nauvoo Lodge was installed by Grand Master Jonas at a grove near the temple grounds and Miller, Parker and Scovill were installed as its officers. That evening Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were initiated as Entered Apprentices in Smith's business office in the Red Brick Store.¹⁸⁴ The following day Smith and Rigdon were passed as Fellow Craft and raised as Master Masons. Within five months the Nauvoo Lodge had initiated 256 candidates and raised 243 others, which "was six times as

178. Godfrey, 83, citing James J. Tyler, *John Cook Bennett* (n.p., n.d.).

179. John C. Reynolds, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Illinois . . .* (Springfield, IL: H.G. Reynolds, Jr., 1869), 154; *Records of Bodley Lodge, No. 1, Quincy, Illinois*.

180. *History of the Church*, 4:164.

181. Reynolds, 184.

182. Sam H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1921), 4.

183. Mervin B. Hogan, ed., *Founding Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* (Des Moines, IA: Research Lodge No. 2, 1971), 8, 10.

184. *History of the Church*, 4:550, 566.

many initiations and elevations as all the other lodges in the state combined."¹⁸⁵ Neither Phelps nor George Washington Harris, who both lived in Nauvoo, petitioned for membership.

Two days after the installation of Nauvoo Lodge Smith helped to organize the Female Relief Society in the "Lodge Room" at the Red Brick Store. The prophet gave instructions concerning "the Elect Lady"—who is discussed in John 2, was the name of a degree in a French Adoptive Rite which admitted women and was recognized by the Grand Orient in 1774,¹⁸⁶ and would be used as the name of the fifth degree in the adoptive ritual of Eastern Star in 1868¹⁸⁷—and told the women that revelations concerning the title were fulfilled with the appointment of his wife Emma as society president.¹⁸⁸ In subsequent Relief Society meetings additional Masonic terms were used, including references to the society as an "Institution" on March 24,¹⁸⁹ statements by the prophet on March 30 that "the Society go into close examination of every candidate—that they were going too fast—that the Society should grow up by degrees"; that "the Society should move according to the ancient Priesthood . . . said he was going to make this Society a kingdom of priests as in Enoch's day—as in Pauls' day"; and his exhortation that the sisters be "sufficiently skill'd in Masonry as to keep a secret" and to be "good masons."¹⁹⁰

Shortly after organization of the Nauvoo Lodge and the Female Relief Society, John C. Bennett withdrew from the church and resigned as mayor of Nauvoo.¹⁹¹ After falling into disfavor, Bennett asked to meet with Hyrum Smith, as representative of the Masonic fraternity, and with Joseph Smith, as church representative, to seek forgiveness. During the meeting Bennett reportedly acknowledged that Joseph had never taught "fornication and adultery—or polygamy."¹⁹² When Mormons later discovered that Bennett had been discharged from a Masonic lodge in Ohio,¹⁹³ he was expelled from

185. Godfrey, 79.

186. See Henry Wilson Coil, *Coil's Masonic Encyclopædia* (New York: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., 1961), 9.

187. See Macoy, 123, 130. See also *Order of the Eastern Star. An Instructive Manual on the Organization and Government of Chapters of the Order with Ceremonies and Ritual*, arrang. F. A. Bell (Chicago: Ezra A. Cook Publications, Ltd., 1948), 20-22, 88-93.

188. *History of the Church*, 4:552-53.

189. Minutes of the Relief Society, 24 Mar. 1842, archives, historical department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives).

190. *Ibid.*, 8 Sept. 1842 (recording an epistle read on March 30).

191. John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 40-41; *History of the Church*, 5:12, 71.

192. *History of the Church*, 5:71-73.

193. Mervin B. Hogan, "The Confrontation of Grand Master Abraham Jonas and John

Nauvoo Lodge, and because of his ongoing dispute with Joseph and Hyrum he was disfellowshipped and later excommunicated from the church.¹⁹⁴

Following expulsion from the church, Bennett published a series of articles in the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Illinois) in which he attacked the church and its doctrines and accused it of creating a ritual similar to the rites of Freemasonry. A book, *History of the Saints*, which incorporated many of these articles, was published shortly thereafter in Boston. Joseph Smith printed a statement of "Important Facts Relative to the Conduct and Character of John C. Bennett . . . That the Honorable Part of the Community May be Aware of his Proceedings . . . as an Imposter and Base Adulterer."¹⁹⁵

At the same time Bodley Lodge No. 1, citing alleged irregularities, asked Grand Master Jonas to suspend the dispensation of Nauvoo Lodge until the next annual communication of the Grand Lodge in October.¹⁹⁶ The Lodge also requested that the Grand Lodge investigate the "manner the officers of the Nauvoo Lodge, U.D. were installed" and by what authority the Grand Masters purported to initiate, pass, and raise Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon "at one and the same time."¹⁹⁷ (It is unlikely that there is a connection between Bodley Lodge's request and Bennett's allegations concerning a new Mormon ritual.) On August 11, 1842, the Nauvoo Lodge was suspended by the Grand Lodge of Illinois until the annual communication with the Grand Lodge because of alleged irregularities. At the time of its suspension, the Nauvoo Lodge had initiated 286 candidates, 256 of whom had been raised as Master Masons.¹⁹⁸ The following October the Grand Lodge voted to investigate irregularities by the Nauvoo Lodge and report its findings to the Grand Master.¹⁹⁹ During the same meeting it was reported that there were 480 Masons in twelve lodges in Illinois. Of that number, the Nauvoo Lodge accounted for 253.²⁰⁰

Following receipt of this investigation, Grand Master Helm lifted the suspension and allowed the Nauvoo Lodge to resume labor. The committee of investigation found that although irregularities had occurred—"the practice of balloting for more than one applicant at one and the same time" and "an applicant of at least doubtful character was received on a promise

C. Bennett in Nauvoo" (Privately printed, 1976), 8-9.

194. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 78; Dean Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989-92), 2:387.

195. *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 July 1842): 839-43.

196. Reynolds, 174-75.

197. *Ibid.*, 175.

198. Goodwin, 1921, 13.

199. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 59-60.

200. Reynolds, 174.

of reformation and restitution"—work should be allowed to commence after the lodge is reminded of these irregularities and admonished not to continue them.²⁰¹ No mention was made of Bennett's allegations of a clandestine ritual.

After the renewal of Nauvoo Lodge's dispensation other dispensations were granted by the Grand Master for Helm Lodge and Nye Lodge (both in Nauvoo) and Eagle Lodge (in Keokuk),²⁰² all of which were made up almost entirely of Mormons. In addition, Worshipful Master Hyrum Smith²⁰³ laid the cornerstone for a Masonic temple in Nauvoo. The Grand Lodge also granted a charter to Rising Sun Lodge in Montrose.²⁰⁴ The Grand Lodge reported that Rising Sun Lodge had forty-five members, out of a total of 439 among all lodges. Significantly, all of this occurred after Joseph Smith introduced the temple endowment to the "Holy Order." Regardless of the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism, Smith kept the activities of the Lodge and the Holy Order separate.

In October 1843 the Grand Lodge cited additional irregularities—"gathering members without regard to character," advancing members too rapidly, and the failure of Nauvoo Lodge to bring their records before the Committee on Returns and Work of Lodges—when it revoked the dispensations of Nauvoo, Nye, Helm, and Eagle lodges and suspended the charter of Rising Sun Lodge.²⁰⁵ Given the number of initiations, it is not unrealistic to assume that the motivating factor for refusing to charter and suspending the dispensations was, according to one prominent Masonic historian, a "well-founded fear that within a short time the Mormon Lodges, if allowed to continue, would become more numerous than all others in the jurisdiction, and thus be able to control the Grand Lodge."²⁰⁶

Despite suspension of these dispensations, which apparently had nothing to do with Joseph Smith's introduction of the temple endowment, the lodges in Nauvoo continued to do work, claiming that they had not received proper notice of the withdrawal of their dispensations. In short the Mormon lodges refused to acknowledge the legitimacy, if not the authority, of the Grand Lodge to decertify them. Significantly, a Masonic Hall which, under the direction of Lucius Scoville,²⁰⁷ took less than one year

201. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 71-72; Reynolds, 172-73.

202. Reynolds, 226; *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 120-21.

203. *History of the Church*, 5:446.

204. Reynolds, 192-93.

205. *Ibid.*, 199-200; *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 96-97.

206. Joseph E. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," *Masonic Standard* 11 (1 Sept. 1906): 6.

207. *History of the Church*, 6:285.

to construct,²⁰⁸ was completed and dedicated on April 5, 1844.²⁰⁹ Joseph Smith attended and spoke at the dedication, which was presided over by Worshipful Master Hyrum Smith, and the Masonic address was delivered by Erastus Snow. As many as 550 Masons attended the ceremony,²¹⁰ and at least one lodge in Illinois investigated members who attended because of their association with "clandestine Masons of Nauvoo."²¹¹ During the ceremony "the subject of the oppression and ill treatment of the Grand Lodge was spoken of."²¹² This referred to the revocation of dispensations and suspension of a charter for the five Mormon lodges and perhaps to the failed efforts of George Watt and Horace Eldredge, who were both in attendance at the dedication, to obtain new dispensations. Thus Mormons had a beautiful temple but no recognized lodges.²¹³ Less than three months after dedication of the Masonic Hall, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were assassinated by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, which included a number of Freemasons. Shortly after his death it was reported that Joseph had given the Masonic distress call before falling through the jail window.²¹⁴

In October 1844 the Grand Lodge of Illinois severed all relations with Nauvoo, Helm, and Nye lodges because they refused to surrender their dispensations to Grand Lodge representatives. The Grand Lodge also voted to declare the work of these lodges clandestine, suspended their members from the privileges of Masonry,²¹⁵ and appointed a committee to determine if the dispensation of Eagle Lodge should be renewed.²¹⁶ One year later the Grand Lodge failed to renew the dispensation of Eagle Lodge.²¹⁷

Despite Mormon suspicions that their Masonic brethren had helped plan and participated in the murders of Hyrum and Joseph, and the withdrawal of recognition by the Grand Lodge, Nauvoo Lodge continued

208. Hogan notes that the "first recorded intimation of possibly building its own Masonic Temple is dated Thursday, February 16, 1843, at the regular meeting of Nauvoo Lodge." Hyrum Smith laid the cornerstone on June 24, 1843, during a ceremony attended by eight officers and 107 members of Nauvoo Lodge and forty-three visiting Masons. John Taylor delivered an oration. See Hogan, "The Erection and Dedication of the Nauvoo Masonic Temple" (Salt Lake City, 27 Dec. 1976), 3-6. See also *History of the Church*, 5:446.

209. Reynolds, 244.

210. *History of the Church*, 6:287. See also Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:373. According to Hogan, the lodge minutes indicate that there were ten officers, 318 members of Nauvoo Lodge, and fifty-one masonic visitors in attendance. See Hogan, "Erection and Dedication," 13.

211. Reynolds, 254-57.

212. Hogan, "Erection and Dedication," 13.

213. *Diary of Horace Eldredge*, 6 Apr. 1844, LDS archives.

214. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 July 1844): 585.

215. Reynolds, 232.

216. *Ibid.*, 228.

217. *Ibid.*, 261.

to initiate new members. At the time of Joseph's assassination there were approximately 700 Master Masons listed in the minute book of the lodge. By the end of 1845 there were over 1,000 Master Masons listed by lodge which indicates that lodge work continued at nearly the same pace during the one and one-half years after the Smiths' deaths as it did during the previous two and one half years.²¹⁸ Reed C. Durham counted a total of 1,366 Master Masons in the five Mormon lodges.²¹⁹ Not until the Nauvoo temple opened in the midst of the chaos associated with the evacuation of the city did lodge work cease.

THE MORMON TEMPLE ENDOWMENT IN NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

Although Mormon Masons continued to do lodge work after their lodges were disorganized in Nauvoo, their primary goal was to complete the temple they had been commanded to build (D&C 124:37). During the general church conference which began the day after dedication of the Masonic temple, both Hyrum Smith, who had presided over the dedication, and Brigham Young urged church members to "build up the Temple" where they would "get your washings, anointings, and endowments."²²⁰ Hyrum even said, "I cannot make a comparison between the House of God and anything now in existence. Great things are to grow out of that house. There is a great and mighty power to grow out of it. There is an endowment. Knowledge is power. We want knowledge."²²¹ He also informed the sisters that they "shall have a seat in that house" and that "We are designated by the All-seeing Eye to do good, not to stoop to anything low."²²²

Within this temple the full endowment—which would be compared to the degrees of Freemasonry and provide Mormonism with a ritual in an otherwise ritual-less church—would be performed. This new ceremony was so important that Joseph Smith revealed it to a select few (just as he had done with the Kirtland endowment) before the temple was completed. On May 3, 1842, Smith asked Lucius Scoville (who also directed construction of the Masonic Hall) and several others "to work and fit up" the upper rooms of Smith's red brick store—where Smith and Rigdon had been initiated as Entered Apprentices, passed as Fellow Crafts, and raised as Master Masons six weeks earlier—"preparatory to

218. See Nauvoo Masonic Lodge Minute Book, LDS archives. See also Mervin B. Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge U.D.* (Des Moines, IA, 4 Apr. 1974), 49-81.

219. Durham, 17.

220. *History of the Church*, 6:321-22. For Hyrum Smith's address, see *ibid.*, 298-301.

221. *Ibid.*, 298-99.

222. *Ibid.*, 299.

giving endowments to a few Elders."²²³ The next day Smith initiated and "endowed" nine men—Hyrum Smith, church patriarch and first counselor; William Law, second counselor; apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards; as well as Newell K. Whitney (Ward Bishop), George Miller (Master of Nauvoo Lodge), William Marks (Nauvoo Stake President), and James Adams (Deputy Grand Master of Grand Lodge of Illinois), all of whom were Masons—into a "Quorum of the Anointed" or "Holy Order."²²⁴ These nine men were anointed as kings and priests²²⁵ and were given keys pertaining to the Aaronic priesthood and the highest order of the Melchizedek priesthood and the fullness of blessings prepared for the Church of the First Born.²²⁶ On May 5 Joseph received his endowment.²²⁷ The giving of endowments was repeated on May 26 and 28.²²⁸

It may not be coincidental that the Holy Order consisted of nine men.²²⁹ A Royal Arch Chapter, also known as the Holy Order of the Royal Arch,²³⁰ consists of at least nine Master Masons,²³¹ and was the next logical step in Freemasonry for those who had advanced to the third degree. If a Master Mason wished to progress further, he would petition for membership in a Royal Arch Chapter, which, after the organization of the General Grand Chapter in January 1798, was independent from a Master Mason's lodge. Although a comparatively small proportion of Masons in Joseph Smith's

223. "The Higher Ordinances," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 15 Feb. 1884, 2.

224. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:135-36 (hereafter *Comprehensive History*); *Complainants Abstract of Pleading in Evidence in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division at Kansas City, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri* (Lamoni, IA: Herald House, 1893), 299.

225. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:270-72 (6 Aug. 1843); *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 June 1845): 920.

226. *History of the Church*, 5:1-2.

227. *Ibid.*, 2-3; "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 116, LDS archives.

228. "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 129.

229. I realize there were actually ten men present if one counts Joseph Smith, as Heber C. Kimball did when he wrote that he was endowed "in company with nine others" (*Kimball Journal*, 1845, under "Strange Events," 114). It is also true, however, that Joseph was not initiated the same day as the rest of the quorum. See "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 116; *History of the Church*, 5:2-3. I am indebted to Richard S. Van Wagoner who first mentioned to me the possibility of a connection between Royal Arch Masonry and the endowment.

230. Waite, 2:375-78.

231. John Sheville and James L. Gould, *Guide to the Royal Arch Chapter: A Complete Monitor for Royal Arch Masonry, etc. To which are added monitorial instructions in the Holy Order of High Priesthood in Royal Arch Masonry, with the Ceremonies of the Order*, by James L. Gould (New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Co., 1868), 50-51, 132-34.

time advanced beyond the third degree, the Royal Arch degree was the logical sequence in the Hiramic legend²³² set forth in the Third or Master Mason degree because it complimented the "loss" theme (loss of the Master Masons or Ineffable Word) and provided a link between construction of the first temple (of Solomon) and the second (by Zerubabbel).²³³

When the Craft adopted the Hiramic legend (between 1723-25) it sowed the seeds for expanding the ritual to provide for the recovery of the Master's word, which is accomplished in the Royal Arch Degree. The Master's word is lost in the third degree after the death of Hiram Abiff, "until time or circumstances shall restore the genuine."²³⁴ A Royal Arch Chapter "represents the Tabernacle erected . . . near the ruins of King Solomon's Temple" after the Jewish return from captivity when a second temple is constructed on the site of the first.²³⁵ During construction of a new temple more than four hundred years later, the Master's word is restored,²³⁶ replacing the substituted words given in the third degree. Because the Royal Arch degree—the seventh degree of Freemasonry and the "principal of the four degrees conferred by a [Royal Arch] chapter, as the third degree is the chiefest in the lodge of master Masons"²³⁷—restores lost secrets, it has been described as "indescribably more august, sublime, and important than all which precede it, and is the summit and perfection of ancient Masonry."²³⁸

The original Royal Arch degree was developed in the mid-eighteenth century, and its rituals were performed in unrecognized separate chapters until the Antients accepted it as a fourth degree. Although the competing Grand Lodge of the moderns did not initially recognize it, Royal Arch was vindicated in 1813 when the United Grand Lodge—which united the antients and moderns—defined "Pure Antient Masonry" as Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason, including the Order of the Holy Royal Arch.²³⁹ Most Masons during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed that "ancient Masonry closes with the degree of royal arch" and that all subsequent degrees were of modern origin "and of little

232. Roy A. Wells, *The Rise and Development of Organized Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1986), 151.

233. Roy A. Wells, *Understanding Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8.

234. *Ibid.*, 204.

235. Robert Macoy, *General History, Cyclopaedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1869), 335, 368. This book includes a reprint of George Oliver's *A Dictionary of Symbolic Masonry*, 397-700.

236. *Ibid.*, 11.

237. Stone, 43.

238. Macoy, 332, 502-503; Sheville, 131-32.

239. Christopher Hafner, *Regularity of Origin* (Hong Kong: Paul Chater Lodge, 1986),

importance."²⁴⁰ At the time Joseph Smith was initiated into Freemasonry, the first Royal Arch Chapter in Illinois (Springfield Chapter No. 1) had been granted a dispensation (July 20, 1841) and a charter (September 17, 1841).²⁴¹ The degrees of the Holy Royal Arch were generally known to interested Masons through exposés published by the Lewiston Committee and by Bernard; it is also likely that James Adams, a Mormon and a Mason (Past Master of Springfield Lodge No. 4 [1839] and Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois [1840-41]) was familiar with the ritual since he lived in Springfield—which had the only Royal Arch Chapter in Illinois—until his death on August 8, 1843.²⁴² Members of a Royal Arch Chapter could receive four degrees—Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason—and one honorary degree—Anointed Order of High Priesthood.²⁴³ According to William Morgan, who was indisputably a Royal Arch Mason, it was "not an uncommon thing, by any means, for a chapter to confer all four degrees in one night."²⁴⁴

A Royal Arch Chapter has nine officers. The presiding officers, or Grand Council, consist of a High Priest, King, and Scribe (or Prophet) (see Illustration 1).²⁴⁵ The High Priest is the first officer of a Chapter and wears clothing similar to those of a Hebrew priest,²⁴⁶ including a miter, upon which is inscribed "HOLINESS TO THE LORD," the motto of Royal Arch Masonry to "be engraven upon all our thoughts, words and actions."²⁴⁷ He also wears a shirt or tunic reaching to his feet, a robe, an ephod, and a breastplate. In ancient times a Urim and Thummim was placed in a High Priest's breastplate to facilitate the giving of oracular answers.²⁴⁸ The High Priest, whose honorary title is Most Excellent,²⁴⁹ officiates in the "Taberna-

240. Stone, 54.

241. See *Memorial Volume of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1924), 10-14.

242. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether Adams was a member of Springfield Chapter No. 1 R.A.M. since chapter records prior to 1850 were destroyed in a fire. See *Illinois Masonic Directory* (Springfield, 1953), 6.

243. Although this ritual has never been exposed, it is mentioned by Thomas Smith Webb, who created the degree, in the second edition (1802) of his *Monitor* and by Cross in 1820. See Thomas Smith Webb, *The Freemason's Monitor; or, Illustrations of Masonry* (New York: Southwick and Crooker, 1802), 197-200; Cross, 129-166. See also George W. Warvelle, *Observations on Order of High Priesthood*, 2d. ed. (Chicago: J. C. Burmeister, 1915); Sheville, 209-229; Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences*, New and Revised Edition, (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1887), 338 *et. seq.*

244. Morgan, 94; Bernard, 85-86.

245. Sheville, 132; Macoy, 458.

246. Macoy, 303; Mackey, 319.

247. Macoy, 250, 303; Mackey, 338.

248. Macoy, 390.

249. *Ibid.*, 256.



Illustration 1. The three principal officers of a Royal Arch Chapter: King (Senior Warden), High Priest (Master), and Scribe (Junior Warden). The High Priest, who is the presiding officer, is decorated with a mitre and breastplate. Only those who have been elected to preside as High Priest in a Royal Arch Chapter may be received into the Order of High Priesthood. (Cross, 38.)

cle" with four veils through which an initiate must pass before being admitted into the Holy of Holies.²⁵⁰

The fifth and honorary degree of a Royal Arch Chapter, the Anointed Order of the High Priesthood, is also known as the Holy Order of High Priesthood. It is only conferred upon past High Priests who have ruled over a Royal Arch Chapter.²⁵¹ It was created by Thomas Smith Webb in 1798²⁵² (who incorporated pre-existing rituals including those of the Knight Templars) and was adopted by the General Grand Chapter on January 10, 1799.²⁵³ In this degree the jewel of a past High Priest is a plate of gold in a triple triangle.²⁵⁴ The ritual, when "performed in ample form," requires the "assistance of at least nine High Priests, who have received it"²⁵⁵ and is dedicated to and includes a history of the Old Testament patriarch Melchizedek.²⁵⁶ It also includes a consecration and anointing,²⁵⁷ and candidates are said to be "anointed into the Holy Order of the High-Priesthood."²⁵⁸

Just as Masonic ritual was undergoing growth, expansion, and revision during the century which preceded the organization of the LDS church, early Mormon leaders taught that Joseph Smith expanded, revised, and restored the rituals of Freemasonry, which most church leaders believed had originated in Solomon's temple but had been corrupted during the Great Apostasy. At the dedication of the St. George temple in 1877 Brigham Young taught that although "Solomon built a Temple for the purpose of giving endowments" few if any were given because "one of the high priests was murdered by wicked and corrupt men . . . because he would not reveal those things appertaining to the Priesthood that were forbidden him to reveal until he came to the proper place."²⁵⁹ With the death of this "high priest" an important part of the ritual was lost. Although the Royal Arch degree is similar to the first three degrees—it includes signs, tokens, penalties, and key words—it is also distinct since the Master Mason's word is

250. *Ibid.*, 390-91; Sheville, 131-208.

251. Sheville, 209; Macoy, 168; Pick and Knight, 292.

252. Henry Leonard Stillson, ed., *History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (Boston: Fraternity Publishing Co., 1910), 640-41; Mackey's *Encyclopaedia* (1878), 339-340.

253. Mackey, 388.

254. Macoy, 283.

255. Mackey, 338.

256. *Ibid.*, 247; Sheville, 212.

257. George W. Warvelle, *Observations on the Order of High Priesthood*, 2d ed. (Chicago: J. C. Burmeister, 1915); Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Freemason's Pocket Reference Book*, 7th ed. (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1983), 144.

258. Sheville, 212.

259. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

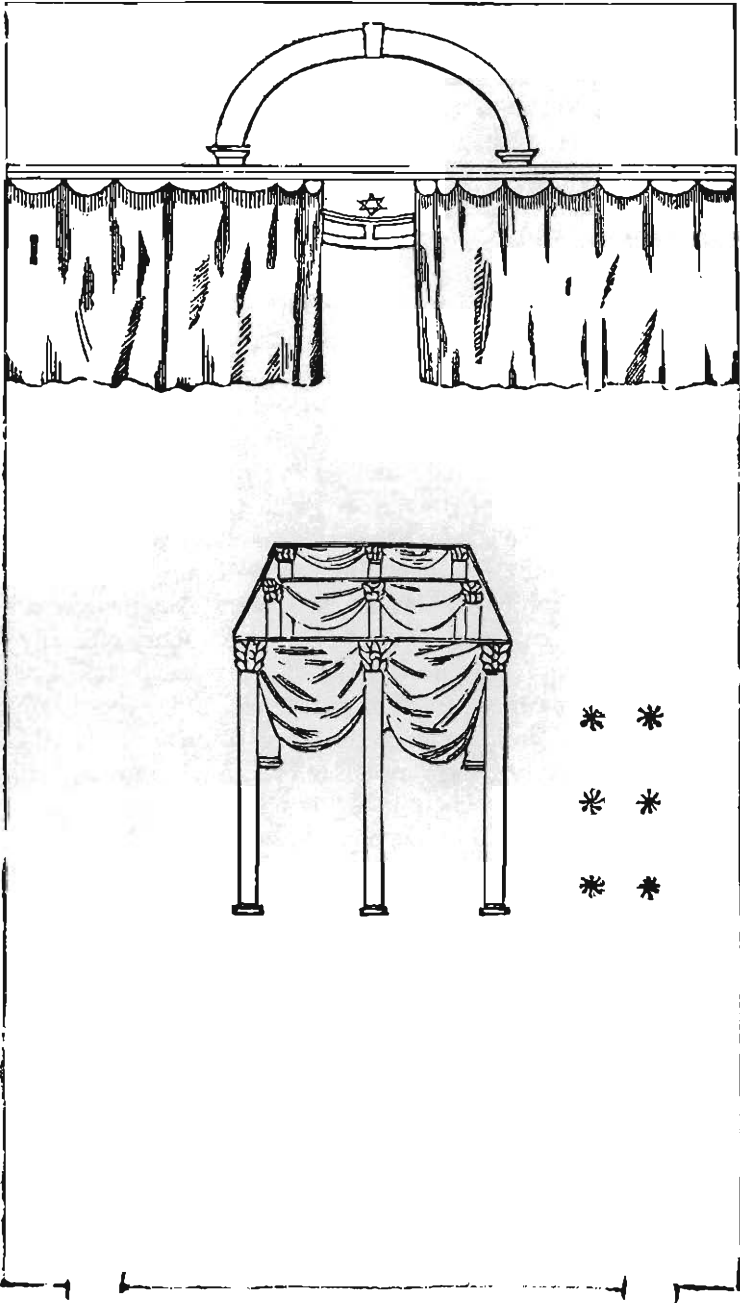


Illustration 2. The veils in the Royal Arch degree. (Cross, 37.)

restored and a candidate passes through four veils to be “admitted within the veil of God’s presence, where they will become kings and priests before the throne of his glory for ever and ever.”²⁶⁰ (See Illustration 2.) Furthermore, a Royal Arch Mason is “exalted” and a crown is placed on his head.²⁶¹ Those who have been exalted are eligible to be consecrated and anointed in the Holy Order of the High Priesthood. The Mormon endowment, like the Royal Arch, restored the “key word” and temple ritual during construction of the next temple (Nauvoo) and enabled initiates to pass through a veil and become exalted as kings.²⁶²

But if the rituals of Masonry were the starting point, and the Red Brick Store became the Tabernacle before completion of the Temple, Joseph was also instrumental in effecting important changes. On September 28, 1843, wives of men who had previously been initiated into the Holy Order began to be endowed, anointed,²⁶³ and sealed to their husbands in the “New and Everlasting Covenant” of eternal marriage.²⁶⁴ This was a startling development since women had not previously participated in the Holy Order (although the Female Relief Society was organized within days of the Nauvoo Lodge) and female participation in the rituals of regular Freemasonry was (and is) prohibited. Nevertheless, some American and British Masons favored female participation and French Masonry officially recognized female Lodges of Adoption in 1774.²⁶⁵ Like the French Lodges of Adoption—which are called “Institutions”; whose lodge rooms are called “Eden”²⁶⁶; and whose “companion” ritual is organized around the “Garden of Eden” legend, including the temptation of Eve with an apple plucked and presented²⁶⁷—women were initiated into the Masonic-like ritual of the Holy Order and, like a Royal Arch Chapter—whose members are referred to as “companions” rather than “brother”—Joseph (or his wife Emma) was

260. Town, 76.

261. Ibid.

262. Some early participants in the endowment believed that the veil was “in imitation of the one in Solomon’s Temple” (see *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4), and that the temple garment represented the “white stone” or new name given to each candidate (see Thomas White, *The Mormon Mysteries; Being and Exposition of the Ceremonies of “The Endowment” and of the Seven Degrees of the Temple* [New York: Edmund K. Knowlton, 1851], 7).

263. D. Michael Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 86; in Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 2:313 (28 Sept. 1843), Woodruff only recorded that: “President Joseph Smith received his second Anointing this day.” No reference is made to Emma Smith.

264. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 2:340-41, 344, 346, 354.

265. Mackey, 27-28.

266. Ibid., 29, 31.

267. Ibid., 30.

referred to as "companion."²⁶⁸ The inclusion of women in these sacred ordinances, previously reserved for men, may have had as much to do with ritually teaching both men and women the virtue of silence regarding the still-secret practice of plural marriage (which was introduced to a small circle of Joseph's most trusted friends as early as 1841) as it did with ritually securing patriarchal authority and obedience over female participants.²⁶⁹

In 1843 Joseph also introduced a final ritual, the "highest and holiest order of the priesthood," or "second anointing."²⁷⁰ Although recipients of the endowment and second anointing were gradually expanded to include about 100 people prior to Joseph's death, it was not until September 10, 1845, after the Nauvoo temple was sufficiently complete to accommodate large audiences, that all worthy Latter-day Saints were invited to participate in the endowment.²⁷¹ Temple work was also done vicariously for the dead, including baptisms, washings, anointings, and sealings.²⁷² The one hundred persons who received their endowments prior to September 1845²⁷³ increased to more than 1,000 by the end of that year²⁷⁴; and by May 1846, when the temple was dedicated and then abandoned, more than 5,634 had received their endowments.²⁷⁵ Al-

268. Scott H. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), 416: "Beurach Ale [Joseph Smith] was by common consent & unanimous voice chosen President of the quorum & anointed & ord to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (& companion)." Quinn's transcription of this entry ends "(& companion—d[itt]jo." Faulring intimates and Quinn specifically states that the word "companion" refers to Joseph's companion, Emma, who was ordained as a queen and priestess (Quinn, 85). While Quinn is probably correct, it is interesting that Emma is not named as being in attendance in Faulring's or Quinn's transcription or in the account contained in *History of the Church*, 6:39, or in *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:313 (even though later entries do list wives as being present). Nevertheless, it is well established that Emma was a member of the Holy Order, and there is apparently no other reference to her initiation. See "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 154-59 (22 Oct. 1843-28 Jan. 1844). See also Faulring, 418, 425, 426, 440, 441-42, 444, 445.

269. Launius, 123-24.

270. Faulring, 416 (28 Sept. 1843); George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 202n5; Buerger, "'The Fulness of the Priesthood,'" 16-22.

271. Quinn, 93.

272. Gordon I. Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291-314; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:340-41.

273. Andrew F. Ehat, ed., "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet': The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 97-98.

274. *History of the Church*, 7:556.

275. Buerger, 25n48; John K. Edmonds, *Through Temple Doors* (Salt Lake City:

though the term "Holy Order" still occasionally referred to endowments after construction of the Endowment House in Salt Lake City,²⁷⁶ its status as an "order" or "quorum" declined at the same time as its exclusivity.

OFFICIAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Since the introduction of the endowment in 1842, no official text of the ceremony has been released by the LDS church. This has given more credibility to unauthorized exposés than would otherwise be the case. The uninitiated, however, have not relied exclusively on exposés by ex-Mormons for information about the endowment. There are contemporary accounts of the ceremony recorded in private journals,²⁷⁷ and from time to time church leaders have commented on its content and meaning.²⁷⁸ These statements provide a general outline of the endowment ceremony and some idea of changes which have been introduced from 1842 to the present.

Although church leaders teach that Joseph Smith "himself organized every endowment in our church and revealed the same to the Church,"²⁷⁹ most observers agree that significant changes have been introduced during the past 150 years.²⁸⁰ Like the rites of Freemasonry, the Mormon temple endowment ceremony has undergone modifications and revisions. Joseph Smith instructed Brigham Young to develop the ceremony after its initial introduction in the Red Brick Store.²⁸¹ John Hyde wrote that the ceremony in early territorial Utah was "being constantly amended and corrected," and that Heber C. Kimball would say, "We will get it perfect by-and-by."²⁸² Wilford Woodruff recorded in 1877 that Brigham Young asked that he and Brigham Young, Jr., "write out the ceremony of the endowments from Beginning to End,"²⁸³ and

Bookcraft, 1978), 72.

276. See *Journal of Discourses* 24:63 (18 Mar. 1883).

277. See, for example, Heber C. Kimball Diary, 15-21 Dec. 1845, LDS archives.

278. See James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 99-100; Edmunds, *Through the Temple Doors*; and Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

279. *Journal of Discourses* 23:131-32; see also 362-63.

280. While it has occasionally been claimed that the ceremony has remained unchanged (see Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905], 87), church authorities have revealed that this is not the case (see, e.g., Packer, 191-206).

281. L. John Nuttall Journal, 7 Feb. 1877, Special Collections, Lee Library.

282. Hyde, 100.

283. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff Journal*, 7:322.

that at the conclusion of this process "President Young has been laboring all winter to get up a perfect form of endowments as far as possible."²⁸⁴ Sixteen years later Woodruff met with the Quorum of Twelve and the four temple presidents to "harmonize" the various ceremonies.²⁸⁵ In the twentieth century other changes have been reported.²⁸⁶ However, these have not significantly altered official descriptions of the endowment by church authorities.

Latter-day prophets teach that the endowment provides "knowledge of all that affects our salvation and exaltation in His kingdom"²⁸⁷ and consists of a "step-by-step ascent into the eternal Presence"²⁸⁸ during which "certain special, spiritual blessings [are] given [to] worthy and faithful saints" who "are endowed with power from on high"²⁸⁹ and are thereby "enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the Firstborn"²⁹⁰ in the celestial kingdom.²⁹¹ The structure of the endowment consists of washings and anointings (initiatory or preparatory ordinances first given in the Kirtland Temple), obtaining a garment, receiving a new name or key-word, and a creation drama wherein one receives instruction, signs, tokens, obligations, and (prior to April 1990) penalties.²⁹²

Washings and Anointings

Joseph Smith told the Quorum of Twelve Apostles of an awaited endowment in October 1835.²⁹³ These initiatory rites—ritual washings and

284. *Ibid.*, 322-23, 325-27, 337, 340-41.

285. *Ibid.*, 9:267.

286. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 June 1923; *Los Angeles Times*, 5 May 1990.

287. *Journal of Discourses* 4:160-61.

288. David O. McKay, quoted by Truman G. Madsen in a Brigham Young University Ten-State Fireside Address, 5 May 1972.

289. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1958), 209.

290. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), 237. See also *History of the Church*, 4:24.

291. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1956), 3:225; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 704.

292. See *History of the Church*, 5:2 ("I spent the day . . . instructing them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood"); and John A. Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (Apr. 1921): 58 ("The endowment and temple work as revealed by the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith . . . fall clearly into four distinct parts: the preparatory ordinances; the giving of instructions by lectures and representations; covenants; and, finally, tests of knowledge").

293. *History of the Church*, 2:287; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 61.

anointings—were introduced in the Kirtland temple on January 21, 1836.²⁹⁴ One month later, after the introduction of the ordinance of washing the feet,²⁹⁵ Smith announced that he “had now completed the organization of the Church, and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies.”²⁹⁶ Seventeen years later Brigham Young taught that “Those first Elders . . . received a portion of their first endowments, or we might say more clearly, some of the first, or introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment.”²⁹⁷ He also stated that many of those who received these initiatory ordinances eventually apostatized because they thought that they had received all necessary ordinances but that more came in Nauvoo.

After being forced to abandon Kirtland and settlements in Missouri, Joseph Smith received a revelation on January 19, 1841, about “the Temple ritual to the world as fully as it has ever been described to the public.”²⁹⁸ “Therefore, verily I say unto you, that your anointings, and your washings . . . and endowment of all her municipals, are ordained by the ordinance of my holy house which my people are always commanded to build unto my holy name” (D&C 124:39).²⁹⁹

The Garment

According to Elder Boyd K. Packer,³⁰⁰ of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, “The ordinances of washing and anointing are referred to often in the temple as initiatory ordinances. . . . In connection with these ordinances, in the temple, you will be officially clothed in the garment and promised marvelous blessings in connection with it.”³⁰¹

The New Name or Key-word

On April 2, 1843, Joseph Smith gave the following instructions concerning a “white stone” mentioned in Revelation 2:17: “And a white stone is given to each of those who come into the celestial kingdom, whereon is a

294. *History of the Church*, 2:379-82, 391-92; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145-46.

295. *History of the Church*, 2:410-28, 429-30; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145, 182.

296. *History of the Church*, 2:430-33; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 183-84.

297. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

298. E. Cecil McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1935), 39.

299. This “holy anointing” and endowment were bestowed only on a chosen few prior to completion of the temple. See *Journal of Discourses* 13:49.

300. Packer, *The Holy Temple*.

301. *Ibid.*, 154-55.

new name written, which no man knoweth save that he receiveth it. The new name is the key-word" (D&C 130:11).³⁰² Charles C. Rich, of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, publicly explained in February 1878 that "Joseph tells us that this new name is a key-word, which can only be obtained through the endowments. This is one of the keys and blessings that will be bestowed upon the Saints in these last days, for which we should be very thankful."³⁰³

Creation Drama

Heber C. Kimball, in an address on June 27, 1863, spoke about "Father Adam" and the Garden of Eden: "I might say much more upon this subject, but I will ask, has it not been imitated before you in your holy endowments so that you might understand how things were in the beginning of creation and cultivation of this earth?" This instruction was explained in greater detail by James E. Talmage in a work approved for publication by the church authorities in 1912:

The Temple Endowment, as administered in modern temples, comprises instruction relating to the significance and sequence of past dispensations, and the importance of the present as the greatest and grandest era in human history. This course of instruction includes a recital of the most prominent events of the creative period, the condition of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, their disobedience and consequent expulsion from that blissful abode, their condition in the lone and dreary world when doomed to live by labor and sweat, the plan of redemption by which the great transgression may be atoned, the period of the great apostasy, the restoration of the Gospel with all its ancient powers and privileges, the absolute and indispensable condition of personal purity and devotion to the right in present life, and a strict compliance with Gospel requirements.

As will be shown, the temples erected by the Latter-day Saints provide for the giving of these instructions in separate rooms, each devoted to a particular part of the course; and by this provision it is possible to have several classes under instruction at one time.³⁰⁴

Bruce R. McConkie added that this "education relative to the Lord's purposes and plans in the creation and peopling of the earth" relates to "the things that must be done by man in order to gain exaltation in the world to come."³⁰⁵

302. See also *History of the Church*, 5:323-25.

303. *Journal of Discourses* 19:250.

304. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 99-100.

305. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 209.

Signs and Tokens

On May 1, 1842, Joseph Smith preached a sermon in which he taught that there are “certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed . . . The Elders must know them all to be endowed with power . . . No one can truly say he knows God until he has handled something, and this can only be in the Holiest of Holies.”³⁰⁶ In an 1853 public discourse Brigham Young explained the significance of the signs and tokens received in the endowment:

Let me give you the definition [of the endowment] in brief. Your *endowment*, is to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell.³⁰⁷

Obligations and Penalties

James Talmage also described the portion of the endowment involving obligations:

The ordinances of the endowment embody certain obligations on the part of the individual, such as covenant and promise to observe the law of strict virtue and chastity, to be charitable, benevolent, tolerant and pure; to devote both talent and material means to the spread of truth and the uplifting of the race; to maintain devotion to the cause of truth; and to seek in every way to contribute to the great preparation that the earth may be made ready to receive her King,—the Lord Jesus Christ. With the taking of each covenant and the assuming of each obligation a promised blessing is pronounced, contingent upon the faithful observance of the conditions.³⁰⁸

In 1856 Brigham Young explained the penalties associated with these obligations (but which were dropped from the ceremony in 1990):

A great many of you have had your endowments, and you know what a vote with uplifted hands means. It is a sign which you make in token of your covenant with God and with one another, and it is for you to perform your vows. When you raise your hands to heaven and let them fall and then

306. Faulring, 245.

307. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31; see also 2:315, 12:163; 10:172; 6:63; and D&C 129.

308. Talmage, 100-101.

pass on with your covenants unfulfilled, you will be cursed.³⁰⁹

Sealing

Elder Packer noted that in addition to the endowment, marriage sealings are performed in the temple which bind together for eternity whole families.³¹⁰ The text of this ceremony was published by Elder Orson Pratt, of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, in *The Seer* in 1853.³¹¹ Pratt was subsequently censured by Brigham Young for doing so.³¹²

EXPOSÉS OF THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Shortly after the initiation of the "Holy Order" in 1842, John C. Bennett published his *History of the Saints*³¹³ in which he claimed to reveal the endowment which he called Order Lodge. Since Bennett was not initiated into the Holy Order—he had previously fallen into disfavor with the Mormon hierarchy³¹⁴—his exposé is not a first-hand account of the ceremony introduced by Joseph Smith on May 4. Bennett's activities suggest that he was prone to exaggeration and misrepresentation, and there is reason to doubt the accuracy of his account of the endowment ceremonies.³¹⁵ His exposé includes a description of the initiatory rites which is not consistent with later accounts written after the endowment was given in the Nauvoo temple beginning in December 1845. Subsequent exposés do not accord with his description of candidates being "blindfolded" and "stripped naked" which is more descriptive of Ma-

309. *Journal of Discourses* 3:332.

310. Packer, *The Holy Temple*, 81-87, 155.

311. Orson Pratt, "Celestial Message," *The Seer* 1 (Feb. 1853): 31-32; see also *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 15:214.

312. "Minutes of Meeting at Historians Office," 4 Apr. 1860, Brigham Young Collection, LDS archives.

313. Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 272-78.

314. Although B. H. Roberts claimed Bennett did not fall into disfavor until May 7, 1842, his exclusion from the Holy Order demonstrates that he was no longer in the inner circle by May 4. See *Comprehensive History*, 2:140-47; *History of the Church*, 5:4. After Bennett's fall some of the brethren (Hyrum Smith, William Law, and George Miller—all members of the "Holy Order") admitted that they had distrusted Bennett for more than a year prior to his disaffection. See *Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters* (Nauvoo, IL, 31 Aug. 1842), reprinted in part in *History of the Church*, 5:67-88; see also *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 June 1841): 431-32; 3 (1 July 1842): 839-42. This distrust did not prevent Joseph from appointing Bennett to important positions, including assistant church president. See Van Wagoner, 29-30.

315. See Andrew F. Smith, "John Cook Bennett's Pre-Nauvoo Life," presented to the Mormon History Association, Lamoni, Iowa, 22 May 1993.

sonic rituals. His account is, however, consistent with many subsequent references to oaths, covenants, and penalties, including the claim that an oath existed to “overturn the Constitution of the United States,” and that there were special Priesthood garments. Although he hinted about other portions of the ritual not included in his exposé, he failed to provide details.

Bennett’s exposé also suggests a Masonic connection: he claims that Joseph Smith “pretends that God has revealed to him the *real Master’s word* which is here given to the candidate,” and that “Order Lodge” was part of Joseph’s “mission for the ‘restoration of the ancient order of things.’” A plate in the book (see Illustration 3)—which portrays the presiding officers of the Lodge, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and George Miller, wearing miters; acacia, a Masonic symbol of immortality, hanging on the walls; and lodge furniture located where it would be in a Masonic lodge—more accurately depicts a Master Masons’ lodge or Royal Arch Chapter and is similar to illustrations published in Masonic exposés³¹⁶ portraying candidates (who are blindfolded but only stripped to the waist) taking the oaths of an Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason.³¹⁷

Bennett may have been superficially familiar with aspects of the new ceremony, either because of his membership in Nauvoo Lodge, his relationship with Joseph Smith when the endowment was revealed, or from rumors.³¹⁸ After leaving Nauvoo, he claimed that in April 1841 Smith had commissioned him to establish a Masonic-like “Order of the Illuminati” in the event of Smith’s death.³¹⁹ Bennett organized the Illuminati in 1846 after

316. Bennett, 273.

317. For examples of these illustrations, see Edward Giddins, *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1829* (Boston: Anti-Masonic Free Press, 1829); Edward Giddins, *The Anti-Masonic Almanac, for the year of the Christian Era 1829* (Rochester: E. Scranton, 1829); *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the year of Our Lord 1831* (Boston: John Marsh & Co., 1831). The caption to the illustration in the 1831 Almanac reads as follows: “A ‘Poor Blind Candidate’ receiving his obligation; or the true form of initiating a member to the secret arts and mysteries of Freemasonry.” For subsequently published illustrations, see Malcolm C. Duncan, *Masonic Ritual and Monitor; or, Guide to the Three Degrees of the Ancient York Rite and to the Degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and the Royal Master* (New York: L. Fitzgerald, 1866), 33, 64, 94.

318. Such rumors were prevalent by 1843. See Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 271.

319. Klaus T. Hansen, *Quest for Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 54-55. Joseph Smith’s revelation of April 7, 1842, in which he was commanded to form “The Kingdom of God and His Laws with the keys and powers thereof and judgment in the hands of his servants,” which became the Council of Fifty, may be the germ from which Bennett later established his commission to establish the “Order of the Illuminati” in Voree. See Minutes of the Council of Fifty, 1880, in Hansen, 60-61.

ORDER LODGE.



1. Joe Smith.

2. Hyrum Smith.

3. George Miller.

4. Willard Richards.

Illustration 3. An illustration of Order Lodge which appeared in John C. Bennett's History of the Saints in 1842. It depicts a naked candidate (with no blindfold or cable tow) kneeling before the presiding officer (Joseph Smith), who, like the other two officers of the lodge (Hyrum Smith and George Miller), is wearing robes and a mitre. The lodge room is arranged like a Master Mason's lodge, including the presence of accacia on the walls, which, in Masonry, represents eternal life. (Bennett, 273.)

joining Mormon dissident James Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. Strang became the Imperial Primate and Bennett the General-in-Chief.³²⁰ Bennett was probably familiar with Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* and other anti-Masonic sources which claimed, incorrectly, that the "Illuminati" was a secret circle which controlled Freemasonry and influenced international politics. Although the Illuminati—a group of German Masons—did have some influence in eighteenth-century German politics, they did not exist in England or the United States.³²¹

Bennett's exposé also included a description of a "Mormon Seraglio," which he claimed was connected with the female Relief Society. Although Joseph Smith may have been flirting with the idea of establishing a "female lodge" when he organized the Relief Society—a claim that Bennett first made in the *Louisville Journal* in July 1842—it strains credibility to believe that an elaborate ceremony with three degrees ("The Cyprian Saints," "The Chambered Sisters of Charity," and "The Consecratees of the Cloister, or Cloistered Saints") with a marriage ceremony to legitimize "secret, spiritual wives" was connected to a society ruled by the "Elect Lady."³²²

Not until December 1845, when knowledge of the endowment expanded beyond a tightly-knit circle of trusted church authorities and their wives to include most worthy members of the general church population, were additional exposés published. Scores of exposés of the "endowment" have since been published.³²³ In contrast very little information concerning

320. Milo M. QuaiFFE, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), 49-50; Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 60-65.

321. The most comprehensive history and analysis of the German "Order of the Illuminati" is in René Le Forestier, *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-maçonnerie allemande* (Paris: Hachette, 1915), and republished (Geneva: Slatkine-Megarlotis Reprints, 1974).

322. Bennett, 217-25. Bennett also compared this "secret lodge of women" to a female ritual practiced in New York by "Matthias." See *New York Herald*, 26 July 1842, 2, col. 4 (Morning Edition). ("The initiatory proceedings at Joe's Order Lodge resemble those practiced by Matthias at Pearson's home; only his members were females, and they danced round a store, while Matthias anointed them. But perhaps, after all, Joe Smith has a secret lodge of women. We shall see" [quoted with some variation in Bennett, 217].) Matthias visited Joseph Smith in Kirtland in November 1835. During his visit Joseph told him "that his doctrine was of the devil, that he was in reality in possession of a wicked and depraved spirit" and that "his god was the devil" (*History of the Church*, 2:307). Contemporary accounts of Matthias, a self-proclaimed prophet, are contained in W. E. Drake, *Robert Matthews, Defendant, The Prophet! A Full and Accurate Report of the Judicial Proceedings* (1834); William L. Stone, *Matthias and His Impostures* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835); G. Vale, *Fanaticism: Its Sources and Influence* (New York, 1835); and S. B. Emmons, *Philosophy of Popular Superstitions* (Boston, 1853).

323. See David John Buerger, "Chronological Annotated Bibliography of Publications Giving the Mormon Temple Ceremony in Full or in Part," 1987, Marriott Library, University

the second anointing is available since it has never been extended to general church membership.³²⁴

Because exposés written by endowed men and women were sometimes inconsistent and contradictory, one wonders if the authors purposely distorted them to slander the church, if their memories were bad (they were usually based on a single experience in the temple), or if the ceremonies were still being developed. Regardless of the accuracy of these exposés, the endowment was one of the aspects of Mormonism which troubled those who had withdrawn from the church. Even the publishers of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which included William Law, a charter member of the Holy Order, complained in 1844 that they considered "all secret societies, and combinations under penal oaths and obligations, (professing to be organized for religious purposes) to be anti-Christian, hypocritical and corrupt." Although it is unclear whether this complaint was directed specifically at the endowment, the publishers made no attempt to expose its contents.³²⁵

The first exposé of the endowment introduced in the Nauvoo temple on December 10, 1845, appeared four months later in the April 15, 1846, issue of *The Warsaw Signal*. A woman who signed her name "Emeline" wrote to the newspaper in response to an article which had been published on February 18 which charged that participants in the endowment were "in a state of nudity throughout the ceremony,"³²⁶ a claim which Bennett had made four years earlier. Although Emeline admitted that she was breaking oaths and covenants she had made in the temple by revealing the contents of the ritual, she felt justified because she believed church authorities were "the most debased wretches" and that the endowment was "nothing less than fearful blasphemy." Nevertheless, she denied that the ceremony took place in a state of nudity, except for an initial robing ceremony during which only women were present and stated that no indecency took place between men and women since they were admitted separately. Although she admitted that she did not remember many of the details of the ceremony, she described the rooms and some of the characters, as well as the fact that there were oaths, obligations, and penalties.³²⁷

Two additional exposés, more detailed than Emeline's, were published during the next two years by persons who had also received their endow-

of Utah.

324. For a brief exposé of the second endowment see Stenhouse, 1874, 514-18. For further discussion concerning the second anointing, see Buerger, "The Fullness of the Priesthood"; and Levi Peterson, "My Mother's House," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 44 (Fall 1991): 79-88.

325. *Nauvoo Expositor*, 7 June 1844, 2.

326. *Warsaw Signal*, 18 Feb. 1846, 2.

327. "Mormon endowments," *Warsaw Signal*, 15 Apr. 1846, 2.

ments in the Nauvoo temple. The first of these was written by Increase McGee Van Dusen in 1847.³²⁸ Van Dusen and his wife Marie were endowed on January 29, 1846, as a reward for working on the Nauvoo temple for several years.³²⁹ By the time their exposé was written, Increase and Marie, who appeared as co-authors in all but the first edition, had left Nauvoo and joined James J. Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. Like other followers of Strang—who, in addition to Bennett, included two original members of the Holy Order, William Marks and George Miller, and two former apostles, William Smith and John Page—the Van Dusens claimed to believe that Joseph Smith was a prophet and included an account of Smith's first vision in various editions of their exposé, but (not knowing what Marks and Miller knew) they asserted that the endowment had been introduced by the "Imposter B. Young."³³⁰ Writing in the first person, they described the rooms and substance of the endowment, which they said had seven degrees (the number of degrees in Craft and Royal Arch Masonry were described publicly as the seven degrees of Freemasonry³³¹), as well as some of the oaths, tokens, signs, and penalties. Eventually twenty-two editions of their exposé were published from 1847 to 1864, each of which became increasingly detailed and lurid.³³² It was quoted in many subsequent anti-Mormon writings, including an early tract published in London in 1848.³³³ It was also used as a prototype for fraudulent exposés, including one by Thomas White in 1849 who replicated the claim that there were seven degrees in the endowment and added that the author witnessed Joseph Smith participating in the endowment performed in the Nauvoo temple. White also included "an account of the frauds practiced by Matthias the Prophet."³³⁴

328. Increase McGee and Marie Van Dusen, *The Mormon Endowment: A Secret Drama, or Conspiracy, in the Nauvoo-Temple in 1846* (Syracuse: N.M.D. Lathrop, 1847).

329. See Craig L. Foster, "From Temple Mormon to Anti-Mormon: The Ambivalent Odyssey of Increase Van Dusen," in this issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

330. Increase Van Dusen to James J. Strang, 18 June 1849, James J. Strang Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as quoted in Foster.

331. Duncan's *Masonic Ritual and Monitor* exposed the seven degrees of Freemasonry in 1866, and *Freemasonry Illustrated*, which was sold by Ezra A. Cook beginning in the 1880s, also purports to discuss the seven degrees of Freemasonry.

332. Foster refers to a pamphlet written by John Benjamin Franklin, *The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (London: C. Elliott, 1858), who apparently borrowed and embellished the Van Dusen exposé.

333. John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons* (London: Arthur Hall & Co., 1848). Other early references to the Van Dusen pamphlets published in London and cited by Foster include: John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed* (London: E. Ward, n.d. [ca. 1850]); and T. W. P. Taylder, *Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism* (London: Partridge & Co., 1857).

334. [Thomas White], *Authentic History of Remarkable Persons, who have attracted public attention in various parts of the world; including a full exposure of the iniquities of the pretended*

One year after the first publication of the Van Dusen exposé, a single woman, Catherine Lewis, wrote a slightly more detailed description of the ceremony,³³⁵ but it was published in only two editions and was not as widely distributed as the Van Dusen account. Since Lewis wrote from the perspective of an unmarried woman, her narrative reflects more clearly the link between the practice of "plurality of wives" and the endowment. According to Lewis, she was approached several times before going to the temple by Heber C. Kimball and his wife about being polygamously married to the apostle in the temple. She also noted that men and women went through the ceremony as companions and that one was not considered to have received the "full endowment" unless a woman was sealed to a man as her husband and families were sealed to apostles as children. Ironically, Lewis relied on Bennett, whom she seems to regard as an innocent victim like herself, for the portion of the endowment she did not complete.

The Bennett, "Emeline," Van Dusen, and Lewis accounts are apparently the only exposés of the Nauvoo endowment published by persons who did not emigrate to Utah, even though 5,669 persons were endowed in Nauvoo.³³⁶

With one exception, there is no evidence that the endowment ceremony was performed after Mormons left Nauvoo until 1852³³⁷ when such rites were occasionally given in the old Council House. Three years later the Mormons constructed an Endowment House in Salt Lake City to be wed until a new temple could be completed.³³⁸ Before this, Brigham Young taught that "many received a small portion of their endowment [in Nauvoo] . . . we know of no one who received it in its fullness."³³⁹ Even after the completion of the Endowment House, certain ordinances—sealing children to parents and endowment work for the dead—could not be performed until the completion of the temple.³⁴⁰ But endowments for the living recommenced; 54,170 persons

prophet Joe Smith, and the seven degrees of the Mormon Temple, and an account of the frauds practiced by Matthias the Prophet, and other religious imposters (New York: Wilson and Company, 1849); Thomas White, *The Mormon Mysteries; Being an Exposition of the Ceremonies of "The Endowment" and the Seven Degrees of the Temple* (New York: Edmund K. Knowlton, 1851).

335. Catherine Lewis, *Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the Mormons, etc.* (Lynn, MA: the Author, 1848).

336. *History of the Church*, 7:25.

337. An endowment ceremony was apparently performed in 1849 on Ensign Peak. See *Comprehensive History*, 3:386.

338. *Journal of Discourses* 3:159 (6 May 1855).

339. *Ibid.* 2:32.

340. *Ibid.* 16:185-87. See also *ibid.* 10:165, 254; 14:124-25.

were endowed between 1852-84.³⁴¹

Prior to completion of the Endowment House, Brigham Young complained that many Mormons asked for their endowment only "To go to California, and reveal everything he can, and stir up wickedness, and prepare himself for hell."³⁴² Only a few of those endowed in Utah did as Brigham had predicted. Some of the most widely published exposés were written by disgruntled Mormons who left the church and published books about their experiences in Utah, including descriptions of the endowment ceremony. Since the endowment was not yet performed for the dead most, if not all, of these exposés were based on a single experience in the Endowment House. One of the first of these accounts was published in 1857 by a British convert, John Hyde, Jr., who received his endowment in February 1854.³⁴³ Although Hyde's exposé contains less detail than either Van Dusen or Lewis, and was only published in two editions, it was read and used by a number of European travelers who visited Utah and published accounts of their observations. Hyde's exposé was translated into French by Jules Remy in his 1860 book recounting his visit to Utah in 1855.³⁴⁴ One year later an English translation of Remy's book, including Hyde's exposé, was published in London.³⁴⁵ Perhaps because of its previous appearance in French, Hyde's exposé was also grafted into the French edition of Richard Burton's *City of the Saints* in 1862³⁴⁶ and in the Italian edition (translated from French) in 1875.³⁴⁷ Ironically, Burton had criticized Hyde's exposé in his book published in London in 1861 (this criticism did not appear in the Italian and French editions) as a "circumstantial description" which could be doubted because of inconsistencies between it and another account written by Mary Ettie V. Smith.³⁴⁸

In both the French and Italian editions of Burton's book the word "endowment" was mistranslated as "admission to the sect" which was confused with a type of baptism or confirmation. This mistranslation may

341. *Comprehensive History*, 4:13-15.

342. *Journal of Discourses* 2:144.

343. John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W.P. Pettridge and Company, 1857), 83-99.

344. Jules Remy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*, 2 tomes (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860), 2:56-66.

345. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), 2:65-76.

346. Richard Burton, "Voyage à la Cité des Saints Capitale du Pays des Mormons," *Le Tour du Monde* 2 (1862): 353-400. This was later published in book form as Richard Burton, *Voyages du Capitaine Burton a la Mecque Aux Grands Lacs d'Afrique et chez les Mormons . . .* (Paris, 1870).

347. Richard Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1875).

348. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 255.

have occurred because Remy originally referred to the endowment as "a species of ordination or initiation for both sexes."³⁴⁹ Accompanying Hyde's exposé in Burton were engravings patterned after plates in Bennett's book, including one depicting "Order Lodge." That plate was inspired in part by engravings which had appeared in anti-Masonic almanacs depicting a candidate "receiving his obligation; or the true form of initiating a member to the secret arts and mysteries of Freemasonry."³⁵⁰ (See Illustration 4.) Because the word "endowment" was mistranslated as "admission to the sect," the engraving patterned after Bennett's plate of "Order Lodge" was captioned "The Baptism of Mormons." The same engraving—but not Hyde's exposé—also appeared in the 1879 Italian translation of Baron von Hubner's travel account with the same misleading caption.³⁵¹ (See Illustration 5.) Other foreign travelers who described the endowment also relied exclusively on Hyde and others.³⁵² Although both Remy and J. H. Beadle included exposés in their books which relied on Hyde, and foreign editions of Burton contained the Hyde exposé, each criticized Hyde for different reasons: Burton believed he lacked credibility, Beadle was amused that he had become a convert of Swedenborg, and both Beadle and Remy wrote that Hyde had rationalized when he broke his oath to not reveal the endowment.³⁵³

Beginning in 1858, the year following publication of Hyde's exposé, a number of women whose main complaint about Mormonism was polygamy published books containing a description of the endowment. These authors include Mary Ettie V. Smith (1858),³⁵⁴ who claimed her husband was a "member of fourth 'Quorum of Seventies'"; Fanny Stenhouse (1874), wife of T. B. H. Stenhouse, a prominent elder and publisher³⁵⁵; and Ann Eliza Young (1875), the estranged wife of Brigham Young.³⁵⁶ Smith's account—authored by Nelson Winch Green under the title *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons*—described the endowment she received in Nauvoo. Her narrative is chatty and passionate but lacks the substantive detail found

349. Remy, 2:65.

350. See *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1831* (Boston: John Marsh & Co., 1831), 1.

351. Alexander Graff von Hubner, *Passaggiata intorno al Mondo* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1879), 108-109.

352. See, for example, Amblard Marie Raymond Noailles, *Souvenirs d'Amérique et d'Orient* (Paris: Editions Française de la Nouvelle Revue National, 1920), 81.

353. See Burton, 255-56; Remy and Brenchley, 2:74-5; Beadle, 499-500.

354. Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons* (New York: H. Dayton, 1859).

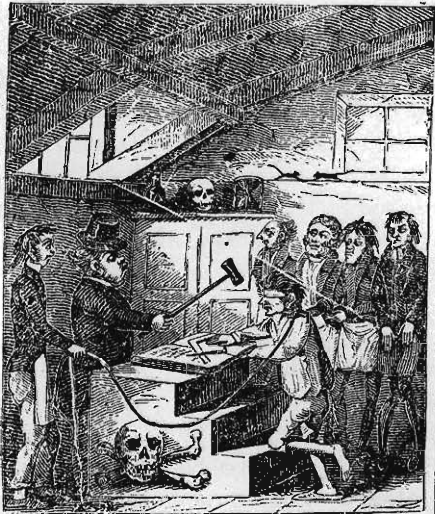
355. Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, "Tell it All": *The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, CT: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1874).

356. Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19* (Hartford, CT: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875).

THE
NEW ENGLAND
ANTI-MASONIC ALMANAC
 FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
1831.

OR THE TRUE FORM OF INITIATING A MEMBER

A "POOR-BLIND CANDIDATE" RECEIVING HIS OBLIGATION;



TO THE SECRET ARTS AND MYSTERIES OF FREEMASONRY.

"To all of which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, without the least equivocation, mental reservation, or self evasion of mind in me whatever; binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea at low water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty four hours; so help me God, and keep me steady in the due performance of the same."

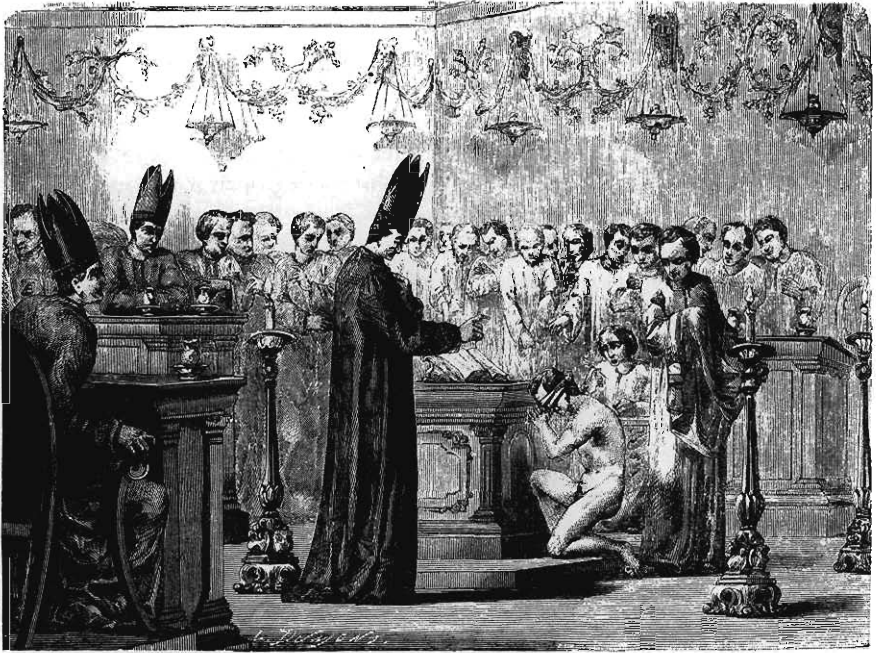
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Illustration 4. An illustration from an anti-Masonic almanac published in 1831, which depicts a Mason receiving his obligations in a Master Mason's Lodge. The candidate is clothed, barefooted, has a blindfold over his eyes, and a cable tow around his neck. This same illustration appeared in the Anti-Masonic Almanac of 1829 and the New England Anti-Masonic Almanac of 1829. Similar illustrations appeared in Duncan in 1860 which depicted a candidate receiving his obligations for the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason.



Battesimo presso i Mormoni.

*Illustration 5. This illustration, which appeared in the 1875 Italian abridgement of Richard Burton's *City of the Saints*, originally appeared in the French abridgement in 1862 and was inspired by the "Order Lodge" illustration in John C. Bennett's *History of the Saints*. Its misleading caption, "Baptism among the Mormons," is probably based on Jules Remy's inaccurate understanding of the Mormon endowment. Unlike the illustration in Bennett's book, this engraving depicts a naked initiate wearing a blindfold, which is similar to illustrations published in anti-Masonic almanacs beginning in 1829. (Burton, *I Mormoni*, 37.)*

in other accounts. In fact, she admitted that many portions of the ceremony would remain “forever sealed within my own breast by a solemn obligation of secrecy, and must so remain until I can see how their disclosure can contribute the public good.”³⁵⁷ Even so, she repeated a rumor that the second anointing is “administered without clothing of any kind,”³⁵⁸ argues that the purpose of the endowment is to “unsex the sexes,”³⁵⁹ and complained that women are “prostituted under such a system.”³⁶⁰ Richard Burton believed that Smith “leans to the erotic,” whereas Hyde “dwells upon the treasonous and mutinous tendency of the ceremony.”³⁶¹ Smith’s account was printed at least six times under various titles from 1858 to 1876.

Fanny Stenhouse’s book was one of the most popular accounts by an ex-Mormon published in the nineteenth century. It was published under various titles in at least seventeen printings from 1872 to 1890. In her first book, *A Lady’s Life Among the Mormons*, published in 1872, she wrote that “[i]n justice to the Mormons, I feel bound to state that the accounts which I have frequently read, professing to give a description of the ‘Endowments’ given in Salt Lake City, are almost altogether exaggerated . . . I myself saw nothing indelicate; though I had been led to believe that improper things did take place there, and I was determined not to submit to any thing of the kind.”³⁶² Although she repeated this statement in an expanded version of her autobiography, *Tell it All*, published in 1874³⁶³ (which contained a preface by Harriett Beecher Stowe and an endowment exposé), she also suggested that rumors concerning the Endowment House—namely, that those revealing the secrets of the endowment may have been killed—were not entirely groundless,³⁶⁴ that she felt “ashamed and disgusted” by the endowment from the day she received it,³⁶⁵ and that she was justified in revealing it because she did not take the vow of secrecy when called upon to do so in the Endowment House.³⁶⁶

Ann Eliza Young’s account, *Wife No. 19*, published in 1876, is so similar to Stenhouse’s experiences that one is tempted to believe that she or her publisher plagiarized a portion of Fanny’s exposé. It is a first-person

357. Green, 42.

358. *Ibid.*, 49.

359. *Ibid.*, 50.

360. *Ibid.*, 51.

361. *Ibid.*, 256.

362. Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah. A Lady’s Life Among the Mormons* (New York: American News Co., 1872), 95.

363. Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 356.

364. *Ibid.*, 354-55.

365. *Ibid.*, 367-68.

366. *Ibid.*, 368.

description of the endowment she received as a teenager in which she (like Stenhouse) claims that people may have been killed for revealing portions of the secret ceremony.³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, she believed that she was justified in revealing it because she did not know what she was agreeing to until after the oath had been given and because justice required removing those bonds.³⁶⁸ Between 1875 and 1908, Young's account was published in at least five variant printings, which was preceded by a lecture tour (managed by J. B. Pond, who eventually acted as literary agent for such luminaries as Mark Twain and Arthur Conan Doyle³⁶⁹) to Cheyenne, Denver, and Washington, D.C. According to Pond, her lectures were responsible in part for passage of the Poland Bill which enhanced the federal government's ability to enforce the Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862.

Beginning in the 1870s and continuing through the rest of the nineteenth century, individually-authored and -acknowledged exposés were supplemented by anonymous accounts included in books by journalists active in the anti-polygamy campaign. Endowment exposés became an integral part of efforts to encourage the federal government to crack down on the Mormon practice of plural marriage. These accounts purport to be based on eye-witnesses, published and unpublished, and in some cases emphasize the most lurid claims about the endowment. One of the earliest of this type was published by John H. Beadle, editor of the anti-Mormon newspaper, *The Salt Lake Reporter*,³⁷⁰ which began publication in 1868 after purchasing the printing press of *The Union Vedette* (the newspaper of Fort Douglas) which had ceased publication the previous spring³⁷¹ and whose main competitor was *The Daily Telegraph*, edited by T. B. H. Stenhouse. The Beadle exposé is more legalistic and less emotional than previous accounts by eye-witnesses. Although it is a synthesis of accounts by Hyde, Smith, Stenhouse, Young, and others, it is not particularly lurid; it does not even allege that candidates were stripped naked during the washing portion of the ceremonies. Beadle's book was published in thirteen separate editions from 1870 to 1904 and appeared in German and Russian, and was liberally quoted during the next two decades by various lapsed Mormons including the notorious English apostate William Jarman.³⁷²

367. Young, *Wife No. 19*, 368.

368. *Ibid.*, 371.

369. J. B. Pond, *Eccentricities of Genius* (New York: G.W. Dillingham Co., 1900), xxi-xxii.

370. J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870).

371. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1938), 333.

372. William Jarman, *U.S.A. Uncle Sam's Abscess or Hell Upon Earth* (Exeter: H. Ledoc's Steam Printing Works, 1884), 67-98.

In 1878 the *Salt Lake Tribune* began publishing its own versions of the endowment. The *Tribune* was initially a Godbeite (a Spiritualist schism from Mormonism) organ but was sold to anti-Mormon/Liberal Party interests in 1872, about the same time the Masonic fraternity organized a Grand Lodge in Salt Lake City. Both the Masonic fraternity and the *Tribune* were actively involved in the anti-polygamy crusades,³⁷³ and there are hints that members of the Craft in Utah may have facilitated, or at least enjoyed, the *Tribune's* efforts to "unveil" the temple ceremony.³⁷⁴

The earliest exposé to appear in the *Tribune* was written by a self-proclaimed "Apostate" in a letter to the editor in 1878. The letter gives a general description of the various stages in the endowment but is not a detailed exposé of the signs, tokens, obligations, and oaths.³⁷⁵ A more detailed description of the endowment, which became one of the most widely-diffused exposés, was published in the *Tribune* in 1879.³⁷⁶ Although the article is signed "G.S.R.," the author was Caroline Owens Miles, who abandoned Mormonism after being sealed in the Endowment House to a man as his second wife.³⁷⁷ This account was republished (both in connection with the anti-polygamy crusade and later with efforts to unseat Utah's senator-elect Reed Smoot) at least seven times during the next thirty years: in three pamphlets distributed by the Ladies Anti-polygamy Society in 1879³⁷⁸; in the *Handbook on Mormonism* in 1882³⁷⁹; in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1906³⁸⁰; in a pamphlet entitled *The Oath of Vengeance*

373. The Masonic Hall was made available for meetings of "counter Mormon organizations." For example, both the Liberal Party and the Godbeites used the hall for organizational meetings during the late 1860s and early 1870s. See *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1883): 51. In addition, the Masonic Hall was used in 1870 for discussions concerning the drafting of an anti-polygamy bill. See *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1 (Oct. 1880): 59.

374. See Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1893), 2:382; Robert N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: R. N. Baskin, 1914), 98-99.

375. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 8 Dec. 1878, 4.

376. Mrs. G-S-R-, "Lifting the Veil [sic]," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4.

377. Mrs. G.S.R- was identified as Mrs. Carrie Owen Mills by J. W. Buel, *Mysteries and Miseries of America's Great Cities* (San Francisco, 1883). See Chad Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980), 593. The actual name of the author was Caroline Owens Miles. See Kate Field, "Polygamy Unveiled," *Woman. A Monthly Magazine* 1 (Mar. 1888): 296-305. Baskin makes reference to Miles and her exposé in his *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (98-99).

378. *The Mormon Endowment House* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1872); *Mysteries of the Endowment House* (Salt Lake City, 1879); *Mysteries of the Endowment House* (Salt Lake City, 1879) [separate publications].

379. J. M. Coyner, ed., *Handbook on Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Handbook Publishing Co., 1882).

380. Mrs. G-S-R-, "Mysteries of the Endowment House," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 Feb. 1906,

issued in the aftermath of the Smoot hearings in 1906³⁸¹; and in a book of short stories about territorial Utah in 1909.³⁸² Unlike the Beadle account, the *Salt Lake Tribune* exposé was narrated in first person and, like the exposés published by Hyde, Smith, and Young, it claims that the endowment ceremony is both "disgusting and indelicate."³⁸³ It is also similar to most exposés published before that time, since it described the endowment rather than replicating the dialogue, but for the first time also included floor plans of the Endowment House and a sketch of the Devil's apron, which had various Masonic symbols which had not been adopted by Mormonism.³⁸⁴

Beginning in the 1870s the Endowment House ceremony and the practice of polygamy were linked³⁸⁵ in the legal battles to prevent immigrants, who had received their endowments, from becoming naturalized citizens; to disenfranchise Mormon voters; to prevent Utah from becoming a state; and to prevent George Q. Cannon, B. H. Roberts, and Reed Smoot from taking their seats in Congress. The Endowment House was not only the location where numerous illegal plural marriages had been performed, the endowment ceremony contained, according to some exposés, an oath to avenge the death of Joseph Smith against the U.S. government. During the disenfranchisement cases in 1889 Edward W. Tullidge republished "from the press of the *Juvenile Instructor*"³⁸⁶ portions of the Hyde and Sterhouse exposés. Although Tullidge had become disaffected from the LDS church two decades earlier during the Godbeite schism, he did not betray the same animosities of many lapsed Mormons and remained in Salt Lake City where he continued to publish newspapers, magazines, and histories of Utah and the LDS church. He also provided information to the Committee on Territories in Washington, D.C., concerning rumors about conditions in Utah. In republishing these exposés, Tullidge observed that the temple was looked upon as "the *Masonic* embodiment of that 'Polygamic Theocracy'"³⁸⁷ which was the prime target of the anti-polygamy campaign, but also criticized the motives and understanding of Hyde and

2.

381. *Mysteries of the Endowment House and Oath of Vengeance* (Salt Lake City: *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1906).

382. Gertrude Major, *The Revelation in the Mountain* (New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1909), 120-60.

383. *Handbook on Mormonism*, 24.

384. See also Randy Baker, "A Testimony of Jesus Christ Through Geometric Symbolism," Appen. D, Apr. 1992, privately circulated.

385. G-S-R-, 30.

386. Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories* (Salt Lake City: *Juvenile Instructor*, 1889), 425-65.

387. *Ibid.*, 426, emphasis in original.

Stenhouse and in particular labelled Hyde's allegation "that an oath is taken against the United States and its Government" a "direct lie."³⁸⁸ He wrote that any oath "to avenge the death of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, upon the Gentiles *who had caused his murder* . . . must, in its very nature, become obsolete."³⁸⁹

Another exposé by Henry G. McMillan, former clerk of the Third Judicial District Court, entitled *The Inside of Mormonism*,³⁹⁰ written in 1904 to document why Reed Smoot should "be denied a seat in the Senate of the United States,"³⁹¹ consisted largely of testimony from an 1889 disenfranchisement case in which the district judge denied citizenship to an endowed Mormon. Material from this pamphlet was introduced before the Smoot Senate committee and published in the proceedings.³⁹² The committee also received affidavits from people who testified that the judge in this disenfranchisement case had later allowed other Mormon immigrants to become citizens, although none stated whether those enfranchised had previously received their endowments.³⁹³

In February 1906 the *Tribune* republished the G.S.R- exposé and a description of the endowment attributed to Walter Wolfe during the Smoot Hearings.³⁹⁴ That same year James H. Wallis, Sr., published a pamphlet entitled *The Oath of Vengeance* which combined portions of Wolfe's testimony with the G.S.R- exposé to confirm that the ceremony had not changed for almost thirty years.³⁹⁵ Although those who wished to associate plural marriage with the purported treasonable and lurid character of the endowment ceremony used these exposés to emphasize portions of the endowment which, it was argued, rendered all temple Mormons disloyal to the Constitution and U.S. government,³⁹⁶ many of the witnesses called to testify at the Smoot hearings denied, as Tullidge had more than a decade earlier, that the endowment contained any oath or obligation directed against the United States.³⁹⁷ In 1927, as Tullidge had predicted, the oath of vengeance,

388. *Ibid.*, 447.

389. *Ibid.*, 449, emphasis in original. For a discussion of how this issue was used to deny George Q. Cannon his seat in Congress, see *ibid.*, 448.

390. Henry G. McMillan, *The Inside of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Utah Americans, 1903). Baskin also includes portions of the transcript in his *Reminiscences of Early Utah*. See Baskin, 89-98.

391. *Ibid.*, 8.

392. *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-6), 4:341-61.

393. *Ibid.*, 4:362-66.

394. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 Feb. 1906, 4.

395. James H. Wallis, Sr., *The Oath of Vengeance* (n.p., n.d.).

396. See *Proceedings*, 2:148, 153, 161, 189, 192, 194; 4:69-71.

397. See *ibid.*, 1:436-37, 744; 2:759, 762-63, 773-76, 796, 799, 855; 3:71, 279-80, 447-78.

which had been the subject of widely differing interpretations, was eliminated from the endowment.³⁹⁸

CHARGES OF PLAGIARISM

The close timing between the establishment of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge and the introduction of the LDS temple endowment, and similarities between the two rites in published exposés, has led some observers to refer to the endowment as a form of Masonry. Jules Remy noted that "Mormons carry out freemasonry to a very great extent"³⁹⁹; Richard Burton complained that the "Saints were at one time good Masons; unhappily they wanted to be better"⁴⁰⁰ and observed that the public connects the endowment with a Middle Ages "comedy or mystery,—possibly *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*—and connect it with the working of a Mason's Lodge"⁴⁰¹; Enrico Besana, an Italian traveler, concluded that the Mormons' "rites were taken from Masonry"⁴⁰²; Phil Robinson, an English traveler who visited the unfinished Logan temple, wrote that the "rites of the Endowments . . . [are] generally of the sacred Masonry of Mormonism"⁴⁰³; Wilhelm Wyl, in a book published by the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1886, claimed that "Mormonism in Utah is today nothing but *Joseph's revised or restored Masonry*"⁴⁰⁴; historian Hubert H. Bancroft stated that the endowment was a "religio-masonic ceremon[y]"⁴⁰⁵; and British novelist Rudyard Kipling concluded that it consisted of "imperfectly comprehended fragments of Freemasonry."⁴⁰⁶

These non-Mormon observers, some of whom were British Masons (Burton, Robinson, and Kipling), were probably influenced by descrip-

398. George F. Richards to Edward H. Snow, 15 Feb. 1927, LDS archives.

399. Remy, 2:75.

400. Burton, 426.

401. *Ibid.*, 271. One historian recently quoted from a Masonic text written in Russia concerning "Theological Moral Institution[,] A Discussion Concerning Adam's Fall," which was inspired by Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Valentin Boss, *Milton and the Rise of Russian Satanism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 48-49.

402. Enrico Besana, "Note di viaggio di un Italiano: Le Grandi Praterie Americane e i Mormoni," *Giornale Popolare di Viaggi* 2 (1871): 63; Enrico Besana, "I Mormoni nel 1868," *La Perseveranza*, 13 Feb. 1869, 1.

403. Phil Robinson, *Sinners and Saints* (London: Sampson, Law, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1883), 139.

404. Wilhelm Wyl, *Mormon Portraits* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), 269.

405. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 356.

406. Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Shining Sea*, 2 vols., (New York: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1899), 2:111.

tions of the endowment from the initiated. John C. Bennett had written in 1842 that "Joe pretends that God has revealed to him the real Master's word which is here given to the candidate"⁴⁰⁷; John Hyde had argued in 1857 that portions of the endowment were "plagiarized from masonry"⁴⁰⁸; E. L. T. Harrison, who was endowed before being excommunicated during the Godbeite schism, had opined in 1870 that "it is taught that there is a sort of divine Masonry among the angels who hold the Priesthood" but disputed the doctrine of "detecting spirits any unauthorized beings . . . by certain grips and secret words," and ridiculed the notion that "such a puny, imperfect thing as a species of Masonry [could be used] by which to keep the evil and pure apart"⁴⁰⁹; and T. B. H. Stenhouse had noted in 1873 that "Mormon leaders have always asserted that Free-Masonry was a bastard and degenerate representation of the order of the true priesthood," and that "no other statement than that of the leaders" is necessary "to form an estimate of the signs, grips, passwords, rites, and ceremonies of the Endowment House."⁴¹⁰ Another disaffected elder, Edward Tullidge, observed in 1889 that "the Logan Temple is a grand Masonic fabric reared unto the name of the God of Israel, where endowments are given,"⁴¹¹ that "Mormon apostles and elders, with a becoming repugnance and Masonic reticence quite understandable to members of every Masonic order, have shrank from a public exhibition of the sacred things of their temple,"⁴¹² and maintained that the significance of Joseph Smith's becoming a Freemason was that he "understood that the chain of Masonry is the endless chain of brotherhood and priesthood, linking all the worlds,—the heavens and the earths,—but he [Joseph Smith] believed that this earth had lost much of its purpose, its light, its keys, and its

407. Bennett, 276.

408. Hyde, 100.

409. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 Oct. 1870, 5; reprinted from *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 Sept. 1870, 4. Goodwin refers to the author of this passage, Harrison, as a "vigorous church writer," implying that he was a Mormon authority (see Goodwin, *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*, 34-35). This demonstrates that Goodwin may have understood some aspects of Mormon history better than others. Although the reference to Masonry implies a belief that the "signs and tokens" were received from Masonic rites, the whole discussion can only be fully comprehended in the context of Harrison's belief in Spiritualism and that one may speak with discarnate spirits without "signs and tokens" or "tests and key-words."

410. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873), 698. But Stenhouse also noted that "In 'The Mormon's own Book,' by T. W. P. Taylder, 139-147, a singular resemblance is pointed out between the ceremonies in the *Eleusinia*—a festival among the Cretans—and the mysteries of the Mormon Endowment, as set forth by Van Dusen."

411. *Tullidge's Histories*, 425.

412. *Ibid.*, 426.

spirit,—its chief loss being the key of revelation."⁴¹³ In discussing the Book of Abraham he also credits "that worthy Masonic order" of having "preserved among men the divine mysteries."⁴¹⁴

Ironically, other expositors of the endowment ceremony, usually women who were not permitted to join Freemasonry and were not familiar with the Craft, underplayed the Masonic connection and thought that it was part of a "blind" or Mormon public relations campaign. Mary Ettie V. Smith observed that

Mormons are anxious to have the "Gentiles" associate all they know of the beastly "Endowments," with Masonry, or as being a modified form of it, made eligible to women, as a blind to cover the real objects of this "Institution"; and I have noticed by the public prints, since my arrival in the States, that this was the opinion entertained among those "Gentiles" supposed to be best informed upon the subject. But this is but a mere blind; and the real object of these mystic forms is no way connected with, or borrowed from Masonry.⁴¹⁵

Similarly, Ann Eliza Young, perhaps plagiarizing Burton, wrote that the "Endowment rites are nothing more nor less than a drama, founded partially upon the Bible, but more upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*,"⁴¹⁶ but unlike Burton doubted the Masonic connection: "It is claimed that the mysterious rites were taken from Masonry, and that the Endowments are a direct outgrowth of the secret society . . . I am very sure all good Masons would repudiate it and its teachings."⁴¹⁷ Fanny Stenhouse was also convinced that although "[i]t has always been commonly reported, and to a great extent believed, that the mysteries of the Endowment House were only a sort of initiation—burlesque, it might be—of the rites of Masonry; but I need hardly say that this statement when examined by the light of facts, is altogether ungrounded and absurd."⁴¹⁸ Even the synthesizer, J. H. Beadle, perhaps again borrowing from Smith, Burton (through Young), and Stenhouse wrote that the endowment was "paraphrased from the Scriptures and Milton's *Paradise Lost*," "modeled upon the *Mysteries* or *Holy Dramas* of the Middle Ages," and "extracted from 'Morgan's Free-masonry Exposé'," but he also observed that although he was uncertain "How much of Masonry proper has survived in the Endowment . . . the Mormons are

413. Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph, The Prophet* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1878), 391-92.

414. *Tullidge's Histories*, 442.

415. Green, 49-50.

416. Young, *Wife* No. 19, 357.

417. *Ibid.*, 371.

418. "Tell it All," 354.

pleased to have the outside world connect the two, and convey the impression that this is 'Celestial Masonry.'"⁴¹⁹

Masonic publications in Great Britain during the 1870s also charged that the Mormon temple ceremony was a form of spurious Freemasonry.⁴²⁰ The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Utah, Joseph M. Orr, expressed similar sentiments in 1878 when he defined the Lodge's exclusionary policy prohibiting Mormons from entering into any Masonic lodge in Utah:

We say to the priests of the Latter-day Church, you cannot enter our lodge rooms—you surrender all to an unholy priesthood. You have heretofore sacrificed the sacred obligations of our beloved Order and we believe you would do the same again. Stand aside; we want none of you. Such a wound as you gave Masonry in Nauvoo is not easily healed, and no Latter-day Saint is, or can become a member of our Order in this jurisdiction.⁴²¹

For the next decade, Utah Masons, relying largely on exposés by former Mormons, began to challenge the legitimacy of the endowment on the basis that it was borrowed from Freemasonry. Initially Mormons either ignored the charges—although privately Franklin D. Richards and others admitted that Joseph Smith had used the Masonic ceremony—or countercharged that Freemasons relied "almost wholly on the evidence of apostates" or the same type of people "who had committed moral perjury by revealing your secrets . . . as the numerous exposés of Masonry will show."⁴²²

But the Mason/Mormon debate was not just about rituals and symbols. It was also about representation and statehood. In 1882 Senator George Edmunds wrote in *Harpers* that Mormons continued to "maintain an exclusive political domination."⁴²³ Masons assumed a leadership role in opposing this "domination" with particular enthusiasm. The Mormon/Mason fight for political power must have appeared sinister to some observers. Masons were accused of influencing the politics of the French Revolution, the Italian Risorgimento, and the American Revolution. Now they were making their lodges available for meetings to advance a political agenda, including the anti-polygamy campaign, while at the same time claiming

419. Beadle, 498-99.

420. See Robert Wentworth Little, "Mormonism," *The Rosicrucian: A Quarterly Record of the Society's Activities* 14 (Oct. 1871): 168-70; Kenneth R.H. MacKenzie, ed., *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* (London: John Hogg, 1872), 497-98; A. Woodford Kenning, *Masonic Cyclopaedia* (London: Geo. Kenning, 1878), 626.

421. *1877 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1877), 11-12.

422. A. T. Heist [A. T. Schroeder], "Mormon and Mason," *Salt Lake Herald*, 6 Dec. 1891, 3.

423. In Van Wagoner, 175.

that Mormon temple rituals were clandestine. Many Mormons believed that just as Masonry was in part responsible for the death of Joseph Smith,⁴²⁴ it continued to wage war to destroy his political and doctrinal legacies. Finally in 1890 Masons were able to boast: "On the tenth day of February next the body politic, that has for forty years misruled our rich and fair Territory and stood in the way of progress will crumble down. On its ruins the body Masonic ought to erect its temple that will stand till time shall be no more. Brothers, our time has come. Let us be up and doing."⁴²⁵ Such statements by the Masons, and similar charges by Mormons about Masonry, poisoned not only the political waters, but had a lasting impact on the twentieth-century debate concerning the relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism.

MORMON STATEMENTS CONCERNING PARALLELS BETWEEN MASONIC RITUAL AND THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Mormon leadership in the nineteenth century was not particularly concerned with comparisons between Mormonism and Freemasonry. The original Holy Order consisted of four Masons (Brigham Young,⁴²⁶ William Marks, William Law, and Willard Richards) who were initiated, passed, and raised less than one month before being endowed,⁴²⁷ and five who were Masons before becoming Mormons (George Miller, Hyrum Smith, Newell K. Whitney, Heber C. Kimball and James Adams)—four of whom were charter members and officers of Nauvoo Lodge (Miller, Master; Smith, Senior Warden; Whitney, Treasurer; and Kimball, Junior Deacon) and one of whom (Adams) was Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois when Nauvoo Lodge received its dispensation. Since five members of the Holy Order were long-time Masons and the remaining four were fresh recruits, Joseph Smith undoubtedly knew that comparisons would be made between Masonry and the endowment.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that Smith intended the endowment to rival Masonic rituals or that Mormon lodges would be abandoned after

424. For a summary of this struggle, see Michael W. Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847-1984," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992).

425. *1890 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah*, 15.

426. Although some have claimed that Young was a Freemason before joining the church (see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 [Spring 1971]: 81-82; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985], 89; James J. Tyler, "John Cook Bennett, Colorful Freemason of the Early Nineteenth Century," reprint from *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ohio* [n.p., 1947], 8), Young was not a charter member of Nauvoo Lodge and was initiated, passed, and raised in April 1842. See Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.*

427. Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge*.

the completion of the temple. His use of the Masonic distress call, the continuation of lodge work after he revealed the endowment, and the completion and dedication of the Masonic Hall after the Grand Lodge withdrew its recognition from the Mormon lodges demonstrate that Smith was not a lukewarm Mason, that Mormons were not using Masonry only to gain a political foothold in Illinois, that they remained dedicated Masons throughout Smith's life, and that they continued to do lodge work until they left Nauvoo in 1846. Arguably, it was only after the Saints relocated in the Great Basin that Mormonism and Masonry were completely divorced and only then did Mormon officials claim that Masonry had outlived its purpose.

In Nauvoo the relationship between Mormonism and Masonry was readily acknowledged. According to Heber C. Kimball, Smith believed there was "similarity of preast Hood [sic] in Masonary [sic]" and that Freemasonry was "taken from [the] preasthood [sic] but has become degenerated [sic]."⁴²⁸ Benjamin F. Johnson, a Nauvoo Mason, also quoted Smith teaching that "Freemasonry as at present, was the apostate endowments, as sectarian religion was the apostate religion."⁴²⁹ Smith's successor, Brigham Young, taught that King Solomon built his temple to give endowments,⁴³⁰ that Solomon founded Freemasonry,⁴³¹ but that "they gave very few if any endowments" because one of "the high priests [Hiram Abiff] was murdered by wicked and corrupt men, who had already begun to apostatize, because he would not reveal those things appertaining to the Priesthood that were forbidden him to reveal until he came to the proper place."⁴³² Young's first counselor also taught that "Masonry of today is received from the apostasy which took place in the days of Solomon and David."⁴³³

Other Mormon contemporaries of Joseph Smith noticed parallels between the endowment and Freemasonry. Because Freemasonry was "received from the apostasy," Joseph Fielding, Hyrum Smith's brother-in-law and a Nauvoo Mason, wrote in December 1843 that "Many have joined the Masonic Institution" as "a Stepping Stone or Preparation for something

428. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt Papers, LDS archives.

429. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 96.

430. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

431. *Ibid.* 11:327-28.

432. *Ibid.* 18:303. Although Young was clearly referring to the Masonic tradition of Hiram Abiff, it has been suggested that he may have been referring to Zachariah (Matt. 23:35; Luke 11:51; 2 Chron. 24:20). See John A. Tvedtnes, "The Temple Ceremony in Ancient Rites," 18, privately circulated.

433. Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 13 Nov. 1858.

else, the true Origin of Masonry."⁴³⁴ Oliver Olney wrote in April 1842 that "We have of late had an instruction set up by a man from a distance said to be Masonry in its best state . . . They say threw [sic] it to obtain The fullness of the Priesthood that they say they have lost because of their unlawful works."⁴³⁵ Olney went on to write that the Masonic rite "has much encouraged L.D.S. they think soon to arise to perfection As some few secrets they have obtained."⁴³⁶ James Cummings, a Nauvoo Mason, recalled that Smith seemed "to understand some of the features of the [Masonic] ceremony better than any Mason and that he made explanations that rendered the rites much more beautiful and full of meaning."⁴³⁷ Finally, Samuel C. Young, while serving an LDS mission in Illinois in 1912, wrote that Charles H. J. Charvatt, who said he knew Joseph Smith personally, told him that "There was some signs and tokens with their meaning and significance which we [the Craft] did not have. Joseph restored them and explained them to us"; and that it was "bigotry, jealousy [sic] and envy which caused Joseph to be taken away from his position in the Masonic order."⁴³⁸

These statements demonstrate that at least three members of the Holy Order were aware of similarities between the endowment and Masonic rituals, that they believed that the Masonic rites were an apostate form of priesthood which survived from Solomon's temple and been restored through the endowment. Nevertheless, these same men continued to participate in Masonry after receiving their endowments. Although Lucius Scovill was instructed by Heber C. Kimball on April 10, 1845, to stop initiating Masons,⁴³⁹ Nauvoo Lodge remained active until the exodus in

434. Ehat, 145; see also *ibid.*, 147.

435. In Oliver Olney Papers, LDS archives.

436. *Ibid.*

437. Horace Cummings, "History of Horace Cummings," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967, 86. A portion of Cummings's journal was published in the *Juvenile Instructor* in August 1929. In that version Joseph Smith's explanation of the Masonic rite is rendered as follows: "One of the first incidents recorded which greatly impressed my mind and which make a useful lesson was related by my father. His parents, who had a large family, lived in Nauvoo, and were quite intimate with the Prophet Joseph. In fact, his father, being a Master Mason, officiated in conducting the Prophet through all the degrees of Masonry. In doing this the Prophet explained many things about the rite that even Masons do not pretend to understand but which he made most clear and beautiful." Horace H. Cummings, "True Stories from my Journal," *Juvenile Instructor* 64 (Aug. 1929): 441. Hogan has criticized Godfrey's citation of Cummings. See Mervin B. Hogan, *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1980), 274-78.

438. Manuscript of Samuel C. Young, LDS archives.

439. Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diary of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), 103.

1846. In was not until the Saints arrived in Utah that Brigham Young refused to seek Masonic charters despite opposition from two former Masters of Nauvoo Lodge (George A. Smith and Lucius Scoville) who had expressed an interest in obtaining them⁴⁴⁰; and that Mormon converts such as Louis Bertrand, a French Mason who had never lived in Nauvoo, wrote publicly that Freemasonry had fulfilled its purpose after the endowment was revealed.⁴⁴¹

Similar statements were made to outsiders who visited the territory. John W. Gunnison, a member of the Stansbury expedition, spent several years in Utah among the Mormons (1849-50). In 1852 he published a book in which he recorded their history and counseled the government to adopt a moderate policy toward them. Gunnison wrote that the church taught "that Masonry was originally of the church, and one of its favored institutions, to advance the members to their spiritual functions. It had become perverted from its designs, and was restored to its true work by Joseph, who gave again, by angelic assistance, the key-words of the several degrees that had been lost."⁴⁴² Richard Burton came to the same understanding when he visited Salt Lake City in 1860, writing that one of Brigham Young's nephew's had told him that an "angel of the Lord brought to Mr. Joseph Smith the lost key-words of several degrees, which caused him, when he appeared amongst the brotherhood of Illinois, to 'work right-a-head' of the highest, and to show them their ignorance of the greatest truths and benefits of masonry."⁴⁴³

While Gunnison and Burton may have misunderstood the relationship between Mormonism and Masonry and their information may have come from uninformed Mormons who did not represent the hierarchy's official views on the subject (that the Masonic rite was restored to its original pristine form through divine inspiration, just as the Bible had been restored to its original form in the inspired version), their summary is nonetheless consistent with later statements made in church periodicals or by church authorities. For example, Helen Marr Whitney, daughter of Heber C. Kimball, in a pamphlet entitled *Why We Practice Plural Marriage*, published by the *Juvenile Instructor*, wrote that temple work was the "Masonry of God."⁴⁴⁴ In 1886 the *Juvenile Instructor* published an article which stated that "[a]lthough this [Masonic] institution dates its origins many centuries back,

440. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:482-83.

441. L. A. Bertrand, *Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 171-72.

442. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 59-60.

443. Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 426.

444. Helen Marr Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1884), 63.

it is only a perverted Priesthood stolen from the Temples of the Most High."⁴⁴⁵ Perhaps the clearest statement of this understanding was made by Franklin D. Richards, president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, one of the last surviving general authorities who had been a Nauvoo Mason. In 1891 Richards wrote that "Certain mystic rites which are practiced throughout Christendom claim antiquity with Solomon's temple."⁴⁴⁶ Eight years later during a discussion of "secret societies" with his fellow apostles, Richards told his quorum that

Joseph, the Prophet, was aware that there were some things about Masonry which had come down from the beginning and he desired to know what they were, hence the lodge. The Masons admitted some keys of knowledge appertaining to Masonry were lost. Joseph enquired of the Lord concerning the matter and He revealed to the Prophet true Masonry, as we have it in our temples. Owing to the superior knowledge Joseph had received, the Masons became jealous and cut off the Mormon Lodge.⁴⁴⁷

Matthias Cowley reiterated this theme at a January 8, 1902, meeting of the Twelve when he "Spoke of Freemasonry as being a counterfeit of the true masonry of the Latter-day Saints."⁴⁴⁸

These statements demonstrate that even though the Mormon hierarchy was reluctant to discuss the Mormon/Masonic connection after the turn of the century, it was still in harmony with Brigham Young's teaching that Mormon temples were the first temples since Solomon's temple where work for the living and dead could be performed. Endowment work for the living recommenced in Kirtland and Nauvoo and endowment work for the dead recommenced in St. George. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were not only baptized on August 21, 1877, but were endowed the following day,⁴⁴⁹ and on March 19, 1894, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington received their second anointings.⁴⁵⁰ An article in the November 1901 *Improvement Era*⁴⁵¹ answered the question "Why was Joseph Smith the Prophet a Free Mason?" which, although cryptic, confirmed the pri-

445. *Juvenile Instructor* 21 (15 Mar. 1886): 91.

446. Franklin D. Richards, "The Temple of the Lord," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 Dec. 1891), reprinted in *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (Oct. 1920): 147.

447. Rudger Clawson Diary, 4 Apr. 1899, Rudger Clawson Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah; reprinted in Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1993), 42.

448. Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 380.

449. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 7:367-69.

450. *Ibid.*, 9:293.

451. "Secret Societies," *Improvement Era* 4 (Nov. 1900): 58.

vately-expressed views of President Franklin D. Richards. Rather than respond to the question directly, the editors of the church periodical (Joseph F. Smith and Edward H. Anderson) referred readers to the *History of Joseph Smith* in which the prophet stated on May 1, 1842 (three days before he introduced the endowment to the Holy Order), that there were

signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders until the Temple is completed . . . There are signs in heaven, earth and hell, the Elders must know them all, to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition. The devil knows many signs, but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus.⁴⁵²

Given these statements by Mormon authorities who were also Nauvoo Masons, it is not surprising that Joseph Smith taught there was "similarity of priesthood in Masonry"⁴⁵³; that Brigham Young's estranged wife claims that he referred to the Mormon temple endowment as "celestial Masonry"⁴⁵⁴; that Brigham Young told a Mormon congregation that the St. George temple was the first temple since Solomon's temple in which ordinances for the living and dead could be performed⁴⁵⁵; that Heber C. Kimball said that "we have true Masonry"⁴⁵⁶; and that Mathias Cowley wrote in 1909 that the fraternity sought for in Freemasonry "was superseded by a more perfect fraternity found in the vows and covenants which the endowment in the House of God afforded members of the Church."⁴⁵⁷

In addition to comparing the rituals of Freemasonry to the endowment, Mormon leaders also compared the secrecy and symbols of the two rites. The temple ritual became a helpmate to the secrecy associated with the practice of plural marriage. This was consistent with William Preston's and William Hutchinson's lectures which taught that the first lesson of Masonry is the virtue of secrecy.⁴⁵⁸ This was also an aspect of Masonry attacked by the clergy,⁴⁵⁹ and which contemporary observers claimed was the target of

452. The reference given by the editors was "Gems from the History of Joseph Smith," in *Compendium of the Doctrine of the Gospel*, 274, which now appears in *History of the Church*, 4:608.

453. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842.

454. Young, *Wife No. 19*, 371.

455. *Journal of Discourses* 19:220.

456. Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 13 Nov. 1858.

457. Mathias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 160.

458. See Dyer, 174-75; Hutchinson, xxvi.

459. Bernard, ix-x.

Book of Mormon references to "secret combinations."⁴⁶⁰ Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball all taught that the purpose of Freemasonry was to "keep a secret."⁴⁶¹ During a meeting of the Relief Society on March 30, 1842, Smith warned the sisters about "iniquitous characters" who were "aspiring after power and authority." Although he did not mention names because he doubted whether everyone was "sufficiently skill'd in Masonry as to keep a secret,"⁴⁶² he asked that the matter be kept private by reminding the sisters to be "good Masons." Brigham Young later taught: "I could preach all about the endowments in public and the world know Nothing about it. I could preach all about Masonry & none but a Mason know anything about it. And the mane [sic] part of Masonry is to keep a secret."⁴⁶³ Kimball echoed these sentiments when he said: "You have received your endowments. What is it for? To learn you to hold your tongues."⁴⁶⁴ Even after the turn of the century and the abandonment of polygamy, the same comparison was made. The First Presidency stated in a message on October 15, 1911, that "[b]ecause of their Masonic characters, the ceremonies of the temple are sacred and not for the public."⁴⁶⁵

Mormon use of Masonic symbols has also been publicly acknowledged. Mormons were hardly discreet in their depictions of symbols long associated with Freemasonry (see Illustration 6), including the square, the compass, the sun, moon, and stars, the beehive, the all-seeing eye, ritualistic hand grips, two interlaced triangles forming a six-pointed star (known as the seal of Solomon), and a number of other Masonic symbols on endowment houses, temples, cooperatives, grave markers, tabernacles, church meetinghouses, newspaper mastheads, hotels, residences, money, logos, and seals.⁴⁶⁶ This caused a British observer in 1871 to encourage fellow Masons "on the other side of the Atlantic [to] rise enmasse and crush this

460. See, for example, La Roy Sunderland, *Mormonism Exposed and Refuted* (New York: Piercy & Reed, 1838), 46; and Jason Whitman, "Notices of Books, The Book of Mormon," *The Unitarian* 1 (1 Jan. 1834): 47.

461. *History of the Church*, 6:59; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:418 (22 Jan. 1860); *Journal of Discourses* 5:133 (2 Aug. 1857).

462. Minutes of the Relief Society, 8 Sept. 1842 (recording an Epistle read on 30 Mar. 1842).

463. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:418 (22 Jan. 1860). See also *Journal of Discourses* 4:287-89 (25 Mar. 1857).

464. *Journal of Discourses* 5:133 (2 Aug. 1857).

465. Statement of the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund and John Henry Smith), dated 15 Oct. 1911, appearing in *Deseret News*, 4 Nov. 1911, reprinted in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 4:250.

466. Allen D. Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism," *Sunstone* 4 (May-June 1979): 22-37.

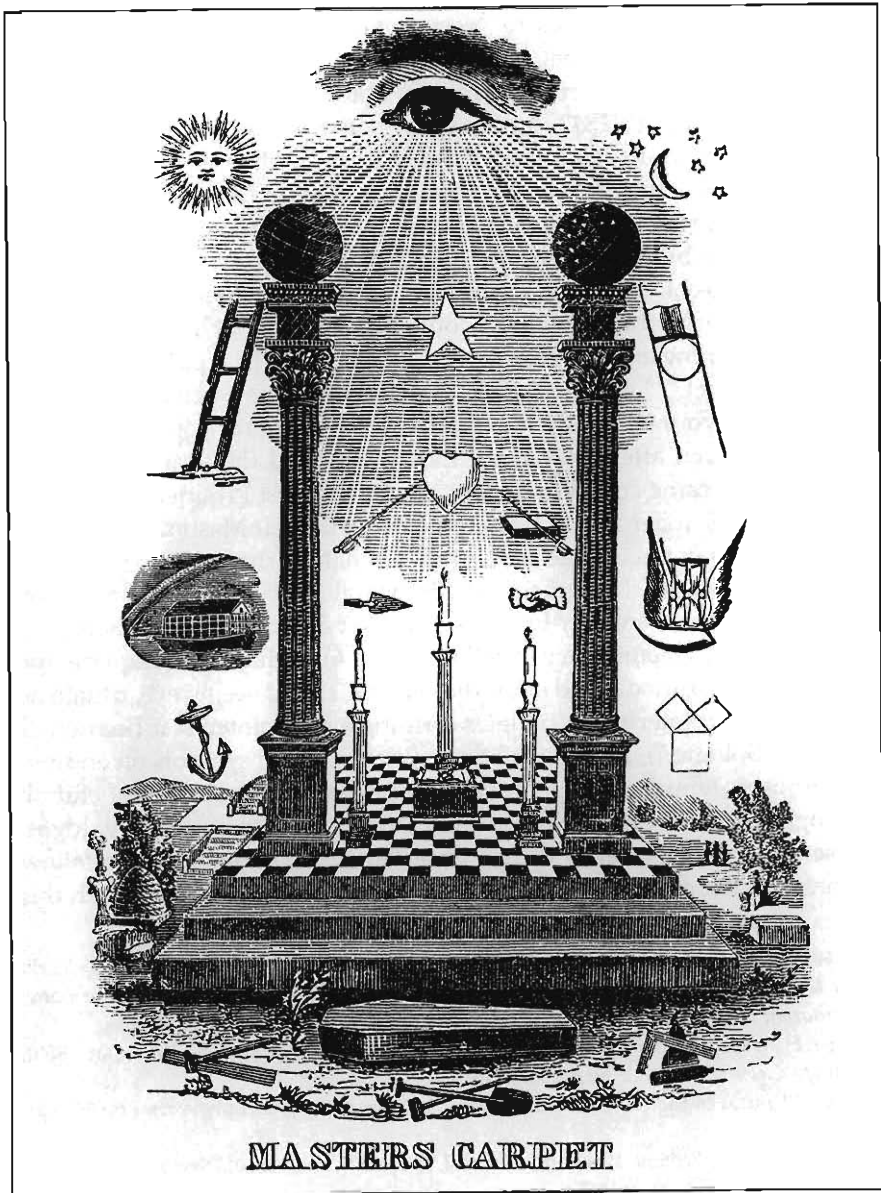


Illustration 6. The "Masters Carpet," published by Masonic writer and lecturer, Jeremy Cross, in The Masonic Monitor in 1820, includes most of the Masonic symbols subsequently adopted by Mormonism, including the square, compass, level, beehive, all-seeing eye, sun, moon, and stars. (Cross, 1.)

attempt at an unwarranted use of their symbols."⁴⁶⁷ Although church leaders did not consider the use of these symbols "unwarranted," they did gradually curtail their use. In 1886, when a controversy arose concerning the use of Masonic symbols on the Salt Lake temple, which was then under construction, church president and Nauvoo Mason John Taylor stated that Masonic considerations should not be taken into account when making architectural changes to the structure.⁴⁶⁸ Although some Masonic symbols were retained on the temple, the most common Masonic symbols, the square and compass, which appeared on endowment houses and were included by Truman Angell in 1854 on the original drawings for the Salt Lake temple, were excluded from the completed structure.⁴⁶⁹ These and other symbols used in the nineteenth century were discarded after the turn of the century, and by 1906 Joseph E. Morcombe, a Mason who was acquainted with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, noted that it was inevitable that the church would "borrow from Masonic forms and symbols,"⁴⁷⁰ perhaps realizing that the Craft itself had borrowed most of the symbols it claimed as its own.⁴⁷¹

TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHALLENGES BY THE CRAFT AND MORMON RESPONSES

During most of the twentieth century both Masonry and Mormonism opposed dual membership: Masons in Utah prohibited Mormons from joining or visiting their lodges and Mormons counseled members to avoid joining secret societies. During a discussion of secret societies on April 12, 1900, in a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency some brethren wondered if "Freemasonry was in some degree excepted [from a general condemnation of secret societies], as it was thought that in some instances it might be advisable to join that body." Despite the suggestion, Lorenzo Snow, the last surviving general authority who was also a Mason (Franklin Richards had died the previous year), authorized a statement that church leaders were "opposed to secret societies," which made no exception for Freemasonry.⁴⁷² Shortly thereafter Snow addressed a large gathering in the tabernacle

467. Chalmers I. Paton, "The Mormons and Masonic Symbols," *The Freemasons* 3 (1871): 427.

468. See Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes?," 26-27.

469. See Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), 119-32, 142-45.

470. Joseph E. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," *Masonic Standard* 11 (1 Sept. 1906): 6.

471. See Mackey, 57, 735; Waite, 1:21.

472. Clawson Diary, 12 Apr. 1900, reprinted in Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 155.

on the subject of secret societies, in which he reiterated this policy: "Men who are identified with these secret organizations . . . have disqualified themselves and are not fit to hold these offices," and further stated "that any man who is a member of these organizations ought not to be allowed the privileges or blessings of the gospel."⁴⁷³ This was followed by a series of statements by general authorities counseling members not to join any "secret society" for any reason.⁴⁷⁴ Following the death of the Nauvoo Masons among the general authorities, the decline in the use of Masonic symbols, and increased criticism by and between Mormons and Masons, acknowledgment by church leaders of similarities between the rites of Freemasonry and the endowment became increasingly rare.

Shortly thereafter Utah Masons began to search for a new rationale to exclude Mormons from their lodges. Even though Masons may have facilitated the publication of the "G.S.R.-" exposé, its primary purpose was to aid the anti-polygamy campaign and not emphasize links between the two rituals. Similarly, they withheld Masonic membership from Mormons because of polygamy and not because of charges that the endowment was plagiarized from Masonic rites.⁴⁷⁵ Apparently stung by the Mormon hierarchy's statements concerning "secret societies," Masons in Utah refused to change their policy to allow Mormons into their lodges after the abandonment of polygamy and instead published statements and articles of their own criticizing the Mormon church.⁴⁷⁶ During the Smoot hearings wide-ranging testimony surfaced regarding not only the content of the endowment but the Mormon connection with Freemasonry. This spawned a number of articles in national Masonic journals which were republished in Utah.

In 1905, for example, the Grand Lodge of Utah reprinted an article by a past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois which discussed the connection between Mormonism and Freemasonry in Nauvoo. Although

473. *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 12 Nov. 1900.

474. The earliest articles in the *Improvement Era* appeared in the section entitled "Editor's Table": *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59; 6 (Dec. 1902): 149-52; 6 (Feb. 1903): 305, 308; 12 (Feb. 1909): 313. In addition, various speakers at general conference also touched on the subject. See *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1900), 30-31 (Marriner W. Merrill); (Apr. 1901), 73 (Joseph F. Smith); (Apr. 1903), 20-21 (C. Kelly). For later treatments of the same subject, see *Conference Reports* (Oct. 1922) (Charles W. Nibley). John A. Widtsoe, "Why it is Undesirable to Join Secret Societies," *Improvement Era* 42 (May 1939): 289.

475. See, generally, Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism."

476. "Report on Correspondence," 1899 *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah*, Appen., 18, 60; "Report on Correspondence," 1904 *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1904), 103-104.

he did not mention the connection between the endowment and Masonic rituals he did claim that "there is no truth in the statement that Morgan's widow was ever a resident of Nauvoo," apparently based on a dinner conversation with Emma Bidamon in 1860.⁴⁷⁷ The following year Theodore Schroeder, a former resident of Utah who was instrumental in maneuverings to deny B. H. Roberts his seat in congress, a prolific writer of anti-Mormon literature, and a Mason, published an article in *The Masonic Standard* in which he relied on Burton, Gunnison, Mary Ettie V. Smith, and others to support his claim that "Masonry furnished suggestions for the groundwork for the secret endowment ceremony of the Latter-day Saints."⁴⁷⁸ Schroeder's article was republished in the *Salt Lake Tribune* the following year.⁴⁷⁹ Five months later Joseph Morcombe responded to Schroeder in the *Masonic Standard* and challenged Schroeder's premise that Joseph Smith pilfered the Masonic rite. Morcombe noted that the endowment did not replace Masonry in Nauvoo—both rituals were performed until the Mormons left Nauvoo—even after the Grand Lodge revoked the dispensations and refused to charter the Mormon lodges. He also argued that Mormonism's adoption of Masonic "forms and symbols" did not prove that Joseph Smith intended the endowment to rival Freemasonry.⁴⁸⁰

In 1908 another article concerning "Mormonism and Masonry in Illinois" appeared in the *Masonic Voice-Review*.⁴⁸¹ The author reviewed the history of Mormon lodges in Illinois and concluded that after "the church was removed to Salt Lake City its ceremonies were modeled after those of

477. John Corson Smith, "Mormonism and its Connection with Freemasonry 1842-3-4 Nauvoo, Illinois," *The American Tyler* 19 (1 Feb. 1905): 323-26, reprinted in *1905 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1905), 113-20.

478. Theodore Schroeder, "Mormonism and Masonry," *Masonic Standard* 11 (7 Apr. 1906): 2, republished in *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 June 1907, 4. In the *Tribune* version the quotation is: "Masonry furnished the suggestion or groundwork for the secret endowment ceremony of the Latter-day Saints." In the *Masonic Standard*, Mary Ettie V. Smith's quotation concerning the Mormon anxiety "to have the Gentiles associate all they know of the beastly 'endowments' with Masonry . . . as a blind to cover the real objects of this 'Institution'" is attributed to "An apostle" which is corrected in the *Tribune* version to "An apostate."

479. Ironically, Schroeder was initially sympathetic toward the Mormons after arriving in Salt Lake City following graduation from the University of Wisconsin Law School. In one of his earliest articles entitled "Mormon and Mason" written under the pseudonym, A. T. Heist, he referred to the Masonic attitude toward Mormons as "anti-Mormon idiocy," and accused the Craft of relying "almost wholly" on "the evidence of apostates" to "convict the Mormons," a cryptic reference to early claims that Joseph Smith plagiarized the endowment. See A. T. Heist, "Mormon and Mason," *Salt Lake Herald*, 6 Dec. 1891, 3.

480. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," 6.

481. Hiram Abiff, Jr. [pseud.], "Mormonism and Masonry in Illinois," *Masonic Voice-Review* 10 (Aug. 1908): 229-30; 10 (Sept. 1908): 261-63; 10 (Oct. 1908): 294-96; 10 (Nov. 1908): 334-35; 10 (Dec. 1908): 357-59; 11 (Jan. 1909): 7-9; 11 (Feb. 1909): 39-41; 11 (Mar. 1909): 71-73; 11 (Apr. 1909): 110-11; and 11 (May 1909): 142-44.

the Masonic fraternity. The church having utilized the Masonic ritual in this manner, the Mormon lodges were no longer necessary and ceased to exist."⁴⁸² During the serialization of this article, Joseph Morcombe wrote in a letter to the *Review* that "later developments of the sect at Salt Lake City may be traced to this connection [with Freemasonry], as also some grotesque ceremonies, aped and corrupted from Masonic precedents."⁴⁸³ These articles reflect not only the tension between Mormons and Masons but also the on-going debate between Josephites and Brighamites concerning whether Joseph or Brigham had introduced the endowment as practiced in the temples of Utah.

Nevertheless important church writers continued to accept the Masonic legend that the Craft descended from Solomon. In 1912, when the church published James Talmage's *The House of the Lord*, neither Masonry nor its symbols were mentioned in the discussion of the endowment. Furthermore, in discussing Solomon's temple, Talmage only referred to the biblical account in contrast to Brigham Young who had alluded to the Masonic tradition that a high priest had been murdered in the temple after refusing to reveal signs and tokens.⁴⁸⁴ But Talmage did write that during construction of the temple "Masonry became a profession, and the graded orders therein established have endured until this day."⁴⁸⁵

Two years later, Melvin J. Ballard, president of the Northwestern States Mission, discussed the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism during a speech at semi-annual general conference in October 1913. Ballard's speech may have been a response to Masonic claims (for example, Schroeder, Morcombe, and *The Masonic Voice-Review*) that Mormon temples adapted forms of Masonic ritual. While acknowledging that Freemasonry was "a fragment of the old truth coming down perhaps from Solomon's Temple of ancient days," Ballard asserted that "Joseph Smith never knew the first thing of Masonry until years after he received the visit of Elijah, and had delivered to men the keys of holy priesthood and the ceremonies and ordinances had by us in the sacred temples, and had given the endowments to men long before he knew the first thing pertaining to the ordinances and the ceremonies of Masonry."⁴⁸⁶ Six years later, after being ordained an apostle, he readdressed this same subject. In December 1919 he told an audience in the tabernacle that "Modern Masonry is a

482. *Ibid.* 11 (May 1909): 144.

483. "An Editor's Opinion," *Masonic Voice-Review* 11 (Mar. 1909): 87.

484. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, 30-43, 99-101.

485. *Ibid.*, 7. See also James E. Talmage, "The House of the Lord, Temples, Ancient and Modern," *Improvement Era* 15 (Feb. 1912): 298.

486. *1913 Conference Reports*, 126.

fragmentary presentation of the ancient order established by King Solomon from whom it is said to be handed down through the centuries"; and that "the temple plan revealed to Joseph Smith . . . was the perfect Solomonic plan, under which no man was permitted to obtain the secrets of Masonry unless he also held the holy priesthood." Ballard also claimed that even though the endowment restored the divine plan inaugurated by Solomon "plans for the ordinances to be observed in the Temple built at Nauvoo . . . were revealed to Joseph Smith . . . more than a year prior to the time the founder of the Mormon Church became a member of the Masonic Order."⁴⁸⁷

Following Ballard's denial of Masonic claims that the Mormon temple ceremony was an unauthorized adaptation of Masonic ritual, Sam H. Goodwin, Grand Secretary and Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Utah, assumed the lead in articulating a shift in the official rationale excluding Mormons from Utah Masonry. Goodwin was an ordained Congregational pastor who had served in various church functions in Utah since 1898 and recognized that the polygamy rationale was no longer valid. In February and March 1921 he wrote a two-part article in *The Builder*, a Masonic monthly, in which he attempted to explain why "Latter-day Saints are not received into Masonic lodges in Utah, either as visitors or members."⁴⁸⁸ The same year he published an expanded version of these articles in a pamphlet entitled *Mormonism and Masonry*⁴⁸⁹ in which he reviewed the formation of Masonic lodges in Nauvoo, the symbols and language of the Mormon temple ceremony, and responded to public statements by the Mormon hierarchy concerning the origins of the Mormon temple ceremony.

Writing for a Masonic audience, Goodwin claimed that he would not attempt "to give a categorical answer" to the question "Does the Mormon Church make use of Masonic ceremonies in its Temple ritual?"; that he would not "point out or label any 'resemblances' that may be discovered in the course of this study"; but that the "reader must draw his own conclusions."⁴⁹⁰ In his discussion Goodwin enumerated various Masonic symbols and emblems which appear on the Salt Lake temple and other LDS structures (square, compass, beehive, all-seeing eye, etc.),⁴⁹¹ and published portions of the endowment from three exposés (Van Dusen, G.S.R-, and

487. *Salt Lake Herald*, 29 Dec. 1919, 5.

488. Sam H. Goodwin, "A Study of Mormonism and its Connection with Masonry in the Early Forties," *The Builder* 7 (Feb. 1921): 36-42, and 7 (Mar. 1921): 64-70.

489. Sam H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1921).

490. *Ibid.*, 20.

491. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Walter M. Wolfe).⁴⁹² Although Goodwin claimed not to answer the question himself, he quoted from Ballard's 1919 speech to emphasize the Mormon position that Masonic rite dated from Solomon's temple; that Mormons recognized similarities between Masonry and Mormonism; but that they denied that Joseph Smith obtained the endowment from Masonry or that he was a Mason when the endowment was introduced to him.⁴⁹³ Although Goodwin made no direct comparisons between the temple ceremony and Masonic rites, one of the nine reasons he gave for excluding Mormons from Masonry was: "Clandestinitism: Temple ceremonies and the use of language and symbols."⁴⁹⁴

In 1927 Goodwin published a second pamphlet entitled *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*.⁴⁹⁵ An article in the pamphlet entitled "Why Was Joseph Smith a Mason? Unanswered Questions" included official statements by the LDS church concerning "secret societies"⁴⁹⁶ and attempted to demonstrate that prior to the turn of the century "Church leaders" taught that Joseph Smith had used portions of Masonic rite in the endowment,⁴⁹⁷ in contrast to later teachings that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith prior to his membership in Masonry.

Just as the Masons changed their rationale for keeping Mormons out of their lodges after the abandonment of polygamy, Mormon authorities who outlived the Nauvoo Masons and were unfamiliar with the Craft had already rethought their response to those who noted similarities between Masonic rite and the temple ceremony. This rethinking, which began with Ballard's speeches in 1913 and 1919, was in part inconsistent with statements by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Franklin D. Richards, and other nineteenth-century Mormon authorities and ironically closer in some respects to arguments by anti-Mormons during the same period. It also demonstrates the Mormon hierarchy's sensitivity to charges that Smith plagiarized Masonic rites. Surprisingly, with few exceptions apologists of this new Mormon response failed to argue that continuing revelation does not exclude the possibility of adopting and adapting symbols and rites.

After the appearance of Goodwin's articles, Mormon authorities

492. *Ibid.*, 22-24.

493. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

494. *Ibid.*, 38.

495. S. H. Goodwin, *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1927). This pamphlet was primarily a collection of articles previously published in *The Builder* in November and December 1924 and January 1927.

496. *Ibid.*, 29-32.

497. *Ibid.*, 33-38.

and other church representatives responded with arguments which followed for the most part the path blazed by Ballard. They argued that Joseph Smith received the endowment before he became a Mason; that the rituals of Freemasonry and the endowment are both descended from Solomon's temple (Masonic ritual is a corrupted version, while the endowment is a completely restored version); and distinguished between the purposes of the Mormon temple ceremony (saving ordinances for eternal life) and rituals of Masonry (a fraternal organization with a ritual as a metaphor for a spiritual journey). Two months after the publication of Goodwin's first article, *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* published a lecture delivered by John A. Widtsoe in October 1920 which referred to "apostates [who] have tried to reveal the ordinances of the House of the Lord. Some of their accounts form a fairly complete and correct story of the outward forms of the temple service; but they are pitiful failures in making clear the eternal meaning of temple worship and the exaltation of spirit that is awakened by the understanding of that meaning."⁴⁹⁸ Widtsoe, who would be called an apostle on March 17, 1921, added that "[s]uch attempted improper revelations of temple worship have led in all ages to corruptions of temple worship"; that "such corruptions of ordinances and ceremonies have always existed is a strong evidence of the continuity of temple worship, under the Priesthood, from the days of Adam"⁴⁹⁹; and that "corruption of [temple ordinances] have been handed down the ages."⁵⁰⁰ He also argued that the "endowment which was given by revelation can best be understood by revelation,"⁵⁰¹ and that the symbols of the endowment were only a superficial representation of more basic truths: "No man or woman can come out of the temple endowed as he should be unless he has seen, beyond the symbol, the mighty realities for which the symbols stand."⁵⁰² Several months later *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* published extracts from speeches by Brigham Young and others concerning the origins of the endowment ceremony, including Young's famous April 1854 discourse.⁵⁰³

A different rationale was published in an August 1921 article by Brigham H. Roberts in the *Improvement Era*, in which the Mormon general

498. John A. Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (Apr. 1921): 49-66.

499. *Ibid.*, 62.

500. *Ibid.*, 53-54.

501. *Ibid.*, 63.

502. *Ibid.*, 62.

503. See "Temple and Temple Building," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (July 1921): 113-22.

authority responded to questions about "the Prophet's connection with Masonry and its connection with temple ceremonies, and the endowment rites having been copied from Masonry."⁵⁰⁴ The substance of the article was taken from a March 1921 letter to a member of an Idaho stake presidency who had apparently read Goodwin's articles.⁵⁰⁵ Roberts responded that "the evidence, to my mind, is very clear that [Joseph Smith's] knowledge of the endowment ceremonies preceded his contact with Masonry," that revelations concerning the endowment began in 1835 when the prophet obtained possession of the "Egyptian papyrus manuscript," and that the temple ceremony "resulted from the revelations of God to Joseph Smith, and not from the Prophet's incidental and brief connection with Masonry."⁵⁰⁶ Five months later Ballard spoke about Masonry again and said that Smith had joined the fraternity in 1842 because "he needed good friends."⁵⁰⁷

Most subsequent LDS responses followed Ballard and Roberts in maintaining that the endowment was revealed before the organization of the Nauvoo Lodge even if both rituals arose from a common source. James H. Anderson, in an article published in the *Improvement Era* in 1929, wrote that "the Masonic Order has rites based on ceremonies in Solomon's Temple"; that Masonry is a fraternal organization rather than a religious one; and concluded:

If it happens to have one, two, or three of the religious symbols of Solomon's Temple ceremonies, then, so far as accurate, those must be part of the true religious ritual . . . if it has borrowed some of its symbols from the rites of a religious temple ceremony, it has no right to complain of the use of that religious ceremony as determined by the religious order which is previously a rightful occupant and participator.⁵⁰⁸

In 1935 E. Cecil McGavin, an instructor and author in the Church Education System, devoted a considerable portion of a book on the sub-

504. B. H. Roberts, "Masonry and 'Mormonism,'" *Improvement Era* 24 (Aug. 1921): 938.

505. Correspondence of B. H. Roberts, 21 Mar. 1921, LDS archives.

506. Roberts, "Masonry and 'Mormonism,'" 937-39.

507. Extracts from address of Elder Melvin J. Ballard, Special Collections, Lee Library, quoted in McGavin, 12. On September 26, 1901, Lorenzo Snow told the Twelve that he allowed his daughter "to act as queen of the Elks Carnival" to enable the church "to get influence with a large organization of influential men in the nation" and compared it to "Joseph the Prophet and others of the brethren joining the Freemasons in order to obtain influence for furtherance of the purposes of the Lord" (see Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 316).

508. James H. Anderson, "Temple Ceremonies," *Improvement Era* 32 (Oct. 1929): 971. At the time Anderson was a member of the general board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association.

ject⁵⁰⁹ to explain similarities between the endowment and Masonic rites. He argued that Masonic rites descended from Solomon⁵¹⁰; that Joseph Smith restored the secrets of Solomon's temple⁵¹¹; that the prophet joined Freemasonry to "fraternize with the prominent leaders in the political and religious world"⁵¹²; and that Smith "had a complete knowledge of the Temple ceremony before he became affiliated with the Masons."⁵¹³ McGavin also believed that the text of the Book of Abraham (particularly Facs. 2),⁵¹⁴ the revelation received by Joseph Smith on January 19, 1841, and published as Doctrine and Covenants 124,⁵¹⁵ as well as statements by Smith and others concerning experiences in the Kirtland temple, and the reasons for building the Nauvoo temple⁵¹⁶ all support this conclusion. Ultimately, McGavin believed that all similarities between Masonic rite and the endowment resulted from their common genesis at Solomon's temple and that Joseph Smith had obtained the endowment at least a year before becoming a Freemason.

One Mormon writer who did not completely adopt the reasoning of Ballard and Roberts was Anthony W. Ivins, a counselor in the LDS First Presidency. Ivins wrote *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*⁵¹⁷ in 1934 which was distributed free to all Mormon stake presidents, ward bishops, mission presidents, and faculty members at LDS Institutes. Ivins, who died before the book was published, admitted in his introduction that it was "addressed primarily to the Masonic fraternity" in response to Goodwin's *Mormonism and Masonry*⁵¹⁸ (which he asserted was in its fifth printing and had appeared in Masonic magazines in the United States, Australia, and South Africa) and *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*.⁵¹⁹ Among objections Ivins had to Goodwin's work was the latter's attempt "to prove that the ordinances administered in Mormon temples are copied from the ceremonies of Masonry."⁵²⁰ With respect to Goodwin's

509. E. Cecil McGavin, *"Mormonism" and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1935).

510. *Ibid.*, 48-71.

511. *Ibid.*, 70, 85-86.

512. *Ibid.*, 20; see also 12.

513. *Ibid.*, 33.

514. *Ibid.*, 33-36.

515. McGavin, 39.

516. *Ibid.*, 44.

517. Anthony W. Ivins, *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1934).

518. Both Ivins and McGavin mistakenly believed that Goodwin's pamphlet was first published in 1925. See Ivins, 7, and McGavin, 6.

519. Ivins, 7.

520. *Ibid.*, 10.

claim that Mormon buildings display Masonic emblems and symbols, Ivins observed that the symbols referred to had their own independent meaning to Latter-day Saints, were not in general use, had become "long since obsolete," and "are not seen nor are they referred to in any temple ritual or ordinance."⁵²¹

Regarding Goodwin's suggestion that the temple ceremony was borrowed from Masonry, Ivins criticized him for quoting from exposés of renouncing Mormons when Goodwin claimed that renouncing Masons were "the most bitter enemies and opponents of Masonry."⁵²² Ivins also admitted that he did not know if there were resemblances between Masonic rite and the Mormon temple ceremony⁵²³, stated that Joseph Smith became a Mason to find "friendship and protection"⁵²⁴, and advocated a more detailed comparison between rituals before he was prepared to admit similarities. He wrote that while Goodwin

pretends to give a truthful and detailed account of the ordinances performed in the temples of the Church, he fails to indicate the resemblance to the rites of Masonry, and consequently leaves the reader entirely without proof of the resemblances which he states exist. The writer reaffirms that to judge of the similarity of two things, both must be submitted for inspection.⁵²⁵

Nor did Ivins follow Ballard's and Roberts's lead that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith prior to his association in Freemasonry, although his rationale for Joseph's affiliation with the Craft is a strong suggestion that he believed the two were not connected. While he did discuss the various theories concerning the origin of Masonry, including the Masonic dogma that it began with Solomon, Ivins did not suggest that this theory provided a rationale for comparing the two rites.⁵²⁶ Thus, although Ivins did not argue that the endowment preceded Smith's association with Freemasonry, he failed to explain similarities between the two rites. Instead, he devoted most of his book to explaining Mormon doctrines and teachings.

Ivins recognized that Goodwin's pamphlets would be basic source material for the position that the Mormon temple ceremony plagiarized Masonic rite. Fawn Brodie referred to it in her 1945 biography on Joseph

521. *Ibid.*, 90-93.

522. *Ibid.*, 88-89.

523. *Ibid.*, 89.

524. *Ibid.*, 179.

525. *Ibid.*, 251.

526. *Ibid.*, 11-20.

Smith, writing that "[i]t may seem surprising that Joseph Smith should have incorporated so much Masonry into the endowment ceremony in the very weeks when all his leading men were being inducted into the Masonic lodge. They would have been blind indeed not to see the parallelism between the costuming, grips, passwords, keys and oaths."⁵²⁷ Brodie, like Goodwin, presupposed that the Mormon doctrine of continuing revelation was fraudulent and that similarities were evidence of plagiarism, and therefore failed to give any credence to Joseph Smith's explanation to the Holy Order concerning similarities between the endowment and Masonry. Subsequent exposés followed Goodwin's lead in comparing the endowment with Masonic rites and in asserting that similarities prove that Smith borrowed the rites without the benefit of revelation.⁵²⁸

Following Brodie's entry into the controversy, several Mormon writers addressed the issue of the endowment's origin. They emphasized the superficiality of similarities between the two rituals and differences between the goals and aspirations of Mormonism and Freemasonry. But they failed to evaluate Freemasonry from the perspective of an early nineteenth-century initiate who still believed in the Craft's claim of antiquity and that it preserved "eternal and invariable principles of natural religion." Hugh Nibley, a professor of ancient history at Brigham Young University, responded to Brodie that the Holy Order "would have been blind indeed not to see the parallelism" between Masonic rite and the endowment and that there were anachronistic references to Masonry in the Book of Mormon by observing: "'Bald parallels with Masonic rites' the lady finds particularly crude. How did he dare it? Why didn't he disguise it? The answer is that to those who know both, the resemblance is not striking at all . . ."⁵²⁹

Elder John Widtsoe re-entered the fray in the 1950s when he wrote two articles in the *Improvement Era* concerning the origin of the endowment⁵³⁰ and reasons Joseph Smith became a Mason.⁵³¹ In the first article Widtsoe did not mention Freemasonry by name (he used the term "secret

527. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 281.

528. See, for example, William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, rev. ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 158-206; Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*, 5th ed. (Salt Lake City: Lighthouse Ministry, 1987), 462-73.

529. Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1945), 17.

530. John A. Widtsoe, "Whence Came the Temple Endowments," *Improvement Era* 53 (Feb. 1950): 94.

531. John A. Widtsoe, "Why did Joseph Smith Become a Mason?" *Improvement Era* 53 (Sept. 1950): 694. Both articles were eventually included in John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), 111-13, 357-59.

organizations" and "man-made secret societies"), but relied on circumstantial evidence (initiatory rites in Kirtland and the revelation on temple work in January 1841) to conclude that the temple ritual was not "merely adapted" from other rituals, he received it "by revelation from God." This rationale was not significantly different from his April 1921 article when he wrote that since the endowment "was given by revelation" it could "best be understood by revelation."⁵³² The Mormon apostle also reasoned that although "it may be true" that similarities exist with other rituals, "similarities . . . do not deal with basic matters but rather with the mechanism of the ritual," that similar features are not "peculiar to any fraternity," and that "Joseph Smith had the right to employ such commonly used methods and symbols without being charged with plagiarizing from any particular group." Again this was consistent with his article, written almost thirty years earlier, that those who "come out of the temple" should see "beyond the symbol, the mighty realities for which the symbols stood."⁵³³

Significantly, Widstoe did not mention links between the endowment and Solomon, nor did he claim that the full endowment was revealed to Smith before he joined Freemasonry. He did, however, quote a "former member" of a secret society who said that such societies "have nothing to teach Latter-day Saints," and opined himself that "any thoughtful person" could not accept that "the Mormon endowment was built upon secret fraternal ritual." He also differentiated between the objectives and practices of the endowment (participation by women, promise of eternal growth, sacred nature of the rite) with other rituals (only males allowed, system of morality, secret rites), and discussed reasons Smith joined Masonry, repeating the conclusions of Ballard, Ivins, and McGavin that the prophet needed friends, that he was never an active Mason, and that his affiliation with the Craft did not prevent further persecution.

Widstoe's thesis—that similarities between Mormonism and Masonry "do not deal with basic matters" and that Mormonism and Masonry have different objectives and practices—was given some credence by Masons in Utah. In 1954 Mervin B. Hogan, a Utah-born Master Mason and a Mormon, began publishing articles on Mormonism and Masonry. He was one of the only Mormons to penetrate the barrier against admission of Mormons into Utah Masonry which existed until 1984 perhaps because he was a nominal member of the LDS church at the time he joined Wasatch Lodge No. 1 in 1941. In his earliest articles (Hogan eventually wrote scores of articles on the relationship between Mormonism and Freemasonry⁵³⁴) he was cryptic,

532. Widstoe, "Temple Worship," 63.

533. *Ibid.*, 62.

534. See Mervin B. Hogan, *Masonic, Mormon Bibliography* (n.p., 1 Sept. 1993).

criticized neither Masonry nor Mormonism, but hinted that the barrier between the two organizations was artificial. In a 1956 presentation during the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Utah, Hogan, then Grand Orator, surveyed the various charges that Masonic rites were part of the Mormon temple ceremony and concluded that the endowment "cannot be referred to as a 'Masonic' ceremony in the sense that the word is used by Masons," and that whatever the historical connection numerous alterations had rendered the endowment unlike the Masonic ritual.⁵³⁵ In subsequent articles Hogan criticized the Utah policy which prevented Mormons from joining Masonry, argued that the Mormon temple endowment "evidently has no relationship whatsoever to the Masonic Ritual context-wise,"⁵³⁶ and that "Freemasonry has no incompatibilities as to principles or philosophy with Mormonism."⁵³⁷ However, recently Hogan re-examined the two rituals and concluded that there is "little room for doubt . . . in the mind of an informed, objective analyst that the Mormon temple endowment and the rituals of ancient Craft Masonry are seemingly intimately and definitely involved."⁵³⁸

Contemporaries of Hogan, who have also examined the rituals of Masonry and Mormonism, not only agree that there are similarities between the two, but like Franklin D. Richards at the turn of the century, attempt to explain why Joseph Smith's use of Masonry was consistent with his prophetic claims. In 1971 Kenneth W. Godfrey, an LDS seminary and Institute coordinator, wrote an article that recognized similarities between the two rituals, that Joseph Smith believed that "Masonry was merely a corruption of the original endowment," and that the "essential parts of the endowment had been revealed to him by God."⁵³⁹ This theme was amplified by Reed C. Durham in 1974 when he explained that Smith

accepted Masonry because he genuinely felt he recognized true Ancient Mysteries contained therein. And, that in light of two fundamental concepts, already established within the theological framework of Mormonism—the Restoration of the Gospel and the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times—Joseph was under the strong compulsion to embrace Masonry. The Prophet believed that his mission was to restore all truth, and then to unify

Contributions by other Mormon Masons include Kenneth Leroy Guyer, Jr., "Freemasonry in America," Brigham Young University Closure Project, Aug. 1977.

535. Mervin B. Hogan, "Time and Change," *1956 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1956).

536. Hogan, *Mormonism and Freemasonry*, 318.

537. Mervin B. Hogan, *The Origin and Growth of Utah Masonry and Its Conflict with Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1978), 46.

538. Hogan, "Freemasonry and Mormon Ritual."

539. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," 80, 86.

and weld it all together into one. This truth was referred to as "the Mysteries," and these Mysteries were inseparably connected with the Priesthood.⁵⁴⁰

Allen D. Roberts, in a careful analysis of the Mormon use of Masonic symbols, also concluded that "Joseph's Masonry was not a conventional one. He attempted to restore it in much the same way the gospel was restored. That is, he saw Masonry, like Christendom, as possessing some important truths which could be beneficially extracted from what was otherwise an apostate institution."⁵⁴¹

Other Mormons doubt that Freemasonry provided the real pattern for the endowment and argue that more ancient rituals, such as the ancient mysteries or Egyptian endowments, provide more meaningful parallels. This perspective has been skillfully developed by professors at Brigham Young University. Hugh Nibley, who criticized Brodie in 1945 for suggesting that there are striking parallels between anti-Masonic rhetoric and Book of Mormon passages, has written about more meaningful parallels. In 1976 he observed that "temple ordinances are as old as the human race and represent a primordial religion that has passed through alternate phases of apostasy and restoration which have left the world littered with the scattered fragments of the original structure, some more and some less recognizable, but all badly damaged and out of proper context."⁵⁴² He commented that the "Mormon endowment, like the Egyptian, is frankly a model, a representation in figurative terms"⁵⁴³; that "What the Egyptians were looking for was not unlike what the Mormons call an 'endowment'"⁵⁴⁴, but left it up to his readers to decide whether the Egyptian endowment resembles the Mormon endowment.⁵⁴⁵ More recently D. Michael Quinn, while a professor of history at Brigham Young University, elaborated John Widstoe's thesis when he wrote that similarities between the Mormon endowment and Masonic rituals are "superficial."⁵⁴⁶ He concluded that "the ancient occult mysteries and the Mormon endowment manifest both philosophical and structural kinship."⁵⁴⁷ Quinn also compared the purposes

540. Durham, 10 (Hogan version).

541. Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes," 22-37.

542. Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), xii.

543. *Ibid.*, xiii.

544. *Ibid.*, 14.

545. *Ibid.*

546. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 184-90.

547. *Ibid.*, 190. In addition to Nibley and Quinn, the following authors have advanced this thesis: S. Kent Brown and C. Wilfred Griggs, "The Messiah and the Manuscripts: What

of the occult mysteries, the Mormon endowment, and Masonic rite and concluded that the ultimate goal of exaltation is common only to Mormonism and the occult mysteries.

In 1987 David John Buerger responded to the notion that the endowment has more meaningful parallels with ancient mystery rites than Freemasonry by noting that Masonic rituals were "a source much closer to Joseph Smith."⁵⁴⁸ He explained:

This pattern of resemblances provides strong indications that Joseph Smith drew on the Masonic rites in shaping the temple endowment, and specifically borrowed the tokens, signs and penalties. The creation and fall narrative, the content of the major covenants, and the washing and anointings have no parallel in Masonry. Thus, the temple ceremony cannot be explained as wholesale borrowing from Masonry; neither can it be explained as completely unrelated to Freemasonry.⁵⁴⁹

Buerger did not analyze all Masonic rites and organizations before concluding that parallels were limited to signs, tokens, and penalties. Masonic rituals recognized by regular Freemasonry have undergone substantial change since the eighteenth century, and there are also many versions of irregular Masonic rituals. Among these rituals are Masonic parallels for the Creation and Fall narratives, the covenants, and the washings and anointings.

PARALLELS BETWEEN MASONRY AND MORMONISM

The Book of Mormon

The Gold Plates. There are several elements in the legends of Freemasonry and the early history of Mormonism which provide interesting parallels. Joseph Smith was identified with the Old Testament prophet Enoch in various revelations contained in the Doctrine and Covenants (secs. 78, 92, 96, 104). By Smith's own account, he was the same age when he organized the Church of Christ in 1830 as Enoch was when he received the Melchizedek priesthood (see D&C 107). Furthermore, Joseph and Enoch had similar experiences: Enoch saw in vision a triangular plate of

do Recently Discovered Documents Tell us About Jesus?" *Ensign* 14 (Sept. 1974): 68-73; S. Kent Brown and C. Wilfred Griggs, "The 40-Day Ministry," *Ensign* 15 (Aug. 1975): 6-11; and Robert J. Matthews, "Were the Blessings of the Temple Available to the Saints in Jesus' Time or Did they Become Available after his Death?" *Ensign* 14 (Sept. 1974): 50-51.

548. Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," 33-76.

549. *Ibid.*, 45.

gold in Mount Moriah and later made and deposited a plate in the same hill for future generations. Joseph was visited by an angel who told him there were gold plates in the Hill Cumorah, he was given the plates which he translated, and he relinquished the plates to the angel. This parallel between the triangular gold plate and Moroni's gold plates was first noted in 1887 by Jonathan Blanchard, president of Wheaton College and author of an exposé of an irregular ritual (Henry C. Atwood's Supreme Council of the Sovereign and Independent State of New York) patterned after the Scottish Rite.⁵⁵⁰ The instruments and plates which Joseph found in the Hill Cumorah and translated into the Book of Mormon were brought to the New World from the same location where Enoch had buried his treasure in the Old World (see Ether 2, 3, 15).

Secret Combinations. Shortly after publication of the Book of Mormon in early 1830 some observers claimed that passages referring to "secret societies" and "secret combinations" were thinly veiled references to nineteenth-century Masonry. Martin Harris, who acted as scribe for Joseph Smith and was one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, observed in 1831 that the Book of Mormon was "the Anti-masonick [sic] Bible."⁵⁵¹ Non-Mormon, and in some cases anti-Mormon, writers made similar observations. In 1831 Alexander Campbell noted that: "He [Joseph Smith] decides all the great controversies . . . and even the question of free Masonry [sic]"⁵⁵²; Jason Whitman observed in 1834 that "finally, it is well known that, in many minds, there is a strong feeling of opposition to the institution of Masonry. All such find something in the Book of Mormon to meet their views . . . Thus there are, in the book itself, artful adaptations to the known prejudices of the community."⁵⁵³ E. D. Howe wrote that same year:

Freemasonry is here introduced and is said to have originated with a band of highwaymen. This institution is spoken of in very reproachful terms, in consequence of the members having bound themselves by secret oaths to protect each other in all things from the justice of the law. The Nephites are represented as being Anti-masons and Christians, which carries with it some evidence that the writer foresaw the politics of New York in 1828-29, or that work was revised at or about that time.⁵⁵⁴

550. Jonathan Blanchard, *Scotch Rite Masonry Illustrated*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Ezra A. Cook, 1925), 1:288-90. See Art deHoyos, *The Cloud of Prejudice: A Study of Anti-Masonry* (Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing Co., 1992), for this insight and that Blanchard exposed an irregular ritual.

551. *Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831.

552. Alexander Campbell, "Delusions," *Millennial Harbinger* 2 (7 Feb. 1831): 93.

553. Whitman, 47-48.

554. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH, 1834), 81.

Edward Strat Abdy wrote in the famous account of his visit to the United States in 1835, that "one passage in this curious Koran clearly points to the place of its concoction, and the prepossessions of its author" since "[i]t alludes, most unequivocally, to the free-masons."⁵⁵⁵ Finally, La Roy Sunderland wrote in 1838 that "the reader will find frequent allusions [sic] in [the Book of Mormon] to Freemasonry . . . under the names of 'secret societies', 'dreadful oaths' and 'secret combination.'"⁵⁵⁶ Modern historians and other writers continue to debate the existence and meaning of these "anti-Masonic" passages.⁵⁵⁷

Additional parallels between Mormonism and Freemasonry have been noted in other Mormon scriptures, including a Book of Moses passage in chapter 5 containing a revelation to Joseph Smith in December 1830, in which Cain is referred to as "Master Mahan," and other passages in the Doctrine and Covenants (38:12-13, 28-29, 32; 42:64; 45:63-64; 84: 117-19).⁵⁵⁸

555. E. S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of America, from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1835), 3:55-56.

556. Sunderland, 46.

557. A recent article which advances the anti-Masonic theory is Dan Vogel, "Mormonism's Anti-Masonick Bible," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 17-30. An article articulating the opposite view is Daniel C. Peterson, "Notes on 'Gadianton Freemasonry,'" in *Warfare and the Book of Mormon*, eds. Steven D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 174-224. See also Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 128-31; Blake T. Ostler, "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of An Ancient Source," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 73-76; Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 160-65. See also Kevin Christensen, "Review of Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 2:222n18; and Matthew Roper, "Review of Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 4:184-85. More recent attempts to interpret the meaning of these "secret combinations" point to prophecies of contemporary satanic ritual abuse. See Massimo Introvigne, "A Rumor of Devils," delivered at 1994 Mormon History Association, Park City, Utah.

558. In addition to these parallels, other passages in the Book of Mormon have been compared to Freemasonry. These include the "Brother of Jared," a Book of Mormon personage who lived at the time of the Tower of Babel and was led to a place called "Moriancumer." While there he went to a mountain, received a vision of the future, and was commanded to record the vision, seal up the record to prevent it from being read, and deposit the writing, with "two stones," to facilitate its future translation. Joseph Smith taught that the "Brother of Jared" was given the Urim and Thummim and breastplate on the mountain, that he brought these items with him to America which he buried in the Hill Cumorah, and that they were given to Joseph to translate the gold plates. The Book of Mormon account is similar to an account of ancient records in the Enoch legend of Freemasonry, and may have convinced some early converts to Mormonism, who were familiar with Freemasonry, that the records of Enoch were brought to the United States and

The Endowment

Comparing the endowment ceremony with Masonic ritual, one observes parallels which probably piqued the interest of Mormon Masons. The same no doubt facilitated the conclusions of outside observers who were familiar with the rituals of the Craft and who wrote that the endowment was a form of Masonry. This does not mean that the parallels which are herein delineated are the only similarities which exist between the endowment and Freemasonry or that there are not also significant parallels in the rituals of non-Masonic groups, such as the ancient mysteries, the Egyptians, or even of the Catholic church.

In the nineteenth century most Masons claimed that their rituals "derived from the Almighty Creator to Adam, its principles ever since have been and still are most sacredly preserved and inviolably concealed"; and "foreseeing the great abuses which their exalted mysteries might sustain, if generally made known, determined to confine the knowledge of them only to the select Brethren."⁵⁵⁹ Despite the decay and corruption (read "apostasy") of the world, the basic truths of Masonry were preserved from generation to generation.⁵⁶⁰ Masonic rites, like the endowment, were dedicated at least in the nineteenth century "to the glory of God, and to secure to them [Freemasons] temporal blessings here, and eternal life hereafter,"⁵⁶¹ and by advancing in the degrees of the ritual a Freemason "is raised by regular courses to such a degree of perfection, as to be replete with happiness himself, and extensively beneficial to others."⁵⁶²

Beyond these "philosophical" parallels there are also similarities between portions of the rituals that have been referred to as "superficial." These more obvious parallels include signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, temple robes and aprons, symbols, prayer circle, veil, and other portions of the ritual.⁵⁶³ In addition, one is struck with similarities in language: the

translated by Joseph Smith.

Other parallels include similarities between the Liahona—a ball used by Lehi and his family to guide them to the new world which was also discovered by Joseph Smith in the Hill Cumorah—and the mystical hollow sphere which stood atop Enoch's brass pillar which was carved with maps of the world and universe; and an episode in the Book of Mormon in which Nephi kills Laban with his own sword—because Laban would not release the brass plates which contained a history of Nephi's ancestors—and the beheading of one of the ruffians who attempted to obtain the Master's Word from Hiram Abiff. For a discussion of these parallels, see Jack Adamson, "The Treasure of the Widow's Son," in *Joseph Smith and Masonry* (Nauvoo, IL: Martin Publishing Company, 1980).

559. Calcott, 111.

560. *Ibid.*, 111, 116.

561. *Ibid.*, 123.

562. *Ibid.*, 164.

563. For references to signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, prayer circle, veil, and

Holy Order of High Priesthood in Royal Arch Masonry⁵⁶⁴ is similar to the "Holy Order" endowed by Joseph Smith, and William Hutchinson makes several references to the "endowments" of Masonry in his famous treatise.⁵⁶⁵ Other seldom recognized parallels include the following.

Washings and Anointings, Garments, and the New Name. There are several possible parallels in Freemasonry including: (1) the Order of Anointed High Priest, "Order of High Priests," or "Holy Order of High Priesthood," which includes consecration and anointing after the Order of Melchizedek in a chapter of Royal Arch Masons with assistance in "ample form" of not less than nine⁵⁶⁶; (2) the "Knight Priest" degree in the rite of the Fratres Lucis (ca. 1780) which includes anointing a priest after the Order of Melchizedek with Holy Oil⁵⁶⁷; and (3) the ritual of the Knight Templar, as worked in the Baldwin Encampment (ca. 1780), which reportedly includes a ritual anointing of body parts followed by the giving of a new name. The candidate is also presented with a shield "in defense and protection of Virtue and Innocence and in distress, and of the Noble cause" and ceremonial robes which the candidate is instructed "never to be forgotten or laid aside."⁵⁶⁸ It has been suggested that Thomas Smith Webb used the Templar ritual when he originated the Order of High Priesthood.⁵⁶⁹

apron, see generally Bernard. For specific references to the veil, see Bernard, 124-43; Cross, 30, 35. The reference to an apron as a fig leaf in the Bible has been used as a justification for the Masonic apron. See Colin Dyer, *Symbolism in Craft Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), 47-49; George Oliver, *Signs and Symbols Illustrated and Explained, in a course of Twelve Lectures on Freemasonry* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1837), 205. The first aprons used in the temple endowment consisted of "sheep skin made to the order and by the direction of Joseph Smith" on which fig leaves were painted. See Oliver B. Huntington Journal, 51, LDS archives. The Marquis de Lafayette, who became involved in American Freemasonry during the Revolutionary War, had an apron with leaves (Hamill and Gilbert, 102), and Stephen A. Douglas is also pictured wearing an apron with leaves in an 1840s in a painting which hangs in the Masonic Temple in Springfield, Illinois. See Wayne C. Temple, *Stephen A. Douglas, Freemason* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club and Illinois Lodge of Research, 1982). Later aprons used in the Mormon endowment consisted of green silk with nine fig leaves in brown sewing silk. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4. For a reference to the prayer circle, see Bernard, 125-26.

564. See Sheville, 209-12.

565. Hutchinson, 6, 177.

566. See George W. Warvelle, *Observations on the Order of High Priesthood* (Chicago: J.C. Burmeister, 1915); Webb, 197-200; Mackey, 72. Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Freemason's Pocket Reference Book*, 7th ed. (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1983), 144.

567. Fratres Lucis, *Collectanea* 1 (1937), reprinted (1978), 142-43.

568. For parallels between the ritual of the Knight Templar, Baldwin Encampment, and the temple endowment, I am relying on information set forth in correspondence from Art deHoyos dated 22 November 1993. For a cryptic reference to this same parallel, see Salem Town, 76.

569. Stillson, 641; Mackey, 339.

Creation Drama. William Preston's lectures, as set forth in the *Syllabus Books*, included a description of the "periods of Creation"⁵⁷⁰ similar to the Creation drama described by Heber C. Kimball and James E. Talmage. After the organization of the Lodge of Reconciliation in 1813, the United Grand Lodge of England developed a new ritual, adopted in 1816, which perpetuated these lectures and references to the Creation.⁵⁷¹ Similar lectures were given in the United States during Joseph Smith's lifetime.⁵⁷²

Garden of Eden. Initiates into Freemasonry represent Adam "in his sincere desire to make advances in knowledge and virtue,"⁵⁷³ and his fall "which was the fruit of his disobedience, is affectingly brought to view by the most lively Masonic representations."⁵⁷⁴ In the French system of "Adoptive Masonry" a representation is given of the temptation in the Garden of Eden in its second ritual entitled "Companion,"⁵⁷⁵ which is the same name Royal Arch Masons call each other rather than brother.⁵⁷⁶ It has already been mentioned that French Adoptive Rites were recognized as early as 1774. In addition, Father Adam and some angels also participate in the 23rd degree of the Rite of Perfection (Knight of the Sun) which became the 28th degree of the Scottish Rite.⁵⁷⁷

Female Freemasonry. Joseph Smith's inclusion of women in the endowment ceremony, beginning in September 1843, has some Masonic precedent. Although regular Freemasonry only admits men, arguments were made, well before Joseph Smith's initiation into the Craft, that women should also be admitted.⁵⁷⁸ French adoptive rites were recognized in the eighteenth-century. In addition some irregular groups now admit only

570. Dyer, 242-43.

571. See "Emulation" Working. *The Lectures of the Three Degrees in Craft Masonry* (London: A. Lewis, 1899), 70-74; and *The Lectures of the Three Degrees in Craft Masonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), 108-12.

572. See Town, 22-23, 62-63.

573. See Carnes, 49; Town, 22-23, 67, 72-72; Stearns, 168.

574. Town, 67.

575. See Janet Mackay Burke, "Sociability, Friendship and the Enlightenment among Women Freemasons in Eighteenth-Century France," Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1986, 232-33, 245-47, 272-74. For examples of French androgynous rites which included references to the Creation, see *La Maçonnerie des Femmes* (London: n.p., 1774); *L'adoption ou la Maçonnerie des femmes en trois grades* (n.c.: n.p., 1775); [Louis Guillemain de Saint Victor], *La vraie Maçonnerie d'Adoption* (London: Guillemain de Saint Victor, 1779); and "Rite of Adoption," *Collectanea* 1 (1937), reprinted (1978), 169-76. See also the discussion regarding Masonic groups which admitted women and took portions of their ritual from Genesis and the Adam and Eve story, in Hammill and Gilbert, 123-24, 168-87.

576. Mackey, 181.

577. See Bernard, 253-72.

578. See, e.g., George Smith, *The Use and Abuse of Free-Masonry* (London, 1783), 361, 365.

women ("Female Freemasonry") or both men and women ("Androgynous Freemasonry") such as the French *Le Droit Humain* and its offshoot, Co-Masonry. As a result of these and other influences, regular Freemasonry now promotes female organizations for wives and daughters of members. Under "adoptive Freemasonry" females do not become Masons but are "adopted" into the Craft. The largest adoptive body, the Order of the Eastern Star, includes millions of members. The Eastern Star adopted a ritual in 1868 dedicated to the "Elect Lady" of John's Second Epistle.

Joseph Smith

Joseph Smith's death in June 1844 has Masonic parallels. Like Hiram Abiff, Smith was a widow's son, since his father, Joseph Sr., died shortly after arriving in Nauvoo. Smith taught his followers that the key word of Freemasonry, originally lost when Hiram Abiff was murdered, was restored through the endowment.⁵⁷⁹ After its restoration, Smith was arrested, incarcerated in Carthage Jail, and murdered by a mob, which included fellow Freemasons. While attempting to escape from the jail prior to his death, Joseph gave the Masonic distress call,⁵⁸⁰ which went unanswered. Like Hiram Abiff he suffered death at the hands of those he called "brother" and was mourned by his followers.

The mythology associated with the martyrdom also has Masonic undertones. One of the symbols of Freemasonry, a virgin "weeping over a broken column with a book open before her" denoting the "unfinished state of the Temple," is similar to a report by Dr. B. W. Richard, a guest in Nauvoo in 1844, who wrote that Lucinda Morgan Harris (not a virgin) held a copy of *Stearns on Masonry* in her hands while weeping over the prophet's body.⁵⁸¹ Just as Solomon's temple remained unfinished at the death of Hiram Abiff, the Nauvoo temple was not completed at the time of Joseph Smith's death. William Daniels⁵⁸² claims that the prophet, after falling from

579. The key word is rediscovered by the Craft in the Royal Arch Degree. Morgan, 102.

580. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 July 1844): 585. See also *Women's Exponent* 7 (1 Dec. 1878), 98 (press conference of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs) for evidence that Joseph Smith's family continued to connect him to Freemasonry and repeat that he gave the Masonic sign of distress more than thirty years after his death.

581. See *Deseret News*, 27 Nov. 1875, reprinting an article from the *Chicago Times*. John G. Stearns first published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry* (Utica, NY, 1826) prior to Morgan's exposé. The book was published in an enlarged fifth edition in 1829 and in various subsequent editions. See John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, 5th ed. (Utica, New York: Northway & Porter, 1829).

582. William Daniels, *Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage on the 27th day of June, 1844* (Nauvoo, IL: J. Taylor, 1845). Art deHoyos pointed out these parallels between Hiram Abiff and Joseph Smith (as described in Nels Lundwall's

the second story window of Carthage jail, was dragged against the curb by a member of the militia. When he began to stir, four members of the militia fired on him and the man who dragged him to the well drew his bowie knife to cut off the prophet's head. But before he could complete his downstroke, a pillar of light thrust down from heaven between Joseph and the militia causing the prophet's assassins to become powerless and flee. More reliable witnesses observed that Joseph attempted to give the Masonic distress signal and that he was wearing a Jupiter talisman, which for years was thought to have Masonic significance.⁵⁸³

These images are similar to portions in the legend of Hiram Abiff, in which his blood was traced to a well north of Solomon's temple. Those who discovered the blood "concluded that H. A. had been killed there and perhaps flung in the well," and noted "the appearance of a Lumnious light or meteor standing over the well."⁵⁸⁴ When the well was dry, Hiram's jewel was discovered, which he cast into the well when attacked by the ruffians (in some rituals the jewel is found on Hiram's body) and, according to some rituals, the jewel was a talisman with the name of God in Hebrew inscribed within two interlaced triangles forming a six-pointed star, which is a Masonic symbol for the perfect Godhead.⁵⁸⁵ Joseph Smith's talisman was also inscribed with the name of God.⁵⁸⁶

ANALYSIS

It is ironic, especially given claims by some early observers that Mormonism in the 1830s was anti-Masonic, that Nauvoo Masons such as Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were more comfortable acknowledging the relationship between the two rites than twentieth-century Mormons who were not familiar with the Craft. Twentieth-century

Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith), including the pillar of light, the well, and the possession of talismans.

583. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 64-77. In an affidavit written in 1938 Charles Bidamon, stepson of Emma Smith, testified: "I have many times heard her [Emma Smith] say, when being interviewed, and showing the piece, that it was in the Prophet's pocket when he was martyred at Carthage, Illinois" (*ibid.*, 66). The statement is hearsay. Even if Emma said it she could have been mistaken or misrepresenting the facts as she did concerning Joseph's polygamy.

584. Perfect Master Degree, 1783 Franken Ms.

585. Art deHoyas first observed this parallel and pointed out the following references. Eugene E. Hinman, Ray V. Denslow, and Charles C. Hunt, *A History of the Cryptic Rite*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, IA, 1931), 1:177 (the signet referred to in this book is apparently from George Oliver's *Rite de Bouillon* which, according to Hamill, is a fraud [see Hamill, 21-22]); and [Albert Pike], *The Book of the Lodge* (New York, 1872), 313.

586. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 66.

Mormon authors have attempted to distance the endowment from Freemasonry—a view closer to nineteenth-century anti-Mormons having no familiarity with the Craft—rather than study the historical background of the Nauvoo lodge and statements by nineteenth-century church leaders concerning the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism. There are various possible explanations for this.

The Death of Nauvoo Masons

Most of the Mormon hierarchy were Master Masons when the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Nevertheless, Brigham Young decided in 1860 not to petition for a Masonic lodge in Utah because he believed Masons were responsible for the death of Joseph Smith and that they continued to work to destroy Mormonism.⁵⁸⁷ While he and other church leaders believed that the purposes of Freemasonry had been superseded by Mormon temple ordinances, it also appears that most Mormon Masons, although inactive, remained loyal to the Craft. George A. Smith wanted to establish a lodge in Utah in 1860⁵⁸⁸; a year later Heber C. Kimball told a church congregation that he had "been true to my country, to my Masonic brethren, and also to my brethren in this Church."⁵⁸⁹ John Taylor opined in 1863 that "Freemasonry is one of the strongest binding contracts that exists between man and man."⁵⁹⁰ And in 1867 Young himself complained that Freemasons in Utah "have refused our brethren membership in their lodge, because they were polygamists" and then mocked this policy by pointing out that Solomon was the founder of Freemasonry and a polygamist.⁵⁹¹

Although each of these Nauvoo Masons was prevented from attending lodge meetings in Utah and believed that Mormonism had superseded Freemasonry, they were familiar with both Masonic ritual and the endowment and recognized the similarities. Thus it is not surprising that some ex-Mormons warned readers not to trust Mormon claims that the endowment was similar to Masonic rites, since by that time Masonry had regained stature and acceptance and the most lurid characterizations of the endowment had no apparent Masonic counterpart. After the death of the last of the Nauvoo Masons, a new generation of Mormon writers, who had no

587. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:482.

588. *Ibid.*

589. *Journal of Discourses* 9:182.

590. *Ibid.* 10:125-26.

591. *Ibid.* 11:327-28. Other references to Masonry by Mormons were made by Newell K. Whitney, "Register to the Newell K. Whitney Papers," Lee Library; Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 Dec. 1878): 98; Benjamin Franklin Cummings Journal, Lee Library; and Erastus Snow Journal, Lee Library.

personal knowledge of Freemasonry, found it easy to make the same claim as nineteenth-century anti-Mormons who had no knowledge of Freemasonry: that there was no connection between the endowment and Masonic rites. The Nauvoo endowment had been introduced years earlier, had become totally institutionalized, and personal knowledge of Joseph Smith's explanation of the endowment and familiarity with Masonic ceremonies were replaced by reliance on historical accounts of the endowment.

Due to the secret nature of the endowments, much of the knowledge concerning its introduction was recorded in private correspondence or diaries or not recorded at all. Some of these recollections were apparently unknown to Ballard, Roberts, Ivins, McGavin, and Widtsoe. While these, and other writers who responded to Goodwin's articles, admitted they had little or no knowledge of similarities between the two rites,⁵⁹² most also argued that any parallels existed only because the rituals share a common ancestor⁵⁹³ and relied on circumstantial evidence that Joseph Smith received the endowment before his association with Freemasonry.

The Kirtland Endowment

Church writers such as Melvin J. Ballard, B. H. Roberts, and Cecil McGavin believed that there was sufficient evidence to conclude that Joseph Smith had received the entire endowment ceremony prior to his association with Freemasonry. Roberts believed that the prophet received the endowment when he translated the Egyptian papyri. On July 3, 1835, Michael H. Chandler arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, to display some papyri⁵⁹⁴ and shortly thereafter Joseph reported that the papyri was a record of Abraham and that he would translate it for publication.⁵⁹⁵

Following the Saints' relocation in Nauvoo, Smith recorded a revelation to build another temple where "ordinances" would be performed which had been "kept hid from before the foundation of the world" (D&C 124:39).⁵⁹⁶ Less than three months later, on April 6, 1841, Joseph laid the cornerstone for this new temple. The following year he completed his translation of the Book of Abraham and published it in the *Times and Seasons*.⁵⁹⁷ Ironically, Facsimile Number 2 from the Book of Abraham was published on March 15, 1842, the same day Smith was initiated into Freemasonry. Facsimile No. 2 refers to "the grand Key-words of the Holy

592. Ivins, 89.

593. McGavin, 70, 85-86.

594. *History of the Church*, 2:235.

595. *Ibid.*, 238.

596. *Ibid.*, 4:274.

597. *Ibid.*, 523; 5:11.

Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden as also to Seth, Noah, Moses, Abraham, and all to whom the priesthood was revealed"; "the grand Key, or, in other words, the governing power"; "the grand Key-words of the Priesthood"; and "writings that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God." Ballard, Roberts, and McGavin believed that Smith became aware of the "Key-word" while translating the Book of Abraham prior to his initiation into Freemasonry. Although the complete endowment was not practiced in Kirtland, the "initiatory ordinances" were and Joseph also recorded a revelation regarding the sealing power of the Melchizedek priesthood.

Those who believe that the prophet received the entire temple endowment before he was initiated into Freemasonry rely on these passages from the Book of Abraham, the Kirtland endowment, and other revelations recorded by Joseph prior to his initiation into Freemasonry (D&C 110 and 124). There is no direct evidence that the prophet discussed or revealed the endowment to anyone before the Holy Order was initiated on May 4, 1842. Brigham Young's later comments that Smith "received a pattern . . . as did Moses for the Tabernacle, and Solomon for his Temple," while in Kirtland,⁵⁹⁸ do not support the circumstantial thesis. During the same speech Young stated that:

At Nauvoo, Joseph dedicated another Temple, the third on record. He knew what was wanting, for he had previously given most of the prominent individuals then before him their endowment. He needed no revelation, then, of a thing he had long experienced, any more than those now do, who have experienced the same things. It is only where experience fails, that revelation is needed.⁵⁹⁹

Since Joseph was not alive when the Nauvoo temple was dedicated, Young was referring to the laying of the temple's cornerstone on April 6, 1841, a year prior to Smith's initiation into Freemasonry. One difficulty with inferring from this quotation that Young believed that the endowment was revealed to Smith prior to his initiation into Freemasonry is that no endowments were given in Nauvoo until May 1842, unless by "endowment" Young meant the initiatory rites practiced in Kirtland. Young admitted that these ordinances were "introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment," and a "faint similitude of the ordinances of the House of the Lord in their fullness."⁶⁰⁰ The notion that Smith was familiar with the complete endowment before he was initiated into Freemasonry is premised

598. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

599. *Ibid.*, 32.

600. *Ibid.*, 31.

on faith, not facts, since the "endowment" in Kirtland was only a small portion of the "endowment" revealed in Nauvoo, and there is no evidence that Elijah's revelation, the 1841 temple revelation, or Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham contained a full transcript of either endowment.

Furthermore, early church leaders not only knew that the endowment was introduced less than two months after Smith was initiated into Freemasonry, but also that there were similarities between Masonry and Mormonism. They also believed that Masonic rites were a degenerated version of the endowment passed down from Solomon and adapted the symbols of Freemasonry and referred to them as such.

Given the secret nature of both rites, it is not surprising that the evidence upon which some Mormon writers have concluded that Smith's knowledge of the endowment preceded his association with Freemasonry is circumstantial and inconclusive. Even if there were evidence that Joseph was prepared to reveal the complete endowment prior to March 15, 1842, he could have become familiar with the rites and degrees of Freemasonry before he was initiated into the Craft⁶⁰¹ either from Morgan's and Bernard's exposés or from discussions with other Masons such as his brother Hyrum or with anti-Masons such as Phelps or Harris. Apparently, such possibilities did not weaken the faith of those who knew both the prophet and the rituals of Freemasonry. They believed that Joseph had received the endowment by revelation but did not deny that Masonic rites were the starting point.

Secret Societies

By 1892 a wide range of lodges and "secret societies" had been established in Salt Lake City.⁶⁰² Although church authorities discussed the possibility of excepting Freemasonry from a directive which prohibited church members from joining secret societies, the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve approved a statement that the church was "opposed to secret societies" with no mention of Freemasonry. In Utah the point was moot since Freemasons would not allow Mormons into their lodges anyway. A flurry of statements, speeches, and articles thereafter appeared advancing this church policy⁶⁰³ and giving various reasons for it: competing organizations induce members to decrease church activity, forego

601. See Godfrey, 76n9.

602. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 116.

603. All of the articles in the *Improvement Era* appear in the section entitled "Editor's Table": *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59; 6 (Dec. 1902): 149-52; 6 (Feb. 1903): 305, 308; 12 (Feb. 1909): 313. In addition, various speakers at general conference also touched on the subject. See *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1900), 30-31 (Marriner W. Merrill); (Apr. 1901), 73 (Joseph F. Smith); (Apr. 1903), 20-21 (C. Kelly).

missions, and cease to pay tithing⁶⁰⁴; "secret societies are institutions of the evil one"⁶⁰⁵; and the Book of Mormon condemns such societies.⁶⁰⁶ At the same time Mormonism and Masonry continued to be compared by some religious zealots, such as a notorious Leo Taxil, who claimed that both groups were organized and controlled by the Devil (see Illustration 7).⁶⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it is not surprising that for most of the twentieth century Masonry and Mormonism were on a collision course and that accusations were made by Masonic writers that anti-Masonic passages could be detected in the Book of Mormon and that the endowment was similar to Masonic rituals. These passages and reported similarities were offered as proof that the Book of Mormon was written in the aftermath of the William Morgan affair and that the endowment had been plagiarized from Freemasonry. It was probably also inevitable that both charges would be met by denials.

By the second decade of the twentieth century the LDS hierarchy's position on Freemasonry had evolved from the belief that it was an "apostate" but benign organization which could be joined for fraternal reasons to one that it was an organization that ensnared its victims and alienated them from the kingdom of God.⁶⁰⁸ By that time Mormonism had embarked on its own course to establish credibility, and relying on comparisons with Freemasonry—which had become a national institution even while no longer claiming that its rituals originated in antiquity—was no longer necessary to legitimize the temple ceremony. If the successors of Solomon could maintain credibility after acknowledging the absence of any direct link with the polygamous patriarch, why couldn't Mormonism do the same after abandoning the practice of plural marriage and disavowing any relationship with Masonry?

This shift was important because Mormon leaders taught that all churches possessed some truth, but that only Mormonism had all the truth. As long as Masonic rites were recognized as an apostate form of the temple

604. *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76.

605. *Ibid.* 4 (Nov. 1900): 59.

606. *Ibid.* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59.

607. See David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (Sept. 1960): 205-24; Massimo Introvigne, "The Devil Makers: Contemporary Evangelical Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism," *Dialogue* 27 (Spring 1994), 158-9n14. For examples of authors who have linked Mormonism and Masonry in this way see Dr. Bataille [pseud. Charles Hacks], *Le Diable au XIXe siecle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Delhomme et Briguët, 1892-1894); John Ankerberg and John Weldon, *Cult Watch* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1991), 9-54, 93-130; and Ed Decker and Dave Hunt, *The God Makers* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1984), 116-31.

608. *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1901).

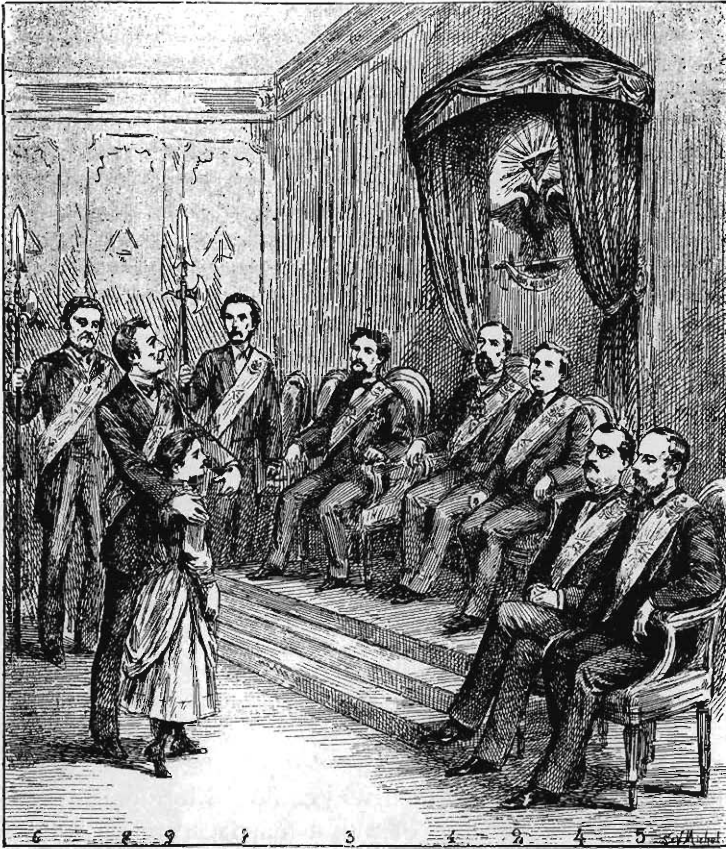


Illustration 7. Phileas Walder presents his teenage daughter Sophie for initiation in a Satanic Masonic lodge in an illustration which appeared in *Le Diable au XIXe siecle*, 2 tomes (Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1892, 1895). *Le Diable*, authored by Charles Hacks, a medical doctor, under the pseudonym of "Dr. Bataille," was part of an elaborate anti-Masonic hoax organized by the French journalist Léo Taxil (pseud. Gabriel Jogand, 1854-1907). In *Le Diable* Hacks maintained that Mormonism and Masonry were both part of a larger conspiracy organized by the Devil. The Walders (who were figments of Hacks's imagination) were among the leaders of this conspiracy and, as Mormons, provided the "connection between Mormonism and Masonry." Phileas Walder is also described as "the real power" behind John Taylor (*Le Diable*, 1:39), who is depicted as both a Mason and a Satanist. This nineteenth-century hoax has apparently provided inspiration for twentieth-century anti-Mormons. (*Le Diable*, 1:353.)

ceremonies, it was logical that Joseph Smith had produced an inspired version of it and that the resulting ceremony, although containing some vestiges of the Masonic rite, contained new elements which had previously been lost. But while similarities were still explained this way by McGavin, Ballard, and others, none would admit that the endowment was revealed to the prophet until after he was initiated into the Craft. This dichotomy may have been brought on by the "Authentic" school of Masonic history.

Authentic School of Masonic History

Prior to 1860 most Masonic writers accepted the legends of Freemasonry which claimed that it originated in antiquity.⁶⁰⁹ Although these claims were challenged by most anti-Masonic writers in the United States, particularly after the Morgan affair, most Masonic writers refused to discount these claims until "a school of English investigators" began to evaluate lodge minutes, ancient rituals, and municipal records. Eventually this movement, known as the Authentic School of Masonic History and culminating in the publication of Robert Freke Gould's *History of Freemasonry* in 1885,⁶¹⁰ debunked the notion that the rituals practiced in Speculative Freemasonry originated before the sixteenth century. Gould and others argued that the best evidence indicated that Operative Freemasonry originated with trade guilds in the Middle Ages and that the development of Speculative Freemasonry, with ceremonies and rituals similar to those practiced today, began in the seventeenth century. But even Gould admitted that the symbolism associated with Freemasonry probably had a much earlier genesis.⁶¹¹ Subsequent historians of Freemasonry have written that the ritual of the Blue Lodge—the first three degrees—was probably not developed until 1723 or 1725.⁶¹²

The Authentic School also recognized that the rituals of Freemasonry have never been static, but have evolved both in time and place. For example, only post-1760 rituals included separate obligations for degrees in conjunction with signs, penalties, tokens, and words, the form found in most subsequent rituals and the same format followed in the Mormon

609. Coil, 19.

610. Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry*, 4 vols. (New York: John C. Yorston & Co., 1885-89). Another important work originally published in Germany in 1861 which advanced a similar thesis, and which Waite wrote superseded the "dream period," was J. G. Findel, *History of Freemasonry, From its Origin Down to the Present Day*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869). Within thirty years it was superseded by Gould.

611. Gould, 1:55.

612. Knoop and Jones, *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, 274-75, 321-22. For a more recent treatment of this subject, see David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

temple endowment.⁶¹³ The United Grand Lodge of England recently eliminated "all references to physical penalties . . . from the obligations taken by candidates in the three degrees."⁶¹⁴ Ironically, penalties in the Mormon endowment, which have been compared to those in Freemasonry, have also been recently removed.⁶¹⁵

Although Goodwin was undoubtedly aware of this scholarship, he did not attack the Mormon rationale for similarities between the two rituals—that both were related to the same ancient rituals practiced in Solomon's temple⁶¹⁶—since to do so could have upset a portion of his own Masonic readership which still believed in the ancient origins of the Craft.⁶¹⁷ In addition, Goodwin's claim that Mormonism had "borrowed" Masonic symbols was less compelling in light of Masonry's own borrowing of symbols from alchemy, the Kabbalah, Egyptian rites, astrology, and the Bible.⁶¹⁸ John A. Widstoe's retort that Joseph Smith had the right to use similar (read "the same") symbols as Masonry without being charged with plagiarism and that Smith received the endowment by revelation regardless of similarities with Masonic rites is more convincing than the arguments of Roberts and Ballard that denied any relationship with Freemasonry but then also argued that similarities were possible since both traced their origins to Solomon.

The Egyptian Connection

Both Hugh Nibley and Michael Quinn have downplayed similarities between the temple endowment and Freemasonry and instead have emphasized parallels with ancient Egyptian rites and occult mysteries. This perspective is consistent with Roberts's and Ballard's belief that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith while he was translating the Book of Abraham. It is also consistent with the nineteenth-century Masonic dogma that Masonry was practiced by ancient Egyptians and other occult tradi-

613. I am indebted to Art deHoyos for this observation.

614. Pick and Knight, 134, 145-46; *Emulation Ritual*, 9th ed. (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8-11; *Deseret News*, 18 Feb. 1987.

615. See "Mormon temple rite gets major revision," *Arizona Republic*, 28 Apr. 1990, A-1, A-14; "LDS Leaders Revise Temple Endowment," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 Apr. 1990, 2B; "Mormons Drop Rites Opposed by Women," *New York Times*, 3 May 1990, A1, A17; "Women's Rites, The Mormons moderate a supersecret ceremony," *Time*, 14 May 1990, 67.

616. A summary of his rationale for excluding Mormons from Masonry is set forth in Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry*, 38.

617. When Goodwin wrote *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View*, the "current, approved and popular explanation as to the origin of Masonry" was that "speculative Freemasonry is the last transfiguration of some antique show belonging to the Building Guilds." Waite, 1:286.

618. See Joseph Casla, *Masonic Symbols and their Roots* (London: Freestone Press, 1994).

tions,⁶¹⁹ and with Nibley's own findings that elements in the Mormon ritual were contained in rituals which predated Freemasonry.⁶²⁰ Still it does not satisfactorily account for the striking similarities between Freemasonry and the endowment.

While twentieth-century Masonry continues to be fascinated by ancient Egyptian religion and rites, modern scholarship does not support the legend that Masonic rituals are the direct descendants of Egyptian rites. Masonry's association with Egypt began when Speculative Freemasonry introduced Egyptian elements into the rituals in the wake of enthusiasm for Egypt by eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers. Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was a catalyst for modern Egyptian archeology and helped promote "Egyptian mania" which began several decades earlier in some European lodges. Ironically, the Egyptian mummies which contained the famous papyri translated by Joseph Smith in Kirtland and Nauvoo and published as the Book of Abraham—which Roberts and Ballard believed contained elements of the endowment ritual and provided a catalyst for the revelation of the complete endowment—were discovered in Egypt by an employe⁶²¹ of Bernardino Drovetti,⁶²² a former French Consul-General under Napoleon and a member of a group of French and Italian Egyptologists who have been associated with members of a secret Masonic "Egyptian" society. Although Egyptian elements were introduced into Masonic rituals before 1800, and some prominent Freemasons secretly converted to what they believed was the genuine Egyptian religion before that time,⁶²³ modern scholars have found no evidence of Egyptian elements in Freemasonry prior to the eighteenth century. Even though an Egyptian theme emerged in European esotericism in the sixteenth century, speculative esotericists did not interfere with Masonic guilds before the mid-seventeenth century. When the legends of the Craft did emerge, it was of Roman Catholic rather than Egyptian origin.

This Catholic/Egyptian connection is as controversial as the Mormon/Masonic relationship. In 1992 an influential German Roman Catholic priest and theologian, Eugen Drewermann, was suspended from his priestly functions and deprived of his chair at a Roman Catholic institution because he was charged, among other things, with teaching that Roman

619. Calcott, 113; Preston, 55-56.

620. See Hugh Nibley, "The Early Christian Prayer Circle," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 41-78.

621. H. Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 38-39, and Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri*, 4-5.

622. Luigi Arnaldi (ed.), *Carte segrete e atti ufficiali della polizia austriaca in Italia*, vol. 1 (Capolago: Tipografia Helvetica, 1851), 117-21.

623. Vincenzo Ferrone, *I profeti dell'Illuminismo* (Bari-Roma: Laterza, 1989).

Catholic rituals, including the Mass, were borrowed from the Egyptians by early Christians rather than being of divine origin.⁶²⁴ Although Drewermann is a best-selling author, professional Egyptologists have objected that there is not a single "Egyptian religion" and that not enough is known about Egyptian rituals to make meaningful comparisons.⁶²⁵ The same objections apply when one tries to find "genuine" Egyptian elements in Mormon or Masonic rituals.

Although the Book of Abraham and other revelations of Joseph Smith may provide independent connections between the Mormon endowment and an Egyptian endowment or other ancient occult mysteries they cannot explain away Masonic parallels. Although Michael Quinn recognizes that "Masonic rites also shared some similarities with the ancient mysteries"—Masonic commentators have long recognized that certain elements of the Ancient Mysteries were adopted by or grafted onto Freemasonry, particularly the Master Mason's degree, during the eighteenth century⁶²⁶—he does not specifically discuss what similarities exist between Freemasonry and Mormonism except to conclude that they must "be regarded as superficial." The litmus test Quinn applies to distinguish between "superficial" and "fundamental" similarities is whether such similarities are "structural" or "philosophical." Presumably Quinn would consider similarities in washing and anointing, Creation drama, Garden of Eden, signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, veil, apron, prayer circle, symbols, and secrecy as "structural" similarities. Nineteenth-century Freemasons would not disagree. Many of these things were superficial to them as well.⁶²⁷ But superficial or not they demonstrate that Joseph's starting point was the rituals of Freemasonry and that he adopted and adapted some of its "superficial" elements.

Quinn also argues that there is no philosophical similarity because "no Mason at Joseph Smith's time or thereafter defined the central purpose of Masonic rites to be an ascent into heaven."⁶²⁸ Although it is true that there are significant differences between the endowment and Masonic ritual—no Mason would claim that Masonic rituals are necessary for exaltation in the hereafter—Quinn's distinction fails to give any credence to the nineteenth-century belief shared by most Masons, including Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and others, that Masonic

624. Eugen Drewermann, *De la naissance des dieux à la naissance du Christ* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

625. Michel Quesnel, "Des mythes sans histoire," *L'Actualité religieuse dans le monde*, hors-série n. 1 (mars 1993): 40-42.

626. Waite, 1:426-27.

627. Macoy, 667, 686.

628. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 85.

ritual originated in Solomon's temple, which was built "for the purpose of giving endowments,"⁶²⁹ that the system of Masonry was "drawn from revelation,"⁶³⁰ and that "ancient Masonry, since the time of Solomon, has been handed down, in all essential points, in perfect conformity to the rights and ceremonies then established."⁶³¹ It also fails to account for the early Mormon belief that these rituals provided the catalyst for the restoration of what Franklin D. Richards called "true Masonry, as we have it in our temples."⁶³² The Craft at the time of Joseph Smith did provide a system to enable members "ascent into heaven." Both Masons and anti-Masons of the period wrote about it. Masons believed their temple, the lodge, was the allegory for the "celestial lodge," and that when they built their lodge, through the Craft degrees, they were preparing themselves for entry into the celestial lodge.⁶³³ The lodge consisted of "practical allusions to instruct the craftsmen . . . tending to the glory of God, and to secure to them temporal blessings here, and eternal life hereafter."⁶³⁴ Thus Masonry taught that by advancing through the Masonic degrees an initiate "discovers his election to, and his glorified station in, the Kingdom of his Father"⁶³⁵; and that he should pray to go "from this earthly tabernacle to the heavenly temple above; there, among thy jewels, may we appear in thy glory for ever and ever."⁶³⁶ Even anti-Masons recognized that "masonry pretends to save men, to conduct them to heaven, and bestow on them the rewards of a blessed immortality."⁶³⁷

The fact that Freemasonry did not, and does not, teach that its signs and tokens, unlike the signs and tokens of Mormonism,⁶³⁸ are literally keys which must be given to "angels who stand as sentinels" to "walk back to the presence of the Father" does not negate that a central purpose of Freemasonry is to facilitate the ascent of man into heaven. The Master Mason's degree teaches the immortality of the soul and that after death "the Son of Righteousness shall descend, and send forth his angels to collect our ransomed dust; then if we are found worthy, by his pass-word, we shall enter into the celestial lodge above where the Supreme Architect of the

629. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

630. Bradley, xii.

631. Town, 165.

632. See *Journal of Discourses* 11:327-28; 18:303.

633. Calcott, 123.

634. *Ibid.*, 123.

635. Town, 74.

636. Bradley, 168.

637. Stearns, 43.

638. *Journal of Discourses* 2:315.

Universe presides, where we shall see the King in the beauty of holiness, and with him enter into an endless eternity."⁶³⁹ Just as Joseph Smith adopted and adapted some of the superficial elements of Freemasonry he also transformed Freemasonry to "true Masonry" and in the process the signs and tokens of Freemasonry—which in the nineteenth century were designed to "distinguish one another with ease and certainty from the rest of the world," for the "preservation of the society from the inroads of imposters,"⁶⁴⁰ and in the process "became an universal language"⁶⁴¹—became literal keys for the endowed to give to "angels who stand as sentinels" to enter into the Kingdom of God.

The Kabbalistic Connection

An alternative theory which has not been widely discussed by Mormon scholars is that elements of the temple endowment can be traced to Jewish mysticism transmitted through the Kabbalah. It has been claimed that the Kabbalah, in an imperfect form, preserved ancient mysteries known to the Israelites. Similarities between the endowment and Masonic rituals could theoretically be explained by the fact that the esoteric wing of eighteenth-century Freemasonry was influenced by and incorporated elements of Jewish mysticism and the Kabbalah into its rituals.⁶⁴² Nevertheless, the thesis has also been advanced that information on the Kabbalah and mystic Judaism was available to Joseph Smith independent of his association with Freemasonry.⁶⁴³

Freemasonry adopted portions of the Kabbalah into its third degree, the Royal Arch, and into some of the higher grades.⁶⁴⁴ In the higher grades the theme of Adam and the Fall is of particular interest. Adam—prominent in the Mormon endowment ceremony—is also the "President" of the ceremony of the present 28th degree—Knight of the Sun—of Scottish Rite

639. Morgan, 93; Bernard, 84. For a Masonic oration making reference to this same imagery, see Thomas Cary, *An Oration Pronounced Before the Right Worshipful Master and Brethren of St. Peter's at the Episcopal Church in Newburyport, on the Festival of St. John the Baptist, Celebrated June 24th, 5801* (n.p.: From the Press of Brother Angier March, n.d.): "[W]hen this frail fabric shall be dissolved, and the SUPREME ARCHITECT shall summon his laborers to receive their reward, to the condescending Saviour we will listen for the pass word, which shall admit us to his father's temple, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

640. Macoy, 501.

641. Harris, 180.

642. Waite, 1:416-27.

643. A significant contribution in this area has been made by Lance Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection," in this issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

644. Waite, 1:426-27.

Freemasonry, an important degree also called "the Key to the Freemasonry."⁶⁴⁵ In this ritual Eve does not appear, but a number of angels (whose names come from the Kabbalah) make references to the Fall. The present version of the Knight of the Sun degree was drafted by Albert Pike well after the death of Joseph Smith. However the main features of the grade—including Adam and the Kabbalistic angels—predate Pike. The Scottish Rite is an evolution of an eighteenth-century French Masonic rite called Rite de Perfection⁶⁴⁶ in which the 23rd degree corresponds to the 28th degree of the Scottish Rite and was also called Knight of the Sun. The Rite de Perfection dates to about 1760 and was translated into English by Henry Andrew Francken as early as 1771. All of the key elements of the Francken version are preserved in the Pike version.⁶⁴⁷ The first extant rituals of the Knight of the Sun degree date from 1763 and 1765.⁶⁴⁸

The nineteenth-century versions of the Knight of the Sun degree were clearly influenced by the Jewish Kabbalah.⁶⁴⁹ Students of Kabbalah were members of the occult-masonic underworld of the time and through a magical Masonic group called the Order of the Elus Cohens, founded by Jacques Martinez de Pasqually (1727-74), which included the well-known French mystical-esoteric author Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803). Martinez's system and rituals richly developed the theme of Adam, Eve, and the Fall, and his influence on the degree of Knight of the Sun is evident, although Eve disappears in the latter ritual. Following his death in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where he had emigrated from France in 1774, Martinez's influence spread from the Caribbean to the United States, where esoteric students of Kabbalah were active well before Joseph Smith joined Freemasonry. Further research needs to be done on the Kabbalistic connection, but it appears to be at least as important as the Egyptian connection since its influence was most profound in rituals and degrees which are most fre-

645. Blanchard, 2:208.

646. See Claude Guérillot, *La Genèse du Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1993). See also Bernard, 253-72; Etienne Morin introduced the *haut gardes* of ecossais Masonry to America in 1761 which were brought to Albany. His deputy, Henry Andrew Francken, made at least three copies of this 25-degree rite (which was an expansion of the 14-degree Rite of Perfection). See *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 89:208-210 [Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, hereafter cited as *AQC*]; *AQC* 97:200-202; A. C. F. Jackson, *Rose Croix* (London: A. Lewis, 1987), 46-47. These degrees served as the foundation of the Scottish Rite introduced by Mitchell, Dalco, and others. I am indebted to Massimo Introvigne and Art deHoyos for this information.

647. See Claude Guérillot, *La Rite de Perfection. Restitution des rituels traduits en anglais et copiés en 1783 par Henry Andrew Francken accompagnée de la traduction des textes statutaires* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1993), 350-53.

648. *Ibid.*, 352.

649. *Ibid.*, 352-53.

quently compared with the endowment.

DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROCESS OF REVELATION

Those who believe that the revelations of Joseph Smith were received by a mechanical process—word for word from the mouth of God—and that they required no inquiry or thought on his part must address the observations by scholars who note grammatical errors, anachronisms, and familiar phrases, including biblical verses, in the Book of Mormon, as well as evidence that revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants contain responses to contemporary concerns. Although it may be difficult to explain similarities, graphic or superficial, between Masonic rites and the endowment if one believes in the mechanical process of revelation or translation, such similarities are consistent with a process in which a prophet begins with a text and seeks inspiration to restore it to its “original” meaning, or to give it new meaning, using his own words and the words of the cultural context in which he is situated. Given this perspective, it is not surprising that church officials—not anti-Mormons—who were personally acquainted with Joseph Smith first noted the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism. Anti-Mormons were reluctant to compare a mainstream institution like Masonry with the controversial practices of Mormonism.

At the turn of the twentieth century, church writers responded to criticisms of the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham, and other revelations of Joseph Smith by advancing the thesis that revelations and translations are not merely the product of a “mechanical process”; that Joseph Smith studied the Egyptian language while translating the Book of Abraham; that his translations were expressed in the language he could command; that at times he adopted language from the Bible in translating the Book of Mormon when “the Nephite record clearly paralleled passages in the Bible”; and that the prophet retranslated and restored lost scripture.⁶⁵⁰ More recently, Hugh Nibley has stated that the method employed by Smith to translate or receive revelation, or whether he used the Urim and Thummim, is

650. See B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 255-370; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 2:106-21; B. H. Roberts, *The Seventies Course in Theology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 139-42. The first serious attack on the Book of Abraham appeared in Remy and Brenchley, 2:536-46. A spirited response was written by George Reynolds, *The Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1879). The next wave was initiated by F. S. Spalding in *Joseph Smith, Jr. as a Translator* (Salt Lake City, 1912). Spalding’s pamphlet produced many responses. See *Improvement Era*, vol. 16, issues 4-8, 11, and vol. 17, issues 4 and 6.

totally irrelevant to establishing the bona fides of the Prophet. They do not even make sense as expressions of normal human curiosity, since Joseph Smith made it perfectly clear that the vital ingredient in every transmission of ancient or heavenly knowledge is always the Spirit which places his experiences beyond the comprehension and analysis of ordinary mortals. . . . If it matterth not by what imponderable method Joseph Smith produced his translations, as long as he came up with the right answers, it matters even less from what particular edition of what particular text he was translating. It is enough at present to know that the Prophet was translating from real books of Abraham, Moses, Enoch, Mosiah and Zenos, whose teachings now reach us in a huge and growing corpus of newly discovered writings.⁶⁵¹

Other Mormon authors go further and consider the plates, papyri, and texts as tangible support for spiritual experiences which may have been influenced by but were not dependent upon these material elements.⁶⁵²

Unlike the Book of Mormon, Book of Abraham and other revelations, in which context has been recognized and acknowledged, most church writers in the twentieth century have characterized the process by which the endowment was received as a revelation totally independent of Smith's association with Freemasonry or his knowledge of Masonic rites. It is ironic that B. H. Roberts was one of the first church authorities to deny any connection between Masonry and Mormonism since Joseph Smith's use of Masonic rituals, as a source of inspiration for the endowment, is consistent with his thesis of how revelation occurs. Although Anthony W. Ivins's book and John A. Widtsoe's articles departed from the strategy mapped out by Ballard and Roberts—they did not claim that Smith received the endowment before becoming a Mason—they also failed to acknowledge, as earlier church leaders had, that the prophet benefited from his association with Freemasonry. Although Widtsoe acknowledged similarities between the endowment and other rituals, stated that the prophet had the right to employ similar symbols and methods without being charged with plagia-

651. Hugh Nibley, *The Joseph Smith Papyri*, 54. For additional perspectives concerning the process of revelation, see Edward H. Ashment, "The Facsimiles of the *Book of Abraham*," *Sunstone* 4 (Dec. 1979): 33; Blake T. Ostler, "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 66-123; Steven Robinson, "The 'Expanded' *Book of Mormon*?" in Montie S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *The Book of Mormon: Second Nephi, the Doctrinal Structure* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1979), 391-414. This remains a controversial area. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 Apr. 1994, B2, which outlines the current debate.

652. See, for example, Anthony A. Hutchinson, "The Joseph Smith Revision and the Synoptic Problem: An Alternative View," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 5 (1985): 47-53; and Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 85-102.

rism, and concluded that Smith received the temple endowment and its ritual "by revelation from God," he refused to acknowledge what his predecessors knew: the rituals of Freemasonry provided a starting point for the Mormon prophet's revelation of "true Masonry." Such an acknowledgement would not only be supported by statements made by early church leaders but also consistent with Roberts's thesis of how revelation occurs.

Dilemmas in church history are more easily understood if one acknowledges that Joseph Smith used his own imperfect thought processes, that the language he used represented the cultural context in which he was situated, and that he adapted recognizable texts and documents through creative inspiration. Whether the rituals of Freemasonry originated in antiquity, as Joseph and Brigham believed, or whether they are of recent origin, as most historians now believe, is "irrelevant" if one believes that recent texts—such as papyri or rituals—can provide a catalyst for a spiritual experience and that the resulting text or ritual constitutes revelation of heavenly images through allegory and symbolism. This does not mean that Joseph's experiences should be "reduced" or "explained away" through references to such contemporary contexts. But it does mean that context is relevant in any study of revelation, and that few scholars accept the legitimacy of immediate and non-contextual "dictation" (or "translation") even for the New Testament.⁶⁵³ Failure to recognize this may account for the different perspectives of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Mormons.

CONCLUSION

In 1984 the Grand Lodge of Utah reversed its policy of prohibiting Mormons from joining Masonic lodges. Since then increasing numbers of Mormons have been initiated, despite church discouragement. The strongest church statements were made before World War II, although as recently as 1983 the *General Handbook of Instructions*, under the heading "Secret Organizations," warned "members strongly not to join any organization that . . . is secret and oath-bound," and further advised that "local leaders decide whether Church members who belong to secret oath-bound organizations may be ordained or advanced in the priesthood or may receive a

653. See, for example, Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and Commentary*, 2d ed. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1985); Hutchinson, 47-53. For a comprehensive discussion of this subject, see Massimo Introvigne, "Il 'canone aperto': rivelazione e nuove rivelazioni nella teologia e nella storia dei Mormoni," in *Le Nuove Rivelazioni* (Leumann [Torino]: Elle Di Ci, 1991), 27-86.

temple recommend."⁶⁵⁴ This policy was removed from the 1989 edition of the *Handbook*, but subsequent church statements have relied on the language of the 1983 *Handbook*.⁶⁵⁵ Nevertheless, no church discipline has been taken against members who have joined the Craft since 1984.⁶⁵⁶

Hopefully, these changes will not only improve relations between Masons and Mormons⁶⁵⁷ but will also discourage the "all-or-nothing" approach that has characterized the debate over the relationship between their rituals. Ultimately, the efficacy of the Mormon temple ceremony does not depend on whether Joseph Smith adopted or adapted portions of the Masonic ritual when he instituted the endowment or whether the rituals of Freemasonry originated in Solomon's temple. Arthur E. Waite, a prominent Masonic scholar, recognizing the relatively recent origins of Masonic ritual, noted that "antiquity *per se* is not a test of value. I can imagine a Rite created at this day which would be much greater and more eloquent in symbolism than anything that we work and love under the name of Masonry."⁶⁵⁸ Similarly, the legitimacy of the endowment rests on the faith of members who believe that it was heaven sent and find it meaningful and life-giving.

654. *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1983), 77.

655. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Feb. 1992, D-1, D-2.

656. The 1989 *General Handbook of Instructions* prohibits only affiliation with "apostate cults," which it defines as "those that advocate plural marriage." *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 10-3.

657. Glen L. Pace, "A Thousand Times," *Ensign* 20 (Nov. 1990): 8-10; Derin Head Rodriguez, "Reaching Out," *Ensign* 22 (Jan. 1992): 66-71.

658. Waite, 1:427.