Freemasonry in Utah

Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205
A. F. & A. M., 1859-1861, Camp Floyd. The First Masonic Lodge in Utah

SAMUEL H. SAUNDERS, 1813-1897

October, 1934
By S. H. Goodwin, Grand Secretary
HISTORICAL NOTE

In September, 1924, was published the first of the series of pamphlets on "Freemasonry in Utah," now numbering thirteen, and in the following month the second number was printed.


These little booklets were of 12 and 16 pages respectively and in size 8¾ by 3¾ inches. The remaining numbers of the series were of the regular pamphlet format and carried from 16 to about 60 pages each.

At the 58th Annual Communication of Grand Lodge, 1929, the Committee on Grand Lodge Library made the following recommendation, which was adopted:

"We would recommend the reprinting of the first two historical bulletins printed in order to incorporate a considerable amount of valuable material now on hand, and also to bring them up to the same standard in style and composition as the later bulletins."

The next year, 1930, Mt. Moriah Lodge No. 2, at the suggestion of the Worshipful Master, requested the writer to expand its story and provision was made to have it printed. The result was a 57 page pamphlet of which 1,350 copies were printed, the Lodge paying for 1,000 copies and the Grand Lodge for the remainder.

The present sketch is the amplified story of bulletin No. 1, of the series.

Salt Lake City, Utah.
October 20, 1934.
Top row (left to right)—Captain John C. Robinson, first Master; Captain Carter L. Stevenson, first Junior Warden; bottom, Captain Henry Heth, last Senior Warden Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205. (See pages 38-39.)
The first jewels used in Rocky Mountain Lodge, U. D., now in the Grand Lodge Library. (See page 36.)
CHAPTER I

Attitude of the Church Leaders Toward the Government; Provisional Government Formed; Organization of the Territory; Territorial Laws Respecting the Judiciary; Immediate Causes of the Rupture; Coming of the Troops

"If they will let us alone ten years, I'll ask no odds of them," said Brigham Young in 1847. The occasion was "the day Salt Lake City was founded," and the reference was to the people of the United States. Exactly ten years later, we are told, Brigham recalled that remark, the occasion this time being the celebration of Pioneer Day in Big Cottonwood Canyon and the immediate cause, the arrival of the news that President Buchanan had ordered troops to Utah.

"The Mormon leader thus in 1847," says a son of the church, "had set himself the task of making his people so strong, numerically and otherwise, that physical force could nevermore be used against them; and he believed that a certain period of isolation was necessary while their strength was being recruited."

And the same authority declares that this was no idle thought to be forgotten as soon as uttered as

"* * * shown by the fact that exactly ten years from the day Salt Lake City was founded he recalled his words to mind and declared the desired result had been attained."(5)

It will be well to keep in mind these facts in connection with subsequent events.

Ten years. Not a great stretch of time, yet into that brief period were crowded some of the most colorful and tragic events to be found in our Western history; and it is to that decade we now turn for the background of the first chartered Masonic Lodge organized within the present boundaries of our State.

It may help to a better understanding of the general situation in the Territory at the time, now under review, if attention is directed to the fact that, speaking by and large, the source of the Utah troubles then—and, in fact, up until Statehood nearly forty years later—is to be found in the two opposing ideals and sets of conditions existing here.

On the one hand, the General Government planned, and expected, to exercise general oversight and control over the affairs

of Utah Territory as it had done and was then doing in connection with other Territories organized by Congress. On the other hand, the people, which means of course the leaders of the Church, were determined to govern themselves without any “interference from outsiders,” as they expressed their purpose. Whatever the reasons alleged for objecting to Federal Officials (and sometimes, apparently, there were other grounds) this fact lay at the root of the trouble. For this purpose they sought sanctuary in these valleys, 2,500 miles from the seat of government. They desired, and proposed to be practically independent of Washington. This fixed determination was proclaimed again and again by Brigham and other leaders of the Church. One needs no other proof of this fact than that furnished by the Journal of Discourses, Millennial Star and Deseret News. And this fact was recognized by observant visitors and by later informed writers.\(\text{\textcircled{c}}\)

For some time after the Pioneers came to Utah—as another has pointed out—there was no need for a civil government: “The organization and institutions of the Church met all requirements.” Then, in March, 1849, a constitution for the State of Deseret was adopted and a Provisional government was established. On September 9, 1850, the Organic Act for the Territory was signed by President Fillmore and soon after Federal Officers for the Territory were appointed, and the stage was set for the “Irrepressible conflict between Democracy and Theocracy,” as another has expressed it, and for the multitudinous troubles which vexed Utah for nearly half a century.\(\text{\textcircled{h}}\)

With the setting up of the governmental machinery, it may be said, began the friction between the actual rulers of the people and the United States Government which culminated in open rupture and the coming of the troops.

While it is not necessary for our purpose to give an extended account of the “Utah War,” or of the many contributing causes of the “War,” it is essential, as it appears to the writer, that certain matters connected therewith shall be presented and some of the immediate causes thereof be recorded here.

As we enter upon this phase of our subject the reader is asked to bear in mind the unquestioned fact—at all events the fact can hardly be fairly questioned—that there was fault and blame on both sides. It is too much to expect of human beings, that two bitterly antagonistic groups, one of which held absolutely unrestricted power, and the other nothing lacking in courage and willingness to fight (however vastly outnumbered): it

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\(\text{\textcircled{c}}\) Cf. Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870, Daines p. 340 (for full reference see Note 1, p. 5). This entire article is worthy of a careful reading. Cf. Rocky Mt. Saints. Stenhouse, 1872, p. 351; see also Burton’s statement, made in 1861, City of the Saints, p. 252.

\(\text{\textcircled{h}}\) Rocky Mountain Saints, Stenhouse, 1872, p. 279.
would be too much to expect that the fault should all lie at the
doors of one group.

The Organic Act for the Territory appears to have left to
the Territorial assembly the defining of the jurisdiction of the
courts. Probate judges were appointed by the legislature. This,
as another has pointed out, gave it a great opportunity, for these
courts were given "* * * power to exercise original jurisdiction,
both civil and criminal, as well as in chancery as at common law,
when not prohibited by legislative enactment."

In addition to this grant of power to the probate courts the
offices of "Territorial marshal, attorney general and district
attorney were created to attend to all business before the courts
when the Territory was concerned." ① "By this maneuver," says
Daines, "local self-government was complete except for annoy­
ances caused by ambitious officials who tried to take part in
what they considered their business and what the Mormons denied
was their business."

This much has been said for the reason that the situation
just described was responsible for an incident that played no
inconspicuous part in the series of events which led the Admin­
istration at Washington to decide to send troops into the Terri­
tory.

Of course, in the meantime—that is, between the passage by
the legislature of the acts referred to in 1852, and 1857 when
action was taken by President Buchanan—the "annoyances" re­erred to in an earlier paragraph were not confined to "ambitious
officials," as may be seen by reference to the Journals of Dis­
courses and issues of the Deseret News, of the period. Brigham
Young, Heber C. Kimball and Jedediah Grant were especially
active, and unrestrained, in this particular.

One of the charges filed with the President was that the
records of the United States District Courts had been burned.
Mormon writers have made much of the fact that those records
were in safe keeping—in Brigham Young's office, if our recol­
clection is not at fault. But generally, they have little or nothing
to say about the incident which led to that charge. At least one
exception is to be made to that statement. A recent writer and
follower of the "prophet," in an interesting, although not wholly
unbiased work, tells the story, and inasmuch as we may fairly
assume that it will not misrepresent the Mormon position, we
reproduce the pertinent portions here.

After remarking that Judge Stiles refused to recognize the
status of the Territorial Marshal claiming that the function of
serving writs, &c, belonged exclusively to the U. S. Marshal, our
author proceeds:

①See Laws of Utah, 1857-1870, Ed. of 1870, Chap. IX, p. 38; also Separatism in
Utah 1847-1870, Daines, 1917, p. 339. In this connection acknowledgment is made
of the writer's obligation to Prof. Daines, whose article has been of material assist­
ance. Utah and the Nation, Creer, 1929, pp. 116-117; History of Utah, Bancroft,
1889, pp. 486-488.
"When the question of jurisdiction came before [Associate] Judge [Geo. P.] Stiles [in February, 1857] * * * a number of local Mormon lawyers led by James Ferguson openly challenged his authority and by ‘boisterous conduct and threats’ intimidated him and compelled him to adjourn court sine die. At this, Stiles appealed to Governor Young to sustain and protect him in the discharge of his duties but the Governor promptly told him ‘if he could not enforce the United States laws, the sooner he adjourned his court the better.’ Nor was this all. A short time afterwards, the records of the United States District Courts were removed from the Judge’s office, and a bonfire made of the rest of the books and papers found there. The records were in safe keeping but Stiles supposing these had been burned along with his personal papers, made affidavit to that affect upon his return to Washington in the Spring of 1857. This incident,” continues our author, “though petty and insignificant was greatly misrepresented and given wide publicity with the result that it worked to the disadvantage of the Saints.”

In those hectic days, and in comparison with other happenings which characterized that period, the threatening with bodily harm of a Federal Judge and compelling him to adjourn court; the breaking into his chambers, or office, removing therefrom the court records, and making a bonfire of the private papers and lawbooks of the Judge: such doings may have constituted nothing more than a “petty, insignificant incident,” as our author affirms. Such proceedings in Salt Lake City today, would probably be regarded by our citizens as decidedly unconventional, to say the least!

Bancroft, in keeping with his well known tendency, characterizes this affair as a “silly freak,” which was noised abroad throughout the land with many exaggerations and excited much adverse comment.②


Jules Remy, a French scientist, who, with his companion arrived in Salt Lake City, on Sept. 18, 1855 and “remained a whole month,” furnishes us with an interesting variation concerning Judge Stiles. In a passage treating of the three Federal Judges—Kinney, Drummond and Stiles—he states concerning the Judge last named:

“Lastly, a third Judge, Mr. Styles (!) a third federal judge, brought discredit upon the government of Washington in another way [different from Judge Drummond’s doings] by becoming a Mormon. Whether this conversion was sincere or whether it was actuated by ambitious motives, it naturally inspired the inhabitants of Salt Lake City with pride, and served them as a powerful argument in their favor”!! A journey to Salt Lake City, Remy and Brenchley, 1861, vol. I, p. 209.

That, from the pen of one who, after informing his readers that the works on Mormonism are overloaded with misrepresentations, and that “the truth, so often perverted, will be vindicated in this work”!! pp. III & V, Preface.


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Stenhouse, who appears to have taken a more just view of the matter has this to say:

“That insane and foolish outrage created a great sensation throughout the States adverse to the Saints.”

This affair Stenhouse attributes to the spirit of the times: “Israel was determined not to be beaten,” he says.

Soon after the forced adjournment of his court (which occurred in February, 1857) Judge Stiles left for Washington, and there made affidavit to the destruction of the court records—he supposing they had been destroyed when his personal papers and books were burned.

It seems to be quite generally agreed, among Mormon writers at all events—and this contention appears to receive support from other authorities who have written on the subject—that Judge Drummond’s letter of resignation, in which he made specific charges against Brigham Young and the Mormon people, was one of the most powerful factors in crystalizing sentiment at Washington, which culminated in the sending of an army to Utah. To this are usually added two other communications: One from W. M. F. Magraw, a mail contractor, addressed to President Buchanan, and the other from Thomas S. Twiss, Indian Agent of the Upper Platte, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J. W. Denver. Of these two, the first appeared to carry the greater weight.

The events herein enumerated, as the present writer understands the situation were the immediate cause of the ordering of troops to Utah.

One other phase of the controversy between the Government and the leaders of the Mormon people should have place here. Latter Day Saint writers—we think without exception—attribute the attitude of the church, and the opposition of the leaders to the governmental policy, to the fact that they were being unjustly deprived of the right of local self-government. It was not only wrong, but unconstitutional for the Administration at Washington to appoint officials from “outside,” not of their own number, to manage the affairs of the Territory. A reference to the Mormon Publications of the period—the Deseret News, Journal of Discourses, and Millennial Star, to mention no others—will leave no room for argument on this score.

At times statements were made to the effect that in this respect, Utah was being discriminated against.

In his proclamation offering pardon to those who had been opposing and defying the authority of the U. S., President Bu-

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1 Rocky Mt. Saints, Stenhouse, 1872, p. 283.
2 One or two of the more recent works may be cited here, such for example as, Separation in Utah, 1847-1870, by F. D. Daines, An’l. Rept. American Hist’l. Ass’n., 1917, p. 333 (the entire article); Utah and the Nation, L. H. Creer, 1929, p. 115, and many other passages, and Comprehensive Hist. of the Church, Roberts, 1930, Note 11, p. 226 and other passages.

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chanan takes cognizance of this claim. Said he, speaking of the
laws enacted by Congress for the government of the Territory:

"They are similar in every material respect to the
laws which have been passed for the other Territories of
the Union, and which everywhere else (with one par-
tial exception) have been cheerfully obeyed."(1)

Thus far we have treated the subject mainly from the Utah
point of view. Space does not permit of presenting the Wash­
ington understanding of the situation as set forth in the
President's Message and which the L. D. S. leaders stoutly
maintained was based upon misrepresentation and maliciously
false reports. Anyone who is interested in the subject may
find the President's reasons for sending troops into the Ter­
ritory in his first message to Congress, December 8, 1857.(2)

Before leaving the subject of causes responsible for the Utah
Expedition, one other may be mentioned, if for no other reason
than that it is different: it finds a, if not the, primary source
of the Utah troubles in a portion of what was said to be a part
of the Temple ceremonies.

Reference here is to an article on the Utah Expedition by
Albert C. Brown which appeared in the March, April and May,
1859 numbers of the Atlantic Monthly. When treating of the
political bearing of the Endowment ceremonies, he refers to an
oath, which he alleges is taken by the endowed, to cherish hatred
&c, and then continues:

"* * * And this ceremony is not a mere empty form
of words. It is an oath, the spirit of which the Endowed
carry into their daily lives and all their relations
with the Gentile world. In it lies the root of the evasion
and finally subversion of the Federal authority which
occasioned the recent military expedition to Utah."

The story of the march of that little army from Ft.
Leavenworth to Camp Floyd is a most fascinating one and it
loses none of its interest by being told in a running, day to day
account of the happenings along the way, by a wide-awake, keenly
observant, intelligent officer of the command. This story may
be read in a recently published collection of intimate, informal
letters, such as a man might write to his wife and family. These
letters enable us to share in the varied experiences of that twelve
months' hike; to look upon that captivating panorama from inside
the ranks, and to have the varied maneuvers—military and poli-

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(1) Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, Richardson, Vol. V, 1849-1861,
p. 494.

(2) Ibid, pp. 454-456.
tical—interpreted and the significance of events pointed out by an experienced observer as these were apprehended by him.\(^1\)

This, for lack of space, must be passed over. For the same reason must be left untouched the interesting material relative to the "Move" south, when, as expressed by one who had occupied a particularly favorable position for ascertaining the facts and qualified, by training, experience and character to fairly appraise the situation:

"The tone of the 'Defenders of Zion' was now to be changed. *Flight and not fight* was to be the watchword."\(^6\)

Similar treatment must be accorded the records pertaining to the coming of Brigham's successor as Governor; the labors of the "Peace Commissioners," and the outcome of their several conferences with the President and other leaders of the Church, and a great body of apposite material besides.\(^5\)

On the 26th of June, 1858, General Johnston and his troops marched through Salt Lake City and camped along the West bank of the Jordan, and not one of the troopers melted away, "as the snow before a July sun," as Brigham Young had declared would be the case, and notwithstanding that he and John Taylor and others of the leaders had repeatedly assured the people that the troops should not enter Salt Lake Valley.

An interesting incident occurred while the army was at this point. It appears that the ground on which the camp was established had been used as a church pasture. On the second morning after the arrival of the troops

"* * * Lewis Robinson, the Quartermaster-General of the Mormon army, demanded the payment of $150.00 per day for its occupation. The demand was singular,

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\(^2\)Rocky Mt. Saints, Stenhouse, 1872, pp. 359-366: 384-385. In spite of the fact that, on occasion, the people expressed a willingness to "follow their leaders" in this "move," there were many who felt it was an unwise step—in fact, a mistake. And this criticism appears to have been sufficiently widespread and persistent, two years after the "return," to call for a defensive statement by Brigham Young. Said he, in an address in the Tabernacle, June 3, 1860:

"Many have looked upon our trip south as a great stumbling block, because we left our houses and possessions," &c. See Deseret News, vol. X., No. 20, July 18, 1860, p. 139.

\(^3\)For dissimilar accounts of these events the reader will find much of interest in the following references: Rocky Mt. St., Stenhouse, 1872, pp. 392-399; Utah Expedition, Gove, 1929, pp. 348-354; this is from the special correspondence of the New York Herald, under date of June 10, 1858, and A Journey to Great Salt Lake, Remy and Brenchley, 1901, vol. I, pp. 386-490. This last mentioned absurd account of the affair is by Remy—who declared in his Preface that "The truth, so often perverted, will be vindicated in this work"! That Frenchman didn't lack assurance at all events! Creer, following Whitney and Tullidge gives a still different account of this affair. Utah and the Nation, 1929, pp. 156-157.

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not to say more, in consideration of the fact that all the land in Utah Territory is the property of the United States and not a foot of it is yet subject to preemption."

The army rested there for two or three days and on the 8th of July, 1858, the first detachment of troops arrived at the location where the permanent camp was to be established.

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1New York Weekly Tribune, August 7, 1858, quoted by Alter, History of Utah, 1932, p. 278. The curious story to the effect that the leaders "permitted" the troops to pass through the city has been repeated by Mormon writers; others state that they "consented" to allow this to be done! Just how this was to be prevented does not appear, as leaders and people had deserted the city and were then at Provo, 44 miles south of Salt Lake City. See Rocky Mt. Saints, Stenhouse, 1872, p. 395; Utah and the Nation, Creer, 1929, pp. 156-157, and the "vindicator" of the truth, A Journey to Salt Lake City, Remy and Brenchley, 1861, vol. I, pp. V, and 489.

2Utah Expedition, 1857-1868, Gove, p. 178.
CHAPTER II

Camp Floyd Established; Opinions of Distinguished Visitors;
Petition for Dispensation to Open a Masonic Lodge; First
Masonic Building in Utah; Incidents of Camp Life;
Charter Applied for; Transfer of Larger Portion
of the Troops; Surrender of Charter of Rocky
Mt. Lodge No. 205

Having thus shown somewhat of the conditions prevailing
in the Territory at the time, and indicated certain of the causes
responsible for the Utah Expedition, and located the troops at
Camp Floyd, we may now direct our attention to the story of
Rocky Mt. Lodge No. 205, Missouri Registry, the first organized
Masonic body in Utah.

As soon as possible after arriving at the camp, the volunteers,
who were mustered in at Ft. Bridger during the preceding fall
for nine month’s service, were ordered to Ft. Leavenworth to
be discharged. At the same time the employees of the Quartermaster’s department and those who had been working for the
contractors—some five hundred in number—were discharged.
These men scattered in various directions, some going to Califor­
nia while others remained in the Territory and were employed
as wood choppers and herdsmen. Among those thus released by
the Quartermaster, was our late friend and Brother, Alex Toponce,
who joined Johnston’s army the year before, as assistant wagon
boss. Later, and for many years, he was a resident of Corinne,
and Ogden, and in November, 1878, he was elected Junior Grand
Warden of the Grand Lodge of Utah.®

Necessarily, the first work to be undertaken by the troops at
the camp was to provide suitable quarters for themselves and
storehouses for their supplies. Concerning this General Johnston
wrote the War Department, under date of July 22nd, 1858:

“Measures will be immediately taken to erect at the
position selected for a winter camp near the center of
the valley, heretofore mentioned, temporary storehouses
for the supplies for the troops. Proposals for furnishing
material have been invited by advertisement, but I am
not encouraged to believe that the prices asked can be
allowed; should they be exorbitant or more than just
the bid will be rejected and resort had to such means as
are in our power to put up suitable structures.”®

Apparently, the Commander’s fears with reference to prices
were unfounded, for in a letter to the Department, dated Sep­
tember 23, 1858, he wrote:

®For account of his connection with the Utah Expedition, see Reminiscences of
Alexander Toponce, Pioneer, 1923, pp. 32-33, 36, 37, 38.

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“Although nothing has been changed in the Mormon policy, quiet prevails. The people take employment at our camp, when needed. Large numbers are employed making adobes and in various mechanical pursuits. Our winter quarters will be quite comfortable; we are building a great many houses to shelter the men and large storehouses for our supplies. The walls of our houses are eight feet high; the roofs are covered with plank, which is again covered with three or four inches of clay. Small windows, rough doors and well-pounded clay floors complete the buildings. To put up buildings, even rude structures for 3,000 or 4,000 men, is a work of immense labor, where the materials are brought from a distance.”

We do not have any reliable estimates on the cost of this work, although one writer ventured the guess of $200,000.

“Every adobe brick in the place has been estimated to have cost a cent,” declares a noted English traveler who twice visited the camp after this work was completed, “and the purchase of lumber has enriched the enemy.”

As a matter of fact the lumber used cost $75.00 per thousand feet. According to another traveler who visited the camp in the summer of 1859:

“The lumber was supplied by Brigham Young and his son-in-law [Clawson] from the only canyon opening into Salt Lake Valley which abounded in timber * * * fit for sawing. The territorial legislature (which is another name for the church) granted this canyon to Brigham who runs three mills therein.”

The work of establishing the camp went forward as rapidly as circumstances would permit, but not without vexatious delays, as indicated by a letter from General Johnston, dated October 12, 1858:

“In a short time,” he wrote, “all will be domiciled in their new dwellings. The progress of the work is frequently delayed for want of plank, else they would have been finished before now.”

In spite of such delays we are told that

“* * * Before winter set in, the men were all comfortably housed, the provisions under shelter, and the mules and cattle distributed to proper grazing grounds.”

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2City of the Saints, Burton, 1862, p. 235.
3Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859, Greeley, 1860, p. 246.
The site for the camp was selected, among other reasons, because such essentials as water and wood were at hand. Certain civilian visitors at Camp Floyd have placed on record their impressions of some of the physical aspects of the cantonment, not altogether flattering.

Thus, Horace Greeley, who visited the camp in the summer of 1859, as already noted, has this to say concerning the location:

"The soil is easily pulverized when dry and keeps the entire area enveloped, during the summer, in a dense cloud of dust, visible in every direction. I saw it when eight miles away, as I came from Salt Lake City."①

It is barely possible that the "excrable whiskey at $10.00 per gallon," this distinguished editor found at "Frogtown," [Fairfield, separated from the camp by a small stream] at the end of his dusty journey may have had something to do with the character of his report. However, another distinguished visitor, if anything, is even less flattering in his observations:

"* * * the new cantonment * * * lies in a circular basin, surrounded by irregular hills of various heights still wooded with black cedar * * *. For a more thoroughly detestable spot one must repair to Gharra, or some similar purgatorial place in Lower Sindh. The winter is long and rigorous, the summer hot and uncomfortable, the alkaline water curdles soap, and the dust storms remind one of the Punjaub."

Rcurring to the subject again the same writer adds these details:

"The position of Camp Floyd is a mere brickyard, a basin surrounded by low hills * * *. The principal vegetation is the dwarf cedar above, the sage green-wood and rabbit-bush below * * *. The principal amusement seemed to be that of walking into and out of the Sutler stores, the hospitable Messrs. Gilbert’s and Livingston’s —a passe temps which I have seen at ‘Sukkur Bukkur Rohri—and in an evening ride, dull, monotonous, and melancholy, as if we were in the vicinity of Hyderabad, Sindh."②

This distinguished English traveler could not have been in very good humor when he wrote those lines, and he certainly overlooked much when he listed the “only amusement,” as will be seen, as we proceed.

①Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859, Greeley, 1860, p. 246.
②City of the Saints, Burton, 1862, pp. 334, 446.
Of conditions in the camp during the first winter—1858-1859—in the course of which a petition for dispensation to open a Masonic Lodge was drafted—one who wrote much later, but authoritatively, gives this description:

“It is sufficient to say that this well-administered army passed the winter not only contentedly but cheerfully, bringing to their aid the recreation and amusements of civilized life, without the relaxation of discipline, or of the vigilance necessary to a strict performance of their duties.”

Under such circumstances it was quite the natural thing that members of the Craft among the officers and soldiers should desire to add to the other means of diversion the association and fellowship of the Lodge room.

No records are at hand to indicate at what time correspondence was taken up with the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri by the Camp Floyd Brethren, but it could not have been later than in the early, or middle part of that first winter, to allow time for the necessary letters to pass back and forth in those days, before even the pony express was in operation, and for the Grand Master to investigate the matter, for the dispensation authorizing the organization of Rocky Mountain Lodge bore date of March 6, 1859. But, although we do not know when this matter was taken up by the petitioners, or anything about the preliminary steps, we do have a copy of the petition, without date, strangely enough, forwarded to Grand Master Samuel H. Saunders, which is in language as follows:

“Camp Floyd, Utah Ty.

“To the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the State of Missouri, the petitioners humbly show that they are ancient, free and accepted Master Masons. Having the prosperity of the Fraternity at heart they are willing to exert their best endeavors to promote and diffuse the genuine principles of Masonry.

For the convenience of their respective dwellings and for other good reasons, they are desirous of forming a new Lodge in Camp Floyd, Utah Territory, to be named Rocky Mountain Lodge. In consequence of this desire and for the good of the Craft, they pray for a charter, or warrant, to empower them to assemble as a legal Lodge to discharge the duties of Masonry in the several degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason in a regular and ancient form of the Fraternity and the laws and regulations of the Grand Lodge. That they have nominated and do recommend Brother John C. Robinson, U. S. A. to be the first Mas-

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@Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, by Wm. Preston Johnston, 1878, p. 235.

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ter, Brother Henry W. Tracy the first Senior Warden and Brother Carter L. Stevenson, U. S. A. to be the first Junior Warden of said Lodge; that, if the prayer of the petition [ers] should be granted, they promise a strict conformity to all the constitutional laws, rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge.

John C. Robinson, M. M., K. T.
C. L. Stevenson, M. M.
Daniel Ruggles, M. M.
J. M. Hawes, M. M.
W. A. Webb, M. M.
W. L. Halsey, M. M., R. A. M., K. T.
Benjamin Wingate, M. M.
William Kearny, M. M.
Thomas J. Berry, M. M.
F. J. Howe, M. M., Harper
M. J. Smith, M. M.

Henry W. Tracy, M. M.
M. S. Howe, M. M., R. A., K. T.
H. R. Selden, M. M., R. A.
Henry Heth, M. M.
J. Hobbs, M. M.
C. H. Brotherton, M. M.
Samuel Archer, M. M.
E. C. Bainbridge, M. M.
A. A. Sorbert, M. M.
D. A. Deskins, M. M.
Edw. J. Brooks, M. M.
S. H. Montgomery, M. M.

This copy of the petition of our Camp Floyd Brethren is taken from an article on “Missouri Masonry in Utah,” by Past Grand Master Ray V. Denslow, and published in the Missouri Grand Lodge Bulletin, of April, 1925, of which Brother Denslow was then editor.

“Immediately on receipt of this application the Grand Master issued to Brother John C. Robinson, Henry W. Tracy, C. L. Stevenson, M. S. Howe, Daniel Ruggles, W. L. Halsey, D. H. Brotherton, Benj. Wingate, William Kearny, a Dispensation authorizing them to carry on the work of a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.”

The location was fixed at Camp Floyd, in Utah Territory, and John C. Robinson was named as Master; Henry W. Tracy, as Senior Warden and Carter Stevenson as Junior Warden; the Dispensation being issued in the city of St. Louis on March 6th, 1859; attested by Anthony O’Sullivan, then the Grand Secretary. A note on the margin of the Dispensation states:

“This Dispensation is made returnable on the fourth Monday of May, 1860, by order of the Grand Master. A. O’Sullivan, Grand Secretary.”

Not having access to the minutes, or other records of the Lodge, we have no means of learning when the dispensation reached the Camp or on what date the first meeting was held. This however, could not have occurred before sometime in April, 1859, for the following reasons: The letter from Grand Master

©Missouri Grand Lodge Bulletin April, 1925, Denslow, p. 76.

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Saunders to Grand Secretary O'Sullivan—enclosing the dispensation—was dated at Otterville, Missouri, March 20, 1859. Further, at this time the pony express had not been established and mail from the East reached Salt Lake City but twice a month.©

This statement with reference to the time required to cover the distance between the Missouri River and Camp Floyd must be qualified, it seems, if the authority about to be quoted is to be relied on. Through the courtesy of J. Cecil Alter, present Master of Progress Lodge No. 22, the present writer has been given access to the journal of one Richard Thomas Ackley, a sutler's clerk and bookkeeper at Camp Floyd. Under the year 1858 (day of month not given) he wrote:

“It is really astonishing the short time it takes for our letters to come out from the States. The President's Message arrived here in eleven days from the Missouri River—over 1,300 miles. We think it pretty good time considering the condition of the country.”

On the other hand the special correspondent of the New York Herald writing from Provo, under date of June 28, 1858 (in the July 30th issue of the Herald) states:

“The eastern mail arrived yesterday bringing dates from New York up to the 5th. It made a very quick trip from St. Joseph here, coming in eighteen days.”®

It would be of interest too, could we know in what building the New Lodge held its initial meeting, and something concerning the furniture of the Lodge and other equipment, which at first must have been largely improvised. In due time the Brethren provided themselves with a Lodge room—the first Masonic building to be erected in Utah. (See p. 39.) Concerning this structure we have some interesting details and a sketch of it, drawn from memory nearly forty years later, by one who was made a Mason in Rocky Mountain Lodge U. D., in the fall of 1859.

General B. M. Thomas, of Dalton, Georgia, a young lieutenant in General Johnston's army at Camp Floyd, in correspondence with our late Grand Secretary, Brother Diehl, under date of August 29, 1897, furnished the following facts:

“Our Lodge room was built of adobe brick * * *. We had men detailed to saw timber into plank, in the hills nearby. The saws worked vertically with men above and below the log, to alternately pull and push the saw. Our buildings were roofed with those planks and

©The Overland Mail, Hafen, 1926, pp. 170-171.
®The Utah Expedition, Gove, 1928, p. 372.
covered with dirt. We had no floor, yet in that room was generated the noble brotherly influences which softened the horrors of war [between the States] throughout the length and breadth of our country ***. The windows of our Lodge room were on the north and south sides and were very high up the walls—more for ventilation than light. I do not think we ever used the room during the day."

In another letter dated September 29, 1897, General Thomas recurs to the subject of this building:

"I delayed answer [to Brother Diehl's letter] because I wanted to find General C. L. Stevenson [the first Junior Warden of Rocky Mountain Lodge]. He was my Captain in the old service and was one of the Wardens of our Lodge. I wanted to find out if his recollection coincided with my own. I have been unable to find him and therefore send you the enclosed sketch [see p. 39], which I am satisfied is practically correct ***. The dimensions were about 60x30 feet, walls of adobe, covered with plank, which was sawed by hand in the hill country enclosing the valley." (See Utah Proceedings, 1925, p. 96, for other portions of these letters.)

General Thomas in these letters, twice refers to the manner of sawing the lumber used for the roof and other parts of the Masonic building. It may very well be that the members of the Lodge did not feel like contributing the funds necessary to purchase plank of Brigham Young at $75.00 per thousand feet, and so resorted to this primitive, laborious method of supplying their needs. It is hardly likely, however, that General Johnston would follow a similar plan when providing quarters for 4,000 men and buildings for the storage of supplies. No doubt Sir Richard Burton's account of the matter is correct. (See p. 14.)

Comfortably, if not exactly luxuriously domiciled in their adobe building the Lodge proceeded with its work; but in the absence of minute books and records, the door of that Lodge room is closed to us, and such information as we have, is derived from other sources.

Apparently, the interests of the new Lodge were placed in very capable hands—entrusted to experienced members of the Craft who not only carefully guarded the "outer door," but scrupulously obeyed the laws and regulations relating to the work. This we infer from a brief review of the year's activities by the Secretary supplemented by comments on the same subject by the Acting Master.

Writing to Grand Secretary O'Sullivan when the books, records, dispensation and request for a charter were sent in, Secre-
tary Fras Mead expressed the hope that the labors of the Lodge would receive the approval of Grand Lodge, and then continued:

“Although much business has been done yet it has not been done hurriedly or loosely; care has been taken in the instruction of the candidates for degrees and no passing or raising has been permitted without the candidate having indeed made suitable proficiency in the preceding degrees. By reference to the list of degrees conferred you will observe that in almost every case there has been an interval varying from two to six weeks. In the case of Brother Miller being passed to degrees of F. C. and ballot for the three Degrees on the same night, I would remark that necessity alone caused the proceeding. Business of an urgent nature compelling him to leave the Territory the day following his raising, he was carefully instructed previous to the balloting and also up to the moment of his departure. You will observe that no petitions have been presented for some time in the Lodge, the desire for joining is as strong as ever, but petitions have been declined that we might leave no outstanding business.”

In further explanation of this general subject, H. W. Tracy, at the time, Acting Master of the Lodge, wrote to the Grand Secretary as follows, his letter, it appears, accompanying that of the Secretary:

“Our Secretary, Bro. Mead, having written you the particulars in regard to work done and the manner in which it was done, has requested me to say a few words in regard to the number of degrees conferred, which is very large and may be the cause of some discussion at meeting of the Grand Lodge. In explanation of the matter would state that many of the parties desiring admission had been kept waiting for the granting of a dispensation since the arrival of the troops in the winter [summer] of 1857 [1858] in Utah, which caused many applications on the night of our first meeting, which has continued to this time. But one thing I can assure you, Grand Lodge cannot boast of better material than this Lodge has engrafted upon our ancient and honorable institution.”

If at first blush we incline to wonder at the concern exhibited by these two officers of Rocky Mt. Lodge U. D. with reference to the amount of work done during that first year, we will cease to marvel in view of an incidental disclosure by Secretary Mead in his letter to the Grand Secretary, excerpts from which appear

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2Ibid, p. 84.
immediately above. In one paragraph instructions are given for the disposition to be made of a check for $175.00:

"Of this amount," writes the Secretary, "you will please pay into the Grand Lodge of Missouri $162.00, being $1.00 for each degree conferred in Rocky Mountain Lodge since its organization under Dispensation from the Most Worshipful G. L. of Missouri as per accompanying list."\(^1\)

One-hundred sixty-two degrees in a single year! That is a record for Utah. One of our Salt Lake Lodges conferred 140 degrees two years in succession and another Lodge of this city reported 160 degrees for 1921—two short of the achievement of the first Masonic Lodge in this State.

Two other interesting items are included in the paragraph from which quotation has just been made—interesting, because, brief as they are, they throw a little light on the calibre and quality of the membership of Rocky Mt. Lodge U. D.

Concerning the balance of $13.00, after payment of fees for the degrees conferred, the Secretary directs that it shall be applied

"** to liquidation of your fees for the charter, the balance, if any, can be applied to the purchase of any good Masonic works, but especially a Monitor. Will you be pleased to send one that is not Sectarian in character.\(^2\)

Busy as the members of this Lodge must have been, to accomplish the amount of degree work they did, they were not neglectful of other Masonic duties. This aspect is referred to by General Thomas in his correspondence with Grand Secretary Diehl. Said he:

"Our Lodge did a great deal of good. There were many trains of emigrants going to Washington, Oregon and California. Sometimes through want of management or from interference by the Indians, these people would be reduced to terrible straits and we always helped them. We sent $250.00 as our contribution to the Washington Monument, which at that time was being built by the ladies of the South **. There is no telling the amount of good done by that Lodge."

While one cannot but keenly regret the lack of information concerning details of the activities of Rocky Mountain Lodge while under dispensation, it is a source of satisfaction to find available many interesting items which help to give color and to fill in the outlines of the fading picture of life at the Camp

\(^1\)Ibid, p. 83.
\(^2\)Ibid, p. 83.
three-quarters of a century ago. These will aid to a better under-
standing of some of the contacts and interests which engaged
the attention and added variety to the daily life of those whose
duties fixed their abode in the center of Cedar Valley.

Although General Johnston never visited Salt Lake City
after he led his troopers along South Temple Street on that
summer morning, June 26, 1858, quite frequently, it seems, small
groups of officers would make up a party to visit the city,
perhaps for several days—doubtless the same was true of
privates.

Under date of July 22, 1858, Capt. Gove wrote from the
Camp of such a contemplated visit to Salt Lake on the following
day, the party to be made up of Captains Gove, Cumming and
Dickerson. In another letter to his wife dated at Salt Lake,
July 29th, he wrote:

"In my last letter from camp I wrote you that I was
coming to the city on a few days leave of absence. Well,
here I am, in a Mormon hotel and tomorrow we go to
camp. We have been here six days, and a more non-
intercourse visit among a people I never knew. The
Mormons are still isolated, and do not appear to desire
any intercourse with the gentiles. This is the case, from
motives of policy. We can never mix, as clanishness is
the only safe mode of maintaining their organization
***. Our only place of resort is at the Governor's [Cum-
mings] *** Cumming [Capt.], myself, and Mrs. C.
have been to the lake, hot and warm springs, etc. ***. We
have met several of the principal men of Mormon-
dom and their first wives at Mrs. C's [umming's].
Brigham we cannot get a sight of yet ***. He does not
like to come in contact with gentiles, as he says much of
his holy and healing influences pass from him. This is
one among the thousand absurdities of his, and these
people believe him. I have bought all the text books of
Mormonism, and shall take them in with me if I can get
off [that is, secure leave of absence to go East] ***.
"I dread going out to camp to sleep and live in the dust.
It was nearly 13 months until I came here, that I had
not slept in any building or house, either a tent or the
canopy of heaven was my covering during that time
***. I am very well posted on the social institution of
Mormonism. I have been very observant of these peo-
ple, and have not been mistaken in the main.

"Many more of the men have more than one wife,
than is generally known. This week three men took
eleven girls to wife, and daily they are marrying and
given in marriage. Polygamy is the bond of the church
***."
“6 P. M. We have just received a note from Governor C. [Cumming] that Brigham Young is absent from the city, so we shall not see him. He has not been seen on the street since the army came in ** *. We all go out to camp tomorrow morning.”①

This extended quotation is given place here because it throws light on the views of some phases of the situation held by intelligent observers.

Had the Captain recalled Brigham's repeated characterizations of the army as an “armed, mercenary mob,” and “as rotten as an old pumpkin that has been frozen seven times and melted in a harvest sun,” he perhaps, would not have remarked on the “clanishness” of the people, or Brigham's disinclination to fraternize with officers of that army.

On another occasion three officers from the camp visited the city on a week's leave of absence. Their stay there was not quite as uneventful as was Capt. Gove's. One of the three was Lieutenant G. B. Thomas (later, General). In his second letter to Grand Secretary Diehl in 1897, he records the following incident. After referring to DeWolf, who, he says, was publisher of the “Nauvoo Gazette”—a later reference indicates that he meant Valley Tan—he continues:

“Myself and two other young officers were in the city on a seven day's leave of absence. Brigham Young gave a Grand Ball, we of course, were not invited. DeWolf and some other Gentiles got up a ball in our honor. While the fantastic was tripping along merrily and our big pistols were flapping jauntily in merry mazes of the dance, suddenly every light went out and ever so many pistol balls went crashing through the room, but fortunately the room was elevated, some three or four feet above the surface and the balls ranged upwards, or somebody would surely have been killed.”

He adds that they rushed out on the opposite side with their pistols in hand ready for any emergency.

It appears that the troops at Camp Floyd were not long without some of the recreations and amusements of civilized life. Even before quarters for the men were completed, steps were taken to organize those who possessed any histrionic talent into a society to furnish amusement for the camp. Out of that movement came the "Military Dramatic Association." On the evening of November 9, 1858, this company made its first public appearance, and thereafter it played weekly to full houses, and later it appeared oftener. Late in March, following, the "Dra-

①The Utah Expedition, Gove, 1928, pp. 187-188.
matic season" was brought to a premature close, owing to the scarcity of money—some of the soldiers had received no pay for six months, we are told, and others for longer periods. The arrival of the Army Paymaster relieved the situation, and the Association continued to function throughout the Summer, increasing the number of performances, until it furnished entertainment every night in the week.

But one such organization, however industriously it might labor, could not meet the needs of a community, said to have had a population of from 3,000 to 5,000 people. During the summer of 1859 the "German Singing Club" was formed. It erected its own building, known as "Social Hall," and presented frequent programs for the benefit of its members and a few invited guests, all of its work being in the German language.

About the same time was organized "The Soldiers Circus Company," all of its performers being soldiers. They presented acrobatic, gymnastic, and equestrian features supplemented by clowns and burlesques and other features. A short time before this company began to operate, a stray circus drifted into camp. This was "Bartholmew's Great Pioneer Circus." A Camp Floyd Correspondent of Valley Tan (the first non-Mormon paper to be published in the Territory) reported that the outfit was a fraud, and that the "bills were the best part of the show."

Of course, "balls" were of quite frequent occurrence, and out-of-door sports included horseback riding and chasing of coyotes with dogs, while feats of skill in strength always drew interested attention. A soldier at the camp, through the columns of Valley Tan, offered to wager any sum from $50.00 to $200.00 that he could ride at a gallop and load and fire two six shooters in less time than any other man in Utah.

The diarist referred to in a preceding paragraph, furnishes some interesting glimpses of the doings at camp. Among them, this:

"We had two very nice billiard tables sent out from the States, and by permission of the Commanding Officer, we put up a building for them near headquarters—they were kept going night and day. No one was allowed to play but officers."

Of Christmas week he wrote:

"Our Holidays were passed off very pleasantly. Big dinners and evening parties were the order of the day. On New Years Day was a big time; business and work of all kinds was generally suspended. There was a grand review of all the troops just back of the camp by Albert Sidney Johnston. The day was beautiful."
In this connection, the same writer furnishes the following estimates of the population of the cantonment:

“We had stationed here about 3,500 troops, and about 500 citizens employed, and say, 1,000 followers of the army together with the Horses and Mules.”

Fourth of July, of course, was appropriately observed at the Post. This included firing of the National Salute, selections by the Department Band, a review of the troops by General Johnston, and a ‘grand display of fireworks in the evening’. The camp reporter added to his account of this occasion: “When the soldiers were dismissed [following the review] each was served with a gill of whiskey.”

“Adobeville,” or “Frogtown”—as already noted, was separated from the military reservation by no more formidable barrier than a very small stream. This place, from the accounts that have come to us, must have been rather “lively” at times, at all events, it had the “makins” of hilarity, plus.

The writer, quoted immediately above furnishes the following description:

“We were not by any means lonesome here, for just outside the camp, over the creek as we called it, was a small place Adobe or Frog town. It was quite a place in its way built on two streets, principally occupied by drinking and gambling saloons and stores, some of them kept in very good style; the drinking saloons all had gambling going on in abundance. Besides these there were tenpin alleys and billiard saloons and a very good theater which was well attended, and occasionally a circus.”

As already remarked, emigrant trains from the East on their way to California frequently stopped at Camp Floyd to secure an itinerary over the best route, and brought bits of news from the homeland which must have been most grateful to the soldiers in their isolation.

Apparently, Chaplains were not in vogue in those days, as Captain Simpson read the service on the occasion of the burial of a brother officer. Now and again a preacher, a member of one of the numerous emigrant trains, would spend a short time in camp and conduct services, although a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*—on the “Utah Expedition” declared: “Never once has a Christian preacher opened his lips in the Valleys of Utah.”

At least one instance is of record when Camp Floyd experienced the novelty of a session of court, presided over by the

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Diary of Richard Thomas Ackley. The above items are from page 45, under the year 1859—day of month not given, (see note p. 18).

Chief Justice himself, and on another occasion, they enjoyed the thrill of a mass political convention, with much of speech making, an extended set of resolutions for a platform, the nomination of a full ticket, followed soon after by an election, of which a Lehi correspondent of the Deseret News gave a full report.

Movements of troops, dispatched on a great variety of errands, kept the camp in touch with happenings in the Territory. As illustrating this feature: a detachment was hurried over into Rush Valley to give additional protection to Government herds from the depredations of red men—and white; another made a quick march as far north as Ogden to assist the marshal in rounding up a band of thieves and cut-throats that were terrorizing that locality; other detachments were stationed in Juab county, in San Pete, at Sevier Bridge and at Chicken Creek with Government stock; another to run down deserters and bring them into camp; still others to furnish escort for Capt. Simpson and his party, who surveyed and opened routes of travel, east and west from camp and built roads, and to accompany Federal officials to the scene of the Mountain Meadow Massacre and bury the scattered bones of the victims of that atrocity, and furnish a guard at Provo while Judge Cradlebaugh held court there.

Advertisements in newspapers of the day often throw not a little light on matters of current interest in camp. One of these dated June 7th, 1859, and signed by Capt. Townley, of the Quarter-Master's Department of Camp Floyd is significant in connection with the disappearance of Government stock, and of local conditions:

"Many mules and horses belonging to the Army have been stolen from the different public herds during the autumn and winter in the Valley of Utah, and satisfactory evidence has been furnished to the undersigned that some of those animals are in possession of citizens of Utah ** *. Evidence also has been furnished the undersigned that the immense herds of animals known as Church Herds, or as property of the Mormon Church, have in them a great number of Government animals with the U. S. brand disfigured by being overbranded with a frying pan or smoothing iron!"

This advertisement concludes with an offer of a cash reward for each animal returned.

In the issue of Valley Tan, January 18, 1860, appeared a notice—in the form of General Orders No. 4—in which the Commanding Officer of the Post [Col. C. F. Smith] warned the soldiers against receiving any of the five-dollar gold pieces, known as "Mormon Coin," which were about to be put in circulation in Page Twenty-six
large numbers, because, it was alleged, they were worth only four and one-half dollars!

Of course rumors of all sorts and in numbers were afloat in camp, as well as in the Territory, and not a few of these found their way into newspapers near and far. One or two "samples," taken from the columns of Valley Tan, will suffice to show the character of some of these reports which furnished subjects for gossip in those days. Here is one:

"The Washington National says that Brigham Young has offered to sell out the Mormon interests in Utah for a reasonable sum, and to remove in a specific time. The matter, which has been kept secret, is likely to be arranged."

St. Louis papers had it that Capt. Simpson had passed through that city carrying a proposal from Brigham Young to that effect. This report led a contributor to the columns of the Mountaineer (a paper established in Salt Lake to combat Valley Tan) to send to that publication a facetious article in which it was proposed that the Mormons should buy the United States!

Another item, taken from a Kansas City paper, stated that

"A letter from Camp Floyd states that quite a number of United States soldiers have joined the Mormon Church for the sake of Mormon Crinoline."

Now and again a distinguished visitor would drop into camp, whose coming brought agreeable diversion to some of the officers, at least. Among these, as already noted, was Sir Richard Burton—English soldier, African explorer, versatile, wandering spirit and widely-traveled author, whose haunting, melodious lines in "The Kasidah" seem strangely reminiscent of Omar, though they were written nearly eight years before the "Rubaiyat" saw the light of day. He arrived in Salt Lake, August 25, 1860, and remained in the Territory one month gathering material for his book, the "City of the Saints." He spent a full week at Camp Floyd, as the guest of Capt. and Mrs. Heth, on the occasion of his second visit there. During this period Burton, accompanied by Captains Gove and Heth, visited American Fork Canyon. On their return, they spent the night at American Fork and there, the next morning, they met Porter Rockwell with whom they visited for some time and had a number of "squar" drinks (that is, without water) of "Valley Tan."

While in Camp this noted Englishman appears to have found ample compensation for his lack of interest in the then popular game of "Boston"—which he tells us, he watched with astonish-
ment at Capt. Gove’s one evening—in “an abundance of good commissariat whiskey and excellent tobacco,” provided by his genial host.

To the camp also came Horace Greeley, in the summer of 1859, then the famous Editor of the New York Tribune and later, a figure of national prominence on account of his attitude on the slavery question, and as an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency. While at the camp Greeley attended a performance given by the “Military Dramatic Association,” but he has left no word concerning his opinion of it. He did place on record his disapproval of the “execrable whiskey, at about ten dollars per gallon” which the grog shops of Fairfield “dispensed to thirsty soldiers.” That price seems a little high, in view of the fact that about that time one William Howard was advertising, in the Deseret News, “the most superior article ever brought into this market,” at three dollars per gallon, to be had at his “Big Cottonwood Distillery, three miles south of Sugarhouse, or at Mr. G. Clement’s, Great Salt Lake.”

Greeley was making a trip across the continent, and incidentally, writing the letters for his paper, which later were gathered into his book: “Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859.”

It seems quite appropriate in this connection to mention the fact that following Greeley’s visit to the camp (though of course having no connection therewith), there was organized a Lodge of the “Military Order of the Sons of Temperance.” At first, growth was slow, but presently the organization was initiating thirty to forty candidates weekly, and in due time it “built a handsome lodge room and marked the formal opening of their new quarters by a public procession.”

The foregoing glimpses from contemporary sources impart a bit of color and interest to the long-vanished, teeming life of Camp Floyd, and to some extent at least help to make a little more real the surroundings and conditions in the midst of which our Military Brethren of the Mystic tie diffused the first Masonic light in Utah.

After the paragraph immediately preceding this had been written a most interesting bit of flotsam, salvaged from the wreck of Camp Floyd, came into the hands of the writer. This is a Day Book of some 400 pages, once the property of one of the sutlers’ stores at the Camp. Its entries cover the period from April, 1858, to some time in 1860 (the bookkeeper was not always careful to enter the day of the month on which a charge was
made), and are of such an interesting character that we must
give space for an additional bit of "color" from this source. The
fact that this book carries accounts as early as April,
1858, and some of these had been transferred from an older
book indicates that this particular merchandising firm had been
with the Army for some time before the troops were stationed
in Cedar Valley.

The pages of this old record are redolent of life at Camp
Floyd during the period covered—now three-quarters of a
century distant. Among the customers having accounts at
this store are the names of officers—Lieutenants, Captains,
Majors, Colonels, and of General Johnston himself—who not
only had part and place in the Utah Expedition but who a
little later became conspicuous in that tragic struggle of the
early '60s. They were friends and pals and Brethren, some
of them, in Utah: later divided and facing each other in deadly
strife on the battle fields of the Civil War. The names of two
Federal Judges also appear on these pages, one of whom settled
his bill on "July 1st," amounting to $625.00.

This old book enables us to catch glimpses of some of the
domestic arrangements within the walls of not a few of the
adobe quarters at the Camp, and it likewise throws wide open
the doors of many a well stocked larder with supplies of canned
corn, peas, and tomatoes, at $1.00 per can; asparagus, straw­
berries, and "sweetmeats," at $1.50 per bottle, and much besides.
And appearing often, in practically every one of these accounts,
are charges for liquor: whiskey at $8.00 per gallon (rarely
any charge for a smaller quantity) brandy, $3.75 per bottle;
catawba, $4.00, and champagne $5.00 per bottle. In this con­
nection it is of interest to note that some of the officers ap­
pear to have been reluctant about having the character of their
purchases in this department indicated, with the result that
quite often there is an item like this: "May 15, To two ga­
lons mdse., $16.00." In other instances the entry reads: "To sundries,
$8.00" or $16.00, as the case might be.

So far as these accounts show, only the Commanding Gen­
eral smoked cigars, for which he paid $10.00 per box of one­
hundred. The other officers apparently contented themselves
with smoking tobacco, at $1.00 per pound.

The names of all the officers of Rocky Mt. Lodge No. 205,
and of some of the known members of the Lodge, appear in

\footnote{This book, now the property of the Brigham Young University Library, is a
vol. of some eighteen or twenty inches in length by eight or nine inches in width. It
is bound in full leather with the corners reinforced with a heavy grade of leather
and tooled after the fashion of the best grade of such records. The paper is of good
quality, of bluish tint and giving no sign of its age. Strangely enough there is noth­
ing about the book to indicate the name of the firm that conducted the business
recorded therein. For many years this book was in the possession of a resident of
Cedar Valley, and finally, in 1925, it was given to the Library.}
this book. In the account of Captain Stevens, the first Junior Warden of the Lodge, is this item: "To balance on hunting party $22.00." We suspect that this particular expenditure was not solely for "powder and shot!" Lieutenant Thomas (afterwards General, who furnished the drawing of the Masonic hall at the Camp) also had an account at this store, one item of which was for "One bale of tobacco, $10.00."

Before leaving this fascinating treasure-house of "source" material there is one account which we feel should be given place here, in its entirety. It is as follows:

"Masonic Lodge"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 21 [1859]</td>
<td>To 10 yds. muslin</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 5 pcs. of tape</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 1 spool of cotton thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tape</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tape</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5</td>
<td>To ribbon</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 29</td>
<td>To 9 spittoons</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By cash Col Howe</td>
<td>$9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making aprons, 21 Apl.</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$22.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>To balance due</td>
<td>$13.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>Transferred to new ledger fol.</td>
<td>13.90</td>
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Returning now to the activities of Rocky Mt. Lodge we find that with the approach of the second spring (1860) the records, books and reports of the Lodge, together with the dispensation and petition for a charter were forwarded to Grand Secretary O'Sullivan, as mentioned on an earlier page. In that communication, too, is to be found reference to the extent and character of the work done. In the same letter from Secretary Mead, occurs the following:

"In consequence of the unsettled nature of the Camp and the probability that important changes may soon take place and many of the troops be ordered away, it would be well, to leave the installation of officers in the hands of any Past Master who may remain at the Post.

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If imperatively necessary to designate the installing officer, I furnish the following list (as well as I can recollect at this moment) of all the Past Masters present, viz.:

Bro. M. L. Howe, R. A. 
Bro. P. L. Strauss, R. A. 
Bro. I. Sharp, Non-member 
Bro. H. R. Seldon, R. A. 
Bro. F. Mead, R. A. 
Bro. R. Crawford, R. A. 
Bro. I. (J.) Gove, R. A. 
Bro. I. Rosenwald, Non-member 
Bro. H. R. Shields, R. A. 
Bro. I. Hobbs, Non-member 

and two or three others.

If the Charter is granted you will please forward it by Russell & Co. Pony Express, the carriage will have to be paid in advance. The amount so paid shall be refunded by the return trip of the Express.

On receipt of the Charter can we immediately proceed to the election of officers, or shall we continue the old officers until December next.”

It will be recalled that Capt. J. C. Robinson was named as Worshipful Master in the dispensation for the organization of Rocky Mountain Lodge. How long he served in that capacity is not known, but, as shown by the letters of the Secretary and the acting Master (H. W. Tracy) under date of April 12, 1860, he did not serve out the year. Records are not at hand to show when he left camp, or to what locality he was transferred. Of his later career we know that early in September, 1861, he was Colonel of the 1st Michigan Volunteers; that he won promotion in each of the battles of Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania; that he was five times brevetted “for gallant and meritorious service” in battle; that he was retired with the rank of Major General, May 6, 1869, and that he was Commander of the G. A. R. for the years 1877 and 1878. He died February 18, 1897.

H. W. Tracy—Senior Warden—who was acting Master, when the petition for a Charter for Rocky Mountain Lodge went in, was the pugnacious manager of one of the Sutlers' stores at Camp Floyd.

The reports of the doings of the Lodge sent in at the end of the year by the Master and Secretary when applying for a Charter appear to have been fully justified and to have deserved and received the hearty approval of Grand Lodge. Said the Committee on Lodges Under Dispensation:

“We have carefully examined the by-laws and proceedings of Rocky Mountain Lodge at Camp Floyd, in Utah Territory, and are disposed to characterize them as a model return for a Lodge U. D.; complete
and perfect in all respects. We have no fears, from the showing they have made, that the interests of the Craft will be permitted to suffer under their management, in the far distant regions where they have commenced diffusing Masonic light, and very cheerfully recommend a Charter."

This highly flattering commendation of the work, good and true, done by our Camp Floyd Brethren, is supported and supplemented by a later Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Missouri in a letter to Grand Secretary Diehl. Concerning this Grand Secretary Gourley wrote:

"The membership was composed principally of officers and soldiers of the U. S. Army when quartered there, and when the location was changed to New Mexico, the Charter, jewels, records, etc., were all returned to this office more perfectly arranged and the accounts, etc., more correctly completed than that ever received from any surrendered Lodge under the jurisdiction of this Grand Body since its organization. The jewels were of the very best quality, in fact everything received by this office from that Lodge bore evidence of more than ordinary refinement and culture. The relationship between this Grand Lodge and her daughter in the then 'Great Far West' was of a very affectionate character and the same spirit has ever been manifest between her and the former members of that Lodge."

With the arrival of its Charter, following the communication of Grand Lodge in May, 1860, Rocky Mountain Lodge resumed labor with the number 205, Missouri Registry. That the work was taken up with renewed enthusiasm and zeal can hardly be doubted. Having in mind the character of the membership of the Lodge, it is more than probable that the event was marked by some formal action, or ceremonies, in recognition of the launching of a newly chartered Lodge. Who acted for the Grand Master on this occasion, we do not know; and as to conditions in the Lodge, and the amount of work done, up to the time when the Charter was surrendered, not a fragment of record remains, so far as known.

In the meantime, that is, between the forwarding of petition for a charter and the arrival of that document, important changes had taken place at the Post which must have very materially affected the amount of material available for the degrees and attendance upon the meetings of the Lodge, for this reason. Early in the Spring (of 1860) an order came from Secretary of War, Floyd, giving instructions for the withdrawal of a very considerable body of troops.

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After naming a new Commander for the Department of Utah, to succeed General Johnston—who was transferred to the Department of the Pacific—and designating the units that were to remain at Camp Floyd, the orders provided for the withdrawal of the remainder of the force. One contingent was to take post at Ft. Laramie, another at Ft. Garland, New Mexico, and a third to be stationed at the Copper Mines at Gila, Arizona.

The troops ordered to New Mexico were to divide, one detachment to proceed by way of Provo Canyon, and the other by Spanish Fork Canyon. The movements of the last named unit have a special interest for us.

According to the man selected to guide these troops, until they should reach the old Spanish trail, these soldiers constructed the first road through Spanish Fork Canyon. When the Summit was reached a delay was made necessary by some sort of an epidemic which attacked the soldiers and carried off eighteen of their number. These troopers were buried there, from which event came the name of that point—Soldier Summit. Such at least is one tradition.

Under date of March 27, 1861, the Secretary of Rocky Mountain Lodge—Richard Wilson Sargeant, Co. C, 4th Art.—wrote the Grand Secretary, enclosing the annual returns to December 27, 1860, and noting that the name of the Post had been changed to Fort Crittenden. He also called attention to a vacancy in the Station of Senior Warden, which he “explained in the remarks indicated by an X opposite Brother Heth's name.”

The “explanation” probably referred to the fact that about that time the Brother mentioned resigned from the Army, and being a native of Virginia, cast in his lot with the forces of that State. On June 17, 1861, he was made a Colonel of Virginia Infantry, commissioned a Brigadier-General in January of the following year, and a Major-General in May, 1863. He surrendered with Lee, at Appomattox and died in Washington, D. C., September 26, 1899.

So far as any records available show the communication referred to in the paragraphs immediately above was the last one sent from Rocky Mountain Lodge to the Grand Secretary. Undoubtedly a letter would accompany the Charter, jewels,
records and funds of the Lodge when sent in to Grand Master Penick, but of its contents nothing is now known.

Conditions at the Camp at this time were anything but favorable for Masonic work. Less than three weeks after the date of Secretary Wilson's letter, Ft. Sumter was fired on by Beauregard, surrendered April 13, 1861, and the war between the States was on. The greatest uncertainty prevailed at the camp with reference to the immediate future of the Post. This situation is reflected in an article that appeared in the Deseret News under the date of March 21, 1861. In this it was reported that

"Trading and speculating are at a low ebb there just now; everybody almost seem to be fearing that their facilities for getting rich will be curtailed; hence, men are afraid to make any more improvements till they ascertain definitely what is to be done with the army now in Utah."

A few weeks later Mrs. Gove, wife of the Captain of that name, writing to her sister from Fort Crittenden, under date of May 1st, indicates that conditions inside the ranks were not altogether unruffled. In this she says:

"We have received no orders as yet, but are in a great state of excitement to know what is to be done with the troops here. Our last Pony Express brought intelligence that Col. Smith [he was with Gen. Johnston for a time, at Camp Floyd] had command of troops in Washington, that Virginia had seceded, the mob in Baltimore killing some of the Massachusetts men, etc., all of which enraged us beyond measure. We have very spirited and almost quarrelsome discussions with Virginians, and with those who glory with the South in their rebellion. ** * *

A number of Virginians here are now talking of going to defend their State, and it is high time for them to leave. ** * *

We are expecting another pony tonight and are very anxious to hear the latest news from the seat of war, as Washington has got to be."

This letter also carried the information that Captain Gardner—who had been in command at Ft. Bridger—had "resigned and gone in to join the Southern Army." The records show that Capt. Gardner was "dropped" (from the roster of U. S. Army officers) May 7, 1861, and as Capt. Gove succeeded him in command at that point it would seem that the ten

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@Utah Expedition, Gove, 1928, p. 191.

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companies of troops, till then stationed at Fort Crittenden, left that post early in May.

Under conditions such as here indicated the first Masonic altar erected in Utah, ceased to hold the Great Lights; the affairs of Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205 were put in order; the last functions of its officers were performed when the Charter and other movable property were sent to the Grand Lodge of Missouri, and its membership scattered—many of them to take their places in the armies of the North and the South. Officers, who had been comrades, associates and friends at Camp Floyd, later faced each other as foes on some of the bloody battle-fields of the "Great Conflict." The first Worshipful Master (J. C. Robinson), and the last Senior Warden (Henry Heth) of Rocky Mountain Lodge wearing, the one the blue and the other the grey, commanded troops at the battle of Gettysburg.

The final records pertaining to this Lodge are of the scantiest kind. In the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Missouri for 1861, Rocky Mountain Lodge is credited by the Grand Secretary with $9.00—for what purpose is not known, and in the same volume its name appears as one of thirty-two Lodges delinquent for Grand Lodge dues. This, however, was more than made up by the funds sent in when the Charter was surrendered.

The final reference to Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205 is to be found in the Proceedings of the Grand Body, under whose authority it was organized. This appears in the address of Grand Master, M. W. William R. Penick, in the volume for 1862. The Grand Master himself did not attend this Communication of the Grand Lodge, owing to the fact that, at the time, he was an officer in the Union Army and with his troops. However, he forwarded his address, which was read in Grand Lodge, and after certain patriotic statements had been eliminated by the Committee to which it was referred, was ordered printed.

In the reference alluded to, the Grand Master said:

"Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205, in Utah Territory, has ceased to work and placed in my hands all her movable property, consisting of her charter, jewels, books, papers, collars, gavels, text-books, and $322.00 in money, which I forwarded to the Grand Secretary. Her books and papers show that she was in a prosperous condition. This Lodge was composed of principally Masons belonging to the U. S. Army, who were forced to surrender their charter on account of the army being recalled to Washington City."

So ends the story of the first regular Masonic Lodge organized within the present boundaries of the State of Utah—
at least so far as contemporary records throw any light on
the subject. There are, however, one or two matters of interest
pertaining to this Lodge which should be given place in this
sketch.

As noted above, the membership of Rocky Mountain Lodge
No. 205 was drawn, largely, from the officers and soldiers
stationed at Camp Floyd. But there were a few civilians who
were members. For instance, the first Senior Warden, and
later, acting Worshipful Master of the Lodge—Henry W. Tracy
—was not in the service but was in charge of one of the Sutler’s
stores, as already stated. In his employ, at the outset, as clerk
and book-keeper, and later associated with him in several
business ventures (including a saloon and later a brewery) was
Richard Thomas Ackley, the diarist, already referred to
in these pages, in whose diary is the following brief entry, under the year 1859:

“There was also a Masonic Lodge opened here,
and I was the first citizen that was taken in.”

It will be recalled that the jewels in use in Rocky Moun­
tain Lodge are several times referred to in preceding para­
graphs as being “of the very best quality,” as we should expect
them to be, in view of the standing of its officers and members.
But time would be required in which to place an order for
these jewels, have them manufactured and sent out here from
some eastern city, possibly from New York, by the slow moving
Express of those days—and this after the arrival of the Dispen­
sation. Naturally, in the meantime, the officers would be eager
to begin work, and this, it appears they did, or within a very
few days after, improvising the essential tools and implements.

Hanging in the library of the Grand Lodge of Utah are
a crude iron square and compasses, of about the conventional
proportions, mounted on cardboard and suitably framed. (See
cut p. 4.) A part of the printed statement accompanying
these relics furnishes the following information concerning
them:

“They were made from a camp-kettle by the black­
smith of General Albert Sidney Johnston’s army, at
Camp Floyd, Utah, in the year 1858 (1859?). They
were the first jewels used in the first legally author­
ized Masonic Lodge ever convened in the State of
Utah. * * * Bro. W. H. Woodring secured them
from the Senior Deacon of the first Masonic Lodge of
the State of Utah, and presented them to Damascus
Lodge No. 10. He was informed that these jewels were
the first ever used in opening a Masonic Lodge in Utah,
and were the jewels used and explained to the first
Mason legally made in the State.”

* * *

Ms. diary of Richard Thomas Ackley, 1859, p. 46.
The present writer cannot but regret the omission of the name of the Senior Deacon, who for so many years was the custodian of these jewels, and the absence of other details which might have been gleaned from him. These, in the absence of any contemporary records touching their use at Camp Floyd, would have done much to establish their authenticity beyond question. However, in spite of any weakness in the chain of evidence, this writer is inclined to accept these jewels as those in actual use in Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205 until the regular jewels arrived.

The picture of the building in which the first Utah Lodge held its meetings, and with which the Craft of this Jurisdiction has been made acquainted by its appearance in several volumes of our Proceedings was furnished by a charter member of Rocky Mountain Lodge—General B. M. Thomas, later, in 1898 a member of Dalton Lodge No. 105, of Dalton, Georgia—who, as a young Lieutenant in General Johnston's Army, was made a Mason in the Lodge at Camp Floyd, in 1859.

In bringing this sketch to a close perhaps no more fitting words can be found than those of Grand Secretary Diehl, when referring to this forerunner of Utah Masonry in one of his Correspondence Reports. Said he:

"The officers and members of such a Lodge deserve to be honored by the Grand Lodge of Utah. They and their work should never be forgotten, and we hope that whenever the Grand Lodge grants a charter to a Lodge at Mercur [not many miles from the site of Camp Floyd] it be named Rocky Mountain Lodge. It would be a monument for that noble and true band of Brethren who composed Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205, in 1859 and '60, at Camp Floyd."

Brother Diehl's wish was gratified when, on December 27th, 1898, Grand Master Hardie issued a dispensation authorizing a Lodge at Mercur, which adopted the name selected by the first Lodge in Utah nearly forty years before.

NOTE: It has seemed well to bring together (on the two succeeding pages) the notes relating to officers of the Lodge, although this involves some repetition.

Names of Masons mentioned in connection with Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 205. In the absence of the roster of the Lodge it is not known how many of these Brethren were members, but it
is reasonable to suppose that all of them—with others not named—attended the meetings.

Ackley, Richard Thomas
Archer, Samuel
Bainbridge, E. C.
Berry, Thomas J.
Bristol, H. B.
Brooks, Edward J.
Brotherton, C. H.
Crawford, R. (P. M.)
Deskins, D. D.
Dost, George W.
Gove, Jesse (P. M.)
Halsey, W. L.
Hamilton, William (M. D.)
Hawes, J. M.
Heth, Henry (S. W.)
Hobbs, J. (M. D., P. M.)
Howe, F. J.
Howe, M. L. (P. M.)
Kearney, William
Marcy, R. B.
McManus, T. P.
Mead, Fra (P. M., Sect'y.)
Miller, ..............
Montgomery, S. H.
O'Hara, Patrick
Ranshoff, Nicholas S.
Robinson, John C. (1st. W. M.)
Rosenwald, L. (P. M.)
Ruggles, Daniel
Selden, H. R. (P. M.)
Sharp, J. (P. M.)
Smith, M. J.
Sorbert, A. A.
Stevenson, Carter L. (1st. J. W.)
Strauss, P. L. (P. M.)
Thomas, B. M.
Tracy, Henry W. (1st. S. W.)
Webb, W. A.
Wilson, Richard (Secretary)
Wingate, Benjamin

Of course there were other Masons, both members and sojourners, at Camp Floyd whose names are lost beyond recovery. The 162 degrees conferred by Rocky Mountain Lodge U. D. would account for a larger number than is listed above.

Of later activities of certain officers of the Lodge and some others an interesting story might be written. The following fragmentary notes indicate the character of the information at hand.

CAPTAIN JOHN C. ROBINSON, Worshipful Master of Rocky Mt. Lodge U. D., as Major General, commanded a division of Union troops at the battle of Gettysburg and CAPTAIN HENRY HETH, the last Senior Warden of the Lodge, as Major General on the Confederate side commanded a division in the same battle. These men participated in many of the battles of the war and were honored for distinguished service in the field. General Robinson was retired May 6, 1869, with the rank of Major General and died Feb. 18, 1897; General Heth surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, Virginia, April 9, 1865. He died September 6, 1899. Captain Heth had command of the soldiers sent from Camp Floyd to Provo in response to a request from Judge Cradlebaugh.

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HENRY W. TRACY, first Senior Warden of Rocky Mt. Lodge and later Acting Master, was a member of the firm of Miller, Russel & Co., merchants at the Camp. Under date of July 29, 1868, he wrote to the Grand Secretary of Missouri from Washington, Arkansas, requesting a duplicate dimit, the original having been lost in New Mexico.

CAPTAIN CARTER L. STEVENSON, the first Junior Warden of the Lodge, joined the Confederate forces; rose to the rank of Major General; division leader in the West; participated in the Atlanta campaign; died 1888 (?)

LIEUTENANT B. M. THOMAS, Raised in Rocky Mt. Lodge; served in Captain Stevenson's Company at Camp Floyd; in the Confederate army "led a Brigade of Alabamians"; corresponded with Grand Secretary Diehl in 1897 and furnished drawing of Masonic building at the Camp. (See page 18.)

CAPTAIN HENRY R. SELDON, in command of the troops that were transferred from Camp Floyd to Santa Fe, New Mexico, going by way of Spanish Fork Canyon and Soldier Summit; promoted to rank of Colonel, 1st. Mexican Vols., April 25, 1864; died February 2, 1865.

CAPTAIN JESSE A. GOVE, Commissioned Colonel of the 22nd Massachusetts Vols., November 9, 1861; killed at the battle of Gaines's Mill, Virginia, June 27, 1862. His letters in, "Utah Expedition" frequently quoted in these pages.

The first Masonic building erected in Utah. (See pages 18-19.)
LIST OF PAMPHLETS ON "FREEMASONRY IN UTAH"

With Years of Publication.

By S. H. Goodwin, Grand Secretary

1. The First Lodge [at Camp Floyd] 1859-1861..........................1924
2. The same, amplified as Rocky Mountain Lodge No. 206.........1934
3. A Chapter From the Early History of Mt. Moriah Lodge No. 2, Nov. 11th, 1865-Nov. 25th, 1867.................................1924
4. The same, amplified as Thirty Years of Mt. Moriah Lodge No. 2, F. & A. M., 1866-1896.............................................1930
5. The Early Days of Wasatch Lodge No. 1, Nov. 30, 1866-Jan. 16, 1872.................................................................1925
6. The First Decade of Argenta Lodge No. 3, and Its First Master, April 8, 1871-Dec. 31, 1880........................................1925
7. Story Lodge No. 4—The First Lodge Chartered by the Grand Lodge of Utah..............................................................1926
8. Corinne, the "Burg on the Bear"—Corinne Lodge No. 5, A Mother of Lodges ............................................................1926
9. The Masonic Public Library, 1877-1891-1897......................1927
10. Glimpses of the History of the First Twenty Years of Weber Lodge No. 6...............................................................1928
11. The First Thirty Years of Uintah Lodge No. 7, F. & A. M......1930
12. St. John's Lodge No. 8: An Extinguished Light......................1931
13. Tintic Lodge No. 9............................................................1933

* * *

Mormonism and Masonry, first printing, pamphlet form..............1921
The same, rewritten, amplified and printed by the Masonic Service Association as Vol. 8, in The Little Masonic Library..........1924
The same, published by Grand Lodge..................................1925
The same, with numerous additions...................................1934
Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry........................1927
The same, with much new material....................................1932