

American Political-Antimasonry, With Its "Good-Enough Morgan."

"ONE OF THE MOST SINGULAR FEATURES IN AMERICAN SOCIAL,
RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL HISTORY, AS WELL AS
IN THE ANNALS OF THE MASONIC INSTITUTION
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD"—

A Mode of persecuting Freemasons and Freemasonry unknown in the Old World—*this* proscription
extending to "all" persons who would not join the Crusade thus commenced by the
Ringleaders of Political-Antimasonry.

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL-ANTIMASONIC EXCITEMENT, WHICH, MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY AGO, Convulsed portions of New York, Pennsylvania and other States, includ- ing New England States.

IN A LETTER REPLYING TO INQUIRIES FROM SUNDRY OLD RESIDENTS OF
WESTERN NEW YORK —

Correcting Sundry Misrepresentations of a Deeply Interested Person—

By **HENRY O'RIELLY,**

Editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* in 1826-30, etc., etc.

INCLUDING EXTRACTS FROM

AN ADDRESS WRITTEN IN 1828 BY JUDGE WM. B. ROCHESTER, NOMINEE
FOR GOVERNOR IN 1826 ;

And signed by him and by Gen. Vincent Mathews, then known as the "Father of
the Western Bar;"

WITH OTHER PROMINENT CITIZENS OF WESTERN NEW YORK, INCLUDING
OZIAS CHURCH, FATHER OF CHIEF JUSTICE SANFORD E. CHURCH.

INCLUDING ALSO NOTICES OF

Indictments and Civil Suits for Alleged Libels concerning the "Good-
Enough Morgan" and its "Inventor."

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- Rochester Daily Advertiser, 1826-1830, etc.
- Rochester Antimasonic Enquirer, 1827-9.
- New York Commercial Advertiser, 1827.
- Albany Argus, (Edwin Croswell, Editor), 1830, 1833, etc.
- New York Sun, 1841, 1875, 1879, etc.
- New York Courier and Enquirer, 1841.
- New York Tribune and Mr. Greeley, 1868.
- New York Herald and the Telegram, 1875.
- Buffalo Courier, 1875.
- New York Times, 1875.
- Rochester Union and Advertiser, 1867, 1879.
- Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, 1875.
- New York Graphic, 1879.

LETTER OF HENRY O'RIELLY,

Former Editor of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser,"

To Counsellor Robert H. Stevens,

of the City of Buffalo.

(Survivor of the Law-Firm in Rochester that first investigated affairs during the
Morganizing-Antimasonic Excitement,)

In behalf of many

OLD FRIENDS IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

My ancient Friend Stevens—Even you, who professionally and otherwise learnt so much concerning matters in that extraordinary time:—

You who, with your departed associate, EBENEZER GRIFFIN, had some peculiar opportunities for knowing the operations of Mr. Thurlow Weed concerning the attempted Creation of a Political Party on the ruins of Freemasonry, through the perversion of the "Morgan Excitement," under Antimasonic pretexts:—

You, who know so well the effects that might have been produced upon the lives or liberties of many of your Fellow-Citizens through Six Counties of Western New York, if the peculiar operations at the "Second Inquest" had not been *promptly* exposed by us, amid the Morganizing-Antimasonic Whirlwind in former times:—

You, who have seen Mr. Weed at the Election Polls, *practically* ridiculing as "Masons' Jacks"* (if not "Masonic Murderers") "*all* who were politically opposed" to his remarkable operations in those days:—

You, who know well that, when the Third and Last Inquest was held in Batavia, (where the bald and whiskerless Morgan was well known, and from which place he was "abducted,")—at which Inquest your former associate Griffin and myself were present—Mr. Weed *did not dare* to appear and contest the decision of that last Coroner's Jury that the Corpse, even though then appearing bald and whiskerless, was *not* Morgan's, as Weed's Second Inquest called it, but the body of the Canadian, Timothy Monroe—notwithstanding the pious declaration in Weed's "history" ascribing the discovery of that ill-fated Corpse to the Special

* This allusion to Mr. Weed's "*practical*" operations at the election in 1827, when Morganizing-Antimasonry first took the Political Field, may best be explained by the following paragraph from an editorial page in the New York "Sun:—"

From the "Sun" of Sept. 1, 1875.

Thurlow Weed's Early Style of Electioneering.

From a letter of R. H. Stevens in the Buffalo Courier.

"I have seen Thurlow Weed tie a rope around the neck of a jackass, put a vote or a ballot into its mouth, and lead it up to the polling place and shove its nose into the window—all of which was done by this would-be statesman to blackguard all decent young men whom he was pleased to call 'Masons' Jacks.'"

Providence of Heaven in “throwing a broad light over the dark mystery” of Morgan’s fate :—

You, who also well know that, when an “indignation meeting” was immediately held in Rochester, where Mr. Griffin and myself were also present, Mr. Weed did not dare to appear in an assemblage of people who aided in appointing him as a Morgan Committeeman, and there explain, if he could satisfactorily explain, the charge then publicly made by Congressman Daniel D. Barnard, when that distinguished citizen exclaimed that “Even a widow in her fresh weeds [meaning Mrs. “Monroe] was not allowed to claim the body of her drowned husband, “without fighting off the harpies who had seized it—and for what purpose seized it?—because it was discovered to be a Good-Enough Morgan for the purposes of the next election :”—

You, who know that Mr. Weed never dared to embrace these and *several other* opportunities, hereinafter specified, for denying or explaining his operations connected with what he called a “Good-Enough Morgan,” but which corpse was not such a Morgan as Morgan’s former neighbors in Batavia recognized as Morgan, even though that ill-fated corpse became bald and whiskerless after it was found lying on the Lake shore with large whiskers and with hair on top of its head, as sworn to by sundry witnesses, whose testimony was conclusive with the “Third Inquest :”—

You, who know, as others knew and may know, that *then* were the proper times and opportunities—while the whole of these important matters were *fresh in public memory*—for Mr. Weed to explain to the people who appointed him as a Special Committeeman for ascertaining the facts and punishing the abductors or murderers—to explain his transactions with the Corpse and otherwise ; and to deny, *if he dared then deny*, that he had told Mr. Griffin that the corpse was a “Good-Enough Morgan till after election”—substantially as stated then, *in public meeting*, by the Hon. Daniel D. Barnard—but for repeating which in the papers, he (Mr. Thurlow Weed) now, fifty-three years afterwards, asserts in his “interviews” that Mr. Griffin *uttered* “a lie,” which “lie” was first *published* by “Henry O’Rielly, the Editor of the Rochester ‘Daily Advertiser :’”—

You, who know that Mr. Thurlow Weed kept Henry O’Rielly, the Editor, and Luther Tucker, the local Publisher, of the Rochester “Daily Advertiser,” under criminal “indictment” during thirteen years (1828 to 1841) for alleged libels about the “Good-Enough Morgan ;” while he (the same Weed) claims to have been the confidant of the Murderers of Morgan during the last ten years of that time (from 1831 to 1841)—*his own “Herald” letters* of 1875 acknowledging that one of the murderers confessed the crime to him in 1831, and that he (Morgan Committeeman as he was !) actually concealed that confession and the names of all the culprits for forty-four (44) years, until *all* the murderers were beyond the reach of earthly justice !—

You, as a lawyer, familiar with the prominent legal proceedings at that time, know, as our counsel (Gov. Selden) well knows, that Mr. Weed's allegation about inability *for twelve years* to cause trial to be had against us on his "indictment" or other proceedings for alleged "libel," is in itself a libel on our judiciary system: And as for his declaration that *he* urged the trial, while *we* had been "swearing it off," it may only be repeated by us, that, "it would require almost as much hard swearing to effect such a delay, as to make the public believe that Morgan's corpse had grown four inches or crept into Timothy Monroe's breeches a twelvemonth after death:"—

You, who, with the other remaining Old Men, recollect the commotion in Western New York, "when the foundations of social life seemed for a while uprooted" by the operations of Political-Antimasonic schemers—as that shocking state of things is described herein by the venerable Vincent Matthews, "the Father of the Western Bar"; by Congressman Daniel D. Barnard; by Judge Wm. B. Rochester, a nominee for Governor shortly before; by Ozias Church, father of Chief-Justice Sanford E. Church, and by other Old Settlers; all substantially confirming my previous Editorial Statements in the Rochester "Daily Advertiser," respecting the perversion of "the Excitement" to the basest partisan purposes:—

You, who recollect that, when, in 1831, the Hon. Frederick Whittlesey, afterward Vice-Chancellor, counsel for Mr. Weed, called at the office of the "Daily Advertiser" in Rochester, with a proposition that the indictment for alleged libels should be dropped on our signing a sort of recantation, which he had prepared, and which I now have before me, (unsigned, of course), I replied to this effect, —as quoted in the Albany "Argus" of 1833,—"that, be the consequences as they might, I would sign nothing which should exonerate either Weed or his fellow-committee-men from the suspicion engendered by the extraordinary transactions with the corpse in question;—that the circumstances in which I had been placed from the commencement of the affair rendered me too familiar with their proceedings to permit any instrumentality on my part in silencing discussion respecting their propriety;—and that I rather thought it the duty of some one conversant with all the facts to spread before the Public the full history of an occurrence dark and damnable enough to *warn future generations*, in times of high excitement particularly, against the *excesses of fanaticism and the arts of demagogues*:"—

You, who, with other OLD FRIENDS IN WESTERN NEW YORK, know that, for nearly forty seven (47) years, *I refused to renew acquaintance with Mr. Weed*, (his abusive course inducing me in the winter of 1826-7, as elsewhere stated, to terminate my short acquaintance with him, eight months before the "Good-Enough Morgan" was "invented") might wonder, if you and they did not know, why I at last complied with renewed requests made through his friends, that I would

consent to revive that long-severed acquaintance, as shown in the generous letter of Col. Tal. P. Shaffner,* given below—a renewal of acquaintance, after apologies made for his course in the past, and without suspecting that his desire for renewed acquaintance with me was stimulated by hopes that I would be induced to say or “write something” contrary to the facts about his Morganizing operations in old times—my *refusal to do which, caused his late assault upon me*, as indicated in the “Appendix” of this letter, to which all inquirers are respectfully referred—(such matters being thus placed in an Appendix, so as not to interfere with the Brief Narrative concerning Events in the times of Morganizing-Antimasonry:—

EVEN YOU, who, like myself, was then led by professional and other duties to learn so much about passing events in those stormy times,

* LETTER OF COL. SHAFFNER, ABOVE REFERRED TO

NOS 78 AND 80 [NOW 64 AND 66] BROADWAY, NEW YORK, Oct. 17, 1879.

HENRY O'RIELLY, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: At your request, I send you the following statement:

Sometime in the spring of 1873, Mr. John A. Kennedy, an old friend of mine, desired an interview with me. I called to see him at the City Hall, and he opened the conversation about as follows. He said:

“An old friend of ours, talking on an *old historical question*, the other day, remarked that for many years he desired to see a gentleman who was familiar with the circumstances; but, unfortunately, he delayed it too long, and the gentleman died about a year or so ago. He was the great telegraph man, Henry O’Rielly.”

“I told him,” said Kennedy, “that I had not seen any account of his death, and that a man of his wide reputation would certainly occasion some notice in the press; but that if you [myself] were in the city, I would very soon know whether or not he was dead. Now, how is it?”

I told him that if O’Rielly was dead, he must have died in a hurry, for he was in my office the day before.

Kennedy answered, “I am glad of it, and now I want you and him to meet me at the residence of Thurlow Weed, on Sunday morning next.” I told him, “All right.”

When you came to my office the next day, I told you that I had made an appointment for you to go with me and meet Mr. Kennedy and Thurlow Weed, at the latter’s residence on the succeeding Sunday. *You promptly declined to do so*, on account of former long-existing misunderstandings between you and Mr. Weed.

In answer to your declination, I remarked to you that I was sure you would be welcomed by him, and you need not decline on account of his not first calling to see you; for I knew he would do so, if more agreeable.

And I also said, that we old people must forget the past; that we were too near the grave for us even to think about what transpired of an unhappy nature in the far past; and that the “statute of limitations” had settled all accounts of that age.

At my urgent request, in the tone as above recited, *you consented* to meet us at Mr. Weed’s residence.

Mr. Kennedy and myself intended a surprise to Mr. Weed, and when he came into the room I introduced him to you, and you must well remember the cordial meeting that you had on that occasion.

I hope your relations have continued happily, and that, as old Pioneers of the Press, you will harmonize all conflicting incidents of the past.

Since then, Kennedy has gone, and the three living can’t, in all probability, remain much longer.

I hope you will live to realize the blessings that belong to your long, eventful and useful life.

Yours, faithfully,

TAL. P. SHAFFNER.

But, paramount to all the friendly considerations thus mentioned in the foregoing generous letter, was the fact that the request for a renewal of my long-severed acquaintance with Mr. Weed came to me specially through the agency of a gentleman like Col. Shaffner—a gentleman who had been in former times (a quarter-century before) my most energetic competitor while I was extending Telegraph Lines between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River,—between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico (an important portion of the great Telegraph Range of about eight thousand (8,000) miles, then the largest Telegraph Range in the world, whereby I earliest connected all Sections of the United States as they then were, by Private Enterprise and without Governmental patronage)—a gentleman afterwards well-known as a Pioneer in Oceanic Telegraphy, whom I had learned to respect even when our interests in some important Land Lines seemed most conflicting—a gentleman, now long resident of New York, whose generous feelings are sufficiently indicated by his warm-hearted language in the foregoing letter. [Old friends who feel any interest in matters which originated in, and closely concern, the true history of “the Excitement” that formerly convulsed Western New York and other regions, are respectfully referred to the facts stated in the sequel, especially in the “Appendix,” about the relations between Mr. Weed and Mr. O’Rielly.]

might well be surprised, if anything Mr. Weed might do or say *about those times* could surprise you, at the late efforts made by him in misrepresenting features of the History of the State as connected with the Excitement that formerly convulsed Western New York, and for abusing those who (like your former professional associate and myself, among others) successfully exposed and nullified the "sayings and doings" about the "Good-Enough Morgan," which, according to his own showing, have haunted him for half a century.

You know, of course, that allusion is here made to what purports to be a recent "interview" concerning certain events and consequences of the agitation prevalent in the times above-mentioned—which "interview" was published some time ago, under the remarkable title of—

"Mr. Thurlow Weed's Story" * * *

About "his trials and persecutions on account of his Antimasonry." (!!)

* * * * *

Before going further in our remarks concerning the "sufferings" of himself or others occasioned by "his Antimasonry," it may not be considered irrelevant to quote one of the notices which New York and other journals occasionally indulge after the publication of some remarkable displays of accuracy in the "interviews" with which Mr. Weed indulges occasionally—as this notice has special reference to his "memory" or imagination—characteristics strongly displayed in the particular "interview" to which your attention is now called. The New York "Sun" (which journal was abused in 1841 for simply mentioning the fact that the Court and District Attorney had ordered a *nolle prosequi* on Weed's indictment against us for ailed libels about the "Morgan Excitement") furnishes this paragraph about

"*Thurlow Weed's Memory.*—Mr. Weed was a long time ago the chief of the "Albany Lobby." * * * He "has had some severe lessons of late years. He fought Seward's battle with all the unenviable arts he was master of, up to the Waterloo of Chicago, after which, as he gives us to understand, Lincoln held his office as a mere trustee for Weed. But sometimes it has happened that *another old man recollected a thing or two*, and, rising to a question of historical moment, has set Mr. Weed down rather hard. Mr. Weed, for example, once published a statement that, when he and Mr. Lincoln were getting up their first Cabinet, Lincoln paused and hesitated a long time between Mr. Cost Johnson of Maryland and the late Mr. Gideon Welles of Connecticut. Mr. Weed intimated that Mr. Welles made the landing by the skin of his teeth. Thereupon Mr. Welles showed that at the time when Weed said he and the President were canvassing Cost Johnson for the Cabinet; that excellent man had been dead for about three years. It is needless to remark that, after this, Mr. Weed was comparatively quiet until after Gideon Welles had been gathered to his fathers. But Mr. Weed is apparently encouraged again. *The old men have been going fast*, and the chances of contradiction diminishing in proportion; so the other day he indulged in an 'interview' of the old kind." * * * *

* * * * *

It is well that a few of the Old Men are now left, who knew much about

various points in the history of "the Excitement" that convulsed Western New York in our early days; and whose joint testimony, like the records of those times, substantially corroborate what you and I say about men and events in that troubled period.

You know well that I have looked to you and others to prepare fuller statements than I can at present submit, respecting matters which, as several writers justly remark, have not lost their value as portions of our Social, Religious and Political history—the interest increasing rather than diminishing, with the lapse of time. Proctor has well said, in his Comments on the Bench and Bar, elsewhere quoted, that "there was much connected with it of thrilling interest that was indurated beyond the action of time—much that will repay the Lawyer, the Student and the lover of History to review." And our lately departed friend, Col. Geo. W. Pratt of Rochester, when sending to me his last long letter of "Reminiscences," said that he "esteemed it *the duty* of those of us who remain, to see that THE TRUTH goes down to future generations, who may take interest in such matters."

However, as you and other Old Friends suppose me to be possessed of, and willing to communicate, information requisite for correcting misrepresentations which Mr. Weed is inventing and trying to manufacture into "history" through the machinery of "interviews," like this to which your and their attention is now directed (and part of which last "interview" is herewith copied), I will comply with the request as far as needful for placing the assertions of that veracious personage in a proper light by a recurrence to facts that will enable readers to judge whether it is Mr. Weed or others who have most reason to complain of "persecutions and sufferings" on account of Antimasonry or Freemasonry.

And in thus complying with your and their wishes and requests, in addition to my own impulses for correcting the principal falsehoods which embellish that last "interview" of Mr. Weed, it may be well for me to add that, supposing and hoping that a full and correct history of the "times that tried men's souls" in Western New York, would have been undertaken by you or others, and so averse to needless controversy was I, that I have scarcely written a line for publication on the subject *for more than forty-five (45) years*, except on three or four occasions in letters to Mr. Croswell, of the "Albany Argus," and Mr. Greeley of the New York "Tribune," correcting some of the principal misstatements of Mr. Weed on the subjects now before us—the further correction of which induces me *now* to place in consecutive order some of the cases which he has been most industrious in misrepresenting in France and England, as well as in America.

With this prelude, I turn now towards some particulars concerning prominent incidents of the "Extraordinary American Excitement," concerning which you are now addressed, under circumstances that you particularly can fully appreciate.

Many Old Settlers of "The West," as Western New York even then was styled, doubtless saw the extract published in a Rochester newspaper, con-

taining Weed's outrage upon the "truth of history" (as well as upon the course of your former associate and myself), in the commotion commonly known as the "Morgan Excitement."

The extract thus quoted as a matter of news in a widely-circulated journal like the Rochester "Daily Union and Advertiser," has rendered Mr. Thurlow Weed's "assaulting interview" known to many veterans as well as to people of the present generation, who would otherwise have failed to see it in its original shape in the "New York Graphic," a few months ago.

However false and virulent every essential statement of Mr. Weed in that "interview," the infamous thing may have at least the good effect of awakening something like proper public attention towards "one of the most remarkable episodes in American History—Social, Religious and Political—as well as in the Annals of Civilization and of the Masonic Institution throughout the World."

Several of those Old Settlers, like yourself, have known me considerably concerning the History and Improvements of Western New York, and otherwise, during the last Half-Century, and can therefore judge, without formal contradiction from me, about the *probability* of the allegations made in Weed's "Interview" concerning events of those remote (as well as recent) times—*every essential point in which "Interview" is hereby declared to be false*, as the annexed facts and statements will more fully show them to be FALSE PERSONALLY AND HISTORICALLY.

I regret the necessity imposed on us, and on all others who know the facts, for correcting the misstatements of Mr. Weed concerning not merely myself individually and some departed friends, but also concerning the history of one of the most remarkable periods in the progress of the State generally, as well as of Western New York particularly.

You and other friends know well that, while I have devoted much time to the gratuitous preservation of various important materials for the public history, (as shown in about 150 volumes of my papers of the last fifty years in the New York Historical Society's Library), I have steadily looked to yourself and others to frame such a history as ought to be written about the Political-Antimasonic crusade—about a period and events so remarkable in our State and National Annals, as well as in the history of an Institution prevalent and honored wherever Civilization extends.

At my advanced age, even the task I am now forced by Weed's injustice to discharge towards others as well as myself—towards the dead as well as the living—is a labor from which I would have been gladly freed, if you or others would have undertaken it.

As elsewhere said, I have written nothing for publication on the subject during the last forty-five (45) years, except when compelled to correct some few of the many untruths industriously circulated by Mr. Weed, as shown in three or four letters to Mr. Croswell of the Albany "Argus," and to Mr. Greeley of the "Tribune," concerning his "Recollections of a Busy Life."

Although the late calumnies of Mr. Weed in the *Graphic* "interview"

refer largely to the relations between us, I prefer to avoid interrupting the narrative by controversy or allusions to those personal matters—at least, *only seemingly* “personal matters;” inasmuch as they originated in my refusal for over forty-six (46) years, (1827 to 1873), to hold any personal intercourse with him—*on account of his utterly abusive course* when (in his Antimasonic Enquirer and personally) he was kindling the fires of his Antimasonic inquisition in former times—an acquaintance which I only consented to revive after such a long suspense, as stated in Col Shaffner’s letter; and hence I have left to the *Appendix* a statement of the relation between Mr. Weed and myself, which some Old Friends in Western New York or elsewhere may perhaps examine, when they shall have read, if they do read, the facts which I have now thrown together concerning “American Political Antimasonry with its Good-Enough Morgan.”

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MR. WEED'S STATEMENTS.

That no injustice may be done to Mr. Weed, the *main* features of his present charges are copied from his “interview,” in the “Graphic,” of Sept 17, 1879, as are also copied some portions of his letter to the New York “Herald” in 1875:—(matters of a more *personal* character, to which he refers in the said “interview,” being left to the Appendix, for whoever may choose to read them, as I hope my Old Friends will read.)

In his “Herald” letters of 1875, Mr. Weed thus alludes to the former Editor (Henry O’Rielly) and the former local publisher (Luther Tucker) of the Rochester “Daily Advertiser:”

From the *New York Herald*, 1875.

“In looking back upon an event which occurred nearly half a century ago, with the asperities and impressions which it occasioned allayed and corrected, and in view of the embittered feeling existing between the editor and proprietor of the Rochester Daily Advertiser and myself, I am free to admit that *they had provocations* which, from their standpoint, excused the use of such political weapons as they found available. It was a sort of hand-to-hand conflict, in which I remember to have been *unsparing*. The term ‘Masons’ Jacks,’ freely applied to *all who acted politically against us*, was a peculiarly offensive one, and most especially so to the editor and publisher of the ‘Advertiser,’ neither of whom were Masons.

“It may not be out of time or place to add, that in this case it is not too late to ‘vindicate the truth of history.’

“The then editor of the Rochester ‘Daily Advertiser’ is now a resident of this city. He was as actively and warmly opposed as I was devoted to the cause of Antimasonry. He was familiar with the question from the beginning to the end.

“I have never conversed with him upon this subject, nor do I know what his impressions

are, but if he is in possession of evidence, either that I mutilated the body in question or boasted that it was 'a good enough Morgan till after the election,' he will, doubtless, regard this a fitting occasion to produce it."

"T. W."

AUGUST 6, 1875.

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FOUR YEARS LATER.

[From an "Interview" in the *Graphic* of September 1879.]

MR. THURLOW WEED'S STORY * * *

ABOUT

"The Trials and Persecutions which He Suffered as an Antimason."

"May I ask," said I, "what is the greatest misfortune that ever happened to you?"

"The greatest distress I ever suffered?" he inquired. "O, you must know what that was. Cruel, cruel! The vilest slander that ever was framed—that I was a monster of brutality and had mutilated a corpse for the purpose of helping the fortunes of a party."

"I don't exactly remember what you mean," I said.

"Why, Morgan! Morgan!" he exclaimed, and his face assumed a pained expression. "I suffered untold distress, and was more or less under ban for twenty-five years. Old acquaintances avoided me: even my family was made to feel the disgrace, as if I were a felon. It was cruel!"

"How was it?" I said. "Or perhaps you prefer not to talk about it?"

"I have no objection. It's an old story now, and belongs to the past. I was living in Rochester at the time Morgan, who had exposed Masonry, was missing. It was believed that he had been drowned by members of the Order in Lake Ontario. A body was found which answered the description of his. It was exhibited in public, and was recognized as being him by his family and friends. It was buried by them. Afterwards it was claimed by the friends of another man, disinterred and another inquest held. There was great excitement over the murder of Morgan, and I was prominent as an Antimason. When this last inquest was pending, the lawyer [Ebenezer Griffin, father-in-law of Judge E. Darwin Smith of Rochester], engaged by the Masons said to me one day, 'What are you going to do for a Morgan now?' 'This man is a good enough Morgan,' I retorted, 'till you produce the man that was killed.' He went off and reported that I said the deceased was 'a good enough Morgan till after election.' This lie was first published by Henry O'Rielly, editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, and it made such an excitement that he stuck to it and elaborated it. Finally, the lie took this form—that I had pulled out the beard, cut the hair and otherwise defaced or mutilated the features of the Ontario corpse so as to make them resemble Morgan! This was in the winter of 1826-'27."

"Did people believe such a thing?"

"Yes, a good many did. It was a thing I could not disprove to their satisfaction. I was horrified by tens of thousands. Old acquaintances cut me. I was pointed at on the street. Strangers would look askance at me—I saw them. Friends gave me the cold shoulder. I received threatening anonymous letters. I was made to feel everywhere and every hour that I was a marked man. And my poor family, sir," said he, lifting his hand with a pathetic gesture, "were made to feel the cruel thrusts in ways I cannot mention."

"How long did this ostracism last?"

"Fifteen or twenty years actively, and in some directions a much longer time."

"It seems strange that injustice should thrive so," said I.



"Well, it did thrive. *O'Rielly became rich, and that lie was the foundation of his fortune.* I drifted to Albany and at last lived the shocking calumny down. Finally O'Rielly, who might have been worth millions if he had stuck to the telegraphs, which he manipulated at first, speculated in other things and lost money. He kept losing. He lost everything he had at last." *(Sighs deeply)*

"Were you glad?"

"I was grateful that the Lord didn't allow *such villany* to thrive forever," the old gentleman confessed, "and then I felt sorry for him."

* * * * *

In reference to the foregoing "Story," it may only be said here, that, without exchanging epithets with Mr. Weed—without retaliating for his use of such terms as "villany" and "lying," which he freely indulges towards your departed friend Counsellor Griffin* and myself, for the course which we deemed proper to pursue in the stormiest times that any portion of our State has ever seen—it is now left, for those who may read the following brief narratives to determine for themselves

 **Who is the "Liar" and "Villain."** 

* Counsellor Griffin, thus vilely assailed, has been dead several years. He was the father-in-law of the present Judge E. Darwin Smith of Western New York.

(Part of Henry O'Rielly's letter to Robert H. Stevens of Buffalo
and other Citizens of Western New York.)

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ANTIMASONRY—

Referring Specially to the "Good-Enough Morgan" and its "Inventor."

READERS who may take the trouble to familiarize themselves with the subjects briefly mentioned in this letter can judge whether the writer is wrong in saying that the commotion concerning Morganizing-Antimasonry was one of the most important episodes in our National Annals and in the Records of Social Relations generally, as well as in the History of the Masonic Institution throughout the World.

If it be said, by a certain class of persons, that this exaggerates the *Moral, Religious, Political and Historical Importance* of the "Excitement" which convulsed the State of New York and some other States a half-century ago, reference may be made to the assertions of Governor Seward in the United States and to the Historical Department of one of the greatest institutions (the British Museum) in the Old World, &c.

For example: In the Autobiography of Gov. Seward, he is quoted as saying in one of his letters, dated about fifty years ago, that,

"In all those portions of the State of New York and the other States into which the Antimasonic debate [!] had extended, the INSTITUTION SURRENDERED—dissolving its Chapters and Lodges—devoting its halls and temples to secular uses, and selling its regalia."

The *New York Herald* of Aug., 1875, when speaking of the commotion that convulsed the State of New York and some portions of other States that were shaken by that same "Antimasonic Debate" (as Gov. Seward mildly styled it), said, truly, that it is "A subject which has hardly lost any of its profound interest by the lapse of half a century"—adding that light "thrown upon the Morgan mystery is of historical importance."

"Thus," says Proctor in his History of the Bench and Bar, "the reader will observe that, in the affairs of Government, in Social Relations, in matters of Religion, and in Courts of Justice, the MORGAN AFFAIR WAS ALL-ABSORBING—pregnant with interest and excitement. Much connected with it was ephemeral, and now forgotten in our pre-occupied age. But there was much connected with it of thrilling interest, that was indurated beyond the action of time—much that will repay the lawyer, the student and the lover of History to review."

And now for a few words concerning the *European* historical inquiries touching the "extraordinary American excitement," which astonished people in other lands, and which was by them considered as "one of the

most remarkable features of American and Masonic History." Great indeed is the desire of many inquirers in Europe, as well as in America, to ascertain facts concerning a movement so remarkable among enlightened nations.

It may well surprise many persons even in America, where the effervescence was generated and prostituted to such base purposes, to learn that the Historical Department of the far-famed "British Museum," for instance, contains more records and papers concerning the "Morgan Excitement" and its Political-Antimasonic consequences than is possessed by any one (or perhaps by all) of the Historical Societies in America.

A brief retrospect of the state of things existing in Western New York half a century ago is indispensable in forming correct judgments about matters now brought in review by Mr. Thurlow Weed's efforts at this late day to distort matters of present as well as former times, so as to escape from the reputation of his Morganizing-Antimasonic crusade for raising a political faction *under pretence* of overthrowing the Masonic Institution, &c. :

And as, in his letters to the "New York Herald" in 1875, he states that he was "unsparing" in what he styles his "hand-to-hand contest" in those times with the Editor and the local Publisher of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser," [Henry O'Rielly and Luther Tucker, "neither of whom were masons," as he also said in that paper], and as Mr. Weed farther acknowledged in the same "Herald" letter that the "Editor of the Rochester Daily Advertiser is familiar with the subject from the beginning to the end"—it will "not be considered out of time or place, even now, to vindicate the truth of history," (phrases used in his "Herald" letters and in his Graphic "interview,") by referring briefly to some points in the *political and social aspects* presented by the western counties of this State, as well as in sections of other States, then convulsed by "the Anti-Masonic *Debate*,"—otherwise known as the "Morgan Excitement" and its consequences in that remarkable period.

Origin of the Chief Morgan Committee

As frequent reference must be made in this narrative to what was called the "Morgan Committee," it may be said here that it was formed at a public meeting in Rochester, in early December, 1826—for the ostensible purpose of aiding to sustain the "Supremacy of the Laws," by *helping the public functionaries to "bring to justice" the persons guilty of outrage in the case of Morgan*, whose abduction and supposed murder occurred about three months before. I was present in that assemblage, and made some editorial comments in the "Daily Advertiser" about certain peculiarities in its proceedings, additional to the objects *avowed* by its managers.

Mr. Thurlow Weed, the chief manager of this meeting, was appointed as a member of this Committee. References to some of his actions, in that respect, are now rendered necessary, to correct some of his numerous misstatements concerning the ill-fated corpse, which has become known

world-wide in connection with his noted saying about its being a "Good-Enough Morgan till after election."

(How he fulfilled the main object of his appointment as a Committeeman, may be seen in the sequel of this letter, wherein it will be shown, *by his own confession*, quoted from the "New York Herald," of August, 1875, that he actually *screened the culprits* for more than forty years, during which time the alleged murderers died, after having long lived unharmed by the disclosures which Mr. Weed *now says* they made to him in the year 1831—about which, more will appear in the sequel.)

The "Rochester Daily Advertiser," now again violently assailed by Mr. Weed, was the earliest *Daily* print established between Hudson River and the Pacific Ocean, and was commenced in 1826—the first year of "through business" along the whole line of the Erie Canal—when the "Morgan Excitement" began to pervade all sections of Western New York, and when Political-Antimasonry commenced its short-lived existence. As it was the first effort to establish a *Daily Press* in those then styled "Western" regions, it had to contend with peculiar difficulties amid troubled times, such as probably never beset the path of any other early newspaper in the interior of our Continent.

The principal journalistic competitors of the "Pioneer Daily" were Messrs. Thurlow Weed and Robert Martin, who then printed a weekly paper called the "Rochester Telegraph," but whose establishment was soon after bought by my associates of the "Daily Advertiser;" with whose business it was united about the time when Mr. Weed commenced his "Antimasonic Enquirer," as the organ of the new partisan movement.

It will, of course, be understood by intelligent readers that this was several years before telegraphs and railroads facilitated intercourse, and thus aided in liberalizing sentiment between people of different localities—intercourse which, among other advantages, would render such intense local effervescences almost impossible in these days.

Amid the turmoil of the "Morgan Excitement," and the schemes for perverting that agitation to partisan purposes, *society seemed for awhile partially uprooted in Western New York*, as indicated by statements hereinafter given, under the signatures of some of the most prominent inhabitants of that region, sustaining all that I stated when denouncing, in advance, the political schemes of the Morganizing-Antimasons. Reference is here made, particularly, to the language of the address, written afterwards and signed by Judge William B. Rochester, who had been in 1826 the Gubernatorial candidate of the "Bucktail" or "Tammany Party" against De Witt Clinton; which document was also signed by Gen. Vincent Mathews, then commonly styled the "Father of the Western Bar;" by Ozias Church, father of Chief Justice Sanford E. Church; and by other persons well known in the early settlement and history of that region.

While that proscriptive "Excitement" thus pervaded the country, the "Pioneer Daily" and its Editor published the statements of some Morgan Committeemen and others, who seemingly wished to "vindicate laws that

had been outraged" by a few misguided men striving to suppress Morgan's book about Freemasonry.

That journal continued to print impartially such matters as articles of news—just as other newspapers print articles for or against any public movements, for comments by their editors and others—leaving readers to draw their own conclusions; and just as New York City papers have, even lately, as well as in former years, printed articles concerning Mr. Weed's operations during his Morganizing and other enterprises.

But this impartial course did not suit the designing men who labored to pervert the "Excitement" to their own personal and partisan purposes.

Some prominent Antimasons, who for awhile professed friendship for the "New Daily," called repeatedly at the "Advertiser" office, to urge that that print should take "general grounds against Freemasonry" (including hostility to the multitude of Non-Masons, whom Mr. Weed then commonly called "Mason's Jacks")—which course, those visitors alleged, would speedily promote its welfare by extending its circulation and influence.

But these alluring prospects were powerless for changing the impartial course of the "Daily Advertiser" and of its editor and publishers.

That journal and its editor, with the cordial approval of its two publishers, continued, unmoved, in this fair and impartial course, though denounced as apologists for an "infernal institution" and for the "murderers of Morgan," etc. These publishers were Henry C. Sleight, editor of the Jamaica "Long Island Farmer," (the originator and capitalist of the concern), and Luther Tucker, since well known as editor of the "Cultivator" and the "Country Gentleman" at Albany. The firm name of the publishers was "Sleight and Tucker" on Long Island, and "Luther Tucker & Co." at Rochester. The editor, Henry O'Rielly, in the following March, (1827,) about three months after he witnessed and commented editorially upon the organization of the "Morgan Committee," whereof Mr. Weed was the leading member, took decided ground against the then (to him, at least, *obvious*) perversion of the "Excitement" to the basest partisan and personal purposes.

As an editorial article which then exposed *in advance* the *political* intrigues, as well as the inflammatory course and persecuting spirit of the Morganizing-Antimasons, together with the *condition of things then existing in Western New York*, has since acquired special importance for its early connection with the "Excitement," it is here copied, with a few similar mementos, that the reader may, by it, among other contemporaneous commentaries, judge somewhat about the temper of those times:

WESTERN NEW YORK.

Condition of things, Social, Religious and Political, in the region where Morganizing-Antimasonry originated.

(From the "Rochester Daily Advertiser," March 16th, 1827.)

"The excitement respecting Morgan, instead of decreasing, spreads its influence and acquires new vigor daily. Scarcely a paper do we open without having our eyes greeted with accounts of meetings, together with preambles

and resolutions, some of them of a cast still more decided and proscriptive than any we have yet published.

"To the excitement itself we have no objection. On the contrary, it is commendable in the people, and the surest guarantee that neither State nor individual rights can be trampled on with impunity. But, like everything else human, it may be, and we regret to say it has been, turned to other than the rightful objects.

"To discover Morgan's fate, to arraign the guilty and vindicate the law, were the points that in the beginning seemed to engross attention. These were the actuating motives of the County meeting held here in December—a meeting equal in influence and respectability to any ever held in this or any other county in the State.

"But this just and temperate course, though pursued for some time with considerable hope of success, has been abandoned by very many; and harsh words, denunciation and proscription are now visited alike upon the innocent and the guilty.

"Printers and Editors are denounced, and a loss of patronage is threatened, unless they compromise their independence, and publish all the inflammatory remarks of fanatics upon *facts* which the public have long had in their possession. Even at this day, when presses throughout the State groan with the weight of matter on the Morgan affair, resolutions are gravely passed, proclaiming that 'the *silence* of editors is a just cause of alarm,' and other things of an equally 'alarming' nature. We use no harsher language than the occasion warrants, when we say that such resolutions are alike uncalled-for and insulting to the good sense of society and the feelings of our brethren of the type and quill.

"The Freemasons, too—not only those who took off Morgan, but every one who bears the Masonic name—are proscribed, as unworthy of 'any office in town, county, State or United States;' and the institution of Masonry, which has stood unshaken through the storms and convulsions of ages, and has numbered and still numbers among its members and warmest friends many of the wisest and most pious, virtuous and patriotic men, is held up as dangerous and detrimental to the interests of the country!

"Even the minister of Christ, the very herald of salvation, must, if he be a Mason, close his Bible and hush his voice, unless he violates the precepts of that Bible, and stains his lips with falsehood, by decrying an institution of which he knows no evil! What other interpretation but this can be given to such a thing as the following:

"*Resolution*, passed at Pulteney, Steuben County, N. Y.

"*Resolved*. That we will *not* hear any *Freemason* preach, unless said preacher shall refuse to meet with any lodge of Freemasons, and shall openly and boldly declare that the Institution of Masonry is a bad institution.

"~~See~~ This caps the climax, and shows too plainly that even in this free land there are individuals who can improve on the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition!

'Are we turned Turks, and to each other do that
'Which Heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?'

"We have but to remark, in conclusion, that, if the object be, as it should be, to redress the wrong society has suffered, something less objectionable and more efficient should be adopted than resolutions, especially such resolutions as the above; and that if, on the contrary, the resolution-makers have a deeper aim, and seek the proscription of Masons and the destruction of Masonry for the purpose of opening to themselves a way to power, they will meet with more resistance than they anticipate from the good sense and virtue of this community."

This emphatic annunciation, of course, settled the question decisively, showing that, however ready the paper and its conductor were to publish impartially everything essential in promoting the cause of *public justice*, the "Daily Advertiser" would not be an unconcerned spectator of the schemes for prostituting the "Excitement" to partisan purposes; and the deluge of Morganizing-Antimasonic wrath was accordingly turned against us with redoubled fury.

The tenor of the foregoing article from the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" of March, 1827, quickly met with zealous responses from sundry editors and other influential persons, not only through the "infected region," but "farther down east." For instance: the "New York Commercial Advertiser," edited by Col. Wm. L. Stone, after paraphrasing our statement in the following week, said:

"The excitement in the case of Morgan continues to increase at the West; and where it will end, no mortal can tell. . . . The presses in all parts of the State groan beneath the weight of publications upon the subject, and yet they are denounced in public meetings, proscribed, and threatened with a *loss of patronage for their silence!* Where is this excitement to end? Are Freemasons to be exterminated, because a few unworthy men are suspected of having committed a heinous crime? . . . One would think, from the Western papers, that the people are *almost ripe for a general massacre of Freemasons*. Truly, those who have kindled this excitement, be they *Masons* or be they not, we fear, will yet have much to answer for."

The vocabularies of calumny and ribaldry might be vainly ransacked for epithets more foul and shocking than were for several years steadily directed by Mr. Weed, not only against the "Daily Advertiser" and its Editor," who thus fearlessly encountered the storm, but also against Freemasons and the Masonic Institution generally, as shown in the volumes of his "Antimasonic Enquirer"—this bitterness including particularly all Non-Masons, who, like ourselves, would not join this proscriptive crusade, and who were reviled as "*worse than Masons*"—as "*Mason's Jacks*"—illustrated by exhibitions of jackasses at the polls, led by Mr. Weed himself in 1827—as elsewhere quoted from writings of gentlemen (Col. George W. Pratt of Rochester, and Robert H. Stevens of Buffalo), who witnessed some of the disgraceful scenes thus presented when Political Antimasonry first appeared at the elections.

Indeed, the files of the "Antimasonic Enquirer" teemed with charges and billingsgate, which might seem incredible to people of the present age, in this or any other country; and should be preserved as curious specimens of viler abuse than was ever before showered on Freemasons and the Masonic Institution (including *all* who would not join the Political-Antimasonic ranks,) by all the despots and bigots that in any age ever cursed any portion of the world.

The "Daily Advertiser," for instance, was incessantly stigmatized by Mr. Weed's paper as "*The Conspirators' Advocate*," the "organ of Masonry," controlled by a "hellish" and "blood-stained Institution;"—while its editor was constantly lampooned in all the choice epithets with which Mr. Weed was then a ready practitioner; and he (O'R.) was specially reviled as a

"Mason's Jack," the *apologist of Masonic outrages and Masonic murderers*," with other embellishments that may be found in the thousand columns of the "Antimasonic Enquirer" by the curious "Macauleys" of these and future times, who may perhaps be stimulated to examine the character and results of one of the most remarkable episodes in American history and in the annals of civilization and Freemasonry throughout the world.

THE "INQUESTS"—THREE IN NUMBER.

As much of this intense yet temporary "Excitement" occurred in reference to the ill-fated corpse, which for awhile some thought to be a veritable Morgan, for whose "abduction" many estimable persons had been indicted, it is neither "out of time nor place to vindicate the truth of history," (to quote again the words of Mr. Weed,) by briefly mentioning *facts* that were so shockingly distorted by the Antimasonic operators in the autumn of 1827, and many of which have been even recently so shamefully misrepresented by Mr. Weed.

Morgan was abducted and drowned in the autumn of 1826, and it was said that "*ropes and weights* were fastened to him, to *prevent his body from rising*." This tragical act is said to have occurred at the junction of Niagara River and Lake Ontario, between our Fort Niagara and the Canadian town on the opposite shore.

More than a year after Morgan's fate, a Canadian farmer, named Timothy Monroe, from a lower point on Lake Ontario, came with *a sloop-load of wood* to the Canadian town alluded to. While awaiting sale of his cargo, he, with his shipmate, John Cron, *crossed in a small boat to the vicinity of our Fort Niagara*. After concluding his business, he attempted to *return to his vessel* at the Canadian town; but, his little boat *upsetting on its return*, he was drowned, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Cron to rescue him.

This fatal accident (the main facts of which are *italicized*, for reasons that will soon appear) occurred on or very near the route of Morgan when *he* was drowned, as is said. But, as no "*ropes and weights were fastened*" to him, as is reported to have been the case with the unhappy Morgan, *his* body soon rose to the surface, and floated into Lake Ontario; on the shore of which Lake, the corpse was found a few days thereafter, near the mouth of Oak-Orchard Creek, distant about forty miles, (between the Niagara and the Genesee,) where it was cast ashore, as is often the case with objects floating on the Lake from the Niagara River, owing to the course of currents and winds.

In refuting some of Mr. Weed's "Stories" about alleged influences in organizing Lincoln's Cabinet and otherwise winding up the machinery of National Affairs, the late Secretary, Gideon Welles (the well-known head of our Naval Department during the War of the Rebellion, etc.), after stating some *facts* and exposing certain ridiculous "stories," concluded that branch of his exposures by alluding to what he substantially termed *Mr. Weed's remarkable propensity for "remembering things that never happened."*

And the worthy Secretary might have found other illustrations of this propensity in the history of Mr. Weed's connection with the corpse of Timothy Monroe, etc. For instance: Mr. Weed's letter to the "New York Herald" in 1875 gravely says that *Monroe was "swept in his boat over Niagara Falls"!!!* This alleged catastrophe, if true, would have rendered it *impossible* for his corpse to float uninjured to the shore where it was found, instead of having floated from the place where his frail boat (along with Mr. Cron, his shipmate) was actually upset while returning across the stream to his wood-sloop in the Canadian town, at the junction of Niagara River with Lake Ontario. The *object* of this particular "story" is evidently to strengthen Weed's position with people who know no better. A body "dashed over Niagara Falls" would not be in the *perfect order* in which it was found when the Morganizing (second) inquest, engineered by Mr. Weed, was held near Oak Orchard, where the body had been first buried *uninjured* by the "first Inquest," as that of an "unknown man"—totally uninjured by *any* violence, such as would have marked it, plainly if it had been "swept over the Falls," or even if it had been "tied with ropes and weights [a twelve-month before], to keep it from rising," as substantially asserted in Mr. Weed's Morganizing reports. Besides, if Monroe was "swept over Niagara Falls," his shipmate, John Cron, would hardly have escaped to give testimony at Batavia, "on the Third Inquest;" where, as will be shown, the corpse, *uninjured*, except by the *significant* loss of some hair and whiskers about the time of the "Second Inquest," was disinterred for public inspection.

But now for some particulars concerning the results of the

"FIRST INQUEST."

(Held near the junction of Oak Orchard Creek with Lake Ontario, near where the corpse was found.)

After full examination, the body was declared to be that of an "unknown man;" as there was no mark of violence, and nothing in his pockets wherewith to identify him. The fact of the inquest, and some memoranda about the appearance of the body, were published by the Coroner, as usual, then, in that quarter.

As Morgan and his fate were prominent subjects of conversation in those days, some one said, during this first inquest, that "perhaps this might be Morgan's body." One of the Messrs. Potter, *who found the corpse* on the Lake Shore, near the mouth of the Creek above-named, said (as he told me, and as he afterwards publicly testified, and was ever ready while alive to testify) that "*that could not be the case*, as the corpse was that of a man who was *larger* than Morgan, and was *not bald* like Morgan, and had *large whiskers*, which Morgan never wore during his knowledge of him—that knowledge having been gained when he and Morgan lived together." The verdict of the Coroner's Jury over this then unrecognized body was as above stated. The corpse was buried accordingly. The clothing, fortunately for the cause of justice, had been taken off, as it might, and did very soon afterwards, serve for *further* recognition of the *real* identity of the corpse, as will be seen.

When the Coroner's report of this "first inquest" was published, however, some persons are said to have fancied that the body "*might still* be that of Morgan," as it was reported to have some sort of a "mark on a big toe," and had apparently lost "two teeth"—about which teeth, "there hangs a tale," which will shortly be told in connection with

THE "SECOND INQUEST."

Mr. Thurlow Weed was the chief engineer of the "*Second Inquest*"—that by which the body was made to pass muster *for a few days only* as a "Good-Enough Morgan," etc. He caused the corpse to be disinterred on the next Saturday, and returned to Rochester on Sunday for some others to assist at a second inquest, to be held on the following day—leaving the corpse meanwhile in charge of "three trusty men," to "guard it against *the Masons*," AS WAS SAID. Returning to Rochester after this reconnoitering expedition, by stage-coach, (there being no railroads in those days,) Mr. Weed came in to Ensworth's Eagle Tavern, after the usual dinner-hour, when Dr. John B. Elwood, a regular boarder, was at the table, having been delayed by a patient.

What occurred there and thereafter, concerning his intercourse with Mr. Weed, etc., I here insert substantially as told me immediately after by Dr. Elwood, whose office adjoined mine in the opposite block.

Observing that Mr. Weed seemed rather travel-worn, Dr. Elwood commenced conversation by saying, "Where have you been, Thurlow?" with the freedom customary between old acquaintance, personal and political. The reply, as told me by Dr. E., was substantially that he (Mr. W.) had been out to see a body found on the Lake Shore, near Oak Orchard Creek, where it had been buried, after a Coroner's inquest, as that of an "unknown person"—who some people supposed might be Morgan. (Mr. Weed had previously stated in this conversation that he had never seen Morgan.)

Dr. Elwood's statement to me was, that, as a medical practitioner, his professional studies impelled him to learn more about the effect of *submersion on human subjects*, in addition to the interest he felt, in common with people generally, in the case of Morgan, who was said to have been "drowned more than a twelve-month before, with weights attached to keep the body submerged," etc.

Dr. Elwood inquired particularly about the condition of the corpse—especially whether the flesh had been converted into *adipocere*—if it had not become putrid or partially washed away from the bones. Conversation was next turned by Dr. Elwood on the appearance of the face, head, etc. In reply to his inquiries, Dr. Elwood's statement to me was, that Mr. Weed answered substantially that they were not much, if any, altered from those of a person lately dead, except that the skin was considerably discolored. (Be it remembered that no marks of violence whatever—no marks of "ropes and weights to keep the body from floating"—and certainly no marks of having been "swept over Niagara Falls," were mentioned in this conversation.)

"How about the head?" Dr. Elwood then inquired. Dr. E.'s statement to me was that Mr. Weed said one of the whiskers was somewhat chafed, the other whisker being large and apparently perfect. "And what was the condition of the hair on top of the head?" Dr. Elwood then asked. The reply of Mr. Weed, as Dr. Elwood informed me, was, substantially, that, excepting some slight traces of baldness over the temples, (as is often the case,) the head was well covered with hair—there being a large patch of hair on top—which feature Mr. Weed illustrated to Dr. Elwood, as the latter informed me, by placing his hand, with fingers nearly fully outspread, on top of his own head. Dr. Elwood further explained the matter to me by laying his nearly outspread hand on my head, while giving me these particulars, within a half hour of the time when this conversation occurred with Mr. Weed.

Dr. Elwood said to me that he then told Mr. Weed *why* his inquiries were so particular about the condition and appearance of the corpse, substantially in the following words:

"I was a medical adviser of Capt. Morgan when he lived in Rochester," said Elwood; "and one of his chief ailments concerned *the eyes*, which made it necessary for me to place my hand often on his head, so as to turn his eyes upwards towards me, as then I could better examine them. This, and my other acquaintance with him, enabled me to know that he (Morgan) wore no *whiskers*; and, as for the *top of his head*, it was for years utterly destitute of hair. Such *facts*, within my own knowledge, along with *what you say about the condition of the body*, and especially about the *hair and whiskers*," said Dr. Elwood to Mr. Weed, "*satisfy me that THE BODY IS NOT MORGAN'S.*"

Mr. Weed was said by Dr. Elwood to have made a somewhat confused remark, to the effect, substantially, that *it seemed so, then—it could not be Morgan's body*—and suddenly turned the conversation.

These statements about *hair and whiskers* were corroborated by the testimony of several others touching the condition of the body when first found and buried, after the "first inquest," and after it was disinterred by Mr. Weed and left in charge of "three trusty men" till he should return from Rochester with others to have a "Second Inquest" held on the following Monday. Meantime (on Sunday at the dinner with Dr. Elwood in Rochester), Mr. Weed learnt about the *hair and whiskers* which made such distinguishing marks on the face of the corpse—marks which would *at once satisfy any one who had known Morgan* that the corpse could not be *his*, if it had the head well covered *with hair*, and the *large whiskers* in such unmistakable condition as Mr. Weed told Dr. Elwood in the above-mentioned conversation—(marks sworn to by sundry witnesses on the "Third Inquest.") Mr. Weed said, in conversation with Elwood, that he (W.) did not know Morgan or his peculiarities, and spoke of the corpse as he first saw it. (But, singular to relate! the hair and whiskers, profuse as they were said to be when the body was found and first buried, and when disinterred by Mr. Weed, as stated by himself in the conversation with Dr.

Elwood, had marvellously disappeared, when on Monday the "Second Inquest" was held—albeit there were "three trusty men" to guard the body while Mr. Weed was absent in Rochester, with orders to let no one see the corpse till after his return.)

On returning immediately to his office, Dr. Elwood called to tell me the substance of his conversation, as above given, especially as it was "closely connected with the prevalent excitement about Morgan."

(Dr. Elwood was for half a century one of the most prominent physicians of Western New York, and for ten years Postmaster of Rochester.)

A few minutes afterwards, another physician, Dr. Henry, came into the office where Dr. Elwood and I were conversing (Dr. Elwood's office and mine being next door to each other in the same building, opposite the Hotel where Dr. E. and Mr. W. met accidentally for a late dinner.) Dr. Henry asked Elwood if he would "attend to his (Henry's) patients for a couple of days, as he would be absent from town." "Certainly, certainly," said Elwood, whose intimacy with an old friend induced him further to inquire in what direction Dr. Henry was about to travel. "I'm going along with Mr. Weed and others, to be at an inquest to-morrow, in Orleans County over a body lately found there," said Dr. Henry, substantially. Some conversation then ensued between the physicians, respecting the talk just held by Dr. Elwood with Mr. Weed, as already described. In this conversation, Dr. Elwood expressed surprise at what he thought were "queer proceedings" in this matter; and, among other things, referred to the conversation he had just had with Mr. Weed. Dr. Henry said substantially that he "knew nothing about the matter, further than that he had been invited to go out with some of the 'Morgan Committee,' and be present at the new inquest over a body supposed by some to be Morgan's;" adding that "the stage was to start soon with Mr. Weed and others on their return to Oak Orchard," etc. Dr. Henry then withdrew, on his friend Elwood assuring him that he would cheerfully attend to his patients during his absence—such being the custom when either was sick or absent.

There also went with the Weed party to view the corpse, a doctor or dentist who had pulled "two teeth" from Morgan, three or four years before. It is generally known that gaps left by tooth-pulling soon nearly close—so that, where two adjoining teeth are extracted, there will shortly be left scarcely space enough to insert even a single tooth. The "testimony" given on this inquest by that dentist or doctor, and substantially *confirmed* by another doctor or dentist, who was present, is too curious to be omitted, especially as it is one of the *convincing* things included in Mr. Weed's remarkable "story" about this equally remarkable affair. Hence I quote the exact words from his truthful "history":

After one of these dentists said he had pulled two teeth from Morgan three or four years before, he added: "Mrs. Morgan handed me the two teeth which *she said* I extracted; and they will slide into the *places* or vacancies in the head of this body QUITE WELL; though the face is so much swollen,

that it is *impossible* to decide exactly whether they were taken from **THIS** head! !”

Another doctor is stated in Weed’s “history” to have said: “On examining the body I find two teeth gone, and one broken off—the two teeth which she had will *slide into* and fill the *vacancies* in the jaw *pretty well*.” (!!!)

The *value* of such “testimony” can be easily estimated by people generally—especially by those who have had the ill-luck to lose a couple of their grinders.

RETURN FROM THE “SECOND INQUEST,”

With thanks for a Special Providence.

The return of Mr. Weed from the Inquest which he had thus engineered was followed by the publication of what he, in a public notice, called a “History” of that remarkable transaction (including, of course, the most important testimony about the “two teeth” and the “big toe”)—copies of which were scattered broadcast, as well as printed in various newspapers, for the edification of the “faithful” through the “infected regions.” And this precious document, of which I have a pamphlet copy, closed with an ascription of praise to the Almighty for His Special Providence in effecting this “wonderful discovery”—(particularly “wonderful” on the eve of the Morganizing-Antimasonic Party appearing for its *first* campaign at the polls!) But I here quote the *exact words* from the conclusion of Mr. Weed’s veracious “history” respecting this alleged Special Providence:—

“For ourselves,” said Mr. Weed, in the “history” signed with his own name and that of three others—“*for ourselves*, we do conceive that the body discovered on the shore of Lake Ontario has been identified as the body of Capt. William Morgan *beyond the shadow of a doubt*. (!)

“In *this discovery* we cannot but trace the hand of an *Overruling Providence*, who, *when all human efforts were found too weak* effectually to penetrate the *mysterious secret*, has chosen, in His own time and by His *own means*, to throw a *broad light upon this dark mystery*. (!!)

“This induces us to rely, with a stronger hope, upon the same Providence, to unravel the remainder of this entangled skein, and to provide means for bringing all the perpetrators of a daring outrage to merited punishment.” (!!!)

(Signed)

“THURLOW WEED,”

(with three others.)

(These expressions of hope that “the same Providence” would help them to bring the “perpetrators of a daring outrage to merited punishment,” should be particularly remembered by all who read Mr. Weed’s own declarations in his “Herald” letters that the murder had actually been confessed to himself in 1831 by one of the alleged murderers—a fact which he only

divulged in 1875, a silence of forty-four years; during which long period he had quietly treasured that fact, instead of communicating it to the public until *all* the alleged perpetrators of the crime were dead! The comments of various journals at New York, Rochester and Buffalo, quoted herewith, render it needless for me to say more, just now, on this subject.)

But the affectation of *piety* which influenced this closing remark in Weed's "history" of the "Second Inquest"—this reference to "heavenly" aid—which was specially noted by people familiar with the Political-Antimasonic operations of the times—was not sufficient to prevent IMMEDIATE LEGAL and IMPARTIAL INQUIRY BY US, concerning what was believed to be the humbug of this same "Second Inquest"—the *very serious aspect of which*, if it had not been exploded—*quickly* exploded—affecting, as it might have affected, the lives, liberties and reputation of many estimable men, besides adding fuel to the prevalent "excitement"—will shortly be particularly mentioned.

It may well be supposed that this "Supplementary Report" of Mr. Weed (which he dignified with the title of a "history" in his advertisement concerning that extraordinary humbug), occasioned instantaneous comment among the community. Those who remembered his verbal statements when questioned by Dr. Elwood, as above described, and as stated by me in the "Daily Advertiser," noticed particularly the assertion of that veracious "history" about the body having been "*identified*, beyond THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT," as the body of Capt. Morgan." (!!!)

The humbug was, of course, well understood by reflecting people generally—especially by those who remembered the former statements of Mr. Weed about Morgan having been "drowned more than a year before, with ropes and weights fastened to keep him from floating"—and also by people who recollected Mr. Weed's admissions to Dr. Elwood about the appearance of the corpse, especially regarding the whiskers and the "large patch of hair on top of the head"—points which utterly forbade any notion that the corpse was that of the *whiskerless* and *bald* and *smaller-sized* Morgan—bearing no marks of having, a twelve month before, been "tied with ropes and weights to keep it sunk."

Cotemporaneous Newspaper Comments.

The sentiments of impartial citizens familiar with the facts, concurring with my own judgment, caused me to publish in the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" the following editorial comments on

What was commonly called The Great Fraud.

"The more we see and hear," I said in the "Daily Advertiser," "the more thoroughly satisfied are we that there was *foul play* some way or other connected with the 'Second Inquest' over the body recently found. It is utterly irreconcilable with our notions of *right* in such cases that anything tending to throw light on a judicial investigation should have been *withheld* or *smothered* by those assisting at it; but that something similar to this has been the case in the instance alluded to, is susceptible of positive proof.

“It is with reluctance we allude particularly to individuals ; but the nature of the case requires that no false delicacy should interfere to prevent the unmasking of hypocrisy and the exposure of deceit. With this view, we proceed to look into matters generally, and to offer such facts as can at any time be substantiated.

“Mr. Thurlow Weed, after returning from his *first* visit to where the body lay, said, in conversation with a gentleman [meaning Dr. John B. Elwood] who knew Morgan, that the head of the corpse had a ‘considerable patch of hair on top ;’ and in subsequent conversation, language to the same effect was used, with the additional remark that the hair growing in that particular place staggered his (Weed’s) faith more than anything else as to the identity of the body with Morgan. As this fact, if stated by credible witnesses, must have been as conclusive with the *Second* Jury as it was with the *first*, and as the knowledge of it gave rise to misgivings and staggered the faith of Mr. Weed, how comes it that, in his testimony (!) before the Inquest. [a Second Inquest, managed chiefly by himself] *no reference* or hint whatever is made to the subject? If he and others had no particular wish to *make the body Morgan’s*, whether or not, how comes it that *he was mute* on a matter of *primary moment*, and at the same time allowed himself to be lugged in as a witness to ‘testify’ what amounts to nothing? How is it, that a fact which would have settled the question at once, was kept out of sight, and not even hinted at, directly or indirectly, in the proceedings contained in the ‘Supplementary Report’ [Weed’s ‘history’] so sedulously scattered about by the ‘Committee’?

“When these queries are answered, we shall inquire how the *whiskers*, which Mr. Holden [an honest Morgan Committeeman of Batavia] saw about the time that Mr. Weed saw the hair, *disappeared*, between the periods of the *first disinterment* and the *second inquest*? There were three trusty men, the Committee [Weed & Co.] say, guarding the body meantime; but, were there three-and-thirty, the conclusion must nevertheless be, that the *hair* and the *whiskers* were taken off, (by whom we cannot say,) but certainly by somebody, to make it resemble Morgan.

“Had the Potters, who knew Morgan, and could best describe the situation of the body when found—had these, or Mr. Holden, or any other of the half-dozen witnesses who swore positively [on the Third Inquest] at Batavia, to the facts stated by Mr. Weed to the gentleman [Dr. Elwood], above alluded to—had these been sworn [on the ‘Second Inquest,’ engineered by Weed himself], there might be some shadow of truth in the statement of the Committee in their report, ‘that all persons who it was supposed knew anything connected with the inquiry, were sworn’ [on the said Second Inquest.] As it is, until some explanation is given, the connection of the Committee [Weed & Co.] with the ‘Second Inquest,’ must be looked upon as a one-sided and consequently unfair and shameful transaction.”

One of the last acts of our deceased Rochester friend, Col. Geo. W. Pratt, (elsewhere particularly mentioned), was to remind us of the time when Mr. Thurlow Weed, as Ringleader of the Morgan Committee, published a

notice in a Rochester paper, saying that "The remains of William Morgan having been finally found and fully identified [!!], the Committee lose no time in relieving the public anxiety by submitting a history of all the facts and circumstances connected with this extraordinary discovery."

"Certainly, it was an extraordinary discovery!—bordering on the miraculous"!! said Col. Pratt, "that a human body, floating about in Lake Ontario for a year—[if some of the Morganizing-Antimasonic "stories" of Mr. Weed could be believed]—food for fishes and undergoing decomposition—should be found with hair and head complete, and even loose hair inside the ears." "But," adds Col. Pratt, "it was said to be a 'Good-Enough Morgan till after the election; and thousands of the ignorant and credulous fully believed that the body of the murdered Morgan was found. But the managers of this new political crusade must have known better;" and, continues Col. Pratt in conclusion of his Reminiscences, "the Rochester Daily Advertiser" of October 29 and November 1, 1827, FULLY EXPOSED THE FRAUD, and gave the testimony of Mrs. Monroe and her son, identifying the body as that of Mr. Monroe."

THE "THIRD INQUEST;"

which proved that it was not exactly a Good-Enough Morgan till after Election—nor sufficient even to hang or imprison the "Bloody Masons."

Next quickly followed the "Third Inquest," in arranging for which, the "Rochester Daily Advertiser and its Editor" (now, as then, so bitterly denounced by Mr. Weed), were foremost, along with yourself and the late Messrs. Tucker and Ebenezer Griffen, in urging and immediately effecting successful results, by exposing Political-Antimasonic imposture and vindicating the cause of Truth and Justice.

In preparing for this new movement, several friends, from different sections of the country, called at the "Daily Advertiser" office for consultation. I urged the propriety of inviting the Morgan Committee to be present at the proposed (Third) Inquest, inasmuch as they could then understand more fully the points about which there was most discussion, and give the benefit of their suggestions or objections. If all was as it ought to have been at the "Second (or Weed's) Inquest," there surely could be no reasonable objection to the attendance of some members (if not all) of that Committee, when and where matters might arise which might satisfy those who disputed the accuracy of *their* Report (or "history.")

Along with one of the gentlemen present at the consultation (Mr. Barton of Niagara County), I therefore called on a prominent member (Dr. Backus) of the Morgan Committee, and told him what was proposed to be done—that we invited the fullest and fairest inquiry; and, in evidence of that wish, asked him to be present, and to bear a similar invitation to his fellow-members.

Dr. B. not only did not give any encouragement for the proposed investigation, but added that he supposed "the Masons and their apologists" were not very well pleased with the decision "about the body being Morgan's."

The peculiar emphasis laid by him upon the words, "Masons and their apologists" led me to reply substantially that "No men who wish fair dealing, especially in matters of such deep importance to the community as well as to individuals, could reasonably object to such a just and impartial movement as was then proposed to himself and his fellow-committeemen"—adding that "another Inquest would certainly be held, whether he or they attended or not"—at the same time saying that I was not a Mason, nor the apologist of any Masons or Antimasons who conducted themselves *improperly*.

The decision in favor of another (the Third) Inquest was accordingly energetically carried into effect.

Preparation for the "Third (and final) Inquest."

An examination of the *clothing* found on the deceased was accordingly made at Gaines, in Orleans County, on Saturday evening and night, when the very intelligent and discreet widow of Timothy Monroe, Mr. Monroe, Junior, and Mr. John Cron, the latter of whom was with the deceased when the boat upset, were examined on every imaginable point by Mr. Bates Cooke, of the Niagara County Committee—who held possession of all the clothing (nailed in a box), till the investigation was terminated for the night, especially the examination of the clothing. The accuracy of the witnesses, especially that of the venerable widow, on every point of inquiry (she having made and mended the clothing), excited the attention and respect of nearly every person in the crowd who witnessed the examination, the only exception being in the case of Mr. Cooke, who, when I said, on examining the different articles, that "the answers of Mrs. Monroe were remarkably accurate, even to the minutest point," replied substantially, "O yes, certainly—the description she gave about the clothing was very precise—very correct, indeed"—adding, rather cavalierly, "I wonder who furnished her with that description." The remark neither shook confidence in the truth of her testimony nor increased the respect for her (only) assailant.

Returning to Rochester, I prepared for Monday's "Advertiser" an account of the thorough identification of the clothing; and then started with a few others for Batavia, in Genesee County, where the body had been interred by the Morganizing-Antimasons after their "Second Inquest."

This "Third Inquest," openly held in Batavia, was attended by a large concourse of people. The Jury embraced several of the most prominent Antimasons of Batavia, and had only two Masons on it. People of all parties were there—the matters of the Inquest were fully discussed—the condition of the body examined publicly by Dr. Coates and other prominent physicians of the neighborhood. There seemed to be no dissent from the conclusion to which the Coroner's Jury unanimously arrived; and this was the more notable, from the fact that Morgan was a resident of their town when "abducted," and that there, if anywhere, the corpse (even though *rendered*

bald and whiskerless), might be recognized as Morgan, if it was really Morgan.

Conclusion and Effect of the Several Inquests.

These brief notices of the Third Inquest may be concluded by the remark that the public mind of all parties quietly settled down in reliance on the facts established by the impartial testimony before that Batavia Inquest, which showed to the neighbors of Morgan and to the public generally that the corpse was not his, but that of Timothy Monroe. No movement was ever made to disturb that verdict or the corpse; though, after the "Second (or Weed's) Inquest," it had been proclaimed about the streets for a few days, that "a towering monument would be erected" to commemorate the *then* supposed facts. The *real* facts about those several inquests are now, for the first time, briefly told, in consecutive order, and may furnish to future times an instructive lesson concerning investigations of the kind, if there should be another case beset with so many difficulties.

In short, this "Third and Last Inquest" proved even to many of those who had been at first inclined to believe the tale, that Mr. Weed's remarkable "history" of the "Second Inquest," notwithstanding his pious or impious conclusion, ascribing the discovery of the corpse at that particular time to a *special Providence*, was essentially a humbug of the grossest character—as the ill-fated corpse was proved to be that of "Timothy Monroe," and not exactly a "Good-Enough Morgan till after Election"—a decision important to the public generally, and especially to the prominent Freemasons in six counties of Western New York, (namely, Monroe, Ontario, Orleans, Niagara, Genesee and Erie), who had been indicted for alleged participation in the "*abduction*," and who would have been immediately charged and perhaps punished for privy to the *murder*, if the humbug had not been promptly exposed by the verdict of this "Third Inquest," held at Morgan's late home, and where almost everybody knew him, with his bald head and whiskerless face—notwithstanding the wonderful testimony about the "two teeth" and the "big toe," and the still more wonderful assertions of Mr. Weed, about the special agency of "Heaven" in the extraordinary case.

More about the "Third Inquest," which Nullified Weed's "Second Inquest" and his "Good-Enough Morgan."

On the 1st November, 1827, over fifty-two years ago, I published an account of the proceedings of the "Third" and last Inquest held over the memorable corpse, along with a certificate of the correctness of the statement—which certificate, signed by prominent citizens of Western New York, was in the following words:

"To the Public:

"The following is a brief statement of the testimony taken before the Jury of Inquest at Batavia, on the 29th inst. in relation to a body found on the 7th, at or near the mouth of Oak-Orchard Creek, in the County of Orleans. . . . [Here followed the testimony of the Widow

Monroe, which was the same in all material points as that contained in her testimony over the clothing at Gaines, on Saturday night. Her testimony was corroborated, in every essential point, by Mr. Daniel Monroe and by John Cron, who was with Timothy Monroe when he was accidentally drowned]. . .

[Then follows the testimony of Hinman Holden, an honest Morgan-Committeeman of Batavia, who saw the *hair and whiskers* on the corpse, as stated by Mr. Weed himself to Dr. Elwood; and also the testimony of Dr. A. H. Vinton, Dr. Hall, James Wood, Daniel English, Dr. Webster and Elisha Parmelee; with the testimony of Messrs. Potter, [father and son], who found the body on the lake shore, and who also saw the *hair and whiskers* when it was disinterred and taken by Mr. Weed, while he (Weed) meanwhile went to Rochester on Sunday to prepare for his "Second" Inquest on Monday.]

"The verdict of the Jury was, that the body is that of Timothy Monroe, who was drowned in the Niagara River, on the 26th Sept., 1827. We, the undersigned, having been present during the investigation, certify the above to be a correct statement of the principal facts proved before the Coroner's Inquest at Batavia, on the 29th inst. [Oct.]

(Signed)

"EBENEZER GRIFFIN.

"JAMES F. MASON.

"JACOB GOULD."

In my editorial comments on the proceedings of this Inquest, I said in the "Daily Advertiser," respecting the "detection of the imposition," that the Coroner's Jury at Batavia

"Was composed of citizens as respectable as any in Batavia—two only of whom were Masons—the remainder being, as we are informed, of the Anti-masonic Party. The strongest witness in proving the body *not to be Morgan's*, Mr. Hinman Holden, is also an Antimason: And, Mason or Antimason, there is hardly a respectable man in Batavia who doubts the verdict. In fact, but few there believed it was what it was reported to be, even before the [third] Inquest; and the fact that neither Mrs. Morgan nor any other person from Batavia appeared on the last inquest over the body she *recognized so readily* on the Lake shore, is believed to be something more than a 'sign' that many who testified to the identity on a previous occasion, [when Mr. Weed got up the "Second" Inquest] *were not so certain of it on this.*]

"Four witnesses were taken from this place [Rochester]—more through form, as it seemed to us, than through any *real* intention of opposing the claims of Mrs. Monroe."

—Conspicuous by his absence from the witness-stand and from Batavia on this peculiarly important occasion, was *Mr. Thurlow Weed*; who would have found this an excellent opportunity *if he had dared* to make an attempt at this "Third and last Inquest," held openly before a Coroner's Jury, composed of Morgan's neighbors, and beside Morgan's late home—an "excellent opportunity," indeed—for vindicating himself, if he could, from

the belief engendered among the public by the suspicious manifestations of his ('Second') Inquest.

That "Second (Weed's) Inquest" was openly and specifically assailed in the "Daily Advertiser" and by the public; yet he *dared not*, on this "Third and last Inquest," attempt any defense (if it could be defended) of the humbug about the "Good-Enough Morgan," which corpse some people imagined would rest quietly in the grave, instead of being resurrected, to prove, before a Jury of Morgan's old neighbors, that Messrs. Weed & Company had "got hold of the wrong man" when piously ascribing the "wonderful discovery" to a Special Providence from Heaven." This "Third Inquest" did indeed "throw a broad light over the dark mystery" of the Morganizing-Antimasonic operations with the corpse at the "Second Inquest."

Some of the "Effects on Social Relations," &c.

You have doubtless noticed the manner in which Mr. Weed alludes to the effect on *his* "social relations," occasioned by the reputation of his Morganizing adventures. Readers generally may estimate these things by considering the manner, in which many respectable "families and their friends generally" were treated by the peculiar operations of the Morgan Committeemen in getting up and managing the "Second Inquest." The burial of the corpse for awhile (until the matter was exposed), subjected the lives, liberties and reputations of sixty or seventy respected Freemasons to the most serious imputations—to severe punishment and lasting disgrace—as perpetrators or accessories in the highest crime against Divine and Human Laws.

The summary exposure of this implication of innocent men in wholesale charges and punishment for the crime of murder caused a very prompt revulsion in popular feeling, to a certain degree at least, and procured for the "indicted" men a fair hearing before Courts which acquitted most of them of privity even to the lesser charge of "abduction."

With a corpse actually buried as that of the man alleged to have been murdered—with the popular feeling thus aroused by what might appear to be convincing legal proof of the alleged murder—it is not improbable that the lives of some and the liberties of others of the many persons accused (though mostly innocent) of privity even to the "abduction," would have been at once held liable to prosecution and punishment for the alleged *murder*! And in this connection, and as indicating what may be done in "excited" times, it may be mentioned that the first conviction for alleged privity even to "abduction," as you of course well remember, was against an innocent man named Sheldon, in Ontario County, only a few months before, viz., in the winter of 1826-7. And you also know that every impartial man in those days, who was anywise acquainted with the facts, knew that this Sheldon was wholly unconnected even with the abduction.

As in his present appeals for popular sympathy in the "persecutions *he* suffered for being an *Antimason*," and as he alludes to the sufferings of some of his friends by reason of the odium following him for a half-century on account of his "Good-Enough Morgan" operations, it is "not too late to vindicate the truth of history" (to quote his own words) by referring to the sufferings of families and friends of the sixty or seventy respected Freemasons, whose lives and liberties were temporarily jeopardized by operations with the body that was actually buried as the corpse of the *murdered* Morgan.

As to the general respectability of the accused persons, whose lives and liberties were thus imperilled by the operations of Mr. Weed's "Second Inquest," it may be added here, that in his second letter of 1875, in the "New York Herald," he himself confessed that "of all the persons connected with the abduction, arrest, imprisonment and subsequent fate of Morgan," there was *not one* within his knowledge who did not possess and enjoy the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens."

And yet he, Mr. Thurlow Weed, a committee-man appointed to detect the culprits and promote justice by "sustaining the Supremacy of the Law," prepared and published a "history" of the "facts and circumstances" connected with this so-called "extraordinary discovery"—a "discovery" ascribed by him in that "history" to the "Special Providence" of Heaven—which would have wrongly subjected every one of the confessedly worthy men above mentioned to immediate prosecution and punishment for alleged connection with the alleged murder!

And now, the Ringleader, in getting up that "Second Inquest" and his "history" thereof, is trying to defame me because I will not say or write something acquitting him of *speaking* about a "Good-Enough Morgan," etc., when historical records show that he was actually concerned in what (if it had not *quickly* been undone and exposed by us and others) would have subjected all the above-mentioned gentlemen to prosecutions as alleged principals or accessories in the crime of *murder*—alleged substantially in Mr. Weed's letters to have been committed by them in "discharging a duty" to the Masonic Institution! Well might the editor of the "New York Herald," when publishing Mr. Weed's letters in 1875, say that, "We [the "New York Herald"] do not believe that Masonry authorizes or practises this theory, yet *Mr. Weed makes this accusation against the Order* fifty years ago."

Effects of the Political Antimasonic Excitement through Western New York and elsewhere.

One of the oldest citizens of Rochester, Col. George W. Pratt—who was lately interred, with marks of respect from journals of all parties in that city—voluntarily wrote to me last year an account of his "Recollections" of the strange doings during the "Morgan Excitement." It was the last long letter he wrote prior to the illness that closed his active life among us; and it enclosed to me, as a portion of his "Memories," an article he wrote

for the "Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser" in 1867, concerning events at the election of 1827.

The generous motive for his communications to me was expressed at the conclusion of his letter of Feb. 22d, 1878, in the following words:—

"Most of the many prominent actors in these exciting scenes have passed away. But *I esteem it the duty* of those of us who remain, to see that *the truth* goes down to future generations, who may take an interest in such matters.

"Truly yours,

"GEORGE W. PRATT."

This last communication from Col. Pratt corresponds with those from other sources respecting the course of Mr. Weed during the three-day election of 1827, when Morganizing-Antimasonry first took the field politically.

Col. Pratt further illustrated the violence of the Antimasonic managers and presses by saying, "Freemasons were denounced as murderers, and unfit to preach the Gospel, or to be members of Christian churches, or to sit on juries—their testimony in courts of justice was said to be not entitled to credence!"

"To this vindictive spirit—to this torrent of calumny and persecution," says Col. Pratt, "many who were not Freemasons were opposed. You and I were among that number; and were complimented by being called 'Masons' Jacks,' for all non-Masons who would not join in the Antimasonic crusade were denounced 'as worse than Masons.' These men did not believe that hostility to Freemasons was a sufficient basis for a political party, nor did they believe all adhering masons to be cut-throats and murderers. Nor did they wish to act," says Col. Pratt, "under the leadership of men who would palm off the body of *Monroe* as a 'Good-Enough Morgan till after election.'"

"I enclose herewith, a communication made by me to the 'Union and Advertiser' of this city in 1867, which gives more fully my recollections of the events attending the election in 1827," adds Col. Pratt; "and one of those 'Recollections' said that 'it was charged and very generally believed, that the corpse of *Monroe* was 'transformed' so as to resemble *Morgan*.'" Col. Pratt added a remark about scenes which he personally witnessed at the polls near Rochester—concurring with the Buffalo statements concerning Mr. Stevens' recollections of the new-fashioned voters that Mr. Weed led to the voting places, in ridicule of what he was then pleased to call "Masons' Jacks." "It was at Baker's Tavern, on the Chili Road, in the afternoon of the first day of election," said Col. Pratt, "that a mule was led to the polls by a long rope which the Anties called a cable-tow."

The statement of Col. Pratt concurred substantially with those published in 1875 by the "Buffalo Courier," and widely copied over the land. Those Buffalo statements were signed by Robert H. Stevens, who was at the polls in the town of Gates, then including the westerly half of the then village of Rochester, in 1827. Though formerly resident in Rochester Mr. Stevens has long lived in Buffalo, where he yet lives, and no man knows more about

the general movements of men and parties in Western New York for the last fifty-three (53) years, during the early part of which period, his professional duties were mainly connected with investigations of the then prevalent "Excitement," with its causes and effects.

From among the "comments" which Mr. Stevens promptly published on the letters that Mr. Weed printed in the "New York Herald," soon after the great Masonic Jubilee, when the Masonic Temple was completed in 1875, substantially as he wrote in letters to me, a short extract may here be quoted illustrative of the spirit which influenced Mr. Weed and his satellites at the polls in 1827, when their political crusade was formally commenced.

After mentioning Mr. Weed foremost among the leaders of the new Morganizing Party, that gentleman continued his published statements, by saying that:

"No epithets were too ugly or too mean for them to apply to all who would not join in their crusade against a whole body of men for the faults of a few of their number. In order to inflame the minds of the community, every device was resorted to. Lambs were brought to the polls having their 'throats cut from ear to ear,' with the approbation of the Antimasonic chiefs, claiming that these lambs were so born; that *the hand of the Almighty* had wrought this to intimate to mankind the fate of Morgan, rendering the mob almost as infuriate as they were while Mark Anthony was speaking over the dead body of Cæsar.

"Indeed I have seen Thurlow Weed tie a rope around the neck of a jackass, put a vote or ballot into its mouth, and lead it up to the polling place, and shove its nose into the window—all of which was done by this would-be statesman to blackguard all decent young men whom he was pleased to call 'Masons' Jacks?'"

Other allusions to the condition of things during the "Excitement."

The convulsion which Mr. Weed and his associates used for organizing a partizan influence that ere long enabled him and them to "sell out" and become leaders in the "National Republican," or "Whig Party," was lately alluded to in the "Troy Daily Times" by Mr. S. J. Masters, of Greenwich, Washington County—who witnessed it as it prevailed in that eastern county:

"The excitement at that time was unparalleled," he says. "It swept over the land like a mortal pestilence, confounding the innocent with the guilty, and even entered the temple of God. None who did not themselves witness it can justly appreciate the condition of things at the time nor to what extent the feelings of the people were excited." The writer describes it thus:

"The Morgan excitement distracted and divided churches; sundered the nearest ties of social life; set father against son, and the son against father; arrayed the wife against her own husband, and, in short, wherever its baneful influences were most felt, deprived man of all those comforts and enjoyments which render life to us a blessing. This is no fancy sketch, but authentic instances can be produced to substantiate all the facts alleged."

An article in the "Bench and Bar," by L. B. Proctor, in mentioning certain trials at which Judge Wm. L. Marcy and Judge Addison Gardiner presided, in 1828, said: "At this period, Antimasonry had become an exciting element in politics—had, in fact, superinduced the most vindictive political contests known in history."

Addresses from prominent Residents of Western New York concerning the troubles of the times.

Movements among the members of Masonic Lodges in several counties were made for discontinuing their meetings, at least till the prevalent "excitement" should have subsided—some going so far as to recommend a permanent discontinuance, and proposing a surrender of their charters to the Grand Lodge of the State.

An address to this effect, from highly respected members of Chapters and Lodges in "old Ontario" County, was signed by Bowen Whiting, Micah Brooks, Chester Loomis, Richard Wells, M. Loveland, Z. Barton Stout, John Dixon, J. Garlinghouse, Thomas Smith, Samuel E. Ward, Ebenezer S. Cobb, Richard Wells, and others.

In unison with the recommendations from those and other respected residents of Ontario, as may be seen in the Canandaigua "Repository," published by the veteran James D. Bemis, meetings were held in several counties, the proceedings of which, while advising a conciliatory course, were equally pointed in reference to the prevalent denunciations and proscription of the Morganizing-Antimasonic managers. The sentiments expressed at and by a Convention in Monroe County, as follows, may be taken as a specimen:—

At a Convention held in Rochester early in 1829, an Address was adopted and signed by the delegates present, from which document, (printed by me, in pamphlet form, for the Convention,) I quote a few paragraphs respecting the condition of things then prevalent. The writer was the late Judge Wm. B. Rochester, (who was the "Bucktail" or "Tammany" Anti-Clintonian candidate for Governor in 1826, in opposition to De Witt Clinton,) and one of his principal coadjutors was the venerable Vincent Matthews, then well known as the "Father of the Western Bar," he having been the first lawyer admitted to practice in Western New York. The other signers (among whom was Ozias Church, father of Chief-Justice Sanford E. Church,) were also widely known and respected through that region.

After counselling a conciliatory spirit on the part of the section of society then most bitterly persecuted, the address said—with the motto of

"Strike, but hear!"—

"That a virtuous indignation should have been caused by the commission of the offence in question, was both natural and laudable; nor is it matter of surprise that the impunity and concealment which the offender or offenders have courted, should have heightened that indignation. But the evil to which this feeling has been liable is, to confound the innocent with the guilty—insomuch that a sentiment which owed its birth to the noblest attributes of cultivated humanity, has ripened into a monstrous infatuation, carrying in its train multiplying mischiefs of the most alarming character.

"Under its baleful influence, Reason seems to have lost its empire, and Charity to have resigned its seat. The peace and harmony of neighborhoods and of society have been disturbed—mutual confidence has been impaired—in some instances, the ordinary intercourse and relations of social life have been interrupted; brother has been arrayed against brother, and father against son. Churches and religious communities have been

distracted—confidence in our judicial tribunals has been weakened—many of our most worthy citizens have been unsparingly vilified and wantonly traduced—honest men in various parts of the State who have been the fast friends of Freedom, of Science and of Literature, have been denounced as malefactors and sunk to the level of outlaws.” . . .

“Until the present epoch, the question has never been asked in relation to a candidate for office, whether he was a Mason or not. Politics have never entered within the walls of our Lodges. As matters of history, we may mention that Washington, Franklin, Hancock, Putnam, Green, Warren, Lee, Jefferson, Hamilton, Chancellor Livingston, Tompkins, Clinton, Van Ness, Jackson, Clay, Van Rensselaer, and a vast many other distinguished men, whose names have all been before the American People, *were Masons*, enjoying the highest honors of the Republic. And yet there is no one, however slightly acquainted with past events, who does not know that they and their pretensions were violently assailed by Masons who were politically opposed to them.

“If this historical fact be not significant to put down the false charge of Masonry’s being a *political* institution, we shall despair of being able to pierce the veil of bigotted incredulity. We repeat, that, until this time, the question has never been asked in relation to a candidate for office, whether he is a Mason or not.” * * *

“At all times, and in all countries, there are unfortunately, some (few in number, we trust, when compared with the great body in civilized communities,) whose natural aliment is anarchy and discord, and whose consequence is conspicuous when vice prevails. To such, we do not address ourselves. Our appeal is to the Friends of Peace and good Order; and if the waters of strife are to be poured out without reserve, embittering all the relations of life—if an unrelenting crusade is to be carried on against a numerous and respectable portion of our fellow-men, merely on account of their speculative opinions—the responsibility will not rest upon us.” * * *

“OUR POPULAR ELECTIONS HAVE EXHIBITED A DEGREE OF VIOLENCE, and been conducted with a spirit of acrimony, seldom if ever before witnessed.

“As might reasonably be expected, *unprincipled men* have labored to increase rather than allay the popular excitement, and to bend it to their own selfish purposes.

“The wonder is, that, in this age and in this country, *so much success* should have attended *so little integrity*.” * * *

Signed by

William B. Rochester, Simeon Ford, William Brewster, Elias Beach, Ashley Samson, W. E. Lathrop, Willis Kempshall, Vincent Mathews, William Atkinson, Jacob Gould, Ebenezer Watts, Volney S. Allcott, H. Eldridge, Robert Martin [late partner of Mr. Weed, in the “Telegraph” newspaper of Rochester).

Ozias S. Church, James Sperry, Lyman Hawley, Roswell Wickwire, Ebenezer Gooding, (of Henrietta).

Sylvester Walker, John Acer, Joseph S. Beach, (of Pittsford).

Franklin Clark, Asahel S. Beers, Jacob B. Bryan, Samuel H. Scoville, Abraham Andrews, Daniel Durfee, Henry Ward, (of Penfield).

Gustavus Clark, Abel Baldwin, Pelatiah Rogers, Joshua Field, James Seymour, Silas Judson, Daniel Freeman, John Bowman, (of Clarkson and Sweden).

Samuel Beckwith, Roswell Hart, John Hatch, Joseph G. Wheeler, Elias Foote, (of Brighton).

Deceptions practised upon Editors and others in "explaining" the remark about the "Good-Enough Morgan."

You, Robert H. Stevens, have, of course, observed that while Mr. Weed, at this late day, half a century after the event, slanders the memory of your former associate, Griffen, (which he had never dared to do during Griffen's life-time,) by attempting a denial of the *latter-half* of the remark about the "Good-Enough Morgan *till after election*," he is forced to admit that he actually used the notorious phrase in this modified form, to wit, "a Good-Enough Morgan *till you produce the man that was killed*."

This last phraseology, by the bye, is only one of the half dozen ways in which he has striven to mitigate the force of his *real* saying to Mr. Griffen, (of which fact, see a striking instance of his inconsistency hereinafter quoted from the "New York Courier and Enquirer" of 1841); while it is equally worthy of remark that this noted phrase was said while Mr. Griffen and yourself were co-operating with the "Daily Advertiser and its editor," in successfully exposing the humbug of Mr. Weed's "Second Inquest."

The deceptions practised on the "Courier and Enquirer" and on the former editor of the "Tribune" may be taken as specimens in their way:

In exposing the false accusations *now* made by Mr. Weed against Mr. Griffen for alleged perversion of his remark about the "Good-Enough Morgan till after election," (a remark quoted by speakers like the Hon. Daniel D. Barnard at the indignation meeting held in Rochester at that time, 1827, and which was "published" first by the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" and its editor, now so grossly calumniated), the reader may remember the old proverb about the necessity of a certain class of "story tellers" for having "good memories." Mr. Weed has told his "story" in so many different ways at different times, that a retrospect of some of his veracious vagaries on this Morganizing subject may be useful in this connection.

The New York Sun attacked in Courier and Enquirer of 1841.

As an example—In 1841 the New York "Sun" published a brief and correct notice of the fact that "the indictment against certain editors," for alleged libel on Thurlow Weed, has been settled by the District Attorney entering a *nolle prosequi*," merely adding that the action "had been pending for about twelve years."

After an attack upon the "Sun" for its statements, some writer furnished the editorial columns of the "Courier and Enquirer" with "comments" on the "Sun's" paragraph. These comments show plainly who wrote or inspired them—replete as they were with Mr. Weed's usual fabrications concerning sundry matters in the Morgan affair—with the addition of a gross misstatement, which strikingly shows the singularity (to say the least) of his present charge against Mr. Griffen for uttering what this same Mr. Weed *now* declares to be "a lie."

For instance speaking about the Good-Enough Morgan, the writer in the "Courier and Enquirer" said:

"Over twelve years ago, Thurlow Weed, then editor of an Antimasonic paper at Rochester, was charged by the antagonist paper at that place with mutilating the body of Timothy Monroe in order to pass it off for that of William Morgan. The charge was made in the midst of an excited and ferocious party contest, and was founded on an *ironical remark made to ONE OF THE LIBELLERS by Mr. Weed himself*, which was perfectly understood, at the time not to be serious. Mr. Weed had been out to Oak-Orchard, to see a body cast ashore there by the action of the water, and believed to be that of William Morgan. He was *met and accosted* on his return by the *rival editor, O'Rielly*, with, 'Well, Weed, have you manufactured the body into Morgan's?' 'I guess,' was Mr. Weed's reply, in the same bantering spirit, 'you will find it a Good-Enough Morgan till after election!' This casual repartee, perfectly understood at the moment, was made the basis, and it is the *only basis*, of a serious charge against Mr. Weed," &c.

The reader may here observe that Mr. Weed did not *then* deny that he actually used the language ascribed to him about the "Good-Enough Morgan *till after election*"—although he *now* alleges that the conversation occurred with Ebenezer Griffen, a distinguished lawyer of Rochester, who has been dead many years—Mr. Weed *now* (1879) saying his words were, that it is a "Good-Enough Morgan *till you bring back the one you took away*." And he now charges that the dead Mr. Griffen was guilty of "*a lie*" in *uttering* (repeating) what he himself said, "*till after election*." And he also charges the "Daily Advertiser, edited by Henry O'Rielly," with first "publishing" that "*lie*"!!!

The veracity of the late Mr. Griffen was never before questioned in Rochester; and the people among whom the transactions occurred, fully believed and believe that there was "more truth than poetry," more *fact* than "banter," in what Mr. Griffen always averred that Mr. Weed told him.

Besides, in these "comments" in the "Courier and Enquirer" of 1841, it is not only not denied but expressly admitted, that Mr. Weed said it was "a Good-Enough Morgan *till after election*," but that Weed actually said it directly to "the rival editor, O'Rielly," though in a "bantering way."

Intercourse between Mr. Weed and Mr. O'Rielly.

And beside all this, may be repeated the fact before stated, that Mr. Weed and Mr. O'Rielly had not then spoken with each other for some time, as the abusive course of Mr. Weed in his "Antimasonic Enquirer" and otherwise *induced Mr. O'Rielly to discontinue personal acquaintance* about eight months before—which *non-intercourse* continued for over *forty-six* (46) years—from the winter of 1826-7 till the year 1873—when, at the urgent request of some of Mr. Weed's friends and by his own desire, as stated in the foregoing letter from Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, Mr. O'Rielly, after objecting to any renewal of the acquaintance, did finally consent after those friends had stated Mr. Weed's regrets at the manner in which he had treated Mr. O'R. editorially in early years.

This renewal of acquaintance seemed, for awhile, to be dictated by good motives on the part of Mr. Weed.

Mr. O'Rielly, however, would never say or write anything which might

serve to change Mr. Weed's record in the Morganizing transactions—about which Mr. Weed said in his "Herald" letter that the editor of the "Daily Advertiser" (O'Reilly) "knew all about the matter from the beginning to the end;" and hence the gross abuse with which he was lately assailed in an "interview" reported in the "Graphic" as having been held with Mr. Weed.

After reading the foregoing and following statements, any one can judge for himself about the facts of the case thus falsified by Mr. Weed; and the people in France and England, whom he says he met, as well as in this country, heard from him "stories" like those whereby the *Courier and Enquirer* and *N. Y. Tribune* were deceived, concerning his connection with Morganizing operations and the "libel cases" resulting therefrom.

But, after all this hubbub about the phraseology, it is obvious from the facts of the extraordinary case that the cause of the uproar was not the mere saying about a "Good-Enough Morgan," but the actual *doing* of "all that *that* phrase implies."?

Recollections of a Busy Life, and the New York Tribune.

Mr. Greeley's remarks when correcting errors into which he had been led about the Weed "libel-suits" and "libel indictments."

The only matter published by me for nearly fifty (50) years about the Morgan Excitement were two or three letters published in the *Albany Argus* in 1833 and 1840-1, to correct certain misstatements of Mr. Weed about his indictments against us for alleged libels; and also a statement for Mr. Greeley in 1868 on the same subjects. Part of my letter to the *Argus* in 1833 is elsewhere copied herein. The statement for Mr. Greeley is herewith copied entire, along with his introductory remarks. This statement or analysis was written at his own request, after he examined the documents and other matters which I showed him, (including certain statements from Ex-Lieutenant Governor Henry R. Selden, alluded to in our letter,) to enable him to correct, or be more explicit, about "libel-cases," before his "Recollections of a Busy Life," then undergoing publication in the *N. Y. Ledger*, should be printed in permanent *book form*. But it was too late for this correction in the forthcoming volume, as that part of the *book* had been printed. Hence, Mr. Greeley, without solicitation from us, printed in the *Tribune*, with an editorial introduction, the matter which we merely designed for privately correcting misapprehensions into which he had been led by Mr. Weed's assertions respecting legal controversies concerning alleged libels connected with the history of the Morgan excitement—about which, neither Mr. Tucker nor myself had any taste for controversy.

The facts set forth, however, may be useful to people who wish to know something about matters so grossly misrepresented by Mr. Weed, and so proper to be rightly understood in connection with one of the most remarkable features in the history of the State and of Society generally in this and other lands:

Mr. Greeley's Explanations about Mr. Weed's "Good-Enough Morgan" Libel Suits.

[From the New York Tribune of 1868.]

WE print, on another page, a very interesting reminiscence of the politics and personalities of forty years ago, by Messrs. Henry O'Rielly and Luther Tucker, who deem themselves aggrieved by a certain account of the "*good-enough Morgan*" libel suits of Mr. Thurlow Weed, given by Mr. Greeley in his "*Recollections of a Busy Life*."

Of course, there is no ground of claim that the *Tribune* ought to print this reminiscence; but its interest is its sufficient recommendation.

We offer no comments, and neither affirm nor dispute the correctness of Mr. O'Rielly's version of the matter in controversy; we simply observe that our "*Recollections*" are not in accord with Mr. O'Rielly's, as will be seen; but there are strong intrinsic probabilities that *his understanding of the facts is better than ours*.

LIBEL-SUITS CONCERNING THE "GOOD-ENOUGH MORGAN," &c.

To the Editor of the *Tribune*:

SIR: In the thirty-second number of your "*Recollections of a Busy Life*," as published in the *New York Ledger*, allusions are made to the alleged libels concerning the means whereby Timothy Monroe's corpse was temporarily represented as the body of Capt. William Morgan in 1827, 41 years ago. Although you allude particularly to some suits for damages instituted by Mr. Thurlow Weed against several editors for alleged libels concerning his connection with that affair, your remarks are understood by some persons as covering all the legal proceedings concerning that extraordinary case. Though you have not named the undersigned, your censure seemingly includes us; as we first published particulars and strictures on that subject, for some of which strictures we were indicted, before other editors were prosecuted in *civil suits for damages* by Mr. Weed.

The documents and other papers lately shown you prove that it was not an ordinary *civil suit* for libel which Mr. W. instituted against us—the one as editor and the other as publisher of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, at that time. Mr. Weed was then editor of the *Anti-Masonic Inquirer*, and one of the "*Morgan Committee*," which disinterred that corpse for a *second* inquest, after it had been buried under the *first* inquest as "*the body of an unknown man*," found on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Oak Orchard Creek, about midway between Rochester and the Niagara River.

The further investigation, caused by what was supposed to be unfair transactions on the part of some managers of the *second* inquest, which represented the corpse to be that of Capt. Morgan, led to another disinterment of the corpse for the purpose of holding a *third* inquest—which last inquest was held openly in the grave-yard at Batavia, where it had been buried, and the verdict of the Coroner's jury was that the corpse was the body of Timothy Monroe, who was accidentally drowned a short time before in the Niagara River.

Our reports of and comments on those *three inquests* over that ill-fated corpse, particularly in the manner in which the *second* inquest was conducted, furnished the groundwork for the *indictment* against us, and for the *civil suits for damages* which Mr. Weed instituted against two or three other journalists.

The importance of our reports and strictures concerning the aforesaid inquests was shown in *reference particularly to the lives and liberties of probably fifty men*, and to the cause of truth and justice generally. Had it not been for the *third and last inquest*, which we were instrumental in causing to be held, all those men then accused of connection with the *abduction* would have been liable to prosecution for alleged privy to the *murder* of Morgan, if this corpse had been allowed to remain undisturbed as the reputed body of that celebrated personage.

The grounds of controversy were thus *most serious*. Allegations, frequently made, that all these controversies and libel-cases arose from the perversion of a jocular remark of Mr. Weed about "*a good-enough Morgan till after election*," are *utterly false*, as the records of the extraordinary transactions, now before us sufficiently prove.

The records of the courts, the proceedings of inquests, and the statements of newspapers during several years, in regions where most of the transactions were tolerably well understood, show that neither of the undersigned was responsible for the strange delay of *thirteen years* in bringing the indictment against us to a final issue. That indictment was procured against us by Mr. Weed in 1828 and it was not brought into Court for final action till 1841—a delay as extraordinary as was the alleged cause of the indictment. Ex-Lieut.-Gov. Henry R. Selden, yet living, and honored wherever he is known, was one of our counsel in this important case; and his abstract of the records of the courts for several years is now before us, along with the testimony on which the Court at Rochester, in 1841, decided that neither of us should then be held answerable for an alleged libel under the indictment found so long (thirteen years) previous; especially as we showed that, during that long period, we had early been prepared for trial, and that, during the long delay, several of the most important witnesses had died, and others removed beyond the jurisdiction of the Court and beyond the knowledge of the defendants.

As a allusion has been made to the *partisan* character of judges, as tending to counteract justice in these matters, it may be well to add that no political influence operated; for a majority of the judges who quashed the thirteen-year-old indictment against us were the political friends and associates of Mr. Weed.

In justice to the subject generally, as well as to ourselves, I should add here, that I have now before me, in the handwriting of ex-Vice-Chancellor Whittlesey, a distinguished political associate and friend of Mr. Weed, a form of recantation, prepared by him, to which he asked our signatures, with the assurance that if we would sign the paper in favor of Mr. Weed, the indictment, which had then been pending against us for five or six years, should be annulled or never brought to trial, and we

thus freed from further expense or trouble. But neither of us would sign that recantation; we asserted then, and at all other proper times, that we had been, then were, and would continue to be, ready to vindicate our course on a trial of the indictment, whenever properly notified, with sufficient time for collecting witnesses, and if ill-health (which in one case prevented us from attending Court) did not again interfere. As the prosecution against us was by indictment, the public, and not Mr. Weed, would have had to pay the expense of his vindication, if Mr. Weed had brought the matter to trial at any time before the main witnesses died—an advantage that we defendants could not enjoy. It was, of course, beyond our power to delay for thirteen years the trial of that indictment, if the prosecution moved for trial in the ordinary way, and with something like the usual speed.

Without going into particulars, at least for the present, we respectfully submit to you these brief explanations. *Having long forbore from reference to these controversies*, we write now to request that, for the abovo-mentioned and other reasons, we may not be considered as included in your general allusion to defendants in libel cases where editors are concerned.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY O'RIELLY of New York and
LUTHER TUCKER of Albany.

Formerly connected with the Rochester *Daily Advertiser*.

Delays in trial of libel cases—"suits for damages" as well as "indictments."

When confronted with the fact that the "indictment" against Messrs. O'Rielly and Tucker for alleged libels concerning certain Morganizing operations, had not been brought to trial during many years, Mr. Weed in his Albany *Evening Journal* made his usual flourishes about his readiness, ["the People," of course, paying *all HIS expenses of witnesses*," etc.] but falsely ascribing delay to the defendants—one of whom, myself, published a reply in 1833, through the Albany *Argus*, from which I quote as follows: After referring to the history of the case and to the fact that *we* did not *needlessly* urge postponement *at any time*, one of the postponements having resulted from my severe sickness, and the removal of the case at another time to another court, because the First Judge, a new appointee, was noted for his co-operation in Weed's partizan schemes—writing* to the editor of the *Argus*, in Sept. 1833, near forty-seven years ago, I said:

"But from that time till the summer or fall of 1831—a period of *two* years—we heard no more of the indictment. In that year, the Hon. Frederick Whittlesey, counsel for Mr. Weed, called on Mr. Tucker with a proposition that the indictment should be dropped on our signing a sort of explanation which he had prepared, and then handed to Mr. T. When the latter showed me the paper and repeated the propositions, I replied to this effect—*that*, be the consequences as they might, I would sign *nothing* which should *exonerate either Mr. Weed or his fellow-committeemen* from the suspicion engendered by the extraordinary transactions with the corpse in question; that the *circumstances in which I had been placed* from the commencement of the affair, rendered me too familiar with the proceedings to permit any instrumentality on my part in silencing discussion respecting their propriety—and that I rather thought it the duty of some one conversant with all the facts, to spread before the public *the full history of an occurrence dark and damnable enough to warn future generations*, in times of high excitement particularly, against the excesses of fanaticism and the arts of demagogues."

"We retained, and I now have, the paper then drawn up by Vice-Chancellor Whittlesey, Mr. Weed's counsel; but neither of us signed it, notwithstanding the threat that the indictment would be immediately

moved against us, unless we complied with the proposition. Did this look like 'swearing off' on our part?"

And my letter then (Sept. 1833), published in the "Argus" further said:

"Two years have transpired since this refusal to recant—*four years* since the indictment was *renewed* against us—yet the bill has never been moved against us, from that day to this. Meanwhile, we have never ceased to speak of the subject, on proper occasions, through the press and otherwise, with the feelings already indicated.

"And yet, Thurlow Weed declares now that *he* urged the trial, while *we* have been swearing it off, *for four or five years!!!* It would have required almost as much hard swearing to effect such a delay, as to make the public believe that Morgan's corpse had grown four inches or crept into Timothy Monroe's breeches a twelvemonth after death.

"What now becomes of the blustering assertions of the Antimasonic swaggerer? Of what vileness is not that man capable, who could thus attempt to outrage truth in a case (the mere history of a libel suit), wherein official records and published proceedings of a judicial tribunal can be so readily cited for his condemnation!

"HENRY O'RIELLY."

"Rochester, Sept. 23, 1833."

After some more years of delay, when taunted by some of his eastern cotemporaries, Mr. Weed declared that the case against Messrs. O'R. and T. in Rochester, would have been brought to trial, but that the indictment had been "spirited away" (to use his own dastardly expression) from the District Attorney's office. In order to ascertain the facts, I called instantly at that office, and told Mr. Hester Stevens and Gen. Gay (of the firm of Gay and Stevens—the then late and present District Attornies—) what Weed said in his paper—wishing them to examine the official files—which they instantly did—and found among the dust-covered papers the indictment that Weed falsely stated had been plundered or "spirited" therefrom—which fact I immediately stated in the newspapers. Thus ended another of his humbugs about the delays *he* had to "suffer for his Antimasonry."

When this case was finally brought up for trial in Court at Rochester *thirteen years* after the indictment was framed, we found, after diligent inquiry, that nearly all the essential witnesses were either dead or had removed to other parts of the country, beyond the knowledge of ourselves or that of the Court.

In view of all these circumstances, combined with the long lapse of years, and of our general readiness for trial as long as essential witnesses were alive, as shown in sundry affidavits and sustained by arguments—the Court unanimously concurred in the motion made by our counsel (Gov. Henry R. Selden), for discontinuing the case, directing the District Attorney to enter a *nolle prosequi*. (See, in another place, the abuse showered on the New York "Sun" for simply stating the fact about the discontinuance of this libel indictment.)

More about Delays in Trial of Libel Causes.

In conclusion, it may be stated, and the facts show plainly, that Mr. Weed's attempted explanation of his delays in bringing "libel suits" and "libel indictments" to *trial* before *some* of the *courts* in *some* of the *districts* in this State, are mere moonshine; as any lawyer and any other person of common-sense can readily see. If he had been *really* desirous of having a trial or trials in former years—and admitting that *all* his assertions were *true* (which *most* of them were *not*, about delays *westward*)—he had alternatives enough in *other districts nearer his new (Albany) home*. Henry C. Sleight, editor of the "Long Island Farmer" (an esteemed friend of the King family, of which Gov. King was one) was, beside his newspaper and local printing, the printer of many books for New York booksellers—a man of property, every way respected—*able and willing to respond to any expenses of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser,"* which he liberally sustained with his money till it became self-supporting. He was the senior member of the firm of "Luther Tucker & Co.," having sent out his junior (Mr. Tucker) whom he had then lately promoted from a foremanship into a partnership, to take charge of the printing and publishing of the daily paper at Rochester, of which I had been selected as editor. (The firm name of the publishers on Long Island was that of Sleight & Tucker, and Luther Tucker & Co., at Rochester.) There was sufficient proof of publication at Albany, New York and elsewhere, if *Mr. Weed had dared to sue him as well as us* on account of alleged libels in the Rochester Daily, of which *he was the chief owner*. If, as was and is falsely alleged by Mr. Weed, he could not procure a trial of the "indictment" against Mr. Tucker, as a publisher, and against myself as editor, at Rochester, *his lawyers and himself knew well* that he could (if he dared) bring "suit," as well as "indictment," in *any of those places*, against Mr. Sleight, by whose means the Rochester "Daily Advertiser" was peculiarly sustained—Mr. S. alone being abundantly able to respond in any "suit for damages" or for "justification" on any "indictment" that might be found either against *him*, or against the "Daily Advertiser establishment," of which he was the chief owner.

Back-out from the suit against the Albany Argus.

Then again, we have under his own hand, a confession that, when he commenced a "suit" against Mr. Croswell of the "Albany Argus" for publishing and sustaining my statements in his paper during several years, he (Weed) began a "suit for damages" against *that gentleman*; on the trial of which, at Albany, *all the facts* might have been judicially exposed, but the suit, (says Mr. Weed) was "discontinued by the advice of his counsel," contrary, (as he afterward said)—contrary—to *his wishes*! The counsel knew well what the upshot would be, and prudently *withdrew* the suit—prosecution of which in his adopted city, the Capital of the State, promised a full investigation of the whole affair, if the counsel or Mr. Weed *dared to risk the exposure* of Mr. Weed's Morganizing transactions, and would have exonerated Mr. Weed, if he could be exonerated.

To be sure, with a view of operating individually on me, a prosecution was begun by Mr. Weed, against the "Mohawk Courier" in Herkimer County, for publishing some of my articles; and when a friendly messenger from that place called personally to see me in Rochester about it, I told him substantially that as *they* in Herkimer could not be supposed to know much about the matter, they might throw the responsibility wholly on the parties "indicted" westward for the alleged libels; and thus apologizing, as they did, ended the matter as far as *they* were concerned.

Ridiculous Pretenses of Mr. Weed concerning "de'ays" in libel-Suits.

But, how worse than ridiculous are all those pretences of Mr. Weed concerning matters which were and are falsified by him, not only in America, but also in England and France—for even in the latter countries (as he complains in his "Herald" letters) he was confronted by allusions to his Morganizing exploits!

How libellous on our American Judicial System are his allegations that he could not obtain a trial either on the "indictment" against us for alleged libel, nor in "civil suits" (as above mentioned), if he had dared to prosecute them *in earnest*, while essential witnesses were yet alive—and how particularly ridiculous was his beginning a civil suit against the editor of the "Albany Argus," for publishing our alleged libels, and then tamely withdrawing that suit, as he says he was "advised to do by his counsel," and thus preventing *the facts* (about which the "counsel" knew quite enough), from becoming *officially* known to the public through a trial which could readily have been obtained from Courts at his then new location in Albany, the Capital of the State.

Opportunities which Mr. Weed dared not embrace.

And, aside from the stereotyped falsehoods about *our* alleged delays and *his* readiness for trial of his "indictments" against us for alleged libel, it may very appropriately be asked, Why did he not seize either of the following excellent opportunities, more than a half century ago, for setting himself right, if he could, before the people who had appointed him as a Morgan Committeeman to vindicate the "Supremacy of the Law:"—

First, by doing as any fair-minded committeeman would have done under similar circumstances; by inviting some *impartial prominent men* of different parties, from Rochester and elsewhere, to co-operate in supervising the operations at the inquest which he engineered when the corpse was temporarily proclaimed to be that of "William Morgan" (Heaven being sacrilegiously thanked for special providence in "effecting this wonderful discovery" and in "throwing a broad light over the dark mystery"), especially as the "finding" of that one-sided "inquest" was calculated to increase the public "excitement" and to jeopardize the lives or liberties of about seventy respectable residents of six counties in Western New York!

Secondly—By doing as any right-minded person would do, under such circumstances—appearing, as *he did not dare to appear*, either as a Morgan Committeeman or as a private citizen, when still another Inquest, the "Third Inquest," was held publicly at Batavia, to explain, *if he could satis-*

factorily explain, about the means whereby a corpse buried there as a "Good-Enough Morgan till after election," was so unlike William Morgan that even Morgan's old neighbors, in the town (Batavia) from which he had been "abducted," could not recognize that body as Morgan's, *even though shorn of its hair and whiskers.*

And thirdly—By doing as any right-minded man would do in such a case—appearing, as *he did not dare to appear*, and to explain to the citizens of Rochester, who originally appointed him as a Morgan Committeeman, when those citizens held an "indignation meeting" for denouncing the extraordinary transactions above-mentioned—at which public meeting, after alluding to certain reprehensible acts of the said Morgan Committee, of which Mr. Thurlow Weed was the Ringleader, the Hon. *Daniel D. Barnard*, then Congressman from Rochester and afterward Congressman from Albany, exclaimed that "Even a widow in her fresh weeds was not permitted to claim the corpse of a drowned husband, without fighting off the harpies who had seized it—and for what purpose seized it?—because it was said to be a Good-Enough Morgan for the purposes of the next election!"

It may be remarked, in passing, that this was about the very earliest public statement and publication about the "Good-Enough Morgan"—made by a prominent public man, among his constituents in Rochester, at which meeting Mr. Weed *did not dare to appear*—a meeting where Counsellor Griffen and the editor of the "Daily Advertiser" were present—the first of whom, twenty years after his death, Mr. Weed now charges with having uttered "a lie," as he also now charges that Editor with being the first to publish that alleged "lie."

Mr. Weed's Confession in 1875 about his own Collusion with the alleged murderers of Morgan.

One of the extraordinary (if not the most extraordinary) features of the Morganizing-Antimasonic Crusade is the confession of Mr. Weed, in his Herald letters of 1875, that the murderers of Morgan were actually made known to himself as early as 1831, by the voluntary confession of one or more of the alleged murderers—which knowledge he concealed from the magistrates and the public for forty-four years—till after all those murderers were dead.

The interest of this statement can only be fully appreciated by remembering that he himself was appointed as a Morgan Committeeman by the people of Rochester in 1826, for the express purpose of vindicating the "Supremacy of the Laws" by discovering and bringing those murderers to justice.

Hence the following paragraph is here again quoted from the conclusion of his remarkable "history" of the "Second Inquest," (that which he engineered especially in 1827, when the corpse of Timothy Monroe was proclaimed to be a Good-Enough Morgan):

"In this discovery we cannot but trace the hand of an Overruling Providence, who, when all human efforts were found to be too weak effectually

to penetrate the mysterious secret, has chosen, in His Own time and by His Own means, to throw a broad light upon this dark mystery (!) This induces us to rely, with a stronger hope, upon the same Providence, to unravel the remainder of this entangled skein, and to *provide means for bringing all the perpetrators of a dark outrage TO MERITED PUNISHMENT* (!!!)

Some of the comments of Editors in New York, Buffalo and Rochester on these unparalleled sayings and doings of Mr. Weed, render it needless to do more here than to refer to those newspaper commentaries, quoted in the annexed article:—

Mr. Weed's statement about his knowledge of the murderers, and his failure to reveal the secret for forty-four (44) years, with comments of prominent journals thereon.

Any intelligent reader of these remarks will probably bear in mind, as you did when writing your reply to some of the most prominent "stories" in Weed's letters to the "New York Herald" in 1875, that he (Weed) confessed *then* rather boastfully, that one or more of the persons charged with the murder of Morgan actually *told him* in 1831 *all about that horrid scene*, with the names of associates in it—information, by the bye, which he concealed from the public authorities for forty-four years, till after all these alleged culprits were dead—though he himself was appointed a committeeman in Rochester, in 1826, at a public meeting, (whose proceedings I editorially commented on in the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" of that time), for the express purpose of detecting and causing punishment of the persons guilty of the outrage on Morgan, and fulfilling their bombastically-announced pretence of "vindicating the Supremacy of the Laws"—a subject on which he piously declared, in his so-called "history" of the Second Inquest, in 1827, that "Heaven" had "thrown a broad light on the dark mystery" of the alleged murder! and that the Divine favor thus shown encouraged hope that similar special Providence would be shown thereafter in enabling them to bring to proper punishment the criminals in this awful tragedy (as shown more fully in a preceding quotation from his "history" of the "Second Inquest.")

The comments of sundry prominent newspapers of New York, Rochester, Buffalo, &c., upon *this* and other strange features of Mr. Weed's operations may here be appropriately quoted.

The extraordinary nature of Mr. Weed's revelations concerning these alleged confessions of Morgan's murder, *made to him by one of the alleged murderers*, excited remark from various papers that copied the "comments" published originally in the Buffalo "Courier" under the signature of Robert H. Stevens. For instance, the article in the Buffalo paper, so widely copied by other journals through the land, said:

"These men lived more than thirty years after this pretended exposure, during which time *Mr. Weed*, who was *selected* as a committee to *bring the offenders to justice*, should have secured his conviction and punishment; but *neglecting his duty*, he (Thurlow Weed), has waited till all the parties and witnesses are *dead*, when there are none to contradict him. *Why did Mr.*

Weed so neglect his duty in this regard? The law says an accessory after the fact is one who, when knowing a felony has been committed by another, receives, comforts or assists the felon; tho', knowing of the felony and not discovering it, is not of itself sufficient to *convict* a party of being an *accessory after the fact*, but such omission is *highly reprehensible*. Then, upon his own showing, if his story be true, how far is he removed from an accessory after the fact?"

And a remarkable adjunct of this notable statement of Mr. Weed, is the fact, that while he was thus, by his own confession, conferring with alleged *murderers* of Morgan, he, Mr. Weed, actually held an indictment alive for many years afterward against "Henry O'Rielly, as editor, and Luther Tucker, as a publisher, of the Rochester 'Daily Advertiser,'" for alleged libels on him—the said Thurlow Weed—they having concurred (as before said) in refusing to sign a paper prepared by Vice-Chancellor Whittlesey for exonerating Mr. Weed from blame in his Morganizing-Antimasonic operations.

The "comments" in the Buffalo 'Courier' on Mr. Weed's *exposure of himself* were substantially sustained by all impartial editors who re-published those "comments," as they had previously printed Mr. Weed's letters—thus giving both sides a fair hearing.

As a specimen of the sentiment among such editors, and among sensible readers generally, I copy the following editorial remarks of the "Rochester Democrat and Chronicle," written promptly after printing Mr. Weed's own statements, and before that editor could have seen your concurring "comments":—

"We have carefully read the two letters of Thurlow Weed, published in the 'New York Herald,' and reproduced in these columns; and cannot refrain from that public criticism which will naturally occur to every thoughtful mind," said the Rochester editor, who thus spoke of Mr. Weed's revelations in those "Herald" letters concerning the "mysterious disappearance," and the "abduction and *murder* of William Morgan." That editor continued as follows:

"He [Thurlow Weed] states that he became acquainted with the facts in 1831, from the confession to himself and Simeon B. Jewett and Samuel Barton of one of the participants in the affair. Thus he makes a very interesting narrative," says the Rochester editor, who added:

"But what are we to think of the *moral perceptions of the man* who has carried a secret of this nature in his breast for forty-four (44) years, and reveals it now, after all the parties to the outrage *are dead*, simply for the purpose of making a readable narrative in the newspapers? For Mr. Weed's reputation, it would have been better had he told the story years ago, when justice could have been done upon the guilty, or if he had carried it with him to the grave. There seems to have been a double wrong perpetrated. Justice was cheated of her deserts, and a sentiment was industriously worked up against the entire fraternity of Freemasons—then as now, a most excellent organization—on account of the crimes of certain of its members, for which the Society, as a society, was not responsible. Mr. Weed should have thought twice, before he published his story about Morgan," says the Rochester Editor, in conclusion.

A similar view of this particular point in Mr. Weed's case was immediately expressed by the editor of the "New York Telegram," the evening paper owned by Mr. Bennett, and issued in connection with the "New York Herald"—in which papers Mr. Weed's letters on the "Morgan Excitement" were published about the time when the Freemasons were celebrating the Dedication of the "Masonic Temple" in this city :—

"It is true, Mr. Weed tells us that all the details of the crime were given him by one of the men concerned in it—one of the very men who was in the boat at the time Morgan was thrown overboard with *weights attached to his body*," said the Editor of the "New York Evening Telegram." * * * "If Whitney was in the boat when Morgan was thrown over," that Editor continues, "he was of course a *party to the crime*; and if this murderer confessed his crime to Mr. Weed five years later, and Mr. Weed gave him his assistance to escape from justice by his *concealment of the disclosure*, he became equally of course an *accessory after the fact*." "Upon the whole," concluded the Editor of the "New York Telegram," "it is perhaps to be regretted that the legend of the '*Good-Enough Morgan till after election*' was not left as it stood. Even though Mr. Weed disclaims it, we take the liberty to believe it is more like him than his defence against it. There was a kind of sceptical splendor in it. It was the word of a man who saw through the whole miserable game; but who, seeing through it, was philosopher enough to make use of even the popular fatuity that served his purpose. *It was worthy of Reynard the Fox*," said that New York Editor.

Mr. Weed's last shots against Freemasonry before bartering his Antimasonry with the National Republicans or Whigs.

Another reminiscence may here be introduced, as illustrative of the virulence with which Mr. Weed pursued the objects that stimulated his prostitution of the "Morgan Excitement," until the *pretext* of Antimasonry was abandoned by him.

Individuals whom he has personally abused, as well as the public generally, may here see that he was, at least, equally lavish with anathemas against an Institution prevalent wherever civilized Society is found, in every portion of the globe—his hostility to which suddenly collapsed about this time, for reasons partly explained by Senator (afterward Governor) Seward, whose language will be quoted in this connection:

At the State Antimasonic Convention, held in the Capitol at Albany, on the 19th of February, 1829, (over fifty years ago) Mr. Weed was one of the two persons who composed the Committee that reported "Resolutions"—among which resolutions were the following specimens of what was alleged by Mr. Weed against Freemasons and Freemasonry and *all* who would not join his crusade in propagating such charges:

"*Resolved*, That the obligations of one of the degrees of Free Masonry to protect a brother *right or wrong*, and to preserve his secrets inviolate, even in cases of *murder and treason*, have a tendency to unnerve the arm of justice and to afford protection to the vicious and profligate from the punishment due to their crimes.

Resolved, That Free Masonry, instead of being the boasted '*handmaid of religion*,' is its most dangerous foe, and that we view the impious personification of the Deity and irreverent introduction of the name of our blessed

Saviour and the holy Trinity in Masonic meetings, with pain and abhorrence, and that we regard the unhallowed substitution of the pagan orgies of Free Masonry for the Christian religion as fraught with more danger to the peace of society and the truths of revelation than open designs of avowed infidelity.

Resolved, That an institution whose rites are *impious*, whose obligations are *blasphemy*, and if observed in the spirit of their *horrid import* must necessarily lead to *perjury* and *murder*; in one instance at least, *stained with the blood of its members by a crime which, in an unequivocal manner, received the sanction of the Order*, is *unworthy to exist in a free government*, and that we pledge ourselves to each other and to the world that we will use all lawful and constitutional means to banish entirely from our country that *bloody relic of barbarism*."

The Collapse of Morganizing-Antimasonry—as stated by Senator (afterward Governor) Seward.

The foregoing broadside of Mr. Weed from the Capitol of the State, was, however virulent, only the "last shots" from the artillery of Morganizing-Antimasonry. The then approaching "end" of that proscriptive game was already painfully felt by its prominent promoters. Though local struggles might for awhile be maintained in some regions that were particularly "infected;" and though the Chief Engineer who "invented" the game, managed adroitly to use Political-Antimasonry secretly as a balance of power between existing parties; utter hopelessness was manifested concerning any serious inroad or change in State or National affairs through its fanatical and proscriptive spirit.

In the "autobiography of William H. Seward," afterwards Governor, etc., this collapse of Political-Antimasonry is described, with apologetic references to the then apparent necessity for burying that proscriptive faction in the bowels of the then National Republican Party. Though written a little later in the movement, it explains the motives and actions of the leaders who thus abandoned the sinking ship in 1830; and may hence be quoted here as one of the many evidences that I was familiar with the whole story of Political-Antimasonry "from the beginning to the end," as substantially stated by Mr. Weed in his letters of 1875 to the Editor of the "New York Herald."

Alluding to the failing strength of the expiring faction, even in its stronghold of Western New York, where it had united with fragments of the Party openly arrayed against President Jackson, Senator Seward wrote, in a letter to a friend, published in that "autobiography," as follows:—

"The canvass was everywhere languid, and practically the election was taken by the Democratic Party, or friends of the President, *by default*, in the State of New York. Only one Antimasonic Senator was elected, and he only by a majority of 100, where in previous elections the majority had been ten thousand (10,000). My own district was lost by a decisive majority. Only nine Antimasonic members came to the Assembly, instead of our former number of thirty-five (35). The election in other States was equally disastrous to the party with which I acted. *What was to be done?* It was not difficult to convene the few more discreet members of our small delegation and political friends at the [State] Capital. Practically, at that mo-

ment, there was only one existing Party in the country. That was now the Democratic Party.

"The National Republican Party, with whose policy we [Antimasons] most nearly assimilated, had become demoralized and hopeless—seeming to have no issue upon which to organize, except a personal one, with Henry Clay as a candidate for President, three years in advance.

"After this disastrous defeat, *not a particle of hope remained* that the Antimasonic Party could successfully challenge the political power of the country. We were obliged to admit that, in its two chief objects and its organization, *it had failed*. Its first object was to restore the Supremacy of the Laws of the State, by bringing to the judgment and punishment, which those Laws denounced, the conspirators and murderers of William Morgan. With a large experience since that time, I have become satisfied that no political movement, however successful otherwise, succeeds in accomplishing an object as simple and definite as this." * * * *

"These reflections brought us to a unanimous agreement that, as far as might depend on our action, *the Antimasonic Party* should be dissolved, and every member of it left at liberty to act as his judgment and conscience should dictate, without censure or complaint from his former associates. These opinions were accepted generally by my old political associates."

Parting Comments on Senator Seward's Statements.

Respecting what Senator Seward says about the "*first* object of the Antimasonic Party," it is noticeable that Mr. Thurlow Weed, the most prominent partizan "inventor"* of political Antimasonry, and who was a member of the Morgan Committee at Rochester, specially charged with the duty of aiding to vindicate the Supremacy of the Laws by dragging to light and to punishment the conspirators and murderers of Morgan, says, rather boastingly, in his letters of 1875 to the "New York Herald," that he, Thurlow Weed, actually learnt in 1831 from parties prominently concerned, all circumstances connected with the outrage, with the names of the several persons concerned in the murder—which information, he, Mr. Weed, concealed till after all the alleged murderers were dead! as already stated.

* This term of Inventorship is used in the sense in which Mr. Weed applies it in other cases, and especially as published in some of his remarkable "interviews." In commenting on one of these recent "interviews," the New York "Sun" lately said:—"Mr. Weed . . . gloated so much over the happiness of the phrase, and tickled himself so exquisitely with the recollection of it, that we are tempted to transcribe the same:—

"How about that remark credited to you, that when asked whether you knew Harris personally, just as the votes were piling up for him, you replied, 'I think I ought to; I invented him?'" "I remember making use of that expression some time," said Mr. Weed, laughing, "but I don't think it was at that time. I might have made it with reference to Mr. Harris, but on some other occasion." Then (adds the "Sun"), after some cheerful talk intended to show the extreme insignificance of Harris [late U. S. Senator] and the greatness of Weed, he disposes of the topic as follows:—"But that remark of mine about 'inventing' somebody—as I come to think it over, it seems to me I said it first in reference to President Fillmore."

The "End" of the Morganizing-Antimasonic War.

1830.

The apparent cessation of Political-Antimasonic virulence, as the Antimasonic leaders found themselves compelled to abandon it as necessary for promoting their *broadened national views* in arranging for political operations under another name (that of "National Republicans" or "Whigs," as explained in a letter of Senator Wm. H. Seward, before quoted)—together with the incessant difficulties with which the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" and myself had to contend during the first four years of the existence of that journal, beset as it had been with Antimasonic hostilities in various shapes during that "four-year war"—caused me in 1830 to retire for rest from the Editorship, and to reside on a farm for over a year, until friends at Rochester and elsewhere, in arranging for the approaching reelection of President Jackson, urged me to resume the Editorial post which I had occupied during the troubled times occasioned by the efforts for aiding in the first organization for promoting the original election of that candidate amid the then prevalent local "Excitement," during which Mr. Weed and his satellites denounced the Jackson party, since known as the Democratic Party, as a murderous *Masonic Party*.

In reference to my temporary withdrawal from Editorship, the then State Printer and Editor of the "Albany Argus," *Edwin Croswell*, whose memory is prominent in the history of American journalism, wrote as follows concerning my Editorial course amid such unprecedented difficulties as were presented by a strong "excitement" with its partisan operations under control of Mr. Thurlow Weed. In the "Argus" of June, 1830, Mr. Croswell said as follows:

"Henry O'Rielly, Esq., in a pertinent address to the patrons of the 'Rochester Republican' and 'Rochester Daily Advertiser,' on the 25th ult., relinquished the editorial charge of those papers—a station he has maintained during the past four years, and *during a period of unexampled political and local excitement* in that section of the State, with the greatest credit to himself and advantage to the political and social interests of the community. Under *peculiar circumstances of assault and persecution*, he has sustained himself with an ability and firmness that merit applause and have commanded success. We shall copy, at an early day, Mr. O'Rielly's brief valedictory. Meanwhile, our best wishes for his prosperity, and the approbation of all good men who know his worth, go with him."

Counsel in the alleged Libel Cases.

Ex.-Lt.-Governor Henry R. Selden, Counsel for O'R. & T. in the Weed or Morganizing Libel Suits.

As elsewhere briefly noticed, ex-Lient.-Governor Henry R. Selden, of Western New York, was Counsel for Messrs. Tucker and O'Rielly, in case of the alleged libels on Mr. Weed connected with the "Morgan excitement."

Familiar with most of the prominent events of that troubled period, and since it will not be out of time or place to state the fact in connection with the truth of history" (to quote again the phrases used by Mr. Weed in his *Herald* letters), it may be said that no gentleman knows better that *his clients were always ready for trial while witnesses were alive*, to test the libel suits or indictments which Mr. Weed kept alive against them many years after he (Mr. W.) became familiar with the alleged murderers of Morgan and failed to bring them to justice.

That persons elsewhere, in the present generation, who might not know who our Counsel was in these important matters, I may be pardoned for quoting what the "New York Tribune" said editorially about him in June, 1858—language which found response from every honest man that knew him then, or that knows him now—for he is yet (1880) spared among us in an honored old age:—

"Lieutenant-Governor Selden, of our State," said the "Tribune" of June, 1858, "declines to be a candidate for any office at our ensuing State election. We trust he may yet be induced to reconsider this determination. Mr. Selden has been less than two years in office, and has passed these in a subordinate position; but he has borne himself so admirably in this that there is a very general and growing desire that he should serve at least one more term, and in a position where his opportunities for usefulness will be greater. We do not know that he has an enemy in the world, and have never heard that, as a public man, he was accused of a fault or suspected of a selfish aspiration. It is lamentable that disinclination to hold office seems to increase among men of his stamp."

CONCLUSION.

In closing these remarks concerning one of the most singular Episodes in American Social, Religious and Political History, as well as in the Annals of the Masonic Institution throughout the World, I may say to you, ROBERT H. STEVENS, and to other Old Friends in Western New York and elsewhere, (whose wishes have reached me through your instrumentality and otherwise), that, referring you and them to the introductory pages of this long Letter for my reasons in now furnishing various particulars concerning Events with which you and they suppose me to be "familiar from the Beginning to the End," neither time nor circumstances have mollified (if they have not intensified) the feelings which influenced me Editorially through the whole "Four-Year War" waged by Political Antimasonry, and concerning which I said (as published in the "Albany Argus" and elsewhere, half a century ago, when threatened with immediate prosecution under indictment for libels)—"that, be the consequences as they might, I would sign nothing which should "exonerate either Mr. Weed or his fellow-committeemen from the suspicion engendered by "the extraordinary transactions with the corpse in question; that the circumstances in which I had been placed from the commencement of the affair, rendered me too familiar "with the proceedings to permit any instrumentality on my part in silencing discussion "respecting their propriety—and that I rather thought it the duty of some one conversant "with all the facts, to spread before the public the full history of an occurrence dark and "damnable enough to warn future generations, in times of high excitement particularly, "against the excesses of fanaticism and the arts of demagogues."

HENRY O'RIELLY,

Former Editor of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser,"—1826-30, etc., etc.

NEW YORK, Washington Place, Jan. 1880.

APPENDIX.

The "End" of Morganizing-Antimasonry.

In 1827 and 1828, the Political-Antimasonic strength was thrown in favor of the re-election of President John Quincy Adams. But all the perversions of Morganizing operators were ineffectual in helping much that Presidential candidate—though, in the "infected regions," Weed and Company tried hard to embitter public feeling by representing the Jackson-Republicans (since called Democrats) as a "Masonic Party."

But Mr. Weed confessed that "the Administration of Mr. Adams proved a sad and signal political failure"—the popularity of Jackson showing to the Political-Antimasonic managers the futility of trying to prevent either his (Jackson's) election or re-election, and thus inducing them to cast about for another organization.

The sequel is told in a letter written by the then Senator Seward;—and this, with Mr. Weed's statement, just quoted, shows that those, like the "Rochester Daily Advertiser" and its Editor, who had opposed the Morganizing-Antimasonic Schemes "from the beginning to the end," (as Mr. Weed elsewhere says), were well aware of the facts, as I was when retiring (temporarily) from the editorship in 1830, at the "close of the Political-Antimasonic War," as stated in another place.

But let us hear the reasons assigned by Senator Seward for their abandonment of what seemed to be their cherished object—hostility to the Masonic Institution. See *his* statements on pages 45 and 46.

CHANGE OF TACTICS.

It may amuse some people to read such paragraphs as the following, after seeing how Masonry and all things Masonic were ferociously denounced by Weed & Co. up to the very last moment before they smothered their Antimasonry in the bowels of the National Republican Party:

(From the Rochester "Daily Union and Advertiser"—1867.)

Col. George W. Pratt, in his *Reminiscences*, said, that, among those who "rallied around Old Hickory as their Standard-bearer, were Judge Gardiner, Doctor Elwood, Seth Saxton, Henry O'Rielly, and many others who were not Masons, but *opposed to the proscriptive spirit of Antimasonry*; and these were the men stigmatized as "Jacks" because they were unwilling to make Masonry the sole issue in our political contests. When the Antimasonic excitement had accomplished *the designs of those who fomented it* for their own individual advancement, the party was duly transferred and made over to the "National Republican" organization, and I am told that many of the most bitter Antimasons, and who profited most, politically and pecuniarily, by it, *are now members of the hated and abused Order.* W. H. Seward last

summer [1866], accompanied President Johnson to Boston to inaugurate a Masonic Temple."—See Rochester Union and Advertiser, 1867.

From the New York "Times"—1875.

The Hon. Thurlow Weed visited the new Masonic Temple yesterday, and shook hands cordially with a number of leading members of the Order, and was warmly congratulated by them on his apparent good health.

From the New York "Sun"—1875.

Those who remember Mr. Weed's activity and efficiency during the Antimasonic excitement of forty years ago, and especially his famous "Good-Enough Morgan till after election," will not be displeased at the restoration of friendly feeling between the old man and the enemies of his youth. Thus time at last brings all things even; but all men are not so fortunate as to live long enough.

COLLUSION WITH THE CULPRITS.

The Murder of Morgan—and Committeeman Weed's silence for forty-four (44) years after he learnt the facts.

As it might be incredible to people of this generation and in other lands that a person actually appointed by his fellow-citizens—

- (1st.) To ascertain the fate of Morgan;
- (2d.) To ascertain the murderers of that individual; and,
- (3d.) To vindicate the "Supremacy of the Laws," by causing those murderers to be brought to justice,—

It is proper, in justice to the community and to the party implicated, to quote from his "Herald" letters the account given by Mr. Weed himself, in his own words, about the whole murderous scene and the persons engaged in that tragedy—the concealment of which facts from the public by Committeeman Weed having thus lasted for forty-four (44) years—till after all the alleged criminals were dead!

In the narrative that Mr. Weed gave in those "Herald" letters in 1875, about the time when the great "Masonic Temple" was dedicated in New York, Mr. Weed said:—

"I pass briefly over a series of facts which were judicially established, embracing the arrest of Morgan, his conveyance to and confinement in the county jail at Canandaigua, from which he was released and conveyed by night in close carriages through Rochester, Clarkson and along the Ridge Road to Fort Niagara, in the magazine of which he was confined. While thus confined a Knight Templar encampment was installed at Lewiston. When at supper, the zeal and enthusiasm of the Templars having been aroused by speeches and wine, Colonel William King, of Lockport, invited four men (Whitney, Howard, Chubbuck and Garside) from their seats at the banqueting table into an adjoining apartment, when he informed them that he had an order from the Grand Master (De Witt Clinton), the execu-

tion of which required their assistance. This party was then driven to Niagara, reaching the fort a little before twelve o'clock.

"THE MURDER OF MORGAN.

"Upon entering the magazine, Colonel King informed Morgan that his friends had completed their arrangements for his removal to and residence upon a farm in Canada. Morgan walked with them to the wharf, where a boat was held in readiness for them by Elisha Adams, an invalid soldier, into which the party passed and rowed away, Adams remaining to warn the boat off by signal, if on its return any alarm had been given. It was nearly two o'clock in the morning when the boat came back, having, as Adams expressed it, *lost one man*, only five of the six being on board when the boat returned. When the boat reached a point where the Niagara River empties into Lake Ontario, a rope being wound around Morgan's body, to either end of which a sinker was attached, he was thrown overboard. It is due to the memory of Governor Clinton to say that Colonel King had no such order and no authority to make use of his name. It is proper also to add that none of these men survive. *John Whitney*, of Rochester, whom I *knew well*, related all the circumstances connected with the last act in that tragedy to me at Albany, in 1831, in the presence of *Simeon B. Jewett*, of Clarkstown, and *Samuel Barton*, of Lewiston."

See comments from various Journals on these confessions of Weed on pages 41, 42, 43 and 44.

MR. WEED'S STATEMENTS—1875.

In his "Herald" letters of 1875, Mr. Weed thus alludes to the former Editor (Henry O'Rielly) and the former local publisher (Luther Tucker) of the Rochester "Daily Advertiser:"

From the *New York Herald*, 1875.

"In looking back upon an event which occurred nearly half a century ago, with the asperities and impressions which it occasioned allayed and corrected, and in view of the embittered feeling existing between the editor and proprietor of the Rochester Daily Advertiser and myself, I am free to admit that *they had provocations* which, from their standpoint, excused the use of such political weapons as they found available. It was a sort of hand-to-hand conflict, in which I remember to have been *unsparing*. The term 'Masons' Jacks,' freely applied to *all who acted politically against us*, was a peculiarly offensive one, and most especially so to the editor and publisher of the 'Advertiser,' neither of whom were Masons.

"It may not be out of time or place to add, that in this case it is not too late to 'vindicate the truth of history.'

"The then editor of the Rochester 'Daily Advertiser' is now a resident of this city. He was as actively and warmly opposed as I was devoted to the cause of Antimasonry. He was familiar with the question from the beginning to the end. * * * * *

FOUR YEARS LATER—1879.

Mr. Weed's "Graphic interview" appeared in Sept., 1879—the main part of which reported 'Interview,' about his alleged "trials and persecutions on account of his Antimasonry," is quoted on page XV.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN MR. WEED AND MR. O'RIELLY,
GROWING OUT OF "THE EXCITEMENT" AND ITS HISTORY,
1826-1879.

As in his recent "interview" about Morganizing-Antimasonry Mr. Weed has intermixed some personal attacks on Mr. O'Reilly, it is proper to refer to those assaults more fully than could properly be done in the course of the preceding narrative. It may be seen, by any one who will read, how far such personal assaults are justifiable.

It has been already stated that, in the winter of 1826-7, Mr. O'Reilly discontinued all personal acquaintance with Mr. Weed, on account of his abusive course—which severance of acquaintance continued till 1873—a period of nearly forty seven (47) years.

How this long-severed intercourse was renewed, at the instance of Mr. Weed and some of his friends, is briefly told in the following letter from Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, a gentleman who kindly interested himself in promoting such a renewal of acquaintance :—

[This letter is reproduced here, because of its intimate connection with remarks following it—remarks deferred to this "Appendix" so as not to interrupt the foregoing Narrative of Events during "the Excitement."]

LETTER OF COL. SHAFFNER, ABOVE REFERRED TO

Nos. 78 AND 80 [NOW 64 AND 66] BROADWAY, NEW YORK, Oct. 17, 1879.

HENRY O'RIELLY, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: At your request, I send you the following statement:

Sometime in the spring of 1873, Mr. John A. Kennedy, an old friend of mine, desired an interview with me. I called to see him at the City Hall, and he opened the conversation about as follows. He said:

"An old friend of ours, talking on an old historical question, the other day, remarked that for many years he desired to see a gentleman who was familiar with the circumstances; but, unfortunately, he delayed it too long, and the gentleman died about a year or so ago. He was the great telegraph man, Henry O'Reilly."

"I told him," said Kennedy, "that I had not seen any account of his death, and that a man of his wide reputation would certainly occasion some notice in the press; but that if you [myself] were in the city, I would very soon know whether or not he was dead. Now, how is it?"

I told him that if O'Reilly was dead, he must have died in a hurry, for he was in my office the day before.

Kennedy answered, "I am glad of it, and now I want you and him to meet me at the residence of Thurlow Weed, on Sunday morning next." I told him, "All right."

When you came to my office the next day, I told you that I had made an appointment for you to go with me and meet Mr. Kennedy and Thurlow Weed, at the latter's residence on the succeeding Sunday. *You promptly declined to do so, on account of former long-existing misunderstandings between you and Mr. Weed.*

In answer to your declination, I remarked to you that I was sure you would be welcomed by him, and you need not decline on account of his not first calling to see you; for I knew he would do so, if more agreeable.

And I also said, that we old people must forget the past; that we were too near the grave for us even to think about what transpired of an unhappy nature in the far past; and that the "statute of limitations" had settled all accounts of that age.

At my urgent request, in the tone as above recited, you consented to meet us at Mr. Weed's residence.

Mr. Kennedy and myself intended a surprise to Mr. Weed, and when he came into the room I introduced him to you, and you must well remember the cordial meeting that you had on that occasion.

I hope your relations have continued happily, and that, as old Pioneers of the Press, you will harmonize all conflicting incidents of the past.

Since then, Kennedy has gone, and the three living can't, in all probability, remain much longer.

I hope you will live to realize the blessings that belong to your long, eventful and useful life.

Yours, faithfully,

TAL. P. SHAFFNER.

But, paramount to all the friendly considerations thus mentioned in the foregoing generous letter, was the fact that the request for a renewal of my long-severed acquaintance with Mr. Weed came to me specially through the agency of a gentleman like Col. Shaffner—a gentleman who had been in former times (a quarter-century before) my most energetic competitor while I was extending Telegraph Lines between the Allegany Mountains and the Mississippi River,—between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico—an important portion of the great Tele-

graph Range of about eight thousand (8,000) miles, then the largest Telegraph Range in the world, whereby I earliest connected all Sections of the United States as they then were, by Private Enterprise and without Governmental patronage)—a gentleman afterwards well-known as a Pioneer in Oceanic Telegraphy, whom I had learned to respect even when our interests in some important Land Lines seemed most conflicting—a gentleman, now long resident of New York, whose generous feelings are sufficiently indicated by his warm-hearted language in the foregoing letter. [Old friends who feel any interest in matters which originated in, and closely concern, the true history of "the Excitement" that formerly convulsed Western New York and other regions, are respectfully referred to the facts stated herein.]

The illness of Colonel Shaffner prevented him from writing more fully about this meeting and its results, and I will therefore add that, in refusing the invitation extended to me, I mentioned the efforts made in former years by Vice Chancellor Whittlesey, by Mr. Lewis Benedict, of Albany, and by Governor Seward, to induce me to "bury the past," and renew acquaintance with Mr. Weed.

This was said by me to show that, in refusing at first the kind efforts of Colonel Shaffner and Mr. Kennedy to promote the wishes of Mr. Weed, I only acted in accordance with the views which had influenced me from the beginning of the "Morgan Excitement" till that day—a period of nearly forty-seven (47) years as already stated—at the beginning of which, and during all which years, notwithstanding his prominent partisan operations, I had refused to renew the acquaintance which I had discontinued in the winter of 1826-'27, on account of Mr. Weed's abusive course, as elsewhere more fully mentioned, when I was incessantly denounced by him as editor of "The Conspirators' Advocate," the "Masons' Jack," the eulogist of a "blood-stained institution," "an apologist of Masonic murderers," etc., etc., etc.

Earnest, friendly arguments were presented by Messrs. Shaffner and Kennedy, on behalf of Mr. Weed, as briefly indicated in the foregoing statement of Col. Shaffner—it being added, verbally, at the time, that Mr. Weed expressed to them his regret that he had assailed me so violently in former days, he "being an older man that should have been less bitter toward Mr. O'Reilly" [who was then not twenty-one years old], instead of "laying on the harder when he found that his assaults were more and more annoying."

(This concurs substantially with what Mr. Weed himself afterwards acknowledged publicly in his "Herald" letters of 1875, when he confessed that, in what he styled "the hand-to-hand contest" of those years, he had been *unsparing* "towards Mr. O'Reilly and Mr. Tucker, the Editor and the local Publisher of the "Daily Advertiser."')

I then remarked to Col. Shaffner that, when any man thus apologized for his course, early or late, it would be ungenerous not to meet his overtures with civility; and that, notwithstanding my sense of long-continued misstatements by Mr. Weed, I therefore yielded to the earnest, friendly intercession of himself and Mr. Kennedy, as above briefly described in his letter, though I had declined similar requests when made by other prominent citizens, as before stated—my course then (1873) being additionally influenced by statements frequently made in the newspapers in those days about the failing health of Mr. Weed.

Consenting, then, to accept the invitation thus warmly extended to me, I promptly met those gentlemen (Col. Shaffner and Mr. Kennedy) at the residence of Mr. Weed, as stated in the foregoing letter of Col. S.; and two or three hours were mutually spent agreeably, at this first intercourse on renewal of long-extinguished acquaintance.

The acquaintance thus renewed, *for awhile*, seemed mutually pleasant in its progress, as shown in correspondence between Mr. Weed and myself, during 1873-'4-'5—which intercourse I refer to only as, in his recent "interviewing" abuse of me, it is intimated that he has letters of mine showing how I appealed for his aid in procuring office, etc. And as these "letters" are referred to in his late abusive "interview," I furnish you with a copy (hereinafter included), that you may judge for yourself whether it contains anything that might not be freely written by any honorable man, in like circumstances, to any person who sought a renewal of my acquaintance as Mr. Weed did through his friends.

Before including that letter, however, I may say that the "historical subjects" on which Mr. Weed and I conversed related to some matters in his own public experience, during his

travels and otherwise—conversation occasionally turning on “historical” and other topics in which he or I was particularly interested. In the latter category I may mention some papers I was engaged in preparing concerning the course of New Yorkers in sustaining the Government, and also concerning Townsend’s extraordinary collection of records and other material for a history of the Rebellion. Conversation occasionally turned on the progress of Western New York during the half century within my personal knowledge, and with which I had been considerably connected—about which I was preparing materials for a volume, as suggested to and urged on me by one of our most prominent historians, for publication prior to the Centennial Year. But never in any way, however, was conversation turned towards events in the history of the “Morgan excitement.”

The principal letter written by me to Mr. Weed, following soon after the renewal of acquaintance from the long interruption of forty-seven (47) years, will speak for itself, and readers can judge whether there is anything in it (and, I may add, in any other letter written by me on these or any other subjects), that might not be appropriately addressed to any gentleman of one’s acquaintance—especially, of an acquaintance renewed after such a long cessation—and under such apparently friendly auspices:—

(COPY.)

29 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, April 14, 1873.

THURLOW WEED, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: As you showed much interest in talking with me about matters now mostly historical—about old times and men of other days—I respectfully submit to you some views which I expressed in resolutions adopted at a meeting in early December (at which Gen. Dix was present), about a proposed improvement in the Mode of Forming and Preserving Public Records, and making them always accessible to the daily Journalists and to the Public, for the protection of current public interests as well as for future reference. (See accompanying printed proceedings.)

Something designed for accomplishing a part of these objects subsequently appeared in the project of a New City Charter—in reference to which matter all parties assent—no one opposing—however much they differ on some other points.

Seeing, then, that a “City Journal” is to be printed daily, for which an overseer or supervisor is required, to act under the Mayor’s direction (nothing like “editing” being required in a sheet containing nothing but official reports and advertisements), at the suggestion of your friend, Jackson S. Schultz, who kindly mentioned your influence in such matters (for I had not before thought of connection with the proposed “Journal” or Record), I intend offering my services to Mayor Havemeyer for the position—for which my old trade as a Practical Printer, and my familiarity with the ways in which such matters should be printed and published, have qualified me—though, as I know him not personally, and he may know little or nothing of me, I am not sanguine of success, where there will doubtless be several applicants, backed by strong influence and “recommendations,” however moderate the compensation for one who would faithfully discharge the duty to his perfect satisfaction, and who must reside (however plainly) with a family in an expensive city.

Nothing but (for me) the serious fact, that a long and active life, devoted largely to Public Improvements, more than to my own pecuniary profit (though, fortunately, leaving me experience and sufficient capacity for labor), renders it absolutely necessary for me now to employ every practicable hour in providing for the daily wants of more than one family dependant on me—nothing but necessity of the strongest kind could impel me, at this period of life, to ask for (what I never asked* before this winter) some active employment (not a sinecure) from Governor or Mayor, though I have intimately known several Presidents and Governors and Mayors, and other influential persons, during more than forty years.

So, prompted now by the kindly suggestion of your friend, Mr. Schultz, as above mentioned (the acquaintance between Mr. S. and myself dating back to 1843, when our “Constitutional Reform” movement was commenced, which resulted in the adoption of our present Constitution in 1846), I now ask only from your friend, Mayor Havemeyer, not any highly-paid sinecure, but a hard-working position at moderate salary, in supervising the printing of the “Daily City Journal,” for which my old trade as a practical printer may be of use, in a business way, to the Mayor and to the City (the job of printing being given to the lowest bidder).

Hoping that your health is fair as advancing age warrants us in expecting.

Yours respectfully,

HENRY O’RIELLY.

* The Postmastership of Rochester, then the third office in the State, was no exception—for it was “given without asking”—it was given me by Pres’t Van Buren, on the nomination (unanimous, except the single vote of a person who was himself a candidate) of a City Convention of one hundred delegates, twenty from each of the five wards of Rochester—I being absent from Rochester for several weeks before and after—my only letter on the subject to Washington being a request through Senator Silas Wright that, though thus nominated by my fellow-citizens, he [the President] “would not appoint me until full opportunity was given to any one (if any one there was) to object to my nomination.” And this was only a month or two after I rejected (as I told you lately) the offer, urgently made to me by Senator Wright, in behalf of the then Speaker Polk and Attorney-General Grundy, to become Editor of the then State Paper of Tennessee—with a share of the State Printing—and on which I would have the good wishes of President Van Buren, as well as Senator Wright, etc.

Having referred to the materials which I was then collecting, about the Progress of the West during the Half-Century of my Personal Knowledge (especially as I had been considerably connected with and preserved records of some of its prominent improvements); and Mr. Weed manifesting some interest in those matters, I did not hesitate to ask him to submit my project of such a work to some prominent publishers, which his letters show that he did, although those publishers (with whom he was particularly acquainted) had made other arrangements for a somewhat similar purpose connected with the Centennial Year.

In reference to the introduction I asked from Mr. Weed to Mayor Havemeyer about the City Printing (in the cost of which, as a practical Printer, I proposed a reduction of between 20 and 30 per cent.), that public officer had already made arrangements, as far as in him lay, but without any reduction in expense to the public for the work done. [The letter above given shows that this movement for retrenchment in the City Printing was *voluntary* on the part of Mr. Jackson S. Schultz, resulting from his knowledge of my capacity as a Practical Printer, as well as of my desire to promote "Reforms in public offices"—movements for which purpose brought us together many years before, when organizing to promote "Constitutional Reform," etc.; and it was at Mr. Schultz's suggestion that I addressed Mr. Weed for an introduction, supposing that he (Mr. W.) might promote the object].

While things were in this condition (no conversation having ever occurred between him and I on any subject connected with the "Morgan Excitement," as he himself substantially states in his "Herald" letters of 1875), he told me one morning that, having seen a notice of the death of a Custom House officer in the paper of the preceding day (that of Mr. Stetson, one of his friends), he called immediately at the residence of Gen. Arthur, the Collector, to say that the post thus vacated might be acceptable to me. Gen. Arthur promptly responded that it would give him pleasure to appoint me to fill the vacancy thus caused, and invited me, through Mr. Weed, to call at his office in the Custom House, next day at noon. In calling, according to Gen. Arthur's courteous request, and sending in my card, he immediately sent out a message to me, saying that some visitors from abroad had just arrived on business, and that as soon as that business was over he would send for me. As the business occupied more time than he expected, Gen. Arthur, with his well-known courtesy, in about an hour afterwards, sent out another apology for keeping me so long waiting; and on closing his business with his visitors, he promptly sent for me, and, after some words of courtesy to me, called in his Secretary and told him, in my presence, that he appointed me to fill the place of store-keeper, vacated by death; directing that officer to furnish me with the usual formal application, to be signed by me—Gen. Arthur kindly adding that it would take "three or four days to get confirmation of my appointment from Washington." Retiring with his Secretary, I signed the formal application, which he presented to me by Gen. Arthur's direction.

Some delay occurring in the consummation of the appointment, which delay extended through several weeks, I, of course, told Mr. Weed, as he had first *voluntarily* proffered his aid in the matter. He accordingly several times visited the Custom House on this subject, till the appointment which Collector Arthur made was confirmed at Washington.

These delays occupied nearly two months; and while thus waiting, and abandoning other business to be ready for this, I required a loan of thirty-five (\$35) dollars for a few weeks, to complete a payment then falling due; and, residing in the neighborhood, I called and got that temporary loan from him. This was in 1874; and the above is the extent of all the pecuniary transaction I ever had with Mr. Weed. The reader can judge of the propriety of his dragging this matter (magnified threefold) into his Graphic "interview" of 1879—five years later.