

WILLIAM MORGAN;

OR

POLITICAL ANTI-MASONRY,

His paper
England
ITS RISE, GROWTH AND DECADENCE.

BY

ROB MORRIS, LL.D.,
Masonic Writer.

*Mr. Tolson in
with
of*

*Ita comparatum esse hominum naturam omnium,
Aliena ut melius videant et dijudicent,
Quam sua!*

—TERENCE.

(Strange nature in Anti-Masons, that they can see and judge
the affairs of Freemasons better than their own!)

FIFTH THOUSAND.

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By ROB MORRIS, LL.D.



TO
THE FREEMASONS OF CHICAGO
AND VICINITY,

WHOSE BROTHERLY KINDNESS I HAVE LONG EXPERIENCED, AND WHOSE
PATRONAGE OF THE PRESENT WORK HAS GIVEN ME
RENEWED COURAGE TO PERSEVERE IN
MY LIFE-TIME DEVOTION
TO MASONRY,

THIS FIFTH EDITION

IS FRATEERNALLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

It is well nigh two score years since a gentleman at Oxford, Mississippi, then, as now, honored and beloved,* pronounced the mystic words that proclaimed me *a member of the Masonic fraternity*. I have not forgotten—can I ever forget?—even the smallest details of the time, place and occasion. The cold, stormy night in March; the little circle of ten or fifteen, all well known to me as neighbors and friends; the dilapidated apartment, then transformed under the magic of Masonic symbolism into “the checkered pavement of King Solomon’s Temple”; the ceremonies, quaint and pregnant with ancient saws and apothegms; finally, the EXPLANATORY LECTURES, so eloquently delivered by one whose equal in that branch of inculcation I have rarely met through all subsequent years,—such is the vision that recurs vividly to my mind as, in the loneliness of my study, I indite this preface.

Among the injunctions laid on me upon that memorable occasion was one which in a lifetime of active labor in Freemasonry I have never violated, either in letter or spirit; It was this:

“Neither are you to suffer your zeal for the [Masonic] institution to lead you into argument with those who, through ignorance, may ridicule it.”

In the volume to which these remarks are prefatory the superficial reader will detect, or fancy that he detects, an infringement of this ancient law of Masonry. This would subject me to the reproach of coming out of the retirement appropriate to the veteran teacher in Masonry, and *entering*

* The reference is to the Hon. James M. Howry, of Oxford, Mississippi, Past Grand Master, whose advanced years are crowned with civic and Masonic honors and enlivened with the sure hope of a blissful immortality.

PREFACE.

into arguments with those who ridicule Masonry. The little coterie who scatter their poison weekly through the "Christian Cynosure" at Chicago, Ill., may think they find me upon the defensive in answering their scurrilous charges, and may glorify themselves accordingly. Finally, all that class, both within and without the Masonic Order, whose minds are made up as to the questions discussed in this volume, may deprecate the reopening of matters long buried in silence.

My one reply to all these critics is that my book is not in any sense an apology for Freemasonry or an answer to the stuff that passes for argument in Anti-Masonic publications. It is simply a statement of the facts connected with the Morgan affair, and its consequences. No unbiassed history of these events has been written. The facts are scattered through hundreds of documents. In general, it is taken for granted that Morgan was murdered by the Freemasons, and some even intimate that the principles of Freemasonry justify the act upon such a perjured traitor as Morgan was. Now, if anything *negative* can be proven, it is that William Morgan was not murdered, but that his departure from Western New York, September, 1826, was entirely of his own free will and accord. The facts, as I present them in the following pages, will bring the unprejudiced mind to such conclusions, and it is for this purpose only that I now put to print a work for which I began to gather materials in 1846, or earlier.

To afford a standard to historians; to remove the last shade of suspicion that the falsehood of our opponents has left upon the mind of a Mason; to put beyond the possibility of loss, valuable truths long in process of accumulation, and to perform this last duty to the craft that I have loved so well, "while yet the evil days come not,"—these are the motives that have prompted the present publication.

La Grange, Kentucky, 5th March, 1883

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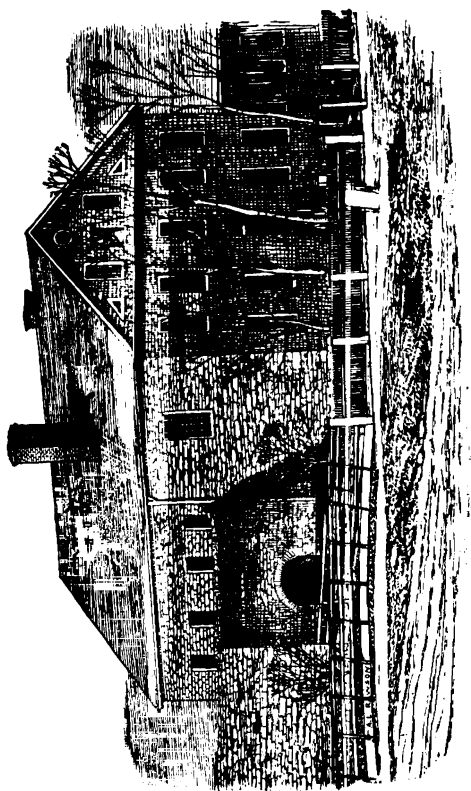
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THE CELEBRATED JAIL AT CANANDAIGUA.

WILLIAM MORGAN.

CHAPTER I.

REVIVAL OF THE MORGAN CONTROVERSY.

THE oft-repeated and stale story of *the Morgan abduction* has recently reappeared with new particulars. The persistent clamor of the Chicago clique, representing the so-called "National Christian Association," has won for it the attention of the press, and through thousands of journals, political, religious and indifferent, "the hideous and deformed subject of Anti-Masonry," as it was forcibly styled fifty years since, comes again to the surface, with all the lies, half lies and distorted facts gathered by the depraved and abandoned crew who, upon defamation, founded the Anti-Masonic Party of 1826 to 1836. "An infatuated horde" they were truthfully termed. "Guilty followers of a reckless political bandit," their writers "the panderers of worthless politicians," their operations for ten years "desolated with sirocco breath the scenes of social intercourse, setting father against son, wife against husband, sisters against brothers, and rending asunder every sacred tie." Anti-Masonry in the last generation was a continued scene of wanton and cruel thrusts upon an innocent society. "Its principles were the meanest and most despicable that ever disgraced a political party." "The chiefs in the movement were Thurlow Weed, Frederick Whittlesey, Samuel Works and John Marchant, than whom there never was a more vindictive and unrelenting crew." Such are a few expressions culled from the literature of 1826 to 1836, and quoted now as applicable to the movement recently inaugurated in Chicago.

The declaration of Mr. Thurlow Weed, from what proved to be his death-bed, was as follows. It was first published in the New York "Sun" of September, 1882:

The unveiling of a monument to William Morgan recalls an event of startling interest arousing deep popular feeling, first at Batavia, Le Roy, Canandaigua and Rochester, then pervading our own and other states. After reading the proceedings of a meeting at Batavia, with Hon. David E. Evans as presiding officer, I wrote a six-line paragraph for the Rochester "Telegraph," in which I stated that a citizen of Batavia had been spirited away from his home and family, and that, after a mysterious absence of several days, a village meeting had been held and a committee of citizens appointed to investigate the matter, adding that, as it was known that Freemasons were concerned in this abduction, it behooved the fraternity whose good name was suffering to take the laboring oar in restoring the lost man to his liberty. That paragraph brought dozens of our most influential citizens, greatly excited, to the office, stopping the paper and ordering the discontinuance of their advertisements. I inquired of my partner, Robert Martin, what I had done to exasperate so many of our friends. He brought me a book and directed my attention to an obligation invoking severe penalties as a punishment for disclosing the secrets of Masons. I saw that my brief and, as I supposed, very harmless paragraph would ruin the establishment. Unwilling that my partner should suffer, I promptly withdrew, leaving the establishment in the hands of Mr. Martin. The paper was doing well, and until that paragraph appeared my business future was all that I could desire.

At a meeting in Rochester it was assumed that all good citizens would unite in an effort to vindicate the law. A committee was appointed, consisting of seven, three of whom were Masons. It was soon discovered that the three Masons went from the committee to the lodge-room. It was subsequently ascertained that two of these gentlemen were concerned in the abduction, and that Morgan had been committed to the jail in Canandaigua on a false charge of larceny; and that he had been carried from thence secretly by night to Fort Niagara. The committee encountered an obstacle in obtaining indictments in five of the six counties where indictments were needed. The sheriffs who sum-

moned the grand juries were Freemasons. In four counties no indictments could be obtained. In Ontario, however, the district attorney, Bowen Whiting, and the sheriff, Joseph Garlinghouse, though Masons, regarded their obligations to the laws of the state paramount. Sheriff Garlinghouse and District Attorney Whiting discharged their duties independently and honestly.

As the investigation proceeded the evidence increased that Morgan had been unlawfully confined in the Canandaigua jail and secretly conveyed to Fort Niagara, where he was confined in the magazine. There was every reason to believe that he was taken from the magazine and drowned in Lake Ontario. This, however, was boldly and persistently denied—denials, accompanied by solemn assurances that Morgan had been seen alive in several places, divided the public sentiment. After reviewing the political excitement caused by the event, the account says: In the autumn of 1827 the discovery of the body of an unknown man on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Oak Orchard creek, gave a new and absorbing aspect to the question. The description of that body, as published by the coroner who held an inquest over it, induced a belief that it was the body of William Morgan.

Our committee decided to hold another inquest. Impressed with the importance and responsibility of the question, I gave public notice of our intention, and personally invited several citizens who had known Morgan to be present. One of our committee went to Batavia to secure the attendance of Mrs. Morgan, and as many others who knew him as would attend. The body had been interred where it was found. The rude coffin was opened in the presence of between forty and fifty persons. When it was reached, and, before removing the lid, I received from Mrs. Morgan, and others who knew him well, descriptions of his person. Mrs. Morgan described the color of his hair, a scar upon his foot, and that his teeth were double all round. Dr. Strong confirmed Mrs. Morgan's statement about double teeth, one of which he had extracted, while another was broken, indicating the position of the extracted and broken teeth. When the coffin was opened the body disclosed the peculiarities described by Mrs. Morgan and Dr. Strong. This second inquest and the examinations of the body pro-

ceeded in open day, and in the presence of Masons and Anti-Masons, not one of whom dissented from the coroner's jury, by which the body was unanimously declared to be that of William Morgan. Mrs. Morgan, in her testimony, failed to recognize the clothes. The body was taken to Batavia, where it was reinterred, no one as yet expressing any doubt of its identity. Subsequently, however, we were surprised by a statement that the body supposed to be that of Morgan was alleged to be the body of Timothy Monroe, who had been drowned in the Niagara river several weeks before holding the first inquest. This awakened general and intense feeling.

Notice was given that a third inquest would be held at Batavia, where the widow and son of Timothy Monroe appeared as witnesses. Our committee took no part in the third inquest, and the body, as is known, was declared to be that of Timothy Monroe. Simultaneously an incident occurred showing the vindictive spirit of our opponents. On the evening of the day that the body interred at Batavia was declared by a third inquest to be that of Timothy Monroe, I went into the billiard room of the Eagle Hotel to see a friend from Clarkson. When leaving the room Ebenezer Griffin, a prominent lawyer employed as counsel for the Masons, who was playing billiards, turned to me, cue in hand, saying: "Well, Weed, what will you do for a Morgan now?" To which I replied, "That is a good enough Morgan for us till you bring back the one you carried off." On the following morning the "Daily Advertiser, a Masonic organ, contained a paragraph charging me with having boastingly said that the body in question "was a good enough Morgan until after the election." That perversion went the rounds of the Masonic and Democratic press, awakening much popular indignation and subjecting me to denunciations in speeches and resolutions at political meetings and conventions. It was everywhere charged and widely believed, that I had mutilated the body in question for the purpose of making it resemble that of Capt. William Morgan. I encountered prejudices thus created both in Paris and London twenty years afterward.

Our investigations were embarrassed and protracted by the absence and concealment of important witnesses. One of these witnesses was an invalid soldier who had had the

care of Morgan while confined in the magazine at Fort Niagara, but he disappeared, and all efforts to find him were unavailing for more than a year. I finally traced him (Elisha Adams) to Brookfield, a mountain town in Vermont. We reached the log house of Adams' brother-in-law, with whom he was hiding, between 12 and 1 o'clock at night. Our rap was responded to by the owner, to whom, on opening the door, the sheriff introduced me, directly after which, and before anything more had been said, we heard a voice from the second floor of the cabin saying: "I am ready, and have been expecting you all winter." Immediately afterward the old man came down the ladder, and in ten minutes we departed on our return. While waiting for breakfast at the foot of the mountain, several men dropped into the bar-room where we were sitting. When called to breakfast, the landlady, carefully closing the doors, remarked that her husband had sent around for Masons, some of whom had already appeared, but that we need not fear them, for she had sent her daughter to inform other villagers what was going on, and that before we had done breakfast there would be twice as many Anti-Masons as Masons in attendance. Returning to the bar-room we found she had done her work thoroughly. Fifteen or twenty men were in the bar-room glaring at each other and at Adams, but nothing was said, and we were driven off unmolested.

On our way back, Adams at different times stated that, hearing a noise in the magazine, he reported it to Mr. Edward Giddins, keeper of the fort, who told him that a stranger was lodged there, who, in a day or two, would be taken to his friends in Canada, but nothing must be said about it. He then from time to time carried food to the person. Soon after, near midnight, he was told to have a boat in readiness for the purpose of taking away the man in the magazine. Several gentlemen arrived in a carriage, by whom the man was taken from the magazine and escorted to the boat. Adams was told to remain on the dock until the boat should return, and that if, in the mean time, an alarm should be given, he was to show a signal to warn the boat away. As nothing of the kind occurred the boat returned quietly, and as of the six who left in the boat only five returned, he supposed that one had gone to his friends in Canada. Adams was wanted as a witness in trials then

pending in Canandaigua. We reached the place in the afternoon of the day the court convened. Three men were on trial for abducting Morgan. The testimony of Adams was essential to complete the link. On being called to the stand he denied all knowledge bearing upon the question. He resided, he said, at the time specified, in the fort, but knew of no man being confined in the magazine, and knew nothing of men coming there at night in a carriage, and knew nothing of a man being taken from there in a boat. His denials covering the whole ground were explicit. That, for the time being, ended the matter. When the court adjourned I walked acrosss the square with Judge Howell, who presided, and who remarked to me that I had made a long journey for nothing, my witness, Adams, being ignorant of the whole affair. Gen. Vincent Mathews of Rochester, who was walking on the other side of the judge, replied with much feeling "that the old rascal had not uttered one word of truth while he was on the stand." Gen. Mathews was the leading counsel for the kidnappers, but refused to be a party in tampering with witnesses.

On our return to Rochester, the witness Adams was in an extra stage with his Masonic friends. As there was no longer any need of hiding, he was on his way to Niagara. In passing the Mansion House, Rochester, Adams, who was standing in the doorway, asked me to stop, saying he wanted to explain his testimony. The lawyers, he said, informed him that if he told what he knew about the magazine and the boat it would be a confession that would send him to the state prison. They also told him that the law did not compel a witness to criminate himself, and, to avoid punishment, he must deny the whole story. In 1831, after my removal from Rochester to Albany, a libel suit was commenced against me by Gen. Gould, of Rochester. It was tried at Albany, Judge James Vanderpool presiding. The libel charged Gen. Gould with giving money he received from the Royal Arch Grand Chapter to enable Burrage Smith and John Whitney to escape from justice. Gerrit L. Dox, treasurer of the Grand Chapter, and John Whitney, one of the recipients of the money, were in court to establish the truth of the libel. Mr. Dox testified that a "charity fund" had been intrusted to Gen. Gould. John Whitney was called to prove that he received a part of the fund,

with which, in company with Burrage Smith, he left Rochester and was absent nearly a year. Gen. Gould's counsel objected to witness' testimony until it had been shown that Gen. Gould knew that the money furnished was to enable Smith and Whitney to escape from justice. The court sustained this objection, and Whitney's testimony was excluded. As it was impossible to prove what was known only to Gen. Gould himself, the trial ended abruptly. Judge Vanderpool, in charging the jury, dealt at length upon the licentiousness of the press, and called upon the jury to give exemplary damages to the injured and innocent plaintiff. The jury, with evident reluctance, found a verdict of \$400 against me. My offense consisted in asserting a fact, the exact truth of which would have been established if the testimony had not been ruled out by a monstrous perversion of justice.

Col. Simeon B. Jewett of Clarkson, Major Samuel Barton of Lewiston, and John Whitney of Rochester, passed that evening at my house. Jewett was prepared to testify that he furnished a carriage for those who were conveying Morgan secretly from Canandaigua to Niagara. John Whitney was one of the party. Major Barton would have testified that he furnished the carriage which conveyed the party from Lewiston to Fort Niagara, John Whitney being one of that party. Whitney would have sworn that Gould supplied money to enable him to "escape from justice." In the course of the evening, the Morgan affair being the principal topic of conversation, Col. Jewett turned to Whitney with emphasis and said, "John, what if you make a clean breast of it?" Whitney looked inquiringly at Barton, who added, "Go ahead." Whitney then related in detail the history of Morgan's abduction and fate. The idea of suppressing Morgan's intended exposure of the secrets of Masonry was first suggested by a man by the name of Johns. It was discussed in Lodges at Batavia, Le Roy and Rochester. Johns suggested that Morgan should be placed on a farm in Canada West. For this purpose he was taken to Niagara and placed in the magazine of the fort until arrangements for settling him in Canada were completed, but the Canadian Masons disappointed them. After several meetings of the Lodge in Canada, opposite Fort Niagara, a refusal to have anything to do with Morgan left his "kidnappers" greatly perplexed. Opportunely a Royal Arch

Chapter was installed at Lewiston. The occasion brought a large number of enthusiastic Masons together. "After labor," in Masonic language, they "retired to refreshment." Under the exhilaration of champagne and other viands, the chaplain, Rev. F. H. Cummings of Rochester, was called on for a toast. He responded with peculiar emphasis, and in the language of their ritual, "The enemies of our Order—may they find a grave six feet deep, six feet long, and six feet due east and west."

Immediately after that toast, which was received with great enthusiasm, Col. William King, an officer in our war of 1812, and then a member of Assembly from Niagara county, called Whitney of Rochester, Howard of Buffalo, Chubbuck of Lewiston, and Garsides of Canada, out of the room and into a carriage furnished by Maj. Barton. They were driven to Fort Niagara, repaired to the magazine and informed Morgan that the arrangements for sending him to Canada were completed, and that his family would soon follow him. Morgan received the information cheerfully, and walked with supposed friends to the boat, which was rowed to the mouth of the river, where a rope was wound around his body, to each end of which a sinker was attached. Morgan was then thrown overboard. He grasped the gunwale of the boat convulsively. Garside in forcing Morgan to relinquish his hold, was severely bitten. Whitney, in concluding his narrative, said he was now relieved from a heavy load; that for four years he had not heard the window rattle or any other noise at night, without thinking the sheriff was after him. Col. Jewett, looking fixedly at Whitney, said: "Weed can hang you now." "But he won't," was Whitney's prompt reply. Of course a secret thus confided to me was inviolably kept.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, ss.:

Thurlow Weed, being duly sworn, says that the foregoing statements are true.

THURLOW WEED.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of September, 1882.

SPENCER C. DOTY, Notary Public,
17 Union Square, New York city.

It will be asked, what provocation had Mr. Weed to justify him in making such charges against our society at so late a period in his life? Why shoot this Parthian arrow upon leaving the field of battle? The malignity of the assault is intensified by the fact that it was made after every person who could have controverted it was dead. King, Jewett, Gould, Whitney, Chubbuck, Howard, Gar-sides,—all had left the stage to this solitary man, who in blindness and dotage, fulminates his cruel charges against men every way his equals! Was there not some personal grievance at the bottom of the act? We shall see.

The author of the present work observing an article in the "Pioneer Press," of St. Paul, Minn., dated May 23, 1881, which was the sequel to one published in the "Graphic" two years before, gave it a public contradiction, pronouncing it false, malevolent and scandalous.

Here is Mr. Weed's statement as published in the "Graphic," September, 1879:

"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 how 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," said I.

"Why, *Morgan, Morgan*," he said, and his face assumed a painful 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 is an old story now and belongs to the past. I was living in Rochester at the time that 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. This was exhibited in public, and was recognized as being Morgan, by his family and friends. It was buried by them. Afterward 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 Anti-Mason. When this last inquest was pending, the lawyer (Ebenezer Griffin), who was 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 1826-7."

"Did people believe such a thing?"

"Yes, a good many did. It was a thing I could not disprove to their satisfaction. I was abhorred by tens of thousands. Old acquaintances cut me. I was pointed out on the streets. 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 up his head 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 telegraph which he manipulated at first, speculated in other things and lost money. He kept losing. He lost everything he had, at last."

"Were you glad?"

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

The article from the "Pioneer Press," of St. Paul, Minn., May 23, 1881, was as follows:

"I know how Morgan was killed," said Mr. Weed, "and where and when he was killed, and who killed him. How do I know?" he asked, repeating my question. "I know, because the criminals themselves confessed it to me before they died."

"Is it possible?" I said.* "Will you tell the public about it?"

"Yes. I have told it partially before.

It was in 1834 [1831?] about five years after the sudden disappearance of Morgan, that on my trial for libeling the Masons, two men volunteered to be my witnesses. One of these men was John Whitney. [I think Mr. Weed said that the other was the man who had charge of the old fort where Morgan was confined by his captors.]

I invited them to eat some oysters with me after the trial, and while we were at the table, John Whitney consented in reply to our urgency to make a clean breast of it, about the murder of Morgan. He declared that the terrible secret had been a burden on him day and night, and then he told who the men were who left the Lodge one dark night to put Morgan out of the way lest he might reveal the secrets of the Order. He said that he (Whitney) was one of the men! The others were Col. William King, Gar-sides, Howard and Chubbuck. They went to the fort, bound the prisoner hand and foot, laid him in a boat, carried him about to the middle part of the Niagara river, where it was two miles to either shore and there, tying weights to his head and heels, they flung him overboard. When he had told the story, Whitney said he felt relieved. The other witness turned to him and said, 'John! Weed can hang you now!' 'Yes,' says Whitney, 'but he won't.' I thought much about my duty to the public, but it was obviously impossible to convict him unless he would say solemnly in court what he had said to me.

* The interlocutor was a New York gentleman, who reported regularly for the St. Paul "Press," also for an Indianapolis paper.

It was nearly thirty years afterward that I met John Whitney in Chicago, when I was there at the convention in 1860. He came to me and said he wanted to make a careful confession for me to write down, to be published after his death. He said there was nobody else he dared to trust it to. I agreed to commit his dreadful secret to paper as soon as the Convention adjourned. The hour of adjournment he was waiting for me at my hotel. I was in the depths of disappointment (at the nomination of Lincoln) and was busy with a hundred things, and I told Whitney that I should come back to Chicago shortly and would then attend to it. We exchanged letters after that, but he died suddenly and I never saw him again."

"The Chicago papers," I said, "ought to look up his relatives or friends there and see if he left any document or told his secret."

"Yes," he replied, "it would be well. It is strange by the way, that every one of those five murderers (Whitney, Chubbuck, Howard, King and Garsides) is dead and all but one died violent deaths. Col. King committed suicide and Garsides was kicked to death by a horse!"

Making all allowance for errors of the interviewer, there is enough of pure falsehood in this paper to justify a broad denial, especially as the reputation of Mr. Weed, and more recently, his decease, have given it an importance not its own. It was copied far and wide in American and Canadian papers with all sorts of comments, writers unfriendly to Masonry seizing the opportunity to load it with such headlines as "The Secret Revealed," "Truth Come Forth," "Murder Will Out," "Whitney and the Masonic Ku-Klux," "A Fifty Years' Secret Divulged."

I published a brief denial, charging that Mr. Weed had contradicted his former statements in various particulars; that Mr. Whitney made no such declarations to him, but on the contrary, always denied that Morgan was put to death, and deprecating a revival of a slander now "stale, flat and unprofitable."

But my reply fell a hundred leagues behind the false-

hood. A few leading papers noticed it, but the larger part of the papers that had given publicity to the venom failed to announce the antidote. One prominent editor observed that "it was natural for a Masonic writer to deny Weed's statement," and that was all!

But, bad as Mr. Weed's first article is, it was followed by a worse. The managers of the National Christian Association, in preparing for their anniversary meeting at Batavia, N. Y., September, 1882, wrote to Mr. Weed and several others, whose views were known to be Anti-Masonic, for letters approbating their cause. This gave Weed an opportunity to place himself right upon the record. Lying in his chamber, in total darkness, for he had been blind for several years from cataract, he labors not so much to recall the *facts* as the manner in which he has previously stated them. Possessing always the faculty, as Secretary Welles once happily remarked, of "remembering things that never happened," he cudgels his brains, at the age of eighty-six, to prepare a narrative of events that occurred half a century before! And finally, to give the sanctity of an oath to his dim and cloudy reminiscences, he calls in a notary public and swears to statements which, had his family cared for his posthumous fame, should have been promptly consigned to the flames!

This, then, constitutes the "revival of the Anti-Masonic controversy," nor will it again cool down until our side of the matter has been heard. My reply to his last production opened in these words:

For more than fifty years, indeed, ever since my emergence from boyhood, I have been interested in the current history of the Morgan affair, and from the year of my entrance upon Masonic labor, I have neglected no opportunity to acquire, equally from friend and foe, authentic *facts* concerning this mysterious occurrence. There is no place in western New York, in any way associated with Morgan's movements, that I have not explored. Correspon-

dence, the most untiring, both with participants in his removal and with those who set themselves to untangle and expose the affair, proves my determination to secure the *bottom facts*, nor can I reproach myself with neglecting any means of information at my command. Proofs of my industry and zeal in this direction abound.

During the political campaign, summer and fall of 1827, the operation of Mr. Weed excelled everything for grossness and indecency on record. Mr. Robert H. Stevens, an eminent lawyer of Buffalo, N. Y., avers, over his own signature, that he had seen Thurlow Weed *tie a rope around the neck of a jackass*, put a vote or a ballot into its mouth and leading it up to the polling place, shove its nose into the window! This was done by our incipient statesman to blackguard all decent young men, whom he styled *Masons' Jacks*.

In order to inflame the minds of the community, every device was resorted to. Under his instructions, lambs were brought to the polls, having their throats cut from ear to ear, with the approbation of Weed and his associates, who claimed that *these animals were thus born* and that the hand of Providence had done it to intimate to mankind the fate of William Morgan. Thus the mob was infuriated by the same method employed by Mark Antony, when decapitating over the body of Cæsar.

After reading this testimony, I have no doubt that Mr. Weed styled the putrid corpse of Timothy Munroe, "a good enough Morgan till after the election," or that he even took a part in changing the appearance of the hair to simulate the appearance of Morgan, by drawing out the long locks from the top of the head and the whiskers, and putting them into the ears of the cadaver.

But I have Mr. Weed's own testimony published through one of his friends in the New York "Courier and Enquirer," in 1841, that he *did* use that expression. The passage is here given entire. "Over twelve years ago, Thurlow Weed, then editor of an Anti-Masonic paper at Rochester, N. Y., was charged by the antagonistic paper at that place, with mutilating the body of Timothy Munroe, in order to pass it off for that of William Morgan. The charge was made in the midst of an exciting and ferocious 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. 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 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 the serious charge against Mr. Weed." The reader has only to notice the contradictions in the different relations of the story.

Following this, I go on to show, upon evidence that will be abundantly furnished the reader in the sequel, the utter falsity of Mr. Weed's charges, how his successive statements contradict each other, and that in truth the whole Anti-Masonic warfare, at least from 1826 to 1830, and the establishment of political Anti-Masonry were due to the diabolical industry and ingenuity of Thurlow Weed.

Various circumstances combined to call the old politician from his retirement, among which, perhaps, the most provoking was the publication, in 1880, of the *brochure*, in fifty-five pages, of Col. Henry O'Rielly, editor of the Rochester "Daily Advertiser," from 1826 to 1830, and still living (March, 1883), in the city of New York. The title of this stinging assault indicates the *animus* of the writer.

"AMERICAN POLITICAL ANTI-MASONRY, 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 ring-leaders of political Anti-Masonry. Brief notices of some events in the history of the political Anti-Masonic excitement, which more than half a century ago convulsed portions of New York, Pennsylvania and other states, including 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 (Thurlow Weed)."

In this tract, Col. O'Rielly has concentrated as much gall of bitterness as Weed himself, in his replies. He includes some severe charges made against Weed in 1828, by Wm. B. Rochester, and indorsed by Vincent Matthews, Sanford E. Church and other prominent citizens of western New York, also reference to the various criminal and civil suits for libel against Weed. References will be found to all these in subsequent chapters.



FICTITIOUS PORTRAIT No. 1 OF WILLIAM MORGAN.



FICTITIOUS PORTRAIT No. 2 OF WILLIAM MORGAN.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF FREEMASONRY UP TO 1826.

THE origin of Freemasonry, like that of ancient fraternities generally, is involved in obscurity. The Mysteries of Adonis; the Order of the Essenes, so warmly colored by Josephus; the Rites of Eleusis, most splendid of all the ancient institutions; the Egyptian Mysteries, broadly disseminated through Europe, and other forms of brotherhoods and religious cults that enjoyed and commanded the respect of mankind, equally fail to yield the secret of their origin. In every age, doubtless, fraternal societies, with a secret basis, have been formed, but finding no congenial soil have fallen into oblivion before attracting the attention of the historian. A learned jurist has expressed the following views, which we endorse:

“In a society founded and carried on by tradition, no absolute proof of its origin can be looked for farther than the internal evidence, which results from the comparison of its observances with the scattered historical fragments that describe those of other institutions. I can clearly discern a striking connection with the Egyptian and Eleusinian mysteries and with various points of the Hindu Mythology, and even with the Druidical observances transplanted from Phœnicia into the north of Europe. I also think there exists a strong affinity between the Masonic institution and the Pythagorean and Platonic systems of philosophy, originally derived from the priests of Memphis and purified by those instructions which their respective founders received in Phœnicia. I am further of opinion that the Christians of the East, in order to practice their religion without fear of persecution, founded the Rosicrucian Degree on the

basis of ancient Masonry, and that from this source the Orders of Chivalry took their rise as so many collateral branches.”—*Hon. Waller Rodwell Wright*.

But Freemasonry, having, like the others, its legendary history, unlike the others retains an active existence among men to the present day, and was never so prosperous as now. In its present form, constituted under warrants from Grand Lodges, it is traced to the year 1718, but, in the looser form of *Lodges self-constituted*, it may be traced some two or more centuries earlier. Through *its legends*, however, it goes as far back as the period of King Solomon ten centuries prior to the Christian era.

It is not my purpose here to carry on this subject *in extenso*. In other volumes, and by authors of the first-class,—Oliver, Preston, Anderson, Calcot, Mackey and others,—the scattered facts of Masonic history have been collected and arranged in order, leaving place for new discoveries as they may arise. My personal observations in Holy Land in 1868, followed up by those of my associate, Bro. Henry R. Coleman, in 1880, have set thoughtful minds upon new lines of research, and not more surely is the verity of Holy Writ strengthened by the discoveries of Layard, Robinson, Thomson, Smith, Tristram, etc., than is the truth of *Masonic history* by our gleanings among the peoples of the East.

That writers should differ upon the origin and history of Freemasonry is not strange when we see how writers upon Scriptural history differ upon almost every point of authorship, preservation, transmission, etc., of the canonical books. Observe the mythical deductions, the *excursus* and *discur-sus* of writers, the wild flights, the frigid doubts upon almost every paragraph. Nay, see how prominent students like H. W. Beecher change their views between middle age and senile age. He has wandered all his life from one notion of Scriptural history to another. And if all this

uncertainty is cast over a *written history*, so inexpressibly precious, established by so many monuments, what is there strange in the uncertainties of *Masonic history*, unwritten, traditional, and whose monumental evidence is comparatively scanty?

For present purposes I set the starting point of Masonic history in the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, which occurred at London June 24, 1717, four ancient lodges uniting therein, and electing Mr. Anthony Sayer first Grand Master. In 1736 a Provincial Grand Lodge was established in France under English authority. This was followed by the spread of the Order, under English auspices, into other countries of Europe. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was established in 1730; of Scotland in 1736. In America the institution appears almost simultaneously, as early as 1730 or thereabout, in Georgia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and perhaps elsewhere. Grants for the organization of Provincial Grand Lodges soon followed, the first being given to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1733, and at the breaking out of the Revolution these organizations were found in most of the thirteen colonies. Henry Price, a respectable merchant of Boston, Massachusetts, received appointment as Provincial Grand Master "over all America under British rule" in 1734, and issued his warrant for a Lodge in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 24, the same year, appointing the well-known Benjamin Franklin first Master. On the same day he warranted a Lodge at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and one on December 27, 1735, at Charleston, South Carolina.

The dates of formation of the American Grand Lodges extant in 1826, are given in the following table, as arranged in chronological series: 1. Massachusetts, March 8, 1777. 2. Virginia, October 30, 1778. 3. Maryland, July 31, 1783. 4. Pennsylvania, September 25, 1786. 5. Georgia, Decem-

ber 16, 1786. 6. New Jersey, December 18, 1786. 7. South Carolina, March 24, 1787. 8. North Carolina, December 16, 1787. 9. New York, 1787. 10. Connecticut, July 8, 1789. 11. New Hampshire, July 16, 1789. 12. Rhode Island, June 25, 1791. 13. Vermont, October 19, 1794. 14. Kentucky, October 16, 1800. 15. Delaware, June 7, 1806. 16. Ohio, January 2, 1809. 17. District of Columbia, February 19, 1811. 18. Louisiana, July 11, 1812. 19. Tennessee, December 27, 1813. 20. Indiana, January 13, 1818. 21. Mississippi, August 25, 1818. 22. Maine, June 24, 1820. 23. Missouri, May 4, 1821. 24. Alabama, December 11, 1821. 25. Illinois, 1823. 26. Michigan, July 31, 1826.

Here, then, at the outbreak of the Morgan excitement were twenty-six Grand Lodges, governing an aggregate of say three thousand constituent Lodges, whose membership may be reckoned at one hundred and fifty thousand.* This was no "mere handful of men;" no "two or three gathered together" to be pushed aside or pushed over by their opponents, as one shoves an obstacle out of his way; no accidental combination of men was this Masonic array. They were individuals sealed in heart by friendships that defied the frosts of time. A unity of one hundred and fifty thousand men, selected by rigid rules of choice, inspected by critical and experienced eyes, passed, step by step, into the inner circles of Masonry. This phalanx was more than Grecian in strength; this legion more than Roman in discipline. This was the institution which Thurlow Weed and his associates undertook to demolish.

In the year 1826, the Society of Freemasons, as shown, was great in numbers, broadly diffused through the United States, and highly respectable in the character of its votaries. Individuals, eminent at the bar and in the pul-

* This is Henry Brown's estimate. See his, "Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement," published in 1829, page 5, foot note. I have not the means at hand to substantiate it.

pit, choice in the workshop and behind the plow and counter, were accustomed to assemble at stated periods, usually fixed by the changes of the moon, and engage in what they deemed pleasing and useful work, *the work of Freemasonry*. Annually, upon the natal day of John the Baptist (June 24) or that of St. John (December 27), the world beheld these men, endeared to them by religious, political, domestic and commercial associations, walking in columns of two, clothed in the simple uniform of the Blue Lodge, a white apron, or more rarely in scarlet sash and apron, or most rarely in black, the unattractive harness of the Knight Templar, walking from hall to church to hear the well prepared oration, walking thence from church to table to enjoy the well-prepared festival, walking back to their hall to close the Lodge, and so, soberly tread their way homeward.

That the world at large respected this institution can not be controverted. Their Lodge Notices, set forth under the modest square and compass, were seen in the advertising columns of any respectable paper. Their books upon morality, manuals of Lodge instruction, and lyrical compilations were found on many a center-table and book-shelf. Their emblems, suggestive of a time no less distant than that of the third King of Israel, and of labors no less important than the erection of the temple of Jehovah, glittered upon sign boards, were impressed upon title pages of books, the jewelry of lovely women and enthusiastic men, and the business cards of enterprising tradesmen.*

Most public edifices, even those that were national, were considered properly *begun*, and decently *dedicated*, by Masonic ceremonies. The corner-stones of churches, banks, capitols, seminaries, canal-locks, bridges, court-houses,—all lasting structures indeed in whose erection mind and money

* See extracts from DeWitt Clinton's diary named further on. From day to day he names the taverns having Masonic signs and kept by Masons.

combined, were planted under the mystical knocks of Grand Master's gavels and *consecrated* by the corn, wine and oil of ancient symbolism, and the singing of ancient melodies dear to the Masonic Craft. Upon headstones in many a yard of the older States, Masonic devices may yet be found glorifying, under moss and decay, the Freemason's hope, that "the soul is immortal, and the body shall rise again;" and every such grave was duly set east and west. The medals of the Masonic institution lie at the northeast of thousands of the older edifices of our country. Although even at that period Freemasonry had its opponents, few were found to deny that for *antiquity* it was the most venerable, for *dignity* the most exalted, for *foundation* the most extensive, of all the institutions of earth.

The eighteenth century had opened midst gloomy prospects to Masonry. The imbecility of Grand Master Christopher Wren, arising from his great age, the fading out of Masonry from every country except England, and its general neglect there,—who could have foreseen that in one short century a budding spring, a ripening summer, and a glorious harvest would follow upon such cheerless winter? In spite of papal bulls, in spite of a hailstorm of pamphleteers, in spite of Masonic expositions, so-called, by the score, in English, French and German, in spite of the weight of accumulated and unnecessary degrees, for which the Order has endured odium without realizing benefit, despite the denunciations of Baruel and Robinson, the Society, closing its annals for the eighteenth cycle of Christian time, could point to its altar-fires blazing in every civilized nation, could show its publications healthy, orthodox, erudite, by scores and hundreds, could exhibit a long line of the nobility and aristocracy in monarchical countries, and its Grand Masters finally could exhibit in a country almost unknown at the opening of the century, thirteen

Grand Lodges governing more than 400 constituent Lodges* their members all pointing proudly, though tearfully, to *Mount Vernon*, exclaiming: "Alas, my Brother!"

The popularity enjoyed by the Masonic institution, at the period to which this chapter refers, claimed respect even from those whose good opinion is open to purchase. In the State of Kentucky, where Henry Clay had been Grand Master (1820-1), in the State of Ohio with Lewis Cass and Thomas Corwin on its roll of Past Grand Masters, in Tennessee, recently (1882-3) governed by Andrew Jackson as Grand Master, and in nearly all the Grand Lodge Jurisdictions whose gavels had been wielded by their most eminent men, the political press, however malignant to other enterprises, uniformly assumed a favorable tone when speaking of Masonry, its membership, and its aims. The religious press, if not directly favorable to Masonry, had but little to say that was unfavorable. Popular opinion for the most part set the altar of Freemasonry very nigh the altar of God. Subjects of scandal rarely grew out of the Lodges, and even when the misconduct of some Mason eminent in the ranks called for popular disapprobation, the fault was justly imputed to the offender and not to the *society* whose principles were clearly outraged by his acts. This public respect was chiefly proven by incessant applications for initiation. Almost everywhere the Lodges had as much "work" as they could do. Though they changed their meetings from monthly to semi-monthly, and from semi-monthly to weekly, though they doubled and tripled their rolls from the ancient standard of membership ("fifty to sixty"), though like the polypus, they submitted their membership to mutilation and made a new Lodge out of every fragment, and set up their standards at every cross-

* In 1803 the American Lodges numbered 527; in 1882, 10,127. The Grand Lodges in 1803 were those of Connecticut, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia.

road in the land, still the demand for "work" exceeded the time and opportunity, so clamorous was the crowd that knocked at the mystical portals of the Order.

A review of the purposes of the Masonic society as promulgated by its teachers, gives but an imperfect clue to this amazing popularity. The nation was not so *immoral*, that a moral association needs be thus sought after. The demand for *systematized charity* was not so urgent in the United States, that one-tenth of its male population should crave to fraternize with a charitable institution. The scarcity of *social appliances* was not so marked that young and old by thousands should crave to enter an organization for social enjoyment. To investigate the cause of Masonic popularity in 1826 (and now) we must go below the surface and find the foundations upon which the morality, charity and social systems of Freemasonry were established. Here is an extract from one of our most reliable authors that may be used as a guide in the search.

"Upon due examination it will be found that Freemasonry is well calculated to inculcate everything laudable and useful to society, and that its leading qualities are *philanthropy* well directed, *morality* pure, *secrecy* inviolable and a taste for the *fine arts*. The great design is to unite men of sense, knowledge and worth, not only by a reciprocal love of the fine arts, but still more by the great principles of virtue, where the interests of the fraternity might become those of the human race; where all nations might improve in knowledge, and where every subject or citizen might exert himself without jealousy, live without discord, and embrace mutually without forgetting or too scrupulously remembering the spot in which he was born. Freemasonry is not bounded by virtues merely civil. As a severe, sorrowful and misanthropic kind of philosophy disgusts its votaries, so the establishment of Freemasonry renders men amiable by the attraction of innocent pleasures, pure joys and rational gaieties. The sentiments of this society are not such as a world addicted to ridicule may be tempted to suppose. Every vice of the head and heart is excluded,—

libertinism, irreligion, incredulity and debauchery are banished and disqualified. The FIRST GREAT CAUSE ought to be the first great object of a Mason's adoration; his next great cause should be to perform acts of humanity, beneficence and compassion to all men, so far as may be in his power, particularly to those who may be connected with himself, in the same mystic tie. As Masons, we consider it our bounden duty to extend our good offices to every human being when in distress.

"Masonry excludes all distinctions of rank as well as of religion. It considers all men as being naturally *on a level*, and according to its rules, transmitted to us from time immemorial, gives precedence only to those among the brethren, who have made themselves conspicuous *by the rectitude of their conduct*, and their improvement in those arts and sciences which tend to refine our morals, and render us more worthy and upright members of society. Actuated by this divine principle, the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Independent, the Lutheran, the Methodist, the Universalist, the Hebrew, the Mohammedan, may here sit together in harmony."—*Har- die's Masonic Monitor*, 1802.

Such counsels and declarations as these are repeated in the numerous Monitors and Handbooks of Freemasonry, and are equally the theme of the essays and orations conspicuous in the literary collections of the Craft, and in the columns of Masonic journals, old and new. But, we repeat, there is not enough in all this, that meets the eye to account for the amazing popularity of Masonry, or for that attachment to its affiliation, which has given it its martyrs. The full explanation can only be given *by Masons to Masons*. In this esoteric communication lies the *vitality* of the institution. This is the genuine "secret of Freemasonry," so often vaunted, so diligently sought for, so often missed. It eludes the search of the Anti-Mason as the secret of life eludes the scalpel of the surgeon. It was never exposed with pen and ink, though amazing efforts have been made to expose it, and it never can be. The enlightened Mason

smiles at threats of publication, for he knows that the secret of **Masonry** can neither be published nor destroyed. The zealous never weary in investigations for it, for the search reveals treasures at every step. It is the nucleus of a system broad as the mind of man, exalted as the soul of man, profound as wisdom itself.

Rev. Edward Anderson, in a lecture on Secret Societies, delivered in Toledo, Ohio, February 12, 1883, suggests with force an argument that has been used before. He takes up the society of Freemasonry with eleven others, the imitation of Masonry more or less exact, and shows "that until the Christian Church incorporates the elements that form the bonds that hold together the members of the societies named, and can take the same hold upon men that those societies do—offering them social attractions, protection from assaults, charity for their failings, and assistance as needed, it should not criticise institutions which are doing so much good in this direction as are secret societies." While I cannot follow the speaker in his eulogy of so many modern organizations which seem to me ephemeral and feeble in frame, I can endorse the application of the passage to Freemasonry as the mother and model of the whole.

EXPRESSED OPINIONS UPON FREEMASONRY.

It was often charged during the furious excitement of Anti-Masonry, that men were inveigled into the Lodge and held there against their own will by mysterious and binding oaths. The opposite of this is shown by quoting the expressed opinions of Masons, eminent for independence of thought, and having the largest experience in the active work of the Order. In this connection I give quotations from a few well-known names.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, whose talents, prudence, and integrity secured to him the highest honors that a grateful country could bestow, who "deemed nothing which con-

cerned the interest or happiness of mankind unworthy his attention," died a Mason of sixty years' standing, retaining his attachment to the institution to the last. As Master of his Lodge, and Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge, his punctuality in attendance upon official duties was extraordinary, and while in Paris as the representative of the American Government in the darkest hours of her history, he took much interest in Masonry. His expressed opinions upon the value of the institution are numerous and dear to the memory of his brethren.

GEORGE WASHINGTON assumed the Masonic covenant, November 4, 1752, nor laid it off until demitted by the power of death, December 14, 1799, a period of nearly half a century. During the Revolutionary War, he frequently attended the Military Lodge that worked in various divisions of the army. On the 3d of February, 1783, a Lodge had been instituted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, at Alexandria, Va., a few miles from Mount Vernon, under the name of Alexandria Lodge, No. 39. A few years later this Lodge changed its obedience and took out a charter from Virginia under title of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, changed in 1805 to Washington Alexandria Lodge No. 22, by which it is still known in the charter which is extant. The name of George Washington appears first, and this according to the universal usage points him out as the first Master. La Fayette visited this Lodge in 1824. As late as 1797, after forty-five years' experience in Masonry, Washington addressed the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in these commendatory words: "My attachment to the society of which we are members will dispose me always to contribute my best endeavors to promote the honor and prosperity of the Craft." Five years earlier, in a communication to the same body, he had expressed his sentiments thus: "The Masonic institution is one whose liberal principles are founded on the immutable laws of truth and justice, and whose grand

object is to promote the happiness of the human race." In answer to a congratulatory address from the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, in 1791, he said: "I recognize with pleasure my relation to the Brethren of your Society, and I shall be happy, on every occasion, to evince my regard for the Fraternity. The Masonic institution is an association whose principles lead to purity of morals, and are beneficial of action." The same year, 1791, answering a letter from St. David's Lodge, Newport, R. I., he said: "Being persuaded that just application of the principles on which this society is founded, must be promotive of private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance its interests and to be considered by them as a deserving Brother." In 1798, the year preceding his lamented death, he made this explicit declaration of his favorable sentiments upon Masonry, in a communication to the Grand Lodge of Maryland: "So far as I am acquainted with the doctrines and principles of Freemasonry, I conceive them to be founded on benevolence, and to be exercised only for the good of mankind. I cannot therefore, from this ground, withdraw my approbation from it."

Pages of such extracts from Washington's letters to various Masonic bodies might be given. Enough is offered to show, in the language of DeWitt Clinton, that "Washington would not have encouraged an institution hostile to morality, religion, good order, and the public welfare." At the planting of the corner stone of the Capitol at Washington, September 18, 1793, that distinguished Brother presided as Master of his Lodge, and in the solemn obsequies that followed upon his death, December 16, 1799, his Lodge, now known as "Washington Alexandria Lodge, No. 22," Alexandria, Va., took the lead according to established usage.

JOHN MARSHALL, long chief-justice of the United States, became a Mason early after his majority and con-

tinued his affectionate attachment to the Society until his death, July 6, 1835. At a most respectable gathering of Masons, in Washington City, March 9, 1822, called to consider the propriety of establishing a General Grand Lodge of the United States, Judge Marshall was present and expressed his sentiments in behalf of Freemasonry in affecting terms. He was made chairman of the Committee of Correspondence upon that occasion, in conjunction with such Masons as Henry Clay, William W. Seaton, Thaddeus Mason Harris, and others of national repute.

ANDREW JACKSON, seventh President of the United States, was initiated into Masonry early in life, was elected Grand Master of Tennessee, 1822-3, and maintained his devotion to the Order to the last. Even in the midst of the Anti-Masonic imbroglio, 1826 to 1836, his utterances were conveyed in forcible terms. He assured the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts that he should ever feel a lively interest in the welfare of an institution with which he had been so long connected, and whose objects are purely philanthropic. During the very fury of the strife, when the uneasy, the disappointed, the reckless fag ends of society, the remnants of all the parties that had suffered defeat through four successive presidential elections, fragments which, like stray birds in November, had lain by and waited to join some passing flock southward bound,—when, I say, these had combined in the attack upon Freemasonry, General Jackson wrote this open letter to the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, in reply to an invitation to join them in planting the corner stone of the Associate Methodist Church, Alexandria, Virginia, March 29, 1830.

WASHINGTON CITY, MARCH 27, 1830.

RESPECTED SIR,—I regret that the duties of my office will not allow me to avail myself of the polite invitation conveyed in your note of yesterday. It would afford me the highest pleasure to unite with my Masonic Brethren of

this district in laying the corner stone of a religious edifice proposed to be built in Alexandria, and in marching afterward to the tomb of Washington. The memory of that illustrious Grand Master cannot receive a more appropriate honor than that which Religion and Masonry pay it when they send their votaries to his tomb fresh from the performance of acts which they consecrate. I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, ANDREW JACKSON.

LA FAYETTE was inducted into Masonry during the Revolutionary War, and continued an active member of the Order to the period of his death. During his visit to the United States in 1825, he made many characteristic Masonic speeches, short, terse, and full of thought. Here is a specimen: "Freemasonry is an order whose leading star is philanthropy, and whose principles inculcate an unceasing devotion to the cause of religion and morality."

JOHN ADAMS, second President of the United States, though not himself a Mason, had (like President Lincoln sixty years later) seen so much of the practical operations of the Order that he could not forbear to commend it, upon occasion. In a letter to the Masons of Boston in 1798, he says: "I have never had the felicity to be initiated into Masonry, but I hold the institution in esteem and honor as favorable to the support of civil authority, the love of the fine arts, hospitality and devotion to humanity."

THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England from 1813 to 1843, declared, in one of his published addresses, that "Masonry is one of the most sublime and perfect institutions ever formed for the advancement of happiness and the general good of mankind, creating in all its varieties universal benevolence and brotherly love. It holds out allurements so captivating as to inspire the brotherhood with emulation to deeds of glory such as must command, throughout the world, veneration and applause, and such as must entitle those who perform them to dignity and respect."

DE WITT CLINTON, one of our most eminent statesmen, Governor of New York and long Grand Master of that extensive jurisdiction, said in 1825, at the installation of his successor in the Grand Mastership, Stephen Van Rensselaer: "Masonry superadds to our other obligations the strongest ties of connection between it and the cultivation of virtue, and furnishes the most powerful incentives to goodness. Wherever a Mason goes, he will find a friend in every brother, if he conducts himself well, and will be shielded against want and protected against oppression. That Freemasonry is sometimes perverted, and applied to the acquisition of political ascendancy, of unmerited charity, of convivial excess, cannot be disputed. But this is not the fault of the institution, for it inculcates an entire exemption from political and religious controversy. It enforces the virtues of industry and temperance and proscribes all attempts to gratify ambition and cupidity, or to exceed the bounds of temperance in convivial enjoyments under its shade or through its instrumentality. In lifting the mind through the dungeon of the body it venerates the grateful odor of plain and modest virtue, and patronizes those endowments which elevate the human character, and adapt it to the high enjoyments of another and better world."

LORENZO DOW, an eccentric, but most experienced itinerant in Christian and Masonic labors, testifies that he finds the principles of Masonry to be such as he would wish to treasure in his heart, and practice in his life to his dying day. "It is noble in its administration, to *think and let think* beyond the narrow, contracted prejudices of bitter sectarians in these modern times."

HENRY CLAY, whose fame in all departments of statesmanship, in popular eloquence and patriotism, has gone sounding down the corridors of time, was Grand Master of Kentucky 1820-21, having been admitted to the light of Masonry in 1799. His address, delivered at Lexington,

Kentucky, December 27, 1802, fairly scintillates with gems of Masonic thought. Its peroration is: "Masonry through life is a never-failing source of happiness and consolation. Occupied in contemplating the beauties of the creation, in cherishing and cementing the great principles which bind us to our fellow-men, enraptured with the harmony and order to be seen in all the works of nature, the soul of the Mason is elevated, and he feels an irresistible disposition to gratitude and admiration of the Grand Master of the Universe. And when the awful hour of death itself arrives, it is disarmed of its terror by the reflection that the last sad office of mortality is performed by Brethren, whose slow and sober gait is traced by the tear of the most affectionate of ties."

It may be asked, What reply do our opponents make to these certificates from persons whose fame is world-wide and perennial? and, How do they evade the force of such testimony? In reply I quote from the writings of C. G. Finney, a seceding Mason, late President of Oberlin College, Ohio. In Chapter 16 of "The Character; Claims and Practical Workings of Freemasonry," 1856, he handles the argument, that great and good men have been and are Freemasons, in this manner: "Investigation will prove that this claim is, to a very great extent, without foundation. But why should Freemasons lay so much stress on the fact that many good men are Masons? It has always been the favorite method of supporting a bad institution to claim as its patrons the wise and good! The argument might have been used with great force in favor of idolatry in the time of Solomon and the prophets! Nearly all the learning and wealth and influence of the Jewish nation rejected Christ. An institution is not to be judged by the conduct of a few of its members. This has always been a device of those who have sustained any system of wickedness; they have taken pains, in one way and another, to draw into their ranks men of

reputation for wisdom and piety, of high standing in church and State. But a great many of those who were claimed by Freemasons to be of their number never were Freemasons at all. Others were entrapped into it, and turned the cold shoulder upon it." I will not waste the reader's time with twaddle such as this.

But amidst the prosperity which I have mentioned, there were elements of opposition; there were causes working; coals upon which it only needed that popular breath be blown to kindle into flame. In the organization of the Anti-Masonic party the following year we find:—

1. Those persons who, like Thaddeus Stevens, had been blackballed on application for initiation.*

2. Those whose son, father or brother had been among "rejected applicants for Masonry."

3. Those who had been suspended or expelled by the Lodge for un-Masonic conduct.

4. Politicians who "sniffed the battle afar off," and anticipated spoils and plunder in the organization of a new party.

5. Members of the Roman Catholic church taught by their priests to hate every society founded upon liberty of conscience, and particularly Freemasonry, the oldest and largest of all.

6. All fanatics in Protestant churches, who conceive that Christian societies are the only fraternities needed in a Christian country.

7. Henpecked husbands.

8. Newspaper conductors seeking for an unworn hobby.

9. Demitted Masons.

* Thaddeus Stevens, who, for a short time, led the Anti-Masonic host of Pennsylvania, made application to the Masonic Lodge, when a young man, professing that he "had long entertained a favorable opinion of Freemasonry." But he was blackballed on account of a physical defect. Could the facts be ascertained I think that Thurlow Weed's Masonophobia was attributable to a similar rejection.

10. Weak-kneed Masons who imagined that they heard the Masonic temple cracking over their heads, and would be the first to escape.

Summing up these ten classes, it will not surprise the reader to find so many names upon the rolls of Anti-Masonry. This army was further reënforced by deists and atheists who fretted under the influence of a society that assembled around the open Bible, and under the glitter of the emblem that supported the Divine Presence, and in all its processions, whether to a burial, a corner-stone planting, or a dedication, was guided by the movements of the Bible-bearer. We may include also sots and debauchees, no small number, and other classes unnecessary to name.

The elements of discord, as remarked, were in existence though latent. The misconduct of some of the Masonic leaders must not be overlooked. Caution in the selection of materials for the mystical work had not invariably been exercised as the Masonic law required, and the application of Solomon's "fly in the pot of ointment" was easy. Men had been *affiliated* in Masonry who could not be *assimilated*. The door of the Lodge, theoretically strait and narrow to the outer world, had been unduly widened. This was a sore evil, and sore was the penalty. Men, by nature too obtuse to perceive the real purpose of the Society, or hardened by evil until their hearts failed to respond to its more generous emotions, wore the outward show, but exhibited none of the charming blossoms, none of the fragrant fruits of the mystic tree. They proved to be mill-stones about the neck of the Lodge. The car of progress moved heavily under the too heavy load. In an Order where every member was supposed to possess feet for locomotion, arms for labor, spirits for fraternal love, and head for wisdom, men were found who could neither walk, work, love nor think. How could they love that they did not appreciate? These men were in a fit condition to *renounce* and

even *denounce* a yoke which to them was neither easy nor light. The outer world all the while was observing their misconduct and treasuring up their evil deeds in its heart.

Another intimation of the storm about to burst upon Freemasonry, was the numerous rejections of applications by the Lodges. The paradox that "the more you receive the more you reject" holds good in Masonry. In a period of prosperity like that of 1826, thousands will knock at the doors of Lodges influenced by motives of ambition, interest, mercenary cravings, etc., that play on the chords of the human heart. Each one of these finds, or is liable to find, inside the door, men who will veto the application. By the secret ballot none save the All-Seeing Eye can detect the color of the ball that decides the applicant's fate. So it follows that there is always a circle outside the Lodge, inimical to Freemasonry. Revenge leads to hatred, and wherever opposition is popular, to public opposition. It only needs a bugle-call, a rallying cry, to organize such persons into an army of offense whose success will be commensurate with their ability for zeal and the skill with which they are combined. There was a host of such in 1826, and it was not long until a company of leaders, shrewd, unprincipled and farseeing, came forward to the work of organization. Within four years Freemasonry in New York was apparently crushed under foot and well nigh powerless. Many of its friends were discouraged and fell, silent. Many of its nominal votaries were renouncing, some were denouncing it. Its portals were deserted. Its chambers were without echo. The Bible upon its altars was closed. Dust settled like a pall. How was the mighty fallen!

Yet many of its adherents though "troubled on every side were not distressed; perplexed, yet they were not in despair; persecuted they were not forsaken; cast down they were not destroyed." They continued "in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprison-

ments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings, by pureness, by knowledge, by long suffering, by kindness, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the armor of righteousness, on the right hand and on the left," even as the apostle had exhorted well doers in Christian truth.

The nominal cause of all this ruinous change, as we shall shortly see, was the disappearance of WILLIAM MORGAN from western New York in September, 1826. He is the Benedict Arnold, the Judas Iscariot, the Erostrates of the Masonic ruin of 1826-36. His name is now applied to all professed expositions of Masonry both antecedent to that year and subsequent, to all betrayals of Masonic faith, oral and written, to all sorts of political Anti-Masonry. Bernard the reverend, and Avery Allyn the irreverend, Stratton and Gardner, Merrick and Slade, Wirt and Adams, these and thousands from the bottom round of the political ladder to the top, have all taken their tone from William Morgan, and have not been ashamed to be named in American history as the friends, advocates and apologists of such a man. There are three men in our country who have given their names to as many forms of scandal,—let them be embalmed in the same mummy-case,—Swartwout, Potter, Morgan.

The generation of the century to come will not easily understand the claim of this wretch or the friends of this wretch to monopolize the columns of newspapers, the pages of books, the surface of broadsides, the measures of verse for four long years. The Macaulay of that time, gleaning among rubbish and trash for golden facts, will, I think, make short work of "the Morgan period." He will pass over in a few sneering paragraphs that which was the political aliment of thousands. In mercy, then, to historian and reader let it be known, once for all, who and what was William Morgan. To know where a man was born, where raised, where married, and where buried is the first inquiry, and to this my third chapter shall be given.

A reference to the literature of the Masonic institution, available to readers in 1826, follows now in proper place. The Masonic bibliography of Kloss and other foreign writers, and of Corson, Drummond and others in America, is too extensive for my pages; nor will the reader look for it here, seeing that he can have access to those works in any collection of Masonic books. I will condense under a few heads the principal Masonic works found on book shelves in 1826.

ADDRESSES.—Of these a very great number were extant, many of them profoundly erudite, yet sparkling with practical matter. I will instance the following: "A Dissertation upon Masonry," June 24, 1734, anonymous; Address, December 11, 1735, by Martin Clare; April, 1757, by Thos. Dunckerley; September 11, 1769, by the same; May 23, 1776, by William Dodds; December 28, 1778, by William (afterward Bishop) Smith; January 24, 1778, by William Forbes; December 28, 1778, by General James M. Varnum; June 25, 1781, by William Dunbar; December 27, 1781, by Joseph Hiller; September 30, 1783, by Oliver Lewis; December 27, 1791, by John Watkins; December 24, 1793, by DeWitt Clinton; October 12, 1796, by William Bentley; the same day by William Dix; June 24, 1796, by Thomas W. Hooper; June 5, 1797, by Jethro Inwood; June 24, 1777, by Benjamin Green; June 25, 1798, by Charles Jackson; December 27, 1798, by Charles Bentley; February 27, 1800, by Samuel Morgan; February 22, 1800, by John Vining; January 1, 1800, by Samuel Chaudron; February 22, 1800, by Royal Tyler; December 27, 1802, by John W. Gurley; same date by Henry Clay; June 24, 1802, by Benjamin Gleeson; June 24, 1803, by Andrew Harpending. But from this time forward the list of Masonic addresses becomes too large for reference outside of *Bibliographia Masonica*.

MONITORS, HAND-BOOKS.—As these often contain com-

pendiums of Masonic history and the principles and laws of the Masonic institution, they form the popular division in every Masonic collection. "Ahiman Rezon," by Lawrence Dermott, 1756 (many subsequent editions); "Freemasons' Pocket Companion," 1772, 1781, 1792, etc., anonymous; "Ahiman Rezon," by William Smith, D.D., 1783; "New Ahiman Rezon," by John K. Reed, 1791; "Maryland Ahiman Rezon," by G. Keating, 1797; "Freemasons' Monitor," by Thomas Smith Webb, 1797, with very many subsequent editions; "Freemasons' Companion," by John Phillips, 1805; "Freemasons' Library," by Samuel Cole, 1817; "Freemasons' Monitor," by James Hardie, 1819; "Masonic Chart," by Jeremy L. Cross, 1820, extended to many subsequent editions.

MASONIC JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.—The earliest publication of this class in my knowledge is the "Sentimental and Masonic Magazine," commenced at Dublin, Ireland, about 1790; "Freemasons' Magazine and General Miscellany," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1811; "New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine," Boston, Massachusetts, 1818; "American Masonic Register" and "Ladies' and Gentlemen's Magazine," New York, 1820; "Masonic Miscellany," Lexington, Kentucky, 1821; "Masonic Register," Vevay, Indiana, 1825; "Masonic Mirror and Mechanics' Intelligencer," 1825; "Escritoir, or Masonic and Miscellaneous Album," Albany, New York, 1826.

MASONIC HISTORIES, ESSAYS, ETC.—Of these there was a great supply, one publication of the class, entitled "Speculative Masonry," by Salem Town, LL.D., passing through several editions. Various collections of songs and poems, embodying Masonic sentiments, were in use, published in 1788, 1802, 1807, etc., those by Vinton, 1816, and Eastman, 1818, enjoying the largest measure of popularity.

HOLY SCRIPTURES.—Although there has been no copy of the Holy Bible printed directly under Masonic auspices, yet in the inception of the American Bible Society quite a num-

ber of Lodges, both Grand and constituent, and many prominent Freemasons have made subscriptions of money, and words of encouragement. It was thought to be an enterprise eminently worthy of Masonic patronage. DeWitt Clinton, while Grand Master of New York Masons, was President of the American Bible Society, and delivered an address at its annual meeting full of power and unction.*

Nor must we lose sight of the well-known fact that every regular Lodge is and must needs be furnished with the Holy Bible, which is described to candidates as the inestimable gift of God to man, and his guide of faith and practice. It required about three thousand Bibles in 1826, and now (1883) more than thrice that number, to supply the demand of the American and Canadian Lodges.

EXPOSITIONS, RITUALS, TUILLEURS, ETC.—There is no department of literature bearing upon Freemasonry better worth examination than that of Expositions. It is claimed by Anti-Masonic authorities that the Batavia stone-mason, William Morgan, was *the first* to attempt publishing the secrets of the institution to the public; but I will show that every bookseller in 1826 had in his stock some publication of this class, and that as ignorant a man as Morgan could easily cull out of them a system of work and lectures professedly Masonic. The catalogue following is but a partial one, but gives an idea of the richness of the department:

1724. The Grand Mystery of Freemasonry Discovered. This I believe is the oldest Exposition.

* May 8, 1823, the venerable John Jay, President, being incapacitated from age and infirmity, DeWitt Clinton delivered the opening address, in which he said: "If it be admitted that the Bible is a revelation from God, intended for the benefit of man in this world and for his happiness in a future state, it follows as an inevitable corollary that its extensive circulation is a duty of the most imperative nature and an interest of the highest character. In such a holy cause as yours, be assured that the visitations of divine approbation will attend your proceedings; that opposition will prove like the struggles of a river with the ocean, and that although mountains of sophistry may be piled on mountains of invective, like Ossa upon Pelion, all such attempts will terminate like the fabled wars of the Titans, and can never prevail against truth and heaven."

1725. The Secret History of Freemasonry.
 1730. Masonry Dissected. Samuel Pritchard.
 1737. The Tenets of Freemasonry Made Known to All Men. By the Same.
 1737. The Mystery of Masonry.
 1737. The Mysterious Reception of the Celebrated Society of Freemasons.
 1742. *Le Secret des Franc-Maçons*. Abbé Paran.
 1745. The Testament of a Freemason.
 1745. Catechism of Freemasons. Leonard Gabanon.
 1747. *L'Adepté Maçon*.
 1762. Jachin and Boaz, in many English editions. American editions appeared in 1798, 1803, 1812, 1817, 1818, etc.
 1751. *Le Maçon Demasqué*.
 1759. The Secrets of Masonry Revealed.
 1759. Allegorical Conversations Organized by Wisdom.
 1764. Hiram, or the Grand Master.
 1765. Shibboleth, or Every Man a Freemason.
 1766. Solomon in all his Glory.
 1767. The Three Distinct Knocks.
 1764. Hiram, or the Grand Master's Key.
 1766. M—B—, or the Grand Lodge Door Opened.
 1769. The Freemason Stripped Naked.
 1792. Veil Withdrawn for the Curious.
 1797. Proofs of a Conspiracy. Abbé Baruel.
 1798. Master-Key. Isaac Brown.
 1800 to 1803. Masonic Treatises, Keys and Elucidations. Wm. Finch.

The above, it will be remarked, are mostly in the English language. Besides these, there were scores of Exposition works, large and small, in French, German, Spanish and other tongues. There must of course have been a *demand* for so much trash of this class, but the supply was even more redundant.

But the work of all others most available to Morgan and Miller, was the following :

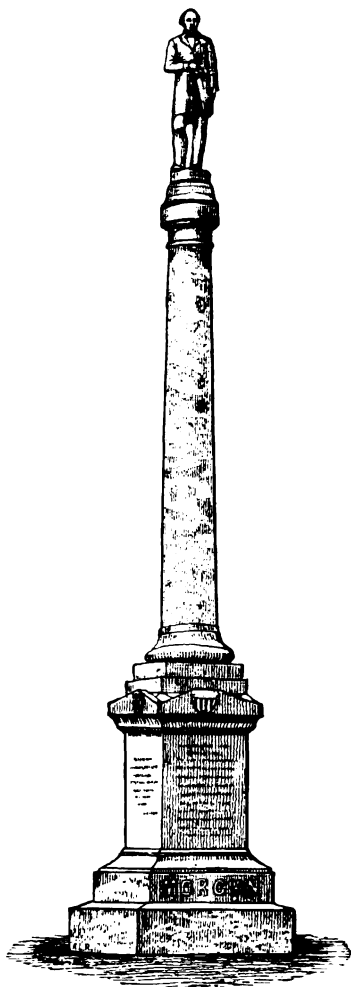
1812. The Anti-Christian and Anti-Social Conspiracy. An extract from the French of the Abbé Baruel; to which is prefixed Jachin and Boaz, or An Authentic Key to the

Door of Freemasonry Ancient and Modern. 8vo, pp. 438. Frontispiece. Printed by Joseph Ehrnfried. Lancaster, Pa. 1812.

As Lancaster, Pa., is but a hundred miles or so from Batavia, and this book, issued very cheaply, must have been well known to the conspirators at that place, we may readily believe that the manuscript for the "Illustrations" is greatly indebted to the enterprise of Joseph Ehrnfried.

It is a striking comment upon such a collection of books, that *no two of them agree*, even in the essentials of the matter. Some to be sure, contain hints that to the well-posted Mason are of value, but on the other hand, a considerable portion of them are sheer fabrications having no more similarity to Freemasonry than a ritual of the Eleusinian Rites might have, were such a book extant.

But my purpose in giving the catalogue here is answered when the reader discovers that the *so-called* Morgan's "Illustrations of Masonry," but absolutely composed by Miller, was *not the first nor the first hundredth work* of this class in the hands of the public in 1826, though C. G. Finney, in his late attack upon Freemasonry, stoutly affirms that it was.



MONUMENT TO MORGAN, AT BATAVIA, N. Y.

CHAPTER III.

WHO WAS WILLIAM MORGAN?

WHO was William Morgan? I speak within bounds when I affirm that since 1846, when I began my specific inquiries concerning William Morgan and his expatriation, I have conversed with more than one hundred who were personally acquainted with him. Some of these were Anti-Masons, bitterly prejudiced as such, against the very name of Freemasonry; others were Freemasons, retaining their sharp contempt for the politicians (Weed, Adams, etc.), who pursued them and their Order so unrelentingly. Among the latter were Gen. W. E. Lathrop (deceased April 22, 1877), Nicholas G. Chesebro (deceased October 9, 1861), Jeremiah Brown, Solomon C. Wright, John Whitney (deceased May 3, 1869), Abelard Reynolds (deceased December 19, 1878), and many others; among the former was Edward Giddins, who next to Mr. Weed, inflicted the most damage upon us.

With one accord and without a single exception, my informants, whether friends or foes, describe William Morgan as: "A worthless fellow," "A low-down white man," "A sot," "A bummer" (to use the modern phrase), "A rum soak," "A hanger-on at grog-shops," "Idle," "Ignorant," "Never seen to read even a newspaper," "A common sailor with the vices and diseases of the class," "A wretch who for years abandoned wife and children to the charity of the public," "A bankrupt," "A petty thief," "A hotel-skipper," "A botch at his trade of brick-mason," "A foul-mouthed swearer," "Obscene and filthy in habits,"

• "A habitual liar," "An infamous knave," "An apostate from grace;" these expressions noted down from the lips of men who knew William Morgan while living. "During his residence in our village [Batavia] no respectable person kept company with him or with his wife;" "he was never seen at Church, in Bible Society, or at school meetings;" "his name is not found as a householder or mechanic in any paper in western New York, so far as I have ascertained, and I have made a careful examination of newspaper files in the Historical Library at Albany."* He owned no property here of any sort; he boarded his family wherever he could; he was in debt to everybody who would trust him.† In a bar-room crowd it was nuts to hear the braggadocio, at times hinting darkly at piratical deeds done with Lafitte at Baratavia, and of black flags, old Simon walking the plank, etc.; at other times leading his company against Packenham when Jackson and Morgan gained glory together at New Orleans; the most credulous man in the village would have scorned to believe anything William Morgan said, unless corroborative evidence could be had."

Many pages of this sort might be filled from my note books, without exhausting the subject, but the reader may safely accept this in general, that no man would ever have inquired after William Morgan save his creditors, but for the mysterious circumstances connected with his departure.

* I can testify to this same fact. After scrutinizing every paragraph in David C. Miller's paper, at Batavia, N. Y., the "Republican Advocate," I have failed to discover Morgan's name in a single instance, until after his expatriation, September 11, 1826.

† Morgan's arrests for debt in 1826 were numerous. Early in July he was sued in the Supreme Court for considerable sums due parties in Rochester, and gave for bail Nahum Loring and Orange Allen. July 25, Nathan Follett sued him and cast him in the jail limits. August 19, Thomas McCully sued him and he remained in prison until Miller and others bailed him out and again placed him in the limits. The last suit was at Canandaigua, where he was jailed September 12, for the sum of \$2.68, as will be seen in its place.

The title of "Captain," applied to this compound of knave and fool, was never given to Morgan at Batavia, or certainly not as connected with military service. It was only necessary to observe the slouching gait of the cad, the humped spine, the tottering knees, the general shamblé of his make-up, to see the absurdity of this. If ever he was called "Captain," and none of my informants can recollect that he was, the title was given him on the principle that the homeliest and most worthless negro in our Southern villages is usually denominated "General" or "Judge." Upon the whole it is plain that Morgan got his Captaincy from David C. Miller, countersigned by Thurlow Weed.

The portrait given in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1827, and reproduced in various Anti-Masonic works, is strictly the creature of fancy. No real portrait of the Batavia loafer was ever taken. The artist who is responsible for the fiction, had before him a likeness of DEWITT CLINTON, and it was only necessary to contract the noble forehead and shorten the grand profile of that statesman and the work was done. As imagination is thus admitted in aid to biography, I feel at liberty to draw upon mine, and the "fancy sketch" that serves for an illustration to this volume will be admitted by all who remember William Morgan as a fair set-off to the other picture. The reader will be at liberty to take his choice; perhaps one resembles him as much as the other.

It is said, in the mythical reports of the day, that William Morgan was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, in the year 1774 or 1775. This may be so, though no substantial evidence has been adduced to sustain the assertion. There are no records at the county seat of Culpepper, Culpepper Court House, of William Morgan or his family, and I can discover nothing concerning parents or brothers or sisters, there. Upon the whole, I incline to the belief that Morgan was not a Virginian or even American by birth, but rather

English, and this was the belief of Whitney, Chesebro, Follett, Ebenezer Mix and others who knew him personally. That he married Miss Lucinda Pendleton, near Richmond, Virginia, in 1819, is well established, also that he came to Rochester, New York, in 1823, and set up as a brick and stone mason; but the myth of his operating as a brewer at York, Upper Canada, and being burned out there and reduced to bankruptcy, depends strictly upon what credence we may place in Miller and Weed. I do not believe a word of it.

The most flattering account of the person and character of William Morgan extant, is found in Henry Brown's "Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement," published in 1829. When I first read this book, presented me by Mr. Brown, some thirty years since, I felt persuaded that I had an unprejudiced statement of the various circumstances which occurred under his own eyes, and it was under this impression that I republished it in 1855, in volume XXVIII of "The Universal Masonic Library." But upon more faithful comparison of the "Narrative" with other works of the day, and with personal statements, I have been compelled to change my opinion. It is too evident that Mr. Brown was soured by some grievance of his own connected with the Morgan affair,—perhaps the neglect to follow his advice, or to select him as counsel in the Morgan trials, in place of Griffin, Matthews and others.

However, I admit that I find in Brown's "Narrative" much that is quotable, and his account of Morgan among the rest.

"Of the early history of this man," he says, "little or nothing is known.* It has been asserted, though probably more for effect than for anything else, that he was a captain in General Jackson's army, and fought and distin-

* Let the reader select in his own mind the lowest and most insignificant character in all his acquaintance, a sot, a bumner, an ignoramus, and after the death of such a person, let him attempt to write a biographical sketch of him!

guished himself at the battle of New Orleans.* It has also been asserted that he belonged to a band of pirates and was sentenced to be hanged, but pardoned by the American Government on condition of entering the army. These, however, are merely reports, got up and circulated since his abduction, and neither of them, probably, is entitled to any credit. It has been pretended (by Miller, Weed and others) that his commission (as captain) was among some papers taken at Batavia upon an attachment, in July or August, 1826, a short time before he left the place. The charge, however, is made without any foundation whatever. If he had been a captain, as pretended, the records of the war department at Washington would have furnished the requisite proof, and it is not probable if such was the fact that we should have been left in the dark on a subject to which so much importance has been attached.

He removed from Canada to Rochester, New York, in 1823, where he worked at the trade of a stone-mason, and received occasionally some assistance from the Masonic Fraternity there. From thence, not long after, he removed to Batavia, and worked at his trade.† During the time of his residence in Batavia he was very intemperate and frequently neglected his family. He had no advantages of education in early life. Possessed of a good share of common sense and considerable suavity of manners, he appeared respectable, and when uninfluenced by ardent spirits was a pleasant, social companion. He was made a Royal Arch Mason, in LeRoy, about four or five years ago [this was written in 1829], but when or where he received the preceding degrees is not certainly known, and we have no means at present of ascertaining. When it was proposed in 1825 or 1826 to establish a Chapter in Batavia, a petition to the Grand Chapter of the State was drawn up for the purpose of obtaining a charter. The individual to whom it was intrusted, for the purpose of procuring signatures, without reflecting that all who signed the petition would become members, of course, inadvertently presented it to Morgan

* During the Morgan excitement a standing reward of fifty dollars was offered to anyone who would prove Morgan's connection with Jackson's army, or find his name upon the rolls of the American army. This reward was never claimed!

† Mrs. Morgan, in her affidavit and testimony at various places, avers that they settled in Batavia in 1823.

and he, being at that time a zealous Mason, signed it. Before, however, the petition was presented to the Grand Chapter, some individuals, unwilling that he should become a member, on account of his habits, thought it advisable to draw up a new petition, which was accordingly done. The new one was presented and a charter obtained. When the charter subsequently arrived, and the Chapter was about being organized, it was found, much to Morgan's surprise, that his name was not included among their number, and of course, that he could not be admitted without a unanimous vote. Being unable at that time to procure such a vote, he was excluded. At this he took offense and from being the warm and zealous friend of the Institution as he had hitherto pretended to be, he became at once its determined foe.

His habits being dissolute, his principles hanging loosely about him, and the companions with whom he associated spurring him on the undertaking, the immense wealth which he, and probably they, supposed would reward his exertions, induced him, at every hazard, to attempt the revelation of Masonic secrets. Soon after this determination was formed his intentions were publicly announced. At first it was regarded by all, Masons as well as others, as a thing of little or no importance. It was soon perceived, however, that an apparent uneasiness was felt on the part of some inconsiderate Masons. This, of course, stimulated Miller, Morgan and their friends to persevere in the work."

Mr. Brown's statement is supplemented by one communicated to me in 1853 by Ebenezer Mix, a veteran Mason of Batavia, New York, of much and deserved repute, and a gentleman who followed with critical eye the progress of the Morgan affair from first to last.* Judge Mix informed me:

"That the character of Morgan was in all respects infamous. At Rochester, working at his trade (stone-mason) for a Brother Warren, he wormed himself so deeply into that gentleman's confidence as to persuade him that he

* In my last visit to Batavia, September, 1882, I found upon the town plot a "Mix Place;" etc., and several members of that family still living. I shall give more concerning Judge Mix further on.

(Morgan) was a Freemason, and succeeded in entering the Lodge at Batavia (Wells Lodge, No. 282, established in 1817) as a visitor. He claimed to have been made in Canada or some foreign country where the work is different from that in New York, and by this means avoided the suspicions excited by his stammering attempts to pass examination. But there was no evidence adduced either then or afterward that he ever received a Masonic degree lawfully save the Royal Arch at LeRoy, New York, May 31, 1825. How he got that is explained by some yet living. That he declared upon oath he had received the other six in a regular manner, and thus satisfied the Companions there. But there must have been a most reprehensible laxity among the Masons both of Rochester and LeRoy. During the year 1823, as before remarked, he removed to Batavia where he resided at intervals until his deportation. Then, it was said, he engaged Grand Lecturer Blanchard Powers,* to give him a course of Masonic instruction and this afforded him a better claim to Masonic position than he had before. The class which shared with Morgan in these lectures met in a room adjacent to the printing office of David C. Miller. [See marginal note for contradiction.]

At this time Morgan was about fifty years of age. There is no genuine likeness of him extant, but it is remembered that he was five feet six inches in height, square in build, with a dark complexion and, when closely viewed, a fiendish eye. He had little depth of thought, was buoyant in spirits, versatile in character and extremely illiterate.

*Blanchard Powers, whose name frequently appears in the history of the Morgan times, was a Thompsonian physician, as practitioners were called who took their book, theory and license from Dr. Samuel Thompson of botanic fame. Their *materna medica* was roots, seeds and herbs, and in the frontier settlements their practice was popular and lucrative.

As a Mason, Dr. Powers was deemed "bright," and enjoyed the confidence of the craft of the district in which Batavia was reckoned. Greene says ("Broken Seal") that Powers lectured William Morgan, and designates the apartment; but Brother Powers always denied this, and declared that "he never had any confidence in Morgan or encouraged his Masonic claims." He left Morgan's name off the revised petition for the Royal Arch Chapter at Batavia, and this, it is believed, was the moving cause of Morgan's turning traitor to the institution. Powers died at Bethany, Genesee county, New York, April 8, 1849, of dropsy, aged nearly eighty. He had a Masonic burial, and his body now rests in the rural cemetery of the Putnam Settlement, but without a stone to mark the spot. Further information concerning this good man may be looked for in a subsequent chapter.

He cared but little for the acquisition of money save as the means of temporary enjoyment. He was much addicted to drink, and when intoxicated, very brutal and ferocious. He would take his wife, who was small and feeble in person, by the hair of the head and dash her furiously about the apartment, breaking the furniture and committing many other outrageous acts. Although quite unlearned he was loud in bar-room debates, and passed, in the lower sort of grog-shops, as an oracle. With the classes of men who throng the stove-rooms of taverns on winter nights he might be esteemed a paragon of learning, having seen much of the world and being on common matters quite informed, but by a discriminating observer his true mark would readily appear egotist and ignoramus. His family consisted of a wife and two children, who through his idleness and improvident habits were often brought to extreme want, and became the subjects of common charity, especially of the never failing beneficence of the Masonic Craft."

I have vainly sought among the records of the day any account of William Morgan that gives him as good a character as these quoted. No one, not even Thurlow Weed, came to his rescue. S. D. Greene ("Broken Seal"), admits that he was intemperate, "at times would drink freely according to the fashions of the day; had himself seen Morgan when he had been drinking more than was good for him, but it was a period of hard and general drinking," and he rather excuses than blames him. Being himself a rumseller, this was natural enough. But no person has put upon record that William Morgan was an honest man, or an industrious man or chaste, or of reverent speech, or an advocate of any reform, or informed in the issues of the day, or anything, in short, but a worthless fellow.

And here are some facts communicated by Mr. C. H. Dickinson, of Fredonia, New York, in 1857. This gentleman was an operative Mason, and in later years a member of Western Star Royal Arch Chapter, No. 33, at LeRoy, New York, the same Chapter which had the odium in 1825

of conferring its highest grade of exaltation upon William Morgan. He remembers Morgan well. Afflicted by the vice, too prevalent at that period, and every period, intemperance, Morgan was extremely violent when drunk. This was seen in his treatment of his wife, a small, feeble woman, whom he would catch up by the hair in his paroxysms and dash her furiously about the room, breaking the furniture and committing many desperate acts, which, in these more temperate times, would subject a Mason to expulsion, not only from Masonry, but equally from the Church and decent society.

Mr. Dickinson assured me that Morgan had neither a strong mind nor a retentive memory. So poorly calculated was he for making a book of any kind, and especially a Masonic book, that, upon the rumor early in 1826 that he was really engaged in that undertaking, there was a general roar of ridicule through Genesee county. No danger, it was thought, was to be apprehended from Morgan, for he could know but little of Freemasonry, and he had neither the education, capacity nor industry to compose a book. It seemed afterward that he had some industry, if nothing else, but his entire manuscript, such as it was, had to be revised in orthography, punctuation, etc., by David C. Miller, and then copied entire before it went into the hands of the compositor. "Thus it appears," said Brother Dickinson, "that Morgan was but a main receptacle or hopper through which the crude and vile materials of his putative production were passed."

A letter written in 1856, by Mr. E. S. Ferguson, Uhrichsville, Ohio, contains the following statements:

"It is my misfortune to be distantly connected with William Morgan. My grandfather, Benjamin Ferguson, married Lucy Pendleton, whose sister, Lucinda Pendleton, was married to William Morgan in 1819. This man was said to be born August 7, 1774, in Culpepper county, Virginia. He married Lucinda Pendleton, October, 1819, and

when he disappeared, in September, 1826, she was left with two small children. In 1821 he went to York, Canada, and began business there as a brewer."

In 1853 I made the acquaintance of a venerable man, a Freemason, at Gordonsville, Kentucky, named John Day, now long since deceased. He was a cousin of William Morgan, and helped me to some information which serves to variegate this narrative. The grandmother of Mr. Day and the father of William Morgan were brother and sister. Morgan served his time as an apprentice to the trade of operative masonry with Joseph Day, brother to my informant, at Hap Hazard Mills, in Madison county, Virginia. Arrived at his majority, about 1795, he worked at his trade for about four years in one of the Western States (Mr. Day thought near Lexington, Kentucky), and then returned to Virginia. He worked upon the Orange County Courthouse, Virginia, boarding with the mother of Mr. Day, who lived there. From Orange county he moved to Richmond, Virginia, whence his subsequent career has been traced up. It was a tradition in Mr. Day's family that at one time Morgan was wholly or partially deranged.

It agrees well with the perversity of human nature that numerous claimants to the entity of William Morgan have appeared since his deportation to Canada. In the many years during which I have investigated this singular piece of history, I have encountered a score of such. Even during the winter of 1882-3, when lecturing through New England, I found claimants to the man turning up on every occasion, and here is a partial catalogue of my discoveries, which I give to prove the ease with which mankind is humbugged:

First. There are living (1883) in Salem, Massachusetts, two ancient sea captains "who saw William Morgan (*the* Morgan, the martyred, the historical Morgan) at Smyrna, in Asia Minor, about 1828, when he was carrying on busi-

ness there as a wholesale fruit dealer, largely interested in figs." To this absurd figment even Bro. Charles W. Moore gave space, but only as a rumor, in his "Freemasons' Monthly Magazine."

Second. There is, or was until recently, a venerable deep-sea mariner near Bridgewater, Massachusetts, who, in the fall of 1826, "took that same William Morgan as a passenger from New York to Antwerp, in Holland, where he saw him afterward, at least once or twice, engaged in a respectable mercantile calling, largely interested this time in Holland gin."

Third. About the year 1876 there died on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, in Arizona, a celebrated Indian chief, one San Procope, who for fifty years had led his people to glory and spoils. In his last days this warrior confessed that he was the veritable William Morgan, of Batavia, New York, revealer of Masonic secrets and a man abhorred both of gods and men.

Fourth. Among the birch-covered glades of Northern Canada there dwelt for many years a hermit, whose bald head and general appearance proved him to be identical with the aforesaid William Morgan, a fact, indeed, which he admitted in his last moments, whispering the same in the ear of a sympathizing friend.

Fifth. Near Russellville, Kentucky, in 1840 or thereabout, died a man, who was well known to confidential friends as the Morgan of unenviable fame. He had lived there in concealment, in constant peril of his life.

Sixth. A pirate of peculiar ferocity and boldness, named Guiliem Ganmore (anagram of William Morgan), was hung at Havana about the year 1838, who communicated to the prison priest, in his dying confession, that he was the Morgan of Anti-Masonic notoriety, and that the deep sense of his guilt had driven him to these terrible excesses.

Seventh. In a low-down shanty, near Albany, New York,

there dwelt for a number of years a gin-soaked creature, who called himself Wanamaker, but "there was good reason to believe him to be William Morgan." It was said that "Thurlow Weed and Governor Seward supported him there, but that upon his threats of disclosure, they met one night, amid wind and rain, and *strangled him*, throwing his worthless carcass into a deep, unused well!"

Eighth. For ten or fifteen years one "Captain" William Morgan was "master of a trading coaster in England that ran from Liverpool to Southhaven, but was finally lost with all hands at sea."

Ninth. An old and respectable Mason in Massachusetts (Brother Benjamin F. Norris, long Grand Tiler) gives a statement communicated to him by a sea captain, which he seems to believe, who testified that *he* took Morgan to Smyrna, but the port of departure was Boston, not New York.

Add to these the various myths recorded by John C. Spencer in his report to the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore; Maryland, 1831: "Sometimes public rumor had William Morgan selling his "Illustrations of Masonry" in Boston, and reaping a harvest from the speculation; sometimes he was in Vermont engaged in the same business; again he was at New Brunswick employed in the fisheries; again at Smyrna in the costume of a Turk." Spencer might have described with gusto the excitement, amounting to a panic, that grew out of a report at Canandaigua, January 2, 1827, that Morgan's body had been found, was on its way to that place, and would reach there before night. As Spencer was the leading counsel for the alleged murderers (Chesebro, etc.), he is said to have accosted those gentlemen with much asperity, charging them that they had held back part of the story from their counsel. Ridiculous as the report was, it had its effect in inducing the three men to plead guilty to the indictment for conspiracy, lest a worse thing might befall them in an indictment for murder.

But we are not through with this singular affair. If space permitted I could fill half a dozen pages with these statements. It was the belief of thousands, during the exciting times I am describing, that the Anti-Masons held Morgan in reserve as a witness to be produced as a *dernier resort*, Thurlow Weed being his jailer; but finding that nothing could be gained by his testimony, but rather loss would result, they murdered him by introducing a heavy charge of laudanum in his rum. *Credat Judæus!*

And this is not all of our modern Proteus. Like the original, described by Virgil in his "Georgics:—"

"Ille, suæ contra non immemor artis,
Omnia transformat sese in miracula verum,
Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluviumque liquentem."

"Not forgetful of his old hypocrisy, Morgan transformed himself into all sorts of queer shapes, as a fire, a dreadful wild beast and a flowing river."

One class of writers informs us that the body of William Morgan, after his shameful assassination, was thrown over the Falls of Niagara, and is yet whirling, it may be supposed, in the pool below. When the writer composed his poem, on the brink of that stupendous cataract, in August, 1864, he had forgotten the story of this romantic disposition of a corpse, or he might have wrought it into the same.

Others have Morgan an officer in the Don Carlos war in Spain; others that he was regularly supported at Albany, New York, by the Treasury of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of that State, the necessary funds being dispensed by John O. Cole, of that city, the Grand Secretary; others that he was a market-gardener on Long Island; others that under an assumed name he made himself useful as a lecturer on Masonry, and so died in the harness; others—but why consume valuable space? Those who listen to these silly fancies overlook the fact that Morgan was a man utterly unknown outside of a little space of country, and

that he could not have been recognized a hundred miles from home. That counterfeit Morgans were numerous enough cannot be disputed. More than one devotee of the Anti-Masonic Gospel "according to Miller" was deceived into giving money and shelter to such. But the only resemblance that could be distinctly traced was a drunken habit, a filthy tongue, a pimped face and an insatiable greed for money.

When Santa Anna was in this country, about the beginning of the Mexican War, he told some Masonic brethren that there lived (or had lived) in the city of Mexico a man calling himself William Morgan, a citizen of the United States, and that he (Santa Anna) believed him the Morgan of Masonic notoriety. He was then about seventy years of age, seemed to have no visible means of support, but loitered about the city as an outcast.

It is a sufficient comment upon all these fables that William Morgan was more than fifty years of age when he was deported from Batavia, New York, in 1826; that his constitution was undermined by excesses, intemperance and other vices; that he was an idle, worthless fellow; that he was unlearned in books and business, scarcely able to read and write; finally, could his hiding place have been discovered, that no pains or cost would have deterred the Masonic fraternity,—shrinking under the popular charge of murder—from tracing him out and establishing the fact of his being alive. It is proper to say, in this connection, that his wife, Mrs. Lucinda Morgan, was soon married again, her Anti-Masonic friends hurrying the ceremony that it might serve as *quasi* testimony of her widowhood.

In an old book of Oriental travel, entitled "The Shores of the Mediterranean," of which I have vainly sought a copy, occurs this passage,—

"I met with a renegade who had renounced his Christian creed and adopted Mohammedanism. He is a native of the United States, named William Morgan, and is charged with

having revealed the secrets of Freemasonry. His life at home, he said, was threatened. His countrymen believed that he had disappeared in the Falls of Niagara, but he found safety in flight."

Here is a forcible paragraph from an anonymous correspondent:

"Morgan was the boss crank of his day--a mixture of self-conscious vanity, malice, superstition and excitableness, with a marked ingredient of depravity. Had he possessed a little more sense he might have been a *villain*; a little less would have made him a *lunatic*."

In September, 1882, I looked through the old cemetery at Batavia for references to the family name of Morgan, but found none. Some of my notes are appended:

"A quiet stroll through the cemetery reveals various names that occur in the attack and in the defense of Freemasonry, but nothing of Morgan. All sleep quietly side by side, for all now see eye to eye. Genesee county emigrants to other parts may like to read them. Under a splendid mausoleum, having an immense flower vase in front, scarlet with geraniums (September 10, 1882), lies Dean Richmond, the railway king. Hinman Holden rests under a plain granite slab marked with an equal cross. Dr. Holton Ganson, 1875. G. G. Sutherland, 1871, is honored by the device of the square and the compass, but there is little taste or novelty in the symbols of grief and the resurrection, among these gravestones. A rosebud is for Little Kitty, and the great elms and ancient apple trees and smooth maples overshadow the cradle of the child. The Masonic emblem above named tells where lies B. Brewster, 1878; A. W. Ensigne, William J. Roddy, Benjamin Clark and a few others. Nathan Follett is here; died 1875. A broken column rises above William Franklin. The grave of Timothy Munro is scarcely marked. Long years ago it is said some mischievous fellow wrote on it with his finger, and filled the traces with the seed of pepper-grass, the words: 'THE GOOD ENOUGH MORGAN.' This ghastly joke was once performed on the grave of an inebriate accidentally drowned, on which was written in these living characters the sentence: 'MURDERED BY MASONS.' The grave of the Rev. Lucius D. Smith, 1784-1847, is glorified with the word, '*Resurgam*.'"

Base as was the character which in this chapter is described, he had before him models of morality and uprightness. The By-Laws of this Royal Arch Chapter to which William Morgan's name was appended, May 31, 1825, have the following provisions, to which the attention of the reader is respectfully called:

"To prevent late sessions that are calculated to encourage dissipation and produce fault-finding in families, the Chapter shall assemble at one o'clock, P.M., and shall not sit after nine o'clock, P.M., unless it is absolutely necessary. It shall be the duty of every member, as soon as convenient after the Chapter is closed, *quietly to return to his lodgings, or to his necessary avocations.* To encourage orderly conduct: Any companion or brother behaving improperly in the Chapter, or in going to or from the Chapter, shall be subject to a reprimand from the High Priest, and to such penalty as the majority of the companions present shall inflict. To insure sound and reliable materials: No companion shall be exalted to the degree of Royal Arch Mason in this Chapter who has not evinced a humane and charitable disposition, and become proficient in the preceding degrees. To avoid lawsuits: Inasmuch as we are commanded to agree with our adversary quickly, much more does it become our duty to be reconciled to a Brother. Therefore, if at any time any unhappy differences shall arise between Brethren, it shall be their duty to submit the case to one or more of the Brethren, and in no case shall they have recourse to law until that is found to be the only alternative. In which unhappy event, a spirit of reconciliation and brotherly love is strictly enjoined."

To these By-Laws the name of "W. Morgan" was duly signed in his own hand, May 31, 1825. After his treason and deportation, the Secretary of the Chapter *besmeared his signature with inked finger*, and this is the present appearance of the name:



By the skill of an accomplished artist (Prof. A. L. Rawson, of New York), a fac-simile of the name, relieved of the blotches, has been traced, and is here given:



In no other record of the many that I have examined have I been able to find an autograph of William Morgan. Other names of seceding and perverted members were treated on this old record-book with the same scornful *smear*, viz., Augustus P. Hascall, who signed August 30, 1825, and seceded from the Order under disgraceful circumstances. He is recorded as "expelled," and *bedaubed* with ink. John Hascall, who signed December 26, 1825, passed through the same ordeal, and so did others of lesser note.

These Hascalls, John and A. P., went into the Anti-Masonic party with a plunge. At the convention, LeRoy, February 19, 1828, they signed a certificate to the effect that "the 'Illustrations of Masonry,' by Morgan, is a fair and full exposition." To this I see David C. Miller appended his name as an Entered Apprentice, the only instance that I discover of his positively admitting his Masonic connection, even as an Entered Apprentice. Solomon Southwick signs as a Mark Master, David Bernard as a Royal Arch Mason, Richard Hollister as a Knight of the Red Cross, and the two Hascalls, with five others, as Knights Templar. John Hascall was elected to the Legislature as a reward for thus turning his coat. David C. Miller, whose unfitness for the office was acknowledged by all, was made Clerk of the County, and other bits of *fat* were thrown to the Anti-Masons here and there in acknowledgement of all demands.

Such paragraphs as the following are simply the rotten-

wood of history. My scrap book has scores of them, but all without truth. "It is said that Ephraim Sherman Durfee, an old Mason and soldier of the War of 1812, died recently at Oshkosh, Wis., aged ninety-seven. He was W.M. of Rochester Lodge, and made Morgan a Mason there. He left the State of New York in consequence of the pressure of Anti-Masonry." Sufficient for this, there was no "Rochester Lodge." There was a Wells Lodge, No. 282, established, in 1817, and William Morgan was certainly not made a Mason in that Lodge, if in any other.

In my attempts to trace the public repute of William Morgan, I examined files of the newspapers of the period at Batavia, and here are some notes worth preserving:

I have spent three peaceful days in the Circuit Clerk's room inspecting files of the old Batavia papers. If falsehood and fury were steel and flint, these papers had long since gone up in flame. What slanders, what falsehood, what personal abuse, what hatreds! Here is the "Republican Advocate," established in 1811 by David C. Miller and Benjamin Blodgett, and still continued, seventy-two years of age, the oldest press, I am told, in western New York. Here is the "Spirit of the Times," established in 1819, by Orin Follett, and the "People's Gazette," of 1825, soon after consolidated with the "Spirit." Here is the "Morgan Investigator," published during the year 1827, poor and thin enough. One would expect to learn much of William Morgan from the "Investigator," but unhappily its investigations were in the direction of fat offices and soft places for the chief investigator, David C. Miller.

And here too is the "Morgan Intelligencer," of about the same date, sustained by contributions from the Freemasons themselves as a counterblast to the last. One of the annoyances to which the editor of the "Intelligencer" was subjected was the reception of large mail packages, costing heavy sums for unpaid postage, which, when opened, were found to contain waste paper only; but the motto on their banner was a sharp one, "Men who secede from Freemasonry secede from virtue, truth, honor and public respect," and bitter was the response, "Masonic combinations are mon-

strous, Masonic ceremonies degrading, Masonic oaths iniquitous and blasphemous."

With pen in hand, I overhaul David C. Miller's "Republican Advocate," paragraph by paragraph, commencing with Vov. IV, No. 706, August 19, 1825. A column of poetry usually appears in each issue, made up of old favorites, among them one by Francis Baker, the bright spirit foully murdered by young Desha, son of Governor Desha, of Kentucky, title, "Ode to Pleasure;" Henry Brown appears as counsellor-at-law in Carpenter's Building; the New York State Literature Lottery advertises largely; D. C. Miller announces that he has patent steelyards for sale; in 1825 the population of the village of Batavia was 1,379; the same year Thurlow Weed is announced as having purchased the "Rochester Telegraph," "a staunch Republican paper;" the oration of M. M. Noah is quoted as delivered at the planting of the corner-stone of the City of Ararat, on Grand Island, Niagara River, (he says in it that three shekels of silver are equivalent to a Spanish dollar, which is very far from the truth); John Davids and James Ganson offer themselves as candidates for the Legislature; Batavia Lodge, No. 453, publicly installed its officers December 19, 1825, at St. James' Church. The Masonic ode sung for the occasion is published in full:

"O, if there be a spot most sweet,
 Most full of bliss, most free from care,
 'Tis when we on the Level meet,
 And when we part upon the Square.
 O, if there be an hour of peace,
 It is when twilight's shadows fall,
 When men their fretful labors cease
 And mingle in the Masons' hall.
 Lodges possess a Mystic Chain
 That fetters every earthly care,
 And if a single human pain
 Intrude, 'tis sure to perish there.
 Not Horeb's rock 'neath Aaron's rod
 Did more refreshing comforts bring
 Than that abundant sacred flood
 That from our fount, the Lodge, may spring.

Afflictions o'er the earth are shed,
 And sure to trouble man is born.
 For sorrows quick the human head
 With winter's frozen locks adorn;
 But winter's storm, adverse and fierce,
 May o'er the earth afflictions waft;
 Why, let them rage, they cannot pierce
 The curtained safety of the Craft.

Should harm approach in distant shape
 The Brother's eye will early scan
 Its wrath, and if he can't escape
 He learns to bear it like a man!
 Should fraud and jealousy conspire,
 And man promote his brother's shame
 Like Judas shall his lamp expire
 And darkness frown upon his name.

Should rust corrode one lengthened link,
 And severing steal it from the chain,
 That Magic Chain, 'tis sweet to think,
 With potent art unites again.
 And when the withered body lies
 And crumbles in the silent tomb,
 Its germ, like Cassia's sprig, shall rise
 And flourish in immortal bloom." *

A fourth newspaper is started in Genesee county, the "LeRoy Gazette;" Rev. Lucius Smith is Vice President Genesee County Bible Society; organization of the Grand Lodge of Mexico is named; S. C. Steele & Co. advertise Masonic charts, Templars' books and Masonic aprons; the anniversary of John the Baptist is celebrated at LeRoy; members of different Orders assemble at their respective places at 9 A.M., march to Presbyterian Church and hear an address; expulsion of an unworthy member by Constellation Lodge, No. 320, is announced.

In August, 1826, the first hints appear that Miller and Morgan are at work on their "Illustrations;" this is in reply to various paragraphs in the "People's Press," the rival sheet which denounces the publication; Miller says edito-

* This reads to me like good poetry, and I have fondly searched for its author, but in vain. The tune to which that "banded host" sang it is called "The Mason's Adieu," but whether the air in minor key, formerly known by that name, or Bonnie Doon, most frequently used in my experience, I cannot say.

rially, he has been threatened with violence if he does not stop his intended exposures, but such clamors only urge him on to its completion, "and while we are thus compelled to an act of justice to ourselves and to the public," he says, "we shall be sorry if we wound the feelings of any honorable men who may have been unfortunate in any of their associations." "The strongest evidence of rottenness in any association," he continues, "is the desire of its worthy men that its secrets may be unfolded, thereby curtailing the practice of frauds and oppressions. 'I would rather give a thousand dollars,' said a worthy man a day or two since, 'than that it should not be done.' This is the sentiment of hundreds within our knowledge, who are of good report." "Some are so excessively foolish as not to hesitate to express this unprincipled and abusive sentiment, that were the lives of any of those who are engaged in a certain work taken by violence the Governor would pardon the murderers! Rest assured, kind sirs, if there were no other hangman found in the state for such a criminal, the Governor himself would perform that duty!" Thus, line after line, expatiates the mercenary knave.

The air is evidently getting murky at Batavia, but as yet the name of William Morgan was not made public. September 1, there is a long article translated from "Knigg's Treatise on Secret Societies." September 8, not a word upon Freemasonry appears in the "Advocate," but on the 15th September a great shriek is heard. The paper teems with accounts of outrages, the abduction of Morgan and the attempt to burn the printing establishment of Miller himself. On the 22d September a notice of the September Convocation of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar appears. Then, in a card of four and a half columns, editorial acknowledgments "for the evidences of sympathy and practical aid tendered him." A lengthy statement follows of the declarations of William Morgan "in anticipation of his approaching fate." These, as afterward amplified and improved by Weed, Southwick, Taggart and others, stand to the present time in the pages of Anti-Masonic literature, as though they were the composition of Morgan himself! But they excited a roar of ridicule from one end of the village of Batavia to the other when they first appeared. A cotemporary says: "Had Dave Miller issued 'Solomon's Book

of Proverbs' under the name of William Morgan, there would have been quite as much likelihood in the authorship. He was just as capable of composing 'Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding' as that windy stuff put into his mouth by the editor of the 'Advocate.'" And yet I saw upon a granite pedestal at Batavia, in September, 1882, extracts from those very apocrypha attributed to Morgan! How true it is that the "written word remaineth!" The reader shall see the whole in due time.

A call from "Many Citizens" appears, summoning the citizens of Batavia and vicinity to meet 25th September, and consider what had been done with William Morgan. The "Advocate" of September 29 gives its first page entire and two-thirds of the second to the proceedings of that meeting. Reference will be made to it in the proper place. I proceed with my extracts:

In the issue of October 6, no information of Morgan's whereabouts could be given. Governor Clinton has been appealed to. Messengers are dispersed in all directions seeking for the *corpus delicti*. Every new made grave is suspiciously probed into. A party finding where the earth has recently been removed under a deserted mill, excavates upon the spot and discovers the putrid cadaver of a calf. Articles by Libertas begin to encumber the columns of the "Advocate," others by Plain Truth, etc. Miller advertises by public sale Pew No. 3 in St. James' Episcopal Church of which the Rev. Lucius Smith is Rector. Smith is too much of a Freemason for a pure spirit like Miller. It being well known, by the way, that Miller was a deist, and the announcement that he had a church pew for sale called out witty remarks, lines in caricature and general screams of laughter.

October 13, the publication of "Sandoval the Freemason" is announced, but without comment. Anti-Masonic meetings in surrounding villages as Victor, etc., begin to appear as matters of news, "the apples being gathered." The Grand jury "had done nobly" at Batavia, closing their labors October 13. Governor Clinton's first proclamation, October 7, appears in full, also a letter from him to the committee of citizens at Batavia. October 20, Miller warns the reader against the Masonic lies touching William Morgan, declaring "that not a living soul friendly to that

man knows anything whatever of his fate. * * * But it must and will be discovered and the instruments of his detention be punished. For the violence inflicted on him, Freemasonry shall be condemned;" Anti-Masonic meetings at LeRoy October 11, and 25; November 3, it was falsely reported that Morgan had returned to Batavia. The second proclamation of Governor Clinton is given with a letter to the committee of ten; November 17, Thurlow Weed in Rochester "Telegraph" declares that Miller's exposition of Masonry had rendered Freemasonry unworthy of credence, and charges that to strengthen their cause they are taking in members free of charge; in the "Advocate" of December 1, Miller suggests that Governor Clinton place the square and compass over his proclamation and then William Morgan will soon be found; referring to his "Illustrations" then about to be issued he enquires, "who pays the dearest for the whistle, those who disburse \$15 for obligations which they break, or \$1 and take no obligations?" This alludes to the advertised price of the book, \$1, a wretchedly printed affair on cheap paper, stitched in a pamphlet of eighty-four pages.* Quotations from the Gettysburg "Compiler" aver that no sensible man gives credence to the tale of Morgan's abduction; various reports are out derogatory to the character of David Bernard, of whom we shall hear more, presently. December 8, Miller has been charged

* Henry Brown ("Narrative") says that very few copies were sold at a dollar. The sum of one dollar in those times represented nearly as much as three dollars now. The price was soon reduced to fifty cents, then to twenty-five cents, and finally to about the first cost, viz., a York shilling, twelve and a half cents. No one, it is believed, made any profits of consequence out of its publication or sale. The thing was immediately pirated in all quarters. Half a score of similar works fell out in as many different places upon an oppressed community. David Bernard piled nearly fifty more degrees upon it; Avery Allen increased the number. If the demand for Masonic expositions from 1826 to 1836 really reached to the supply, the reading community must have given their time to little else.

And as to the estimation in which Miller's "Illustrations" was held, Solomon Southwick, Anti-Masonic candidate for governor, the Roanerges (or rather Blanchard) of his day, and editor of the "National Observer" tells the whole story in his own coarse style: "The book is not worth a cent, and all who purchase it will pay dear for the whistle. Such attempts have been made before now and have always terminated in the disgrace of their authors, without injuring the cause of Masonry. We repeat it, the book is not worth a cent. And yet this shrieker, this Siamese twin of Thurlow Weed, this Captain Bobadil of the Anti-Masonic guerillas, signs his name with the rest to a certificate that "Captain Miller's 'Illustrations' is a true book."

with setting fire to his own house; Anti-Masonic conventions at Wheatland and Chili (November 2); women meet and resolve "that the vultures of Masonry have pounced upon a defenseless man (William Morgan to-wit) in the streets of Batavia and have carried him off by violence without the least resort to legal progress," etc. As the defenseless man was convicted of petty larceny, this is rather hard on the "vultures." These women also conceive "that in a country where the gospel sun shines bright in every corner, it is painfully ridiculous to see rational beings groping after the emblems, figures and dark lanterns of Masonry." Here the style betrays the hand of Taggart, as we shall frequently have more than one occasion to identify it. In this issue the certificate of copyright of "Illustrations" first appears as follows: "Illustrations of Masonry, by one of the Fraternity who has devoted thirty years to the subject. God said, Let there be light, and there was light. Printed for the proprietor, 1826." The place of publication is not named, but all indications point to Miller's office at Batavia. Enoch Carson in his excellent "Masonic Bibliography" gives an extended notice of the work with but two errors, viz., placing the first edition at "about the first of October, 1826," instead of December, and the office of publication at Rochester instead of Batavia. Anti-Masonic meeting at Rochester, December 14, and Bloomfield, December 11. A comic poem *vs.* Masonry, by Aonides, appears, also a letter (more comic still to the appreciative soul) from Orsamus Bowers, of Covington, New York, dated December 9, in which he "solemnly and permanently renounces Freemasonry."

In the issue of December 29, Jonathan Foster, of Batavia renounces Masonry; Miller admits that there are great and worthy characters in the Masonic Institution; January 5, 1827, a correspondent describes Masonry as a species of slavery that holds its subjects under the badge of fear; Anti-Masonic Convention at Ulysses, December 30; January 12, Gov. Clinton's address to the legislature is published; it contains no allusion to Freemasonry; the editor, referring to the recent trials at Canandaigua, is proud to see that the daring culprits (Chesebro, Sawyer, Lawson and Sheldon) had plead guilty of the abduction of Morgan; he excuses himself for his refusal to attend there as a wit-

ness on the plea that he was not wanted; the Batavia Lodge, he says, had held three successive evening meetings to which the public attention was called; Mr. Gilman, school inspector of district No. 2, Genesee county, is charged by Miller with having taught his pupils the propriety of outrage, and even of murder, in certain cases; a long account of the Canandaigua trials is given.

January 19, a notice of "Stearns' Enquiry" appears; this is the first imitation of Morgan's "Illustrations," but after this they came like the leaves of autumn; Stearns was pastor of the Baptist Church, at Paris, New York; Jane, a negro slave, had run away from her master, at Batavia, one William Keyes, and is advertised; January 26, the since-widely-known and infamous Samuel D. Greene (author of "Broken Seal" and deceased 1882) renounces Masonry; also David Snow; from this time forward, the list of brave and daring martyrs to truth increases.

February 20, a proclamation by Sir Frederick Maitland, lieutenant governor, province of Upper Canada, offers £50 sterling, reward for reliable information concerning the abduction of Morgan in his province; in this issue a most astounding falsehood appears; Miller says that before he embarked in the publication of Morgan's exposition of Masonry, dictated by his (Morgan's) advice as well as that of common prudence, he called upon several well-informed Masons, in various sections of the state, to ascertain their sentiments and feelings relative to the utility of the proceeding. Satisfied that their views corresponded with his own, that Masonry had been perverted to the worst of purposes by the wickedness of men, that it had long since ceased to be even a local blessing and had become a general curse and scourge, he cheerfully and promptly engaged in its exposure. Of all the impudent and shameless lies this bankrupt scribbler put upon paper this was pronounced by honest men around Batavia, the foulest. That he, Miller, not known as a Mason, with no credit for truth at home or abroad, penniless, on the jail limits, that he should claim to receive from well-informed Masons encouragement to publish a catch-penny exposure of Masonry, was too extravagant an assertion even for his friends.

March 9, at the various town meetings, Freemasons were excluded in the spirit of this sentiment: "*Resolved*, that

we will not support for any office of honor, trust or profit, any candidate who is at the time of election a member of the Fraternity of Freemasons." March 23, Governor Clinton's third proclamation concerning Morgan appears; March 30, a letter from Solomon Southwick is published stating that instead of writing the upper part of Miller's book, as charged, he is spending three or four days every week in peddling lottery tickets; Miller says, editorially, of himself, that in the vista of future times he foresees brighter and happier days; upon his deathbed, it will be a solace that he has done his duty to his country, dragged vice from its lurking places, etc., etc. Poor creature! Thirty years later he passed away from earth near Cleveland, Ohio, an object of contempt to many, of pity to all; April 6, Miller affirms that David Johns, who, it was said, was the capitalist in the publishing house of Morgan, Miller, Dyer & Johns, really advanced but \$25 toward "that shot which was heard around the world." May 25, M. M. Noah described the Morgan affair as a humbug; reference is made to an amusing take-off published at Ithaca, New York, under the title of "The Posthumous Works of Captain William Morgan, Who was Most Miraculously Kidnapped by a Score of Freemasons, and Afterward Most Foully Murdered, in No Less than Twenty Different Places. Arranged and Compiled by Richard Gossip."

June 29, he darkly hints that Morgan's skeleton can be easily recognized if found, but fails to describe its peculiarities, nor did he explain them when examining the body of Timothy Munro, four months later. The Masonic Brethren had enjoyed their celebration at Batavia, on the 25th, but Miller could see nothing in it save the senseless mummery of a puppet show. It seems that a Lodge of ladies—*Heroines of Jericho*—had joined the procession with about 200 Masons. I shall describe the scene further on. George Hosmer, of Avon, N. Y., was orator of the occasion; the decease of the "Masonic Intelligencer," after a six months' existence, is signalled by a comic obituary, in which it is said that Sir Henry Brown is pacing the streets with more than his usual solemnity, while the Surrogate of the County (Ebenezer Mix) is sullen and retired; September 14, Le-Roy Lodge, No. 260, had by vote dissolved; the term *Masons' Jacks* begins to appear as applied to Non-Masons,

who would not join in the crusade against Freemasonry; the encampment was now moved from LeRoy to Batavia; Thurlow Weed left the Rochester "Telegraph," October 19; the proceedings relative to the various inquests upon the body of Timothy Munro are given; these will have their place in the Chapter; February 1, 1828, reference is made to Giddin's Anti-Mason Almanac, price sixpence; February 15, the first advertisement of a line of Anti-Masonic books appears in a LeRoy paper; February 29, Solomon Southwick is announced for Governor; the death of Governor Clinton is briefly alluded to with small editorial comment; April 25, David C. Miller resigned his connection with the "Advocate," an act which, he says, was dictated by justice and policy—justice to pay his debts and policy to save his life, which was threatened. Inquiries set on foot by the martyred Morgan were yielding their thousand blessings. Anti-Masonry originated a moral revolution. Masonry is worthless and a curse to a free-thinking and moral people. It coils and entwines itself into politics and religion. The first allusion to Morgan's being in Smyrna, Asia Minor, is seen in the Albany "Daily Advertiser," of this month.

It is not a pleasant subject for a Masonic writer to speak of Morgan's connection with Freemasonry. To be obliged to confess that such a man entered the Lodge, "not through the strait and narrow gate of initiation, but by climbing the sheepfold as a thief and a robber,"*—this, indeed, is a double mortification. That such a thing was possible half a century since, does not speak well for the vigilance of the keepers. It is safe to claim that at the present time *it could not be done*. The exact manner in which Morgan persuaded his employer, Mr. Warren, to vouch for him as a Mason that he might be admitted a visitor to Wells Lodge, No. 282, at Rochester, cannot now be ascertained. Taking all the circumstances together, I am of opinion that he exhibited a forged diploma (certificate), from some Canadian,

* "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."—JOHN x, 1.

English, or other foreign Lodge, and claimed Masonic privileges thereupon. This would screen him from the catechetical examination necessary to a Mason initiated in the United States and render his admission more facile. It is altogether incredible that Mr. Warren would vouch for him without some evidence. Possibly Morgan brought forward a brother to testify that he had met him in a foreign Lodge.

Be this as it may, he *did* attend the Lodge as a visitor, and once in, it was not difficult for one hypocritical, false and shrewd, to return. In fact he became a regular visitor and soon picked up a superficial acquaintance with the ceremonies of the Order. Traveling from place to place, in his vocation as journeyman bricklayer, he timed his stay at each place to cover the regular and called meetings of the Lodges, which were then almost as numerous in western New York as now, and he made it a point to attend them. The Lodges were full of work at every meeting, candidates were initiated, passed and raised, and the Lodges soon found use for a Brother whose voice was loud and sonorous, who displayed an easy manner as one who had mixed much with mankind, who could sit up all night if need be, to finish the work in hand, and who at the festive board could sing his song with the best, offer his toast, and alas, drink his glass with the merriest. A correspondent sends me the copy of a song which he remembers to have heard Morgan sing with such spirit as to call for an *encore*. At request of my friend I publish it. He "thinks it has never before been committed to print." *

"Come let us prepare,
We Brothers that are
Assembled on merry occasion,
Let's drink, laugh and sing
Our wine has a spring
To a Free and an Accepted Mason.

* It is the Entered Apprentice Song found in the first edition of Anderson's Masonic Constitution, 1722, with the music. It is, perhaps, the oldest Masonic song extant, and has been published in every collection for 160 years.

The world is in pain
 Our secrets to gain,
 And still let them wonder and gaze on;
 They ne'er can divine
 The Word or the Sign,
 Of a Free and an Accepted Mason.

'Tis this and 'tis that,
 They cannot tell what.
 Why so many great men in the nation,
 Should aprons put on,
 To make themselves one,
 With a Free and an Accepted Mason.

Great kings, dukes and lords,
 Have laid by their swords
 Our mystery to put a good grace on;
 And thought themselves famed,
 To have themselves named
 With a Free and an Accepted Mason.

We are true and sincere,
 And just to the fair,
 They'll trust us on any occasion;
 No mortal can more
 The ladies adore,
 Than a Free and an Accepted Mason.

Then join heart and hand,
 By each Brother let's stand,
 Let's be merry and put a good face on;
 What mortal can boast
 So noble a toast,
 As a Free and an Accepted Mason."

These peculiar gifts of William Morgan, his physical endurance, strong voice, dramatic style and social disposition, caused him, after a while, to be in demand. Lodges, learning that he had a job of bricklaying in the vicinity, would invite him to assist them in their labors. He learned to handle the Senior Deacon's rod expertly. The lengthy utterances of the Fellowcraft Degree which few learn, he memorized and delivered with emphasis and effect. In return for this the Brethren paid his hotel bills and often contributed sums for the support of his family. In one instance where he remained several days, and gave the

Lodge more than ordinary assistance, an appropriation of ten dollars was made him.* He became personally acquainted with many Masons, and signalized the same by borrowing sums of money from them, as their good nature prompted. He had the habits of a petty thief, and would borrow a pocket knife, a Monitor, a pocket handkerchief, and other such small things without returning them. At Kingsley's Tavern, Canandaigua, in March, 1826, seeing a shirt and cravat in his bed-room he boldly placed them upon his person, leaving his own dilapidated and soiled garments in their place. An overcoat was carried off in a similar manner, but the owner pursued the thief and recovered the wrap. His neglect of his wife and children was notorious; but little of the money given him was expended for their benefit. If any benefaction was intended for them, it must be handed directly to the miserable woman. It was remarked that he rarely ever visited the same community or the same Lodge the second time.

Engaged upon the brick work of the celebrated "round house" at LeRoy,† he heard so much of the Royal Arch Chapter, its influential membership, the sublimity of its principles, etc., that he conceived an ardent desire to be admitted. Recognized as a Master Mason, he contrived, by means that cannot be explained, to satisfy the Companions that he was a Most Excellent Master, and at the meeting of February 15, 1825, put in his petition for the Seventh or Sublime Degree,

* An unfortunate liberality it proved to be, for it carried him through a debauch so protracted and shameful that the Lodge promptly passed an order refusing him admission, as a visitor, in future.

† The history of this queer looking edifice is given by several persons. Mr. Henry Brown, in his "Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement," says that "the building was precisely as well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended, as though it had been in the shape of a triangle." During the excitement of 1826-36, it was abandoned as a place for Masonic meetings, and sold by authority of a special act of the Legislature, passed for that purpose. Brother Thomas Warner, of Coshocton; to whom I am much indebted for historical facts, has struck a medal containing a drawing of this historical building, and has published an account of it.

and was elected. The entries in the original record are these:

"February 15, 1825. Voted that William Morgan's petition be entered on file."

"April 12, 1825. Voted that the ballot be passed for William Morgan. Past and clear."

"May 31, 1825. William Morgan, Israel Rathbone and Beach Defores was duly prepared and was exalted to the Degree of Royal Arch Mason."

"William Morgan, \$12."

"Israel Rathbone, \$12."

"Beach Defores, \$12."

At this convocation of the Chapter Daniel White was High Priest; Samuel C. Butler, Scribe; D. Foster, Treasurer; James Ganson, Secretary. This Butler afterward removed to Vermont, where I conferred with him at Burlington in 1862. He died about 1880, one of the oldest and most respected Masons in the Green Mountain State. In all the above minutes every reference to the name of "William Morgan" is *besmeared with the inky finger of scorn!* Did the indignant Secretary have in mind those tremendous expressions of Scripture, "blotting out of the book of life?" (Rev. iii, 5; Exodus xxxii, 35; Ps. lxix, 28, etc.)

On the ledger of accounts I find this entry:

"Dr. William Morgan.

\$0 18, from August 30, 1825, to January 10, 1826."

It would appear from this that he demitted from the Chapter at the last date, though there is no record of it. One thing is certain, that he never visited the Chapter after taking his Degree as above.

The shrewd politicians who were pulling the wires for the Anti-Masonic party were aware that there was nothing in the life and character of Morgan while living in western New York, of which capital could be made. They, therefore, caused to be inserted an anonymous communication in the "Colonial Advocate," York (now Toronto), Upper Canada, May 4, 1827, vouching for the excellent and amiable

character of Captain Morgan while he resided in that place, and asserting that he was a man of general information and good breeding, of pleasing and inoffensive manners, much esteemed by the most respectable people! The authorship of this paragraph was attributed at the time to David C. Miller, but the style is rather that of Thurlow Weed. At all events, it is the only "certificate of good character" of Morgan that I have ever found, and every expression in it is false.

In the same spirit, some fictitious character in Alabama wrote the Anti-Masonic leaders that he had served in Jackson's army with William Morgan, and attested to his bravery; but he gives no dates, military minutes or facts of any sort.

It is asked by those who are galled with these allusions to political Anti-Masonry, Why rake up the buried dead? Why disturb these foul memories?

It is done to instruct the living. As the physician dissects the corpse to pursue the processes of disease, that he may be better able in future to cope with disease itself, so I recall the sins of Anti-Masonry that my readers may know what forceful blows were dealt at the Masonic Order in the last generation, and be more successfully guarded against "even the appearance of evil" among the membership, and that they may see how irresistible was the *inertia* that enabled the Order to withstand attacks which no other society could withstand, and live.

So little is known of Morgan's biography that out of the scanty notes that follow, the one marked with a query is uncertain.

1774. April 7 (?), Morgan born.

1819. — Morgan married Lucinda Pendleton.

1825. May 31, took Royal Arch Degree at Batavia.

1826. March 26, contract with Miller, Dyer and Davids.

1826. July 25, incarcerated for debt due Nathan Follett.

1826. August 5, executed bond with Miller, Davids and Dyer.

1826. August 7, his insulting letter to his partners, threatening the duello.

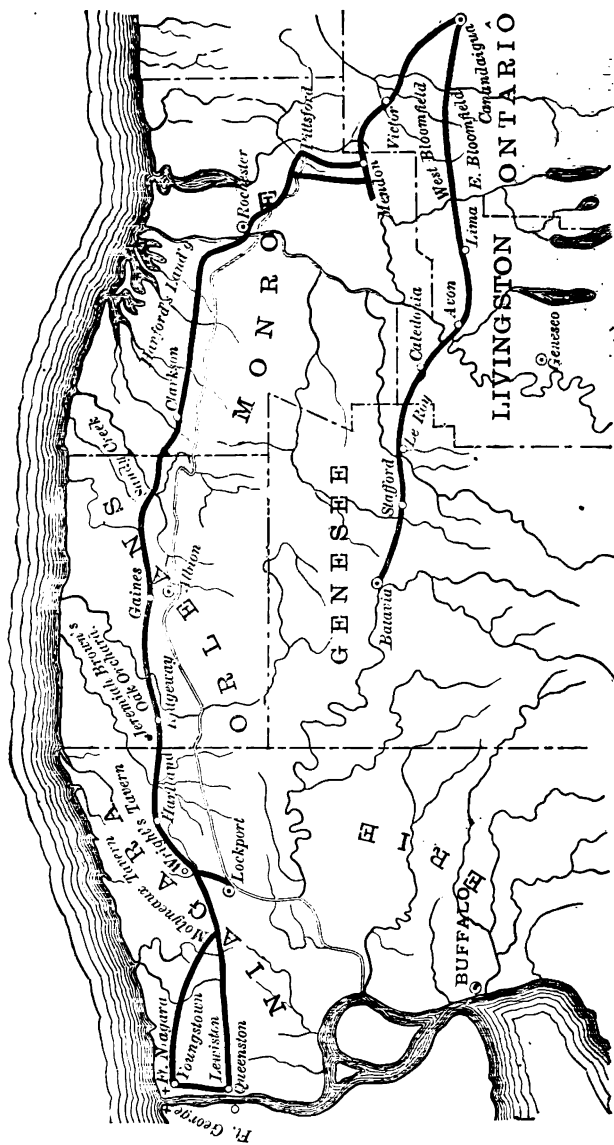
1826. August 9, denounced by the press at Canandaigua.

1826. August 19, incarcerated for debt due Thomas McCully.

1826. September 7, denounced by the press at Black Rock.

1826. September 11, arrested for petit larceny and taken to Canandaigua.

September 12. Taken westward from Canandaigua.



CHAPTER IV.

THE DEPORTATION OF MORGAN.

A RESIDENT at Batavia, going to evening service on Sunday, March 10, 1826, or making a post-prandial stroll under the noble elms of that village and past the old mile-stone, might have seen, had his curiosity prompted him to observe it, a party of six persons coming in from an easterly direction, by way of the county road that leads to Canandaigua. This party consisted of Holloway Hayward, constable of Canandaigua; N. G. Chesebro, coroner of Ontario county, Henry Howard, Harris Seymour, Moses Roberts, and Joseph Scofield. Of all these we shall hear enough further on. Mr. Hayward bore a warrant, dated that day, issued by Jeffrey Chipman, Esquire, one of the justices of the peace in and for Ontario county, upon a complaint made by Ebenezer C. Kingsley, tavernkeeper of Canandaigua, against one William Morgan, charged with petit larceny in the theft of a shirt and cravat taken some five months previously, upon a promise of speedy return. All the members of this party were residents of Canandaigua, except Scofield.

That this warrant, by virtue of which the officer and his posse had come fifty miles to arrest an alleged thief, was *regularly issued*, no one pretends to deny, although every person concerned in the arrest was afterward made the subject of indictment, and legal prosecution and pecuniary loss. Tried by juries furiously prejudiced against them, and at a time, too, when it was becoming popular to execute sharp justice upon Freemasons and their adherents, yet every

one, constable and posse, was acquitted, the court holding that "the warrant was evidence of probable cause."

That so large an escort was taken to Batavia exposed the actors to public suspicion, but "the intelligence and integrity of judges, regardless of public clamor, and of juries attentive to the law and evidence, and observant of their duty and their oaths, saved them from unjust and ignominious punishment; and proclaimed to the world in a language which cannot be mistaken, that to have been suspected or to have been implicated in the abduction of Morgan, or in a conspiracy to arrest without reasonable cause, and to imprison or convict him for petit larceny, has not in every case and under every circumstance been conclusive evidence of guilt."* The turbulence of the citizens of Batavia, and their uneasiness under the execution of law were well known throughout western New York, and it was well that the constable had assistance. As the constable entered Genesee county, mindful of his official duty, he had sought a magistrate in LeRoy, the first place on the road which boasted of a justice of the peace, and procured that the warrant which had been issued at Canandaigua, should be endorsed by him. This magistrate was Jonathan Foster, Esq., and there is no evidence that he ever suffered any of the pains and penalties so profusely bestowed upon others who took as innocent a part in the drama that was played, as he did. The party stopped to take supper at James Ganson's Tavern, at Stafford, six miles east of Batavia. Entering the village, they took up their lodgings for Sunday night at Danolds' Tavern, a popular place of resort. On Monday morning, September 11, constable Hayward called upon William Morgan, then a resident of that place, who boarded with his wife and two children at the house of a Mr. Stewart, near the center of the village. He found

* Brown's "Narrative."

him at a grocery store, took him aside, and displayed the warrant. Without making the least objection, for the whole matter had been arranged the week before, Morgan went not to his family, though the officer offered to accompany him there, but to Danolds' Tavern with Hayward, where he breakfasted heartily with him and his posse, a plate being already prepared for him. While there, one David Cade Miller, a printer, whose name has already appeared in my pages, hearing of the process, hastened to the tavern and interposed objections to the removal of Morgan out of the county, pleading that as Morgan was on the jail limits* his removal would subject his securities to the payment of the debt.

In fact, William Morgan was then "on the jail limits," that is under execution for debt, and preserved from actual incarceration by bail-bonds given by his friends, and Miller was one of his securities. The principal execution against

* By the courtesy of a most gentlemanly and learned student-at-law, Hon. L. B. Proctor, of Dansville, N. Y., author of "Bench and Bar," I have received replies to the following queries:

First.—What was the smallest amount of money or debt, for which a debtor could be jailed in 1826?

A debtor could be arrested and jailed on an execution issued on any judgment, —no matter how small,—in 1826. Executions against the body were often issued on mere nominal judgments—*six cents*. Of course, such judgments carried full justice court costs, which were included in the judgments.

Second.—What was meant at that time, by "putting a man on the limits?" and what was the limits? Was it made uniform in all cases in 1826? Did it apply to Sunday as well as week day?

When a debtor was arrested on an execution, he was immediately placed in jail, unless he gave bail for the limits.

The limits were usually fixed by the Court of Common Pleas in each county. It was a territory embracing a square mile, the court house and jail being in the center.

Bail for the limits was a bond to the sheriff, executed by the debtor to the plaintiff in the judgment,—on which execution was issued, with one or more sureties approved of by the sheriff,—to the effect that if the debtor should escape from, or leave the limits, before payment of the judgment, the sureties would pay it. If the debtor escaped, the sheriff was obliged to pay the judgment, and he had indemnity on his bond for the limits and the surety became liable to him.

If the debtor escaped, the sheriff could only be sued while he, the debtor, was off the limits. If he left the limits and returned before the sheriff was sued, no action would lie against him. As no civil process could be served on Sunday, it was very common for the debtor to leave the limits, and go home on Sunday. He could leave any time after twelve o'clock Saturday night, remain away with safety to his sureties, saving them harmless, if he returned before twelve o'clock Sunday night, because no civil process could be served on the sheriff during the time known as Sunday; otherwise the law of the limits applied to Sunday as well as week days. This law was uniform in all cases through the State.

Morgan was for the sum of \$43 due to Thomas McCully, of Batavia, but there were several other claims resting on him, secured in the same way.

The constable insisted that as his process was *on behalf of the people* it had precedence over any civil suit, and that it was his duty to arrest Morgan and take him to Canandaigua for trial, and that he *should do it* at all hazards. He proffered, however, that he would return by way of Le-Roy and call if desired, on Squire Foster there, by whom the warrant had been endorsed, and allow Morgan to give bail for his appearance for petit larceny, at the next court of General Sessions of the Peace in Canandaigua, Ontario county. To this proposition, Morgan replied that he preferred to go on to Canandaigua with the constable. He declared further that he could convince E. C. Kingsley that although he *had* in his possession the shirt and cravat, yet he had honestly borrowed them the preceding spring, and *never intended to steal them*. The arrest of Morgan in Batavia, it may be remarked, was *without force or violence* of any kind, and excited no public interest whatever. All that was said to the contrary is falsehood, woven of whole cloth.*

And here comes in a piece of history that will aid us in unraveling the mystery that surrounds the movements of William Morgan, commencing with this Monday morning. One of the party accompanying Constable Hayward had

* On the monument to William Morgan, at Batavia, dedicated September 11, 1882, I read, while prayers, hymns and addresses were filling the air, these words of blackest falsehood:

SACRED
To the memory of
WILLIAM MORGAN,
A native of Virginia,
A Captain of the War of 1812.
A respectable citizen of Batavia,
and a
Martyr to Writing, Printing and Speaking the Truth.
He was abducted from near this spot in the
Year 1836,
By Freemasons,
And murdered for revealing the
Secrets of their Order.

borne a letter to Morgan containing propositions: "1. To separate him from David C. Miller. 2. To provide for his family. 3. To remove him to Canada. 4. To place in his hands the sum of five hundred dollars 'in good money,' upon his arrival in Canada, on his pledge never to return." This letter was taken to Morgan during Sunday night by a messenger in whom there was confidence, and his acceptance thereof was privately made known to the leading member of the posse, that is, Nicholas G. Chesebro, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

The appearance of William Morgan while in the flesh has been better preserved than that of many a better man. We have scarcely so accurate an account of George Washington himself as of this worthless wreck of a dissipated career. It has been reproduced in detail in the preceding chapter. Let us see how nearly the Anti-Masons have expressed it in Vermont granite, on the statue recently set up in the old graveyard at Batavia:

"This model is of heroic size. It represents Morgan standing firmly erect, with his right leg advanced and the knee slightly bent, the weight of the figure resting on the left foot. The body is gracefully outlined by the close-fitting coat. The right arm is bent, the hand resting on the buttoned coat, while the left hangs naturally at the side, grasping a scroll. A countenance indicating frankness and openness is crowned by a large forehead. The nose aquiline, the lips thin and somewhat pressed and the chin large."*

Now let us compare this figment of the imagination with a genuine description of William Morgan as he appeared in the breakfast room of Danolds' Tavern on the Monday morning September 11, 1826, to which I have referred. "In height five feet six inches. Stocky in build. Chest large, with full breasts femininely developed. Nose small and

* Philadelphia "Chronicle Herald," July, 1882. The cut which I give is made from a photograph of the statue, taken after it was set up.

short. Eyes light blue. Complexion fair. Top of the head bald. Face shaved very high up on the forehead. A lump on the bald spot of the cranium, near the crown. Chin heavy, double, covered with a thick gray beard. Eyes weak and inflamed by protracted ophthalmia aggravated by bad liquors. Great sufferer for several years from sore eyes, for which he had been treated by physicians in Rochester and Batavia (Dr. John D. Henry at the former place for nearly a year; Dr. Ezra Strong and others in Batavia). Ears noticeable for the display of long gray hairs in the lining. Arms small and tapering, presenting fingers which, considering his trade as an operative mason, were unexpectedly diminutive."

A marked peculiarity of this man was his teeth, double all around the jaws, both in the upper and lower sets. This singularity is also recorded of the Emperor Nero, and may be detected in the portraits upon his coins. Teeth in general, fine and strong, only two of them having been removed from the upper jaw, while one had been split off. It is needless to say he wore no whiskers, having the habit of shaving his face very high up and thus encroaching considerably upon the hair line. On his left arm an ordinary scar of inoculation with vaccine virus. One of his knees had a scar upon it of a wound received long before, and the great toe of his left foot, once frozen, had been opened by the surgeon, and the bone scraped to preserve it from mortification. Had a habit, well remembered, while in conversation, of brushing the hair from the sides of his head to the bald spot in the center, and this was remarked of him at the moment when he so vehemently avowed his innocence of the crime of theft as charged by Kingsley, and expressed his desire to go with the officer to Canandaigua and vindicate himself.

He was dressed, on that occasion, in a blue coat, vest and pantaloons, the two former being cut from the same

piece of cloth, but the pantaloons of different material. His shirt was of linen. Neck enclosed by a white cotton neckerchief. Socks of wool. Boots of calfskin, old and worn. Had a silk pocket handkerchief, much frayed and dirty. These details mostly came out upon sworn testimony, eleven months later, at the three inquests held over the body of Timothy Monro, as will be fully shown in its place.

Hon. Josiah H. Drummond, Past Grand Master of Maine, has published a sketch of Morgan's appearance, derived from facts in his possession.* He says, upon the authority of William L. Stone,† that more has been recorded of William Morgan than does credit to his memory. He was an operative mason by trade, but had led a roving life, having been at one time, according to his own statements, a private soldier in the war of 1812. He was of rather a prepossessing appearance, with a quick, intelligent but sly and sinister-glaring eye. He had received a common-school education, but had added to it by considerable reading. He was a hard drinker, and his nights, and sometimes his days also, were spent in tippling-houses, while occasionally, to the still greater neglect of his family, he joined in the drunken carousals of the vilest and most worthless of men. His disposition was envious, vindictive and malicious. Additional tints are laid to this coloring by other authorities, as has been seen in the last chapter.

There was no private conversation between Miller and Morgan at the interview named, and all the interest expressed by the former was in regard to his position as security for Morgan. He professed to fear that the debtor once passed beyond the jail limits by lawful process might not be induced so readily to return. There was, in fact, no good feeling existing between Morgan and Miller, as the follow-

*"History of Portland Lodge," 1881.

† Letters to John Q. Adams.

ing letter, found by the Sheriff in Morgan's trunk after his deportation, clearly shows:

AUGUST 7, 1826.

GENTLEMEN: My note of this morning* has not been answered. Further evasion and equivocation I will not submit to. Acknowledge that you are not gentlemen or I will expose you in twelve hours, unless you do as you are agreed to do. I am not a child. If you suppose I am, you are mistaken. I am a man, and will not suffer myself to be imposed upon. You have not acted as gentlemen. I am sorry to be compelled to say it, but every part of your conduct has been mysterious, and why so? My first impressions are that you are not honest men; therefore, I wish to settle and have no more to do with you. If either of you feel hurt, call on me as gentlemen, and I will give you any satisfaction you wish.

WILLIAM MORGAN.

At first blush one must smile at the pugnacity displayed in this leaflet. The hint of the *duello* between such *bon camarados* as Morgan, and Miller, Davids and Dyer set all Genesee county to laughing when this challenge first appeared in print.

Upon the whole, we may conjecture that Miller was rather pleased than otherwise at the departure of his irascible friend.

It is a pity that, in the inquiries that followed the proceedings of September 11, 1826, Miller was not more closely questioned concerning this letter. Did the confederates "acknowledge themselves not gentlemen?" Was their conduct, "every part of which had been mysterious," satisfactorily explained? Did the poor drunken tool, whom they were plotting to cast aside, "give them the satisfaction they wished?" It cannot be known. One thing is plain, that Morgan was making one of his frequent visits to the grog-shop when he wrote that epistle, and any experienced

*No copy of this note has been found. It was doubtless suppressed by the Anti-Masons, as were many other papers connected with the affair.

drinker can even now estimate the quality and quantity of the liquor which he had imbibed before taking up the pen.

The breakfast being ended, and an hour or two given by the constable* to avoid the charge of undue haste, the company, now increased by the addition of Morgan, started back under the noisy dissent of David C. Miller, who, standing on the coach steps, protested against the removal of his debtor beyond the jail limits. To get clear of his importunities Morgan requested the constable "to drive fast and leave the place d——d quick!" Harris Seymour was not in the coach when it started, but entered it a few squares east of the village, and there the party set out upon that journey, since become historical, whose first stopping place was Canandaigua. This was 9 A.M. of Monday, September 11, 1826. In the long ride (forty-eight miles) that followed, nothing but good temper, good nature, extending to hilarity, was manifested by Morgan and the members of the party. Constable Hayward had a good voice and favored his companions with some of the pleasant catches of the day. A quaint green bottle, filled with the cheaper tippie of that generation (New England rum), added its share to the cheerfulness. N. G. Chesebro, whom I knew at the age of eighty years as "a man of infinite jest and humor," was famous in earlier life for an inexhaustible store of anecdotes, and with them he relieved the tedium of the journey. His daughter, Miss Chesebro, the accomplished novelist, inherits this quality from her father, as proven in the production of many novels that have an honored place in American literature.


Among the incidents of the journey, recalled long afterward, here is one. Mr. Chesebro had in his pocket a copy of the Ontario "Messenger," published at Canandaigua, August 9, 1826, and from this he read to Morgan, who sat op-


* See Hollaway Hayward's testimony, February 25, 1831. Hayward was not a Mason; neither was the magistrate, Jeffry Chipman; nor Mr. E. C. Kingsley, the tavern-keeper.

posite in the coach with his silk handkerchief over his eyes, the following notice:

"NOTICE AND CAUTION.

"If any man, calling himself William Morgan, should intrude himself on the community, they should be on their guard, particularly the MASONIC FRATERNITY. Morgan was in this village in May last, and his conduct while here and elsewhere calls forth this notice. Any information in relation to Morgan can be obtained by calling at the Masonic Hall in this village.

 Morgan is considered a swindler and a dangerous man.

 There are people in this village who would be happy to see this Captain Morgan.

CANANDAIGUA, August 9, 1826."

Morgan laughed heartily at this fulmination, and remarked that "all the papers in Batavia, except the "Advocate," had reproduced that d——d thunderblast, but he didn't know that it had hurt him any." Then Harris Seymour exhibited a paper which had been handed him, while in Batavia, that morning, and read a similar fulmination. It was the Black Rock "Gazette," of September 7, 1826. The writer of this was said to be R. W. Haskins, one of the editors of the Buffalo "Journal."*

"MR. SALISBURY:

Sir,—I noticed in your last paper an inadvertent error, copied perhaps from other prints, respecting a wretch of the name of Morgan. The statement that this man is an expelled Mason is a mistake. He is not an expelled Mason, but *an impostor*, and a swindler, against the evil designs of whom the Fraternity have amply provided.

September 7, 1826."

The expression in the last line was so forcible that Morgan raised the handkerchief from his inflamed eyes, worn over them much of the time for protection against heat and dust, and looked significantly towards Chesebro, who

* This is Giddin's testimony, and so far as he is concerned, not to be relied on, but in this case he probably told the truth.

nodded his head in affirmation. The reader will readily follow the train of thought, in the light of the subsequent history.

Then some one spoke of David C. Miller and his attempt to prevent the execution of the warrant. At this name, Morgan uttered an expression equally blasphemous and indecent, which displayed the worst of feelings toward his old partner.

Conversation having arisen in regard to the popular excitement in and about Batavia, in relation to the publication of Morgan's book, the latter referred to a letter in the "Spirit of the Times" upon the subject as an extremely good thing, well timed and practical. I remark here that one can best understand the popular uproar connected with the operations of Morgan and Miller, prior to September 11, 1826, by the article in question. It was from the pen of Henry Brown, whose book, "Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement," is so often named in this volume. Mr. Brown was an extremely prudent man, slow and cautious in everything. He had counselled absolute *silence* in regard to Miller's operations, advising that the Masons should attempt nothing against Morgan, for it was plain that he was a Masonic impostor, nor with Miller, for he did not even pretend to be a Mason beyond the first degree. He warned them that the whole spurt was but a catchpenny, got up by two bankrupts, mere jailbirds, with no pecuniary capital or social reputation, and that if severely let alone, the book would fall still-born. As some of the Masonic Brethren, in spite of this, persisted in taking the thing to heart, he wrote the following article and published it in the "Spirit of the Times," September 1, 1826, ten days prior to Morgan's deportation:

"The indiscreet conduct of some Masons, the unheard-of asperity of the enemies of Masonry, and the matter contained in our village papers, the past two weeks, induce me

to attempt to rescue the Order from the destruction which awaits it, and the character of our village from indelible disgrace.

Some time ago,* a pretended member of the Fraternity announced in bar-rooms and elsewhere his intention to *publish the secrets* of Masonry. This was not because he had been injured, but in order to repair a broken fortune, and, if possible, barter his fidelity and his oath *for money*. Some of the Masons have taken alarm, but why or wherefore no one can satisfactorily tell. Nothing could be more indiscreet or useless. The lion may as well be alarmed because an army of *crows* has threatened to invade his proud domain. The attempt has often been made before, but always proved abortive. No man in his sober senses can credit the perjured wretch who commences his career by the publication of his infamy; and all such efforts of debased men hitherto have terminated in disgrace, even from those upon whose credulity they relied for countenance and support. Masonry has continued to flourish. It has pervaded almost every part of the habitable globe, and extended its salutary influence to the distressed in every clime.

Freemasonry regards no man for his worldly wealth or honors; it is the internal, not the external qualification which we cherish and admire. Why, then, should any desire its destruction? We seek no contest with the throne or with the altar. We ask no assent to political dogmas. We solicit no converts to our cause. Based upon the principles of immutable justice, supported by wisdom, strength and beauty, Freemasonry will endure to the last syllable of recorded time.

I was asked only yesterday whether Freemasonry was really liable to be destroyed by such instruments as have recently been employed in its destruction,† and, if so, was it worth preserving? The world at large will surely say no, and such will be the answer we must all make. The idea then, that Freemasonry is susceptible of the least impression from the causes to which I have alluded, is not to be tole-

* According to my figures this was early in July preceding.

† This inference is to Morgan and his four partners, Miller, Davids, Dyer and Johns, for they five made the quintette of infamy and there was no chorus.

rated for a single instant, and that Brother who can for a moment conceive so ungenerous a thought does, by his own example, inflict a more deadly wound than all its enemies, and is unworthy of a place within its walls.

The man who should discharge a handful of mud against the sun at its meridian height, with a view to arrest its course or extinguish its beams, would act as rationally as he who should publish the secrets of our Order in expectation of injuring our cause. In the one case he might perhaps for a moment pollute the atmosphere within his limited circle, and probably draw down upon his guilty head a filthy and corrupted shower. In the other he would violate his oath, sacrifice his duty to his friends and to his God, and at last, to crown the scene, receive the reward which a depraved world never fails to bestow on acknowledged guilt. And Freemasonry would still survive! She is seated on a rock inaccessible to all the malice of man. The thunder even of royal indignation rolls beneath her feet. The lightnings of popular fury flash at her portals and are seen no more. From her height she surveys a world of misery and woe, arrests the progress of many a tear down sorrow's visage, bids her votaries go forth to aid and assist the widow and orphan wherever dispersed around the globe, soothes the unhappy, sympathizes with their misfortunes, alleviates their distresses and pours the balm of comfort into their troubled minds. Then she descends into the vale below, takes every child of humility and sorrow by the hand, and, in a voice that thrills through every nerve, bids them 'Arise, sad Virtue, and rejoice!' Can it be possible that an institution, founded upon such a basis as this, will be shaken like a reed by the wind? No! Rather expect that, like fabled Atlas:

'When storms and tempests thunder on its brow,
And ocean breaks her billows at its feet,
'Twill stand unmoved and glory in its height.'''

It is certainly to be regretted that so much shrewdness and good sense failed in its aim. The outraged sentiment of the craft, especially the younger members, was not thus to be assuaged. The sight of Morgan, whose family had for years enjoyed their beneficence,—that besotted and ungrateful wretch proclaiming publicly in the streets from

day to day that "he was half through the First Degree;" that "he would finish the Entered Apprentice's Degree next week;" that "he was about to enter upon Fellow Craft's part;" that "he had copyrighted his book and would shortly have it ready;" that "for one dollar he would give the people more Masonry than that d——d Lodge ever knew," — the scene presented by the reeling wretch repeating to a crowd in the public bar-room what he called the *obligation* of Masonry, the aggravations increasing every day, of the lewd classes of the villages, publicly throwing out signs and gestures which Morgan had taught them, the sound of the press in the low second story of Miller's printing-rooms as he rattled off the successive sheets of the "Illustrations," say what we may of patience and discretion and the dignity of silence, this was more than human nature could endure. Threats were openly made by the young and rash around Batavia that "if William Morgan goes on with that scheme of his, he will be found some dark night with his throat cut!"

Many years since, I was informed by a Mason, once a citizen of Batavia, that early in August, 1826, he was proceeding through the streets of that village, to the Lodge-room, for the purpose of being made a Mason. Morgan had heard of it, and as my informant approached the group to which he was declaiming in his usual style of bombast, he hailed him with, "Hello, George! on your way to the Lodge, I see; going to take the first degree, are you? you are a d——d fool to throw away so much good money! Wait a few weeks, and I will sell you more Masonry for a dollar than you can get in that cursed Lodge for fifteen!" All this, the reader will remark, in the public street, and in a village which had, at that time, the worst reputation for disorder and drunken riots of all the villages in western New York. It is to this fact that Mr. Brown so sharply points when he says that "From experience and observation we learn that a Lodge of Freemasons cannot exist

and flourish without virtue. Dissension in the place where it is located, the want of moral principle among its members or among the people of the vicinity, are alike injurious to its growth and fatal to its prosperity.”

But the company passed on and passed out of Genesee county, through Stafford and LeRoy, and through Caledonia, Avon and Lima of Livingston county, and so about five P.M. arrived at Canandaigua. Among the incidents of the day, related to me by Mr. N. G. Chesebro, in 1859, and 1861, was the singing of the following “Ode to Humanity” by Morgan himself, who declared that “it was his favorite hymn.” I have often conned it over as it lies in my scrap-book, and wondered whether the miserable wretch had the soul to appreciate the tenderness and sweetness of the sentiments.*

“Humanity’s soft gentle band
Unites us to each other,
And every heart and every hand
Should try to save a Brother.
Not only should the kindred tie
Incline us to be kind,
But every tear that dims the eye
Should wound the feeling mind.
We’re children of one family,
And earth our common mother;
When sorrow and distress we see,
With joy relieve a Brother.
HUMANITY, thou gift divine,
The mind is cold and dark
That will not to thy voice incline
Nor feel the pitying spark.”

* I find a copy of this beautiful Ode in Luke Eastman’s “Masonic Melodies” published at Boston, Massachusetts, 1825, page 81. It is said there to be written by J. H., but I cannot identify the author by these initials. The motto to Eastman’s book is good:

—“Musick we have too,
Yet no loose strains excite unchaste desire
Nor wanton sounds profane Urania’s lyre.
Here concord and decorum bear the sway
And moral Musick tunes the instructive lay.
For thee shall Musick strike the harmonious lyre
And while she charms the ear, morality inspire.”

In this volume Brother Eastman has omitted all the mere drinking songs and roundelays that form so conspicuous a part of the old Masonic song books.

It comes in well to read in this connection a description of Morgan given a few weeks later in the *Batavia "Advocate"* by his partner Miller. One can imagine the amusement which such articles must have given Morgan himself, if he saw them.

"Notwithstanding his minor frailties,* the world presents nothing more sublime than the example of that man (William Morgan) who, oppressed by calamity, retains his philosophy and suffers with serene fortitude; retains his integrity, all the grand outlines of virtue, and is still impelled by the purest principles and feelings to the noblest act of which man is capable. Nothing can vanquish the manly spirit which accompanies the conscious rectitude of his motives. Adversity invades, calamity assails him in vain. Such a man was William Morgan, than whom none perhaps was ever called to a more illustrious display of magnanimity and sublime fortitude in adversity. Seldom has the constancy of virtue been put to a more awful test. As wave follows wave to the shore, so calamities rolled in thick succession on his soul. As the laurel still blooms unwithered by the lightning which darts around it, thus the energies of his mind still lived in all their elasticity, unwithered and triumphant throughout. Ruined, hapless, torn from his family, a victim in the hands of hardened ruffians, cruelly treated, reproached, accused of crime, devoted to the violence, the vengeance of infuriated bloodhounds, abandoned, as it were, by the whole world, he was still serene, unbroken, unsubdued, majestic, sublime in virtue and great in adversity. Let it not be said that the intrepid spirit, the tranquil deportment exhibited by this hero-martyr while in the hands of his relentless enemies, resulted from a mere effort of human virtue unassisted by Almighty power and goodness. No, his trust was in God. He suffered in consequence of an act which he believed to have been executed in conformity with God's will. From first to last, he appeared to have acted on the principle of an expected and willing martyrdom for the good of mankind. He foresaw

* If I have read the story of Morgan aright, these "minor frailties" were drunkenness, secret breaking, profanity, ingratitude, debauchery, idleness, theft, falsehood, hypocrisy. If these are minor frailties of human nature it is an important question in chop-logic, what are the major?

the ruin which awaited his country, unless averted by a sublime and extraordinary act of virtue, and he was willing to perform that act, although at the expense of his life. Such was the elevated principle which animated this virtuous citizen in the discharge of the great duty assigned him; and amid the scenes of suffering, almost unparalleled, which followed in consequence, he was sustained by the consciousness of having fulfilled what was solemnly required of him. Guileless and generous hearts will vindicate from undeserved obloquy and defamation the memory of him whose last act will merit the applause of posterity forever. His will be the glory of having emancipated a nation from a most pernicious delusion; from a thralldom which all good and enlightened men must deprecate. In the blaze of that glory the specks in his character, which were few and trivial, will be lost and forgotten. To err is human. Let the foibles of humanity be erased from the memory. But the name of William Morgan needs neither eulogy nor defense. Let the secret workers of iniquity insult his memory and stir all that in them lies to blacken and blast his fame, it will nevertheless be handed down to posterity in colors of beauty and brightness, and William Morgan will be remembered with veneration and gratitude, when the destroyers of his life and the calumniators of his fame shall be crushed with execration or forgotten in oblivion."

His reasons for his attack upon Masonry were numerous and irrefragable. The secret and unseen yet felt violence of its power, the open avowment of its members of profligate sentiments, the grossly overrated charities it dispensed, and its high sounding but empty titles, these were the incentives. His crusade was not undertaken for base or mercenary motives. He had the good of the country at heart and the welfare of unborn millions. He was a loser in the enterprise, by abuse and persecution, in every shape and form. In Morgan was contained the warm friend, the firm patriot, the deathless hero. Washington achieved our independence, Morgan sealed it with his blood."

Such gross and absurd statements were manufactured chiefly for a foreign market. Taken up by papers and lecturers at a distance, they formed the stock in trade of more pretentious journals than Miller's "Advocate." Even

Dana, in the opening issue of his "Anti-Masonic Review," quotes them as if true. At the dedication of the Morgan monument, at Batavia, September 11, 1882, I heard men honored at the bar and in the pulpits unblushingly repeat such trash as I have quoted here, with a seriousness only due to Sacred Writ.

Arrived at Canandaigua about five P.M. or a little before sundown, Constable Hayward delivered his prisoner to the magistrate (Chipman), and the posse, viz., N. G. Chesebro, Henry Howard, Harris Seymour, Moses Roberts and Joseph Scofield, dispersed to their respective dwellings.

While the magistrate is arranging his books and papers, the reader shall peruse a brief synopsis of the Morgan affair given me some thirty years since, written, it is thought, by Edward Sawyer toward the close of his life. It will serve us as a summing up of this part of the story which we have gone over:

"On the morning of Monday, September 11, 1826, William Morgan, a citizen of Batavia, Genesee county, New York, by trade a stone-mason, at that time on the jail limits for debt, was arrested by virtue of a warrant for petty larceny and taken to Canandaigua, Ontario county, a distance of forty-eight miles. Brought before the magistrate there, who had issued the warrant, he was examined and acquitted. Immediately following the acquittal, he was arrested upon execution for a debt due at Canandaigua, of \$2.65, principal and costs, and consigned to jail for want of security.

On the evening of Tuesday, September 12, he was released from jail, the debt being paid by another person, and, starting about 9 P.M., was taken in a coach, through Victor and Rochester, to the 'Ridge road,' three miles north of Rochester. They reached that place about five o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 13th. After slight delay, the party was transferred to another coach, and taken west by way of Clarkson, Gaines, Lewiston and Youngstown to the mouth of the Niagara river, at which point they arrived about 3 A.M. on the 14th. From this they crossed the river into Canada. Thus the reader has a succinct account of the Morgan deportation.

This affair has two explanations:

First Theory. That the arrest for petty larceny was a blind to get Morgan away from his friends in Batavia; that he was released from jail at Canandaigua under false pretenses, conveyed by violence and against his will out of the country, and, finally, put to death by drowning or other violent means.

Second Theory. That the whole transaction, commencing at Batavia and terminating upon Canadian soil, was undertaken and finished with the consent and coöperation of Morgan, and that no violence was at any time exercised or attempted upon him.

Upon the first theory the Anti-Masonic party was established, enlisting among its leaders such men as Granger, Seward, Thurlow Weed, Fillmore, Southwick, Spencer, Wirt, John Quincy Adams, Slade and others, a political party which held for ten years its place, by newspapers, books, lecturers and popular clamor of the noisiest.

Upon the second theory the Masonic Order, which for a time became quiescent, revived, expanded and stands at the present day broader and deeper than before."

As it was not intended to prosecute the charge of petty larceny no witnesses appeared before the magistrate (Chipman), and Morgan was at once discharged. In reply to the query of the justice, he declared that he *did* take the shirt and cravat last spring at Kingsley's tavern, and had them yet; but he only *borrowed* them, and Kingsley knew that he borrowed them. He was ready to return them at any time, etc. The fact is, he *stole* them under that bias of kleptomaniac of which I spoke in a preceding page.

The prisoner being now free, his first movement was to the bar-room, where a drunken debauch to follow would wind up the day's proceedings. To prevent this, and have him in condition for removal westward as soon as preparations could be made, N. G. Chesebro now came forward with an execution for \$2.65, principal and costs, issued by himself as one of the coroners of Ontario county. Upon this he was again arrested by the same constable. Hayward.

Small as the amount was, Morgan declared himself unable to liquidate it,* but pulled off his coat and offered that as security. The constable refused it, and he was promptly incarcerated in the county jail. This was about 7 P.M. of Monday, September 11, 1826.

The next day (Tuesday) he lay dormant, being quite accustomed to prison life. He had occasional conferences, however, with Chesebro, Sawyer and others. At his importunate request a bottle of liquor was handed him towards evening, an act which led to evil consequences. About 9 P.M. he was released by the payment of the debt, \$1.68 (for such an insignificant sum could the liberty of a freeman be restrained half a century since !), and entered a carriage going northward. Four miles north of Rochester the party struck the Ridge road and turned west. This road is so often named in the accounts of the Morgan trials that I give a description of it here from the official tour of inspection made in 1810 by DeWitt Clinton and others, from Albany to Buffalo. They were appointed to examine the country, preparatory to the location of the Erie Canal, which was opened in 1825:†

“This Ridge road may be considered a great natural turnpike. In imagination we might suppose that this ridge was a great road created some thousand years ago by the powerful emperor of a popular state, to connect the lakes with the interior country, or like the wall of China, a great breastwork erected by a mighty state, to protect the country against incursions from the lakes. Such as it is, the lashing of the waters of the lakes has spread this ridge with gravel. The present road is twenty feet wide.” He struck the Ridge road soon after leaving the Genesee river and says, “it extends seventy-eight miles from that point to Lewiston. Its general elevation is from ten to thirty feet,

* This statement was false. Every man in the party coming from Batavia testified that Morgan had considerable money in his pocket, which he frequently showed, offering to bet the same on wagers, etc.

† While writing this paragraph (March, 1883) I find a newspaper statement that the Legislature of New York has at last pronounced this great water highway “free of all tolls.” It was long known as “Clinton’s Ditch.”

but its width varies. Sometimes it narrows to fifteen or twenty yards. Its general distance from the lake is ten miles. It runs east and west. Parallel with it, but for from one-half to three miles south is a slope or terrace elevated two hundred feet higher than the ridge, with freestone base and limestone top. The indications are that it was originally the bank of the lake, the rotundity of the stones, gravel, etc., all demonstrating the agitation of the waters."

About 6 A.M., Wednesday, September 13, 1826, the party started westward. Various changes of drivers occurred, for instance Jeremiah Brown, near Jeddo, mounted the stage box and drove to Molyneux's Tavern. In the summer of 1861 I enjoyed a quiet summer day at the house of this venerable man, in company with R.W. Brother Wilson Hoag, then resident near the same place. Mr. Brown favored me with minute accounts of his celebrated "drive" of thirty-five years before, enriching my notes with the hints which I have wrought here and there into this volume. Two of my queries I give with his replies, literally as reported in my own stenography:

First. "Brother Brown, is it not true that Morgan was hoodwinked? I find no evidence that he was bound hand or foot, but various witnesses testified that his eyes were bandaged."

"Why, Brother Morris, I am surprised at you. After so many years' study of this subject, haven't you heard before that Morgan had bad eyes, and always kept them covered with a handkerchief when in the sun? He was not hoodwinked nor restrained in his liberty in any way. Whenever he wanted to get out, he got out. He walked, sometimes a mile at a spell, and walked past houses. He met people. He helped me to stop a runaway yoke of oxen. He picked up and kissed a little child who had fallen down and been left by his sister to cry. His eyes were only covered by his silk handkerchief to preserve them

from the sun and dust. Hoodwinked indeed! I am ashamed of you!"*

Second. "Upon the whole, then, Brother Brown, do you declare that in all this trip, Morgan was traveling with the Masonic party, of his own free will and accord?"

"I tell you, Brother Morris, that never did woman leave her father's house more willingly, to go out into the world with the husband of her choice, than Morgan left Batavia, and Dave Miller and his creditors. He had now as he said paid all his debts at a blow. He was going among old friends in Canada where he could turn over a new leaf and begin life again. He was promised forgiveness for the past. His family was to be sent to him. A good sum of money (\$500) was to be paid him, and more than that if he behaved himself. Just take it for granted, Brother Morris, that he went with us of his own free will and accord."

Moving toward the setting sun the party reached Wright's Corners and stopped for supper. Here Eli Bruce joined them.

They left in a few hours, changed horses, etc., at Molyneux's Tavern, passed through Lewiston, changed conveyances, and so reached Youngstown. Dismounting, they walked the short distance to the ferry, crossed the river, Edward Giddins being ferryman, remained on the other side a few hours, returned before morning and placed Morgan in a dry and comfortable apartment, once the magazine of the fort. This was Thursday morning, September 14, 1826.

Two days later, viz., Saturday September 16, he was again taken across the river and committed to the care of two Canadian Masons. The three mounted on horses and

* This relieved me of an embarrassing passage in the evidence of various witnesses, and I then remembered what S. H. Dickinson told me some years before, viz., that Morgan's eyes were at times so bad that he even kept a thin piece of muslin over them while laying brick.

journeyed together in harmony some fifty miles westward. Then the affair was finished. The full sum of \$500 "in good money"* was paid to William Morgan, and his receipt taken therefor. He also signed an undertaking "not to return to the states without written permission from John Whitney or N. G. Chesebro; not to leave upper Canada; to reform his habits; to provide a home for his wife and children, who were to be sent to him as soon as that could be done; and to set himself up as a sober and industrious citizen in some vocation that would support him and his." And so the party separated. The Canadians returned home. Of the movements of Morgan we shall learn more further on.

WHAT BECAME OF MORGAN?

I shall give in another chapter the oral testimony of John Whitney and N. G. Chesebro as to the disposition made of this miserable man. If any of my readers incline to contradict their statements they will need some theory to account for his absence, and I will supply them with a list of five, suggested by Judge Henry Brown, to whose "Narrative" the world is so much indebted. These suggestions were noted down in the early part of 1829:

"First. That fear prevented his return from whatever place of exile he had sought. Having been exposed to one expatriation, he might not care to wish another.

Second. That there was no particular object to be gained by his return, especially after his wife had married again. Long intemperate in habits, inattentive to his family, held in low estimation by the community, and possessing no property, why should he come back?

Third. That his return would have ruined the political hopes of his friends. It is amusing to conceive the con-

* This stipulation, "in good money," was so often used without explanation that I am inclined to suppose that gold and silver was meant. But bank notes of the denomination of one dollar, two dollars, fives, tens, etc., were issued by all the regularly chartered banks of that day, and they may have answered the definition.

sternation of Thurlow Weed, David C. Miller, Hascall *et id genus omne*, had that bald head and brazen face loomed up before their eyes! Many persons believed until the day of their deaths that the leaders of the Anti-Masonic party knew all the time where he was, and furnished him with the means of subsistence, lest his return to the scene of action should prostrate all their plans.

Fourth. A consciousness of having violated the most sacred pledges to his Masonic friends, and a vivid remembrance of the favors enjoyed at their hands, would prevent his return. He could never again fellowship with old friends. His appearance would ruin the work of his new friends.

Fifth. He may have gone to foreign countries and have died a natural death."

It will be seen upon the perusal of Judge Brown's "five possibilities" that the last corresponds nearest to that of John Whitney. I have no doubt myself of its correctness. Having changed his name and changed his raiment, having shaken off creditors and domestic encumbrances, enjoying now the opportunity of mortifying and wounding those who had swindled him at Batavia and those who had conducted him, as a vile creature, from the country; finally, having in his pocket a round sum of money ("\$500 in good money," that is, gold money, which, I think, he stipulated for, that so he might use it in foreign countries), which seemed a fortune to the thriftless, impecunious man, he shipped as a sailor before the mast, for which his old experience had amply qualified him, entered the forecandle of some ship at Montreal or Quebec, and with all the vices and diseases of forecandle Jack, vanishes from history. All my investigations of this mysterious subject since 1846 lead my mind to this theory, which, like every good theory, satisfies the conditions.

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS OF SEPTEMBER 12, 1826, AT BATAVIA.

THE proceedings of Tuesday, September 12, 1826, in the little village of Batavia were of so various and exciting a character as to deserve a chapter to themselves. An old weather-beaten mile-stone of primitive model, standing yet upon the main street in front of the court-house, affords a good starting point for this. Upon it I read in rustic characters:

BUFFALO 28 MILES. CANANDAIGUA 48.

Past this old mile-stone flitted the actors in the drama of which this volume is the chronicle—David C. Miller, Ebenezer Mix, William Seaver, Henry Brown, William R. Thompson, Frederick Follett, Samuel D. Greene, Blanchard Powers and the half hundred others whose names are embalmed with more or less eclat in the records of Anti-Masonic times.

No satisfactory account of this day's work can be given without reference to an attempt made, it is alleged, on the evening before, to burn Miller's printing establishment. It appears that he occupied the upper parts of two two-story buildings, separated by a narrow lane. Stairs ran up to each of his rooms on the outside. As the Canandaigua party put up at Danolds' tavern two nights before, it was easy to connect the attempt at burning the buildings with this visit, but this does not seem to have been done. At the cry of "FIRE!" however, the villagers hastened to the place and discovered, to the amusement of some and the indignation of many, that a number of barrels of water had been provided in readiness for the contingency. So the slight flame was promptly extinguished. Following this affair it was defi-

nately charged that Miller and his friends were at the bottom of the matter, not intending of course that the buildings should be destroyed, but to awaken interest and compassion for them in the community. Considerable preparations had been made, besides the water barrels, to blind the public eye — straw and turpentine balls were stored under the stairs, the walls were smeared with an inflammable substance, while the paint brush used in the work was discovered close by.

The Anti-Masons have so engrossed public attention by their printed statements of this amusing affair that but few of my readers, I think, are aware that the leading Masons of Batavia, offered a reward, bountiful as the times went, for information that would lead to identifying the proposed incendiaries of Miller's office. Here is a copy of the notice:

WHEREAS, It is alleged that the printing office of David C. Miller, in this village, was set on fire in the month of September, now last past, supposed to be the work of an incendiary: and,

WHEREAS, no reward has hitherto been offered for the apprehension and conviction of the said incendiary: and,

WHEREAS, a regard for public justice, individual security and a violated law requires that the offender, or offenders, be brought to condign punishment: Now,

THEREFORE, in order to effect so desirable an object, the undersigned have thought proper to offer a reward of *one hundred dollars*, to be paid on the conviction of said offender.

Dated at Batavia, Genesee county, N. Y., this 7th day of March, 1827. Signed,

WILLIAM SEAVER, JR.,	D. TISDALE,
HENRY BROWN,	SAMUEL GRAVES,
EBENEZER MIX,	JOHN COTES,
FREDERICK FOLLETT,	DAVID DANOLDS,
D. H. CHANDLER,	J. CHATFIELD,
S. CUMINGS,	B. BLODGETT,
RICHARD DIBBLE,	NAHUM LORING,
H. TISDALE,	J. S. GANSON,
SILAS FINCH,	E. TOWNER,
WM. N. THOMPSON,	JOHN FOOT.

These signers, I believe, were all Freemasons, some of them prominent. Seaver was Master of the Lodge.*

Henry Brown was author of the "Narrative of the Anti-Masonic Excitement," much quoted by me; Ebenezer Mix, was Surrogate (Probate Judge) of the County for many years; Frederick Follett, a newspaper writer, the creditor under whose claim Morgan was on the jail limits, and a man of much influence in the community; William R. Thompson, was Sheriff of the County of Genesee; David Danolds was keeper of the Hotel, at which Morgan breakfasted on the morning of September 11, 1826, etc.

This offer of reward was not published in Miller's "Advocate," nor, so far as I can see, in any of the Anti-Masonic authorities of the day. Indeed it was looked on by Miller and his party as a sly fling at Miller himself, who was believed by many of his neighbors in Batavia, to be his own (attempted) incendiary. Some of the bitterest street-quarrels in the village, in fact, grew out of this charge against Miller, and when the man finally withdrew from the place, and went west, a ruined and disgraced politician, he was solemnly advised by Judge Mix, "to own up and get his hundred dollars for a new start in life!"

On the other hand, much use of this alleged attempt at burning was made in the Anti-Masonic literature of the day. Pictures were published, hideous to the eye and shocking to the sense, in which prominent Masons of Batavia were represented as engaging in a work that, if perfected, might have destroyed the lives of a dozen people of both sexes and

* William Seaver was a resident of Batavia, a man of such high social and business standing, that the Anti-Masons gave him but little annoyance until June, 1829, when the Grand Jury, at the Court of General Sessions for the County of Genesee indicted him, with William R. Thompson, Nathan Follett, and Blanchard Powers for conspiracy and kidnapping in the Morgan matter. But no jury could be found, even in that infected district, and in those revolutionary times, to convict them.

various ages.* But nothing is too severe in political quarrels. The great shyster at Rochester, who had now taken in hand the establishment of a new party, upon the ruins of Freemasonry, rang the changes upon this tune, until to the general reader, it appeared as if a horrid plot had been detected, and providentially prevented, for burning the houses of the Anti-Masons at Batavia.

And now for the proceedings of September 12th, to which the heading of this chapter commits me. It has been charged that on the night of the 8th, a party of fifty persons met in Batavia for the purpose of breaking into Miller's office, and destroying the manuscripts and printed sheets of Morgan's "Illustrations." But the proof is so scanty, that even Anti-Masonic writers scarcely touch the matter, and I pass it over as undeserving of notice.

After the intention of Morgan and Miller had been publicly announced and the "Illustrations" were copyrighted in the name of "William Morgan," the firm, two of whose members, Morgan and Davids, were "on the jail limits," and so poor that even to print a pamphlet of eighty-four pages was too heavy an undertaking for them, was waited upon by a man, some thirty years of age, a Canadian by birth, well dressed and having the outward marks of a gentleman, who called himself Daniel Johns. This man offered himself as a capitalist or money partner, "with thousands at his command," anxious to embark in this crusade against Masonry, and was admitted into partnership with a confidence as touching as it is rare.† He actually advanced (accord-

* It is reported that in one of the lower rooms of the threatened buildings, there was a family residing, consisting of parents and eight children.

† The articles of partnership have never come to light, but the following documents give the names of the confederates and their preposterous expectations.

On the 13th of March, 1826, when the project of publication was first conceived by Morgan, David C. Miller and John Davids, of Batavia, and Russell Dyer of Rochester, N. Y., made and subscribed the following oath. This seems to have been done at Morgan's request, to conceal his operations from the Masonic brethren, who were then furnishing relief in the way of food, clothing, and house

ing to Miller's confession) the munificent sum of twenty-five dollars; but according to his own account, forty dollars. Who this Daniel Johns was, and what were his motives for the part he played, are equally uncertain. Charged in the cant of the times with being "a Masonic spy," no evidence of such position was adduced. It was the opinion of Judge Mix and William Seaver, Jr., that he was a speculator, unscrupulous as Miller himself, who had conceived the idea of a great fortune in the publication, and endeavored to procure the manuscripts from Morgan, that he might issue them himself. Henry Brown says in his "Narrative," that "Johns unquestionably flattered himself with the idea of obtaining Morgan's manuscripts, and Miller with the idea of obtaining Johns' money. A deception from the beginning was intended and partially succeeded, for Johns got part of the manuscripts, and Miller got \$40 in cash. As the manuscripts were of no value, Miller got the advantage, and when Johns became aware of this, he endeavored to coerce Miller into a more equitable distribution of the goods and chattels of the concern." Hence the difficulty. It is certain that Mr. Johns conceived himself the subject of a "sell," and resolved to have his money back. So on the 8th of September, he sued out a warrant before Thomas

rent to his family, which he justly anticipated would cease should his project become public:—

"We, and each of us, do hereby most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that we never will divulge during our natural lives, communicate or make known to any person or persons, in the known world, our knowledge, or any part thereof, respecting William Morgan's intention communicated to us, to publish a book on the subject of Freemasonry, neither by writing, marking, insinuations or in any way devisable by man."

The reader will understand that a document so turgid, tautological and ungrammatical, could have emanated from no hand save Morgan's. Of Russell Dyer I can learn nothing; but on the 5th of August following, Miller, Davids and Dyer, into which firm Daniel Johns was about to enter, had executed a bond in the penal sum of *five hundred thousand dollars*, conditioned for the payment of one-fourth the expected profits of the "Illustrations" to William Morgan. This was done before Morgan would permit them to get out the copyright. Russell was a witness October, 1828, in the Timothy Monro inquests.

Barton, Esq., a magistrate at LeRoy, against David C. Miller and his partner John Davids (had Russell Dyer withdrawn?) for the money actually advanced to them, viz: \$40. This warrant was placed in the hands of Jesse French, a constable, resident in Stafford, who proceeded, on the 12th of September, to put it into execution. Having been informed that Miller's office was guarded, and that he was determined at all events to resist the service of the process, the constable strengthened himself with a posse, and they in their turn fortified themselves with strong drink, until the proceedings took an uproarious aspect that reminds one of border-scenes. Miller was duly apprised of the coming of the party, but every magistrate of the village was absent upon court business in the neighboring town of Bethany, and he conceived himself in imminent peril. The citizens came together at his appeal, armed with clubs. The invaders armed themselves with similar weapons, and for a little quarter of an hour, there seemed imminent prospects of a skirmish. Messengers between the contending forces attempted to alarm the constable by assuring him that the printing office was defended by "two swivels, seventeen muskets, two grown men (Miller and Davids), and three boys (Miller's sons, ages not given). But the representative of the law was equal to the emergency, for ordering his detachment to hold their ground, he advanced with Wilcox, his assistant, boldly into *Gibraltar*, where Wilcox captured Davids, and French captured Miller. No powder was spent, no weapon drawn, and no swivel exploded, but with a great roar of laughter, the peace officers emerged from the office, leading their prisoners down the stairway, outside the building, and deliberately served process upon them in sight of the assembled universe.

Into Danolds' tavern, rendered famous the day before, by the already described breakfast, the party crowded, while the double-headed mob, bean-poles in hand, remained

outside, in abeyance. The sheriff, William R. Thompson, now came forward. John Davids, being already on the jail limits for debt, was not liable to arrest, to be taken away by civil process; so at the suggestion of Sheriff Thompson, he was released from custody, and sneaked into the shade. Miller was allowed what time he wanted ("an hour or two") to consult counsel, and even to pay the debt for which he was under arrest; then in company with several friends, he quietly accompanied the constable to Stafford, and afterward to LeRoy. There the plaintiff, Daniel Johns, not appearing in court, the case was dismissed, and all parties went home. Johns never got back his money, and from this moment disappears from our history. The constable French, his assistant Wilcox, James Hurlburt, and James Ganson, tavern-keeper of Stafford, were indicted and tried at the April term of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1827, "for an alleged riot, assault and battery upon, and the false imprisonment of David C. Miller." Two of the three judges were Masons, also part of the jury, and while James Ganson was acquitted,* the unhappy peace-officers, together with James Hurlburt, were sentenced, Jesse French to twelve

* Mr. Ganson resided at Stafford, six miles east of Batavia. He was a tavern-keeper, and formerly a member of the State Legislature. The Morgan and Miller troubles cost him much loss and public reproach, though in the end his character was fully vindicated. In the matter for which Jesse French suffered so severely, he had taken so little part that when the scoop-net of the grand jury of Genesee County barely held him upon trial for alleged riot, etc., upon Miller, he was acquitted, while the three who were indicted with him, were punished by imprisonment for various periods.

On the 8th of September, preceding, Mr. Ganson had prepared a supper for thirty or forty Masons by order of Nathan Follett, but even *that* did not make him infamous. But when the celebrated "Morgan Caravan" passed his house on the morning of September 11, 1826, he had "aided the party on the way," probably by filling Morgan's rum bottle, and giving the company a drink of cider all around. Heinous as this was, however much the Anti-Masons desired his scalp, he was honorably acquitted. Upon the return of Mrs. Morgan from her sad pilgrimage to Canandaigua (which none can read without sympathy), Mr. Ganson endeavored to comfort her by the assurance that no harm should befall her husband. He rode in the stage with her to Batavia, and made arrangements for her support.

months, Roswell Wilcox to six months, and James Hurlburt to three months imprisonment in the county jail.

In perusing the testimony upon which these outrages upon personal liberty were perpetrated, one must certainly read "between the lines." That the posse generally got drunk that day is clear enough, but so did Miller and his party. "He was *four* as a fiddler," writes me a Scotch gentleman, who saw him in his halt at Stafford. Dr. Samuel C. Butler, of Stafford, afterwards Vermont, assured me that the whole party of Miller's friends were intoxicated with liquor, "furnished by Miller himself, free as water to all who would partake." True, the posse was armed with clubs, or rather shillalehs from the butt ends of bean-poles, but so was the other party. The taunts and threats, which it is said were heaped upon Miller, were but retorts from the drunken rioters who surrounded and threatened the peace-officers all that day. Never was poor constable so beset to perform his duty, and the issue in the following April too plainly showed what an officer had to expect, who worked *dehors* the Anti-Masonic faction.

But let us see how Thurlow Weed tells this part of the history of September 12. In his "Address to the People of New York," issued March 6, 1828, he says:

"Col. David C. Miller was seized in Batavia under color of legal process, and taken to LeRoy. He was seized by Masons and accompanied to LeRoy by a ferocious band of Masons armed with clubs. He was there discharged from the process under which he was arrested, then with lawless violence they attempted to seize him again, but to the praise of the citizens of LeRoy, and to some who were members of the Masonic fraternity, too, be it spoken, he was rescued and suffered to return to Batavia. The avowed intention of Col. Miller's seizure was to take him where Morgan was, and where that was may be best gathered from the impious declaration of one of the conspirators, James Ganson, for several years a member of our legislature, that he was put where he would stay put, until God should call for him."

It is sufficient to say that James Ganson declared this a lie, and the man who wrote it and the men who signed it. liars all. But the reader will like to see Miller's own account of these various transactions, "an incipient conflagration and a still-born expatriation" as the papers are humorously labelled in a certain pigeon hole that I wot of. In the Batavia "Advocate" of September 15, following, a copy of Mrs. Heman's beautiful ode upon the Sources of the Nile, and an account of the then recent execution of Beauchamp, in Kentucky, for the murder of Sharp, we find, under the portentous heading of "Outrages follow in quick succession," Miller's editorials set forth in the person of his son:

"About 2 o'clock on Monday morning last (September 11), two buildings, about fifteen feet apart, in the upper story of each of which we had a press and other apparatus, were set on fire. The same morning, about 6 o'clock, Captain William Morgan was seized, as was alleged, by virtue of process, but whether legal or illegal is uncertain, as it could not be seen, and conveyed off, no one knows where, by a set of ruffians. On Tuesday a mob, consisting of more than a hundred, assembled in the village from various parts of the country with the openly avowed intention of destroying our printing establishment. The editor of this paper was conveyed out of town by a ruffian force pretending to have legal papers, but after conveying him, with a rudeness that would disgrace a less civilized country, to LeRoy, he was delivered over to the magistrate. But no process was exhibited or returned by the officers who arrested and delivered him to the magistrate. The constable then disappeared, and no complaint or plaintiff appearing to prosecute the prisoner, after waiting some time, he was discharged. I make my summary statement in behalf of my father, as ill-health, brought on by continual excitement, prevents him from giving, in this number, a full development of these rascally outrages."

On September 22d, in a leader of four and a half columns, the sorely injured martyr opens his full heart and case. He

gives grateful thanks to his friends, and assures them that every avenue is guarded, every nook and corner from which a lawless corps might issue by day or night, is watched by vigorous sentinels. He has printed a handbill in which he quotes the prophetic remarks of Morgan while anticipating the fate that has befallen him. In these remarks we find Morgan declaring that his best exertions had ever been to his country. "His countrymen had a claim upon his utmost faculties for the preservation of all that is dear to intelligent freemen. He has loved his fellowmen and does love them and wishes them disenthralled. The bane of our civil government, he avers, is in our Order, numerous and powerful, and daily becoming more so. It cankers and corrodes to the core the foundations upon which justice is based, and unless it is timely checked it is destined to become the leveler, not only of proud distinctions, but of social order. That which in its origin it promoted is sadly reversed, and thieves and money-changers have entered the sacred temple. Well may the Virgin be presented weeping over the fallen column. This is no ideal picture, or the song of a disordered fancy. Look about you! Within your daily walks and daily avocations you will see injustice sanctioned and crime sainted by the myrmidons of an abused institution. If my life must be forfeited, I owe to my country an exposure of its dangers, not that there are no good men in the society, but that there are so many evil ones." And all this rhodomontade is put by the editor into the mouth of a sot, an ignoramus, a vagabond and a petty thief.

It is not to be supposed that all this uproar, this upturning of parties, and splits in churches and families was unaccompanied by comicalities. All history has its comical side. There is a vein of humor in the American disposition which moistens the roots of human action, and this gushes forth often in places where it might least be looked for. A piece of doggerel was set afloat a few days after the inci-

dents of September 12, a copy of which was furnished me on a broadside by Dr. Peter P. Murphy, in 1850. Greene in his "Broken Seal" reproduces the poem, but with alterations of his own:

"THE WARRIORS OF THE BEAN POLES.

I've often tuned my lively strains,
Of warriors and their fates;
Of men that rise and men that fall;
Of commonwealths and states,
But now in song of deeper note,
And words sublimely grand,
I give to all the listening world
What happened in our land.

The night was still, save mortal snores
From man's disturbed dream
Of railroads, Clinton ditches, and
Cannon that go by steam;
When William Morgan, with an oath,
Swore, spite of friends and foes,
That now for cash and conscience sake
He would a tale disclose.

Then Miller swore by earth and h—l
He'd print it out so clear,
That all the blind might see and read,
And all the deaf might hear.
That from the greatest to the least,
And women too, and youth,
The world at large should surely have
The hidden light of truth.

Then h—l broke loose; then all the gang
Of craftsmen circled round
To kidnap both, suppress the book,
Or burn Batavia down.
Such fury seized on Masons' brains,
Such vengeance seemed to start
In place of love and charity
From each Freemason's heart.

Then Ganson cried, 'My friends arise
With pistols, swords and dirks,
Hoop poles and knives and cudgels strong,
All ripe for bloody works,
We'll disregard the powers that be
And laws that men devise,
Dave Miller seize, and seize his book,
Succeed or sacrifice.'

Forward then sped the conquering band
Determined, rough and rare,
'Twas such a horde as Milton sung
In highest heaven's despair.
They bound their cruel bludgeons on,
They waved their bean poles round,
And cursed and ripped that Miller should
Be hustled to the ground.

Ganson, upright above the rest,
All pale and wavering stood
Just like a crabtree shrub among
The shrubbery of the wood;
While in the rear on dapple gray,
Don Sancho seemed to flee
With lofty pride from making combs *
To deeds of chivalry.

But still the band of bean-pole Knights
With awful wrath in store,
Rushed in upon Batavia
And made the welkin roar.
Hoop poles and dirks and pistols clashed
And waved around, till all
The dogs and hogs their tushes gnashed
And cats began to squall.

For such another motley band
Ne'er rose on earth to view
Since Satan's winged and fiery host
From Pandemonium flew.
Then dreadful wooden weapons waved
In battle's dread array,
And Sancho seized on Miller's throat
As tiger takes his prey.

On foot, on horse, in wagons stored,
They marched ten miles or more
To guard the victim of revenge
And triumph in his gore;
But soon the populace in strength
Rose up at boiling heat,
And sent him back to printing books
And made the mob retreat.

Never was there a scene like this
Unless in h—l below. Etc., etc."

Thus the doggerel goes on for a hundred stanzas. It seems dull enough to us now, as indeed the humor of that day does seem dull in the light of modern wit, but it suf-

* The constable, French, was a manufacturer of combs.

ficed to shake the sides of a generation, and is worth perusal. When the best caricatures of the times dwelt on "Hascall as the rascal" and that "Miller is sold for siller" and "Weed to greed," etc., what can we expect? Could a few Hawkeyes, Twains and Josh Billings be projected back to that period, the true metal in the mine of humor might yet be wrought out.

As a sort of foil to the doggerel just cited, the following lines are offered as a paraphrase of a most affecting letter written by a western gentlemen to some of his old LeRoy friends who had allowed themselves to be carried away with the excitement of 1826-30 and join the ranks of the seceders. The effect produced, if any, is not given:

WHY HAVE THEY LEFT US?

"They went out from us, but they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us."—John ii, 19.

Why have they left us? Did we not impart,
Through Mason ceremonials, noble thought?
Is there one doctrine, dear to generous heart,
We have not somewhere in our system taught?
Faith, hope in God, a child-like reverence,
Strong brotherly trust, a very strong defense.
And patriotic zeal and love for art,—
Such are the lines we printed on their heart.

Why have they left us? Did they not receive,
Within our tiled retreats, a holy thing?
Walls, floor and ceiling all combined to weave
The pattern woven by Judea's King:
Bright types of truth immortal, old and quaint;
Things rare and common in strange union blent;
The Square, the Trowel, objects near and far;
The quivering Leaflet and the Oriental Star.

Why have they left us? In yon hallowed graves
Are there not buried friends for whom they mourn?
How can they walk where weeping willow waves,
Nor long for those who've passed death's solemn bourne?
We laid them there with mystic signals given,
All earnestly connecting earth and heaven.
We'll join them there when the great Word shall come,
And rise with them when bursts the inclosing tomb.

Why have they left us? Do they feel secure
That trials and afflictions will not come?
Do they suppose these transient things endure,
Or anything is sure, this side the tomb?
Health, wealth, prosperity,— 'tis but a span
That mocks with shadowy bliss deluded man.
When sorrow darkens, oh! how good to bend
Our steps toward the Lodge, where friend meets friend.

Then let the good return and go with us;
Their vacant seats want to be occupied.
Our shattered ranks betray the fatal loss;
Worse the deserter than the faithful dead!
Return, go with us in our generous toil!
Return, sleep with us in our hallowed soil!
And when the well pleased Master calls his own,
Stand by our side before the great white Throne!

The story of the 12th of September has been given as related to me by men who saw the proceedings. They were Masons, yet took no part in the arrest of Miller or the support of the constable, French. They saw nothing strange in his providing himself with a posse, for Miller had openly declared that "he would not be arrested," and "Colonel," as he was commonly called by way of nickname, it was to be fairly presumed, was no coward. The reputation of Batavia and the surrounding townships had been bad. A spirit of lawlessness had prevailed there since the close of the war with England, when returned soldiers had brought with them the evils and disorders of camp life. A few years before, an attempt had been made upon the office of the Holland Land Company at Batavia, which, in the number of persons and their preparations for assault, assumed almost the dimensions of a rebellion. It was more than a riot. The forces employed were divided, officered, armed, disciplined, as if for the most desperate act. When the constable, Holloway Hayward, came from Canandaigua, armed with a criminal warrant to arrest William Morgan, he doubted his ability to do it without a posse, and his fears were well founded. Had not Morgan agreed beforehand to go quietly to Canandaigua (a fact of which the constable

could of course know nothing), Hayward, posse or no posse, would doubtless have returned without his prisoner. No demand for a posse of law-abiding citizens would have aroused the villagers of Batavia to aid in the arrest, and the same may be said of French in his attempt to arrest Miller.

But see how Charles Francis Adams perverts this history. In his introduction to the "Letters and Addresses on Freemasonry" of his father, John Quincy Adams, he gives six "facts attending the abduction of Morgan."

1. Anonymous denunciations of the man Morgan as an imposter in newspapers published at Canandaigua, Batavia, and Black Rock, places at some distance from each other, but all within the limits of the region in which the subsequent acts of violence were committed.

2. Abuse of the forms of law, by the hunting up of small debts or civil offenses with which to carry on vexatious suits or prosecutions against the two persons, Miller and Morgan.

3. The introduction of a spy into their counsels and of a traitor to their confidence, employed for the purpose of betraying the manuscripts of the proposed work to the Masonic Lodges, and thus of frustrating the entire scheme.

4. Attempts to surprise the printing office by a concerted night attack of men gathered from various points, assembling at a specific rendezvous, the abode of a high member of the Order, and proceeding in order to the execution of the object, which was the forcible seizure of the manuscripts and the destruction of the press used to print them.

5. Efforts to get possession of the persons of the two offenders by a resort to the processes of law, through the connivance and coöperation of officers of justice, themselves Masons. These efforts failed in the case of Miller, but they succeeded against Morgan, and were the means by which all the subsequent movements were carried into execution.

6. The employment of an agent secretly to prepare materials for the combustion of the building which contained the printing materials, known to be employed in the publication of the book, and to set them on fire."

After the *facts* which I have incorporated in this and preceding chapters, the unprejudiced reader will be able to contradict the most of this balderdash without further assistance. First, Morgan *was* an imposter. Not even Miller or Miller's master, Weed, ever denied that. Second, There is not an iota of evidence that Daniel Johns was a spy. But if he was, what shall we say of the boasting confession in the "Illustrations" printed by Weed and Heron in 1828, that they sent a man to Jeremy L. Cross as a spy to obtain the Royal Arch Lectures. Third, There is no evidence of an attempt "to surprise the printing office," no proof of "an assemblage at a specific rendezvous," no "employment of an agent to burn the office of Miller." But the animus of Charles Francis Adams comes by lawful inheritance. His father was defeated in his efforts at reelection as President of the United States, by Andrew Jackson, a Past Grand Master of Masons, but for which, John Quincy Adams never would have learned the heinousness of Freemasonry. The old gentleman blew the Anti-Masonic bellows for a few years after that and then, until the day of his death (February 23, 1848), when he passed away honored and lamented by the nation, he never published another harsh word upon the subject. But his son, Charles Francis, the animated icicle, as his neighbors aptly style him, holds hatred longer than his father, and in reply to a request from the Secretary of the National Christian Association, he furnishes a letter which was published and read at the dedication of Morgan's Monument at Batavia, September 11, 1882, as follows:—

"Boston, March 23, 1880.

J. P. STODDARD, Esq.,

Secretary National Christian Association :

MY DEAR SIR.—I beg to acknowledge the reception of your letter in which you again call my attention to what I consider the most extraordinary and fearful event

that has marked the history of the present century. I mean the sudden and forcible making away with William Morgan, a citizen of New York, by a band of his fellow-citizens, and disposing of him where he has never been heard of again; and this crime, done for no assignable cause except that he was a Freemason, bound by oaths which required profound secrecy as a means of existence, and the sacrifice of life if he betrayed a word.

I do not propose to follow up the narrative. It is enough to say that an innocent man was made away with. But though the evidence, so far as it was opened to the public, clearly pointed to many of the associates, no human power has been efficient enough to draw out from the Order any confession of guilt, or regret for the offense.

Yet though this monstrous crime was accomplished in safety by the actors in it, the recollection of those fearful events still continues and will never be effaced from the records of the nation. This assembly to which you invite me is of itself a standing proof of the degree of interest yet attached to the fearful memory of the offense committed half a century ago.

Not a great while since, it was my misfortune to receive an application from many elderly persons, still remembering the crime and the exposition of it by my father, who applied to me to consent to a republication of his papers touching the matter, as well as to prefix a preface to the volume, to which I cheerfully assented. And now that thirty-nine years have passed, and you call upon me once more to fix in the minds of a new generation the fearful memory of the great crime, I very humbly pray to contribute this, my mite, in order to preserve us from pitfalls, and to deter others for all future time from similar outrages, in the hope of concealing them from the eyes of the world, through the obligation of a solemn oath.

Lastly it is well that the memory of this exceptional digression from the laws of justice and of truth be from time to time renewed as on this occasion, to establish a permanent safeguard against the danger of yielding in any case to the influence of self-created combinations however specious they may appear.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS."

DID MORGAN WRITE THE "ILLUSTRATIONS?"

The date of Morgan's entrance upon the work of authorship may be quite accurately set in April, 1826. Shortly after, he and Miller and the third partner were all "on the jail limits" under execution for sums that seem at the present day trifling. And yet these men, whose united wealth would scarcely have purchased a span of horses, entered into a bond, whose penalty of five hundred thousand dollars is contrasted with the impecuniosity of the signers. A copy of this remarkable document is given upon another page. Explanation of the term "jail limits," and the operations of the law of imprisonment for debt in force at that period are also given elsewhere.

As Morgan began his composition some time in April, 1826, or but little earlier, and was a slow composer, as all uneducated men are, and lost much time through fits of intoxication; and as, in his utmost boastings, he did not promise the completion of his book "for several months," I am forced to the opinion current at the period, that his completed notes reached but little further than the Degree of Entered Apprentice. "A little ways into the Second Degree" was claimed by his associates immediately after his deportation in September, 1826, when Miller had made up his mind to prepare a book for himself, the project being so handsomely advertised to his hand.

Now, it is certain that when Morgan took breakfast with Constable Hayward and his posse at Danolds' Tavern, Monday morning, September 11, 1826, he had delivered over to Mr. Chesebro all the unprinted MSS. in his possession, and this addition to his delivery of notes, etc., to Whitney the week before. No one will deny this who recalls the confusion that possessed Miller's soul when Morgan so unexpectedly left him in the lurch that morning. Miller had not fulfilled any part of his contract with the poor besotted dupe, as Morgan's letter on a previous page will show; but

the sudden departure of Morgan himself, under force of a State warrant, which would not be resisted, stopped his press and threw him upon his own resources. Consider, too, how much MSS. and printed matter Daniel Johns carried off and the great bundle that Mrs. Morgan gave to Ketchum.

In examining critically the work published by Miller in November, 1826, under title of "Illustrations of Masonry" (pretendedly the production of William Morgan), I find no such glaring contrast between the style of the First Degree and that of the other two as we should look for in a production begun by one person and finished by another. I am, therefore, brought to the conclusion that so little of Morgan's copy had been set up by the compositors that Miller found it best to suppress that portion and make up a volume *de novo*. The question then arises, seeing that Miller was not a Mason beyond the First Degree (so he says in the report of the first LeRoy convention), what sources of information were at his command? A glance at the list of Masonic Expositions given in my second chapter affords ample reply.

But there is other food for thought in Miller's "Expositions," of 1826, professedly Morgan's. The title-page reads "Illustrations of Masonry, by one of the Fraternity, who has devoted twenty years to the subject. *God said, Let there be light and there was light.* Printed for the proprietor, 1827." Morgan's name is not seen here, but who is this man who had given "twenty years to the subject?" David C. Miller, if any one. He had taken the First Degree, there is evidence to believe, some twenty years before at Albany, N. Y., but having been "stopped" then by the unwillingness of the Fraternity to "advance" him further, he had conceived a violent dislike to the Institution, and was not unwilling to inflict injury upon it as opportunity served. The only application of Morgan's

name to the book, is in the certificate of copyright, which reads, "William Morgan of said District hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as an author in the words following, to wit: Illustrations of Masonry, by one of the Fraternity, who has devoted twenty years to the subject. *God said, Let there be light and there was light.*"

The Introduction to this book (I am speaking of the first edition of Morgan's "Illustrations," 8vo, pp. 84, 1826) is said to be "Written for the original edition by the publisher, Col. David C. Miller, Batavia, N. Y.," and he speaks of himself as co-adjutor in its preparation. "We submit to the public," "we pretend not to act under a cover," And in the advertisements of the book in Miller's weekly "Advocate," this idea of co-authorship is steadily applied.

My conclusions are, that not a page of the original "Illustrations," composed by William Morgan, is in existence; that the work so extensively issued, published and republished in a thousand editions, is from the pen of David C. Miller, and simply adapted from other Expositions in his possession, and available to every book purchaser in the land.

Here is Miller's own advertisement of the book as announced in the "Advocate," of December 15th, 1826, and the editorial accompanying it:—

"JUST PUBLISHED,

And for Sale at the Advocate Office.

The First Part of Masonry Unveiled, containing a full
Exposition of the Secrets and Ceremonies of that
'ancient and honorable' Institution,

FREEMASONRY.

'God said, Let there be Light and there was Light!'

The remaining part is now in press, and will shortly be
published."

"October 14, 1826. About the middle of August last, by particular request of the author (Morgan) I applied to the Clerk of the Northern District of this State, at Utica, for a copyright of a work entitled 'Illustrations of Masonry,' etc. I had ascertained that every movement of mine was closely watched. To elude pursuit, various means were resorted to, etc. A few days after these occurrences, a man named Daniel Johns, was introduced to me, anxious to embark in the crusade against Masonry. He aided in printing and folding the Masonic books. On the evening of September 8th, he went away. Now Morgan began to be alarmed for his personal safety, etc."

He describes Morgan in the carriage, as "pale and with eyes set, a living paralysis, etc."

In my first chapter, I gave a partial list of the various exposés, English and American, that were in existence in 1826. The reader will perhaps like to see the title pages of some of them in full:

TUBAL-KAIN.

Being the Second Part of Solomon in all his Glory !

Or, the Grand Secret Discovered.

Containing an Universal and Genuine

DESCRIPTION

Of Freemasonry in all its Branches, from the Original to the Present Time.

As it is delivered in the Constituted Regular Lodges,
Both in City and Country.

According to the

Several Degrees of Admissions.

Giving an Impartial Account of their Regular Proceedings
in Initiating their New Members in the whole

Three Degrees of FREE MASONRY.

viz:

1. Entered Prentice, 2. Fellow Craft,

3. Master.

with

A New and exact List of Regular Lodges, According to their Seniority and Constitution.

By SAMUEL PRICHARD,

Late Member of a Constituted Lodge.

To which is added

The Author's Vindication of Himself; together with the Copy of the Oath that he took before an Alderman, that this was a true Copy of

FREEMASONRY.

Likewise a Collection of Freemason Songs, Toasts, and Sentiments, etc.

LONDON: printed for W. Nicoll. And

DUBLIN: re-printed for, and sold by Thomas Wilkinson, in Winetavern street, the Corner of Cook street, where may be had all sorts of Freemasonry Books.

The date of this edition is probably 1761, and among the other works of the same nature advertised by Wilkinson at the same date at No. 40 Winetavern street, are the following:—

Ahiman Reson, or Help to a Brother,	-	Price, 2s 2d
Jachin and Boaz,	- - - - -	" 6d
Shibboleth,	- - - - -	" 6d
Three Distinct Knocks,	- - - - -	" 6d
Solomon in all his Glory,	- - - - -	" 6d
The Turnpike Road to Masonry,	- - - - -	" 6d
Freemason Dissected,	- - - - -	" 6d

The Freemason stripped naked; or the whole Art and Mystery of Freemasonry made plain and easy to all capacities: Being a faithful account of every Secret, from the first making of a Mason until he is completely Master of every branch of his profession. By Charles Warren, Esq., late Grand Master of a regularly constituted Lodge, in the City of Cork. Price, 6d.

These, as the prices indicate are mere pamphlets. They were printed upon the coarsest of paper and with muddy ink. They all open up with a *quasi* apology for exposing private matters to the world, their authors claiming that nothing but a sense of duty to society could justify the breach of fidelity. In the words put in the mouth of the defunct Morgan by Judge Taggart, in his speech at Batavia, N. Y., September 12th, 1882, at the consecration of the statue of the aforesaid (the same being delivered in my hearing), the romancing lawyer has followed in the same vein, having doubtless made up his fable out of the same materials.

The reader will see from the above what sources of information were at the command of David C. Miller, when he resolved to push through a work of his own under the well advertised name of William Morgan. By the assistance of Thurlow Weed, who had entered heart and soul into the project, and had procured English and American books for his use, he was able to prepare a system of questions and answers with suitable commentaries.

An English writer ("Freemason," London, 1882), commenting upon the proceedings at the inauguration of Morgan's Monument at Batavia, September 11, 1882, forcibly inquires: "Who after this will care to be enrolled among the recipients of monumental fame? To be placed in the same category with such as this William Morgan, will be an eternal disgrace, even if it should be done under the auspices of a Christian Association." Similar were my own thoughts as I came along the line of the New York Central Railroad, February 16, 1883, and saw on my right hand, just before entering the beautiful city of Batavia, that lofty "lie in granite," that stands there within a dozen steps of the railway track. I recall the hour when I stood there impatient under the Anti-Masonic prayers, the Anti-Masonic hymns, the Anti-Masonic reminiscences, the Anti-Masonic declamations of those hot and dreary hours, and wondered who, after this, would care for a monument.

The writer of an influential sheet in New York expresses surprise that the National Christian Association should take pains to honor the memory of a drunken vagabond whose only claim to fame lies in the fact that he either violated a dozen of the most solemn oaths or told a large collection of ingenious falsehoods. He crowned his moral edifice with hypocrisy by declaring that he violated his alleged oaths and betrayed the confidence of his associates, from a sense of duty. This, says the editor, makes

him out as various and miscellaneous a rascal as our prolific country has produced; and that such a man should be honored with a monument by an association of Christians would certainly be a very singular fact were it not that the National Christian Association is engaged in work of such tremendous importance that it cannot stop to inquire into the moral character of its great apostle and proto-martyr.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRIALS AT CANANDAIGUA.

ALTHOUGH no violation of law was proven upon Constable Hayward, or the six members of his posse, for bringing William Morgan from Batavia by virtue of a warrant for petit larceny, the proceedings of Tuesday night in removing that person from Canandaigua afforded subjects for the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Ontario county. Bills of indictment were returned against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, Loton Lawson and John Sheldon, in the Court of Sessions of November, 1826, charging them

First. With conspiracy to seize and carry William Morgan from the jail to foreign parts, and there continually to secrete and imprison him.

Second. That on the evening of September 12, they did so seize him, etc. in pursuance of the conspiracy.

These indictments, by consent of parties, were transferred to the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and the circumstances of the trial were long remembered by those present. The court assembled at Canandaigua, January 1, 1827, a bitterly cold New Year's morning. Five judges occupied the bench, viz: Enos T. Throop, judge of the Seventh District, presiding; Nat. W. Howell, first judge of Ontario county, and Judges Younglove, Atwater and Brooks. The weather, as remarked, was terribly inclement, but every citizen who had health to breast it was at court that week, and many a frozen foot and finger attested the fact to the generation following.

The district attorney, Whiting, was assisted by seven of the best lawyers on the circuit. "He was bound," it was said at the time, "bound to convict." The defense was conducted by John C. Spencer and three others.* Rarely had such an array of talent assembled at the Canandaigua bar. The corner-stone of the Court House had been planted with Masonic honors, July 4, 1825, and the Freemasons had suspended upon its walls paintings of extraordinary merit, of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, La Fayette, Clinton and others, most of them known to have been in their day prominent Masons. Nearly one hundred witnesses had been subpœnaed, among them the noted David C. Miller, but when the names were called, Tuesday, the 2d, Miller was absent. Attachments were swiftly issued for him in contempt, and the trial was postponed, so that the day was lost, owing to his contumacy. The fellow did not show up until Friday, the 5th, when he swore that though subpœnaed to appear on Monday, he had not left home till the 3d, and then he had turned off from Avon to Dansville, to buy printing paper. He gave as his reason for his contempt of court service, "that no fees had been tendered him, and that he had not any money to bear his expenses to Canandaigua." And after all, the court discharged him on Saturday, unscathed! In his paper, the "Republican Advocate," shortly afterward, he declared editorially "that he

*The reader will bear in mind that this is the same Spencer who afterward served the Anti-Masonic party so faithfully by acting as special counsel in the trials of Bruce and others. He was a man of strong position and a lawyer of the first class, or he could not have overcome the charge that would have ruined a weaker man, viz: "That all his capital as an Anti-Masonic lawyer was gained while working in the confidence and at the expense of the Freemasons." It was *his son* who was hung at the yard arm in 1846, for mutiny, and such writers as Thurlow Weed and others, who were able to detect the hand of Providence in the sudden and untimely deaths of Col. William King, DeWitt Clinton and others who were Masons, might have found reason, had they cared to do so, to — but I will not pursue a suggestion so cruel. Every feeling heart mourned for John C. Spencer and his bereaved family upon the occasion cited.

did not go to court at Canandaigua, because he was not wanted there!"

On Wednesday, the 3d, the trial began, and then to the surprise of all, Chesebro, Sawyer and Lawson withdrew their plea of not guilty, and pleaded *guilty* to both indictments, "reserving the right to move the court in arrest of judgment upon either." Sheldon maintained his plea of not guilty, and was put on trial, a jury was impaneled and his case opened by District Attorney Whiting.

The witnesses were Mrs. Hall, jailor's wife, Israel R. Hall, the jailor, Thomas Beach, Hiram Hubbard, John Whitney, Mrs. Martha Davis, Ed. C. Kingsley, but the names will appear in their proper places with the evidence.

MRS. HALL, wife of the jailor, testified that Loton Lawson came to the jail on the evening of September 12, in company with a man named Foster. They offered to pay Morgan's debt and release him. In the absence of her husband, she refused to receive the tender, but when Chesebro and Sawyer came in, gentlemen whom she knew, she felt that it would be lawful, and consented. This was about 9 P.M. As she started into the jail to unlock his door, Lawson, she says, went to the front door and whistled. (Lawson always denied this emphatically.) She followed him, and observed this Foster coming to the steps in answer to the whistle. She released Morgan, and after locking his cell, went again to the front door and observed Lawson and Foster leading Morgan away. He resisted and cried "MURDER." She believed that Foster was the accused Sheldon, who then stood in the court.

STEPHEN COLLIER testified: Sheldon informed him that he supposed he knew as much of the Morgan affair as anybody; that he was at Kingsley's tavern that night, occupying people's minds with other matters, that they might not suspect what was going on at the jail; that he (Sheldon) said he saw the carriage when it went to the jail and when

it returned. But he knew Sheldon to be a drunken fellow, one who pretended to things he knew nothing about.

ISRAEL R. HALL, the jailor, testified: Knows Sheldon. He came to the jail the early part of the evening of the 12th, to inquire about Morgan.

THOMAS BEACH: Heard Sheldon say that he did not know anything of Morgan being carried off, and that he could prove that he was in another place that evening. Agrees with Collier that Sheldon was a drunken braggadocio.

HIRAM HUBBARD: Drove the coach that took Morgan away. Knows Sheldon but did not see him about the carriage. Saw him that evening at Kingsley's bar-room, and when Hubbard started off, Sheldon asked him where he was going.

JOHN WHITNEY: Knows Sheldon. Saw him near hotel that evening. Did not see him near the jail and was not aware that Sheldon knew Morgan was going away.

MARTHA DAVIS: Saw various persons about the jail, but not Sheldon.

SAMUEL D. GREENE: It was the evidence of this thrice perjured villain (author of "The Broken Seal") that sent Sheldon, an innocent man, to jail. Greene swore that while keeping the Park tavern in Batavia, Sheldon stayed at his house on Sunday night, September 10. Next morning he told Greene that he understood an attempt had been made to burn Miller's office, and that he (Sheldon) was suspected of being the incendiary. Called Greene to witness that he had slept in his house. Told him that he (Sheldon) was a Royal Arch Mason, and that if Miller's book was published, Masonry would become useless in that part of the country. He wrote a letter in hieroglyphics while at Greene's house, directed to Stephen Van Rensselaer* at

* The Grand Master of the State the succeeding year. The following list of Grand Masters of New York will be useful for reference. The annual elections

Albany, signed the name of John Sheldon to it and posted it in Batavia. He told Greene that he had been hanging around Batavia ever since Friday, September 8, endeavoring to get the papers from Miller. Gave Greene to understand that possibly Morgan and Miller both would be abducted. Sheldon had a private conference with Kelsey Stone in Greene's house, remained there till noon and disappeared. Is sure that the John Sheldon now in court is the same man.*

in this State occurred in June, as at the present time. 1806 to 1818, DeWitt Clinton. 1819 to 1821, Daniel R. Tompkins. 1822, Joseph Enos. 1823 to 1825, Martin Hoffman. 1826, Elisha W. King. 1827 to 1829, Stephen Van Rensselaer. 1830, Morgan Lewis. The Grand Secretaries were: 1817 to 1825, Elias Hicks, 1826 to 1828, Oliver M. Lowndes. 1829, James Herring. Richard Hatfield was Deputy Grand Master 1825 to 1827; Mordecai Meyers, 1827 to 1834.

* This mysterious letter in cipher was hunted up afterward and published. It proved to be signed, not by John Sheldon, as Greene had so glibly sworn, but by John Averill. It was not addressed to Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Grand Master, but to Solomon Van Rensselaer, quite another person. Finally it turned out to be a farrago of nonsense, proving that the "mysterious stranger" in whose place poor Sheldon was locked up for a quarter-year, was a mere crank, a lunatic, an empty head whose proper place was the lunatic's cell. And yet though all this became well known to the public, Samuel D. Greene, "the lying witness" at the Canandaigua trials, whose false testimony had brought Sheldon to the jail, had not the honesty to confess the facts in his "Broken Seal" published 44 years afterwards, but reiterates his first statements with a coolness that marks the hardened villain.

I hope not to have occasion to make further references to Samuel D. Greene, so I give here a copy of an epitaph written some fifty years in advance of his death in 1882, by Charles W. Moore, of Boston, who having beaten him in a libel case, followed up his victory with these terrible lines:

"EPITAPH.

Go, poor devil, leave the haunts of men,
Go, seek some bloody tiger's den,
For only there canst thou e'er hope to find
Society congenial to thy mind.
And, when thy form shall crumble into dust,
Thy name detested by the good and just,
To mark the spot where earth affords thee room,
Let deadly night-shade spring above thy tomb,
The mouldering earth lie heavy on thy breast,
The screech-owl sing thy requiem of rest,
The passing traveler say without a sigh,
Here lies a perjured wretch, *here let him lie!*"

Such excerpts from history show what will be the deleterious effects of the unreasonable excitement born of Thurlow Weed and a few confederates. Like some pestilential effluvia, it is inhaled by many, and reason, judgment and common sense are prostrated by its baneful influence.

ED. C. KINGSLEY: Sheldon boarded with him all the month of September, and spent the evening of the 12th in his bar-room. Has no recollection of his being absent before 9 o'clock, when he (Sheldon) took a candle and went to bed. Did not see him conversing with Lawson that day or evening.

For the defense various witnesses appeared.

KELSEY STONE: Resides in Batavia. Was sent for to Greene's house, Monday, September 11, to see a man, a stranger to him, who said he was suspected of firing Miller's office. Does not think Sheldon was the man.

ED. C. KINGSLEY: Does not think Sheldon was absent the 9th, 10th, or 11th from his house. If he had been, he would have known it.

WILLIAM BASSETT: Worked in same shop with Sheldon all September. Does not recollect that he was absent. Thinks he was there certainly Monday, September 11.

NATHAN PRESCOTT: Also works with Sheldon. Is confident he was at home September 11. On cross-examination he testified that on the morning of the 13th Sheldon came to the shop proclaiming that Morgan was carried off; has gone where the people of this country will never see him; that his family will be provided for if they accept the funds the Masons have provided, and that he (Sheldon) knew who had gone into the jail after Morgan.

WILLIAM C. YALE: Was Kingsley's barkeeper. Had no recollection of Sheldon's absence 9th, 10th, or 11th September, and has no doubt but he was at home as usual.

JACOB BOWERS: Boarded at Kingsley's. Left Sheldon there on the 9th, and found him there on the 11th September, and did not hear of his absence. Was in the bar-room from early the evening of the 12th till 8 P.M. Was there when Hayward came in, and Hubbard went away.

HOLLOWAY HAYWARD: Saw Sheldon at Kingsley's about dusk the evening of the 11th, and from 8 to 9 P.M., the 12th.

JEFFREY CHIPMAN: Sheldon was present during the examination of Morgan before him (Chipman) on the evening of the 11th September.

TIMOTHY L. BOGUE: Sheldon worked for him in September. Does not remember his being absent on the 9th, 10th, or 11th. Is confident he saw him about 1 P.M. on the 11th, and again in the evening. He (Sheldon) was at Kingsley's bar-room the evening of the 12th, and is confident that he was there when Hubbard's carriage went past.

CHAUNCEY H. COE, stage proprietor, proved that Sheldon could not have left Batavia, September 12, after 9 P.M., by any public conveyance, and arrived at Canandaigua that evening.

THEO. F. TALBOT: He was asked if he had the papers which were taken on the examination of Mrs. Hall, the jailor's wife, before Magistrate Chipman? Said he had, but declined to produce them until ordered by the Court. The papers show that Mrs. Hall had testified that "the person called Foster was unknown to her at the time of making the affidavit!"*

Mr. Spencer then addressed the jury in a speech of two hours,—an effort characterized with great learning and eloquence. In a burst of oratory he apostrophized the portraits upon the walls that represented the purity, patriotism and honor of Freemasonry. But the jury returned a verdict of guilty against Sheldon.

On the 5th, the public prosecutor consented that the Court should elect which one of the two indictments judg-

* This affidavit of September 23, as given in Miller's "Advocate," of September 29, puts Mrs. Hall's testimony on a very different footing from the other. It is quite lengthy. She says that Lawson offered to deposit \$5 with her (though the debt and costs was but \$2.68), but she replied that she had understood that Mr. Morgan was a rogue, and she didn't wish to liberate a rogue. She had observed Chesebro and her husband talking together, so when Chesebro came up and gave her his assurance, she was satisfied. Being the full of the moon she noticed that the horses were grey.

ment should pass upon and that the other should be abandoned.

On Saturday, the 6th, two witnesses were called "in aggravation of the punishment," viz.:

LUCINDA MORGAN, wife of William Morgan. She is described by the newspaper reporter as a lady of prepossessing appearance, about twenty-five years of age. She testified that she was the wife of William Morgan, whom she had married about seven years before, near Richmond, Virginia, where her father now lives. Resided with her husband about a year in Canada, then in Rochester, and since in Batavia. Her husband left home on Monday, the 11th September, before breakfast, and she had not seen him since. She had not heard from him since he was taken from the Canandaigua jail. She has two children, and no other relatives in this part of the county. Morgan was about fifty-two years of age, a mason by trade, and in indigent circumstances.

CORYDON FOX: A stage driver from Lewiston, eastward, in September last. Some time during that month he drove a stage from Lewiston down the river. Curtains were drawn. Three or four persons were in it, but does not know that any one of them was William Morgan. All appeared to be at liberty. He knew only one of the party, but that one was not one of the three defendants. (It was Eli Bruce, sheriff of his county, whom he recognized.)

The testimony being closed, Chesebro, Sawyer and Sheldon each offered an affidavit in mitigation of sentence. Chesebro testified that within the present week he had been served with a writ, from the Supreme Court, on a *capias ad respondendum*, for assault and battery and false imprisonment at the suit of William Morgan, for \$10,000, and held to bail. He admits that he saw William Morgan in the office of Magistrate Chipman, on the evening of Monday, September 11, and has not seen him since; that he knew it

was intended to release Morgan from jail, but was informed and verily believed that Morgan had *consented to go away*, and that the only object he had in assisting to get Morgan out of jail was to keep him from the influence of David C. Miller; that he had learned that Morgan was compiling a Masonic Exposition, with the concurrence of Miller, for pecuniary profit; that deeming such publication calculated to degrade the Masonic Institution and bring disgrace upon its members, he was desirous to remove Morgan beyond Miller's reach where his friends and acquaintances might endeavor to convince him of the impropriety of his conduct, and stop the publication. He swears that he was not concerned, directly or indirectly, in using any force in removing Morgan from jail, and had no concern whatever in any transactions concerning the said Morgan. In regard to his removal, he has been informed that he was carried into the County of Monroe, and he knows nothing further about the matter. He is somewhat in debt, has but little property, and a family to provide for.

EDWARD SAWYER, deposes and says that he never, to his knowledge, saw William Morgan until the evening of September 11th, at the office of Magistrate Chipman, under examination upon a complaint for larceny. Here he learned for the first time, that Morgan had been brought from Batavia to Canandaigua; that he took no part in the examination mentioned. He had no knowledge of any attempt to liberate Morgan from jail, until the evening of September 12, when Loton Lawson, meeting him in the street, near his (Sawyer's) house, informed him that Morgan had agreed to go away with him, and was about to leave the jail voluntarily. A little later, Lawson informed him that he had seen Morgan. Then he (Sawyer) went to the jail with Lawson, to satisfy the scruples of Mrs. Hall about the propriety of the release. As Morgan came from the jail, he (Morgan), to the great surprise of Sawyer, made resist-

ance, but to what extent he cannot say, being too far away to see or know what was done with him. That he followed the party till they got to the carriage. Morgan entered the carriage without any force whatever. He has never seen Morgan since that time, and knew nothing of him whatever. After the carriage passed, he picked up the hat that had fallen from Morgan during the scuffle. A capias had been issued against him with damages for \$10,000, for which he had been held to bail. He has a family of four children, is in moderate circumstances as to property, and his business affairs demand his constant and unremitted attention. He adds that he has been well acquainted with John Sheldon for several years, and does not believe that he had any part or concern in any of the transactions referred to.

JOHN SHELDON, deposes that he has not been in Batavia for eight years, and never saw Samuel D. Greene until this day (January 6th); he never spoke to him in his life. That the statement made by Greene, respecting an interview with him in September last, is absolutely and totally false in every particular. That he is the father of three small children, and has no means of living, other than his daily labor. He never saw Loton Lawson in the jail at Canandaigua, and never was in the jail or jail building in company with Lawson. He was not the person called Foster by Mrs. Hall. He never saw William Morgan, and does not know him, and knows nothing of his carrying away. And if he has ever given any intimation in any way contrary to the facts contained in this affidavit, it was done in the way of romance and for amusement only, and is his only fault as connected with these matters.

The three men, Chesebro, Sawyer and Lawson, jointly testified that John Sheldon was in no manner concerned in the Morgan business.

Further witnesses were now examined on the part of the defense.

WILLIAM R. THOMPSON, Sheriff of Genesee county, swore that Morgan had told him (Thompson) that he meant to get out of Miller's reach as soon as he could.

JAMES D. BEMIS: Chesebro and Sawyer are respectable citizens and industrious mechanics, and have large and worthy families; are in moderate circumstances. Saw Sawyer, at Blossom's hotel, in Canandaigua, at 10 P.M. September 12th, and left him there half an hour later.

WILLIAM BLOSSOM, hotel-keeper: Sawyer was at his hotel from 10 P.M. until after 11; and he saw him again the next morning. It was also proved that Chesebro was not absent from town on the evening of September 12th, or for several days afterward.

JAMES BROUNELL and THOMAS BEACH: Mr. Lawson has a good character. Has a large family dependent upon him.

ISRAEL R. HALL, the jailor: Called by the prosecution. He called on Chesebro on the morning of the 13th to explain the transaction. Chesebro said that Morgan was where Miller would not get hold of him. He avoided direct replies, but seemed to think that Morgan was, or might be, on a British ship.

This ended the trial.* The sentence was pronounced by Judge Throop. It matches well the boreal season and the freezing air of that court room which sent many a man home that week with coughs and rheumatisms.

* An extract from the diary of Eli Bruce, confined in the Canandaigua jail for twenty-eight months (May. 1829 to September 1831), for his part in the Morgan affair, will show what views were entertained upon the subject by Masonic thinkers:—

"August 8th, 1829. Heat extreme; studies neglected; mind absent, barren, dull; letter from home, Lockport; wife is thinking of paying me a visit; what must be her feelings and opinion? A jury of our country say that I am guilty of an offense. If so, it is *prejudice* that has made it; no guilt rests on me. Neither Judge Howell nor any other jurist from Blackstone to him that sentenced me, can alter my opinion, when I know I have truth on my side. When jurors carry prepossessions and prejudices with them in their deliberations, and suffer themselves to be led away by vindictive feelings, innocence has no protection, equity is but nominal, and judges and jurors are but threshing-machines of designing demagogues."

This was unquestionably the conviction of the more thoughtful portion of the auditory that thronged the court room during that tempestuous week while the calm faces of Franklin, Washington and others, gazed as if astonished, from the walls around them.

"You have been convicted of a daring, wicked and presumptuous crime, such an one as we did hope would not, in our day, have polluted this land. You have robbed the state of a citizen, a citizen of his liberty, a wife of her husband and a family of helpless children of the endearments and protecting care of a parent; and whether the unfortunate victim of your rage has been immolated, or is in the land of the living we are ignorant, and even you do not pretend to know. It is admitted in this case and stands proved that Morgan was, by a hypocritical pretense of friendship and charity, and that too in the imposing shape of pecuniary relief to a distressed and poverty-bound prisoner, beguiled to intrust himself to one of your number, who seized him as soon as a confederate arrived to his aid, almost at his prison door, and in the night time hurried him into a carriage and forcibly transported him out of the state.*

But great as are the individual wrongs which you have inflicted on these helpless and wretched human beings, they are not the heaviest part of your crime. You have disturbed the public peace. You have dared to raise your parricidal arms against the laws and constitution of your government. You have assumed a power which is incompatible with a due subordination to the laws and public authority of your state. Morgan was a citizen under the protection of our laws; you were citizens and owed obedi-

* It would be difficult to comprise more misstatements of fact into a brief sentence than this venial judge has given here. Not one of the allegations stated by him had been proven. There was no evidence adduced at that time, of Morgan's expatriation from the state. But the secret was that Throop was a politician and had there the finest audience for display ever presented him. With twelve of the leading barristers of that circuit, surrounding him, with all the county of Ontario for spectators, with reporters from the leading papers, far and near, it was an opportunity he was shrewd enough to seize, and his after election as lieutenant-governor may be referred back to these carefully written, but most scandalous charges that would have graced the infamous Jeffreys of England.

"It was the general impression at Canandaigua," says a correspondent, "that Throop prepared this Billingsgate charge of his, the week before the sessions of the court, and embodied points in it which he supposed, from public rumor, would constitute the case. The case itself was in every way disappointing to District Attorney Whiting and his seven suborned assistant counsel, who had whetted their knives and paraded their authorities upon abduction in expectation of a prolonged and complicated trial. The plea of guilty was considered a master-piece on the part of the defense, but it knocked Throop's charge out of all season."

ence to them. What hardihood and wickedness, then, prompted you to steel your hearts against the claims of humanity and to dare to set at defiance those laws to which you owed submission, and which cannot suffer a citizen's liberty to be restrained with impunity, without violating its duties of protection, assured to every individual under the social compact? Will you plead ignorance? Some of you, at least, have had the advantages of education and moral instruction, and hold respectable and responsible stations in society, and all of you have learned what every school boy in this happy land, this free and intelligent community knows, that the unrestrained enjoyment of life, liberty and prosperity is guaranteed to every individual, living obediently under our laws. Our constitution shows it, and the declaration of our independence declares that the unmolested enjoyment of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the unalienable rights of man. So sacred do we hold personal liberty, that even the impressment of a seaman from one of our ships has been considered a sufficient cause for national war. Man here is not like man in other countries, a submissive vassal, but every citizen here is a sovereign, and I am happy to say that here he possesses that intelligence and high sense of feeling which befit his exalted station. Our laws will resent such attacks as you have made upon their sovereignty.

Your conduct has created, in the people of this section of the country, a strong feeling of virtuous indignation. The court rejoices to witness it, to be made sure that a citizen's person cannot be invaded by lawless violence without its being felt by every individual in the community. It is a blessed spirit, and we *do* hope that it will not subside, that it will be accompanied by a ceaseless vigilance and untiring activity until every actor in this profligate conspiracy is hunted from his hiding place, and brought before the tribunals of the country to receive the punishment merited by his crime. We think that we see in this public sensation the spirit which brought us into existence as a nation, and a pledge that our rights and liberties are destined to endure.

But this is not all. Your offense was not the result of passion suddenly excited nor the deed of one individual. It was preconcerted, deliberated upon, and carried into

effect by the dictates of the secret councils and conclaves of many actors. It takes its deepest hues of guilt from a conspiracy, a crime most dreaded from the depravity of heart it evinces, the power for unlawful purposes which it combines, and from its ability to defy the power of law and ultimate danger to the public peace. Hence it is that the crime is considered full when the wicked purpose is proved to have been formed, and the subsequent carrying into effect the object of the conspiracy does not, in the eye of the law, elevate the degree of the crime.

The Legislature has not seen fit perhaps, from the supposed improbability that the crime would be attempted, to make your offense a felony. Its grade and punishment have been left to the provisions of the common law, which treats it as a *misdemeanor*, and punishes it with fine and imprisonment in the common jail. The court are of opinion that your liberty ought to be made to answer for the liberty of Morgan. His person was restrained *by force*, and the court, in the exercise of its lawful powers, ought not to be more tender of your liberty than you, in the plenitude of lawless force, were of his.

With regard to you, LAWSON! It appeared in proof, that you were an active agent in this affair. You went forward and took this man from the jail and delivered him over to those who stood waiting with a carriage to receive him. Whether you accompanied that carriage or not, is not in proof. But in your excusatory affidavit* you say nothing about it, leaving it to fair inference that you did accompany him in that carriage. There is nothing, either in your affidavit or your proof to the court, which does much to mitigate your offense, except so far as they show that your poverty has not been accompanied with idleness, and your character has not been stained by other transgressions. Under all the circumstances of your case, the court feel it their duty to sentence you to two years' imprisonment in the common jail of this county.

As to you, CHESEBRO! It appears by your affidavit that you did not lay your hand upon this man to carry into effect the conspiracy; and it appears by unquestionable proof, that you did not leave the village with the carriage.

* Lawson made no "excusatory affidavit" or confession of any kind. He only testified that John Sheldon was in no way concerned in the Morgan affair

But you admit, at least tacitly, in your affidavit, that you were one of the conspirators, and your language to the jailor, when he called upon you the next day, to account for your conduct and warned you that the public would demand an explanation, showed an unsubdued spirit. It has been satisfactorily proved to us that you are a thriving mechanic, that you have a respectable standing in the community, and up to the period of this transaction, your character for industry, honesty, quiet and moral deportment was without reproach. Under the circumstances of your case, the court sentence you to one year's imprisonment in the common jail of this county.

As to you, SAWYER! Your affidavit, which, from the uniform good character you have proved, we fully believe to be true, states that you had no knowledge of this conspiracy and took no active part in it. But your accompanying Lawson at his request to the jail, to inform the jailor's wife that she would be safe in receiving the amount of Morgan's debt from Lawson, and letting him go, with the other circumstances, were sufficient to have convicted you if you had stood trial, and you acted wisely in pleading guilty. You state that you had no idea that Morgan was under restraint until you saw him enter the carriage a short distance from you, and that you did not suspect that he was forced into it, until in the progress of your walk, you picked up his hat; that you were then surprised and confounded, and did not therefore give the alarm. But you spent the rest of the evening at a public house, and gave no intimation of what you had seen. This, then, was your offense. You should have given the alarm. You should have raised the hue and cry and endeavored to effect a rescue. You, however, expressed in your affidavit, and have always evinced, a feeling of remorse. The court therefore sentence you to one month's imprisonment in the common jail of this county.

As to you, SHELDON! You denied any participation in this conspiracy and put yourself upon trial. As to all the acts proved against you, there is a mystery, and I doubt whether you were the man. You were at the time confined in the limits of the jail; you were most strongly identified in an appearance at Batavia, and although your proof of an *alibi* was not complete, there was much in it to shake our faith in the fact that you were *the mysterious stranger*

whom the witness saw. Your confessions of guilt, however, were clear and undisputable and fully warranted the verdict, and the only explanation of them you offered, was the ungracious one, that your confessions were the vainglorious boastings of a drunkard and a liar. Taking all things into consideration, the court have adjudged you to three months' imprisonment in the common jail of this county."

As N. G. Chesebro was the prominent party in the Morgan affair up to this point, and John Whitney afterward, a sketch of the former will be in place here. He was a manufacturer of hats in Canandaigua, in good circumstances, employing several journeymen, among whom may be named Moses Roberts and John Scofield, who accompanied him to Batavia in the constable's posse that arrested Morgan. He was Worshipful Master of his Lodge at Batavia, and also one of the coroners of Ontario county. The account that John C. Spencer gives of him, does not flatter him. "Chesebro was a respectable mechanic, sustained a fair character, had a family, a good business and was generally esteemed."

The grand jury of Ontario county, in November, 1826, found true bills against Mr. Chesebro, indictments for a conspiracy to carry off and kidnap Morgan, and for false imprisonment, by carrying him off to parts unknown. Also a third, for a conspiracy to charge and accuse Morgan of theft, and subject him to imprisonment therefor.

In the first indictment he was associated with Edward Sawyer, Loton Lawson and John Sheldon, as shown above; in the second, with Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Moses Roberts and John Scofield. All the defendants except Scofield, who had left the country, were held to bail for their appearance to answer.

Chesebro served out his year's imprisonment with patience, and returned to his place in society without a stain. The presiding judge Enos T. Throop, afterward acting Governor of the State, went far out of his way in pronouncing sentence. Never did a Magistrate so truckle to popular ex-

citement. The land was all on fire with excitement. Representatives from more than twenty Anti-Masonic Committees were present snarling and behaving more like savages than civilized beings. The newspapers of western New York were largely represented. Crowds of people, at that leisure season of the year thronged the village of Canandaigua, and the Court House. Nearly one hundred witnesses were gathered. It was a time for a presiding judge to be calm, and prepare his decisions with coolness and dignity. Instead of this, Throop made a speech to the accused which would have better become a court of Judge Lynch on the frontier. And all this for assisting a man to leave this State at his own desire, a besotted wretch who regarded the laws neither of God nor man.*

Chesebro was not tried on the second indictment, that of conspiring to arrest Morgan upon execution for debt, and sending him to the Canandaigua jail. As he was then himself serving out his twelve months in jail, he could not be brought in to be tried with the others.

In February, 1829, an attachment was issued against him, with Edward Sawyer and Thomas M. Boughton, as witnesses against Giller and Whitney, but this came to naught.

Mr. Chesebro died October 9, 1861, aged seventy-three; and received the most honorable attention from Monroe Commandery No. 22 of Rochester, of which he had been long a member, and the Masonic Lodge of Canandaigua and surrounding places.

* It seems a little hard that after all this truckling to the prejudices of the crowd Throop should be charged with being a Mason, which in fact he was not, and heartily abused by the Anti-Masons for imposing such light sentences upon these offenders! He must have felt particularly indignant at John C. Spencer, who in 1831, spoke of him before the National Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore in these stinging words: "Judge Throop, now Governor of New York, ceased to be an independent and impartial judge, and became a political partisan associated with Masons and dependent upon them for success."

In September, 1859, he came to Chicago in company with John Whitney, Elihu Mather and Samuel Wilson (the latter the Grand Lecturer, and still living at Vergennes, Vermont), to communicate with me as to the facts connected with the Morgan affair from the beginning. But for this personal and most reliable testimony from so many venerable Masons, the present volume might never have been composed. The information they gave me will form the staple of the next Chapter.

LOTON LAWSON.

As this gentleman was one of the five who endured legal penalties for their part in the deportation of Morgan, considerable attention has been paid by the author to the chain of facts surrounding him. He was a farmer of moderate property, of good character, particularly among his Masonic Brethren, being, as is understood, quite high in the Masonic degrees, and having been a Lecturer of the Lodge. He was indicted in November, 1826, as already shown, in common with Chesebro, Sawyer and John Sheldon, "for actively carrying off" the Sweet William, and for false imprisonment. He made no attempt to explain or extenuate his offense, and was committed to prison in the county jail, for two years. The judge abused Lawson, in pronouncing sentence, like a very fishwoman. In the trial of Elisha Adams, February 24, 1831, Lawson was examined as a witness for the prosecution. He testified that he resided in September, 1826, at Canandaigua. Was acquainted with William Morgan, and saw him in jail there in the room on the west side, about sundown or dark, September 12, 1826. He applied twice to Mrs. Hall, wife of the jailor, to get Morgan discharged. She refused the first time, referring him to her husband who had temporarily stepped out; but the second time, she granted his request. It was at Morgan's wish he paid the \$2.68 debt, and the two men

came out of the jail together, Morgan holding Lawson's arm. Does not remember that Morgan wished to wait till morning. Lawson did not stop at the door and whistle. Some one else whistled, he does not know who. No one approached them till they reached the center of the street and turned to go east. Then a person came up and took hold of Morgan, who at first did not struggle, but afterwards cried "MURDER," and tried to get away. Another man came up and spoke to Morgan, who quit struggling and went along. There were now four of them. The person who came up last said to Morgan: "What do you mean by making this noise?" Morgan replied: "Is it you?" The other man said: "Yes, it is." "Then," said Morgan, "I have no more to say," and he went quietly with the party. They walked on east some fifteen or twenty rods, when a carriage met them, turned round and the four got into it. He did not know whose carriage it was. The carriage drove up Main street, and Lawson left it near the Academy. He walked and overtook the carriage again where it had stopped, about a mile north of Canandaigua. Two persons were then with him, and one of them, together with Lawson got in. Lawson continued on through Victor and Rochester to Hanford's tavern, when he left it and went into the woods and saw no more of it. Lawson stopped at Hanford's, took another, a two-horse carriage, and overtook the party going west on the Ridge road, and about half a mile west of Hanford's. The party was traveling on foot when he first saw them there. They got in. Morgan got in. Lawson did not drive, but rode on the box. Lawson rode on to Gaines', and about noon left the carriage, took dinner, and has not seen the carriage since.

Lawson then took a sulky, and went the following night (September 13) to Lockport without stopping, arriving there about 10½ P.M., and so on to Lewiston, for the installation of the Royal Arch Chapter on the 14th. He

left Lewiston that night by steamboat for Rochester. The boat stopped at Youngstown, left by 9½ P.M., and so home. He never was at Fort Niagara in his life. He testified that after the cry of murder made in the street of Canandaigua, Morgan made no noise of any kind whatever.

His testimony on cross-examination is so compact that we prefer to copy it entire:

“ Did not see Morgan on first going to the jail; spoke through the door; asked what he was doing there; Morgan said he was confined on execution; asked if he should pay the execution and take him out; Morgan said he wished he would do so; Mrs. Hall heard all that was said; nothing was said when Morgan came out, only witness asked him if he was ready; Morgan said he would be, in a minute; no more was said till they got in the street, and nothing then between witness and Morgan; then a man came up and told Morgan he was his prisoner; does not know that Morgan knew a carriage was coming; Morgan never quit his hold of witness; nothing was put in Morgan’s mouth; they walked off a good smart walk; Morgan got into carriage by help of one on each side; put one hand out and helped himself; witness helped another in; Morgan didn’t say anything till the man joined after leaving Canandaigua; no one told Hubbard to drive fast; witness talked with Morgan after getting in the second time; one man asked him what made him make a noise; Morgan said he thought they were going to take him off; the man said he (Morgan) knew no one intended to injure him, the object was to get him away from Miller, and you know you consented to go; Morgan said he had done wrong and was sorry he had made a fuss; this man who was coming with Morgan did not ask witness to go and pay the debt; Morgan went freely and voluntarily, no compulsion, was not tied or bound; Morgan often conversed sociably on different subjects; he was not prohibited from talking while witness was with him, nor was he compelled to talk; witness understood that all the secrecy observed was to prevent Miller from knowing where Morgan was, also to prevent people from seeing Morgan; witness had not seen Morgan on the 11th before he saw him in jail; Morgan was not intoxicated; had drunk some three glasses; he drank at Parina; when witness over-

took the party on the Ridge road no one had hold of Morgan; there were two or three with him; no liquor was carried along; does not know whether Morgan got out at Brace's; when witness first got out in Canandaigua, two were left with Morgan; Morgan said he would go anywhere they would carry him; did not hear anything said after scuffle before getting into carriage; witness heard no threats used in the course of the whole ride; it was a fine day when they passed along the Ridge road; they met many carriages; three besides driver went from Hanford's to Gaines. Morgan said he wanted to clear up the charge of stealing the shirt and cravat, and was willing to pay the debt; got the impression that Morgan was willing to be separated from Miller; cannot tell what was said; Morgan was sober and capable of doing business; the idea witness had was that Morgan was willing to give up the project of publishing the book; witness went to Rochester partly on that business; does not wish to be understood that he went to Rochester to make arrangements; he saw but one person in Rochester on that subject; told that man that he (witness) understood that Morgan was willing to be separated from Miller; that man came to Canandaigua; never had any knowledge of any intention on the part of any persons to remove Morgan against his will; does not know what time the man from Rochester got to Canandaigua; witness got there in the forenoon; first saw the man from Rochester at Ackley's, in Canandaigua, about 5 P.M.; witness thinks he suggested the idea to Morgan that it would be well for him to separate from Miller; cannot recollect the conversation; no assurances were given to Morgan; Morgan said Miller had not furnished money as he had agreed; stated that Miller was to pay him \$500,000, and that he had not furnished money enough to pay for publication; witness did not get out at Rochester; carriage stopped there and horses were watered; the man from Rochester rode in the carriage with Morgan east and west of Rochester; Morgan said Miller had not done as he had agreed and was willing to be separated from him; witness would not have injured Morgan or a hair on his head; his object was simply to separate him from Miller."

EDWARD SAWYER was a resident of Canandaigua. The character given him by John C. Spencer (who makes his

heroes nobles, and his females duchesses) is that of "a respectable mechanic, with a family, of good character, held a commission as Colonel of militia and was among the most respectable inhabitants."* This mechanic, though so highly respectable, found himself in September, 1826, the victim of three indictments, as more particularly detailed under head of Chesebro. In January, 1827, they came to trial and Sawyer, with Chesebro and Lawson, plead guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment for one month in the County Jail.

But this was not the end of Sawyer's troubles, Morgan-wise. August, 1827, Constable Hayward and others were indicted for conspiracy and abduction. Sawyer had been subpoenaed to appear, and an attachment issued against him. In February, 1829, another attachment was issued in the trials of Gillis and Whitney. In May, 1829, he having proved contumacious was fined \$25 for contempt. In refusing to be sworn in these cases, he set the example followed years afterward by George M. Dallas and others in Pennsylvania.

The Trials and Sentences of the first week of January, 1827, being past, the Anti-Masonic leaders girded up their loins for a new series to commence in the month of February. Local Conventions were held in many neighborhoods, and the feelings of the people stirred up. Immense quantities of printed matter in the form of tracts, broadsides, newspapers and pamphlets were issued either gratuitously or at nominal prices: Such men as David Bernard and Thurlow Weed were in demand; they seemed ubiquitous, speaking sometimes at three places in twenty-four hours on working days, and four on Sunday, and the burden of their speech was ever the same,—down with Freemasonry, death

* Spencer's use of the word "respectable" was made the subject of much jesting. It was said that for him to call a man "respectable" was as dangerous to the party as for the executioner in Quentin Durward to style his victim "brother."

to the accursed institution. The composition of a hundred of the local platforms of that year shows the hand of Thurlow Weed.

In February, 1827, the grand jury of Ontario County assembled at Canandaigua at the Court of the General Sessions of the Peace, and renewed their inquiries. I have already given the results of these. In August of that year, every person presented in February was acquitted. In February, 1826, they struck at Jeremiah Brown, the "volunteer stage-driver," who had refused to appear as a witness under a *subpoena*, also against Isaac Farwell for the same offense. Attachments were ordered, but no proceedings had at that time. At the Session, February, 1829, attachments were issued against Lyman Aldrich, John Whitney, James Gillis, Chesebro, Sawyer and Thomas M. Boughton, all for contempt of court for refusing to appear as witnesses. At the General Sessions, May, 1829, Whitney and Bruce were sentenced to imprisonment, and Gillis discharged. Attachments were issued against James Mather and Edward Sawyer for contempt of court. John Voorhis was indicted for dissuading Lyman Aldrich from attending court as a witness. In August, 1829, the court began the trial of Solomon C. Wright, but he was acquitted. Here Elijah J. Roberts was indicted for libel on the jury that convicted Whitney, but the jury did not agree. In February, 1830, James Mather was fined \$25 for contempt in not appearing as a witness at a former court. In November, 1830, James Gillis was tried and acquitted. Finally in May, 1831, the last of the Canandaigua trials came off and Solomon C. Wright was acquitted.

The reader may imagine the uproar which these events were calculated to produce in a little place like Canandaigua. More than four years were devoted in Ontario county to lawing. There was, nearly all the time, somebody in jail connected with the affair in question. First Morgan him-

self, September 11-12, 1826. Then Chesebro, Sawyer and Lawson, commencing January, 1827. Witnesses one or more were incarcerated there to secure their presence when wanted. Then, in 1829 came Eli Bruce and Whitney, the former looking through the iron bars of a well known corner-room for twenty-eight months. Add to this that John C. Spencer was a resident of Canandaigua, and his office was "the head-quarters of a horde of emissaries and myrmidons that surrounded him," and that hundreds of visitors came to the village as to a noted spot, and we shall not wonder that the villagers became sick of the very name of Morganism. Spencer was avoided by many of his old neighbors as one who brought pestilence in his train. At the meetings of the courts, respectable families made it a practice to go into the country and visit relatives. The only persons who found a profit in all this were the tavern-keepers, court-officers, lawyers, Thurlow Weed and a few others, and when the last of the trials were ended May, 1831, and the change of public sentiment on the subject of Freemasonry gave assurance that no more of this thing would be tolerated by an indignant public, such feelings of relief were experienced as language was all inadequate to express.

Here too is a Synopsis of the trials in the other counties of the "Infected District."

Genesee County, June, 1829. The County Court that sentenced Constable French and his posse was not strictly a part of the Morgan trials. Indictments were found June, 1829, against Thompson, Follett, Powers and Seaver for conspiracy to kidnap, but no convictions followed.

Monroe County, December, 1826. The grand jury failed to find bills of indictment. March, 1827, the same thing occurred again. March, 1829, indicted Simeon B. Jewett and Burrage Smith for conspiracy and kidnapping. Smith died, Jewett was discharged. August, 1829, no convictions.

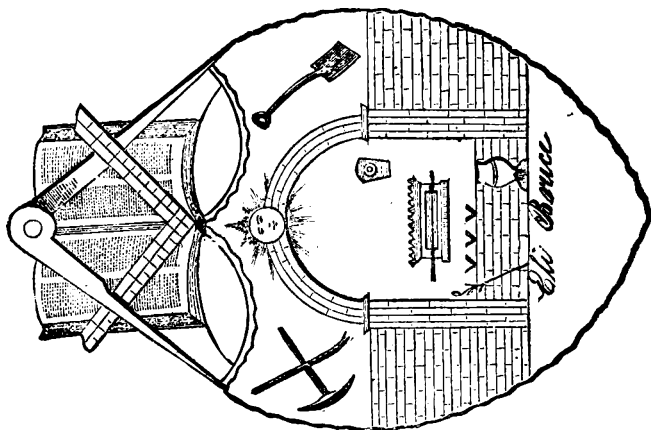
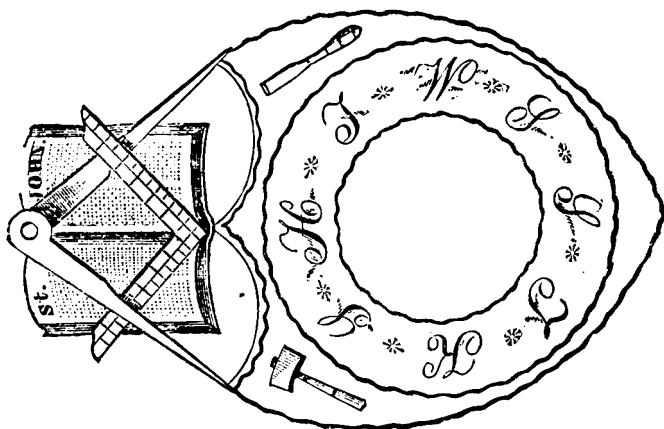
Orleans County, November, 1828. Elihu Mather was

indicted, and tried at the courts, March, 1829 and November, 1829, but with no results.

Niagara County, December, 1826. Magistrates' Court acquitted Bruce. April, 1827, and May, 1827, jury brought no bills. November, 1827, indictments against King, Jewett, Adams, Wright, Brown and five others. November, 1828, new indictments, the former being defective. May, 1829, more new bills. July, 1829, nothing done. September, 1829, no advance made, more indictments. April, 1830, Judge refused to proceed. June, 1830, general acquittals. March, 1831, Elisha Adams tried, but his death shortly afterward released him. The bitter pen of John C. Spencer wrote a miserable comment upon this incident, "the miserable Adams has since been called to another bar where no mystic ties and no impious oaths will screen him from an All-Seeing Eye!"

Then follow lines used by an intelligent writer of the period, and with them I close the Chapter:—

“ Then let pale envy rage, and every name
Of fools, mistaking infamy for fame;
Such have all countries and all ages borne,
And such, all countries and all ages scorn.
Glorious the temple of the sylvan queen,
Pride of the world, at Ephesus was seen.
A witless wretch, the Prichard of those days,
Stranger to virtue and unknown to praise,
Crooked of soul and fond of any name,
Consigned the noble monument to flame.
Vain madman, if so thinking to destroy
The Art which cannot but with nature die!
Still will the Craft, still shall his name survive
And in our glory his disgrace shall live.”



CHAPTER VII.

THE ORAL TESTIMONY OF WHITNEY, CHESEBRO AND OTHERS.

IN the present chapter I propose to give in considerable detail the oral testimony of John Whitney, Nicholas G. Chesebro and Elihu Mather. These will form, as far as possible, a complete chain of the events connected with William Morgan's deportation. From my notes of their declarations to me in September, 1859, and from statements detailed, and confidential, which Mr. Chesebro made to my agent, Elisha D. Cooke,* whom I maintained in western New York during the years 1858-9 expressly to search for the facts, written and oral, concerning the Morgan affair, and from numerous communications upon the same subject from Salem Town, Ebenezer Mix, Peter P. Murphy, William Seaver, Jr., Daniel Wadsworth, Solomon C. Wright, Jeremiah Brown, Abelard Reynolds, Edward Giddins and many others, with all of whom I was on terms of confidence during the last years of their respective lives, I feel able to compose a narrative that will satisfy the inquiring mind, at least of the unprejudiced, and leave no important links wanting.

The averments of Thurlow Weed that John Whitney

* A most intelligent and zealous Mason, who joined his fortunes with mine in 1837, and continued with me until the convulsions of the civil war separated us. Under my instructions he made extended tours through the "infected district" above named, and sent me a great mass of documentary matter concerning the Morgan affair. In May, 1860, I sent him to Great Britain where he pursued his inquiries for more light with unrivalled zeal, and was about to sail for the Orient when recalled in 1862 by the unhappy divisions of the civil war.

died in 1861 at the time when he (Weed) was preparing to commit Whitney's confession, as he called it, to paper, is as false as many other parts of his revelations of September 1882, which I quoted in my last chapter. Mr. Whitney died, according to the statements of his family, in Chicago, Illinois, May 3, 1869, and was buried by the Masonic Fraternity in Graceland Cemetery in that city. His son-in-law, still a resident of Chicago, testifies that he himself was present at the conference at the Tremont House in 1860 described by Mr. Weed, and that the affair was in every sense different from the accounts given by Weed. Here, according to this better authority, is what passed between them.

"Whitney accosted Weed with the query: 'What are you lying about me so, for? What are all these d——d stories you are telling about me and Morgan?' Weed endeavored to pacify him, begged him not to be angry and assured him that he was only using the statements for political effect. But Whitney insisted that they should be stopped, nor would he desist until Weed had promised to say no more about the matter. Whitney said, 'If you don't stop it, I'll wring your d——d nose off,' and his manner was so threatening that for a moment he seemed really about to pull Weed's nose."

It will be remembered that Mr. Whitney was suffering from the imputations originating with Weed thirty-four years before, and that his fortunes had been wrecked and his life embittered by Anti-Masonic malice and persecution, led principally by Thurlow Weed.

The whole subject of the deportation of Morgan was engineered by John Whitney and Nicholas G. Chesebro. There were but a few persons in their confidence, among whom were Col. William King, Burrage Smith, Loton Lawson and Eli Bruce. The plan from inception to consummation contemplated nothing more than a deportation of Morgan by friendly agreement between the parties, either to Canada or some more distant country. Ample means were provided

by the concurrence of DeWitt Clinton and others, for the expenses of the deportation, and the after support of Morgan and his family. For several months the minds of the Masonic Brethren through the counties of Monroe, Ontario and Genesee had been agitated by rumors that William Morgan, a man too well known to them, was preparing an exposition under the advice of various suspended and expelled Masons, and would be prepared to spring it upon the public early in the winter following. This Morgan had been for three years a hanger-on to Freemasonry, tolerated by the middle class for his ready impartation in the ceremonies and instructions of the Order, and by the lower class for his social habits, and as one correspondent has it, "hale-fellow-well-met" and "bonhommie." Up to the spring of 1826 he had found a welcome entrance into many country Lodges for his mechanical expertness in the work, and many a hat collection had been taken up for him, after a night of exhaustive labor in conferring degrees. But his intemperate habits, his shabby style of dress, his peccadillos in the way of borrowing and not returning,* his vulgar, blasphemous and indecent style of conversation that disgusted the gentler sex and set them against him, all these things growing upon Morgan from month to month, had gradually closed the Lodge-doors against him, and narrowed the circle of his visitations. It had often been noticed, and I have alluded to it in a previous chapter, that Morgan rarely visited the same place twice. He left vivid recollections behind him in the ledgers of merchants and tavern keepers, where items were entered to his debit, and in the wounded confidence of Brethren who in the incautiousness of hasty

* It was in the recollection of William Seaver that on one occasion a knot of Masons at Batavia were capping Scripture quotations, in which branch of fortune telling Morgan was an expert. One of the company told Morgan that he thought there was a verse that King David wrote expressly for him and he would find it in Psalm xxxvii, 21: "The wicked borroweth and payeth not again." The joke occasioned a general laugh in which Morgan joined.

confidence had lent him money. There were but few taverns on his route that did not have his name down among their bilks, and the very last Masonic visit he paid was to Canandaigua in the spring of 1826, where he not only left unpaid his tavern bill at Kingsley's, and several small accounts at the stores, but abstracted a shirt and cravat from that good-natured landlord, and wore them off.

When, therefore, it was announced that William Morgan was about to expose the mysteries of Masonry to the profane world, a general feeling of wrath animated the Craft. Ashamed of the patronage they had extended to him, wounded in pocket and reputation for cherishing so base a man, ridiculed by wives and daughters for their associations with so unworthy a character, the indignation of the Brethren was sufficiently hot to call out threats and violent speeches from the more imprudent, and inward searchings of heart from all.

But how much worse the matter appeared when it was discovered (about March, 1826) that Morgan had never been made a Mason. They had cherished an imposter in their bosoms. The man to whom they had communicated their Masonic esotery was under no obligations binding him to keep it secret.*

This statement was sent from Lodge to Lodge, and communicated by John Whitney to Governor DeWitt Clinton, in the summer months. It placed the whole matter of Masonic Exposure upon an unheard-of footing. That an

* It was suggested to me by Brother S. N. Dickinson, named on a former page, that James Ganson, of Stafford, first discovered how the matter was with Morgan in the spring of 1825, and to place some restraint of obligation upon him, he had him made a Royal Arch Mason in May of that year in the Chapter at LeRoy of which he (Ganson) was secretary. But I place little credence in this theory, for it raises more difficulties than it allays. It is certain that there was a suspicion among the more thoughtful class that something was wrong with Morgan's entrance into Masonry, and more than one of the Masons of the day had refused association with him. I may name Blanchard Powers, Abelard Reynolds and others.

unprincipled cowan like Morgan had for three years passed the door of every Lodge and taken an active part in making scores of Masons, was an event so peculiar that the most experienced had to acknowledge himself at a loss how to proceed. The ordinary Masonic process (as with the infamous Samuel D. Greene, David Bernard, and others) of summoning the offender before a Lodge for trial, or expelling him for contumacy, if he refused to appear, was not applicable to Morgan, for he was neither a non-affiliating Mason nor a seceding Mason—*he was not a Mason at all*. Under stress of this natural feeling of indignation and wrath, a notice prepared by Chesebro was inserted in the Canandaigua paper, September 9 (I gave it entire in a previous page), in which it is declared that “Morgan is considered a swindler and a dangerous man,” and that “there are people in this village who would be happy to see this Captain Morgan.” “Any information in relation to Morgan can be obtained by calling at the Masonic Hall in this village,” and “Brethren and Companions are particularly requested to observe, mark, and govern themselves accordingly!” This notice, reproduced in numerous other papers, was certainly not a prudent one, and met severe animadversion from Governor Clinton when his attention was called to it.* Chesebro expressed the same opinion to me of the impropriety of the publication, and regretted it, but said he had excused it on the ground of the overpowering indignation entertained against Morgan, especially around Canandaigua, where the Craft had been more than ordi-

* Though Clinton was not Grand Master of New York at that time, he *had* held that office for many years. He was then (1826) General Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, an office to which he was elected at the organization of that body, June, 1816, and at the successive convocations, 1819, and, finally, September 18, 1826. He was also elected General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States at the successive convocations of 1816, 1819, and September 15, 1826. He might properly, therefore, be termed “the highest Mason in the United States,” and his opinions valued accordingly.

narily liberal to him, and had made up quite a bundle of presents for Mrs. Morgan and her little girl.

In the month of August, John Whitney went to Albany to hold conference with Governor Clinton, and get his advice as to the best course to be pursued.* Clinton was a man extremely sensitive to ridicule. For some thirty years he had been identified with every Masonic movement affecting the State and the Nation. His addresses commendatory of Freemasonry were in every man's hand. They display a strength of mind, a comprehensiveness and fertility rarely equaled by Masonic writers. In 1826, he felt himself to be, as a politician, at a critical period of his life. He had a host of enemies ready to fall upon him if an opening was made, and this affair of Morgan struck him in a tender place. He had repeatedly and for a number of years warned the Brethren in western New York that *they were going too fast*, and that some disaster would infallibly overtake them if they did not check themselves. It was his sentiment, that "the rule of rigid rejection by ballot makes the army of our opponents always full; *an objection secures an opponent*, and so Masonry is weakened by the very popularity which appears to be its strength."

After a lengthy conference, "extended far into the night," Whitney returned home to Rochester with a plan which he always declared was the "workmanship of Clinton." An autograph letter was placed in his possession by Clinton,† in which he was warned that "no steps must be

* Much of the matter which makes up the present chapter has not heretofore been published. I promised Mr. Whitney, in 1859, to hold the facts in my own possession as long as he lived, and not then to publish them unless a new attack should be made on the Masonic Institution, calling out these confidential disclosures. I think there is, no doubt, *now in existence* a letter from DeWitt Clinton of the tenor named in Mr. Whitney's statements to me.

† Whitney positively assured me, in September, 1859, in the hearing of Chesebro, Mather (and I think Samuel Wilson, of Vermont), that the aforesaid epistle *was then in his possession*. He dwelt much upon it, declaring that "all he did was under the counsel of Governor Clinton." It would be a discovery of the highest importance could that letter now be brought to light. In S. D. Greene's book ("Broken

taken that would conflict with a citizen's duty to the law." Clinton counseled the purchase of Morgan's manuscripts, and his removal, by his own consent, to some foreign country where he might be separated from Miller and his other partners. Whitney was assured of a supply of money to the amount of one thousand dollars if needed, and that he might depend upon being sustained in all lawful proceedings by the Masonic authorities of the State. With this pledge he undertook the work of deportation.

About the 5th September Whitney went in a private conveyance across the country from Rochester to Batavia. Arriving about dusk, he landed at Danolds' tavern and made himself known to the proprietor, telling him that he had come at Governor Clinton's suggestion to see William Morgan, and if possible suppress the publication that was exciting so much bad feeling through the country. At his request, Danolds sent a note to Morgan, who was then boarding with his family at a Mr. Stewart's in the village, announcing that an old friend of his, John Whitney, from Rochester, desired him to come and take supper with him. The invitation was promptly accepted, and within a half hour Morgan was at the house. His appearance is well represented in the fancy sketch of Morgan which makes up a previous page. "His hat was battered in, flabby and shabby. His shirt bosom was defiled by spittle and frayed to rags. The lappel of

Seal," p. 41) I find this passage: "A significant event transpired in Batavia, on the 10th of August, 1826. Governor DeWitt Clinton came to the village and called upon the Grand Commander of the Encampment (Henry Brown?), a political enemy, and after a short stay, left abruptly." As I discover no other reference to this statement, I conclude that the rumor refers to Whitney's visit to Batavia, a month later, and that Whitney showed Morgan that letter of Clinton's to give him the necessary assurance. Certainly no faith can be put in Greene's statement above, seeing that he also writes (p. 48) that "a letter was introduced into the Lodge at Batavia, purporting to be a copy of a letter which Governor DeWitt Clinton had written, saying, in substance, 'you must suppress the secrets of Masonry at the expense of blood and treasure. Be careful to observe secrecy, but if you are detected, you shall be protected. If you are convicted you shall be pardoned, for I have the pardoning power.'" Could the ingenuity of Satan himself devise a more absurd statement than this?

his coat was torn. His face was scratched, and his eyes, always ferret-red from chronic ophthalmia, wore a more sanguine hue."* In explanation, the poor fellow informed Whitney that "he had had a street fight with Dave Miller, a few days before, and Miller had taken advantage of his condition (drunk and incapable) and hurt him severely."

Whitney and Morgan, being old acquaintances, shook hands, and at once sat down to Danolds' supper. It is not to be supposed that strong drink was wanting, or that it required less than half the contents of a stout bottle to put the disgusting roué in condition for conversation. Pipes being alight, and the relics of the collation cleared off, the door was closed against intruders, and a conference began, which was carried far into the small hours. I report a portion of it verbatim, as I received it from John Whitney.

"Well, Morgan, I find you here in a bad fix?"

"Yes, a bad fix, John Whitney, a d—d bad fix!"

"About as low down as a fellow ever gets?"

"There's only one lower place, John Whitney, and that's hell fire, and I don't care much how soon I get there!"

"Entirely out of friends?"

"Haven't a ghost of a friend, except my wife, and she is the last person on earth who ought to be friendly to me. I've treated her most c—dly, John Whitney. She has a baby only three weeks old; and cries all the time, that we are going to starve."

"Money scarce?"

"Scarce ain't the word, John Whitney, I haven't seen a quarter for a week. Its so long since I handled a dollar that I shouldn't know one if 'twas given to me. The bottom has tumbled out, John Whitney, clear out!"

* An Anti-Mason of the period describes Morgan "as a man of fine personal appearance, of remarkable conversational powers!" So one of the Pharisees, about A.D. 33, might have depicted Judas Iscariot!

"The Masons all down on you? No more donations to Mrs. Morgan? No more treats at the tavern?"

"No, the Masons threaten to kill me; I don't think they'll do that, but rather wish they would. My eyes are so bad I can't see half the time to work; and I can't get any work to do. I am on the jail limits on Folletts and McCulley's d—d accounts, and I am under security by the Supreme court for one of them old Rochester claims, that you know of." Then the poor fellow cried; this made his inflamed eyes smart. He sent out for a basin of water, bathed them; threw a handkerchief over his face, and the conversation flowed afresh.

"Yes, Morgan, your creditors are going to make you sweat. There's a thousand dollars in the batch of claims against you, and before this month is out, every creditor you have will be down on you. You'll rot in jail, William Morgan; you'll rot in jail! You'll never get out until the law is passed abolishing imprisonment for debt,* and the Lord only knows if that will ever come around."

"I've thought sometimes of committing suicide. What have I got to live for? Wife would do better as a widow. When I sold myself to that rascal, Dave Miller, I thought, at least, he would support me and my family. Why, they promised me half a million dollars! Who wouldn't sell himself for half a million dollars! I'd go to h—l, and eternal damnation, if I could get that much, and ten years to spend it in! How much have they paid me? Why, I have never got over a shilling at a time (12½ cents), and that only with abuse that made me want to knock the d—d scoundrel's teeth down his throat. But I told him on

* A society had been formed some years before 1826, and legal talent of the first-class had been engaged to frame a bill for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt; and popular sentiment had been worked up through the press, and by public lectures, exposing the iniquities of the horrible practice of incarcerating the person of poor debtors. At last these efforts were crowned with success, and it only seems now barbarous and inhuman that such a practice could have ever been permitted.

the street the other day, right before Taggart and Judge Mix, and all of 'em, what a thief he was. I told him so, d—n him, and I struck him square in the face." Then the maudlin fellow cried again, and again; washed his hot eyes and again emptied his glass.

"Well now," says Whitney, "I'll tell you what I came here for; I'll be plain with you, but you had best keep secret what I say, especially from your partners. I am here for the express purpose of suppressing that publication of yours, and if you'll put confidence in me, I will make it worth your while to follow my advice." Morgan then removed the bandage from his eyes, raised them toward heaven, in a theatrical manner, with which he was familiar, and took oaths, in terms as solemn as language admits, that he believed John Whitney was his friend; that he would keep secret everything that might be proposed to him at that time, and that he would follow his advice in whatever he would propose. Whitney told me that he had a thousand times recalled the scene since that night, as it was displayed by the light of a solitary candle, the scene of those bloodshot eyes and wild gestures. He had often heard, in imagination, that deep sonorous voice of the poor wreck of humanity, who was willing so implicitly to put his trust in a fellow mortal.

The plan, as the reader has already devised, was that Morgan should destroy all the MSS. and printed sheets, connected with the "Illustrations," so far as he could lay his hands upon them, that he should at once taper off his habit of drinking, that with the money Whitney would give him at that time (fifty dollars), he would clothe himself decently, and provide for the most pressing wants of his family; that he would refuse all intercourse with his partners, and positively deny them any more MSS. for the "Illustrations," and finally, that he would hold himself in readiness at an hour's notice, to go into Canada, settle down there, turn over a new leaf,

and reform in the way of industry and temperance. In return Whitney pledged himself that Morgan should be well treated, and that the day he reached the appointed place in Canada, he should have five hundred dollars in good money, to be absolutely his own, upon his written pledge to stay there, engage in business and never return to the States. "Furthermore," says Whitney, "I pledge you my personal faith, that your family shall be supported decently, and sent to you in Canada, as soon as you have provided yourself with a suitable home for them. The debts upon which you are now upon the jail limits, shall be paid, and, hereafter, if we find you are trying to do well, we will be your steady friends, even to furnishing you with more assistance when needed."

The proposition was cordially accepted. The only embarrassment that Morgan suggested was the manner of leaving Batavia; how should he get away from Batavia? If the debts for which he was on the limits were paid, other securities would rush in their claims like a flood. If he undertook to leave the village before liquidating those claims, his securities would pursue him like sleuth-hounds. Whitney assured him, however, that these embarrassments had been foreseen, and would be removed, and all that Morgan had to do was to invest his funds (\$50) according to agreement; clothe himself and family decently; quit drink; stop the further publication of the "Illustrations," and await a written message from Whitney to leave the place. The money was then paid him (\$50), and his receipt was taken for it, Danolds, the tavern-keeper, being witness. As the testimony to the sincerity of his purpose, he then handed Whitney a memorandum-book filled with notes, also the last printed proofs of the "Illustrations," and other papers of less note. The two men parted about 4 A.M., Morgan to his dwelling, Whitney to his bed. The next day, before leaving, he saw McCully and Follett, the two

local creditors, upon whose executions Morgan was then "a limitarian," as it was termed, and engaged that they should throw no difficulties in the way of the plan of which they now received an inkling. He saw, also, that Morgan had clothed himself in a new and more becoming garb, and so leaving Batavia he went to Canandaigua to arrange the second act in the drama.

The part here was played by Nicholas G. Chesebro, according to the details already given. Chesebro always declared to E. D. Cooke and to me, as he did in his affidavit, before Judge Throop, January 5, 1827, that he was informed and verily believed that Morgan had freely consented to go away, and that the only object which induced him (Chesebro) to take part in the Morgan affair, was to remove him from under the influence of Miller, where he might be convinced of the impropriety of publishing an exposé of Masonry.

Mr. Chesebro quoted to me with much feeling, that passage in Brown's "Narrative," in which it is said that "It is a rule of law, fortified by the dictates of our holy religion, and supported by every principle of common sense and reason, that in all criminal cases, the *intention* with which an act is done constitutes the sole criterion of its guilt." He was *not guilty*, he averred it in his last days, with solemn emphasis, not guilty in the sight of God. All that he did, was done with Morgan's hearty concurrence, agreeably to the plan arranged the week before, between that man and John Whitney. And I can testify from information acquired in all my visits to Canandaigua, where he resided, and in Rochester, where he held his membership as a Knight Templar, that the character of Chesebro was irreproachable. He endured his twelve months in jail with manly resignation, his neighbors testifying to his innocence as to *any purpose of guilt*, by their visits to his family and to him, and by their aid in keeping up his business (the manufac-

turing of hats), that it might not be destroyed through his absence. And when his year of incarceration was ended ("it seemed to me *ten years*, brother Morris"), he returned to his place in society without spot or blemish.

In reply to my questions at Chicago, September, 1859, his oral testimony was that the best plan conceivable to Whitney and himself, under the circumstances, for getting Morgan quietly away from Batavia, was to have him arrested upon a criminal charge and brought to Canandaigua. This was easy enough, for there was more than one person in and about Canandaigua, who was ready to swear out a writ for petit larceny (perhaps even for larceny) against William Morgan, had it been desirable. But the case of landlord Kingsley, who had been grossly taken in by Morgan, was the most convenient, and he was easily persuaded* to go before Magistrate Chipman and make oath to the theft of a shirt and cravat a few months before. It was reckoned a very hard case upon Dr. James Lakey, one of the most respectable physicians of Canandaigua, and Chauncey C. Coe and Hiram Hubbard, that they should be indicted and tried for interfering to procure a warrant against Morgan for petit larceny! Of course, they were acquitted, but the loss of time and money, the anxiety of families and connections, the triumph of enemies and the grief of friends made it a serious affair to them. They had all suffered from the *peccadillos* of Morgan, when he was in Canandaigua a few months before, and it was not strange they should be willing to aid in his arrest.

"I selected," said Mr. Chesebro, "a magistrate and a constable, neither of whom was a Mason. I was so confident that Morgan had already communicated Whitney's plan to his neighbors in Batavia, that I was sure a posse to

* It was a common charge against Chesebro, that Kingsley was urged by him to make this declaration, and would not have thought of it had not Chesebro set it on. Very likely any landlord will bear witness that he finds little profit in such cases, and usually prefers to bear his losses in silence.

assist the constable would be necessary, or there could be no service of the writ. Genesee county had as bad a name for lawlessness at that time, Brother Morris, as some of your mountain counties in Kentucky at this time, and although the constable whom I selected, Holloway Hayward, was a plucky fellow, yet he declined to go to Batavia alone to arrest a criminal. In making up the posse, I put myself down in the first place, partly because I had promised this to John Whitney, and partly because, if there was any danger in the expedition, I felt that I ought to take my full share of it. The other members of the posse were Henry Howard, Harris Seymour, Moses Roberts and Joseph Scofield. You will like to know who these men were. They are all dead now.

HOLLOWAY HAYWARD, our constable, was, as I said, a determined fellow; not a Mason. In my capacity as coroner of Ontario county, I had often thrown little jobs in his way, and he felt under some obligations to me. He did his whole duty in the Morgan case, telling Miller that Morgan was his prisoner, and he would have him "though all hell should interfere." He was indicted in February, 1827, and tried the following August, together with half the men in Canandaigua, "for a conspiracy to kidnap Morgan and carry him away, and for falsely imprisoning him and carrying him to parts unknown." There were seventeen of us in the batch, viz: Myself and my constable and the four who went to Batavia, that is six; Asa Nowlen, a tavernkeeper, Dr. James Lakey, Chauncey C. Coe, the stage proprietor, Hiram Hubbard, the livery stable man; John Butterfield, James Ganson, of Stafford; John Whitney, of Rochester; Burroughs Smith, grocerykeeper of Rochester; Simeon B. Jewett, an attorney of Canandaigua; Willard Eddy and James Gillis, of Pennsylvania. But my testimony cleared them all but Whitney. I came out of jail in August, 1827, and stood in the witness-box and testified that whatever part these sixteen men had in the deportation of Morgan, they knew nothing of my plan, except the execution of the warrant. Whitney was afterward convicted on another indictment, but not on this. Considering the popular frenzy, it's a

wender they didn't jail the whole sixteen of us for a year or so. Nay, I have thought it strange that the grand jury didn't indict Danolds' big red dog, that barked round Morgan that Monday morning, and the horses that took his sainted person to Canandaigua, and the woman who brought us out a pitcher of buttermilk at Avon.

HENRY HOWARD. He was an Englishman, one of our thriving merchants in Canandaigua, a Mason and a perfect gentlemen. He was indicted and tried with the others, and acquitted. Howard was elected High Priest of our Chapter the next year.

HARRIS SEYMOUR. A young man of one of the best families in our village. A Mason. Was acquitted with the others.

JOSEPH SCOFIELD. He was one of the journeymen in my hat manufactory. Belonged to the Lodge of which I was Master. He was indicted with the rest, but had gone to work in some other place and I lost sight of him after that.

MOSES ROBERTS. Like Scofield he was one of my journeymen and a Mason. He was tried and discharged with the rest.

"In our ride to Batavia," says Chesebro, "we passed the time pleasantly with song, story-telling, jest and catnaps of sleep. Our first stop was at LeRoy, where I had a conference with a few of the Brethren, while Hayward had his writ endorsed over for Genesee county by Esquire Foster. Several Brethren joined us and went on to Stafford, four miles further, where we put up for awhile at the tavern of James Ganson. He, too, was indicted and tried on the following August for aiding and assisting our party in their nefarious design, but was acquitted with the rest. Ganson was a noble soul.

We reached Batavia by supper time and spent the night at Danolds' Tavern. Poor Danolds! what a good fellow he was, and what a ferocious dog he had. Why he escaped indictments, trials and imprisonments I never could understand. At my request Danolds sent a note that night (or probably took it himself) to William Morgan advising him

that I was here with the constable, and to put on his best clothes and meet the constable early next morning at Jonas S. Billings' grocery. He did so, being on hand as early as six o'clock. The constable politely invited him to the tavern, which was close by, and showed him the warrant. To this Morgan replied all right, and sat down to breakfast with the party. In the meantime I had seen McCully and Follett,* the two creditors upon whose suits Morgan was on the jail limits, and they agreed not to interfere in our proceedings. In point of fact they could have done nothing. Breakfast being ended, David C. Miller entered, and in the coarse, brutal manner of a man half drunk, forbade our taking Morgan off the jail limits, stating that *he* was one of Morgan's securities and would not suffer it. I had been told that this fellow was a shyster, negligent of business, embarrassed with debts, dissipated and addicted to gambling. James Ganson had assured me that Dave Miller had no more religion than a snake, was a regular infidel, and it was the wonder of the Fraternity how the Lodge at Albany ever gave him the first degree.† Having myself an unbounded contempt for that class of men, specimens of whom had wormed themselves into our Lodges, I simply

*In June, 1829, indictments were found against Sheriff Thompson, Nathan Follett, Blanchard Powers and William Seaver, Jr., for a conspiracy "to kidnap William Morgan and carry him from Batavia to parts unknown." A condition of terror possessed the public mind in Genesee county that reminds us of the operations of the Papal Inquisition in its palmiest days. No Mason knew when his own turn would come. Friends looked askant at friends. A man's enemies were often they of his own household. The parties named above were all acquitted, but no compensation was ever awarded them for the pecuniary damage they suffered in consequence of these proceedings.

† Henry Brown's description of Miller was published at Batavia in 1829 while both were living, and Miller was clerk of the county, and the reader will like to see how he represents him:

"Greatly embarrassed in circumstances, possessed of respectable talents, and familiar with the arts to which designing men frequently resort for the acquisition of power in cases of doubtful policy, and withal enjoying great freedom from religious scruples which usually deter the conscientious from embarking in enterprises of a suspicious character, he was admirably fitted to fill a station which the folly or depravity of a few misguided members of the Masonic Fraternity created, it seems, for his use and benefit."

turned my back on him and left him to Constable Hayward. That officer made short work of his protest, declaring that he had Morgan and would have him, and defied Miller to interfere with the execution of the state warrant. Several other persons came in, but no man save Miller took the least interest in the affair. Of this I am certain, for we waited until 9 o'clock before starting, and the carriage was at the door at least an hour. Hayward offered Miller, in my hearing, to stop at Squire Foster's in LeRoy and give Morgan in charge to enter bail there for his appearance at the Canandaigua court. To this, however, Morgan himself objected, preferring, he said, to go on to Canandaigua where he would convince Kingsley that 'the shirt and cravat were not stolen but borrowed.' As we got into the coach, Miller hung on to the steps and began to talk noisily as if to excite a crowd; Morgan with a tremendous curse put a stop to him by bidding the driver hurry off. And so we started." *

To pursue the narrative of Mr. Chesebro in the third person, the party reached Canandaigua a little before night and the constable delivered his prisoner to Squire Chipman. It was part of the arrangement between Whitney, Morgan and Chesebro that the criminal suit should be dropped and the prisoner held on a civil claim which could be released at a moment's notice. No witnesses appearing against Morgan, the magistrate of course discharged him. An execution for debt in the meantime was prepared and Morgan was immediately arrested on that. It was for the sum of \$2.68 due Aaron Ackley and transferred to Chesebro. Although Morgan knew perfectly well that this was a part of the original plan, yet he could not resist his disposition to the-

* Hayward's testimony was elicited at Lockport, March 1831, in the trials of Norman Shepard and Henry Maxwell. He says he did not know the business of Chesebro and the party who went to Batavia with him. Never saw Morgan till he arrested him at Batavia. The same men went back with him to Canandaigua that had accompanied him to Batavia. There was no haste for fear of a rescue.

atricals and pulling off his coat he threw it on the floor and offered that for security. The constable, however, refused it, saying that rather than deprive him of his coat he would pay the debt himself. This ended the farce. Morgan burst into a loud laugh and was put quickly into the hands of Israel Hall, the jailor, and went directly to sleep after a busy and active day. This was 8 P.M. Monday, September 11, 1826.

During the night and following day various conferences were held with Masonic Brethren at Canandaigua. A messenger, Mr. Loton Lawson, was sent* to John Whitney, at Rochester, and some persons in Victor. Arrangements were made for relays of horses and drivers on the way to Fort Niagara. About 8 P.M., Tuesday, Loton Lawson and another went to the jail. Chesebro was not clear as to who the other man was. In Mrs. Hall's testimony he is called Foster, and it was in his place that John Sheldon, the drunken brag, suffered three months' imprisonment, but Mrs. Hall's testimony was little more reliable than the chattering of a blackbird. Lawson tendered the amount due by Morgan, and actually deposited \$5, which Chesebro had furnished him for the purpose. But the garrulous woman had been talking with Morgan, who had told her some of his piratical experience, and induced her to believe him a desperate character. She therefore refused, in her husband's absence, to turn the key. Chesebro and Sawyer next went to her, Chesebro letting her see that the debt was due to him. This removed her scruples. She opened the jail door and freed the prisoner.

Unfortunately, a few hours before, some one, perhaps the man named Foster, had passed a bottle of liquor into Morgan's hands. Or it may be that his fellow prisoner gave it

* See the map. It will be necessary to a complete understanding of the movements of the following days to refer to this map. It was prepared for me by Mr. David E. E. Mix, of Batavia, a surveyor and draughtsman, son of Ebenezer Mix, who is often named in this volume.

to him. Be that as it may, he got it, and being lonesome and low, and his eyes "hurting him d—mnably," he drank and drank again. The raw and fiery liquid worked its worst effect upon him. Morgan was always ferocious when under alcoholic influence. Drunk, he would drag his wife about the room and threaten the life of his child. Every one in Batavia feared him when in this state. At the time the key was turned, he had sufficiently worn off the effects to follow Lawson and Foster out of the jail. But when he got to the pavement the cool night air striking his face and invigorating his spirits, a sudden craving for liberty possessed him, and as the carriage drove up he stopped, struggled for a moment to collect himself, and cried once and not very loudly, "MURDER." A fateful word! It led to many evil consequences. His hat fell off. But in the moment he was calm. As if impressed with the great error he had committed, he got into the coach by taking hold of the sides of the door, aided by the two men, and the carriage drove off northward. This was about 9 P.M., Tuesday, September 12, 1826, the night being clear, with a bright moon. This coach was a two-horse vehicle, owned and driven by Hiram Hubbard, keeper of a livery stable in Canandaigua.

This closes the connection of Chesebro with the Morgan affair. I resume the statements of John Whitney, who followed the matter to the end. The messenger Loton Lawson sent him by Chesebro, had found him at home in Rochester, and he had promptly gone to Canandaigua as agreed. He accompanied the coach with its occupant out of Canandaigua as we shall read in his own words.

We cannot too strongly insist upon this point that Morgan was a free agent in all acts of his deportation, unless during the moment the coach drove up. Judge Daniel D. Bernard in the trial of James Gillis, which see, declared to the jury with that air which carried conviction, "You will take the testimony of John Whitney as *true, all true.*"

There is not a man who has heard him, and whose mind is not callous, who does not believe every word he has spoken. He tells you that *Morgan was not bound in the carriage, nor blinded, nor threatened*, and that the only object was to keep the transaction secret, so as to prevent Miller and his associates from finding where he had gone. Morgan expressed his willingness to go, and said he had entered into an agreement to go away and keep away from Miller. He was going West to avoid Miller and his associates, and the object of secrecy was simply to prevent his being tracked by them. Morgan admitted that fact to Whitney. Whitney was incapable of a dishonest transaction, and his efforts were simply directed to rendering a service to Morgan."

HIRAM HUBBARD, who drove the coach from Canandaigua beyond Rochester, testified on the witness stand that he heard no unusual noise from any one upon that journey, and observed no opposition or desire to escape, or appearances of alarm upon the part of any one either upon entering or leaving the coach, or during the journey. In conversation, until the day of his death, he stoutly insisted that Morgan entered the coach willingly and cheerfully. During Mr. Bruce's imprisonment at Canandaigua, he with his wife was a frequent visitor to him, and the twain strove, by kindly gifts and words, to assuage the sorrows of his condition.

CORYDON FOX, who drove the party from Lewiston to Youngstown, also testified in the Canandaigua trials, January, 1827, that there were three or four persons in the hack, that the curtains were down, that he was not aware that William Morgan was one of the party, or that one of them was confined, that *they all appeared to be at liberty*, and that he knew but one person among them. Before the Grand Jury of Niagara County, April, 1827, he testified that Eli Bruce rode with him from Lewiston to Youngstown on the driver's box. Unfortunately, we cannot get

the testimony of Orson Parkhurst, who drove Platt's carriage from Rochester thirty miles to Gaines. Parkhurst was but a transient character, and having no suspicion that his testimony would be called for, removed to New England. Three years later, a great outcry was made on account of his absence. An officer was sent after him, and finding him in Vermont, brought him back to Albany, when he took the alarm and slipped away from his abductor, and so fades out of this history.

MRS. HANFORD, wife of the landlord of Hanford's tavern, near Rochester, testified to hearing a person say, who entered there at daylight, on the Wednesday morning in question, "that he was d——d glad at first to get out of that infernal jail."

"I met the party," said Whitney to me, "a short distance east of the jail, there were Morgan and his two companions, just as Morgan struggled and cried out. I said to him, 'what do you mean, Morgan, by making this noise?' He looked at me for a moment through his inflamed eyes, inquired in a hoarse drunken manner, 'Why d—n it, Whitney, is it you?' I said 'Yes!' 'Then' said he, 'I have no more to say,' and all the rest of the way he was quiescent. Four got into the coach, including Morgan. I rode on the box as far as to Victor, and Lawson continued with the party. At Victor, ten miles from Canandaigua, we stopped to rest and consult; watered horses at Rochester, eighteen miles further; and continued on four miles to Hanford's tavern, on the Ridge road, where we sent back Hiram Hubbard, and his carriage. This was about 8 A.M. Here, Ezra Platt furnished us a carriage, with Orson Parkhurst for driver. At Clarkson, fifteen miles from Hanford's, which we reached at 9 A.M., Silas Walbridge had his horses in readiness for the party, but we did not stop or change till we had gone a couple of miles further, to Isaac Allen's, a farmer, who let us have a pair of horses, which Parkhurst exchanged for his own; then we went on to Gaines, fifteen miles from Clarkson (thirty from Hanford's), and reached about noon. A mile west of this place, lived the hearty Elihu Mather, who gave us all a substantial dinner, and

loaned us a pair of horses belonging to his brother James. Parkhurst returned from this place to Rochester; and Elihu Mather got on the box and drove. At Murdoch's tavern we watered horses; took drinks all around, but made no stay. At Ridgeway, ten miles from Gaines, we found the genial Jeremiah Brown, waiting for us with his own horses. He got on the box with Mather, and drove to Solomon C. Wright's Corners, ten miles from Ridgeway, which we reached at sunset. Here, Eli Bruce joined us, from Lockport, four miles south, and accompanied us the rest of the way. This amiable gentleman was Sheriff of Niagara county, and one of the most promising young men in western New York. His lot was particularly hard. Removed from office by the Governor, harrassed by indictment after indictment, betrayed by his own deputy, Hopkins, who had his confidence, he was finally imprisoned for twenty-eight months. But even then, his pursuers gave him little peace. Again, and again, he was taken away to different parts to testify against persons more or less implicated in the Morgan affair, and sentenced to additional penalties because he refused. He lost his health in prison, and came out feeble and prematurely old, and died in 1832, one of the earliest victims of cholera. Bruce had been interested in a plan to remove Morgan from Batavia, directly through Lockport, into Canada; but this fell through, because no method could be suggested to remove Morgan legally from Batavia, without relieving him of the various executions under which he was on the jail limits. Preparatory to his coming to Lockport, Bruce had interested his deputy, Hiram B. Hopkins (Judas Hopkins he was afterward called), to clean out and prepare a detached cell, connected with the jail, for the accommodation of Morgan. I do not know who was concerned in this project of removing Morgan through Lockport, but incline to the opinion that it originated with Bruce himself."*

* Benjamin Porter, Jr., who lived in Batavia, in 1826, testified in the trial of Norman Shepard and Henry Maxwell, March, 1831, that he went to Lockport in 1826 (he thinks in July), and delivered a letter from William Seaver, Jr., to a person there named Campbell, in regard to Morgan's book. Campbell was High Priest of the Chapter, at Lockport, and Porter says he attended the Chapter that evening. May we connect this incident with the preparation of the cell by Bruce? But I think Judge Seaver denied this; certainly it did not come out in any other trial.

"We rested awhile at Wright's tavern," continued Whitney, "then went on to Molyneux's tavern, at Cambria, six miles further west. Changed horses there, and Jeremiah Brown drove the rest of the way to Lewiston, about thirteen miles, Mather being with him on the box. Reached Lewiston about 10 P.M. Mather then drove Molyneux's horses back, accompanied by Brown inside the coach, and arrived at Cambria at daylight. At Lewiston, James L. Barton, who kept livery, furnished a hack, with Corydon Fox for driver; in which the party went on to Youngstown, six miles north, and a mile or two from the Fort; Bruce being on the box. They stopped at Youngstown, at the house of Col. William King, and Fox drove back."

As this brings my subject to a momentary stopping place, I bring up arrearages to keep Loton Lawson's connection with the story. It will be remembered that on the trial of himself, with Chesebro and Sawyer, he took his punishment of two years, without a murmur, making no revelations of any kind, or plea for mercy. At the trial of Elisha Adams, at Lockport, February, 1831, he was an important witness for the people, and was examined by the special counsel of the State, Hon. Victor Birdseye, the erudite judge, Samuel Nelson, presiding. He declared then that Morgan entered the coach at Canandaigua, a free agent, and that the only time he made any objections, was when he once cried out "MURDER." That he (Lawson) went with the party to Rochester and Hanford's. Lawson went on in advance of the party from Hanford's; went to Lockport without stopping at Wright's tavern, and notified Bruce of Morgan's coming. Went to the installation of the Royal Arch Chapter, at Lewiston, September 13th. Left the same evening in the steamboat for Rochester; boat stopped one or two hours at Youngstown, but left by 10 P.M., and so to its place of destination. He did not go to the Fort. Upon cross-examination, Lawson declared that no one put a handkerchief or other gag to Morgan's mouth after he cried "MURDER," and that no one told the driver, Hubbard, to drive fast.

He detailed the conversation between Morgan and Whitney, which I have already given. On the journey that night, Morgan was not tied or bound; often conversed sociably on different subjects. He was not prohibited from speaking or compelled to speak. Morgan had drunk but three glasses of liquor; was not intoxicated; no liquor was carried along. Three persons, besides the driver, went with Morgan from Hanford's, that is, John Whitney, Burrage Smith and one other.

The road from Hanford's to Lewiston, always well-thronged, became for awhile like a parlor-floor, so much was it haunted with officers of justice, spies, and volunteer detectives. Every person who had passed it, going or coming on that Wednesday, September 13th, became an object of suspicion. It having being known that one Prior Harris had driven the mail stage westward from Rochester that day, he was hunted down like a ravenous wolf. At the Niagara county trials, of July, 1829, his testimony being thought desirable, officers in disguise traced him to Montgomery county, N. Y., where he was driving stage, and came so near to catching him, that he alighted in the road, fastened his horses to trees, and fled. So great was the dread of the violence practiced by the officers of the special counsel of those days. Some of us who have lived through the civil war, recall similar experiences from the harshness of provost marshals and their squads. But I will proceed with the oral statements of Mr. Whitney.

"For a number of years after the events which you, Brother Morris, seem honestly bent upon describing, I used to meet Chesebro, Lawson, Mather, Brown, Wright, Bruce and others. Lawson, Bruce and myself were witnesses, February and March, 1831, upon the trial of Elisha Adams, and five others. Adams was a worn out soldier of the last war, and, poor fellow, actually hounded to death by the Anti-Masons. As this was their last chance to convict anybody they mustered in strong force. Judge Victor Birdseye,

special counsel for the state in the Morgan trials after John C. Spencer had resigned, put in his best blows. On our side we had four first-class men, Vincent Matthews, Ebenezer Griffin, William H. Adams and J. F. Mason. The trial of Adams lasted for a week, but the jury failed to convict. Poor Adams died May 9, only a few weeks after. He was simply the ferryman at Fort Niagara, but being a Freemason it was thought he must know something of the actual disposition of Morgan. It was here that Edward Giddins' testimony, after being severely traversed, was admitted by the court. Had Adams lived he would undoubtedly have been freed as the other five were, viz., Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, Samuel M. Chubbuch, Timothy Shaw and William Miller.

In talking with Jeremiah Brown I found that our recollection of events agreed to an iota. What a capital fellow is old Jerry. May he live forever. (Brown died at Jeddo, New York, 18 . .) Brown was at work in his field with his horses when the notification of our coming reached him. He unhitched the nags, fed them and put them into our carriage. Then he got on the box by the side of Mather and drove through to Molyneux's and Lewiston. Coming back he went to sleep in the carriage while Mather drove. He and Elihu Mather were tried together at Albion, Orleans county, June 1850, and honorably acquitted, Judge Wm. C. Marcy, afterward Governor Marcy, presiding. Brown had been a member of the legislature and was a first-class man every way.

The two Mathers, James and Elihu, got considerably scorched before our troubles were over.* James owned the horses that Elihu lent us on Wednesday afternoon. He refused at first to obey the subpoena to bear witness against his brother, and when brought up under attachment his answers were so unsatisfactory that the court admonished him for contumacy. This, however was the end of it. Elihu was one of the most quiet and respectable citizens of Orleans county, but John C. Spencer had him up in March, 1829, at the Albion court. Under advice he moved the case to the supreme court by certiorari. In November

* Elihu was present at our Chicago meeting September, 1859, and many a ringing laugh the old man enjoyed as these reminiscences were called forth, one by one.

a decision being had, he was again brought into court and acquitted."

Again I break the continuity of Whitney's narrative with the curious fact that John C. Spencer made this a test case to exclude Freemasons from the jury. Robert Anderson who led the list was challenged because he belonged to the same society and corporation as Mather. It was admitted that the Royal Arch Chapter was incorporated and that the juror and defendant were both members of it, and English authorities were adduced, which declare that it is a sufficient ground for peremptory challenge that the juror belongs to the same society or corporation with a party.

The judge, of course, overruled a challenge so absurdly novel and anti-republican. Then Anderson was challenged because he was a Freemason, and Masons were bound to defend each other in every extremity. Triers were appointed, witnesses called and Anderson himself was examined, and he was rejected as a juror. A second Mason, John Dolly, was also rejected for the same reason. The jury at last being made up by excluding all Freemasons, the trial proceeded with the result named. In the following May, Spencer, who had become heartily tired of the once coveted office of special counsel, in which he had reaped neither profit nor honor, resigned and was succeeded by Victor Birdseye. It was thought by the best lawyers in this country and Great Britain that after taking the brief and acting as leading counsel in the first Masonic trials (Canandaigua, January, 1827), Mr. Spencer violated the etiquette of the profession in accepting the place of special counsel for the state against his former clients.

In reply to inquiries as to the fate of others concerned in the work of September 13 and 14, Mr. Whitney informed me that Ezra Platt who hired his carriage and two horses to go west from Rochester was a livery keeper and had no knowledge of what was going on. "The installation of the Royal Arch Chapter, which occurred at Lewiston, took all

his best teams, and he made a lump sum in his charges, putting them down on his stable books 'to the Grand Chapter.' He removed his business to Albany in 1828. There a rumor met him that he was to be indicted by the Anti-Masons. This was serious, and he took his business to New Jersey, where I lost sight of him. Solomon C. Wright* who kept tavern and post office at Wright's Corners was first examined by the grand jury of Niagara county, April, 1827, upon the first indictment of Eli Bruce. Wright was frank and open in his replies, and the jury declared that none of the persons named were guilty of or accessory to the abduction of Morgan. But in August, 1828, a second bill against Bruce, with others, was found. Here Mr. Wright was indicted for perjury and in August, 1829, tried but acquitted. In May, 1831, they had another shot at him, but he was again acquitted, after which he was left in quiet. Isaac Allen, two miles west of Clarkson, lent us a pair of horses in exchange for those that Parkhurst had driven from Hanford's, and these we used until we came to Elihu Mather's. For this Isaac Allen was questioned by the grand jury in Rochester, March, 1829, but refused to reply. For this contempt of court he was committed to prison, detained a few days and then discharged. His incarceration was declared by the special counsel to be for the purpose of making an example of a contumacious witness.

Hiram B. Hopkins, I think, went west and thence to the d——l. It was known that the state gave him a good sum of money for his testimony against Bruce, May, 1829, testimony which doubled Bruce's penalty. Garlinghouse succeeded Bruce as sheriff, and in company with a Deputy Bates chased Burrage Smith and myself from Dan to Beersheba. They also pursued Col. King, but we had little desire to be paraded through the country in handcuffs. David Hague died shortly after my brief acquaintance with him. Samuel M. Chubbuch is still (1859) living at Youngstown (deceased about 1880), a most respected and excellent man. Chauncey C. Coe whose coach, you recollect, was driven by Hiram Hubbard, was acquitted. This was

* I met this gentleman in 1861 and his statements corroborated those of Mr. Whitney in every particular. His estimable lady also gave me her reminiscences. Both the veterans have since passed from earth.

strange, for a poor lame fellow who sold Morgan a bottle of liquor at LeRoy as we came through was so run upon by the Anti-Masonic detectives that he left the country between days, and was never heard of more. The idiotic and cranky class who are always to be found around a county seat were utterly banished for that year. Masonic emblems over stores and shops, so common before 1826, were erased. Jewelers laid out of sight their stock of Masonic breastpins, booksellers their assortment of Monitors and Ode books of Masonry.

Rev. Francis H. Cummings was a settled clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Rochester. He was regarded as among the most respectable of his profession. He was, however, indicted by the grand jury of Monroe county in August, 1829, for conspiracy and kidnapping, because he had attended the Royal Arch installation there."

Here I interposed a question. "Brother Whitney, it was declared in the report of the Lewiston convention in January, 1827, and published in a thousand reports afterward that at the banquet at the installation of the Royal Arch Chapter at Lewiston, Thursday, September 14, 1826, Mr. Cummings offered this toast:-

'The enemies of Freemasonry! May they soon find graves six feet due east and west and six feet perpendicular.'

Is this true? Did you ever hear anyone say that he heard it? do you believe it?"

"Brother Morris, I have denied that charge against Cummings for more than thirty years. I knew him well, often attended his Church and loved him dearly. He assured me in the most solemn terms that 'he never uttered such a sentiment, and that he was incapable of it.' You know that I was in prison with Eli Bruce for a year or more. Bruce declared that the charge was a most unprovoked and outrageous slander. There was a whole steamboat-load of visitors to Lewiston on that occasion, who came home to Rochester on the night following the banquet, and every one that I questioned denied that Cum-

mings delivered such a toast. It originated, I am sure, outside of the Chapter." Then Whitney proceeded with his reminiscences:

"Jedediah Darrow was tried August, 1828, and acquitted. He was afterward, and I think for a long time, postmaster of Lockport. A young woman at Wright's, named Hannah Farnsworth, who helped to prepare supper for us was pursued so sharply by Spencer and his myrmidons that they frightened the poor girl out of the country, and I don't know what became of her. On one of Spencer's visits to me in the Canandaigua jail (he lived in Canandaigua, you know), I pointed him through the grated window to a woman who was going down Jail street, and said I, 'Judge Spencer, that woman looks like Hannah Farnsworth.' He was so mad that he looked as if he would strike me if he dared to.

Col. Ezekiel Jewett was a United States officer of gallantry and worth, and at the time of the Morgan affair in charge of the government property at Fort Niagara. The grand jury of Niagara county examined him as a witness in April, 1827, when the first proceedings were had against Eli Bruce. He was indicted December 27, 1827, with others, including Col. William King, Wright, Brown, Chubbuch *et al.* These indictments proving defective, new ones were found in November, 1828, and as John C. Spencer had now been appointed special counsel (March, 1829), it was understood that something positive would be accomplished. In May the grand jury of Niagara county met, and again such irregularities were found in the court papers that third sets of indictments had to be framed. On June 15, 1830, the matter came to trial, Judge Marcy on the bench. It was here that the firmness of Orsamus Turner was manifest. He submitted to a fine of \$100 and four terms of imprisonment of thirty days each, rather than truckle to the popular excitement. Col. Jewett was acquitted with high honor. As late as 1860 he was United States Marshal.

Burrage Smith was present with me at the county meeting, at Rochester, in December, 1826, and saw the savage spirit that the political demagogues of the day were kindling among the people. He was a grocer by profession, afflicted with ill health, timid and apprehensive of personal violence

from the leaders of the Anti-Masonic party, especially Weed. He accompanied me to the southwest, and died at New Orleans, after the effort of Bates and Garlinghouse to find us failed. His death was directly due to the persecutions against Masons, which had now become the spirit of the Anti-Masonic party.

Orsamus Turner was publisher of a paper in Lockport, He was acquitted after many annoyances, but I do not know his after life.

Parkhurst Whitney was also acquitted. I believe, Brother Morris, you are personally acquainted with him. These are all the persons whose names occur to me in connection with my operations, September, 12th, 13th and 14th, until we got to Lewiston. Now you shall hear what we did with Morgan.

We drove down to Youngstown, Thursday morning, about 1 o'clock, and called on Col. William King. King and Bruce came out of the house, got into the carriage together, and had a long conversation, in low tone, so that the driver, Corydon Fox, who was not a Mason, should not hear it. King went over the whole business, from the time Morgan left Batavia, and demanded at every stop in the conversation that Morgan would acknowledge his consent and concurrence. Just before the two men came out, Morgan, in a low, whining tone, had called for water, and Bruce answered from the door, where he was waiting for King, that "he should have some directly." It was but a short mile from King's house to the soldiers' burying ground, and there, by order, Fox stopped his coach. We got out, the four of us, and walked toward the Fort. Bruce directed Fox to go back, stating that he need not return.

Fort Niagara, as it was called, had been erected at the mouth of Niagara river, during the late war with Great Britain, as a defense from invasions from that quarter. It had been a military work of some strength, and well mounted with guns. The river here is about two miles wide, and very swift. Troops were kept here, but decreasing numbers, to guard the military stores, until May, 1826, when the last of the guns and ammunition was removed to various military depots, and only a government keeper left. Edward Giddins was the first to receive this appointment, being recommended thereto for his extraordinary skill in clockwork and

his mathematical knowledge. He had much reputation for the repair of light-house apparatus; and was sent for far and near, even by the Canadian authorities, for this purpose. After 1st of August, 1826, Col. Ezekiel Jewett of the regular army, received the appointment of keeper, while Giddins opened a tavern by the river bank, a few rods from the Fort, and conducted the ferry, under directions of Mr. Adams. He had, withal, the post of Government light house keeper, and agent of the Quartermaster's department of the Fort. There were but these two families on the American side of the river, within a mile of the abandoned fort. Giddins resided there from August, 1815, to October, 1827. His description of the Fort has some particulars concerning the magazine, which are worth your attention:

'The magazine stands on the southerly side of the Fort, is built of stone, about the height of a common two story building, and measures some fifty by thirty feet on the ground. It is arched over; the side and end walls are about four feet thick; the wall over the top is about eight feet thick, and is considered bomb-proof; it is covered with a shingle roof. There is but one door, around which there is a small entry, to which there is also a door. There are no windows, or apertures in the walls, except a ventilator for the admission of air, and one window in each end, about ten feet from the ground. They are usually kept well-closed, and locked on the outside with a padlock.'

The ferryboat was ready and we went immediately on board. It was rowed by Elisha Adams and Edward Giddins, and landed at a deserted place on the bank, nearly opposite the fort, and about a mile from the Canadian village of Niagara. Leaving Morgan in the boat, sipping water from the palm of his hand, bathing his sore eyes with his handkerchief, cursing and maundering in a low tone, munching some food from a paper in his coat pocket, and occasionally crooning the chorus of a song in under-breath—three of us went to the village and met a committee of two Canadian Masons, as agreed.

No official enquiry has ever brought out the names of these, and I shall ever be silent concerning them.

We came back to the boat, the Canadian Brethren bringing a lantern. Bruce called Morgan up the bank, out of the boat, and we sat down together in the grass, the broad

moon looking down on us, the night air blowing chilly from Lake Ontario, and the sullen roar of the Falls twenty miles above making the earth tremble beneath.

Now Col. King required of Morgan the most explicit consent in the movements that had brought him there. By the aid of questions from the whole party, Morgan admitted as follows:

First. That he had contracted with Miller and others, to write an Exposition of Masonry, for which he was to receive one half-million dollars compensation.

Second. That he had never been made a Mason in any Lodge, but had received the Royal Arch Degree in a regular manner. Furthermore, that he felt bound by his Royal Arch obligation and never intended to reveal the secrets of that degree.

Third. That Miller and the other partners had utterly failed to fulfill the terms of contract with him.

Fourth. That Whitney had paid him \$50 at Danold's tavern (Batavia), and he had agreed to destroy the written and printed work so far as possible and furnish no more, and that before leaving Batavia he had done what he promised in that way.

Fifth. That it was impossible now for Miller to continue the "Illustrations," as he (Morgan) had written them. If he published *any book*, it would have to be made from some other person's materials.

Sixth. That Miller was only an Entered Apprentice, and 'rusty as h—l' at that.

Seventh. That he had been treated by Chesebro, Whitney, Bruce and all of them, with perfect kindness in his journey, and he had nothing but the best of feelings for them.

Eighth. That he was willing and anxious to be separated from Miller and from all ideas of a Masonic *exposé*; wished to live in habits of industry and respectability before all men; wished to go to the interior of Canada and settle down as a British citizen; wished to have his family sent him soon as possible; might want to go to Quebec some time and have his eyes operated on; expected five hundred dollars when he reached the place as agreed upon; expected more money from year to year to help him out if necessary and if he should show himself worthy of it.

Ninth. Finally he was sorry for the uproar his proceedings had made; was sorry for the expense he had put the Masons to; sorry for the disgrace he and his family had suffered; sorry for the shame and mortification of his friends, and 'had no idea that David Cade Miller was such a d—d scoundrel as he had turned out to be.'

All this in that still hour came from William Morgan, either voluntarily or in answer to our searching questions. I do not say that he gave it in the orderly manner in which I have arranged the nine points. Far from it. In the thirty-three years that have occurred, I should indeed have a wonderful memory if I could quote a long conversation so literally, but I declare that every point I have given you was taken down at the time by Col. King, by the aid of the lantern. Col. King and I went over these notes together more than once after that night. He read his notes to me piece by piece, and I pronounced them true in every particular. I presume that memorandum-book is still in existence, unless his wife destroyed it at his death, May 28, 1829. I recollect with what military precision he noted everything, as though he was examining a scout or a spy.

At the village, we had learned that our Canadian Brethren would be ready to perform their part and remove Morgan westward by the latter part of the present or the first of the coming week. They objected so strenuously to having him remain among them in the meantime, that it was agreed he should be taken to the American side until the Canadians should notify us that they were ready. This being explained to Morgan, he consented to it, as to all the rest. It was agreed that he would remain in the magazine without attempting to get out until matters were made ready for his removal.

So we rowed back and all went together into the bomb-proof. It was clean empty save a few ammunition boxes, well ventilated, as powder magazines are, and as comfortable a place as need be. Giddins provided a mattress with pillow and bedding, a chair, table, etc., and before we left, which was nearly daylight, we saw that Morgan was comfortably asleep.

We breakfasted at Youngstown and went up to Lewiston on the Rochester boat that passed up with passengers for the Royal Arch installation that occurred there that

day (Thursday, September 14). There was quite a company of us there, and the intelligence was freely communicated, after the Chapter was opened, that Morgan was in Fort Niagara. The greatest satisfaction was evinced at the news, especially that the MSS. and printed sheets had been destroyed and that in a few days Morgan would be effectually separated from the company that had led him to his ruin.

During the day it was reported to us at Lewiston that 'Morgan had gone into the theatricals' and was shouting and alarming the people in the vicinity. It was a common thing with the fellow, as the people of Batavia used to testify. He had had delirium tremens. He couldn't endure to be left alone. His eyes hurt him terribly. He saw snakes in the apartment. He had been a half way convert of Joe Smith, the Mormon, and had learned from him to see visions and dream dreams. So we sent a man down to him, and before night two or three more, before he could be quieted, and nothing less than heavy doses of rum did it at last. That evening the Rochester and Lockport people went home. Lawson, myself and a few others remained in the vicinity until Sunday night the 17th, when two Canadian Brethren came over, received Morgan, who by this time had become quiescent, receipted to me for the money (\$500) and crossed to the west side of the river. They traveled on horseback, three horses in the party, Morgan riding one all that night and part of next day. Monday night, the 18th, they rode some thirty miles further to a point near the present city of Hamilton, where the journey ended. Morgan signed a receipt for the \$500. He signed also, as attested by the two witnesses, a paper which I had previously drawn up, detailing the circumstances of his deportation, commencing Monday, September 11, declaring that he had entered into the arrangement of his own free will and accord, pledging himself to remain in Canada in the vicinity where the party left him until he should get permission from Col. King, Sheriff Bruce or John Whitney to change his location, and finally promising to reform his habits by industry, economy and temperance.

Such, Brother Morris, is a true account of the deportation of William Morgan. We supposed we could at any time trace him up. We were preparing to send his wife and

children to him as agreed. We were happy in the thought that the excitement which had arisen in the Lodges would be allayed, and that peace and harmony once more would be given to us by the S.A.O.T.U. We went home filled with the reflection that the Craft would be the gainer by our labors. I wrote a personal letter to Gov. Clinton giving him all the circumstances of the affair, and really supposed that was the end of it.

What a tremendous mistake I made, what a tremendous blunder we all made, I needn't tell you. Had we really put the miserable fellow to death, had he been drowned or poisoned before leaving Batavia, not half the uproar had followed. It was scarcely a week until we saw what trouble was before us. It was not a fortnight until Col. King sent a confidential messenger into Canada to see Morgan and prepare to bring him back. But alas, he who had sold his friends at Batavia had now sold us. He had gone. He had changed his name, changed his clothes, bought a horse and left the village 'riding as on the wings of the wind,' within forty-eight hours of the departure of those who took him there. King sent a second person who employed an old Indian scout, thoroughly posted in the calling, to follow him up. He found that Morgan had gone east at the rate of fifty miles a day to a point down the river not far from Port Hope. He had sold his horse and disappeared. He had doubtless got on board a vessel there and sailed out of the country. At any rate that was the last we ever heard of him.

Speaking of Indians, you know that head chief Brant, was charged with taking a hand in this affair, and some of the Anti-Masonic journals charged him with murdering Morgan. Brant was a high toned gentleman, and when he heard of the charge he wrote the celebrated letter which no doubt you have seen.*

That week's work, Brother Morris, cost me dear enough. I was what John C. Spencer called a respectable stonecutter, and the affair nearly broke me. At the Can-

*I give a copy of this epistle:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE YORK (U. C.) OBSERVER:

SIR.—I have just read a paragraph in the New York "Spectator" (this was Southwick's paper) of the 17th inst., wherein it is stated that the Fraternity of Niagara had sent for me to receive and sacrifice the unhappy Morgan of whom so much has been lately spoken.

You will oblige me by contradicting this report, which is wholly false. Nei-

andaigua trials in January, 1827, I was one of ninety-seven witnesses; but was merely called on to say that I was acquainted with John Sheldon, and saw him near the hotel the night of the 12th, but did *not* see him near the jail, and was not aware that he knew Morgan was going away. I was present at the public meeting in Rochester, December, 1826, when a committee of investigation was appointed. From Thurlow Weed's actions that night and the movements of his friends, I saw that a political affair was to be made out of it, and was determined to fight it to the death. In the star-chamber Grand Jury at Canandaigua, February, 1827, they scooped me with Burrage Smith and Simeon B. Jewett for the conspiracy to kidnap. Smith and myself, with Col. William King, then left the country. Poor Smith died in New Orleans, nominally of yellow fever, but as much by previous ill health, aggravated by home-sickness and anxiety, as anything else. Sheriffs Bates and Garlinghouse, who were after us there, had openly declared that they would bring us back to New York *in irons*, and that would be as murderers. His bones, mouldering on the banks of the Mississippi, cry out against the inhumanity of political strife. King came home, May, 1828, and published a defiance in the papers, but was not meddled with. He died on the 28th of May, 1829.

In May, 1829, the Grand Jury of Monroe county took a shy at me. Here at Rochester was the home of Thurlow Weed himself. Yet such blundering had been done by the lawyers, that all the indictments previously found there were irregular. However, they hurried through a new set, and tried James Gillis and myself. Gillis was acquitted and I was sentenced to the County Jail. Elijah J. Roberts gave the jury in this case such a severe handling in his "Craftsman," that a suit for libel was entered against him, January, 1830. If there is anything further you desire to know of me, 'ask and ye shall receive!'"

ther in this instance, nor in any other, has such a barbarous proposition been made to me, nor do I believe that a man exists who would dare to wound my feelings in such a heinous manner.

I know nothing of the man nor of any transactions relating to him, and I am much surprised that my name has been called in question.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

J. BRANT.

Wellington Square, February 24, 1827."

(Wellington Square is a village a few miles north of York, now called Toronto.)

I think I have omitted nothing of these oral statements that is important to the continuity of my history. Mr. Whitney gave no manner of credence to the testimony of Edward Giddins, which presents the subject in a very different light. Giddins was a liar from the beginning. Neither Weed, Miller, Whittlesey, nor Southwick would have anything to do with him. He was an infidel in all religious matters.* He had offered to sell his silence in the Morgan adventure, as he confessed, but the parties disagreed upon the terms. Finally, he received from the government a sum of money for his revelations which at last were so discredited by the jury and the public, that they brought no conviction in the courts of law. Although a man of wonderful abilities, an acute astronomer, having a mechanical genius most extraordinary, he spent his later years in obscurity. For several seasons he published and peddled his "Anti-Masonic Almanacs and Confessions," making a precarious support until the demand ceased, and he afterward eked out his existence by all manner of little jobs. He died April 20, 1862, at Fort Niagara, N. Y., aged seventy-seven years. Parkhurst Whitney, who suffered so much by the falsehoods of Giddins, passed away at Niagara Falls, a few miles above, just five days afterward. King, Chesebro, Whitney, Wright, the two Mathers, Bruce, Adams,—all have joined him in the "innumerable caravan," depicted

* Here is an extract of a letter written by him (he was an extremely voluminous letter-writer) to Mr. D. Morrison from Fort Niagara, April 10, 1827, and upon which the Court at Canandaigua, August 20, 1829, unanimously declared "that Giddins comes within rule that excludes a witness, on the ground of infidelity:"

"A full and complete knowledge of our situation in the scale of being will convince us that God has the same care of man as of an insect. * * * With him there can be no difference or distinction between beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, perfection and imperfection; that prayers are but mockery to his name, and ought not to be encouraged, as they tend to impress us with the false notion that he is impotent and operated upon by our persuasion; that all that we can say or do cannot change him; that he is not perceptible of persuasion, and as relates to man he is incapable of love or hatred. * * * You will perceive that my views are not in accordance with the Bible, for that book represents the Deity as vindictive, revengeful, and inconsistent, performing an act to-day and repenting to-morrow. * * *

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your friend and well wisher,

EDWARD GIDDINS."

by the poet, and the rear has finally been brought up by Weed himself.

By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Craig, a prominent Mason of Lockport, I paid Edward Giddins a visit in the summer of 1861. He was residing in the suburbs of that thriving city, engaged in a small grocery concern, but a few months afterward he received from government the charge of the light-house at the mouth of the Niagara river, where he died as above. His appearance was venerable, as his photograph, taken for me at the time, proves. His answers to my queries seemed frank and sincere. He allowed me to examine the diaries which he kept (in elegant penmanship) all through the Morgan affair. He was made a Mason in Boston, Mass., about 1810, but had evidently taken little interest in the society. It was plain that Masonry had too much religion in it to suit him, for Giddins, as he acknowledged, was an atheist from a boy—"born atheist." In becoming a Mason he had therefore told a deliberate falsehood, as he admitted to me, and he never forgave the Order for it. I do not know that he visited a Lodge in New York.

In reply to my most urgent question, he said he knew nothing of what was finally done to Morgan. When he left him to go to York, Canada, to repair the light-house apparatus, Morgan was at the powder-house, but when he returned the man was gone, and he never heard from him afterward. Whitney says that Giddins had Col. King's confidence, but it was the mistake of his life.

It is true that Judge William Marcy admitted Giddins as a witness in the Lockport trials of June, 1830, but not a single conviction followed; his testimony was not believed.

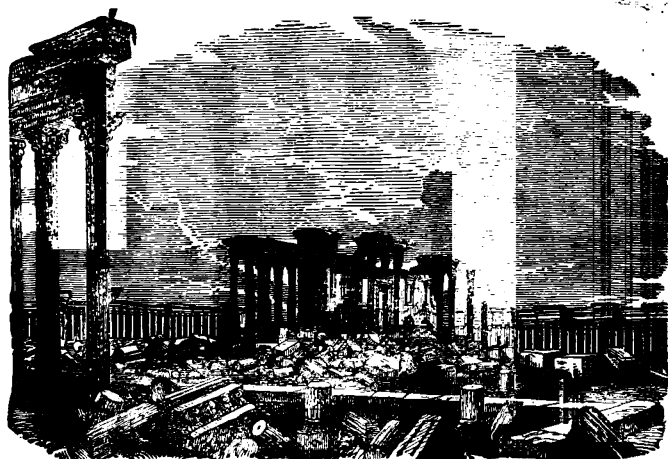
As I took the old man's hand at parting, I said, "Mr. Giddins, you are much advanced in life, and, in the ordinary course of nature, cannot live long. You have told me distinctly that you are an atheist, believing not in God, heaven,

hell, or even a future state of existence. Now, intelligent man as you are, I ask you, are you willing to die, feeling that this is the all-in-all with you?"

He hesitated a moment, still holding my hand, his eyes fixed on the ground, and then said, "Mr. Morris, I admit 'tis a horrible belief, but I cannot help it!"

NOTE TO CLOSE THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

As the present chapter brings the narrative to an end, so far as affects the principal actors in the deportation, I beg leave to deprecate a sort of criticism too obvious to escape my reviewers. I mean the *frequent repetition* of the same facts. This was a necessity of the plan. My materials, gathered from a thousand sources, sometimes contradictory as to names, dates, incidents and location, could not well be employed in any other way. Those who feel confused in arranging the incidents of the story, have but to turn to the index at the close, where every important fact is arrayed in its proper connection.



THE RUINS OF AN ANCIENT CITY.

A similar picture was largely used by the Anti-Masons to illustrate the ruined condition of Freemasonry, 1827 to 1830.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CASE OF ELI BRUCE.

IT was well said by John Whitney in his communication to me, that "The case of Eli Bruce was emphatically and most confoundedly a hard one." Young, intelligent, rooted in the confidence of the people, enjoying a responsible position, and on his way to higher honors, Bruce was suddenly stricken down by the malaria of Anti-Masonry, which swept over the land in 1826; and all his hopes, all his expectations were blighted and brought to naught. I make a chapter out of his case; partly on account of the interest of the subject itself, but more because it gives me a string on which to suspend many lesser items of news that belong to the history.

It was my singular good fortune to find myself about the year 1855 or '56, a guest in a hotel at Centralia, Illinois, whose landlord, Mr. Hawley, was the husband of the oldest daughter of Eli Bruce. There dwelt the aged widow, a son and two daughters, in the same family, and with them I spent several days. I had already taken considerable interest in that part of the Anti-Masonic imbroglio relating to the case of Mr. Bruce, and finding on the part of this amiable family a warm desire that I should make public all the facts, I proffered to prepare a biographical sketch of him. In reply to this, I received the following letter of assent, dated October 4, 1858:

"We, the daughters of Eli Bruce, do grant you full permission to be the biographer of our father; we give you use of his diary, and all the other works in our possession, that

you may desire, reposing the utmost confidence in your ability and judgment to do full justice to the memory of one so sorely tried, and so precious to us—*our father*.”

The anxiety of these estimable ladies, that his memory should be vindicated from blot, soil and reproach, is displayed further in these words: “We charge you to give to the world a *truthful delineation* of our father’s character. He united himself with the Masonic Society from the purest motives. He was both known and honored, before his Masonic troubles gave such notoriety to his name. He suffered much, yet remained true to the principles of that society until his death. Now, let that society testify to his integrity.” The materials furnished me by the family consisted of three volumes of a manuscript diary, commenced the day that he entered the Canandaigua prison, May 30th, 1829; and carried forward to January 7th, 1831, the fourth and concluding volume being unfortunately lost. Numerous private papers and letters written by Bruce, during his imprisonment, were also placed in my hands. A brother then living in Boston, Dr. Silas Bruce, and a nephew at Fitchburg, Mass., Rev. A. W. Bruce, also assisted me in this labor of love, both with oral and written matter.

Thus enriched, I composed a volume in 12mo., of 313 pages, illustrated with several cuts, and published in 1861. The edition of 1,000 copies was its limit, the civil war then absorbing the public attention, and it has gone out of print. The title was: “THE MASONIC MARTYR. The biography of ELI BRUCE, Sheriff of Niagara county, N. Y., who for his attachment to the principles of Masonry, and his fidelity to his trust, was imprisoned twenty-eight months in the Canandaigua jail.” The dedication was “to the VETERANS who still linger around the Temple walls, devoted to its interests, jealous of its honor, landmarks of its unchangeableness and truth, this VOLUME of the Hard Trials and

Sufferings of one of their Cotemporaries is fraternally Dedicated."

Eli Bruce was born at Templeton, Massachusetts, November 8, 1793; parents, Josiah and Mary Bruce. His name, Eli, was that of an ancestor, Eli Bruce, the first man in New England who constructed an organ. His father dying, he was adopted into the family of a farmer, with whom he lived until he was nineteen, when he purchased his time, and entered himself to become a teacher in the Academy at Lancaster, Mass. There he taught school for several years, and removing to western New York, continued the profession until November, 1825, when he was elected High Sheriff of Niagara county. In physical power and endurance, Bruce stood preëminent. He was the strongest of his school-fellows, and much above the average height. His manners, however, were genial and winning, and his conduct in all respects, irreproachable. "He was a bright star in Masonry, a devoted husband, a kind and indulgent father, a warm and consistent friend. Charitable to the poor, he was emphatically a noble man, made such by divine patent." "Few men in my acquaintance won so rapidly upon the esteem of his fellow-men as Eli Bruce." "He was remarkably industrious, engaged at all times in personal improvement or some deed for the good of his fellow-men." "A man of great activity and vigilance in business, and possessed of fine liberal and social feelings. At the commencement of the unfortunate difficulty which afterward occasioned his removal from office, he had become extremely popular." "He was as honest a man as ever breathed." Have I given enough of these extracts to assure the reader that I am about to describe a character worthy of an exalted niche in the Masonic pantheon?

Bruce was made a Mason in 1824 or 1825, and was serving as Principal Sojourner of the Royal Arch Chapter at Lewiston, N. Y., at the commencement of the Morgan

difficulty. In the reminiscences of John Whitney, Chapter VII, Bruce is connected with a plan to bring William Morgan from Batavia by way of Lockport.* This probably occurred in July, 1826, and he had prepared by the assistance of his deputy, Hiram B. Hopkins, a retired apartment in the prison buildings in which he and his family lived, for the reception of Morgan. But that idea was abandoned, probably on account of the difficulty of removing Morgan from the jail-limits at Batavia in which he resided. Much was said by the Anti-Masons in regard to this, as a breach of official duty by Bruce, this preparing a cell for Morgan. It was however no cell, but an outbuilding, a commodious apartment adjacent to the rooms in which Hopkins and the Bruce family had their own residence.

The part actually taken by Bruce in the Morgan affair is correctly stated in Whitney's recollections in Chapter VII: On Wednesday, Sept. 13, Burrage Smith came from Rochester, or rather from Hanford's tavern, four miles north of Rochester, where he had left the Morgan party, and informed Bruce of their coming. Bruce took with him Orsamus Turner, Jared Darrow, and David Hogue, and went to Wright's Corners, four miles north, and met them there about 9 P.M. He went on with them to Molyneux's, and to Lewiston, and thence with another party to Youngstown, to the river-landing, and in a boat across the river and back to Fort Niagara by daylight. Bruce had never seen Morgan before that night. In the ride from Wright's to Lewiston, Bruce testified that only three were in the carriage, viz: himself, Morgan and Hogue. It was driven by Jeremiah Brown. The object in crossing into Canada was to get Morgan away from Miller and thus suppress the issue of the publication then partly finished.

* It was Whitney's opinion that Mr. Bruce originated this project, but in Bruce's sworn testimony he declares that it was communicated to him by another person. I incline therefore to the opinion that its author was James Ganson, of Stafford.

They purposed to place Morgan on a farm somewhere in the interior of Canada. But the expected arrangements with the Canadian Brethren had not been made as promptly as was expected, and it became necessary to wait a few days. Morgan was therefore placed for security in the magazine of the old fort, which was dry, empty and well ventilated. This was about daylight of Thursday, Sept. 14, 1826, and Bruce never saw Morgan afterwards, or had communication with any person respecting his ultimate destination.

Those who called on Bruce at Lockport on the occasion named assured him that Morgan had come voluntarily from Batavia, being willing to go to Canada where he had friends, for he had lived in that country before. While riding in the carriage with Morgan, from Wright's Corners to Lewiston, the conversation implied that Morgan was going among his friends. He appeared entirely easy and contented. He had a handkerchief over his eyes and his hat was pressed over that.

The excitement over Morgan's disappearance, which began in September, 1826, soon flamed up like a prairie fire, and in January, 1827, proceedings were had against Bruce before A. J. Hinman, a justice of the peace at Lockport. But these came to nothing. Complaint was then made to Governor Clinton for assisting in the abduction of Morgan, and Bruce was summoned to appear at the executive office in Albany and show cause why he should not be removed from office. It was the opinion of Chesebro and Whitney that he did go by a canal packet to Albany, in an unostentatious manner, and that he made a private call upon the governor who was his personal friend. But Clinton could not receive a private statement in a matter so public as this. His duty was an official one. Then Bruce was heard by counsel, and this proving unsatisfactory the following proclamation was issued:

BY DEWITT CLINTON,
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

WHEREAS, Eli Bruce, sheriff of the county of Niagara, has been charged before me with a violation of his duties as a good citizen and a faithful officer in being concerned in the abduction of William Morgan, and has been heard in his defense, and

WHEREAS, in the investigation of the said accusation, it appeared that it was completely in the power of the said Eli Bruce, if innocent, to establish his innocence; and

WHEREAS, in order to afford him that opportunity, a decision on the complaint has been suspended for an ample time and he has given no explanation of his conduct; and

WHEREAS, it appears that at a certain trial at Canandaigua, of certain persons charged with the said abduction, the said Eli Bruce, when called on as a witness, refused to testify on several material points, on the ground of self-crimination; from all of which I am persuaded that he was participant in the said abduction, and thereby has rendered himself unworthy of the official station which he at present occupies; I do, therefore, pursuant to the powers vested in me by the constitution of this state, remove the said Eli Bruce from the office of sheriff of the county of Niagara.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the privy seal of this state, at the city of Albany, the 1st day of October, A.D. 1827.

[SEAL.] Signed, DEWITT CLINTON.

A second proclamation was issued shortly after, ordering an election to supply the vacancy which, however, would have come in natural course at the state election a month later. So heavy were the losses resultant upon these attacks made upon him, that the Grand Lodge of New York, it was said, at its session of June, 1827, donated Bruce the sum of one hundred dollars.

Why he did not receive this, I cannot explain. Perhaps he refused it. My authority for the statement that the Grand Lodge Committee on Charity appropriated \$100 in this direction, is public rumor, which is oftener false than true. The charge is also directly made by John C. Spencer

in his report. The whole looks like an invention of Thurlow Weed, as the following letter from Eli Bruce would certainly imply. I find it in Bruce's correspondence under August 1, 1831.

"This letter was written this day to E. J. Roberts, editor of the 'Craftsman.' Feeling indignant at some remarks made by Mr. Weed, in the Albany 'Evening Journal,' together with articles from the Onondaga 'Republican' and the New York 'Spectator,' I wrote him a letter as follows:

AUGUST 1, 1831.

MR. WEED;—I saw some articles this morning, copied in your paper of the 29th ult., as well as your own remarks, calculated to mislead public opinion, and as I am the subject, I feel indubitably bound to correct them, as one whose feelings are still alive to public sentiment. I take the liberty therefore, to ask a correction through the same source that gave it publicity.

The Grand Lodge did not then (in 1827), nor at any subsequent period, loan me money. So the remarks of the Onondaga 'Republican' and those of Col. Stone (in the 'Spectator'), as well as your own, to-wit: 'This testimony is of that direct character so important in making out the case of participation in the Morgan outrage against the Grand Lodge,' must fall to the ground.

ELI BRUCE."

But I cannot see that Weed did the common justice to Bruce of publishing his denial.

The first trial of Mr. Bruce, save that before Magistrate Hinman, was at Canandaigua, in August, 1828, where he was indicted with his fellow townsmen, Orsamus Turner and Jared Darrow. The evidence which I have given in a preceding chapter, with much particularity, identified Bruce with the deportation of William Morgan. The atheist, Giddins, was brought in as a witness, but rejected as incompetent by the full bench, through his want of religious belief. Afterward another judge reversed this sound judgment. The counsel of Bruce called no witnesses, but rested

his defense upon the ground that the Court of Ontario county had no jurisdiction, for if Bruce was concerned in the conspiracy to abduct Morgan, he acted in the county of Niagara, and could only be tried there. The court ruled that if the jury believed Bruce knew nothing of the conspiracy, but first knew of the transportation of Morgan when he acted, then they would find him not guilty, because his acts would amount to an assault and battery and false imprisonment in the county of Niagara, for which he could not be convicted in Ontario under this indictment, because this was for a conspiracy to kidnap. But the verdict rendered was, guilty. An Albany correspondent observes that "it was remarkable Bruce called no witnesses to explain his conduct, or in any manner to exculpate himself!"

The sentence of the lower court was arrested by an appeal to the Supreme Court, which was not reached until May, 1829. The points made involved the right of the court in Ontario county to try the case. It is well understood that a wrong impression prevailed among the jury, in relation to the verdict, one of them making affidavit that he would not have consented to the condemnation of Bruce, had it not been impressed upon the panel that the Supreme Court would correct the error if any. There seems to have been some tampering with the appeal before that tribunal; for Mr. Vincent Matthews, one of the five counsel who defended Bruce, declared that "if this case had gone up to the Supreme Court *as they prepared it*, the opinion would have unquestionably been different. But it was altered after it went out of their hands, with the honest but mistaken purpose of simplifying it, and so the real objection was not presented to the Court at all."

A letter from Eli Bruce to his brother Silas, resident in Boston, comes in at this place. Eli was in Albany when he wrote it, attending his appeal to the Supreme Court. He

had heard erroneously that the decree was in his favor, and thus writes in a cheerful strain:

“ALBANY, 15th of February, 1829.

Well, Silas, *tempus fugit*! So we go up and down in the scales of life, prospects rising, vanishing, coming, receding. Success was almost within my grasp, was just visible through the long vista of civil, religious and political thralldom. I came here on Thursday, and my business will prolong my stay until next Thursday or Friday. I have business with the Supreme Court, also with the Commissioner of the Land Office and the Court of Exchequer. With the two latter, I have some moneyed accounts, while the former has some business with me.

I heard last night that the Supreme Court had decided the question which had been referred to them on my trial in Canandaigua, in my favor. I presume it is so. It is right in the nature of things. I believe I wrote you the case at length last fall. Nothing could have been more just and plain, and I shall realize what I expected. But I presume new persecutions will arise at our next Court of Oyer and Terminer in Niagara county. The Antis are, if I may use the broad expression, *hell bent* on my conviction. Pardon the severity of the term. They have done so much and made out nothing, that they are ready to bite off the end of their tongues for disappointment.

The Senate yesterday made a bill to introduce to the Lower House, proposing to debar all Masons from sitting as jurors! Nothing could be more disgusting, nothing more pusillanimous. It originated, too, in that house which is termed Honorable. But it will meet with deserved contempt in the Lower House. One of the members, not a Mason, rooms with me here. I have got hardened to affliction, so that I am quite happy and contented. Squalls and earthquakes, simooms and siroccos are all one to me! I can make a living in spite of the worst of Anti-ism. A depression of spirits, a desertion of business, and a want of energy are what my enemies look for in me, but they can find none of these things in or about me.

ELI BRUCE.”

On May 23, 1829, the prosecution brought in Hiram B. Hopkins as a witness in aggravation of the punishment of

Bruce. Hopkins was undoubtedly a slippery fellow, for he had informed a person in 1827 that Bruce was not implicated in the abduction of Morgan, for if he had been he would have known it. But now, at this late day, he came in with his testimony of the preparation of a cell for Morgan; also that he was at the Chapter meeting at Lewiston on September 14, and learned that Morgan had gone through that place and was confined at Fort Niagara. It was during this week that Whitney also received his sentence and Gillis was discharged. In the case of Whitney Bruce was a witness, and made the statements which I have already adverted to. Sentence was pronounced against Bruce in these words: "That you, Eli Bruce, be confined in close and secure custody in the county jail of the county of Ontario for the term of two years and four months." Upon this sentence he was committed, May 23, 1829, and remained in confinement until September 23, 1831. In another case, wherein he refused to testify as a witness, he was charged with contempt of court and thirty more days added to his sentence, but this was never exacted.

It is but a trite remark that Bruce was in fault for taking any part in the Morgan proceedings. As a peace officer he should have declined to aid in removing a man privately from the country, even though the removal were at the consent of the party thus expatriated. But the fault was slight when contrasted with the long and untiring persecutions that followed, the damage to his business, the wreck of his private fortune and the confinement which broke down his health. He did not deserve the flood of defamation received from Thurlow Weed and other leaders in Anti-Masonic politics. He suffered greatly for an error of judgment, and suffered withal so patiently and bore his sentence with such manly fortitude as to ennoble the cell in which his weary days and nights were passed. All through those twenty-eight months of imprisonment he enjoyed, as

he merited, the friendship of the best families of the country. His name, his sufferings, his patient endurance were themes of conversation at many a domestic hearth, and in many a sympathetic band met in Lodge-fellowship, and the prayers of women, and the sympathy of children were often wafted through the gratings of his jail windows.

In the cut of this jail or Masonic Bastile, as I call it, which is given as my frontispiece, the edifice appears as in 1826-31 with small alterations. The engraving is made from a photograph. The four upper windows open into the rooms once occupied by Chesebro, Bruce, and Whitney. There were two windows in the upper part, so I was informed by Mr. Chesebro, where there is now but one, but the external appearance is not changed. The old well, so often alluded to by Mrs. Hall, the jailor's wife, and others who heard Masonic raps on the curb with a club, is still there, but the old fashioned curb and sweep-pole were long since removed and a chain-pump substituted, and those in their turn, no doubt, have given away to machinery more fashionable. The street in front of the jail, called Jail street, as seen in the engraving, runs east and west, and the Blossom Hotel was on that street, about sixty rods west. Chesebro's house, from which Mr. Bruce for a long time received his daily meals, "hot, hospitable and *recherché*," was nearly opposite. The jail itself is on the north side of Jail street and forty rods west of the Court House, on Main street.

Need we ask what were the feelings of the young and ardent husband and father doomed to this long separation from all he loved? what his despair of the future eminence so often dreamed? Would not the mark of the felon be on him, and the shadow of the jail be ever trailing after him? In the three volumes of the diaries from which I propose to cull suitable extracts, the reader shall have answers to these questions in the records of the hour, fresh

from the dust and gloom of the prison cell. Yet his prison thoughts are not all gloomy. His solitude was often relieved by such outbursts of human friendship, such rays of light benignant, that his heart expanded under their influence and his gratitude is spread out here in the *litteræ scriptæ* of the books.

In one of the first entries of his diary he declares that he has acted "from just and laudable principles." This was the secret utterance of his heart from the hour of his condemnation. His visitors were many, as we see from the record. "Gentlemen of taste and respectability" he calls some; Gen. Dudley Marvin; Mr. Chesebro and lady frequently, etc. Not less than two hundred persons are named in these three manuscript volumes as visitors during his twenty-eight months' imprisonment, and the number of his visitors unnamed was probably thrice as many. He was, as usual, industrious in the use of his time, especially during the first year and until his health and spirits began to fail him. He began and completed quite a course of medical reading, so that upon his return he was not long in setting out upon medical practice. But his reading was diversified, his tastes æsthetic. He loved books upon birds and flowers, and the tender objects of nature. His sensibilities were acute; the sound of music enraptured him and he kept a bass viol in his cell for private enjoyment. The tones of the church-going bell filled his soul; the voices of women had unspeakable attraction to his ear.

His correspondence was extensive and many of his letters are yet extant. In them he alludes to bondage, ill health, the condition of his family, the blasting effect of public rumors, etc., but he was always manly, there was no whining or whimpering in his epistles. He looked forward to his release as a period when he should begin life again, with unblemished honor and unfaltering hopes. May 30,

1829, he records: "Heard of the death of Col. William King. *Sic transit gloria mundi*."

'O death among the ravages of thy domain.
Thy conquest's great !'

Actio personalis moriatur cum persona."

The name of Nicholas G. Chesebro appears in almost every page of the diaries. His term of sentence, twelve months, ended January, 1828, so that he was sixteen months free from the prison before the entrance of Bruce. During all the confinement of the latter, Mr. Chesebro and his wife (deceased Dec. 24, 1853, greatly respected) and his daughter, the now accomplished writer of romance, were affectionately attentive to his wants. For months together his meals were brought from their table in their residence nearly opposite the prison, and books and papers almost daily cheered his apartment. It is of them he remarks in his diary: "Friendship is the wine of life. It does not inebriate us or leave our feelings in a cold and torpid state, but abides. Judge before friendship, but then abide until death." It is pleasant to read in pages of this tear-blotted, time-stained record, such expressions as these: "Miss Chesebro and her sister," "My friend Nicholas G. Chesebro," "Mrs. Chesebro visited us," and the like. Can I find a better place than this to insert extracts from a letter written me March 6, 1860, by the venerable head of the family, who departed the present life a little later (October 9, 1861), to join the friend whose long sorrows he had done so much to assuage?—

"The extra imprisonment of thirty days charged to Mr. Eli Bruce for his refusal to testify (June, 1830, in the case of Ezekiel Jewett, for which he was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment in the jail at Lockport), was not exacted. He was discharged at the twenty-eight months first sentenced. My wife, whose kindness to Mr. Bruce you have alluded to, died December 24, 1853. The imprisonment of

Col. Edward Sawyer and myself dated from January 7, 1827; mine was for one year, his for thirty days. He is still living (1860), and in good health at Grand Blanc, Genesee County, Michigan. Chauncey C. Coe, Hiram Hubbard, Loton Lawson, and Gen. Marvin, of whom you inquire, have all retired from this world. Col. Simeon B. Jewett still survives; he is United States Marshal of the Northern District of New York. There are no records of the jail extant that run back to the period of Bruce's imprisonment."

When Mr. Chesebro's imprisonment terminated he was received at the jail door by a cavalcade of honor. An open coach, containing his wife and daughter, and driven by the redoubtable Hiram Hubbard, drove out of Jail Street into Main Street, the whole length of Canandaigua and back, around the Court House, where a band of music played a triumphant piece, and so to his own dwelling, which had been dressed with evergreen by his neighbors. It was computed that 300 horsemen were in the procession. The streets were lined with ladies who waved their veils and handkerchiefs in his honor.

I proceed with extracts from Bruce's papers:—

"A newspaper before me says, intending to be denunciatory and severe, that all the Freemasons take common cause with those who are persecuted in this Morgan business even though they are not sure of the facts in the case. This might be true in the sense that the Masonic Brethren know so well what are the principles of Masonry that they do not believe that we, who have always passed for sensible and law-abiding men would do anything contrary to those principles, and until they are satisfied, we have so acted 'they take common cause with us,' as our critic charges. Why shouldn't they? What violation of law has been proved against any of us? I have just read aloud to my room-mate Throop's scandalous charge in sentence upon Chesebro. It is a lie from end to end. Not one of the offenses he specifies was proved upon them! Yes, Masons may well take 'common cause with us.' As Patrick Henry said in one of his grand Orations, 'I am not a

Virginian, I am an American,' so every Mason may say, 'I am not a Freemason, I am a defender of truth and justice.'"

As a fitting comment upon this passage from Eli Bruce, I give the words of a leading New York paper August, 1875, which speaking of the Anti-Masonic commotions that convulsed the land says, "It is a subject which has lost none of its profound interest by the lapse of half a century; any light that may be thrown upon the Morgan mystery is of historical importance." In the same strain descants Mr. Proctor in his *History of the Bench and Bar*. He says that "in the movements of government, in social relations, in matters of religion and in courts of justice, the Morgan Affair was so all-absorbing and pregnant with interest and excitement that much of it was indurated beyond the action of time, and will repay the lawyer, the student and the lover of History to review."

Under date July, 1830, he copies with strong commendation these winged words from the address of Edward Livingston at his installation April 3, 1830, as G. G. High Priest of the National Grand Chapter:—

"For the first time in the history of our Order (alluding to the National Grand Chapter organized some thirty years before), persecution has raised itself against our humane fraternity. It assails our reputations with the blackest calumnies, strives by the most absurd invectives to deprive us of the confidence of our fellow-citizens, blackens the principles of our Order and represents us as bound to each other by obligations subversive of civil order and hostile to religion. Calumnies so absurd are best met by dignified silence. An intelligent and enlightened community will not be deceived by them."

To this he appends the opinions of other leading Masons upon the same subject quoting from Joel R. Poinsett these expressions, "I regard the clamors, which have been raised against us as a fortunate circumstance." The Grand

Master of Maryland, said at the same period, "I cannot believe that the Institution, which has passed safely through centuries of intolerance and nations in a state of semi-barbarism can be seriously injured in a country of refinement and toleration." The Grand Master of New York, Elisha W. King, in installing General Morgan Lewis as Grand Master June 24, 1830, said, "Freemasonry can now enroll on her lists of patrons another soldier of the Revolution." By the death bed of this noble veteran of the times that tried men's souls, he was heard to express the wish that a piece of evergreen should be laid upon his breast in his coffin, and so buried with him. The thought is embodied in the following lines:

THE DYING REQUEST.

The veteran sinks to rest;—
 "Lay it upon my breast,
 And let it crumble with my heart to dust—
 Its leaves a lesson tell;—
 Their verdure teacheth well
 The everlasting greenness of my trust.

Through threescore years and ten
 With falling, dying men,
 I've wept the uncertainties of life and time!
 The symbols, loved of yore,
 Have changed, have lost their power,
All save this emblem of a faith sublime.

Things are not as they were;—
 The Level and the Square,
 Those time-worn implements of love and truth,—
 The incense flowing o'er,
 The Lamb-skin chastely pure,
 Bear not the interpretation as in youth.

Their moral lore they lose;
 They mind me but of those
 Now in death's chambers who their teachings knew;
 I see them—but they breathe
 The charnel airs of death—
 I cannot bear their saddening forms to view.

But this, O symbol bright,
 Surviving age's blight,
 This speaks in honey-tongues unchanged, unchanged;—
 In it I read my youth,
 In it my manhood's truth,
 In it bright forms of glory long estranged.

Green leaves of summer-skies,
 Blest type of Paradise,
 Tokens that there's a world I soon shall see,
 Of these take good supply
 And, Brothers, when I die,
 Lay them upon my breast to die with me!"

'Twas done; they're crumbled now,
 He lies in ashes too,
 Yet was that confidence inspired in vain?
 No, no, his noble heart,
 When death's dark shades depart
 With them in glory shall spring forth again!

Under dates, June 21, 1829, and later, Bruce writes that he sees through his iron lattice the waving grain, the growing corn and grass, the beautiful foliage of a rich and picturesque landscape.

"Oh, time, how heavily it drags! It seems as if I had been from home a year, and yet only four weeks. The jailor, Mr. Wheeler, is very kind to me. * * * We are beginning to hear the song of harvest home. * * * A Thunder storm. This the psalmist terms, 'the voice of the Lord, that breaketh the cedars of Lebanon.' * * * How wanders the mind in the night of affliction! How the fettered fancy withers under this durance vile! Courage droops; hope staggering, lingers still, nor dares to sally forth. Come, tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep!"

The poetic talent of Mr. Bruce was not remarkable, yet the reader will, I think, be impressed by the melancholy of the following lines, composed by him, upon hearing from his prison the sound of the church bell. The poem was first published in the "Craftsman," January 19, 1830, with the remark, "that it has an interest in it apart from the common rhyming of the road, and that no one can read it without being moved at the deep feeling which pervades it!"

"Yes, oft I hear thy shrill and chiming sounds
 Sonorous, breaking on my grated cell,
 Awaking transports oft in memory's rounds
 Of joy; thou pleasing, sacred, solemn bell!
 Thy tones are heard, where saints their pæans raise,
 In fond ascriptions to the God they love;
 While sinners, trembling, bowed, and infants' praise
 Was incense sweet where all harmonious move.

From the rich mine of memory's pleasant train,
 And through the vista of departed years,
 I trace the happy steps of youth's domain,
 Those roseate shades, and scenes bereft of fears.
 Yes, while I count the lingering lapse of time,
 While fond affection's chained from fondest sight,
 Thy notes are music; with my soul they chime,
 And sooth me in this crucible of night.

Oft thy lone notes with measured distance tell
 Of some whose spirit from its clay has fled,
 Of sorrow wailing at the narrow cell,
 Where sleep the honored and unhonored dead.

* * * * *

In morn of life, I pass my silent hours,
 Where recollection forms the busy train,—
 Persuasive she, mute eloquence her powers,
 No fault or fears, within, without, are vain:
 Does wealth's enchantment hold the boon of life,
 Abstract from pain, from trouble, or from care?
 Do beauty, fashion, or the flatterer's strife
 With deeds of charity, or love compare?

When in the palsied hand of want we press
 The mite, and see the beggar's smile arise,
 When from our scanty wardrobes, pale distress
 Hath walked with thankful heart and tearful eyes,—
Then life was life,—its being's end and aim,
 No jarring sound the tranquil hours foresee.
 'Twas duty, now 'tis peace, or this acclaim,
 'Tis thine, and *ye have done it unto me!*"

In Chapter VII, largely given to Mr. Whitney's oral statements to me, I did not find room for such a biographical sketch of the man himself as his disclosures demand. He was indicted with James Gillis at the same time and in the same court as Mr. Bruce, that is, at Canandaigua, May, 1829. In the case of Gillis the court lost its jurisdiction by

limitation. In that of Whitney Eli Bruce testified. The same evidence traced Morgan from Canandaigua to Canada. It was proved that Whitney was in Canandaigua Tuesday, September 12, 1826, and at the Chapter installation at Lewiston the 14th, and that he did not accompany the steamboat party that night to Rochester; this seemed to connect him with the whole Morgan movement. But the evidence was purely circumstantial, and the presiding judge, Howell, was heard to say that only in the most exciting times of popular feeling could such evidence convict. Whitney was declared guilty and a light sentence, twelve months, in jail pronounced upon him. He entered the prison June 8, 1829, and was freed August 14, 1830. For some of this time he was the roommate of Bruce, as the entry of June 8 has it, "Began this day to board with my fellow sufferer, participator and particular friend, John Whitney."

While in the first stages of imprisonment and peculiarly susceptible to insult, Whitney wrote a letter to the editors of the Ontario "Messenger" at Canandaigua (a press stigmatized by Bruce in his diary as a smut machine), of which here are specimen extracts:

"CANANDAIGUA, July 12, 1829.

M^{ESSRS.} DAY & MORSE,—Your paper of the 1st containing remarks upon my trial has been shown me. As I hope you would not wilfully propagate a falsehood, I request the insertion of a few lines contradicting your statements. You say that 'it is a matter of street-talk that John Whitney has repeatedly stated since his conviction that he rode in the carriage with William Morgan from Canandaigua to Victor.' This is a false accusation. I never have intimated since my conviction, that I rode with him at all.

JOHN WHITNEY."

In the "Craftsman" of June 23, 1829, immediately following the sentence, there is a manly and touching defense of Whitney's character. He is called there a persecuted and much abused citizen, and the people are asked to join with

the editor in regretting and condemning that decision "which has immured an honest, innocent and respectable man in a prison." I give a portion of this powerful article, which cost the editor an expensive suit for libel and a penalty of fifty dollars.

"This decision has deprived society of one of its most active and useful members, destroyed the citizenship of one of the most faithful sons of the republic, whose life, honor and interest would have been pledged for its preservation, and has left an amiable, virtuous and in all respects reputable family, without its prop and support, the husband and father, its comfort in the hour of prosperity and its stay in the day of adversity. The voice of this community (Rochester, where Whitney lived, and the 'Craftsman' was published) and the testimony of every man in it, is lifted up in Whitney's praise. He was the useful citizen, who in all the walks of life performed his duties faithfully and humbly. He was the kind neighbor, the generous friend, the industrious mechanic, the faithful husband and the fond father.

It was not enough that he was driven from his home by the machinations of the very men who are now profiting by his misfortunes and the stigma they have brought upon his character. It was not enough that he was pursued and hunted like a malefactor. It was not enough that his name was made the burden of hireling presses for more than two years, and was rung with all the changes of *murderer*, *kidnapper* and *fugitive from justice*. It was not enough that he was followed by infatuated emissaries, to escape whom, and the ignominy of chains and public exposure for more than 1,500 miles, he was obliged to leave unfinished business and be pecuniarily injured in a large amount. All these persecutions were not sufficient to satisfy the insatiate spirit of Anti-Masonry; but it was decreed that he should be deprived of his liberty as a man, for a period, and however long and useful his life may be hereafter, rest under the stigma thus attached to his name; be held up as having been a condemned and imprisoned malefactor and compelled to leave the same heritage to his children.

And why has this been done? that the verdict of a jury, *deeply imbued with the fanaticism, bigotry and the unrelenting political prejudices of the times, should be prima*

facie evidence of the guilt of the accused! In all the mass of testimony elicited during a patient examination of two days and a half, there was not one single line directly implicating him in the abduction of Morgan! The only testimony, and this was the imperfect recollection of a barkeeper in Victor, who had been roused from sleep, whose testimony would have been refused by the impartial and able Judge Howell, had not this enlightened jurist been overruled by the decision of his associates, only went to show that Whitney was there in company with Gillis, against whom no verdict was found.

We aver our belief that Mr. Whitney has been immolated on the altar of a persecuting faction! He had been stigmatized so loud and so long as a conspirator, a murderer, and a kidnapper, that his sacrifice had become an essential aliment to the craving appetites of those who had feasted their imaginations on the enormities of such men as Bruce and Whitney! Had either of them been declared innocent, where would the Morgan Committee have hid themselves from the indignation of an outraged community! And even now, admitting all they claim to be true of a neighbor and fellow-citizen, whom even in his misfortunes they respect, how can they sleep upon their pillows, or smile in their family circles, when they think upon the weeping household they have made, and the injuries they have inflicted on an honest and innocent man? We leave them to their own sense of feeling, to their own sense of the guilt there is in depriving society of an ornament and the community of a member, to the idea of unmerited obloquy and to their own fears that the people will, in the end, visit upon them that measure of mercy they have dealt out to others!"

On the trials of Ezekiel Jewett, S. C. Wright, and Jeremiah Brown at Lockport, June, 1830, Bruce and Whitney were taken from Canandaigua to testify, but both refused to be sworn. As Bruce was considered a man broken in fortune, he was only sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment in the Lockport jail, and even that was never exacted. Whitney declared that he was not in the enjoyment of any of the rights and privileges of a citizen, and would not

testify, whereupon he was fined \$250, and sentenced to thirty days as the other. Both the penalties were eventually excused him. But Orsamus Turner, for the same recusancy, got 120 days and \$1,000 in four successive penalties! He wrote to Bruce, a few days after, commencing in this humorous strain: "I am well and in jail, and hope that these few lines will find you enjoying the same blessing!"

Through all the term of confinement, Mr. E. J. Roberts, editor of the "Craftsman," was a friend to these two men, Bruce and Whitney. He often won the reward offered in the words, "I was sick and in prison, and ye ministered unto me." Considering the condition of the public mind, it is hard to see how the fury of Anti-Masonry could have been kept under any control, but for the influence of the "Craftsman," established at Rochester, N. Y., February 10, 1829, as a weekly journal. Its motto was LIGHT, LIBERTY, TRUTH. At the close of the second volume, February 16, 1831, it was removed to Albany, N. Y. The assistant editor, Mr. Barnum, was also a frequent visitor of Bruce and a material friend.

The feeling of scorn and contempt entertained by Bruce for John C. Spencer, crops out in many places through the pages of the diary. June 7, 1829, Spencer paid him a visit in his cell, being at that time Special Counsel for the State in the Anti-Masonic trials, and as the diary says, "Set some spring traps very eloquently. He apologized for his harsh treatment; talked much about duty to country, etc. * * * In vivid colors he portrayed the good that would arise if I would expose all I knew of the devilish M——n affair." I replied that the obligation I owed to the preservation, comfort, peace, and prosperity of my family was more than paramount to legal injunctions. Much was said about this visit of Spencer to Bruce. The "Craftsman," of June 23, had an article on the subject, written, I think, by Bruce himself, of which I gave you a condensed report. It was

published after Bruce went to Batavia and refused to testify there.

"On Sunday evening, June 7, John C. Spencer had the honor of visiting an honest man's cell in Canandaigua. There he portrayed to Mr. Bruce the advantages that would arise from a further disclosure of the Morgan affair. He spoke with pathos, of personal and patriotic duties, and urged him to confess so that he might go forth from his prison an honest man. The insult to a condemned person was properly reprehended. Then Spencer asked Bruce if such a course might not insure him protection as it had done to Edward Giddins. This was too much, and Bruce warned Spencer not to class him with that wretch, that the cases were not similar in any point, for Giddins' course had been marked from the beginning with meanness and dishonor. Spencer apologized and then said that the public would be generous to Bruce's family if he would confess. Bruce retorted that his family would starve if dependent on the Anti-Masons.

After further conversation of this nature Bruce demanded to be left alone and not to be entreated dishonorably to poison the minds of friends upon whom the support of his family depended. To this Spencer remarked that Mr. Bruce's notions of honor carried him too far, and that he went beyond his duty. Bruce replied that he should be his own judge in that matter, and then the parties separated."

Frequent allusions to Spencer appear in the "Diary." "Saw some hypocrisy in the Johnnie," he writes. This was an emissary who had called on the same business. "The temperature of my jailor is too much regulated by the favor-seeking Spencer." Under date August 18, he says "General sessions and common pleas commence to-day. Morganites are very busy; try to do much, but effect little. Saw some of Spencer's hirelings." Under August 23, "I find that at last Spencer has thrown himself into market to be cheapened by his own volition. If I do not mistake or misjudge, within six months his attachment to any party will portend disaster if not dissolution. Strange that such a

talented man should thus unreservedly throw himself on the wheel of political ambition and wantonly sacrifice real worth for imaginary greatness. He is yet to learn that the path to eminence is not through falsehood, deceit and corruption." As a matter of prediction Mr. Spencer resigned, May 3, 1830, an office which had brought him nothing but "labor and sorrow." In a letter to the governor of that date he details, partly in a scold, partly in a whine, the causes of his utter failure to accomplish results adequate to the powers given him, or the efforts he had set forth. If ever man cursed an unhappy ambition it was Spencer in reviewing his labors as special counsel.

Under September 3, 1829, he writes, "Great efforts are making by John C. Spencer, to his eternal shame and disgrace. Mr. Spencer's statute relative to jailors has taken effect. Such is the hue and cry of Anti-Masons that justice and humanity have departed. Vindictive is that man who can add to the severity of the penal laws, merely to gratify a hatred against a particular society and cause his wrath to fall on particular members. Had the previous regulation been defective no fault could have been found." But I have said quite enough under this head, and return to the general subject.

Among the autograph papers of Bruce I find many short sentences, either original or selected, I cannot tell which, that are too good to be passed over, and I will toss some of them together into a page or two:

"Much is said in Weed's 'Evening Journal' and other sheets of that way of thinking, about the great number of Christian clergymen who have renounced Masonry since 1826. I don't find that they count up numerously. I think as many preachers have renounced Christianity the last five years as Masonry. * * * Only five years ago the Masonic Institution stood in this country irreproachable. No charge was then made against us for meddling in politics or screening a criminal from just penalties. Though we were watched

with jealous eyes, nothing discreditable was found in our plans or operations. Now, what grand discoveries are making every day! * * * Seceding Masons have much to say about the solicitations extended to them to induce them to become Masons. How false is all this. Masons never solicit any one to enter the Order, at least I never saw it done. No solicitation of any sort can be lawfully used to induce men to become Masons. The only allurements proper is so to act toward all men, so to reverence God, so to obey the laws of the country and the divine injunctions, and so to honor Masonry that outsiders may admire the institution which contains such men and the bond that unites such men, and become earnestly desirous of connecting themselves with such men. * * * A friend has shown me a ragged copy of an 'Exposition' nearly a century old. In the preface I read this passage: 'I break my chains to return you what I received from you, and since my heart must, in this respect, be criminal, tell me which is the greatest crime, the uttering of your tremendous oath or the betraying of the secret which it enjoined? I am among the number of the mysterious and cherished.' How much this resembles the pettifogging of Bernard, *et id genus omne*, who have inscribed their names upon the roll of Masonic traitors! And is it not a circumstance perplexing to these self-ordained revealers that no two of their pretended *exposés* are alike? Did any coward ever succeed in entering the Lodge by the aid of one? I doubt it. * * * The results of this Anti-Masonic epidemic in western New York have been divisions, separations in families, alienations in church memberships, vacating pulpits, traducing private character, lies unblushingly repeated, absurd tales soberly published, lessening the tone of public morals, polluting domestic circles, inflaming the passions of men, jealousy and distrust. What more can Satan want? * * * In 1830 the 'Evening Journal' reports 100,000 Masons in the United States and 1,200,000 in the world. Wonder what bird brought Weed all that news? As a specimen of prudential reasoning the case of Philip Colby, of Social Harmony Lodge, Wareham, Massachusetts, is in point. In a petition for demit, dated June 20, 1829, he declares that he has strictly adhered to his Masonic obligations, but conceives that under present circumstances he had best withdraw

from the Order. The 'circumstances' are that 'the order of society is disturbed, the harmony of churches affected, Gospel ministers (Masons) are involved in perplexing difficulties, having their usefulness destroyed or abridged,' and all this 'owing to the abduction of Morgan.'"

Amongst those whose visits and practical benefactions brought so much relief to the lonely hours of Mr. Bruce, I will name a few: Captain S. R. Allen, more than once; William Beall and John Beach, the same; Parkhurst Whitney; Chauncey C. Coe, whose carriage, driven by Hiram Hubbard, had taken Morgan from Canandaigua, called often; Col. Edward Sawyer and lady, recovered from his own brief imprisonment; Col. Simeon B. Jewett, frequently; Wm. R. Thompson, formerly sheriff at Batavia, often; Gen. Vincent Matthews, often; Hiram Hubbard and wife; Orsamus Turner, often; Col. William Blossom, often; Dr. Jas. Lackey, both socially and professionally; Major S. Barton, from Lewiston, often; J. G. Brooks, of New York, often; and many others whose names occur with more or less frequency in this volume. So much attention in fact was paid him that I find complaints on that subject in the Anti-Masonic papers. Even John C. Spencer, in his report to the Governor of New York, May, 1830, has the ill-manners to say of Mr. Bruce that: "During the whole term of his imprisonment, he was visited by Freemasons from every part of the United States, who repaired to his cell as to that of a martyr suffering for the conscientious discharge of some high and imperative duty. Notwithstanding the atrocity of his guilt, so clearly established by the testimony of his deputy and his own evidence, yet crowds daily thronged around him, testifying their sympathy and their respect. Every comfort that the law would allow was provided for him; and even ladies of character waited upon him in person with delicacies prepared by their own hands. The same jail has often contained Freemasons, imprisoned for debt,

who were never cheered by the visits, or solaced by the sympathy of their Brethren!"

One of the opposition presses in 1829 published this squib:

"KIDNAPPERS AND OYSTERS.

A keg of oysters arrived here yesterday from Albany, directed to Eli Bruce and John Whitney, who are now undergoing the penalty of the law in the Canandaigua jail, for a participation in the abduction of Morgan. This is the way Masonry rewards her devoted children. Bruce and Whitney obeyed her mandate, and since the laws of their country have doomed them to imprisonment for the act, she cheers up their drooping spirits by feeding them with oysters and the like! Have they a human skull to eat them out of?"

August 14, 1830, Bruce writes: "This day my fellow sufferer, John Whitney, completed his term of imprisonment, and left me. Would to God that my incarceration were ended likewise!" Under September 1: "John Whitney, my former partner in this *safety fund*, visited me. Pains greatly mitigated by the company of John Whitney."

Under June 9, 1829, the sudden death of Col. William King, which occurred May 28, calls out saddest reflections. It had been charged by some Anti-Masonic presses that King committed suicide; others deemed it an *act of divine vengeance* for his participation in the murder of Morgan! Commenting upon these, Bruce says: "When will slander and malice cease to rage? Could Col. King return from his sepulchral abode, he would declare that his *God had called him*, and he had obeyed the summons. But—

'Close shuts the grave, nor tells one single tale.'"

It was not uncommon for the Anti-Masonic press, led off by Thurlow Weed, the founder of that branch of American literature, to refer the sudden deaths of DeWitt Clinton, Burrage Smith, William King, David Hogue, Eli Bruce, Elisha Adams, and others, as *resultant from their grief* at

the part they had taken. A better light is given us in these later times to view the subject of the poverty and neglect in which Avery Allyn spent his latter years, the contempt which rests upon the memory of Brainard and Giddins, Merrick and Thatcher, Greene, and the class that associated themselves together to break down Freemasonry by the most violent and unchristian means.

The "Craftsman," of June 9, 1829, feelingly says of Col. King: "We had hoped the remains of calumny's sad victim might rest in the silent tomb undisturbed by the demoniac yell of Anti-Masonry. But no, the soldier who had confronted the enemies of his country, the legislator who had honored his fellow-citizens in the State halls, the citizen revered and respected by all the wise and good, is, by these callous-hearted wretches, ignominiously condemned, without a trial, without a hearing, and his fame and honors sought to be covered with infamy and disgrace, while he lies enshrouded in the cold grave! What must be the agony of his wife and his twelve orphan children in reading the heartless remarks of the cut-throat editors of this wretched party? One of them has expressed the wish that the name of King might be buried in oblivion, seeing that it is covered by an everlasting stigma. Another regrets that he has escaped the hand of justice. Another believes that it is all a *Masonic mystery*, that he is *not dead*, but the funeral ceremonies were but a cover for his escape. Another explains, with exultation, that *the murderer is dead!* He would ask, Who has suffered most, the family of *Morgan*, or the family of the ill-fated *King*? *Morgan* was a notorious drunkard, a swindler, a common vagabond, as the public well knew. He would never have been singled out from the lowest grade of citizens. Col. King, from his high standing as a member of the great Commonwealth, demanded and would have received the respect and homage of his fellow-men.

Morgan, if left to the courts, which subsequent acts prove to have been congenial to his natural disposition—to *disturb the peace of society*, would have sunk into insignificance.

Col. King, if not assailed by the contaminating breath of Anti-Masonic calumny, would have left a name without reproach, and a family in the peaceful occupancy of domestic love and quietude." In the same strain writes the editor of the Buffalo "Journal," about the same date:

"The body of Col. King is hardly deposited in its grave when the Anti-Masonic party asserts that he is not dead. They say he was induced by the Masons to abscond, and then, to save his bail his friends assembled and buried an empty coffin. These wretches talk of their respect for religion and domestic happiness, yet have no scruples in asserting that the widow and the twelve orphan children followed, with the mockery of woe, an empty coffin, and that the tears then shed for the husband and father were only evidences of affected grief assumed in defense of the Masonic institution! What shall be thought of a party who thus violate the sanctity of the grave, scoff at the tears of the bereaved, mock the wailing of orphans as evidences of crime. Why is this done? To promote the views of a political party, and for no other purpose. It is the work of men who, aspiring to power and place, labor assiduously to promote suspicion and distrust in society that so their own interests may be subserved. We need not comment further upon the motives of men who can charge bereaved relatives with concealing sinister designs under the funeral rites performed over the remains of one whom in life they loved."

Upon the death of Elisha Adams, May 9, 1831, the Lockport "Courier" said under date of May 24:—

"Elisha Adams, the only person who could have revealed the actual murderers of Morgan, died at Youngstown, on the 9th inst. Nature has thus entered a *nolle prosequi* in the case of this miserable man."

What must have been the state of public feeling when such presses could enjoy patronage? Yet this was Thurlow Weed's style of editing the Albany "Evening Journal,"

and the reader may profitably peruse again, on page 17, the holy horror with which he deprecated such charges as "the good-enough Morgan." Such accusations in 1829-31 only made it smile. It was but a *ruse de guerre*. Compared with many of the tricks of Mr. Weed and his party at that period, it was mere bagatelle. He complains in 1879 that "old acquaintances avoided him, that even his family was made to feel the disgrace as if he were a felon. It was cruel!" Cruel indeed! The shark, drawn on the ship's deck complains of the cruelty of the sailors who delight in tormenting him. The wolf caught in the trap, loudly declaims against the cruelty of the sheep owner. The pirate complains of the hangman's cruelty. Robespierre complains of Sanson the executioner. I confess when I read the history of the cruelties practised by Weed, Spencer and Whittlesey who laid the foundation of the Anti-Masonic party on wrecked fortunes, ruined lives and broken hearts, and then recall the fact that Thurlow Weed died leaving a fortune of a million dollars and enjoying a princely funeral, I feel like joining in the lamentable plaint of the patriarch Job, and reading his 24th chapter. I close the book with his words echoing in my heart:—

"If it be not so now, who will make me a liar and make my speech nothing worth?"

While speaking of the retribution that fell upon this miserable party and all who remained in it* I find this a good place to introduce a communication furnished me April 14, 1860, from a correspondent at Willoughby, Ohio, concerning David Cade Miller, the Mephistopheles who lured William Morgan to his ruin. I give the passage entire:

"Some three years since, I became acquainted with the circumstances of the notorious David C. Miller, who published Morgan's *exposé* of Masonry. He lived at that time, in Bristolville, Trumbull county, Ohio. He was a poor, miserable, besotted wretch, maintaining a precarious existence by keeping a dram shop, which, in the spring of 1858,

* The reader will bear in mind that Weed, Seward, Spencer, Granger, Fillmore, and most of the other Anti-Masonic leaders did not remain in the Anti-Masonic party, but went out of it early and united in forming the Whig party led by Clay and others who were Masons.

was abated by the citizens as a nuisance. Originally a man of talent, and possessed of a sufficient competency to command many of the luxuries of life, he had sunk to the lowest depths of degradation to which a drunkard and pauper can fall. And the institution he sought to destroy still lives; the pride and comfort of thousands of honest-hearted Masons, and a shield to all worthy distressed Brothers, their widows and orphans. This is a powerful witness to the fact, that "truth crushed to earth will rise again!"

June 10th, 1829. Mr. Bruce was sent to Batavia to testify upon the trials of Nathan Follett, Blanchard Powers, William R. Thompson, and William Seaver, going on there. He remarks in his diary upon the contrast between his prison and the face of nature, in all her gay attire, and that it awakened sensations highly agreeable, yet mingled with melancholy thoughts. Taken before the jury, he refused to be sworn, and was immediately returned to Canandaigua.

Commenting upon this fact, John C. Spencer, in his report to the Governor, a year later, says: "One of the standing counsel of the Masons, attended at Batavia, although no bills had been found against any prisoner for the offenses against Morgan, and of course there were none pending. The purpose of his being there must be left to conjecture. Eli Bruce was brought on a writ of *habeas corpus*, to testify before this grand jury, in Genesee county. While on his way to the jury-room, and before he reached it, a letter was put in his hands from the counsel so attending. Upon Bruce's being brought before the grand jury, he peremptorily refused to be sworn as a witness. A great number of Masons from distant parts had collected at Batavia, and they, together with their Brethren of the order, residing at that place, were much elated at the refusal of Bruce, and complimented him highly for what they were pleased to call his constancy and fidelity."

On the 10th of the same month, one of the daughters of Mr. Bruce was brought from Lockport to visit him. A

letter to his daughter Anne, of about this date, is a most affecting paper. He exhorts her to the care of her mother, left alone. "From the circumstances of your father's confinement, you should be doubly attentive and obedient. You see that it is utterly out of my power to assist your dear mother, your sister, your brother to anything. Therefore, keep prudence, economy and industry always in view. I charge you, my daughter, by the love I bear you, by everything that is dear to you, to be obedient to your mother." I do not infringe upon the privacy of domestic life, in saying that these two daughters of Eli Bruce exemplified in every relation of life the invaluable lessons early implanted in their hearts by their devoted father.

Under date July 13, 1829, Bruce writes in a strain of indignation at a collection of abusive paragraphs mailed him by "some Anti-Mason scoundrel." The reader will here see some of the stuff with which the *vulgus* during those unhappy twenty-eight months often wounded the peace of the gentle prisoner:

"Masons are false pretenders to virtue. Masons are governed by principles at war with the duties due to one's country. William Morgan was one of the MASTER's jewels, walking and delighting in love. A devout, earnest, faithful man; a scholar of exceptional quality and diligence, a thoughtful instructive teacher. Persons who enter the Masonic Order, after reading the damning exposures that have been made, are guilty of a degrading and debasing submission to the cable-tow. Freemasons can inculcate any lessons in a Masonic Lodge, however strange, any doctrines however perverse, any practice however abhorrent to justice or humanity, and be forever concealed from public scrutiny and delivered from the penalty of public scorn. They may, by the very constitutions of the Order, meditate treason, conspire to commit and actually commit burglary, theft, arson and *anything but treason and murder*, and though righteous Lot were in the Lodge, he could only forsake them, he could never expose them; nay, if called upon in a court of justice to tell the truth and the whole truth con-

cerning a crime so meditated and executed, he must betray either the secrets of Masonry or his country. He has two oaths upon him contradicting each other, and if a righteous man, would be faithful to his country; if a vile man, would cleave to his obligations, protecting his brother-villain. * * * John C. Spencer has proved in all his proceedings as special counsel, sagacious, wise and powerful. * * * Gov. DeWitt Clinton and the Masonic governors of two other States, met in secret consultation at Bridgeport, Conn., some time in the summer of 1826, upon the subject of Morgan's proposed Exposition, and after much deliberation, they agreed that the *book should be suppressed* even though Morgan himself was put out of the way. * * * The name of William Morgan will be wafted upon every breeze till it reach every civilized region. He shall have a monument. The gratitude of freemen will not stop until it is erected. And to that hallowed shrine whenever the banner of liberty is to be unfurled, shall our brave and generous freemen repair to catch from it the celestial flame that shall inspire them with eloquence to plead her cause in the courts of the country, and with fortitude calmly to die for it on the battlefield."*

A happy change in the religious sentiments of Mr. Bruce was produced by the confinement and solitude which forced him to look within himself. In the earlier part of his imprisonment, he exhibits a reckless, defiant tone, not violent but stern, and showing an unresigned disposition. This wore away and in a few months I begin to read in his diary, passages that indicate a decided change of sentiment if not of heart. Early in his imprisonment, he records that Mr. Chesebro brought him a Bible, and this soon became a solace to his mind. I think there are many readers of this volume who will be touched by the following expression:

"The true faith of a Christian rises above the disappointments and bereavements of life. He exclaims in mingled adoration and resignation 'Not my will, Oh, my Master,

* In the multiplicity of my materials, some detached notes have become mixed up, and it is possible that a portion of the above belong to another place. But they dovetail here so admirably that I let them stand!

but thine be done.' * * * The meek and lowly Jesus came, not in the effulgence of supernal glory, but cradled in the ox-crib, to endure all the sufferings that life or death could yield, or hell invent. How ardent then ought our devotion to Him to be! * * * Relying upon it that He who called me into existence metes out all my troubles in His wisdom, and that the machinations of designing men can affect me no further than His wisdom deems fit, I will not murmur. The patience and sufferings of His own dear Son ought to suffice to hush every restive thought. * * * A letter from my mother. Religion sustains her in the downhill of life and animates her to bear the frowns of fortune with Christian meekness and humility. Her sands are almost run. Soon she will be gathered as a shock of corn, fully ripe, to the assembly of the Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven. As I answered it, the copious tears moistened my sheet, my heart overflowed with filial love. * * * Oh, for patience to endure sickness and imprisonment. It needs the lamb-like spirit of Him who, when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He suffered threatened not. This pattern of all patterns, who can imitate it? * * * In the Lord's Prayer, how condescending was the Saviour in His instructions, how familiar in His language! What nearness it implies; it is as a child to a parent. OUR FATHER deigns to hear us."

The reader will not suppose that I am endeavoring to describe a perfect creature. Far from it! at times the lacerated soul of Eli Bruce broke forth in expressions that showed the old Adam unsubdued. I have already shown his revengeful feeling toward John C. Spencer, but these were feeble compared with those entertained against Hiram B. Hopkins. It will be remembered that Hopkins was Bruce's deputy, the recipient of a thousand favors, an inmate in his family, who treated him as his son and brother. In the sentence of Bruce May 23, 1829, Spencer brought forward this renegade who declared that he had prepared a cell for Morgan as before stated, and had been unhappy ever since, "but had found peace of mind in confession." This testimony it is thought, doubled the term of sentence upon

Bruce, and the matter rankled in his breast. April 1, 1830, he writes in his diary that two of his friends had written him urging a reconciliation with Hopkins. "But I deemed the request altogether unreasonable. Shall the viper sting me to the heart, and I be asked if it pains me?" That Hopkins received a large sum from the secret service money of the State (probably \$1,000) is unquestionable. His subsequent career is lost to me. Under date April 24, 1830, Bruce writes: "I read a letter from Judas Hopkins to a man in Vermont. The sainted hypocrite would fain make believe he was born for heaven, but his Anti-Masonic lies will bar him from that felicity.

'Go viper go,
Though thou hast stung the hand that gave thee meat.'"

June 17, 1830, he writes while at Lockport, "I saw Judas Hopkins in court and thought,

'If thou be he, but Oh, how fallen!'"

On July 5, following, he says that he composed in great pain and depression these lines. The reader will be lenient to the exasperated poet. The name of Hiram B. Hopkins was synonymous in his vocabulary, with those of Judas and Arnold:

"ADDRESS TO AN INGRATE, H. B. H.

Oh, is there in the human breast
Mongst numbered passions brooding there,
A term so vile, a stain so deep
As that which marks the INGRATE's air!

The house of peace, the bosom warm
And more than common good he shares;
At friendship's altar too he kneels,
Yet affectation's robe he wears.

Was sordid wealth thine only god,
And didst thou kneel at mammon's shrine?
Delusion all;—nor gods nor men,
Embrace a perfidy like thine.

Hypocrisy with devilish art
 Some heavenly livery might have stole,
 And lured thee thus to infamy
 Beyond reclaim, beyond control.

And then 'twill tear thee with a pang
 Unfelt, unlike, untold before;
 Prometheus-like 'twill torture thee
 With fiend-like fury, sad and sore.

For this fell Upas of the mind
 Both reddens, deepens, cankers all;
 Torpedo-like its touch is stone
 Its only cloak is treachery's pall.

I saw the sneaking, peccant knave
 All leprous with ingratitude,
 And '*et tu Brute,*' I exclaimed,
 And hid me from a right so rude!"

The "Masonic Record," published at Albany, New York, by E. B. Child, often and most tenderly refers to Bruce. It was established February, 1828, and maintained until March, 1832, five volumes. Although more of a literary than a class journal, its Masonic articles were ever sound, and its blows at Anti-Masonry well aimed. In 1829, May 25, Mr. Childs came to see Bruce. Under date of March 13, 1830, appear some lines of more than ordinary ability signed "O. G. W.," but I have not been able to decipher that. They are "Addressed to Eli Bruce, by his Friend." I give the first stanza:

"There is no power in bolts or bars to hold
 The wandering thought, unconquerably bold;
 There is no power in prison-walls to bind
 In painful thralldom the immortal mind;
 There is no skill, there is no human art
 To rend contentment from a virtuous heart,
 For gentle Hope will in the breast remain
 Though man forbid her entrance there again."

Under head of June 5, 1830, Bruce writes: "My worthy friend, Ebenezer Mix, of Batavia, called." This man was also a worthy friend of my own, as the following letter from him, "all of the olden time," will testify:

"Ebenezer Mix, Æ 71, Past Master of Batavia Lodge, No. 210; Past High Priest of Western Star Chapter, No. 31; Past Grand Commander of Genesee Encampment, No. 10 (for eight years), and Past Grand Captain General of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the state of New York, will cheerfully correspond with Brother Rob Morris, and communicate to him any information which he may possess, when requested.

EBENEZER MIX.

BATAVIA, GENESEE CO., N. Y., March 1, A.L. 5859."

This good old Frater was surrogate or judge of probate of Genesee county, New York, from 1821 to 1840. He was greatly esteemed, both as a citizen and an officer. In 1842 he delivered a discourse at the reëstablishment of Batavia Lodge, No. 88, which had been chartered in 1824 and the officers publicly installed by Rev. Lucius Smith. William Seaver, Jr., was first Master. Mr. Mix described the Lodge to me as "a band of Brethren ever ready to assert, defend, and protect a true and worthy Brother as far as truth, honor and justice might warrant and their circumstances permit. They were equally ready to strip the sheep skin from the wolf and the lion skin from the ape, and drive from the coverts of Masonry the false, the base and the vile, that the fair form of the Institution should not be injured through their unworthiness." In 1828 the Lodge, after great struggles, fell into slumber, and lay dormant for thirteen years. But still the ever verdant sprig of acaçia denoted its resting place, and in due time it rose again. Mr. Mix had a style of speech characterized by vigor and enthusiasm. Speaking of his cotemporaries, 1826 to 1836, he said "he remembered well how those men appeared in the flesh, how they walked and talked, how their voices sounded, how their eyes lighted up and their faces glowed." His recollections of them in fact were unimpaired. In looking up the records he knew what to ask for and where to go. The difficulties with which the Masons had to contend in the Anti-Masonic period, and the inadequate materials with

which they maintained their contest against Anti-Masonry and ignorance, were familiar to him as one who had shared in all that had passed. But, as Burgoyne said of the American soldiers, the panics of such men are confined and of short duration, but their enthusiasm is extended and permanent. Judge Mix died January 12, 1869, a few days past eighty years of age. His widow is still living (March, 1883), at Cleveland, at the age of eighty-eight years. In 1840, I observe that Brother Mix was agent at Batavia for Hoffmann's "Masonic Register," Albany.

A reference in the diary to Nathan Follett gives me an opportunity to introduce here a passage relating to him:

Mr. Follett was a resident of Batavia, and the high crime and misdemeanor for which he suffered public odium during the Morgan trials was for ordering a supper at Ganson's tavern, Stafford, for forty or fifty men on the evening of September 8, 1826. In June, 1829, the grand jury of Genesee county, at Batavia, found an indictment against Mr. Follett, William R. Thompson, Blanchard Powers and William Seaver. They were all, as the arch-demagogue John C. Spencer testifies, "respectable citizens." In July following it was intended to bring these four respectable men to trial, but they removed their cases into the Supreme Court by *certiorari*. As well might a company of Protestants refer their contests to the Inquisitorial Court at Madrid as for Masons in 1829 to trust the courts of western New York for justice. Nothing ever came out of these trials.

Mr. Bruce expresses his astonishment at the course President Adams pursued relative to the existing excitement. To a letter from an inconspicuous citizen at Canandaigua, New York, one Oliver Hartwell, asking if he had ever been contaminated with that useless trumpery, Masonry, or in other words, whether he was a Mason or not, and assuring him that if not, much could be done in that section for his reelection, Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, replied under date of April 19, 1828:

"In answer to your inquiry I state that I am not, never was and never shall be a Freemason. The deep and solemn feeling which pervades the community upon the subject of the mysterious abduction and too probable murder of William Morgan is founded on the purest principles of human virtue and of human rights. In the just and lawful pursuit of a signal vindication of the laws of nature and of the land, violated in the person of Morgan, which has been undertaken, and is yet in progress, with the authority and coöperation of your legislature, I hope and trust that the fellow-citizens of the sufferers will temper with the spirit of justice the reparation of her wrongs, and, in the infliction of every penalty, carefully abstain from visiting upon the innocent the misdeeds of the guilty." Mr. Adams was a shrewd and cunning politician, and thought he saw very far into the millstone of the future, but if he expected the Anti-Masonic nomination or the votes of the Anti-Masonic party at large, for a second election to the presidency, he was grievously disappointed.

The following hints point to matters described in other parts of the present volume:

I find the imprint of "Weed and Heron, Rochester, 1828," affixed to the following:

A Revelation of Freemasonry as published to the world by a convention of seceding Masons, held at LeRoy, Genesee county, New York, on July 4 and 5, 1828, containing a true and genuine development of the mode of initiation and also of the several lectures of the following degrees, to-wit: In the Chapter. Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master and Royal Arch. In the Encampment. Knight of the Red Cross, Knight Templar, Knight of the Christian Mark and Guards of the Conclave and Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the Ancient Council of the Trinity. denominated the Holy and Thrice Illustrious Order of the Cross. The Illustrious, Most Illustrious and Thrice Illustrious Degrees. Published by the Lewiston committee."

In the preface to this production, signed by the savory and sweet-smelling names of Solomon Southwick, David Bernard, Richard Hollister, Willard Smith, Herbert A. Read, John Hascall and Samuel D. Greene, it is unblush-

ingly confessed that the MSS. for the Royal Arch Degree were procured by a trick worthy of the men and the times. "A companion was despatched to reside in the vicinity of the General Grand Lecturer of the United States (Jeremy L. Cross), who attended his lectures until the entire degree was accurately written out." Was ever a more dishonest trick conceived? And the humor of it is that the messenger, whoever he was (if indeed the whole story was not a lie concocted by Weed), played double traitor. Mr. Cross, a most respectable authority, utterly denied the statement, declaring that no such person approached him or could have approached him in that manner, and that under no circumstances did he ever allow notes to be taken by his pupils.

Another glaring falsehood appears in this preface of this pamphlet, viz: "That the Degrees of the Encampment are copied directly from the MSS. furnished by the officer sent by the Grand Encampment to install Genesee Encampment. These MSS. were left to instruct the officers of the new Encampment in their duties." No such MSS. were ever furnished, and the claim is purely fabulous. The latter clause of the preface will excite a smile upon the face of every Masonic reader. "In renouncing the principles and revealing the secrets of Masonry, seceding Masons have discharged a duty which they owed to themselves and to their country, and they look to the impartial reader and an enlightened free people for protection against the vengeance which they have incurred from those who support the Institution in the spirit of its obligations, right or wrong."

The imprint of "Weed and Heron, 1828," is also seen upon a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, entitled "Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates opposed to Freemasonry, which met at LeRoy, Genesee county, N. Y., March 6, 1828."

At this convention, Millard Fillmore, afterward Presi-

dent of the United States, appeared as a delegate from Erie county, and Thurlow Weed and Frederick Whittlesey, from Monroe county. Weed was on the committee "to draft an Address to the people of this State," and one of five to form "A General Central Committee of Correspondence and Publication." The Address as written by Thurlow Weed, is one of the most scandalous papers of all those that defiled his own press in the heated times to which this volume refers. It declares that "Freemasonry threatens not only danger to government and the cause of justice, but strikes at the basis of all morality and religion." Will the reader compare this declaration made by a frantic politician newly-fledged, with the noble sentiments quoted in Chapter II, from the lips of the purest and best men of our nation!

A second letter from Eli Bruce to his brother, Dr. Silas Bruce, of Boston, Mass., is preserved under date March 21, 1831.

"Since I wrote you, I have passed many sad, sick and trying hours. Till within a few days, I have not seen a well day since June 25, last, and am left but the shadow of a shade. My time has passed like a reverie. My disorder is chiefly of the head, so that my memory has greatly suffered. Events that occurred but recently, I can only recall by reference to my diary, which I have sedulously kept since my introduction into this cell. It is filled with monotonous repetition of pains, aches and forebodings. Till of late I thought the Anti-Masons would sing a *Te Deum* over my imprisoned remains, and I should be huddled into mother-earth *sans ceremonie*. But now, thanks be to God, I begin to feel my usual flow of spirits and the genial glow of returning health creeps through my weakened frame.

Disease has made such havoc in my frame and features that when my wife visited me, she started and exclaimed, 'This cannot be Eli!' Even my friends would come in and ask me 'Where is Eli Bruce?'

The time of my incarceration will expire September 15, next, and if I live, I shall once more see liberty, which few know how to prize. Tell your wife I have been afraid she would become disgusted with the very name of Bruce. But

let her be assured that though circumstances have got me into limbo, yet I have the warmest sympathies, the most ardent and cordial feelings of friendship from all that class of the community in whose companionship I am proud to be reckoned.

There is a stir here in the religious world. I allude to a set of persons styled Mormons, who claim to be the peculiar favorites of Heaven by immediate revelation."

This allusion to Joe Smith and his operations calls up a passage from the diary, date Nov. 5, 1830: "Had a long talk with the father of Joe Smith, who according to the old man's account is the particular favorite of Heaven. To him Heaven has vouchsafed to reveal its mysteries. He is the herald of the latter-day glory. The old man avers that he is commissioned by God to baptize and preach this new doctrine. He says that our Bible is much abridged and deficient; that soon the Divine will is made known to all, as written in the new Bible, the Book of Mormon."

While giving Mr. Bruce's earliest letters to his brother Silas, I append two more, written after the termination of his sentence, and the last record of his life in my possession:

"Lockport, November 21, 1831.

DEAR BROTHER: I am now at home with my family and in the practice of medicine. However novel it may appear to you, such is the fact that from my prison I am in the very lap of friendship, and home of content. It will take some time to repair my broken fortune, but as for loss of friends, I have sustained none. Anti-Masonry is on the decline. There is a redeeming spirit abroad, and that political favoritism must soon retire in shame and contempt. I hazard nothing in saying that Anti-ism will soon smell most foul. My health is improving.

ELI BRUCE."

"Lockport, February 26, 1832.

I seem rapidly striding the downhill of life. I have been very busy both with the healthy and sick. The small-pox

has been among us, and created no little alarm and distress. Some ten or fifteen have fallen victims to it. We are yet afflicted with the remains of cholera-morgan. I am again indicted and held to bail for contumacy before Judge Marcy a year ago last June, but the trial troubles me very little. The Anti's are mad because I wouldn't swear five or six clever fellows into jail. I'd see them in Davy Jones' locker first, and then I wouldn't. I go the entire pork for my principles, and they may do their best. I intend to get my diploma of M.D., next June if possible. Perhaps, however, I shall first be obliged to take another degree in jail. Time only can develop the profound sagacity of Anti-ism. I am still gaining in health, though I think I shall never be as active as before my confinement. My misfortunes have operated more against my purse than my character. So far as the stigma or injury done to character, I care not a twopence, but I do about my property lost and spent.

ELI BRUCE."

The Masonic Brethren of Lockport who had continued their confidence in Eli Bruce through all his trials and incarceration, continued true to him to the end. A feeling of profound sorrow pervaded every heart in the little band remaining of the old Lodge (No. 73), depleted by opposition from without and demits from within, when the news came that Bruce was dead. It is due to them that I insert here a historical paragraph that speaks greatly to their credit:

"Lockport Lodge No. 73, Lockport, New York, continued its existence amidst all the opprobrium of the Anti-Masonic period. Here Sheriff Eli Bruce, "the Masonic Martyr," and his deputy sheriff, H. B. Hopkins, the "too-willing witness," had their membership, with Solomon C. Wright, Turner, Darrow, Hogue, and others whose names appear in these pages. For the faith that was in them the Masonic adherents, affiliated in No. 73, suffered much and cruel persecution. Established June 5, 1823, the Lodge was so popular that in the first two years ninety-two members were initiated, an average of four at each monthly meeting. William Morgan was more than once a visitor, and assisted in the press of work. In laying the cap-stone

of the celebrated canal-locks at Lockport, Lodge No. 73 took the post of honor, as also in the reception of Brother General La Fayette in 1825. On the 13th of January, 1860, a Council of Royal and Select Masters (Cryptic Masonry) was instituted at Lockport under the title of BRUCE COUNCIL, named, says the record, in honor and memory of the martyr, Eli Bruce, one of the victims of Anti-Masonry."

I have no information concerning Mr. Bruce from this time forward for seven months. William Bryant, a veteran Mason of Norton's Mills, N. Y., wrote me in 1860 that "Eli Bruce while in Canandaigua jail studied medicine, and when he left he went back to Lockport and practiced it there until he died with cholera in 1832. He was said to be a fine physician." This scrap of gossip poorly fills the seven months. How far the trial for contumacy oppressed him, or whether he got his diploma as M.D., or whether he saw the recovery of his fortune in the near future, all is blank. Read the following paragraph from the Lockport "Courier," of Tuesday, Sept. 25, 1832, before the curtain falls:

"DIED.—Yesterday afternoon, in this village, of cholera, Mr. ELI BRUCE, formerly High Sheriff of this county. Mr. Bruce had been laboring under the effects of this disease for about a fortnight."

So, on Monday afternoon, September 24, 1832, passed away the gentle spirit who, by the concurrence of my readers shall henceforth be known as the *most royal* of the royal Bruce, the man who fell a *martyr* to his integrity. Amiable, gifted, fortunate, all is ended now; with domestic affections so keen, with love of friends so sincere, with habits of life so industrious, with an ability of endurance indomitable, with Masonic trust so entire, all is ended now. The hope that, might it but please God, he should see the darkness of Anti-Masonry pass from the distracted land, all is ended now.

All is done, and in a lonely graveyard in Lockport, now abandoned, through whose rank tansy-patches and broken

grave-stones I stumbled one long summer afternoon, looking for his grave-stone, and stumbled in vain, the prisoner just released from his cell sleeps until the resurrection day. He sleeps well, we dare not doubt it; years of suffering had taught him resignation; injustice and wrong had humbled his heart even to the foot of the cross of Christ. The Merciful One whose ALL-SEEING EYE had so often beheld him through those grated windows, in sleepless hours, had pity on him, let us not dare to doubt it; and the victim of Thurlow Weed, and John C. Spencer, and the other framers of the short-lived, but most hateful Anti-Masonic party, sleeps in peace. Let him rest quietly in that unrecognized grave, assured that it will be recognized, and the crumbled remains gathered when the SON OF LIGHT shall come.

“The tear for friends departed,
The faithful and true-hearted,
Cast in the rubbish of the silent grave,
Is changed to smiles of pleasure,
When trusting that our treasure,
A glorious resurrection day shall have!”

“We shall have been long buried, long decayed. Friends, relatives, yea our very children will cease to remember where they have laid him. The earth will undergo many changes; mountains will be leveled and valleys filled; the seasons will chase each other in many a fruitful round; oceans lashed into fury with gales of irresistible power will sink like spoiled infants to slumber; broad trees, with broader roots, will interlace them, hard and knobbed as they are, over our ashes, as if to conceal the very fact of our burial; and then, after centuries of life, they will follow our example, and, long struggling against decay, will at last topple down above us and join their remains to ours, thus obliterating the last testimony that humanity ever rested there.

So shall we be lost to the knowledge of man. But the EYE OF GOD will nevertheless mark the spot, green with the everlasting verdure of faith, and when the trumpet's blast shall shake the hills and rend the skies, our astonished bodies shall rise, impelled upward by an irresistible impulse,

and we shall stand face to face with our REDEEMER!"—*Lights and Shadows, 1852.*

But let the story of Eli Bruce, *most royal* of the family of the Bruce, let his story live. Give his name a place with those of Clinton, La Fayette, Franklin, Warren, nay, WASHINGTON, wherever the faces of such men appear in Lodge-halls, wherever white-aproned Craftsmen work with implements that Bruce handled deftly, and upon designs that Bruce well knew and dearly loved. Tell it, Brethren of this generation, to the youth who, with upturned eye and wondering face, shall drink in from your knees the lessons that are to fit them for the generation to come. Tell it to all who suffer for conscience sake, as John Bunyan did, as De Molay did, as many have done, and they will the easier bear their share of human suffering. Tell it to the ardent devotee of Masonry; he will the more ardently cling to the good old cause when he learns at what price of human wrong, and outrage, and endurance, the Masonic Institution has been sustained. Tell it as a portion of American history, of which every American should be proud.

And should evil days return to our order, should errors in choice, errors in framing, errors in cementing, errors in disciplining, errors with which the ordinary workings of the Masonic Institution are too much clogged; should these bring upon us the just judgment of the G.A.O.T.U., then in the time of trial, let those who under all honorable circumstances are resolved to adhere, invigorate their courage by recalling the history of **ELI BRUCE, THE MASONIC MARTYR.**

CHAPTER IX.

THE AFFAIR OF TIMOTHY MONRO.

THERE are few incidents in the story of the times to which this volume is given, that demonstrate the persistent malice of the Anti-Masonic party like that with which the name of Timothy Monro is connected. The story with false glosses appears in Thurlow Weed's statements in my very first chapter, but the old politician carefully avoided whatever could throw light on the subject. Instead of drawing on his memory for facts concerning an event that occurred fifty-six years before, he had only to look up any newspaper report of the proceedings and see how grossly he had misrepresented the affair.

The beginning of public interest in the Morgan business may be definitely traced to a certain "Hue and Cry" issued October 4, 1826, about three weeks after Morgan's deportation. Here is a copy, an original one, of the 50,000 copies circulated through western New York to the profit of the printers. The signers constituted a committee appointed at a public meeting at Batavia held that day:

"TO THE PUBLIC.

On the 11th day of September, William Morgan, a native of Virginia, who had for about three years past resided in this village, was, under pretext of a justice's warrant, hurried from his home and family and carried to Canandaigua. The same night he was examined on a charge of petit larceny and discharged by the justice. One of the persons who took him away immediately obtained a warrant against him in a civil suit for an alleged debt of two dollars, on which he was committed to the jail of Ontario county. On the night of September 12 he was released by a person pre-

tending to be his friend, but directly in front of the jail, notwithstanding his cries of murder, he was gagged and secured and put into a carriage, and after driving all night he was left, as the driver of the carriage says, at Hanford's Landing, about sunrise on the 13th, since which he has not been heard of. His distressed wife and two infant children are left dependent on charity for their sustenance. The circumstances of the transaction have given rise to the most violent fears that he has been murdered. It is, however, hoped by his wife and friends that he may be now kept concealed and imprisoned in Canada. All persons who are willing to serve the cause of humanity, and assist to remove the distressing apprehensions of his unfortunate wife, are earnestly requested to communicate to one of the committee named below, directed to this place, any facts or circumstances which have come to their knowledge and are calculated to lead to the discovery of his present situation or the particulars of his fate, if he has been murdered.

BATAVIA, October 4, 1826.

T. F. TALBOT,

T. FITCH,

WM. KEYES,

T. CARY,

E. SOUTHWORTH,

JNO. LAY,

WM. DAVIS,

D. E. EVANS,

L. D. PRINGLE,

JAMES P. SMITH.*

N. B.—It is hoped that printers throughout the state, in Canada and elsewhere will give the above a few insertions and thus serve the cause of justice and humanity."

It may be imagined what effect such a paper as this, sent out by the tens of thousands, would have in a community where crops had been gathered and the people had but little to do for six months, save Athenian-like, "to spend their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing" (Acts xvii, 21); and when upon this, came

* Some wonder has been expressed why the members of the Masonic Fraternity did not take an active part in the meeting and sign this paper. The answer is (as given in the words of one of them to whom it was presented), "too many lies for an honest man's signature." It might better be asked why were not Miller and Taggart and the leading Anti-Masons of Batavia placed on the committee. It is known that two at least of the signers, viz., D. E. Evans and Col. William Davis, as soon as they discovered that Anti-Masonry was assuming a political character, withdrew from the committee, and never met with them afterward.

Clinton's first and second proclamations, following each other in such rapid succession, and offering sums of money in reward for intelligence, an agitated and inflamed state of public feeling was the inevitable result. The affecting affidavit composed by Judge Taggart, and signed by Mrs. Morgan, which I give further on, was equally distributed in great numbers, by slips and through the press. Meetings were called; inflammatory appeals were made; excited men rode from place to place, spreading the most exaggerated rumors, and lashing the popular sentiment nearly to madness.

Intimations having reached the leaders of the new party, Weed, Whittlesey and others, that Morgan's party had been traced to Fort Niagara, a course of raking and sweeping the channel of Niagara river, near the mouth, was pursued with the vigor that good pay and large rewards could inspire. A vessel was purchased and prepared for that express business. Every foot of the river's bed, to the edge of the delta, was thus carefully examined upon the theory that Morgan's body weighted with stone and iron, had been thrown into the water there, and should be, at least the skeleton should be, come-atable, under the numerous hooks, drags and sweeps employed; of course, nothing of the sort was found, although many a queer thing came to light, such as ankens of dutiable brandy, sunk by smugglers and lost; bales of cloth; wrecks of vessels; carcasses of cattle and horses, thrown in by the camp scavengers, and the like. But every day or two a messenger came, post-haste, charged with intelligence from the scene of operation. One of these announced that "the body of William Morgan, fish-eaten, ironed, hands and feet, gagged, and loaded with weights, had come to light, and was on its way to Canandaigua, where court was in session, and four of his murderers on trial." It is appalling to consider that if a corpse thus accoutered, had been brought to light at that particu-

lar time, and under those frightful circumstances, such a display of Judge Lynch had not been known in the history of our country. The canard was false in every particular, but startled John C. Spencer, who was leading counsel for Chesebro, and the three others, and it is believed, caused him to recommend to his clients an immediate change of their plea of not guilty and the substitution of guilty.

Failing to discover any evidences of the *corpus delicti* at the mouth of the Niagara river, the process of dredging was extended in the pleasant months of April, May and June, far out into the Lake. In the hot months the search ceased, and it was admitted by all, that the body, ere this, must have gone to pieces.

In September, 1827, matters began to appear blue with Weed and his clan. The prizes offered in the general elections of the year ensuing were slipping away. A reaction against Anti-Masonry was visible. The patient manner in which Chesebro, Lawson, and Sawyer were taking their punishment was having a mitigating effect on the public, who knew them as good men, and could scarcely believe them either murderers or kidnappers. The cry of "WOLF, WOLF," in relation to Morgan and his remains, was becoming stale. Not less than \$20,000 had been invested by the framers of the new party in printed matter, lecturers, dredging apparatus, lawyers, and whatever goes to the success of a political campaign,—not less than \$20,000, and where was the profit? Miller had paid some of his debts; Weed was "getting a stand" in the political world; a few others were strengthened in pocket or popular standing, but this was no adequate fruitage for an expenditure of \$20,000.

The favorable deities at this moment came to the rescue, and in the shape of a dead body gave new life to the Anti-Masonic party. There is a place the reader will find marked upon the map styled Oak Orchard Harbor, forty miles east of Fort Niagara. In the diary kept by DeWitt Clinton, as

he came through western New York, in 1810, examining the country for the great canal, he says, under July 30: "From Sibley's we proceeded to the Oak Orchard, three miles. It is a great plain of six miles in extent from east to west, covered by oak trees, with little or no underwood. Oak Orchard Creek runs through here, with banks fifty feet steep. There is a bar at the mouth, about knee deep, in dry seasons. In the spring and fall, boats can ascend this creek twelve miles. At the mouth it is about thirty feet wide. If the bar were removed it would afford an excellent harbor." Had our indefatigable Grand Master, Clinton, been there sixteen years later, on one Sunday morning, October 7, 1827, he would have discovered something else for his note-book, something sufficiently strange and startling! A dead body lay out on that bar, the water in that dry season knee deep, the creek thirty feet wide. A light breeze the night before had wafted the poor relic of humanity there, and left it, the garments heavy with sand, as if anchored to the spot. Some early risers had noticed the carrion birds waiting in those oak trees, "with little or no underwood," and preparing to swoop upon the foul prey. Going down to water their horses they had discovered the dead body.

Oak Orchard Harbor lies in Carlton township, County of Orleans. Haste was made for the coroner, for the cadaver was horrible to eye and nostril, and the greedy birds could scarcely be restrained from the feast which nature had provided. Coroner was not far off, a plain, honest man, name lost to our history, one who had accepted an office not much sought after, and was soon on the spot with a tail of twenty-four neighboring citizens summoned to act as his jury. They drew the hideous object from the water that still lapped it. They raised it on the frame of a shutter, brought from a near-by barn, and took it to the top of the bank. It was a heavier burden than they had supposed.

More than one of those yeomen, inured to a rough life as he was, turned aside to discharge the contents of his stomach. Even the official succumbed to the awful disgust. A jug of spirits, however, was brought, and under alcoholic stimulus the work of inspection was performed.

"Length of corpse, 5 feet 10 inches. No scars noticeable in the condition of the flesh. A man about forty-six years of age. Remains of heavy whiskers and thick hair over the head. Teeth sound, and nothing remarkable about them. The two Potters who first discovered the body and were well acquainted with William Morgan, testify that this corpse has no resemblance by which they should recognize Morgan. Clothing, etc., fully described. In one of the pockets a package of religious tracts. Verdict, *found drowned*. Clothes, etc., carefully dried and placed in hands of magistrate at Carlton, six miles distant. Coffin procured and body decently shrouded and interred."

Interred to wait for the Resurrection! ah, no! Interred to be taken up and palmed off for the body of William Morgan, upon a credulous world. To be tampered with for political effect. To have the hairs of the whiskers pulled out and placed in the ears and up the nostrils. To have the long, black locks of the head drawn out to leave the appearance of a bald man. To be the subject of the grossest and most infamous deception ever passed upon the public.*

The coroner's inquest was published as usual, in the local papers, and inquiries set on foot as to the identity of this body. Among those who noticed it, was Thurlow Weed, busy in weaving political cobwebs at Rochester, forty miles distant. The thought occurred to him, as to others, *here is the corpus delicti, long sought, now found*. I presume this was at first his honest opinion. At any rate, he made up a

* Brown's "Narrative." The reader will bear in mind that Judge Henry Brown, a counselor-at-law of the first character, was a resident at Batavia, witnessed the latter part of the proceedings described in this chapter, and was personally acquainted with the men who engineered the shameless lie. And it was this which gave the Anti-Masonic party the State offices in 1828, and their three or four years of power.

party of men, including Russell Dyer, one of the old partners in the celebrated publishing firm of Morgan, Miller & Co., and with a number of Batavia people, including the ubiquitous David C. Miller, they met at Oak Orchard, Saturday morning, October 13, 1827, and repaired to the grave. The body was disinterred, taken to Carlton, and examined. They pretended to discover, and possibly some of them did discover, a faint resemblance between the cadaver and their recollection of William Morgan, who had disappeared some thirteen months before. At all events, they put the body in care of a vigilance committee and intrusted them with the unsavory charge until the ensuing Monday. This was done avowedly "to prevent the Freemasons from coming by night and stealing him away." (Persons were found who dared draw a blasphemous parallel with the incidents recorded in Matthew xxvii, 64.) The two nights and the Sunday which lay between, were spent in preparations for a *grand discovery*. Mrs. Morgan, then resident at Stafford, six miles east of Batavia, was sent for, and with her a number of persons professedly old and intimate friends of William Morgan, who would identify the body. Monday morning found the little village of Carlton thronged with visitors. A second inquest was ordered by another coroner, Robert M. Brown, a tally of twenty-four jurymen was qualified and the body, "now black, bloated, putrid and offensive beyond anything conceivable" was exposed to their view. The head now was so nearly bald that only a few stray tufts of hair could be seen. The bunch of whiskers had disappeared. The cavities of the ears and the nostrils were ingeniously adorned with long, white hairs.

In the examination, the two Potters who first discovered the body and examined it carefully upon the first inquest were not sworn. Neither was Hinman Holman, who saw it on the 13th before the hair of the head, and whiskers was plucked out. Neither was David C. Miller asked as to his

belief in the identity of the body, though he had seen Miller daily for several months, perhaps years. Thurlow Weed, as will be seen, gives no opinion upon identity. Mrs. Morgan, turning hastily away from the pile of carrion signs a sworn statement "that she is fully convinced in her own mind that this was her husband."

But the farce was played strictly according to law. No pains were taken, it is true, to measure the size and length of the body; the clothing was not inspected, but the witnesses, one by one glancing at the object with averted eyes gave their sworn testimony as follows:—

STILLMAN HOXIE: "Examined the body on the 7th inst, between 11 and 12 A.M., and summoned the Coroner before moving it. It was dressed in a black frock coat, black vest and pantaloons, woolen socks and shirt, handkerchief cotton or may be silk. Body in a worse condition now than nine days ago."

And so Stillman Hoxie steps aside, but to the last day of his life, he has a subject of conversation for the neighbors round, that lasts out many a winter night and summer noon.

LESTER BEARDSLEY: Head looks like Morgan's. Hair is the same color (grey). Ears, and hair in ears the same. Morgan once exhibited his (Morgan's) teeth; had double teeth all round. This corpse has the same. (?) Morgan had lost no teeth when he showed me his, four years ago. Ears of Morgan remarkably hairy with long, white hairs. Beard grey. Wore no whiskers. Hair was long and combed up to cover baldness. Small nose. Chest hairier than that of most men. Full breasts. Light blue eyes; complexion light; height like this body. About fifty. Thinks this is William Morgan."

Vanish Lester Beardsley, barely saved from a lie.

THURLOW WEED: "Came on the 15th with other gentlemen to view this body. One of the persons well acquainted with William Morgan, viz., Mr. Fitch, had told him before that Morgan's ears were full of long white hairs. So he examined the said ears very carefully and found several

hairs in them long and white, which came out upon touching them. Furthermore, he found a large number of said hairs deposited in a mess in the bottom of the ear. These corresponded with the description previously had. He does not himself recollect anything of William Morgan, though he must often have seen him."

Step aside, Mr. Weed. A good job for you. You shall organize a great party; you shall go twice to the Legislature as its representative; four thousand dollars shall be raised for you to establish an organ for the party in Albany; you shall get out of the party in its first stages of decay and help to form another, larger, national and more permanent; out of that in good time you shall leap like a giant refreshed, and help to form a third party still larger in whose confidence you shall pass out of life, leaving a million dollars to your heirs and enjoying funeral honors of which Henry Clay might have been proud. A good day's work for Thurlow Weed. Step aside for the present, and while the next witness comes forward, make your reportorial pencil fly!

LUCINDA MORGAN: "I am the wife of William Morgan. I saw him the last time on the 11th of September, 1826. He had on a blue coat, vest and pantaloons, pantaloons of different kind of cloth from the vest and coat. Should know the clothes if I saw them. He had no flannel shirt, but was in the habit of wearing a flannel wrapper. He had on boots and woolen socks, boots old and worn. Think they were calfskin. Had on a white neck handkerchief and linen shirt. Had a silk pocket handkerchief, something worn. Used tobacco. She has seen the body. Finds points of resemblance between the body and her husband. His teeth,(?) his hands, his hair, breast, nails on fingers and toes similar to those of the body. He was inoculated for the small-pox on the left arm. Has double teeth all round. Two teeth were gone and one was split off. Dr. Strong drew two teeth for him. His suspenders were cotton and knit. Coat pockets were lined with white. Vest lined with the same cloth as coat. Lining of pantaloons was white, think linen. Morgan was bald on the top of his

head except a small place in the center of his head, where there was fine hair like down. Dressed his hair latterly by combing it down. The teeth were gone on the right side of the upper jaw. I have no doubt but this is the body of my husband. On the joint of the big toe of the left foot he had been frozen, and the physician cut open the flesh and scraped the bone, which left the same appearance which is now upon the body. He had a good deal of hair on his chest, which was gray and he was full breasted. Never had a broken bone to my knowledge. On being shown the dress I can recognize no part of it as the same which my husband had on when he went away, nor the tracts. The handwriting I cannot swear to, though one or two letters somewhat resemble his. I am fully convinced in my own mind that this is the body of William Morgan."

DAVID C. MILLER. "I knew Willam Morgan. Have partly examined the body. Did not know that Morgan had double teeth or that he had lost two teeth. His dress when he went away was a blue frock coat, blue vest and pantaloons. Impression is that he was wholly bald on top of the head. Think he had no boots. Was fifty years of age or over. Had a habit of drawing his hair over his head with his hand when in conversation."

Step aside Miller. You are not altogether a rascal. You do not (dare not) say you believe this body is that of Morgan, though you with others have persuaded his poor relit to do so.

GEORGE W. HARRIS: "Knew William Morgan; has seen the body. Morgan shaved at his (Harris') looking glass; and shaved higher than any other man he ever saw. This body has been shaved up to the eyes. Saw him the day before he left; knew him a year before that; fingers and nails like this; double chin and thinks this corpse has one; fine set of teeth, but had lost some; same lump on top of head which this body has. Morgan was about five feet eight; short nose; bricklayer; lived over his (Harris') silver-smith shop; fully satisfied that this is the body of William Morgan."

Stand aside Harris! Three years more of patient waiting, and this woman who lived over your silversmith shop, shall

live in it, for she shall be your wife, and you shall be her husband, and you twain (one flesh) shall emigrate to Iowa, where she shall play you such a trick as — we shall read of further on.

WILLIAM W. MORGAN; "was acquainted with the other William. Features and other parts similar to corpse; was acquainted with Morgan from February, 1824, to departure."

Go, Wm. W. and *pax vobiscum*.

RUSSELL DYER; knew William Morgan (I should say so!). Has seen corpse; thinks it corpse of Morgan; head, hair, teeth similar. He saw Morgan in August, 1826; boarded with him; no doubt but that this is the man; had hair abundant on breast, and gray beard."

Vale, Russell Dyer, pity somebody didn't ask about your publishing concern of Dyer, Davids, Johns, Miller and Morgan.

EZRA STRONG: "Four years acquainted with the deceased. Mr. and Mrs. M. boarded six months at his (Strong's) house; sick with sore eyes, and Strong, with others, doctored him; From appearance of upper part of head, thinks cadaver is Morgan. Pulled two of his teeth; Mrs Morgan preserved them, and has handed him the same; puts them in this mouth, and they just about fill the vacancy."

National Dental Association take notice! Heavy beard, breast hairy; had a body floated thirteen months, it would be more putrefied than this, but if under water, it might be better preserved. Stand aside, oh thou Sampson in medicine. Was there a County Medical Society, and did you belong to it?

JOHN D. HENRY, M. D: "Had attended Morgan while he lived in Rochester; prescribed for his inflamed eyes; remembers his whiskers; fine teeth in front; unwilling to say whether this is Morgan's body or not, though teeth, head and hair resemble his."

Then comes the verdict: "In the open air, on the shore of Lake Ontario," these twenty-three "good and lawful men * * * do say upon their oaths, that the said William

Morgan came to his death by suffocation by drowning," and thereto they put their hands and seals like honest men.

Now I make all allowances for the difficulty of discovering truth, even from truthful men. The Roman procurator, who had had large experience in questioning, might well ask, "What is truth?" Only last year (May, 1882), old Mr. William Root, 86 years of age, and honest, if age makes truthfulness, who lives only six miles from where that cadaver came ashore, gave his attestation to his friends, as Thurlow Weed did to his friends, and here is what he (the venerable Root) declares :—

"The Masons held a false inquest over the body of William Morgan, after it went ashore at the mouth of the Oak Orchard creek, but the community were not satisfied, and a second inquest was held by twelve men. Brother Root was present during all the time of the inquest; he saw the body which, was all perfect, having all the clothes on, even to his coat and boots. Mrs. Morgan was called. She at once recognized him, exclaiming when she first saw the body of her husband, "Oh my God!" She was greatly affected. After she had suppressed her feelings sufficiently to be able to speak, she said 'There is a scar on his great toe, and another on his limb below the knee.' They stripped his foot and also his limb, and found both scars as she described them. A dentist was present who had two teeth which he had extracted from Mr. Morgan before he was taken away. He put them in the jaw of the corpse, where two teeth had been extracted, and they agreed with the teeth that remained in the jaw."

And all this was actually published in the "Wesleyan," a Methodist paper from its name, and the "Wesleyan," with whatever circulation it had, spread the falsehood. Alas! what is truth?

But I am far from the end of this cadaver business yet, very far. A grand funeral procession was to be formed, an affair worthy of a county dignitary, and right through that county of Orleans and the upper half of Genesee, along lanes that smelt sweet with ripe apples it went, and past

doors where little boys played in sight of their mothers, and asked who this dead man was, and got a falsehood for an answer, and down to the vicinity of Batavia where a great crowd met them, including one James Cochran, assistant editor of Miller, and half preacher, and stopping at the court house, the awful blasphemy was perpetrated of a funeral sermon. Again the body was laid in the earth, and the theme of every tongue was "Morgan is found. Hosanna, Praise the Lord. Providence has interposed His aid. Heaven has laid bare its outstretched arm to avenge his death, not upon the guilty perpetrators only, but upon the whole Masonic fraternity." The cry of vengeance was wafted on every breeze. (Brown's "Narrative.") Let us see what Miller says in the next issue of his "Republican Advocate:"

"October 19, 1827. The body of Morgan was conducted under a respectable escort to this village about 1 o'clock this day. We met the procession and witnessed the honest expressions of popular feeling, of sympathy, as well as of indignation. The tocsin sound of war seemed to be blown, for the people left their daily occupations and in wagons, on horseback and on foot crowded to the village. The body, of course, will have a resting place and sleep as peacefully as those which have had a dying scene on the softened pillow with all that affection can bestow. The sight was sad, sorrowful and solemn. The black, disfigured body was accompanied to the grave yard with every mark of respect. We witnessed the tears of grief on many a cheek, and the sigh of sorrow welling up from many a breast. Some cold, heartless Masons, however, were void of feelings, worse than an adamant. The dry laugh and sarcastic smile are poor tokens of mercy, whether it be Morgan or not."

On November 9, after the last inquest which I am about to describe, he merely remarks that "there is nothing save the identity of the clothing that is at fault. How a majority of the last jury, from the testimony before them, could be so infatuated as to pronounce the body that of Monro is truly astonishing," But he plainly sees that it was Mon-

ro, and in the subsequent issue of his paper makes no reference to it at all.

Miller's sneer at the hardheartedness of the Masons who watched the proceedings of that mock funeral and laughed, needs no refutation. Every Mason and every intelligent citizen of Batavia had learned the truth of this matter before the body arrived. Judge Taggart, a leading Anti-Mason, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, loudly declared in the streets, "Miller has brought the body of a nigger here, and calls it Morgan." The community felt that this was but an act in the theatrical drama, whose scenes had been played before them for twelve months, and if any wept, it was at the sight, pitiful and tear-provoking indeed, of the hapless woman and her children. This, too, must be my explanation and excuse for the levity manifested on the last pages. Had the reader been in the secret of Weed's proceedings, and heard on his return to Rochester, the laugh with which he rehearsed the affair to his friends, they would find no room for tears or sighs, only for sneers and ridicule. But let us come to the last part played by that poor Oak Orchard corpse, doomed to still another exhumation.

In the Canada papers, last of September and early part of October, a notice had been inserted, or kindly copied by the editors, to the effect that on the 24th of September, 1827, one Timothy Monro, of the township of Clark, district of Newcastle, Upper Canada, had left that place in a boat for Newark (or Fort George), on the American shore, and returning, was upset and drowned. All persons were requested to give intelligence of the discovery of the body.

When the accounts of the proceedings at Oak Orchard and elsewhere were published, it was thought that the body found there might be that of the Canadian. Mrs. Sarah Monro, widow of Timothy, came therefore to Orleans county in company with her son David Monro, and a friend named John Cross, and called upon Bates Cook and others of the

Lewiston Committee, resident near Carlton, to prove his identity. They required her to describe the clothing which had been carefully preserved, and she did so in a manner which carried conviction to every mind. She pointed out how the stockings and the clothes were mended by her own needle. She showed that one leg of the pantaloons had been lengthened by a piece, a fact that had escaped every scrutiny. She described the lining, the pockets, the minutest marks.

There was no help for it; a third inquest was due from every sense of justice and law. So a third jury was impaneled, this time at Batavia, October 29, 1827, and the body once more disinterred. In this tally of twenty-four, there were but three or four Masons.

The first proceeding was to hear the affidavit of Mrs. Monro herself, made and subscribed after her examination by Bates Cook, Esq., and the bundle of clothing exhibited.

ORLEANS COUNTY, ss:

"Sarah Monro, of the township of Clark, district of Newcastle, Upper Canada, aged forty-four years, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that she is the widow of Timothy Monro, late of the same place, now deceased; that she was married to said Monro twenty-seven years since; that about six weeks since, her husband, the said Timothy Monro, left home for Newark, and has never returned; and that she has understood and been informed that he was drowned in the Niagara River, in the latter part of September, last past. And this deponent further saith, that the clothes now produced by Bates Cook, Esq., and which are said to have been found on the body at the mouth of Oak Orchard Creek, are the clothes which her late husband wore when he last left home; that he carried no change of clothes away from home with him.

This deponent further saith that she cut and made the pantaloons and vest, and that the surtout-coat was made and cut by Mrs. Perkins, a neighbor of hers; that she cut and made the shirt, and that she *knows* that those now produced are same worn by her said husband.

And the deponent further saith that the stockings, now

produced by said Bates Cook, Esq., were purchased by her husband, when he was absent from home, but that she has mended the same, and knows them to be same which her said husband wore when he last left home; that she had mended the surtout-coat and pantaloons, and can identify them by the places and manner of their being mended. -

And the deponent further saith that no person has ever given her any description of the clothing which was found upon the dead body at the mouth of Oak Orchard Creek, and that the particular description given by her, before seeing the clothes, was given from her recollection and knowledge of them derived in consequence of having made and repeatedly seen and mended them."

The next witness, her son Daniel Monro, testified to the clothes in the same positive manner, and stated facts connected with the purchase and making of them. This was followed by John Cron who had seen Monro the day he was drowned, and declared that he (Monro) had on clothes similar to those here produced. Mr. Cron had also seen Monro have some tracts or pamphlets which he put in his pocket at the time.

The next witness was a most respectable member of the Anti-Masonic party, and of the Batavia Committee, Hinman Holden. He testified that he, together with Timothy Fitch, first saw the body when disinterred, October 13, before being taken to Carlton. He observed then that the head was bald, but on top of it was a tuft of hair in natural place. The body had one whisker remaining, the hair of which was grey. On first examination had supposed the body was Morgan, but afterward thought not. After hearing a description of Morgan's head, was the more positive this was not his body.

H. VINTON, M.D: "Was present at the second inquest. He started the hair from the forehead and was therefore certain it grew there. Not merely scattering hair, but a handful, and quite long. Cannot be mistaken."

DR. HALL: "Saw the body before first interment, and was one of the first jury. Hair covered the forehead and

continued back. Hair on top of head as thick as his own (Hall's). There being a question among the first jurymen as to whether this was Morgan's body, he examined the more closely. Good set of teeth, and some whiskers."

MOSES WOOD, DANIEL ENGLISH, and the two POTTERS corroborated Hall's testimony.

Then the coroner measured the corpse, and behold it proved to be five feet nine and one-half inches in length, and three of the jury testified that if properly extended it would reach an inch further. Another juror says the body was so bent when measured that he would incline to the belief that it was five feet eleven inches long.

On this important subject (length) Thomas McCully was examined and testified that he was so near Morgan's height and build as to have been often taken for him when his back was turned. His (McCully's) height was five feet six inches; weight one hundred and thirty-five pounds. Russell Dyer and two others agreed with McCully as to Morgan's physique. On examining the teeth about which so much had been said, five were found missing, and none of the front teeth were double.

As to the scraped toe, Dr. John Cotes, Jr., of Batavia, a thoroughly accomplished surgeon and practitioner, cut open the feet, but there was no such indication. Swore that the body was only in the first stage of decomposition, and could not have been dead over two months at furthest. The part under the skin had not undergone decomposition; there was no cleaving of flesh from the bones or tendons; the flesh adheres firmly to the bone; stomach is in perfect state and has the same tenacity as that of a person recently dead. There is nothing different in the appearance of the teeth from that of ordinary persons fifty years of age who have good teeth. Set square.

The verdict of the jury was "that the body is that of TIMOTHY MONRO who was drowned in the Niagara River on the 26th of September, 1827." Out of the tally of

twenty-four, thirteen signed this paper, and all the dissenters expressed themselves fully that the body was not Morgan's, except two—one of whom declared on the jury that "he wouldn't believe but that was the body of Morgan, if twenty of the most respectable men in Genesee county should swear it was not!"

Here then ends "the case of Timothy Monro." The poor relic, subjected to every indignity of the dissector's knife; gazed at, and made an object of loathing to hundreds, was once more consigned to mother earth, and unless again resurrected for purposes of science, by the way strongly suspected, and a very rational conjecture, has gone to dust in the neglected quarter of the old burying-ground at Batavia.

It was well remarked by a cotemporary of these events that had it not been for this THIRD INQUEST, sixty or seventy respected men, Freemasons, would have been subjected to the most serious imputations, severe punishment and lasting disgrace, as perpetrators and accessories in the highest crime against divine and human laws. Weed admits in his letter to the "New York Herald," 1875, that "of all the persons connected with the abduction (as he calls it), imprisonment, and subsequent fate of Morgan, every one possessed the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens." He knew very well when he pronounced his hasty and unfounded opinion upon that corpse, that the very suspicion of its being Morgan would spread alarm through the Masonic families of that region. The least examination would have proved to him (no doubt *did* prove to him) that the differences were irreconcilable. *Ecce*:

1. Morgan was five feet six inches high. The corpse was five feet ten to eleven.

2. Morgan had double teeth clear round the jaws, an extraordinary conformation. Monro had ordinary teeth.

3. Morgan was bald and wore no whiskers. Upon the

corpse were bushy whiskers and evidences of a thick head of hair.

4. Morgan had a marked scar on one of his toes. The corpse had not.

5. There was no agreement whatever in the clothing or contents of the pockets with those worn by Morgan.

Let the reader now turn back to my second chapter for Mr. Weed's slanderous and contradictory statements. See the part he took in the affair, and what capital it afforded him during all the years of his devotion to Anti-Masonry. Read the violent charges of murder, arson, kidnapping and other crimes he was constantly charging up against Freemasons in the "Evening Journal," and doubt if you will, whether he uttered this expression over that horrid corpse:—

"THIS IS A GOOD ENOUGH MORGAN UNTIL AFTER
THE ELECTION!"

As a fitting appendage to this chapter, I give an account of that unfortunate woman, Lucinda Morgan, whose connection with her husband began in a runaway match in 1819, and who suffered during his lifetime all the wretchedness that makes up the lot of a drunkard's wife. I commence with her affidavit of her first visit to Batavia after the departure of her husband:

"GENESEE COUNTY, ss.

Lucinda Morgan, aged twenty-three, the wife of William Morgan, of Batavia, in said county, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That on Monday last (that would be September 11), about or a short time before sunrise, her said husband left his house and went into the street of the village. That finding he did not come home to breakfast as usual, she made inquiries for him, and was told that he had been forcibly taken away by six men and put in a carriage and taken to Canandaigua. That during the whole of Monday she remained in ignorance of what way he had taken, or who had taken him, except by loose information

that an officer from Canandaigua had taken him. That on Tuesday morning, soon after breakfast, she sent for William R. Thompson, the sheriff, and requested to know of him if he knew on what pretext her husband had been taken away. Said Thompson told her that he understood he had been taken under a charge of having stolen a shirt and cravat and that he presumed it was merely a pretext to get him away, or carry him away. That thereupon, this deponent asked him if he thought Mr. Morgan could be got back or brought back, if she gave up to the Masons the papers she had in possession. Said Thompson answered, that he thought it was very likely that Mr. Morgan would be brought back if she would give them up; but he would not obligate himself or undertake to say that he should be brought back.

That thereupon, said Thompson proposed that this deponent should go to Canandaigua and take the papers and give them to Morgan, or to them, or give them up, and deponent agreed to go and take the papers accordingly. Thompson then asked this deponent if there was any person or friend whom she would like to have go with her. She mentioned Horace Gibbs, and asked if it would do for him to go? Said Thompson said it would not do for him to go, as he was not a Mason, and added, it would not do for any person to carry her there but a Mason. She asked him twice if Gibbs was not a Mason, and he said he was not, and then asked deponent if she was acquainted with Nathan Follett? Deponent said she was not. Thompson said he was a nice man and a gentleman with whom she could safely trust herself.

Said Thompson departed and soon returned, and told deponent that Follett was not willing to go unless she would let him and Mr. Ketchum see the papers. He did not want to go on a tomfool errand. Deponent then objected to the papers being seen by them. Thompson then said it was useless; he should do no more, and he could not send her out there unless they could see the papers. Deponent then, with great reluctance, finally consented to let them see the papers if they would take her to see her husband. This second visit lasted about twenty minutes, during which time Thompson urged deponent to let the papers be seen. She offered to let him see the papers. He said that wouldn't answer; they would not take his word.

Thompson then told her he would go to Humphrey's stoop, stay until she had got the papers, and she must then make a sign to him when she was ready. Accordingly a short time afterward she made a sign to Thompson then standing on Humphrey's stoop, and immediately after he, with Follett and Ketchum came to her apartment, when Thompson introduced Follett and Ketchum, and said they had come to see the papers, which deponent then handed to them. They all looked at them a short time, and Thompson then asked her if she was ready to go, saying Follett was ready to take her.

Follett then said he would go home with the papers and look them over, and told Ketchum to stop for him at his gate. Accordingly, about 4 P.M. of Tuesday (September 12), deponent started with said Follett and Ketchum in a small wagon and proceeded to Stafford, where they stopped at a house, where she was conducted into a back room, into which Follett and Ketchum came and were joined by one Daniel Johns and by James Ganson, all of whom immediately proceeded to examine the papers with much earnestness, and held much low conversation with themselves in under voices. Ganson appeared to speak the most. One of them asked Johns if these were the papers that were in the office when he was there. Johns answered that there was one degree back, and then took a piece of paper and folded it up, and said that the papers that were back were folded so. They then held considerable more conversation in voices too low to be heard.

Follett then turned to deponent and said he didn't see that he could go with her; that Mr. Ketchum was going to Rochester and would be willing to take her to Canandaigua to see Mr. Morgan. Said he was not much acquainted with Ketchum, but took him to be a gentleman. Ketchum then said he called himself a gentleman, and she needn't be afraid to trust herself with him. Ketchum then took the papers and tied them up in his pocket handkerchief, and took them with him into the wagon in which they rode. Johns then got into the wagon and rode to LeRoy where he got out and bade Ketchum good-by, saying, 'I hope I shall see you day after to-morrow.'

They then proceeded to Avon and stayed all night. The next day they again started for Canandaigua where

Ketchum put the papers into deponent's trunk. They arrived at Canandaigua about noon and stopped at a tavern at the corner of the main street. After being there some time deponent asked Ketchum if he had heard of Mr. Morgan. Ketchum said that he had not, that the Masons would not talk to him. He could not see them, they seemed jealous of him, thought him a friend of Morgan and were afraid he had come to get him away from that place. Then he asked her where the papers were. He took them and said he could go and make further inquiries for Morgan, and if he could find him or where he was, or where they had taken him, he would let her know all he could find out. This was about dinner time.

He returned again, a short time before night, and told her he had heard that Morgan had been there; had been tried for stealing a shirt, and cleared; and had been put in jail for a debt of \$2.00; and that Tuesday night, a man had come from Pennsylvania, who said he had a warrant against him for a debt he owed there. That he, the man, had paid the \$2.00, and taken him away in a private carriage on Tuesday night, and that he had no doubt he was gone, and asked this deponent when she would go home again.

Deponent then expressed her anxiety to return speedily, on account of having left her child of two years old, and having with her a baby of two months old. Ketchum then went out, as he said, to take a passage in the stage, and returned after candle-light. Deponent was then walking the room in great distress, and in tears. She asked him if he could hear nothing of Morgan. He then seemed to pity deponent, and told her not to be uneasy, and after looking at her a short time, told her to come and sit down by him, and asked her if she would feel any better if he told her what he knew. Being answered 'yes,' he then said that Morgan would not be killed, that he would be kept concealed, until they could get the rest of the papers. She asked him what papers were back. He said there were some sheets of the Mark Master's Degree back, and they also wanted to see the printed sheets, that Miller had printed on the three Degrees. He then said he wanted to take the papers he had received from deponent to Rochester; and he thought through the means of them, he could find out where Mor-

gan was; it was a secret where he was. Said he had paid her passage, and gave her \$2.00 to bear her expenses home.

He then wrote his name with a pencil on a scrap of paper, George Ketchum, Rochester, and promised to write to her if he could hear of Morgan. He then told her that if she would by any means, get hold of the papers that Miller had, or find out where they were deposited, so he could get hold of them, he would give her \$25.00 out of his own pocket; and he had no doubt the Lodge would give her \$100, if she could get what Miller had now. Deponent told him she would not try to get the papers that Miller had, and would take no money, and would not let him have the papers she had delivered to him but on condition that he would try and find out where Morgan was, and let her see him. He then repeated his promise to try and find out, and said he would write to her as soon as he got to Rochester, and urged her to write to him immediately upon her return and let him know about the papers; and what the people were doing generally at Batavia, and whether they were making a great rumpus about Mr. Morgan.

Deponent then expressed her fears that if she did not give him any information about the papers, he would not keep his promise about letting her see him; but would keep him concealed until they had got all the papers, and finally kill him. Ketchum then said, 'I promise, before my God, that I will not deceive you, but will do all I can to find out where he is and let you see him. I have no doubt when I get to Rochester, I can find out more, and I think I can find out where he is.' He then again urged her to find out where the papers were and let him know. In the course of his conversation, he said that if Morgan had managed rightly, he could have made a million dollars if the work had published. Ketchum then departed for Rochester, leaving deponent at the tavern; she the same day started for Batavia. The papers taken away by the said Ketchum, were numerous and formed a very large bundle. They were written in the handwriting of her husband, except a few which were written by a person who sometimes assisted her husband, by copying, or taking down as he dictated to him. Deponent further says, that she has no knowledge of the place where her husband now is, or what is his situation, and feels the most anxious fears for

his life. That she was born in Virginia, and is a stranger without intimate friends, or relations in this county; and is left with two infant children, without money, except what is left of that given to her by Ketchum, and has no property, or any means of supporting herself and children; her constitution being very feeble, and her health being bad most of the time.

L. MORGAN,

Sworn the 22nd day of September, 1826, before me,
DANIEL H. CHANDLER, J. P."

It is stated by Greene, and the matter is corroborated by more respectable authority, that on her way back, Hon. James Ganson, the tavern keeper at Stafford, got into the stage and went with her to Batavia. He assured her that her husband was still alive, and that she should see him within a year. If not, the Masons would provide for her and educate her children. Scarcely arrived at Batavia, Mr. Thomas McCully, upon whose execution for debt Morgan had been placed on the jail limits the preceding month, called on behalf of the Lodge and offered her the means of support. Had not she refused, under the malign counsels of David C. Miller, her case would have been far more comfortable than at any time since her marriage. The Lodge offered to board her and children at Danolds' tavern and incur all expenses for clothing, etc., but the generous proposal was refused.

For several years Mrs. Morgan subsisted on the scanty charity of the Anti-Masons, and such aid from the public authorities as was doled out to her. This last resource had been a familiar one to this woman ever since she had joined her lot with Morgan. From various correspondents I gather a few facts in her history. An editorial appears in Miller's "Advocate," December 15, 1826, stating that "all persons holding subscription papers for the benefit of Mrs. Morgan are requested to return them, together with the several sums collected for that purpose, to William Davis

by the first of January next." It is said that Mrs. Morgan's New Year's gift amounted in gross to \$3.17½ cents, the half cent coming out of the missionary box of a little girl who was falsely deluded into diverting that amount from her annual gift to the heathen. I had the pleasure of sharing a hospitable supper with that young lady in 1864 (but then the happy mother of five stalwart sons, all Masons), and she told me the story between the cups of tea with infinite gusto. "The happiest thing that ever happened to Mrs. Morgan," she declared, "was the slipping away of her husband."

A few weeks later it is reported in the same paper that the Wheatland ladies had supplemented Mrs. Morgan's little New Year's gift with \$20; her card of acknowledgment is worth reading: "The undersigned tenders to the ladies of Wheatland her warmest expressions of gratitude for their friendly condolence and benevolent and well timed donation. Such expressions of kindness serve to gladden the heart of a disconsolate and helpless female, suffering under one of the most singular and distressing bereavements that has ever befallen her sex. She is a stranger in a strange land, and dependent on charity for support." This affecting epistle was written, it is said, by Mr. Taggart, a lawyer of Batavia, who at the dedication of Morgan's monument at Batavia, September 11, 1882, was among the liveliest in his reminiscences of that martyr.

In Miller's "Advocate," of March 16, 1827, appears another of these taggarts, showing how the men behind the curtain were pulling the wires:

"Having understood that reports were put in circulation by the Freemasons that in July last, during the absence of Mr. Morgan, I claimed assistance from the Masons for the necessities of life, on the ground that my husband was a Royal Arch Mason, I deem it my duty to state that the report is entirely destitute of truth. I have not at any time applied to any Mason for such assistance and claimed it as

the wife of a Royal Arch Mason. What purpose it is intended to effect by the circulation of such a report or what motive could have influenced its authors, I know not; but a regard for truth has induced me to contradict it in the most unequivocal manner.

BATAVIA, March 16, 1827.

LUCINDA MORGAN."

Considering that the only degree in Masonry that Morgan ever did take was the Royal Arch, the lower six being eluded by hypocrisy and falsehood, the above certificate certainly has a mysterious appearance, and we might in the lady's words inquire, "What motive could have influenced its authors?"

In Miller's "Advocate," of July 6, 1827, I see an account of a Fourth of July celebration at Albany, N.Y., and among the toasts this: "Mrs. William Morgan and her orphaned children. May a kind Providence preserve those whom bloody Masonic ruffians have robbed of their natural guardian and protector!" "Bloody Masonic ruffians," is good. It does not appear that the toast called out a remittance or subscription for the family to any alarming extent.

October 19, 1827, a card from Mrs. Morgan appears in the "Advocate," as follows:

"Mrs. Morgan acknowledges, with feelings of gratitude, the receipt of \$5 presented to her by Rev. David Bernard, as a donation from persons in Battenkill, etc. She feels utterly incompetent to do justice to the motives which have prompted those numerous and repeated acts of charity that have been so kindly extended to her in her distressing bereavement, and the authors of such benefactions must look to the approbation of Heaven and their own consciences for their reward.

BATAVIA, October 16, 1827."

In reference to a proposition made in the "Lake Light," a New York paper, suggesting that a monument be built to the memory of William Morgan, the Geneva "Gazette" replies, that "the friends of Anti-Masonry had better first

provide for the support and education of the bereaved widow and tender orphans."

In the "Advocate," of May 16, the same year, the editor appeals for help for Mrs. Morgan and her family. They want, he says, a support and maintenance. Although, as yet, well provided for, they should not be left to the caprices of chance. George W. Lay, of Rochester, will receive donations for her. Judge Henry Brown had given her \$10 on behalf of the Freemasons.

In the issue of May 25, same year, appears an affidavit from Rev. Thomas Colby, to the effect that he was the minister who married William Morgan to Lucinda Pendleton, October 7, 1819, in Washington county, Virginia. This was in answer to a rumor that had been widely disseminated and largely credited, that this lady was only the mistress of Morgan and not the wife.

David C. Miller having been charged with unlawful intercourse with widow Lucinda Morgan, procures a certificate from the LeRoy Anti-Masonic Committee. They had investigated the current rumor. Their witness, John Davids, a savory name around Batavia, a former partner in the world-renowned publishing firm of Morgan, Miller, Davids & Dyer, testifies that Mrs. Morgan is living at Stafford, that she resides in a respectable family and is patronized by ladies of the first distinction and gentlemen of the most honorable character. In her deportment, he says, she is modest, in her walk humble, in her life holy.*

* This is one of the literary productions that sparkle occasionally in the "Advocate," and were commonly known as taggarts. The author, Moses Taggart, died February, 1883, at the age of eighty-two. He gave a series of Reminiscences of William Morgan on the occasion of the dedication of the Morgan Monument, September 11, 1882, where I stood within five or six paces of him. He was an inveterate Anti-Mason to the last, and I was deterred from calling at his office for certain facts of which I was in pursuit, by a timely warning that I should be insulted if I did. As a friend of Thurlow Weed, Mr. Taggart kept him posted in the movements in and about Batavia, for the columns of his (Weed's) paper, the "Telegraph," at Rochester, and the "Evening Journal," at Albany. Judge Taggart was

In the transactions of the National Anti-Masonic Convention, Philadelphia, 1830, I find an appeal for aid to Mrs. Morgan. She is represented therein, as a lady of a feeble constitution.

In a poem styled *Freemasonry*, by a citizen of Lewiston, N. Y., 1830, is this allusion to Mrs. Morgan, and her lamented husband:—

“But he is gone, the one thou didst adore,
And weeps his loved Lucinda's fate no more;
From Lodge to Lodge their victim they convey
And many a Mason aids them on the way;
To Brandt they bear him, but the savage chief,
Less than his Brethren is to mercy deaf.
Though by his hand had many a warrior bled,
Yet he declines a Brother's blood to shed.”

In another chapter, I have hinted at Mrs. Morgan's second marriage, hurried forward at the advice of her Anti-Masonic friends to confirm public opinion in the idea of her widowhood. No one, however, could blame the lady placed in the condition she was, the political sect upon whom she depended fast melting away.

From the “*American Masonic Record*” (Albany, December 11th, 1830), extracted from the “*Courier and Enquirer*,” I copy an amusing notice of the marriage, with the editorial comments. One can imagine the fun produced by its perusal through western New York. The article illustrates

a pleasant composer, as witness the various communications signed by Lucinda Morgan, which I have reproduced in this volume, and all written by him. They went commonly by the name of taggarts, as did many communications in Weed's paper. In the witty fourth column series of the New York “*Times*,” describing the National Christian Association, the writer describes the Association as mainly composed of Blanchards with a sprinkling of Taggarts! I must not forget to say that Mr. Taggart was coroner's clerk at one of the inquests (the second one I think), held over the body of Timothy Monro. He was an honest man, and always in the face of Miller, declared “that this was not the body of Morgan.” When the Anti Masons began about 1878, to collect money for the monument above alluded to, it was the purpose of the Illinois leaders in the movement to erect it over the grave of Timothy Monro, claiming in spite of all contradiction, that there lay William Morgan! But Taggart forbade it, declaring that every old citizen of Genesee would stand up and deny it.

the character of the attack and defense adopted by the parties in the Anti-Masonic strife:—

“The Question is Settled! Anti-Masonry is no more! Since the election it has received a vital blow; it is dead! Mrs. Lucinda Morgan, the afflicted widow of Captain William Morgan, is married! This celebrated woman who, like Niobe, was all tears and affliction, whose hand was ever held forth to receive contributions from the sympathetic Anti-Masons, who vowed eternal widowhood, pains and penance, is married! Is married, and, tell it not in Gath, married to a Mason! Behold:—

‘MARRIED.—In Batavia, on Tuesday last (November 23d, 1830), by the Hon. Simeon Cummings, Mr. Geo. W. Harris to Mrs. Lucinda Morgan, widow of the late Captain William Morgan.’

The whole Anti-Masonic party is not alone the sufferer from this treacherous defection of one of their prominent lions or lionesses of the West, but we have some reason to apprehend that a sighing swain has been cruelly treated in this business! Our friend Frank Granger, who is in single wretchedness, had an eye, it is whispered, upon the widow Morgan, and it was recommended by Thurlow Weed and his cabinet, as an admirable stroke of policy to perpetuate the existence of Anti-Masonry, by perpetrating matrimony with the afflicted widow. But it is also circulated at the Canandaigua tea-tables, that Mrs. Captain Bill Morgan, finding that Frank was not governor for more than three days, fairly gave him the bag to hold, or in other words, jilted him. We have heard of many political somersaults in our time, but this is the cleanest we ever read of; a whole party of more than 100,000 voters, utterly prostrated, and left struggling on their backs by the defection, secession, abduction and abandonment of a single woman!

We learn that couriers passed between Albany and Canandaigua on the occasion, and that Thurlow Weed will raise an important legal question before the Court of Errors, whether this marriage of Mrs. Morgan is legal, it not having been seven years since the absence of her husband, and no positive proof of his death having been adduced. Weed says, “had she postponed her marriage until after the presidential election, she might have had

thirty-six husbands for all that he cared, but to be abandoned at this juncture is truly afflicting.

At the next session of the legislature, the afflicted Anti-Masons will be in a dreadful quandary. What is to be done? Mr. Maynard, no doubt, will make a long report on the awful event. Mr. Tracy will spread out his hands and invoke all the spirits of eloquence to bring down vengeance on those who have intrigued Mrs. Morgan into matrimony. We thought a few days ago that something was in the wind. Capt. Miller, the famous captain of Batavia, advertised his press and types for sale. The marriage has forced him to retire disconsolate from the field,—no more excursions to Seneca Lake, no more trips to Canandaigua waters, no more meditations in the neighborhood of the Cayuga marshes. There is no doubt that this most unfortunate defection of Mrs. Morgan has been produced by the intrigues of the rascally Clay Masons in Oneida, Montgomery, Rensselaer, Albany and Columbia counties. The project was no doubt furthered by the Grand Chapter of the State, and the most unholy means used against the integrity of the Anti-Masonic party to influence the too susceptible heart, to fascinate the pretty eyes, and carry by a *coup-de-main* the lovely, the charming Mrs. Morgan. We understand that such is the consternation produced in the mind of Col. Stone and the Anti-Masons, by the fair one's defection, that he intends to proceed,—all his expenses to be paid by any party—to the interior of the State to ferret out the intrigues of the Masons in this matter, and expose their awful machinations to an indignant world. *Let there be light!*"

The next event in this lady's life occurred twenty-six years later, and long after the Anti-Masonic party passed out of existence. They moved westward, and either from some impropriety of hers or his, matrimonial felicity was absent from their dwelling. A *crim. con.* is darkly insinuated in the following court records of Pottawatomie county, Iowa (the lady being then fifty-three years of age). My extract is from the "Bugle," of Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 12, 1856:

"STATE OF IOWA,
POTTAWATTOMIE COUNTY. } ss.

TO MRS. LUCINDA HARRIS:

Madam,—You are hereby notified that there will be on file, in the clerk's office of the District Court of Pottawattomie county, Iowa, on or before the 21st day of February, A.D. 1856, the petition of George W. Harris, claiming of you a divorce from the bonds of matrimony now existing between you and the said Geo. W. Harris, and charging you therein with willfully deserting him, and without reasonable cause absenting yourself for more than the space of three years, and unless you appear and answer thereto, on or before the morning of the second day of the next April Term of the District Court, in for said State and county, to be begun and holden at the Court House in the city of Council Bluffs, on Monday, the 7th day of April, 1856, the matter and thing therein contained will be taken as confessed, and a default taken, and a decree rendered in accordance with the prayer of the said petition, and a judgment rendered against you for costs of suit thereon. Notice returned not found.

A. C. FORD,

Solicitor for Complainant."

I have never learned what became of the two children, one born in 1824, the other in 1826. Mrs. Harris afterward joined the (Catholic) Sisters of Charity, and at the breaking out of the civil war, was acting in that capacity in the hospitals at Memphis, Tennessee; there I lose sight of her. If living, she would now (1883) be about eighty years of age. Her union, at the age of sixteen, was a runaway match, for which her father never forgave her, nor, during all her New York troubles, did she receive any comfort or sympathy from that quarter. Let her drop quietly out of history. Her forlorn and heart-breaking visit to Canandaigua, September, 1826, is the one romance of her life.



THE POMEGRANATE.

The Masonic Emblem of Plenty, largely moralized upon by Masonic Teachers, 1826 to 1836.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPIRIT OF THE ANTI-MASONIC ATTACK.

THE spirit of the attack made upon Freemasonry, following the events of September, 1826, may be faintly conceived by what is recorded in previous chapters. The present will be given to some of the particulars of the assault so far as it was national, compact, and composed of artillery, cavalry and infantry,—the press, the pulpit, and the forum. Beginning with D. C. Miller's popgun at Batavia, the "Republican Advocate," the caliber of the Anti-Masonic guns extended to such papers as Weed's Albany "Evening Journal," Southwick's "Observer," Stone's "Spectator," and Ward's Anti-Masonic "Quarterly Review." The smaller villages ere long were afflicted with Anti-Masonic sheets, and the business of denouncing Freemasonry became a trade. It seems incredible at the present day that there should have been a demand for such a quantity of the pestilential stuff that was poured out from week to week in dreary profusion. Fortunately its production was limited to the ability of hand-presses to supply it. Had the steam-press been in use, there would have been no place for any other literature. The proprietors of paper-mills from 1836 run their pulp-machines on this sort of stock, and it is suggestive to conceive the amount of falsehoods there ground up, macerated, worked out, and replaced with white paper!

In 1830, as I glean from the files of the "North Star," published at Danville, Vermont (still continued through an unbroken age of seventy-six years), there were more than 140 Anti-Masonic papers in existence, and their violence

and bitterness surpassed description. No character escaped vilification. The fair sex itself had no quarters in the contest. In personal abuse, in the vilest slang, in perversion of truth and decency, in the almost total absence of news-matter and other things desiderated by intelligent readers, these organs of the new party show, not that popular sentiment had become utterly perverted, but that the Anti-Masonic managers had got hold of the press and were manipulating it at their will. The success of this effort in Vermont was, at the time, complete. Every Lodge in the State surrendered its charter or became dormant; the Legislature passed an act forbidding extra-judicial oaths—still in force—and the Grand Lodge ceased, for several years, to hold sessions of Lodge-representatives. Masons were deprived of local offices, stricken from jury rolls, injured in business, wounded in domestic relations, and many driven to emigration. Premiums were offered to all who would publicly renounce the Institution. Anti-Masonic books, almanacs, tracts, broadsides, etc., deluged the State. Merchants advertised themselves as opposed to Masonry; thus, "Nathaniel Eggleston, an Anti-Mason, has received a new and elegant assortment," etc. William Slade was elected Governor of Vermont as an Anti-Mason. In the Electoral College of that State, in 1832, the Anti-Masonic nominees for President and Vice-President, viz., Wirt and Ellmaker, received the votes of Vermont, in which infamy the Green Mountain State stands alone. The hills and dales of that beautiful region were made respondent in their echoes to cranks and mountebanks who, as at present, occupied school-houses and vacant buildings, in "exposing the secrets of Masonry, admission twenty-five cents, children half-price." And as in Vermont, so in New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and Connecticut, and in a less degree half-a dozen other states. It would be an interesting inquiry, Who paid the money to establish these presses, print so

much popular matter, support lecturers, and keep up the enormous expenses of that short but brisk campaign?

Here is a partial list of the Anti-Masonic papers in 1830, perhaps two-thirds. Many of them were mere campaign sheets, and perished within the year. I take only the principal states, but the reader, if he cares to do it, can complete the list from his own materials:

ALABAMA: "Courier," Selma.

CONNECTICUT: "Intelligencer," Hartford; "Spirit of Times," Bridgeport.

DELAWARE:

DISTRICT COLUMBIA:

ILLINOIS:

INDIANA: "Democrat," Corydon; "Advertiser."

KENTUCKY:

LOUISIANA:

MAINE: "Galaxy," Cumberland.

MARYLAND: "Mirror," Hagerstown.

MASSACHUSETTS: "Free Press," "Christian Herald" and "Telegraph," Boston; "Yeoman," Worcester; "Record," Lynn; "Courier," New Bedford.

MICHIGAN: "Emigrant," Ann Arbor; "Courier," Detroit.

NEW JERSEY: "Palladium," Morristown; "Monitor," Newark.

NEW YORK: "Anti-Masonic Review," "Pilot," "American," New York city; "Evening Journal," "Pioneer," Albany; "Republican," Auburn; "Phoenix," Westfield; "Journal," Jamestown; "Telegraph," Norwich; "Patriot," Buffalo; "Freeman," "Pioneer," Lodi; "Telegraph," Malone; "American," Genesee; "Advocate," Batavia; "Civilian," Hamilton; "Gazette," LeRoy; "Sentinel," Warsaw; "Free Press," Herkimer; "Watchman," Troy; "Envoy," Hudson; "Republican," Delhi; "Constellation," Watertown; "Register," Genesee; "Monitor," Cazenovia; "Engineer," Rochester; "Free Press," Schoharie; "Courier," Lockport; "Elucidator," Utica; "Gleaner," Sangerfield; "Republican," Syracuse; "Phoenix," Canandaigua; "Telegraph," Albion; "Free Press," Oswego; "Tocsin," Cooperstown; "Democrat," Watertown; "Advertiser," Waterloo; "Journal," Seneca Falls; "Chronicle," Ithaca; "Palladium,"

Kingston; "Banner," Union Village; "Recorder," Lyons; "Enquirer," Angelica; "Intelligencer," Bath; "Standard," Schenectady; "Gazette," Lowville; "Anti-Mason," Poughkeepsie.

OHIO: "Telegraph," Painesville; "Star," Ravenna; "Chronicle," New Philadelphia; "Telegraph," Cadiz; "Register," West Union; "Gazette," Mansfield; "Free Press," Milan; "Advertiser," Mount Vernon; "Advocate," Jefferson.

PENNSYLVANIA: "Sun," Philadelphia; "Gazette," Lewiston; "Courier," "Examiner," "Beobachter," "Volksfreund," Lancaster; "Times," Pittsburgh; "Union," Warren; "Free Press," Norristown; "Gazette," Erie; "Gazette," Greensburg; "Herald," Somerset; "Investigator," Dundaff; "Reporter," Washington; "Gazette," "Republican," Huntingdon; "Recorder," Coatsville; "Free Press," Kittanning; "Democrat," Reading; "Republikaner," Somerset; "Republican," Blairsville; "Inquirer," "Journal," "Banner," Harrisburg; "Enquirer," Chambersburg; "Star," "Intelligencer," Gettysburg; "Recorder," "Volks," New Berlin; "Expositor," "Herald," Carlisle; "Pennsylvanian," Elizabethtown; "Register," West Chester; "Republican," Venango; "Intelligencer," "Republican," Doylestown; "Anti-Freimasoner," "Friedensbote," Allentown; "Herald," "Expositor," York; "Gazette," Chester; "Star," Pottstown; "Enquirer," Bedford; "Star," Meadville; "Democrat," Butler; "Advocate," "Beacon," Northumberland; "Democrat," Uniontown; "Democrat," Troy; "Luminary," Mercer; "Gazette," Greenville; "Schutzgeist," "Democrat," Lebanon.

RHODE ISLAND: "Microcosm," Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA:—

TENNESSEE: "Register," Shelbyville.

VERMONT: "North Star," Danville; "Republican," Middlebury; "Whig," Woodstock; "Aurora," Vergennes; "Eagle," Castleton; "Luminary," Strafford.

VIRGINIA: "Republican," Norfolk.

I do not hold, that among these 140 Anti-Masonic organs, all of the slang-and-adder class, there was not a decent sheet in the list, but in my examination of the files in various historical libraries, I have not found a copy that the sons of the men who conducted them, were proud to

preserve. Mostly the sons of Anti-Masons are Masons. It is extremely difficult to find a full file of any one of these papers. Ephemeral in their nature, containing little worth preserving, the mere froth of an excited contest, they passed so speedily into oblivion, that few of my readers, if any, have ever before even seen this catalogue.*

As to Anti-Masonic books, that is, bound volumes, they are, for the very reason just named, but few in number. Two only are worthy of places on a Mason's shelf

1. Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry, addressed to the Hon. John Quincy Adams, by William L. Stone, New York, 1832. 8vo. pp. 566.

Stone was a seceding Mason. He had some reputation as a writer on Indian history, and was a vigorous political editor of a New York city paper. His book is spacious and has some marks of fairness, but its great want is its *raison d'être*. The very fact of its existence suggests the inquiry, What for?

2. Letters and Addresses on Freemasonry by John Quincy Adams. (Begun in 1831 and continued for two years. The letters are addressed to Edward Ingersoll, Wm. H. Seward, Richard Rush, Levi Lincoln, Wm. L. Stone and others. The whole collected in one volume of 385 pages has recently been republished at Chicago.)

These grew out of Adams' chagrin at his defeat for reelection to the presidency. They were thoroughly answered in 1855, *seriatim*, by the author of this volume under head, "Strictures upon the Published Opinions of John Quincy Adams on the Subject of Freemasonry." In reading Adams' letters one must come to the conclusion that he was temporarily *non compos mentis*. But it is pleasant to know that he came again to his right mind and from 1836

* In "Masonry and Anti-Masonry," by Alfred Creigh, LL.D., of Washington, Pa. is a graphic and most complete account of the Anti-Masonic war in Pennsylvania, as conducted by the notorious Thad. Stevens.

to the day of his death (honored and mourned by a grateful nation) he made no public allusion to Freemasonry, but rather seemed anxious to forget the time he wasted upon these brutal and futile attacks.

The two works named were ably answered by various Masonic writers, among whom Luther Pratt, in 1828, editor of the "American Masonic Register," and Salem Town, a distinguished teacher and writer of educational books, may be named. Pratt published two books of great merit in this connection, viz., "A Defense of Freemasonry" and "The Genius of Freemasonry."

Whatever the origin of the Anti-Masonic excitement, and we may admit for argument's sake, that "it was the cry of horror from the people at the mysterious departure of Morgan," yet the fact cannot be disguised or contradicted, and Stone ingenuously admits it in his letters named above, that Anti-Masonry soon became thoroughly political and its spirit toward Freemasons was vindictive without distinction as to guilt or innocence. When Thurlow Weed entered upon that career of peregrinations and preachings, which made him the first type of the traveling Anti-Mason, he gave the watchword "Kill, kill, kill!" this, of course, in a speculative sense, and referring only to the organization of Masonry, but the spirit was as vindictive, fiendish, unsparing, as though directed to individuals. To read some of his editorials one would think he was striving to refine and regenerate the world, but all the time, as Carlyle says of the elder Mirabeau, "he had sixty *lettres de cachet* in his pocket." In the debate in New York legislature, 1827, on Francis Granger's proposition of \$5,000 reward for the discovery of Morgan, etc. (rejected by a large majority), Mr. Bucklin showed that on the strength of the Morgan excitement, a public newspaper had been established at Rochester "for the avowed purpose of fanning this flame and increasing the general fever." This paper circulated over that whole

region of country. Anonymous letters, inflammatory articles, essays and affidavits headed with "Murderers of Poor Morgan," "Morgan and Masonry" filled its columns. Meetings were called in the different towns, villages and neighborhoods at which resolutions of the most inflammable character against the whole body of the Fraternity were passed. The conspiracy was charged upon the Institution itself and every member was implicated either as principal or accessory, before or after the fact, not one of whom is hereafter, according to these resolutions, to be supported for any office or place of public trust,—and all this is published, commented upon and approved in the Rochester "Journal." It might have been added, had the facts been known as they became clear afterward, that this was mainly the work of one and the same hand, viz., Thurlow Weed. To write editorials was a small matter for a brilliant young politician, but to go from village to village, choose the men for the work of organizing conventions, furnish them the "resolutions," cut and dried, and the "correspondence" and the "communications" ready drafted,—this was where the industrious wire-worker proved ability. And to do all this behind the curtain, to set the country on fire and conceal the hand that held the torch, to sow tares in the gardens of the public quiet "while the husbandman slept,"—why there never was the equal of Thurlow Weed for work of this kind since the foundation of our government. God grant there may never be another. It is pleasant to record that the proposals of Francis Granger, so anti-republican and preposterous, were negatived by the decided vote of seventy-six nays to twenty-six ayes.

And now for a series of platforms and resolutions. I only give the gist of each, as many volumes would scarcely contain them printed *in extenso*:

"We are commencing a course (in the establishment of Anti-Masonry as an element in politics) which will necessa-

rily bring with it much disquietude and distress. The intercourse of business will be obstructed. The laudable associations of neighborhoods will be convulsed. Many of the best sympathies of our nature will be violently turned away from their customary channels.”—*Holley, 1828.*

“Resolved, That we will not support any person for any office, either in town, county or state or hear any preacher of the gospel who is a member of the Masonic Fraternity.”—*Convention, Elbo, New York, March 3, 1827.*

“Resolved, That we deem Freemasons, as such, unfit for any office of trust or confidence, in town, county or state.”—*Convention, Covington, New York, March 10, 1827.*

“The most interesting, the most important, the best thought of my life (save the one great thought of Christ and Him crucified for sinners, revealed to me and in me the hope of glory and for all the world who will receive the gift without money and without price) was the conception of the book “Light on Masonry.” The one is the balm of Gilead and the great physician there, the treasure hid in the field, the pearl of great price, the hope of the world both now and forever; but it is against the sin of Freemasonry, the devil’s masterpiece, the deceiver and the anti-Christ as revealed in “Light on Masonry,” that I have unhesitatingly borne testimony for forty-eight years, enduring the persecutions of the wicked and enjoying the smiles of the Lord, all the way through. Next to the gospel of Christ the great *desideratum* of my life has been the giving to the world “Light on Masonry,” and chiefly because Masonry opposes the gospel. I regard it as the great enemy of Christianity, of the Bible and of the Church of God. The great, the terrible, the cursed design of Freemasonry is to destroy all governments and all religions. It is anti-Christ, body, soul and spirit, from center to circumference, from foundation to topstone.”—*Rev. David Bernard.*

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be), that I have not since the adoption of this Amendment of the Constitution of the State of New York, become a member of any Masonic or other secret society, or assisted in recommending any person as a member of any such society, and that I will not during my continuance in office! So help me God.”

(Proposed, but rejected by the Legislature of New York in 1829.)

In a Convention of the Baptist churches, at Milton, N. Y., September 12, 1827, an Anti-Masonic platform was adopted, giving fifteen reasons for denouncing the wretched Institution. It was objected to by some on the ground that one of the churches gave no reason (sixteen churches, and only fifteen reasons), and considerable excitement was made by a half-witted preacher present (he went mad a few weeks afterward), who protested loudly that there must be one more reason somewhere, and perhaps it was the best one of all !

The question often asked in those days, why the Baptist church seemed to lead the van in Anti-Masonry, may now be answered in the fact that the only preacher among the Anti-Masons of any note was a Baptist, viz., David Bernard. Weed professed no religion; Whittlesey, Spencer and Southwick had none to profess, and, it being deemed necessary at all Anti-Masonic conventions that somebody should pray, Bernard naturally had it to do. At the present day, the preacher who bears the Anti-Masonic ark in the grand procession, is of a different stripe of theology, and the Baptists "cherish the serpent Freemasonry in their bosoms," as freely as any other denomination, unless, perhaps, the Methodists.

But we are delaying in giving the fifteen reasons; here they are:

1. Because Freemasonry professes a divine origin.
2. Because its rites correspond with the Egyptian.
3. Because it adopts unscriptural modes of teaching; it proposes to impart religious consolation with stone hammers.
4. Because its songs are often of a profane character.
5. Because it pretends that its religion and morality are those of the Bible.
6. Because it perverts and degrades the meaning of Scriptural texts.

7. Because it uses the name of God irreverently.
8. Because it authorizes the practice of religious rites, etc., not countenanced in the New Testament.
9. Because it imposes obligations of a moral and religious nature, only communicated to Masons, and not even to churches.
10. Because it affixes new names to God, the Father and the Son.
11. Because it omits the name of Jesus in its system.
12. Because it excludes the female sex from its order.
13. Because it amalgamates all men of all religions who profess to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being.
14. Because it authorizes prayers accommodated to the prejudices of the Jews.
15. Because it adopts orders of Knighthood from Popery.
16. Because,—but I forget, the sixteenth was not incorporated into the platform in time to use it before Anti-Masonry was forgotten, and the next generation of preachers mostly joined the Order. One remark was made at that meeting, singularly inappropriate, and if it were possible to believe there was a Judas Iscariot among those apostles of light, I should attribute its origin to him. Some one said, "Brethren, when the demon of fanaticism is at work, there is no knowing to what extent of mischief and turpitude he may lead his disciples!"

A convention of Freemasons, opposed to secret societies, was held at LeRoy, N. Y., February 19, 1828, in which David Bernard, James Hascall, Solomon Southwick, David C. Miller, Richard Hollister and others of the class were leaders. After they had "regretted the entire subjugation of the public press throughout the Union to the control of Freemasonry," they then requested that the following papers should publish their proceedings, viz.: "Republican Advocate" (Miller's paper), "Western Advertiser," Buffalo "Patriot," Jamestown "Journal," "Western Star," LeRoy "Gazette," Livingston "Register," "Anti-Masonic Enquirer," Seneca "Farmer," "Lake Light," Cazenovia "Monitor," "National Observer," Sandy Hill "Sun," "Palladium of Liberty," N. J. "Union Telegraph," Indiana and Jefferson "Whig," "National Intelligencer," Georgetown "Columbian," and all others willing to give the public information upon the subject.

In Giddins' "Anti-Masonic Almanac," for 1831, is a forged letter from a pretended personage at Linden, Alabama, named Wm. P. S. Simons, dated January 8, 1829, and claiming that "he, the said Simons, fought at New Orleans, rode side by side with Captain William Morgan, and describes him as a man of sound and honest principle. As a soldier none surpassed him." In this brochure of Giddins he estimated the come-outers (seceders) from Freemasonry at that time (1831) at 5,000. The Anti-Masonic candidate for Governor of Vermont, received in 1829, 7,357 votes; in 1830, 10,921; in 1831, 15,258.*

Rev. Stephen Fenn was pastor of a Presbyterian church at Harpersfield, Delaware county, N. Y., on a salary of \$300. This was at the breaking out of the Morgan affair. He acted as Chaplain at the dedication of the Masonic Hall at Delhi, and made a prayer that affected all hearers. The image of his portly and noble person, wearing the little mimic white apron, is well remembered. But Anti-Masonry became rampant, and he was required to renounce Masonry or forfeit the position he had held for thirty-three years. His reply to the requisition was, "Freemasonry is not a bad institution. Do with me, Brethren, as you please, I will not renounce it!" And a small majority was had for his dismissal.

He preached a farewell sermon from the text, "Many good works have I shown you from my Father; for which of these do ye now stone me?" The Lodge at Delhi printed that sermon and spread it broadcast. During the rest of his life Brother Fenn was employed as a missionary by the American Home Missionary Society.

Anti-Masonic Almanacs played a most important part in the campaigns of 1826-36. This was before the patent medicine companies monopolized this style of literature, and

* No State was so deeply affected by the virus of Anti-Masonry as Vermont. Slade, the leading Anti-Mason, had all the vim of Weed, with the unscrupulousness of Southwick, and for several years carried everything before him. And yet I made a Mason of his son, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the State, in my visit to Middlebury, Vermont, in 1862, and there is no Grand Lodge in the Union. of all our fifty odd, that can show more learning, zeal, and true worth in its Grand Master (Butler), or a more brilliant line of names upon its rolls of the living and dead than Vermont. Be it remembered, too, that Vermont is the only State whose Electoral College cast its vote for Anti-Masonic candidates.

have rendered it so distasteful to the public that it has become difficult in these latter days, even to give away an Almanac. Fifty years ago the Almanac was next to the Bible in authority, and the farmer scarcely dared plant his potatoes until he had secured the favorable interposition of the moon. Of this the Anti-Masons took advantage, and first Giddins, then Avery Allyn, and then Legion went into the Almanac business. Allyn's No. 2 (1832) is about the most readable of the lot.* "The Anti-Masonic Sun Almanac, by Avery Allyn, Philadelphia." He declares that at that time there were 170 Anti-Masonic papers in the United States, and about 400,500 Anti-Masons, including 7,000 who had seceded from the Order. On the last page he presents a monument inscribed—in Memory of William Morgan, who was murdered by Masons, September, 1826." This was prophetic of the statue dedicated at Batavia, N. Y., September 11, 1882.

Mr. Solomon C. Wright, one whose soul was tried in the times when men's souls were tried by Weed and his henchmen, gave me in 1861, an amusing account of Giddins, who drove an "Almanac-Wagon" through the country and sold his Almanac year by year, by tens of thousands. His regular price was six-pence (six and a fourth cents), but to dealers he let them go by the dozen at four cents, and by the hundred at three. He took truck and trade of every sort, not perishable, such as feathers, beeswax, rags, wool,

* Allyn, had he maintained his allegiance to Masonic faith would have been one of the most distinguished men in the Craft. He was originally a stone-mason, and at the publication of the above, about thirty-two years of age. In a fit of intoxication he accepted a bribe of \$100 from the Anti-Masonic leaders, and was promptly announced by them as a seceder.

In the "Masonic Mirror," Boston, 1830, he is stigmatized as a worthless strolling mountebank who had been playing the fool July 14 to a large number of very foolish people at the Baptist meeting house, in Canton, N. Y. The editor comments on this circumstance in severe but just language. "We care not how much money these vagrants may swindle out of the simpletons, but we protest against the prostitution of churches to such base and villainous uses. It is a libel on religion. It is a scandal to Him in Whose name these edifices are erected.

yarn, cloth, old metals, as brass, copper, etc. in exchange. He traded in second-hand books from house to house. The amount of this Almanac literature he distributed was immense. As to the astronomical calculations, they were as good as any, for Edward Giddins, was one of the best mathematicians in the state, and particularly given to that branch of astronomy, Almanac making. And it was hinted by Mr. Wright, with a quiet wink, that Giddins did a clandestine trade in erotic literature, such as ———, and other such books which poisoned the minds of the young of that generation. Certain it is that the satanic department of literature was at the time extremely abundant, and inordinately cheap, and there was great need of a Comstock.

New York.	The Anti-Masonic vote in 1828 was	33,333.
	“ “ 1829 “	68,613.
	“ “ 1830 “	106,081.
	“ “ 1831 “	98,847.

A writer of authority says in 1833 “The present strength of the Anti-Masonic party in the United States is 340,800.”

In 1831, Stone, whose name has been already given, ventures “boldly to predict that Freemasonry is on the wane. In most places it is dead, and its torpid body can never be reanimated. As well might they think of establishing Mohammedanism in this enlightend land, as to cherish the idea of reëstablishing Freemasonry. There is no use at this late hour in contending that the principles on which it was built are moral, benevolent and virtuous—public opinion is against it.” Examined in the light of 1883, how absurd such vaticinations! So a writer at Rome, in the year 300, when the tenth general persecution under Diocletian had apparently deleted the Christian institution, might have said, “the torpid body of Christianity can never be reanimated.

The Rev. Henry Ward Dana in his “Anti-Masonic Review,” utters a prodigious whine in these words: “We

cannot but admit, spite of all that has been exposed of the innate rottenness of the Masonic Institution and the developments of the Morgan affair, that Freemasonry from the Past Grand Master of Tennessee (Jackson), now seated in the presidential chair, to the present Grand Chaplain of New York (Salem Town), no men are found in the nation more honored in their respective stations than Masons, or more respected in private life. It numbers not only the living, but the names of the illustrious dead. Clinton died in the enjoyment of the highest gift of its priesthood. Franklin carried its Master's Jewel and even Washington must be believed to have worn its apron. Freemasonry still flaunts and twirls and paints as before. She appoints the patroon of Albany (Van Rensselaer), her Grand Master of the state, and plants the cornerstone of the Associated Methodist church in Washington city, June, 1829, with saintly show, and the cornerstone of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal in solemn state."

A man at Utica to whom the Lord vouchsafed a boy child, begotten in the heat and fever of the Anti-Masonic strife, named him Sanballat, because like the Horonite, described in the book of Nehemiah, he was expected to oppose all efforts "to rebuild the house of the Lord." The happy lad died young, but his father lived long enough to see the house of the Lord rebuilt on the old foundations, but grander, loftier, more costly than before.

Anti-Masonic writers used to have uphill work in quadrating the conduct of William Morgan with admitted principles of truth and honor. One of the speakers in the First National Anti-Masonic Convention (Philadelphia, 1830) labors with the subject painfully. He admits "that the precise motive which impelled Morgan to the determination of publishing the secrets of Masonry, he does not know." True David C. Miller had again and again testified to those motives as pure, disinterested and noble, but Miller's reputation had no status at Philadelphia. "However," pro-

ceeds our casuist, "as the act of William Morgan was one of conformity to his highest obligation, and therefore of distinguished honor, I believe his original motive was good." He admits that neither the activity of party zeal, nor the scrutiny of public functionaries, nor the untiring efforts of those whose characters were implicated had been able to unravel the mystery of Morgan's deportation, and he endorsed this fulsome and most false description of Morgan himself. "He was a man of great personal address, possessing a most retentive memory, extended historical information, and an acute discernment of character. In his manner he was kind and affable. He had twice crossed the Atlantic in the character of a gentleman, and had seen much of the world. At the battle of New Orleans, where he commanded a company of militia, he had distinguished himself by his intrepidity and good conduct. Of his literary qualifications sufficient evidence is found in the book for the publishing of which he lost his life, and his standing and importance are established by the extensive measures taken by the Fraternity for his destruction."

After this egregious piece of falsehood let the reader turn to my Chapter IV and learn "who was William Morgan."

At the trial of three Masons, in 1829, near Sodus N. Y., by the Presbyterian church, for refusing to renounce Masonry, that destructive spirit which ran all through the Anti-Masonic proceedings was apparent. Each of the defendants respectfully declared before the church judicatory that for peace's sake, he had not for a long time attended Masonic meetings, and did not intend to visit them more. But he could not renounce Masonry, for it was in no shape opposed to the Gospel. They announced that "they could not sacrifice their honor and put their seals to a falsehood, for the gratification of a few persons who desired to connect Anti-Masonry with the church." They were expelled.

To keep the infernal caldron of Anti-Masonry upon the boil, it was found necessary to supplement the original Morgan outrage, which became stale from repetition and over use, and make new attempts upon public credulity in the same line. Two of these attempts, the "Witherell outrage," and the "Miller outrage," will serve as samples of of the batch.

The latter was so clumsy an invention, and contained such internal evidence of imposture, that it was hard to exploit it, and the excitement it produced was short lived. A man named Samuel G. Atherton, of Boston, Mass., in 1829, made affidavit, that one William Miller, of Belfast, Ireland, was murdered in 1813, and his body thrown into Limekiln Dock, by members of the Masonic Institution. The whole affair proved to be a deliberate fabrication by Atherton. A respectable citizen of Belfast testified that no one living there in 1830 had any knowledge of the matter. The "Guardian" of the same place indignantly denied the statement of Atherton, stigmatizing it as a "tissue of falsehood from end to end." No such person as William Miller had been admitted into a Lodge in Belfast; the coroner's registry of that city made no reference to such an incident; a committee of the Lodges in Belfast investigated the charge, and proved it to be unfounded. Furthermore, they showed that the author of the libel, Samuel G. Atherton, was totally unknown in Belfast, both as a Mason and a man.

Yet this falsehood went the rounds of the press, in the United States and Ireland, was sworn to by Atherton, before a Boston magistrate; entered into a hundred Anti-Masonic sermons and addresses, and remains to-day part of the stock in trade of the Anti-Masonic publication house of Chicago. I have found it profitable to examine the "Morgan outrage," by the light of the "Miller outrage," as we compare one geometrical problem with another.

The "Witherell affair," as it occurred nearer home, was more easily sifted. Rev. George Witherell was pastor of a Baptist church at Hartford, Washington county, N. Y. He was a Knight Templar, but had seceded from Masonry. On the 27th of September, 1830, as he averred, he was absent from home, when two men entered his house, armed with a butcher knife, and having a dark lantern, with a view to assassinate him. Public meetings were held, and large rewards offered for the perpetrators of the outrage. One David Brown being charged with this heinous offense, Witherell, himself, was placed before the court as a witness and compelled to testify that William Hale, at whose house he had lodged on the night in question, had absented himself from home for two hours, taking a butcher knife and a dark lantern with him, but for what purpose, Witherell refused to declare, as he could not do so without criminating himself. This story, too, went the rounds, did its mischief, and is yet quoted as a veritable attempt to quiet the voice of a seceding Mason.

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTIONS.—I have not space for a complete list of the various meetings called to denounce Freemasonry, and erect a political party upon its ruins. Many of them failed to reach the papers, others were only noticed in sheets which have not met my eye. The following, in the order of time, is extensive enough to show the industry of managers and the zeal of converts:

- 1827. February 19, LeRoy N. Y.
 March 6, LeRoy, N. Y.
 July 4, LeRoy, N. Y.
 August 4, Utica, N. Y.
- 1829. January 1, Dedham, Mass.
 February 11, Hartford, Conn.
 February 19, Albany, N. Y.
 June 25, Harrisburg, Pa.
 August 5, Montpelier, Vt.
 December 13, Boston, Mass.

- 1830. February 3, Hartford, Conn.
- February 21, Providence, R. I.
- February 25, Albany, N. Y.
- February 25, Harrisburg, Pa.
- March 25, Providence, R. I.
- June 23, Montpelier, Vt.
- August —, Utica, N. Y.
- September 11, National, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1831. September —, National, Baltimore.
- 1832. September 5, State, Worcester, Mass.
- 1833. September 11, State, Boston.

As late as May 29, 1836, there was an Anti-Masonic Convention in Allegheny county, Pa., but it only reached Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones ("very dry"), without the *dénouement* ahead. Every political campaign originates cant phrases, argot, slang, that has its local use and signification, and is then forgotten. In the Clinton canvass the epithet bucktails represented that class of voters who sustained his ticket. Masonic initiates were simply termed Masons. Non-Masons who refused to join the Anti-Masonic party, and sometimes voted for candidates known to be Masons, were stigmatized as jacks, or Masons' jacks. The word bats fitted men professedly Anti-Masons, but who refused to take a lively interest in Thurlow Weed's operations. Thus the sufferings, privations, and outrages with which the Anti-Masonic period is full, has its phraseology suggestive, when rightly understood, of fanaticism and prejudice.

Some small but venomous stings were inflicted upon the body Masonic in Pliny Merrick's letter on "Speculative Masonry," 1829; C. C. Colden, same style, 1829; "Portraits of Masonry and Anti-Masonry," by Rush, Adams, Wirt, etc., 1832; "Letters on Masonry," by Henry Jones, a "dissented Royal Arch Mason," 1829; "Account of the Savage Treatment of Morgan" by Edward Giddins, 1829: *et id genus omne*. They were answered by Charles W. Moore in his celebrated "Letters to Moses Thatcher," 1829;

"Strictures on Seceding Masons, such as Pliny Merrick, Joel Mann, David Bernard and T. M. Smith," 1830; "Morgiana, or the Wonderful and Terrible Death of Morgan, written by himself," 1832, etc. The most of this now is dreary reading. The subject had become stale, and the public mind was evidently weary of the matter. Had any startling national event occurred in 1829 to 1831, the whole phantasmagoria of Morgan had vanished before the popular vision.

At the Utica, New York, Anti-Masonic convention of August, 1830, forty-eight counties were represented by one hundred and four delegates. Granger was nominated for governor and got 120,361 votes, while his opponent, Throop (the "Jeffries" of the Morgan trials at Canandaigua, January, 1827, as in my VI Chapter), got 128,481 and was elected. In this canvass, the Masonic vote (so far as Masons were politically influenced) was for Throop. "It was the Masons of the counties bordering on the North river that elected Throop."—*Political History of New York*.

"Resolved, That we will not hear a Freemason preach unless said preacher shall refuse to meet with any Lodge of Freemasons and shall openly and boldly declare that the Institution of Freemasonry is a bad Institution."*—*Pulteney, New York*.

* A bit of humor from the eccentric Lorenzo Dow is connected with this last "resolved." He had risen to preach before an immense congregation near that very Pulteney, when some wicked brother handed him the pamphlet containing the proceedings of the convention and called his attention to the "resolved." He read the latter part slowly aloud, and then observed in his quiet way, "I was made a Mason at Warren, Rhode Island, some years ago; I have seen the Society, both inside and out; openly and boldly I now declare that it is a good Institution. Any of you Anti-Masons, now, who wish to leave the house can do so while we join in singing:

Believing we rejoice
To see the curse removed."

But not a soul stirred from his seat.

A good many witty things are told of Dow in the same connection. Followed once through the streets of Manlius, by a crowd, he stopped at the foot of the flight that led outside of the house to the Lodge-room, and crying aloud, "Where I go, thither you cannot come," briskly mounted the stairway, in their presence.

The Anti-Masons were not averse to bringing in the aid of papal proscriptions in their assaults upon Freemasonry, and they quoted this passage from a fierce scribbler of the Roman Catholic faction: "All who are affiliated with the Society of Freemasonry, by the very fact of their affiliation, incur the penalties laid upon them by Clement XII, in 1738; also by Benedict XIV, in 1751; Pius VII, in 1821; Leo XII, in 1825. They are expressly excommunicated; they have no more any share in the prayers of the Church; they must not any more assist at the Holy Sacrament of the Mass, nor at any other public services; nor can they receive the Sacrament. If they die in that state, they forfeit all rights to receive [Catholic] burial." And yet any one might have known upon inquiry that it is common in the South American States for Roman Catholics, and even priests, to be Masons.

Solomon Southwick was the Hermit Peter in the Anti-Masonic crusade, and his fog-horn of portentous sound was heard throughout the state of New York. His name appears early and late in the ten-year campaign I am describing. He was something of a free-lance, and an opponent whom all dreaded. His savage denunciations of Masons and Masonry recall some of the happiest expressions of Ralph Stackpole, in the "Jibbernainosay, or Nick of the Woods." He stigmatized the Masons in such choice words, as these:

"You first arrested William Morgan as a debtor; next you put your fiendish claws upon him as a felon; then you joined your hellish forces to abduct him; finally you murdered him. You are all banditti brethren, vile imposters, hypocrites, time-fools, time-fuddlers, sharpers, knaves, noodles, charlatans, blackguards, ignoramuses, wolves,

Attending the dedication of a Masonic Hall, on a certain occasion, he was invited by the presiding officer "to offer a short prayer," to which he responded by rising, spreading out his long arms and saying, "Lord, be merciful to us, sinners," and sat down.

drunkards, vile imposters, gullers, gullies, coxcombs, noodle-nobility, debauchees, a motley, nocturnal crew, blasphemers, bacchanalians, deceptive hearts, imposters, dumpling heads, nincompoops, blockheads."

With this nomenclature to refresh him, he goes on to say that Freemasonry is the step that leads down to the gates of hell; it is the path of perdition; it is the conclave of corruption, of disgusting and blasphemous rites; it is Milton's darkness visible, worse folly than Bedlam's, an asinine, an ass-asinine affair! "It is atheism and infidelity, a degrading mummery, a genuine academy of Satan, a sink of iniquity and corruption; it maintains midnight revels; it is the legitimate offspring of hell; the modern whore of Babylon; it is naught but darkness, falsehood, fiction, corruption, and licentiousness; its temples contain dissipation and delusion; its mysteries are false and wicked; it is a blood-stained order, a monster, the offspring of the meanest motives; its Grand Lodge is a focus of iniquity, mystery, and mountain school of old Nick; its altars are altars of infidelity; it protects fraud and villainy, quackery, mummery, trumpery, fraud, and falsehood; it is emphatically the manufactory of noodles!"

None will deny Southwick the merit of originality and invention, and when he made the canvass of the State for Governor, he enriched political language, and made things hot for his opponents, among whom, by this time, Thurlow Weed was chief.*

Rev. Henry Ward Dana, in "Anti-Masonic Review" referred to before, declares that "Anderson's constitutions blew the first strain of Masonic vainglory and unearthly

* Hon. C. P. Tucker, long Grand Master of Vermont, knew Southwick well in his old age, friendless and poor. He was then lecturing on temperance, to scanty profit. Tucker attributes to him strong powers, intense prejudices, absolute independence of thought, great fancy, active imagination. While Miller made himself County Clerk, and Weed, wealth and fame, Southwick, more disinterested, ended his life in poverty and seclusion. He denounced Weed in 1832, in the most virulent terms, declaring that the paper which Weed published (the Albany "Evening Journal"), had no Anti-Masonic blood in its veins, though the sum of four thousand dollars had been subscribed by the Anti-Masonic party to give Weed a start. He declares that "a baser and more profligate imposition than the aforesaid journal was never palmed off upon the people in any country. There is nothing so hateful nothing so despicable in the eyes of the considerate and the just, as political Anti Masonry."

mystery. He and Desagulers were men of low character and base spirit." This was rough on Masonic worthies, but Anderson and Desaguler outlived it, while I spent ten minutes hunting my memorandums to find Dana's first name before I succeeded.

The State Anti-Masonic Convention at Utica, N. Y., August, 1828, that nominated Granger for Governor, met in the Baptist church. This brought the Rev. David Bernard into notice, and gave him a clear vote for this resolve: "Turner is capable of contriving, effecting and concealing the crimes of kidnapping and murder. We will not vote for any adhering Mason. The shameless falsehoods and swollen verbiage of St. John's day orators, and the pompous eulogiums of school boy declaimers shall no longer serve Freemasonry. Her borrowed plumes shall be plucked from her shameless front, and her silken vestments no longer conceal her impositions." This reminds the reader of the terrible diatribe at LeRoy, N. Y., in 1828. "The obligations of Masonry are diametrically opposed to good government and subservient to the principles of justice and good order. They are neither legally, morally or religiously binding. The order itself is one of dangerous tendency. It weakens the sanctions of virtue in the mind of its initiate. Seventeen objections to Masonry were presented at LeRoy, that is, Freemasonry is said to be opposed to the genius of this government, to the Spirit of Christ, and to the welfare of society, for seventeen reasons, viz:

1. It exercises power over the persons and lives of citizens.
2. It arrogates the right to punish its members for offenses unknown to the law of the land.
3. It requires the concealment of crime, and protects the guilty from punishment.
4. It encourages the commission of crime by affording the means of escape.
5. It assumes titles and dignities incompatible with republican government.

6. It affords an opportunity for the corrupt and designing to form plans against government and individuals.

7. It destroys the principles of equality by bestowing favors on its own members, and excluding others equally meritorious.

8. It creates odious aristocracies by obligations to support the interest of members in preference to others of equal qualifications.

9. It blasphemes the name, and attempts the personification of the Great Jehovah.

10. It prostitutes sacred Scriptures to unholy purposes, to subserve its own secular and trifling forms.

11. It weakens the sentiments of morality and religion by the multiplication of profane oaths, and an immoral familiarity with religious forms and ceremonies.

12. It encourages in its ceremonies an unholy commingling of divine truth with impious human inventions.

13. It substitutes self-righteousness and the ceremonies of Freemasonry, for the vital religion and ordinances of the Gospel.

14. It promotes habits of idleness and intemperance, by the members neglecting business to attend meetings and drink libations.

15. It accumulates funds at the expense of indigent persons and to the damage of their females, and dissipates them in rioting and pleasure, and its own senseless ceremonies and exhibitions.

16. It contracts the sympathies of human hearts from all the unfortunate by confining charities to its own members, and the private interests of the few at the expense of the many.

17. It destroys veneration for religion and religious ordinances by the profane use of religious forms.*

There is a piece of declamation which cost Thurlow

* Many years since, I was upon a voyage of a week, going down the Mississippi River. Upon the crowded boat we had a score or so of Masons, men of various ages, professions, localities and forms of religious belief. Having a copy of these LeRoy "Seventeens," I called my Brethren into my state-room one by one, and read the list to each, asking each one earnestly upon his honor, as a Mason, "Has Freemasonry ever presented itself in this light to you? Is anyone of these seventeen charges well founded, in your experience?" The reply from each was, "It has not,—it is not!"

Weed, it is said, a hard month's work. It is the basis of all this class of assaults upon Freemasonry, of which a hundred or more are on record. Some have shortened the list, some lengthened it, but practically it is the alpha and omega of objections against the Order.

I have spoken of Henry Ward Dana, editor of the "Anti-Masonic Review," started in New York city, in 1828. As Southwick was the fog-horn, Weed the Mephistopheles, so Dana was the scholar of the party. He was made a Mason, according to his own statement, in American Union Lodge, No. 1, Marietta, Ohio, in 1822. The only Lodge he ever visited was the one at Leicester, Mass., February 3, 1827. He sacrificed his money, time and temporal interests for the Anti-Masonic party by publishing the "Anti-Masonic Review," for two years; and here, and in good grammar and elevated style is his introductory:

"Of all the great associations of the present day, Freemasonry is peculiar and extraordinary. It claims to be benevolent in its design, while it hides itself like treason. It professes to ameliorate the condition of man not by supporting teaching, or improving agriculture, or with any other single operation, but altogether in a general way. While other benevolent societies uniformly agree to strengthen themselves in public esteem by the fullest display of their proceedings, this alone strengthens itself in secrecy; while the others have invariably a single aim in view which they carefully prosecute, this alone carefully wraps itself in obscurity, folds its precise objects in thick darkness and leaving the inquirer to study its direct aim, replies, with manifest importance, 'I am a secret!'"

He goes on in this style to say further that Freemasonry invites no membership, that it is not frivolous, it displaces Christianity, it claims to be the secret of the Gospel and the handmaid of religion. But it discovers more of the Master than the secret. It has grown to a gigantic height. It was a Pharisee in the beginning. Its gifts to its members are a debt secured by an oath. It is not charity. Its

kindness is stained with marks of selfishness. It has a double tongue in prayer. And this he says not to dishonor Freemasons, but to give them light! The amount of philanthropy bestowed in that way upon the Masonic Fraternity was very great! Even men of the lowest grade, the Giddinses, the Bernards, the Stearnses, the Bradleys, nay even the Greenes and Allyns, and more recently the Finneys and Blanchards, vaunt their unselfishness, and declare that "their great purposes in exposing Masonic affairs to the world are to benefit the world in general and Freemasons in particular!"

"However beneficial secret societies may have been in the dark ages, to polish the rough ashlar at the time the world was destitute of a written or printed language, its benefits ceased when the press unfolded to all the means of moral polish. Like the magi of the East, it is a trick of some of the schools to render the approach to knowledge dark and difficult, enveloping it in symbols and mystic flummery. But these things are passing off with many other useless ancient customs, and have now no votaries, except among the vulgar who view their ancestors wiser than themselves." That is the veritable dogma of David Cade Miller, extracted verbatim from his "Republican Advocate," in its palmiest days.

The celebrated bill, appointing a special counsel on the Morgan trials, passed April 15th, 1828, was first recommended by Nath. Pitcher, acting Governor. On the death of Clinton. Pitcher advised that the power of District Attorneys be vested in the special counsel, and that he should personally conduct the criminal prosecutions, etc. Miller, of the "Advocate," expressed his opinion at the outset, that the measure would prove a failure, as truly it did. Moseley was the first appointee, then Spencer, then Birdseye. But it proved a blight to Spencer's highest hopes. One of the most promising men of the age, he was left behind in the race

of promotion by all his great New York cotemporaries, who joined the Anti-Masonic party, Marcy, Fillmore, Van Buren, and Seward. Spencer had much in him that soared above the Weeds, Grangers and Southwicks of his day. He admitted manfully, that the body found at Oak Orchard Harbor was that of Timothy Monro, and not William Morgan. He avoided the vulgar method of denouncing as knaves and scoundrels, Chesebro and the others who took part in the deportation of Morgan, but calls them "respectable men," "men of the highest standing," "men heretofore unimpeachable in character," and the like. But his opinion of Freemasonry was degrading and absurd. He called it by a classical, but most unapt simile, *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*. He said that "the whole community was wounded in the person of William Morgan; the outrage perpetrated upon him was a crime against society, and involved the personal liberty of every citizen." He admitted, however, that unprejudiced jurors could not be found in counties, where all the men had been working in committees of investigation and in Anti-Masonic conventions. His instructions, as Special Counsel were:—

1. To institute inquiries concerning William Morgan, and his fate.
2. To ascertain names and residences of witnesses.
3. To cause witnesses to be examined before proper magistrates.
4. To cause the necessary process to be issued for the apprehension of persons implicated in the affair.
5. To assist in preparing the indictments.
6. To attend trials at General Session, or Oyer and Terminer.
7. To perform all other necessary acts.

But he found that designing men of the class represented by Thurlow Weed, were too ready to avail themselves of public opinion, in perverting it to their own selfish pur-

poses, and that had largely changed the current of opinion concerning the whole affair.

The popular feeling was greatly harrowed up for awhile by the exhibition of Anti-Masonic pictures. One of these was shown at the Albany State Anti-Masonic Convention, and afterward in different parts of the country. It professed to represent the "Immolation of William Morgan." He is depicted stretched upon a broad plank, supported upon two boxes. His arms and legs are tied, and two men are holding his feet, while another cuts his throat. The face of the victim expresses the utter hopelessness of despair. The tight drawn lips are horridly suggestive. No one can over-state the evil impressions made by this and other caricatures on the minds of the young.

Francis Granger, a defeated candidate for governor on the Anti-Masonic ticket, bid high for popular suffrages. He authorized the statement that from the earliest investigations of the principles of Freemasonry he had shown himself the friend of those who dared to stand forth fearlessly and boldly, avowed enemies of secret societies.

"RESOLVED, That it is satisfactorily ascertained that direct Masonic influence has been used in this and other states to promote the political preferment of the Fraternity to the exclusion of others not Masons, equally well qualified, by filling nearly all offices of trust, honor and emolument, with Masons and their supporters, thereby developing its political character; Anti-Masons are therefore necessarily compelled to resort to the elective franchise, in order to protect their rights and their liberties.

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend to the people the propriety of political opposition to all adherents and supporters of Masonry whether oath-bound or otherwise."—*Pennsylvania Anti-Masonic Convention, Harrisburg, February 22, 1832, forty counties being represented.*

But there is not room in this volume for further developments of the Anti-Masonic plans of attack. The reader will see that the purse and the brain were united. Where

the money came from is a greater mystery to this day than the fate of Morgan.

To say that a million dollars in cash was expended to establish the Anti-Masonic party, elect an Anti-Masonic president and break down American secretism is but a moderate estimate. This for those days was an immense sum. Who contributed it? The founders of the Anti-Masonic party were mostly poor men. Weed, Whittlesey and Southwick were impecunious freelancers. Fillmore, Spencer, Granger and Seward were young, promising lawyers, with scanty means at their command. Where did the money come from? Who was the Philo Carpenter of 1828, the Peter Cooper of 1830? It would have been an act of sheer justice, with not a tinge of revenge to embitter it, had the legislature of New York, in 1837, when this pestiferous band of Anti-Masons were dissolved, appointed a committee of inquiry to discover who contributed the money in the Anti-Masonic campaign, who constituted the disbursing committees for the publishing fund, the lecturing fund, the secret service fund, etc., and more particularly, how much of it Thurlow Weed got.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SPIRIT OF THE DEFENSE.

IT has been intimated that the Freemasons, as a body, endured with impatience the attacks to which they were subjected on account of the Morgan affair. Argumentative men in the ranks advised their opponents to wait until Morgan's body was found, until some positive evidence of murder was elicited, at least until something could be established to base an argument upon. More than one quiet, truthful man, such as Salem Town, Abelard Reynolds, and the like, declared openly "That he would secede from Masonry whenever proof could be adduced of Morgan's murder;" and many a dollar was contributed by Masons in following up whatever clue to the mystery seemed to be opened. The only reward offered for anything, as far as I can discover, during the contest (save the State rewards under gubernatorial proclamation), was \$100, proposed by the Masons of Batavia, for the discovery of the persons who attempted to burn Miller's printing office there in September, 1826; and \$50 to any one who could show, from government rolls, that Morgan was ever in the United States army. So evident indeed was the anxiety of the Freemasons to find Morgan, and bring him back to New York, to vindicate themselves from the charge of murder, that thousands of sensible citizens lived and died under the belief that Weed and his confederates had him in their own keeping, covertly hid away until his decease, knowing that his reappearance on the stage of action would be speedy death to the Anti-Masonic party.

In the preceding chapter I have given, in some detail,

the spirit of the Anti-Masonic ATTACK. The reader will see that this spirit was malign, vindictive, cruel, diabolical. The web of Anti-Masonic literature was lies, and half-truths were woven into it as filling. Honest dislike to Masonic secretism was made to appear as hatred to Masonry. Venial errors of individual Masons were held up as incurable faults of the Institution. The good deeds of the Order as such, were lessened in quantity and value, or totally ignored. The vilest words in the language were applied to men, admittedly the best of the age, to the Society, the only secret Order then in existence, to the principles of the Institution, the loftiest and noblest in the human character. Now we shall see what was the spirit of the DEFENSE.

The rascality and hypocrisy of Anti-Masonic emissaries were fully exposed to the reading world, and afforded powerful weapons of defense. As at the present time, men of reputation for truth and decency could not be found for the dirty work of the Anti-Masonic party; and as the vices of those men became public, the world at large was promptly notified of the discovery. In January, 1831, for instance, Enoch E. Camp, editor of "The Sun," an Anti-Masonic sheet at Watertown, N. Y., absconded with a considerable sum of money. He had been holding Anti-Masonic lodges through the country, at 12½ cents admission, and exhibiting ceremonies therein professedly Masonic. His companion was one S. N. Sweet. This bit of history gave Weed and his party much chagrin.

The Little Falls "Friend," of July 28, 1829, gives a first-class notice of a set of "Anti-Masonic exponents," worthily represented in these later days by Ronayne and his gang: "Three lazy, swindling mountebanks, strolling through the country, advertising to exhibit Masonic degrees, etc., were arrested in their progress a few days since, being prosecuted for their non-performance at Fonda's Bush, and permitted to rest a while from their inglorious labors within the precincts of Johnstown jail."

Of Samuel D. Greene the Masonic papers of the period could never say enough that was derogatory and degrading. He was styled the diffused infection of a man. Engaged to establish the Anti-Masonic party in Massachusetts, it was declared that his presence in Boston became a pestilence, his example the contagion of moral death. He was stigmatized as a person of desperate daring and consummate hypocrisy, his general character black and infamous, yet by practicing the arts of the deep and calculating hypocrite, he had gained admission into the Church, then into the Lodge. Confessing to be one of the original conspirators against William Morgan, the Lodge at Batavia had expelled him. In April, 1833, Charles W. Moore, of Boston, editor of the Masonic organ there, having exposed the hypocrisy of Greene by republishing an article from a Batavia paper, in which Greene was specifically charged with perjury, a bill of indictment for libel was found against Moore and his partner Sevey, by the grand jury of Suffolk county. Witnesses were summoned to Boston all the way from western New York, such as Fred Follett, from Batavia; Gen. Almon Stevens, from Warsaw; Col. Johnson Goodwill, from Pembroke; Hooker Pigsby, from Monroe county, and others, and documentary evidence in abundance, was adduced. The witnesses testified that Greene's character was very bad in the county of his birth. They had heard him called a thief, liar, perjurer, etc., to his face. He left the state of New York between two days; was an insolvent debtor; was expelled by the Lodge; was believed to keep a lewd house, etc. The trial was a long and complicated one, but in the end the verdict not guilty acquitted Moore and Sevey from the libel.*

* By the favor of Hon. Sereno D. Nickerson, Grand Secretary of Massachusetts, I have been presented with the records of this trial, viz., "Trial of Moore & Sevey for a libel on Samuel D. Greene in the municipal court, Boston, July term, 1833. Reported by Charles H. Locke, Boston; published by Moore & Sevey, 1833." 12mo., pp. 78.

The case of Thomas Hamilton was one which for a time caused immense mortification to the Anti-Masonic party. Hamilton renounced Masonry, pretended to be in possession of important facts concerning Morgan, and began to expose the Institution under the license of a Methodist preacher. For the latter offense, however, he was promptly committed to jail for three months under title of vagrant and imposter. But this did not daunt him. The Anti-Masonic party was in need of bold, bad men, and under the patronage of Weed, Hamilton became a full-fledged secular preacher of Anti-Masonry. For a year or more his life was fraught with romance. Twice he disappeared in drunken seclusion, leaving the impression upon the public mind that he had been murdered by Masons. His infamy culminated in an attempt at rape upon a child nine years of age, for which he was sent to the state's prison for seven years, and by the time he was released Weed had become a whig, and the Anti-Masonic party was defunct.

Not one of the itinerant lecturers employed by Weed and company, to perambulate the state and cast ridicule upon the ritual teachings of Freemasonry was a man of honor or public respect. They were invariably of the dregs of the people, uneducated, ready to catch at anything that promised lucre, and despised even by their employers. Witness the fact that the "Evening Journal," Weed's own organ, rarely mentions them or their appointments or their work. Like Giddins, they were charged with peddling erotic literature. Ladies of respected households wouldn't abide them as visitors, and no houses were open to them, save the lower class of taverns. Nor was the business sufficiently profitable to encourage them to continue it save for a brief period of time.

The Grand Royal Arch Chapter, of New York, in 1827, at its first convocation following the Morgan affair, passed a preamble and resolutions as below, representatives of one

hundred and ten subordinate Chapters, composing the organization that year. This Grand Chapter has for three-quarters of a century maintained a high reputation for dignity and usefulness:

“WHEREAS, The rights of personal liberty and security are guaranteed by the free constitution under which the members of this Grand Chapter, in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens, have the happiness to live; and

WHEREAS, We esteem the preservation of these rights of vital importance to the perpetuity and full enjoyment of the blessings of our Republican institutions; and

WHEREAS, The community has lately witnessed a violation of the same, under the alleged pretext of the Masonic name and sanction, in the case of WILLIAM MORGAN; and

WHEREAS, The principles of our ancient and honorable fraternity contain nothing which, in the slightest degree, justifies or authorizes such proceedings, but on the contrary do, in all their tenets and ceremonies, encourage and inculcate a just submission to the laws, the enjoyment of equal rights by every individual, and a high and elevated spirit of personal as well as national independence; therefore,

RESOLVED, By this Grand Chapter, that we, its members, individually, and as a body, do disclaim all knowledge or approbation of the said proceedings in relation to the abduction of the said WILLIAM MORGAN; and that we disapprove of the same as a violation of the majesty of the laws, and an infringement of the rights of personal liberty, secured to every citizen of our free and happy republic.

RESOLVED, That the following report, preamble, and resolution be published.

A true extract from the minutes of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of New York.

JOHN O. COLE,
Grand Secretary.”

It will be observed that this action was had in February following the Morgan affair, and while the land was stirred with rumors unauthenticated, yet unrefuted, concerning it. The singular hesitation and uncertainty that pervaded the document, will be understood from the opening paragraph of the report; here it is:

"The Committee have attended the duties assigned them, but from the highly agitated and inflamed state of public feeling on this subject, and from the false and undeserved imputations which have been thrown upon Freemasons and the Masonic Order generally, your Committee deem it proper that this Grand Chapter should make a public expression of its sentiments, etc."

Much was said at the time in praise of the prompt and patriotic course pursued by the Lyons (N. Y.) Royal Arch Chapter, by whom the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, March, 15, 1827, immediately upon the action of the Grand Chapter as above:

"WHEREAS, The abduction of William Morgan has given rise to much excitement in the public mind against the fraternity of Freemasons, and as efforts have been made both in public newspapers and private circles to charge the outrage committed upon his person against the whole body of Masons, as such; and,

WHEREAS, Many pretend to believe and endeavor to inculcate that belief in others, that the Masonic Fraternity claims a right to inflict corporal punishment, and even to put to death such of its members as reveal its secrets or violate its laws, therefore

RESOLVED, That we hereby declare unto the world, that Masons acknowledge no laws which contravene the constitution and laws of their country, and that the Masonic Institution claims no right to inflict corporal or other punishment upon its members except suspensions and expulsions; and that the exercise of any further or any greater power than this would be in violation of the most sacred principles of our Order.

RESOLVED, That we view with deep regret the gross violation of the laws of our country, and the rules and principles of Masonry, by members of our Institution, in the late affair of William Morgan, and that we utterly disclaim all knowledge of, or participation whatever in, the abduction of said MORGAN; and that we will, as Masons, have no communication whatever with those persons who were engaged in the perpetration of this horrid outrage."

Similar resolutions were adopted by numerous Masonic bodies, and had not Weed, Miller, Whittlesey, a few others

run the matter so soon with a political party, which denounced all Masons as murderers, and demanded the immediate suppression of the Society and its Lodges there can be no question but that all the facts in the Morgan affair would have been speedily traced up and published.* "All united in the belief that a wrong had been committed, and all disapproved of the same, and so long as the attention of the several committees was confined to the discovery and punishment of the perpetrators, the considerate of all parties agreed in sentiment and wishes." (Brown's "Narrative.")

I have reserved for this place the three proclamations of Gov. DeWitt Clinton, relative to the Morgan matter. The first was made at the request of the committee of ten appointed at the Batavia meeting, of October 4, 1826, and dated the seventh of the same month.

"DEWITT CLINTON, Governor of the State of New York, to state officers and ministers of justice in said state and particularly in the County of Genesee and the neighboring counties, Greeting—

WHEREAS, Information under oath, has been transmitted to me by Theodore F. Talbott, Esq., and other citizens of the County of Genesee, acting as a committee in behalf of the people of that county, representing that divers outrages and oppressions have been committed on the rights of persons residing in the village of Batavia, and that disturbances have ensued which are injurious and may prove destructive to peace and good order in that quarter; now, therefore I urge it upon you, and each of you, to pursue all proper and efficient measures for the apprehension of the offenders and the prevention of further outrages. And I do also request the good citizens of this state, to coöperate with the civil authorities in maintaining the ascendancy of law and good order."

* While putting the last touch to this page, March 6, 1883, I have observed in the Liberal Freemason, of Boston, Mass., of this month, a notice of the death of Aaron Griswold, who was one of the committee that drafted the resolutions, &c., of Lyons Chapter. He died in Clyde, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1883, aged 83. I was much indebted to him for facts relative to the Morgan affair.

The second proclamation was issued on the 26th of the same month of October, 1827, and is accompanied by offers of rewards, as follows:

“WHEREAS, it has been represented to me that William Morgan, who was unlawfully conveyed from the jail of the County of Ontario, some time in the month of September last, has not been found, and that it might have a beneficial effect in restoring him to his family, and in promoting the detection and punishment of the perpetrators of this violent outrage, if, in addition to the proceedings heretofore adopted by me, a proclamation was issued offering a specific reward for these purposes.

Now, therefore, in order that the offenders may be brought to condign punishment, and the violated majesty of the laws, thereby effectually vindicated, I do, hereby, offer in addition to the assurances of compensation heretofore given, a reward of \$300 for the discovery of the offenders, and a reward of \$100 for the discovery of any and every one of them, to be paid on conviction; and also a further reward of \$200 for authentic information of the place where the said William Morgan has been conveyed; and I do enjoin it upon all sheriffs, magistrates, and other officers and ministers of justice, to be vigilant and active in the discharge of their duties on this occasion.”

But one claimant, I think, Orson Benjamin, ever appeared and received a reward of \$100. This was at Canandaigua, after the trials of Chesebro and the three others. Clinton refers in the second proclamation to “assurance of compensation heretofore given.” This must have been through his letters to the Batavia committee accompanying a copy of the first proclamation, for there is nothing said of rewards in that document. The third proclamation appeared 19th of March, 1827, as follows:

“WHEREAS, the measures adopted for the discovery of William Morgan, after his unlawful abduction from Canandaigua, in September last, have not been attended with success, and

WHEREAS, many of the good citizens of this State are under the impression, from the lapse of time and circumstances, that he has been murdered,

Now therefore, to the end that if living, he may be returned to his family, and if murdered, that the perpetrators may be brought to condign punishment. I have thought fit to issue this proclamation, promising a reward of \$1,000 for the discovery of the offenders, to be paid on conviction, and on the certificate of the attorney general, or officer prosecuting on the part of the State, that the person claiming the last mentioned reward, is, or are, justly entitled to the same under this proclamation.

And I further promise a *free pardon*, so far as I am authorized under the constitution of this State, to any accomplice or coöperator, who shall make a full discovery of the offender or offenders. And I do enjoin it upon all officers and ministers of justice, and all other persons, to be vigilant and active in bringing to justice the perpetrators of a crime so abhorrent to humanity, and so derogatory from the ascendancy of law and good order."

These are the public evidences of the desire of DeWitt Clinton to maintain the ascendancy of law. I cannot learn from any of my informants that either of the Anti-Masonic committees, or any member of the Anti-Masonic party offered rewards in this connection.

The character of Gov. Clinton was so thoroughly understood in New York that it was only by inuendo, that even in the fervor of the contest, he was ever charged with permitting his attachment to Masonry to override his zeal in official duty. But in Massachusetts, several years after Clinton's death, that strolling exhibitor of Masonic rituals, Samuel D. Greene, in a public lecture, singled out DeWitt Clinton and said he was guilty of the murder of Morgan; he singled out the Masons as a band of murderers, and said that Clinton in particular was guilty. This worst of the Anti-Masons who was invited to Boston to conduct that worst of Anti-Masonic papers, the "Christian Herald," would never have dared in the state of New York, in the worst hours of the contest, to vilify the character of DeWitt Clinton in that manner.

A story is told, but probably with no foundation that

a Canadian crank went to Albany early in 1828, got an introduction to Clinton and offered, for the sum of \$5,000, to bring William Morgan to that city in chains. The answer was the boot of the exasperated Governor and a threat that if he didn't leave Albany before night the police should be set upon him. We can imagine the troubles of this sort that must have oppressed the last year of Clinton's life. From Bernard the reverend to Avery Allyn the irreverend, he was the recipient of floods of slang, threatening, insulting, reviling him. Had he lived a few years longer he would have suffered from the epistolary attacks of John Quincy Adams, Wirt, Rush, Stone, and the rest who made the lives of Livingstone and others almost unendurable with their "Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry."

A vigorous speaker described "this mongrel party called Anti-Masons as undertaking to upset Freemasonry. Let them upset. They will find they have simply upset a cube, —whichever side they turn it on it will stand four-square, solid as ever!"

Under the charge that Masonry was dying out, the Masonic writers answered by referring to the results of the ten great persecutions of the Christian Church,* the last by the Roman Emperor, Diocletian, about A.D. 290. After each of these, the religion of Jesus was said to be dying out. What a mistake. It was but dampening the flame to make it burn the hotter. Dr. Salem Town, eminent as one of the best educators of his age, and for sixty years and upward Grand Chaplain of New York, ventured openly to declare (and he was by no means a controversialist), to declare, I say, in Albany, within the hearing of the Anti-Masonic leaders, "that from his studies of history he ventured to predict that within twenty years the world would see the greatest revival Freemasonry had ever enjoyed." This was in 1829, nearly the darkest hour in

Masonic history. The venerable sage lived thirty-five years longer (1864) to see that Freemasonry had increased three-fold beyond any former standard. The statistics of Lodges represented in the Grand Lodge of New York for nine successive years are worth preserving:

In 1827 there were represented in Grand Lodge 227 Lodges.

1828	"	"	"	"	"	"	120	"
1829	"	"	"	"	"	"	87	"
1830	"	"	"	"	"	"	77	"
1831	"	"	"	"	"	"	71	"
1832	"	"	"	"	"	"	52	"
1833	"	"	"	"	"	"	56	"
1834	"	"	"	"	"	"	53	"
1835	"	"	"	"	"	"	49	" *

There was another element besides Anti-Masonry to be taken into consideration in explaining this decline, viz: the formation of a rival (irregular) Grand Lodge in New York. This is no place for enlarging upon the unhappy episode, but it was a source of great damage to the genuine Institution, and coming upon the top of the Morgan difficulty, it gives evidence of great inherent strength in the Institution, when such men as Salem Town, James Herring, John D. Willard and others could venture upon prophecies of coming greatness at times when all seemed dark and hopeless.

One pulpit speaker of the day (I have lost his name, but think it was Lorenzo Dow) showed in 1832 that Freemasonry had not lost more in proportion from the Anti-Masonic excitement than the Christian churches had. He pointed out the spiritual deadness of the churches from the year 1826, the dearth of revivals, the want of evangelical spirit, etc., and charged it immediately upon Anti-Masonry, which had directed the hearts of preachers and people into by-roads away from the one subject of Christ and Him crucified. In this latter day I have often seen that wherever

* In 1840 there were seventy-seven lodges upon the rolls of the regular Grand Lodge of New York. In 1883 there are eight hundred.

a minister turns his pulpit into a station for preaching Anti-Masonry, his church deadens, wavers and dies out, or runs into isms not contemplated in the constitution of the church.

It must be confessed that nothing was omitted by the Freemasons that could exasperate their opponents to the commission of false moves in their game. All through the spring of 1827 the Craft were active, but their master stroke was a grand Masonic mass meeting held at Batavia, New York, in June, 1827. I have a letter written me in 1853 by a then aged Brother Mason, which so well describes the affair that I give it entire:

"I made a memorandum in 1827 of a Masonic celebration at Batavia, which is worth your reading, if only to contrast it with the peaceful and satisfactory doings of the present times. I will give it to you somewhat enlarged, and with a few explanatory details.

June, 1827, invitation accepted to attend Masonic festival at Batavia. Notice general—disposition among the Craft to exhibit their sense of outrage in the various recent Anti-Masonic meetings and circulars, by turning out in full force. As Batavia has been the center of the conspiracy against Masonry, as well as the scene of the Morgan affair, no place more fitting could have been selected for our purpose. This is from my memorandum book, of which I forward you a full copy:

The announcement of our intended celebration excited a violent opposition among the Antis. Miller, the infamous partner of Morgan, who, more than any one else, was interested in keeping up the excitement, issued a circular for an 'Anti-Masonic meeting' to be held at the same time and place with our semi-annual gathering.

Besides these printed slips, every sort of lie was promulgated to get a crowd together and break up our festival. Some said we were going to lynch Miller and burn his house. Some, that a military company of Masons was to be formed for attack and defense, and one old lady had it—whether original with herself or not I don't know—that we were going to march to Albany *en masse*, gather all the

Masons as we went and storm the legislature, as the New Jersey line did congress in 1782.

June came around, and such a sight never had these eyes witnessed. The town of Batavia was thronged, crowded, over-crowded with people come to keep the peace. A friend in the town told me they began to come in before sunset the evening before, and that as he walked out just before day, to witness the astonishing sight, the appearances around the outskirts of Batavia, where they had lain down to sleep, were those of an army.

Well might he say army! It is computed there were twelve thousand people present, drawn together by those flying, lying rumors. I know the number was so great that everything eatable in the place was consumed as by a flight of locusts, and did not suffice for the half of those present. Though families sold, and at double rates too, their meat and flour, and the beef and pork from their very powdering tubs, there were thousands who got not a bite of food that day until late in the afternoon they sought it at the farm houses miles away from Batavia.

Oh, the scowling faces I saw as I rode in about 8 o'clock that morning! Oh, the devilish imprecations I heard! Oh, the foolish gestures made at me from Morgan's book for Masonic signs! Oh, the pass-words from the same immaculate source! A friend, the one already alluded to, stopped me opposite his door, and begged me by every plea he could urge,—by religion, truth and peace, by my family, by my life, imperiled by my presence, to go home and avoid the certain death that awaited me.

You will ask, What were my own feelings? I answer, a determination to push forward or die. I felt that the very life of Masonry in that region depended upon our carrying out our plan. Had we given it up, our enemies would have been strengthened to overthrow us. When we got to the Lodge where the Brethren had many of them already met, I found the general sentiment was, that the call for the festival was an injudicious one, but since it was made, it behooved us to see it through.

In the company, that sacred band, every one of whom felt that he might be massacred before high twelve, there were grey-haired men and youth—stalwart yeomen and pale students—devoted Gospel ministers and church officers.

There was not a man but what I would have trusted with my purse, my good name, and the honor of my wife. And among them all, though there were blanched cheeks and moistened eyes, and prayerful hearts, as the roar of the mob swelled up into the open windows of the Lodge, not a proposition met my ears of backing out.

A stout-hearted Brother, an old sailor in Perry's fleet, who went out to take an observation as he called it, came back and reported that the crowd was not armed; but had left their guns, daggers and shillalabs, outside the village under a strong guard ready for immediate use. This fact gave us an idea that the mob would not make an attack unless we began it, and as we did not design anything warlike, it gave us a partial sense of security.

Most fervent was the opening prayer of the Lodge, as you may be sure, and most hearty was the 'so mote it be.' In times of great danger we are instructed by the requisitions of Masonry to put our trust in God, and if ever we performed that requisition in good earnest, it was on that day of June.

The procession was formed and marched forth. It was a sight long to be remembered. The crowd opened to the right and left, as the grave old Tylers, with shouldered swords, marched right forward as they had been directed by the Masters, looking neither to the right nor to the left. The crowd, I say, opened to the right and left, faced inwards and glared at us. I declare to you their eyes glared, some of them, like tigers. But not a word beyond muttered curses was spoken. Two or three pebbles were thrown at the Tylers without effect. It was said to be done by some boys, for even the Antis were ashamed of that. A drunken wagoner drove his wagon twice backwards and forwards across the procession, and that was all. Had the twelve thousand men been a guard of honor, they couldn't have performed the duty better or more quietly. In fact, a Brother whispered to me after we got into the church, that he should move a vote of thanks to the citizens for their courtesy and politeness on the occasion, but he didn't.

So we went to the Church, heard a good oration from George Hosmer, one of the real old-fashioned stamp, came quietly back, no pebbles, no wagon, not a word of disturbance, had our dinner, and went home. The Antis, after we

got back to the Lodge, had a public meeting of their own; heard a speech from a lawyer, another from a preacher; passed some resolutions, and then they dispersed, hungry, tired, and drunk. And so ended our St. John's festival."

The following fair and candid account of Thurlow Weed is found in the "Political History of New York;" I condense it but slightly:

"In the latter part of the winter of 1830, the Anti-Masonic party established at Albany the 'Evening Journal,' under the editorial management of Thurlow Weed, then a member of the Legislature from the county of Monroe. Four thousand dollars bonus, a considerable sum in those days, was presented him as a retainer, and he moved with his family to Albany. He was one of the most shrewd and sagacious political editors and eagle-eyed politicians the State of New York ever produced. Weed was a self-made man. When a boy, he had been bound out apprentice to the printing art in a small establishment in a country village; but at that period of his life he gave but little promise of becoming even a respectable man, for his habits were extremely reckless, and he was indisposed to any regular course of industry. Influenced by a propensity for roving, or excited by youthful ardor, the bustle and parade of military life so far fascinated him, that in the early part of the war with Great Britain, he enlisted as a private or musician in one of the volunteer regiments of militia, and continued in the service during some part of the war.* When peace was declared in 1815, Weed was cast upon the world, without friends, without money, and, comparatively speaking, without education, with habits ill fitted to advance him in life as a man of business. He was not, however, dishonest. He returned to the trade which he learned when a boy, reformed his habits, and became industrious and economical. He established a newspaper in the county of Chenango, from thence to the county of Onondaga, and finally to Rochester in Monroe county, where he published a Clinton paper. At the Morgan outbreak, he took a decided stand against the Masons, and his paper soon became a leading Anti-Masonic organ. In 1830 he was made State printer. His manner of

* It was charged on Weed that he deserted from the army, but no proof was adduced.

attack upon political foes is severe and gross, but gives indications of a powerful man."

Sharp arrows were shot into Anti-Masonic circles by means of funeral notices of deceased Masons, and epitaphs upon grave stones. At Lima, N. Y., Asahel Bunnell was buried January 1, 1831; his obituary notice declares that "he had long been a member of that once venerated but now abused institution of Freemasonry, and was buried at his expressed wish according to the Masonic rites." About sixty Brethren, highly respected for their intelligence and virtue, attended his obsequies, clothed in the insignia of the Order. His epitaph is a Scriptural quotation: "The rains descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell not, FOR IT WAS FOUNDED UPON A ROCK."

Here is another, a fine epitaph of that period, but if I had room I could insert scores of them nearly as good. It gored the sensibilities of Anti-Masons to see such passages carved on tall headstones in the most eligible lots of a cemetery:

Ezekiel W. Kent,
A Freemason.
Divested
Of all the Vices and Superfluities of the Earthly Life,
He has been raised up
as a Perfect Ashlar
in the
Celestial Temple.
Died June 5, 1830,
Aged 47 years.

In the discussions of the Anti-Masonic period, we find references to Monroe Encampment No. 12, of Knights Templar, at Rochester, now Monroe Commandery No. 12. The first regular conclave of this now historical organization occurred July 10, 1826, a few weeks prior to the Morgan event. Rev. Francis H. Cumming, an Episcopal

clergyman of standing,* was first Commander; Abelard Reynolds, whose departure, December 19, 1878, was that of "the sheaf of corn fully ripe," was Captain General. Burrage Smith and John Whitney, whose names often occur in this volume, were members. The installation of the officers took place publicly in St. Luke's Episcopal Church, the Grand Commander of the State, Nathan Beers, presiding. The excitement of the period pervaded Rochester above any other place, for Thurlow Weed dwelt there, and published his Anti-Masonic "Telegraph" there. Such was the feeling, that on the 27th of February, 1829, the Encampment was disbanded, after adopting the following resolutions:—

"WHEREAS, we, the officers and members of Monroe Encampment, holden in the village of Rochester, County of Monroe, being deeply impressed with our duty, both as men and Masons, to use our best endeavors to restore harmony to the distracted community in which we live, and as it appears to us that, by returning our Charter and abstaining from our regular meetings, we will effect that sensible object, therefore,

RESOLVED, that we as citizens, but more particularly as members of our ancient and honorable Institution, the first principles of which are to promote the harmony and good of society, deem it our duty to return the charter of this Encampment to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Encampment of this State, and that the Secretary be, and is hereby instructed to return the same."

For eighteen years, viz: until 1848, this chivalrous band slumbered quietly upon parade rest; but a more auspicious day arrived, a healthy tone appeared among the people, and on the 28th of January, 1848, the charter of No. 12 was returned. General William E. Lathrop being first Commander. Among the petitioners were Abelard Reynolds and Charles

* He was Rector of St. Luke's Church, from February 21, 1821, to March, 1829, and Grand Prelate of the Grand Encampment of New York in 1827. He died at Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 26, 1862.

G. Cummings, members in 1826. Here the eminent and beloved John L. Lewis, of Penn Yan, N. Y., received the order of Knighthood; and from 1848 to 1882, no less than 780 applicants were "dubbed and created," within the asylum of this vital organization. Nicholas G. Chesebro (deceased, October 9, 1861) was also a member here, and was buried with Knightly acclaim under its auspices.

As Rochester was so long the seat of the Anti-Masonic cancer, it is pleasant to record that no city in the Union stands higher in the cultivation of Freemasonry, at the present time. Lodges, Chapters, Councils and Consistories, all have their organizations here, and all are doing well.*

I find in the Record-book of one of the old Lodges of western New York, this passage, probably an extract from a private letter received from some Missouri Brother.

"1831, May. A motion was made in the Grand Lodge of Missouri, to dissolve the Grand and Subordinate Lodges of the State; this was negatived by a strong vote, and the following resolution was adopted by unanimous voice, in its stead:

RESOLVED, that the Grand Lodge of the State of Missouri, will zealously support the interest and dignity of the Fraternity, and will strictly require of the Subordinate Lodges, under this jurisdiction, a vigilant and faithful discharge of their duties; and that it is inexpedient, either to dissolve, or to suspend the Grand or Subordinate Lodges."

At Pittsburgh, Pa., July 26, 1830, Hon. Charles Shaler, delivered a Masonic address of great power from which I borrow the following passage:

"We have fallen upon evil times and are called on to resist a torrent of invectives, to drain the bitter cup of political malevolence to its dregs. Anti-Masons say the hour of your visitation has at length arrived; the pillar of cloud that has hitherto excluded you from the view of your enemies has been raised, the pillar of fire that preceded you is extinguished. Clouds and darkness rest upon your prospects.

* I am indebted to Sir Thomas Gliddon for many of the facts incorporated in these pages.

Your minds are disturbed by apprehensions. Your boldest fear the approaching conflict. Many apostatize. Your Fraternity is threatened with dissolution. The obligations of your Order are disregarded. Your sons have been rec-reant. Your counselors have lost their wisdom. Your mighty ones decree foolishness. The zone which bound you to millions around the globe is broken."

Judge Ebenezer Mix, whose name often occurs in this volume, made an address of great merit at Batavia, N. Y., in 1833, which was largely diffused by the enterprise of the Craft at that period. One passage is highly suggestive, that in which, while he deprecates the deportation of William Morgan as an unfortunate affair, he declares his belief that "the great whole of the Fraternity has been regenerated and relieved, by the exciting scenes which followed, of many unworthy members who never should have been admitted, and who would, sooner or later, have brought a much greater disgrace on the Institution than it is possible for them now to do. * * * This affair has been rather beneficial than otherwise."

So much had been said by Weed and his echoes about the Masons holding a majority of the offices in New York, that some of the members of the Legislature undertook in a private but thorough manner to procure the facts. They discovered that in Washington county, N. Y., during twenty years only nine officers out of sixty-six were Masons.

In Northumberland county, 15 out of 89 were Masons.

In Allegany	"	92	"	303	"
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In Butler	"	7	"	70	"
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In Lehigh	"	15	"	93	"
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In some other counties the Masonic proportion was greater, but the average of the State presented something like the above figures.

After the acquittal of James Gillis, in 1830, the "Craftsman" held up the encouraging hope that Anti-Masonry was now largely in the descendent: "It appears to us that a fair

sun is again breaking in upon the benighted inhabitants of western New York, and that the desolating waves of delirium are about to cease their upheavings and undulations."

I throw together in one paragraph extracts from several Masonic addresses showing the improved health of sentiment prevailing after 1829: "If the threshold of Masonry had been properly guarded, and never crossed by unhallowed feet,—if the landmarks of the Order had always been kept in view, such a thing as Anti-Masonry had never existed. Violated as Masonry was by the initiation of men who had no heart to feel for, no hand to relieve the sufferings of humanity,—men destitute of moral principle, with whom honor is but a bubble, the dawn of a better day is at hand. The fire of persecution will separate the gold from the dross. Masons will see that they must be Masons in deed, and in the end we shall be the better for the fire of persecution." * * * "We cannot be held responsible for all the places visited after dark, by roving husbands, who profess Masonry to their domestic partners. Freemasonry runs no rivalry with the billiard-table, the saloon, the club-room. 'Where is my roving husband, to-night?' cannot be answered from the records of the Lodge! * * * These people would wipe out Freemasonry with all its monuments and emblems. A task, indeed! They must pry up the northeast corners of thousands of churches, seminaries and public buildings, as well as Masonic temples and halls. Our own Custom-house edifice; our Capitol at Washington—why, they may as well dredge the bed of the sea to recover the treasures hid there, as to efface our work even in operative Masonry, how much greater their task of destroying speculative Masonry! For a century no public edifice in all this nation, no national undertaking could be properly begun, continued or ended, without the aid of Hiram's Men! The Craft initiated, the Craft watched over, the Craft finished each. The first stone laid, the first powder-

blast set off, the first shovelfull removed, was accompanied with an effusion of the symbolical corn, wine and oil of Freemasonry! Efface our work, indeed! * * * Those who publish *exposés* must know of the imposition they are practicing upon the community; but they suppose the world will not discover that those things which render Masons known to each other and the covenants that bind Masons together, are only the outworks of the citadel. * * * John Locke was a Mason. Where is there a man among the Anti-Masons who will arrogate to himself the preëminence of being even named on the same page with John Locke, so eminent as a metaphysician, a philanthropist, a philosopher? Benjamin Franklin was a Freemason. What Anti-Mason even dare put his foot on the pedestal on which the statue of Franklin stands? * * * In the procession of 2,200 Masons, of which I formed a part, in Boston, 1830, many old men walked forth in the light of day, whom no one knew or supposed were Masons. The last of the cocked hats was there, and it is said that Oliver Wendell Holmes conceived his fine poem on that subject, while watching as a youth that Masonic parade. More than one veteran, tottering upon the brink of the grave, came at the close of a pure and honest life to testify once more before the world that he was no murderer, that Masonry was not a nest of murderers, but a school of truth and philanthropy. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Ripley (initiated in 1799), who opened the proceedings, according to the landmarks, with solemn prayer, was a Revolutionary chaplain, a man whose life had ripened with good deeds. His hoary hairs were a crown of glory to him as he bared them that morning in the presence of God and the multitude. He dared present his furrows before high heaven and ask its sanction to the Craft before him and to the work they had resolved to accomplish! * * * The peculiar forms used in Masonry, like the forms of baptism and the eucharist in the Christian cult, are

equally misunderstood by skeptics, misrepresented, scoffed at, and scorned. * * * It is not so much the question, my Brethren, whether the Freemasons murdered William Morgan as whether the principles of Freemasonry justify murder. Calvin condemned Servetus to the flames, yet Christianity does not justify the act. I appeal to every Masonic book, to every occupant of a Masonic grave, to every hearer this day, does Freemasonry justify any violation of the law divine?" * * *

I argue from two considerations that Morgan was not murdered by the Masons, and that murder was no part of the plot or plan of deportation, viz:

1. *The character of the actors.*—The reader has seen who these six men were who went forward in the task,—Nicholas G. Chesebro, Loton Lawson, John Whitney, Burrage Smith, Eli Bruce, and Col. William King. In no event of their lives was there adduced an instance of violent assault, still less of homicide.

2. *The circumstances of the plot as proven.*—Had murder been the purpose, would such traces of the plan have been left in Batavia Monday morning, September 11, 1826? or in Canandaigua, Tuesday night following? or at Hanford's Tavern, Wednesday morning following? or at Mather's, Brown's, Wright's, Molyneux's, Lewiston, Youngstown, or the ferry landing at the mouth of the river? Let any unprejudiced person examine this narrative in its details, and find the least indication of a bloody spirit if he can. But Giddins and others admit that at the first, nothing but exile was intended against Morgan, but when the American Masons found that the Canadians would not coöperate with them, and Morgan was left on their hands, they murdered him from sheer inability to make any other disposition of him! What extravagance of folly! There was nothing to prevent their turning him loose, or taking him back to Batavia. They could prove, not merely by Morgan himself, who might or might

not deny it, that every step in the deportation had been taken by his consent and concurrence. But Whitney had Morgan's receipt for \$50, given at Batavia early in September, and Danolds was witness to the payment and the signature. It was proven that after Whitney's visit to Batavia, Morgan had destroyed printed sheets, and refused to furnish further manuscript. All who rode with him to Canandaigua, to Hanford's, and on to the end of the journey, were ready to bear witness to his declarations.

It might have been said that he was taken to Canandaigua on a charge of petit larceny, which it was not intended to prosecute. This may or may not have been grounds for damages, but was certainly not grounds for a criminal charge: I suspect that such pettifogging was not uncommon in the days when a man could be imprisoned for a debt of six cents and costs.

Why then did Chesebro and the rest plead guilty of conspiracy, etc.? Because Morgan had become a fugitive. He had disappeared, leaving them under most terrible imputations, without the means of clearing themselves. They were, so to speak, his securities, and he had fled. Because John C. Spencer, who was their counsel, and, unfortunately for them, not a Mason, believed them guilty of murder, was, in fact, so confident of it, that against the etiquette and traditions of the bar, against the judgments of many high-minded men, not lawyers, he sought the position of special counsel, to hunt down the very men he had defended, and to hang them by means of the very clues they had placed in his hands.

To hear Chesebro and Whitney speak of John C. Spencer, his hypocrisy, his low opinion of his fellow-men, his insane hatred of Masonry, and his rage that, despite the immense powers put in his hands by special statute, he failed in almost every case to secure a conviction, was to be convinced that he had played the traitor to his own clients.

In the attacks upon Thurlow Weed which were incessant, and so severe that he was glad enough to get out of political Anti-Masonry even while John Quincy Adams, Rush, Thad. Stevens and others were knocking timidly at its door for admission, good use was made of his drafts upon the public treasury, extremely large in proportion to the small amount of work done. The following account, copied from the public journals, was distributed through the state of New York. It is of a piece with Weed's whole life—whatever party employed him paid him. If the items of the Secret Service Fund at Washington are ever published, there will be further developments, no doubt, in regard to this greedy politician in his patriotic work of 1861-4. But to the account:

1827. Oct. 30. The State of New York paid Joseph Garlinghouse, Sheriff of Ontario county, "for pursuing John Whitney and Burrage Smith into Kentucky" \$373.00
1828. May 9. The same man with his assistant, Phineas P. Bates, "for pursuing William King, Burrage Smith and John Whitney" \$2,096.82
1828. Aug. 22. Thurlow Weed got "for pursuing Elisha Adams to Vermont, and bringing him back to this State" \$193.55
- [Reckoned by his political opponents at the time a monstrous item.]
1830. Feb. 3. The same man (engaged all this time and abundantly paid for other Anti-Masonic work) got "for pursuing to Vermont and apprehending Orson Parkhurst" \$150.82
- John C. Spencer as special counsel got \$3,291.62
- Orson Benjamin, as the discoverer of one of the abductors of Morgan pursuant to the first proclamation of Gov. Clinton, got \$100.00

Often the sworn testimony of their own friends, men who had lost spirit under the storm, believing that the Institution was forever wrecked—often their testimony was of a nature that must have fallen like ice-water upon the

Anti-Masonic party. An instance is given in the case of Rev. Henry Jones, a witness before the Ecclesiastical Anti-Masonic Convention, at Danville (either Conn. or Mass.), December, 1828:

1. Did you, while a member of the Lodge consider that the oaths you had taken infringed upon your religious or political opinions?

I did not.

2. Did you feel bound to execute the penalties upon a member who should disclose the secrets of Masonry?

I did not.

3. Did you suppose from anything you saw or heard, that your brethren with whom you associated felt that they were to take the life of one that should disclose?

I did not.

4. Did you consider yourself bound to vote for a brother to any office in preference to another of equal qualifications?

I did not.

5. Did you consider yourself bound to screen from justice a brother who had committed a crime which exposed him to punishment by the civil law?

I did not.

6. Did you ever hear any particular religious tenets or political principles discussed in the Lodge?

I never did.

Here was a telling squib: "The Downfall of Freemasonry, being an Authentic History of the Rise, Progress and Triumph of Anti-Masonry, by Jonathan Punkin, 1838." A large edition of this was sold, and though the wit, like all the wit of the period, was paleographic, yet the points were well made, and the brochure would bear republishing even now.

In one community, where the politico-religious war raged furiously, the chairman of the Anti-Masonic "Vigilance Committee" (to this revolutionary nomenclature had they resorted) had a conference with the Master and Wardens of the Lodge, and it was mutually agreed that to restore har-

mony in the affairs of the church, school, and neighborhood generally, the Lodge should close its meetings and return its charter. It was done, done in the faith of manhood; the Grand Master accepted the charter, paraphernalia and funds of the Lodge, and its number was declared vacant. Then the cloven-foot appeared; Thurlow Weed visited the village, gave a public lecture, had a conference with the vigilants, and the next day a written declaration (in Weed's own undisguised handwriting) was made to the astonished Masons, that they must join in renouncing and denouncing the Order. Refusing to do this, they were published in the local press as cowards and hypocrites, so that their last state was very much worse than the first. It is pleasant to relate the sequel; every one of them (save four who emigrated), affiliated with in the quarter, with the nearest Lodge.

A severe attack was made by Miller in the "Republican Advocate," against Sheriff W. R. Thompson, of Genesee county, of whom I have already spoken, and it was thought something could be made out of his admissions. He admitted, without hesitation, that he was in possession of Morgan's papers, the absurd letter which threatened the *duello* (see page 96), the sworn pledge of secrecy of Miller, etc., and the penal bond of \$500,000 to Morgan himself. These he had taken as property under execution when he committed Morgan to the debtor's prison, but he returned them to Morgan the next day. In reply to various queries propounded him by the Batavia committee of ten, September, 1826, asking why he kept Morgan in custody from Saturday, August 19, to the following Monday, Sheriff Thompson says: "Morgan was placed in my custody, as sheriff, by order of Capt. Nahum Loring and Orange Allen, by virtue of a bail-piece in the suit of Ezra Strong, of Rochester, in which suit Loring and Allen were the special bail of Morgan. This suit was in the Supreme Court. Morgan was liberated from custody, by giving me bail, on

the day next succeeding the one on which he was confined. Daniel H. Dana, a constable, placed in my possession a trunk of papers, taken on execution. On the day Morgan was liberated he called and asked for them. I let him have what he wanted, but he left a bond not executed, dated August 5, etc." (the \$500,000 bond, with letters, etc., already named).

Among the band of well known Masons who touched elbows during the exciting scenes of 1826 to 1836, the name of Blanchard Powers has already been honored in these pages. In the "Masonic Register," November 16, 1836, I find an account of this good old man, which I cannot forbear copying. The "Register" is speaking of Olive Branch Lodge No. 38, at Bethany, near Batavia (now, 1883, removed to LeRoy), and it says: "There are several circumstances connected with this Lodge worthy of record. It has been termed the veteran frontier Lodge, but might justly be called the insulated Lodge, it being the only Lodge in the state, so far west, which held regular meetings and paid Grand Lodge dues from 1826 to 1839. Much praise is due the members for sustaining themselves against that tremendous cataract which for years swept everything before it. Truth has prevailed, and this little band of Brethren who contended manfully for their principles, have witnessed their triumph in the downfall of apostacy and the utter prostration of the natural enemies of Masonry. And we must render Brother Blanchard Powers the public Masonic acknowledgment so justly his due. Though upwards of seventy years of age, he has from the commencement of the Morgan difficulties, exhibited a devotion and zeal for the interests and welfare of the Order, scarcely paralleled by its most enthusiastic supporters. To his steadfast and untiring perseverance may be ascribed, in a great measure, the duration and prosperity of Masonry in the region where he presides. Our Grand Secretary, James Herring, in his last report to Grand Lodge, mentions the

valuable services of Blanchard Powers who, at seventy years of age, is zealously attached to the Order, and has in the discharge of his duties as Grand Visitor, performed services which entitle him to the thanks of the Grand Lodge. In response to this handsome testimony, the Grand Lodge ordered a written communication sent to Brother Powers as evidence of their gratitude. In 1840 I remark that his post office address was Cowlesville, New York. A Masonic hymn composed by Brother Powers was sung at the conclusion of an address delivered before Olive Branch Lodge No. 39, June 24, 1839. The poetry is not much, but it is worth reading in this connection:

Farewell Companions, Brethren dear,
 With you I've spent the festive night,
 Oft honored with supreme command,
 Presiding o'er the sons of light.
 But now my glass is almost run,
 The sands, how swift they pass away,
 Oh, let us bow before the Throne
 Our Grand High Priest the Mystic Three.

The Christian's faith, the gift of God,
 Freemasonry her sister twin,
 'Tis love unites the sisterhood
 And makes the twain be one in Him.
 Soon they will reach the throne of God,
 Where angels worship and adore
 The great mysterious Three in One,
 And praise his name forevermore.

There Masons free will join the song,
 And sing of Moses and the Lamb,
 With loud hosannas to the King
 Whose mystic name is Three-in-One.
 Then let us strive to live in love,
 Forgiving and forgiven be,
 And praise the mystic Three above
 The mystic name of One-in-Three.

May Charity, that peerless maid,
 Preside in all your feasts of love,
 And may the silken, scarlet Braid *
 Hang pendent from the wall above.

* This is in allusion to the androgynous Order in Masonry, styled the Heroine of Jericho, much cherished by Royal Arch Masons and their ladies, in those days, and conferred with peculiar fervor by Blanchard Powers, who possibly was the

And when the silver trump shall sound,
 To wake the dead from land and sea,
 We'll rise from earth's remotest bound
 To praise I AM, the Mystic Three.

Relieve the stranger in distress,
 And set the mourning captive free,
 The widow and the fatherless,
 These are thy deeds, sweet Charity.
 None but the worthy, just and true
 Associate with Masons free;
 None can our sacred treasure view
 That would blaspheme the Mystic Three."

The necessities of political strife are often called on to justify cruel and slanderous attacks upon private characters. But even Thurlow Weed himself, with his ink of vinegar and gall, never said a harder thing about an opponent than Hoffman, in the "Masonic Register," March 6, 1830, says of him, "It is currently rumored about town (Albany) that funds have been procured from various quarters, for the purpose of establishing in this city a daily paper, devoted to political Anti-Masonry and religious Orthodoxy, and to be edited by that man of unmentionable character, Thurlow Weed. As our readers will readily suppose, this experiment must result in an entire failure to advance either of the causes, for whose benefit it is ostensibly instituted. It may

author of the degree. Its history is that of Rahab and the assistance she rendered the spies of Joshua, recorded in the second chapter of that book. The badge of this pleasant Order is a Scarlet Sash or ribbon, and I have seen, among the old families of New York and other middle states, very elegant and costly crimson sashes of silk wrought with needlework by the fair owners, and used by them as Heroines of Jericho. At the celebrated affair at Batavia, June 25, 1827, described on previous pages, quite a display was made in the procession by some thirty ladies, wives of the Brethren, ladies highly respected in the community, who marched with the Craft, conspicuous in their scarlet sashes. The historian has passed over this part of the subject lightly, but I am of opinion that the attack by the outsiders, which was certainly contemplated that morning, was prevented in part, at least, by the presence of these fearless Heroines of Jericho, who would have been the first to suffer from a rush of the crowd, or the fall of missiles.

How far adoptive Masonry (Ladies' Masonry, Androgynous Masonry, etc.) had been disseminated prior to 1826 I cannot ascertain. There were numerous rituals published on the subject both in Europe and America, prior to 1826, one in Boston, in 1825, and where there is a supply, a demand must have preceded it.

furnish a runaway soldier with bread and billiard money for a few months, and perhaps indirectly aid a certain class of seceders from general society; but it will not identify Anti-Masonry with religion, nor protect moral and political stock-jobbers from the censure they deserve. Have the people of Monroe county had enough of the barber?" If the reader has followed me through this history, he will understand the allusion, "the barber," to the charge, for which Weed cared so little at that time that he endured it without contradiction for thirty or forty years, that he shaved the face of Timothy Monro, and thus made it a good enough Morgan. The paper proposed was the Albany "Evening Journal," which proved financially and politically a great success. The bonus raised for Weed was \$4,000. That he was a deserter from the army, was a charge not insisted on; that he was a billiard-player and gambler in early manhood, was not disputed. But after removing to Albany, his private life was irreproachable, his industry extraordinary, his talent as a newspaper manager, second to none. I think, until James Gordon Bennett began the "Herald," in 1835 (and I bought a copy of it, the first day that it was published), that the Albany "Evening Journal," was the best conducted press in the United States.

Among the "declarations," which the assaults of Thurlow Weed called out, I find none better than that by the Rev. Joseph Prentiss, A.M., an Episcopal clergyman of eminence, delivered February 2, 1830, before the Grand Chapter of New York:

"I have passed in regular succession most of the degrees of Masonry. In neither of them have I taken any obligation, or heard inculcated any sentiment inimical to peace, to patriotism, or to pure religion. Nor have I any reason to suspect that there is any difference of principle maintained by the various branches of the Fraternity in this country. I have conferred with individuals who were extensively acquainted with Masonic practice, and of high

standing in the confidence of the political and religious public, who assure me, that, although the moral character of the Fraternity may vary in different sections, owing to the administration of official trust and discipline; yet, that no object, or enterprise, foreign to its fundamental principles has been adopted or countenanced by Masonry.

The testimony of Mrs. Hale, editress in 1830 of the "Ladies' Magazine," and afterward of "Godey's Ladies' Book," a testimony unsolicited and unexpected, proved a good card to the Masonic Brethren. It was extensively published through the Union. The lady was examining a copy of the proceedings of the Massachusetts State Anti-Masonic Convention, and says: "On one account we were glad to receive this book, for it gives us the opportunity of expressing our deep obligation to the members of the Grand Lodge and the Royal Arch Order of the state of New Hampshire. It was to their encouragement and support we owed our first hope of success as a writer. And were we now about to appeal, on our own behalf, to the benevolence of any class of people, we should address the Freemasons. Our opinion of the Order, therefore, will be sufficiently understood, and yet we would not have it inferred that this opinion is influenced by selfish motives. It is because we believe that Masonic Societies have a tendency to promote among men the virtues of the heart, sincerity in friendship, confidence in promises, and good will and charity to each other (the abduction of Morgan to the contrary notwithstanding), that we approve them.

It will not be expected that a lady would attempt to discuss at length a subject which has of late, unhappily for society, produced so much excitement. We only wish to be understood as feeling for the Institution of Masonry a high respect.

The following lines from a poem written seven years since (1822) will explain all we need say in justification of our own sentiments, even with the most scrupulous Anti-

Mason. For the poetry we would apologize did we not hope that our readers might, in this instance, be satisfied with truth in the sentiment, and that there was small effort to adorn it with the graces of diction or imagery:

‘But to the MYSTIC BAND must still belong
The hallowed tribute of my grateful song.
Ye whose souls swelled with sympathy sincere,
When gathering round a Brother’s early bier,
And when his widowed wife and infants sued,
Could feel the luxury of doing good!

Oh, may you, through earth’s changing fortunes, know
The peace approving conscience can bestow.
May blessings, pure as pity’s tear refined,
Rich as the treasures of the liberal mind,
Serene as faith, as virtue lasting, rest
Upon each feeling heart and generous breast
That bound in Charity’s benignant laws,
Ne’er waited for the critic’s cold applause,
But kindly cheered a muse unknown to fame,
And gave to hope an energy, an aim!

Though my loved country should approve my lay,
And sorrow’s night have yet a gleam of day,
And fame bestow the meed that authors prize,
And fancy all her fond dreams realize,
Still, still your patronage shall be my boast.
You freely gave it when ’twas needed most!”

All through the troubles of the Anti-Masonic strife, the Craft consoled themselves by reading extracts from foreign journals that proved the good progress and healthful condition of Freemasonry in foreign countries. Early in 1831 it was shown that the progress of Freemasonry in France was keeping pace with the march of liberal politics and enlarged philanthropy. The Paris papers made frequent mention of the prosperity of the Craft in various parts of Europe and in America. The Grand Lodge had met Oct. 19, preceding, to celebrate the accession of Brother Louis Phillippe to the throne. Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, opened the Grand Lodge as Deputy Grand Master. General La Fayette was present. Addresses were deliv-

ered, poems recited and songs sung in couplets replete with Masonic fire and fancy.

Much was said in the Anti-Masonic sheets about the small amount of money given by Masonic Lodges, as such, in charity. This charge was easily refuted. It is not the custom of American Lodges to accumulate funds to be expended outside of the current outlays of the Lodge. Contributions for the poor are mostly individual acts, and as such unrecorded, or recorded only by the Heavenly Chancellor. Yet were a fair inquiry made, it would be found that the Masonic organizations of 1826 did bestow alms to needy Brethren to a laudable extent. Many thousands of dollars, at a time when money was the scarcest of all commodities, were appropriated to widows, orphans and helpless Brethren. But I fail to find in the records of Anti-Masonry any examples of benefaction. Mrs. Morgan appealed from one Anti-Masonic convention to another for that aid which she and her children had been accustomed to receive from the Masonic Lodges of western New York—her appeals were vain. The leaders of those meetings were too busy reaping profit to themselves to give her case their attention. A late writer, reviewing this subject has forcibly said: "Who ever heard of one Anti-Mason befriending the poor, the distressed, the sorrow-laden; dispensing charity to a fire, flood or pestilence-stricken community? In none of the public calamities of late years is there evidence that Anti-Masons have done anything to relieve the distress, while Freemasons have contributed their hundreds of thousands of dollars and rendered personal service at hazard of life. Anti-Masons simply blow and do nothing. They talk charity and Christianity, but practice neither." This witness is true.

The songs of our Masonic fathers which cheered their pilgrimage during the times I am describing, were few and not brilliant. Here is one, sung at Catskill, N. Y., at the celebra-

tion there of June 24, 1830, which is worth the place it fills.
The air is of course Auld Lang Syne ("Old long-ago"):

" The pomp of kings, the proud array
Of many an ancient line,
Oblivion's hand has swept away
To be forgot lang-syne.
But hand-in-hand our Brothers stand
Amid the vast decline,
Nor bigot night shall quench the light
Of Auld Lang Syne.

First to the Architect above,
Let our devotions join,
Whose hand has led us forth in love
Since the days of Auld Lang Syne,
While hand-in-hand our Brothers stand
Nor halt in their design,
But reunite the bonds of light
From Auld Lang Syne.

Remember too that worthy one,
And in your hearts enshrine
The virtues of the Widow's Son,
The light of Auld Lang Syne.
And hand-in-hand let Brothers stand
Till death shall give the sign,
And bid us join the faithful band
Of Auld Lang Syne.

Come, Brethren, of the Worthy Three
Of Salem's mystic line,
Come, twine the wreath of unity
They wove in Auld Lang Syne.
Come heart-to-heart before we part,
And let our jewels shine
In all the light which pierced the night
Of Auld Lang Syne."

In making up the conclusion of the chapter in which an account of Mrs. Morgan is given, the following item was overlooked: In the "Masonic Record" of Aug. 14, 1830, there is an editorial which shows up the financial methods of the Anti-Masons in dark colors. Relative to Mrs. Morgan, the writer says that among all the tricks played by that rotten party upon the credulity of the people, none was so utterly heartless as that with which Mrs. Morgan is associated. They would pass resolutions of con-

dolence in their beggarly conventions, and recommend contributions for her relief, and occasionally small sums of money would be collected from their dupes. But, he inquires: "If Mrs. Morgan is in need of assistance, why do not some of those who have gained political importance through her misfortunes—why do not they relieve her necessities without dragging her from retirement? Granger, the smooth-faced hypocrite, is rolling in wealth, and expects through the abduction of Morgan to be made Governor—why does not he remember the necessities of Morgan's wife? As to Weed, why does not he of the whiskers who manufactured a good enough Morgan, divide with her the extravagant sums he received as special constable from the state treasury? Why does not Myron Holly give her a part of the \$300 which he cajoled from the legislature? But it is seldom that the money sent to Mrs. Morgan reaches its place of destination; most of it, by hook or crook, gets lost on the way. Out of the first subscription raised for Mrs. Morgan in Genesee county, amounting to twenty-eight dollars, twenty dollars of it was paid D. C. Miller, the man whom Morgan himself denounced just before his departure as a dishonest and dishonorable man who intended to defraud him."

In the records of the Anti-Masonic period, I find great numbers of Masonic toasts delivered at the various festivals of the Craft. From these, I cull a few to display the spirit with which the war against Anti-Masonry was maintained:

The Great Masonic Hive: May there be fewer drones and more honey.

The President of the United States (Jackson): We may not always approve his politics, but we admire his Masonic firmness.

Seceding Masons: May they have God for their friend.

Our Fair Opponents: Wandering angels in search of paradise, who have erred from the starry track; may they speedily return to their first love.

Masonic Friendship: Its frequent use gives it ever-increasing brightness and strength.

Anti-Masonic Intelligence: Important if true.

The Mason's Grip: Like the touch of a torpedo, it may electrify but never benumb.

Freemasonry: Its air is fatal to bigotry and hypocrisy.

Political Anti-Masonry: A piratical ship, under false colors; let it but drop its political character and it vanishes away.

The Leaders of Anti-Masonry: A gang of political pirates.

Anti-Masonry: running on the horizontal principle—flat.

Anti-Masonry: The political hobby-horse for broken-down office-hunters.

Political Anti-Masonry: Like the locusts, it may distress the land for forty days; but the first up have already sung themselves out of wind.

Anti-Masons: Like Ephraim of old, they are joined to their idols; let them alone.

Anti-Masonry: Relic of a barbarous age. The Vandals desolated the monuments of antiquity; their successors have vainly attempted to desecrate our Masonic temple.

Political Anti-Masonry: The last nail in its coffin has been driven home; ignorance and superstition are chief mourners at its funeral.

Aunt Masonry: A harmless old lady who taught school in western New York; her neighbors dismissed her for impropriety of conduct, and she emigrated to another State.

There were none of the numerous "Declarations of Freemasons," that made so much stir as that delivered by the Craft of Boston and vicinity, December 31, 1831. The strength of its arguments, the affecting nature of its appeals, and the high social positions of many of the signers, gave it immense power both with the friends and enemies of Freemasonry. The Anti-Masonic sheets foamed over it in a rage that could not be disguised; it was unanswerable. It was copied by most of the neutral journals, papers that had refused to reproduce the worn-out stuff palmed off for political Anti-Masonry, and this gave a wider spread to its influence. It was read in Lodges and Grand Lodges throughout the

United States; foreign journals quoted it; it was translated in French and German, and published. Many thousands of copies were printed on broadsides, with all the signatures, and I have seen these, pasted on cloth and framed, in the old Lodge-rooms, by the side of Parmelee's charts and the Declaration of Independence. It is believed to have been in the main, the work of Charles W. Moore.

The total number of signers was 1,469;* these were from fifty-four towns (townships or districts); Boston furnished, of course, the largest number, 437, but all parts of the State are worthily represented.

“DECLARATION.

WHEREAS, It has been frequently asserted and published to the world, that in the several degrees of Freemasonry, as they are conferred in the United States, the candidate, in his initiation and subsequent advancement, binds himself by oath to sustain his Masonic Brethren, in acts which are at variance with the fundamental principles of morality, and incompatible with his duty as a good and faithful citizen; in justice therefore to themselves, and with a view to establish truth and expose imposition, the undersigned, many of us the recipients of every degree of Freemasonry known and acknowledged in this country, do most solemnly deny the existence of any such obligations in the Masonic Institution, so far as our knowledge respectively extends. And we solemnly aver that no person is admitted to the Institution without being first made acquainted with the nature of the obligations which he will be required to incur and assume.

Freemasonry secures its members in freedom of thought and of speech, and permits each and every one to act according to the dictates of his own conscience in matters of religion, and of his personal preference in matters of politics. It neither knows, nor does it assume to inflict upon its erring members, however wide may be their aberrations from duty, any penalties or punishments, other than those of admonition, suspension, and expulsion.

* I take these facts from “The Liberal Freemason,” of January, 1882, whose editor, A. F. Chapman, Esq., now the acting General Grand High Priest of the National Chapter, has given much attention to Masonic history.

The obligations of the Institution require of its members a strict obedience to the laws of God and of man. So far as being bound by any engagements inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of the Nation, every citizen who becomes a Mason is doubly bound to be true to his God, to his country and to his fellow men. In the language of the Ancient Constitutions of the Order, which are printed and open for public inspection, and which are used as a text-book in all the Lodges, he is required to keep and obey the Moral Law, to be a quiet and peaceable citizen, true to his government and just to his country.

Masonry disdains the making of proselytes. She opens the portals of her asylum to those only who seek admission with the recommendation of a character unspotted by immorality and vice. She simply requires of the candidate his assent to one great fundamental religious truth,—the existence and providence of God, and a practical acknowledgment of those infallible doctrines for the government of life which are written by the finger of God on the heart of man.

Entertaining such sentiments as Masons, as citizens, as Christians and as moral men, and deeply impressed with the conviction that the Masonic Institution has been, and may continue to be, productive of great good to their fellow-men, and having received the laws of the Society and its accumulated funds in sacred trust for charitable uses, the undersigned can neither renounce nor abandon it. We most cordially unite with our Brethren of Salem and vicinity, in the declaration and hope that should the people of this country become so infatuated as to deprive Masons of their civil rights, in violation of their written constitutions, and the wholesome spirit of just laws and free governments, a vast majority of the Fraternity will still remain firm, confiding in God and the rectitude of their intentions for consolation, under the trials to which they may be exposed."

I throw together in chronological sequence a few Masonic facts referring to the period 1826 to 1836. A full Calendar would occupy too much space for this volume, though I am in possession of materials ample enough for the purpose:

1826.

- January 24. Masonic Hall, Petersburg, Va., dedicated.
 June 28. Grand Lodge Michigan established.
 August 16. Cornerstone Masonic Temple, Wheeling, Va.,
 planted.
 August 31. Masonic Hall, Delhi, N. Y., dedicated.
 September 6. Cornerstone Patriotic Monument, Groton, Ct.,
 planted.
 September 11. Deportation William Morgan from Batavia.
 September 12. Deportation William Morgan from Canan-
 daigua.
 September 13. Deportation William Morgan from Roches-
 ter.
 September 18. Triennial Convention, National Grand
 Bodies at N. Y.
 September 19. Cornerstone Masonic Hall, Washington,
 D. C., planted.
 September 30. Cornerstone Methodist Church, Port Gibson,
 Mississippi, planted.
 October 4. Mass meeting Batavia. Where is Morgan?
 " 7. First proclamation relative to Morgan.
 " 25. Masonic Temple, Lexington, Ky., dedicated.
 " 26. Second proclamation relative to Morgan.

1827.

- January 1. Trial Chesebro and others began at Canandaigua.
 " 8. DeWitt Clinton wrote citizens, Batavia.
 " 13. Ant. Mas. Conv., Seneca, N. Y.
 " 25. " " Lewiston, N. Y.
 " 31. Proclamation Gov. Maitland, Canada.
 " 31. Ant. Mas. Conv., Canandaigua, N. Y.
 February 3. Masonic "Record," Albany, established.
 " 7. Masonic "Intelligencer," Batavia, established.
 " 10. Grand Chapter, N. Y., adopted resolutions.
 " 16. Second Ant. Mas. Conv., Canandaigua, N. Y.
 " 17. Ant. Mas. Conv., Cambria, N. Y.
 " 19. " " LeRoy, N. Y.
 " 23. " " Middlebury, N. Y.
 " 27. " " West Bloomfield, N. Y.
 March 3. " " Elba, N. Y.
 " 6. " " LeRoy, N. Y., second one.
 " 10. " " Covington, N. Y.

- March 12. Ant. Mas. Conv., Vienna, N. Y.
 " 15. " " Manchester, N. Y.
 " 15. Resolutions by Chapter at Lyons, N. Y.
 " 16. Ant. Mas. Conv., Farmington, N. Y.
 " 16. Resolutions by Encampment at Rochester, N. Y.
 " 19. Third proclamation relative to Morgan.
 April 3. Masonic Hall, Georgetown, S. C., dedicated.
 " 4. Proposal to N. Y. legislature to offer \$5,000 reward.
 June 2. Grand Chapter Alabama established.
 " 25. Cornerstone Masonic Temple, Natchez, Miss., planted.
 June 25. Masonic celebration, Batavia, N. Y.
 " 26. Masonic Hall, Pawtucket, R. I., dedicated.
 July 4. Ant. Mas. Conv. LeRoy, N. Y., third one.
 August 2. Ant. Mas. Conv., Victor, N. Y.
 " 4. " Utica, N. Y.
 September 12. Ant. Mas. Conv., Milton, N. Y.
 " 19. " Canandaigua, N. Y., third one.
 " 28. Cornerstone Zion Church, Palmyra, N. Y., planted.
 October 7. Body Timothy Monro, first inquest.
 " 13. Ant. Mas. Conv., Richmond, N. Y.
 " 15. Body Timothy Monro, second inquest
 " 29. " " third inquest.
 " 30. Masonic Hall, N. Y. city, dedicated.
 November 3. Convention of Masons, Rochester, N. Y.
 " 20. Cornerstone monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, Quebec, planted.
 December 10. Grand Cryptic Council, Ky., established.
 " 13. Pursuit of King, Whitney and Smith begun.
 " 27. Masonic Oration, Batavia, N. Y., Henry Brown.

1828.

- January 12. Cornerstone College, Charleston, S. C., planted.
 February 11. DeWitt Clinton died.
 March 18. Gov. Pilcher's Anti-Masonic message to legislature, N. Y.
 March 23. Cornerstone Mariners Church, New Orleans, La., planted.
 April 1. Amaranth, Boston, Mass., established.
 May 3. Cornerstone Lock No. 3, Pittsburgh, Pa., planted.

May 5. Cornerstone Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Del., planted.

May 12. Anti-Masonic resolution proposed in Congress.

June 2. Cornerstone Masonic Hall, Augusta, Ga., planted.

" 17. Col. William King returned home.

" 24. Cornerstone Masonic Hall, Monticello, N. Y., planted.

1829.

April 7. Masonic orations, P. C. Tucker and John A. Allen.

May 20. Eli Bruce imprisoned.

" 28. Col. William King died.

" 29. Cornerstone Lock, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, planted.

June 24. Cornerstone Universalist Church, Sandy Bay, Mass., planted.

July 4. Cornerstone State House, Me., planted.

" 5. Ant. Mas. Conv. Montpelier, Vt.

September 4. Mas. Tri. Convention National Grand Bodies, New York.

September 7. Convention of Masons, Ruyter, N. Y.

December 30. Ant. Mass. Conv., Boston, Mass.

1830.

February 16. "Craftsman," Rochester, N. Y., established.

March 29. Cornerstone Associated Methodist Church, Alexandria, Va., planted.

May 24. Appeal from Masons of Adams County, Pa.

" 25. Ant. Mas. Conv. Coosada, Ala.

July 5. Grand Lodge, Florida, organized.

" 26. Masonic Hall, Pittsburgh, dedicated.

September 11. U. S. Ant. Mas. Conv., Philadelphia.

October 10. Masonic and Patriotic Feast, Paris, France.

" 14. Cornerstone Masonic Temple, Boston, Mass., planted.

1831.

January 25. Masonic Hall, New Haven, Ct., dedicated.

April 11. Cornerstone Masonic Hall, Tuscaloosa, Ala., planted.

April 14. Isaiah Thomas, Past Grand Master, died.

" 30. Masonic Hall, Stoughton, Mass., dedicated.

May 4. Letter of Richard Rush.

June 13. Declaration by G. L. of Rhode Island.

August 22. Letter from John Quincy Adams.

September 26. U. S. Ant. Mas. Conv., Baltimore, Md.

December 26. Stephen Girard died.

“ 31. Masonic Demonstration, Boston, Mass.

1832.

February 22. Grand Lodge, Arkansas, organized.

May 30. Masonic Temple, Boston, Mass., dedicated.

September 11. Walter Scott died.

“ 24. Eli Bruce died.

1834.

February 2. Lorenzo Dow died.

April 1. Freemason's Quarterly Rev., London, England, established.

May 20. La Fayette died.

September 25. Resolutions concerning political meetings by Masons, Grand Lodge, Mass.

October 7. Manifesto, Grand Lodge, Vt.

1835.

July 6. Chief Justice Marshall died.

December 7. Triennial Convention National Grand Bodies, Washington City.

December 27. Masonic Temple, Philadelphia, Pa. dedicated.

1836.

January 18. Masons at Bar of Legislature of Pennsylvania.

November 4. Frederick Dalcho died.

December 3. Past Grand Masters Jacob Morton and Elisha W. King died.

In the Masonic renaissance that has followed upon the dissolution of the political Anti-Masonic party of 1826 to 1836, new Grand Lodges have sprung up. Florida organized in 1830, in the very heat of the strife. Texas and Arkansas wheeled into line 1838; Wisconsin 1843; Iowa 1844, etc., until at this present writing (1883), there are some fifty-five Grand Lodges in North America, constituted

by *more than ten thousand* secular Lodges. Well may the
Masons sing in their hours of refreshment at the happy
High Twelve:

“ Oh what a goodly heritage
The LORD to us hath given!
How blest the Brotherhood that pledge
Their Mason vows to Heaven!
We sing the mystic chain that binds
These western realms in one,
Such loving hearts, such liberal minds,
No other land hath known.

Ten thousand LIGHTS in Masons' Halls,
Are gleaming on our eyes,
Ten thousand EMBLEMS on the walls.
Tell whence that gleaming is;
And when the portals ope to pass
The humble seeker in,
The voice of prayer pervades the place,
And proves the light Divine.

On every hill the Craftsmen lie,
While green sprigs deck the knoll;
Their fall brought *sorrow* to the eye,
But *triumph* to the soul;
Our orphans sing in many a home,
Our widows' hearts are glad,
And Mason-light dispels the gloom,
And comfort finds the sad.

Thus link-in-link, from shore-to-shore,
The Mystic chain is wound;
Oh, blended thus, forevermore,
Be Mason-spirits found!
And while the Heavens on pillars sure,
Of strength and wisdom stand,
May Brotherhood like ours endure,
Where strength and wisdom blend!”

The far famed orator, Rev. John Newland Moffit made some of his noblest efforts before Masonic audiences. As the orator of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, he delivered an address which has no superior for fervor of spirit and brilliancy of imagery. Describing the moral dignity of Masonry: “he falters,—he is filled with its intense beauty, ravished by its ineffable brilliance. * * * The broad, wide and holy pictures of its glory cluster upon his heated

spirit and he seems to seize one of the grandest representations that ever hung out a banner of illuminated stars on the outer wall of heaven!"

In Vermont, which for a few years was altogether an "infected district," nay, an Anti-Masonic *pest-house*, Philip C. Fisher, afterward Grand Master, sounded forth no uncertain notes, denunciatory of the evil spirit that was pervading the land. In his eulogium upon the Rev. Joel Winch, he describes "a man who stood erect when the thunderstorm of Anti-Masonry broke on the Green Mountains, nor once shrunk or hesitated in the path of duty."

DEWITT CLINTON.

So many references have been made to this true Masonic Brother that I feel in duty bound to devote a few pages to his biography. Great respect was paid by the Masonic Fraternity, far and near, to his memory. Resolutions of regret for the irreparable loss the Order had sustained in his untimely death were adopted by all branches of the Order, from Lodges to the National Grand Bodies that owed so much to him for their prosperity. In Niles' "Register," of June 7, 1828, there is an account of the sale by public outcry of Clinton's effects. The Lodge at Troy, N. Y., purchased a splendid vase which had long been in the family, and donated it to the heirs. Governor Clinton died poor, but the Legislature made the family a donation in the shape of payment for the invaluable services he had rendered the State of New York as Canal Commissioner for many years. He has been styled by good historians, the most distinguished and the most useful citizen that New York ever produced. Born March 2, 1769, at the family residence in Little Britain, County of Orange, he died at the age of fifty-nine. This county lies along the Hudson River east, and has the State of New Jersey on the southwest. West Point and Newburgh are within its boundary, and Little Britain

is about six miles southwest from the former. The early education of DeWitt Clinton was conducted at the grammar school of his native town and in the academy at Kingston, the only seminary at that time in the State. He was graduated in Columbia College, New York city, in 1786, at the head of his class, and at once began to study law there. Upon the adoption of the Constitution of the United States he was nineteen years of age, a youth of commanding person and dignified manners. In 1802, he was elected to the Senate of the United States. In 1803, he was elected Mayor of New York, and held the office, with the exception of one or two years, until 1815. In 1810, he examined the valley of the Mohawk, and the western part of the State, to learn the practicability of constructing a canal from the Hudson to the Lakes. In 1811, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and in 1812 ran for President of the United States, receiving 89 electoral votes against 128 for Madison.

He continually pressed the subject of the canal upon the minds of the people of New York, and succeeded in April, 1817, in committing the State to the work, which, on the 4th of July of that year was commenced. In 1817, he was elected by an immense majority, Governor of the State, reëlected in 1820, and so successively until his death in 1828. In October, 1825, the canal was completed, and he passed through it in triumph from Lake Erie to the Hudson. On the 1st of January, 1828, he delivered his last message to the Legislature (dying February following), in which he said, "Peace, plenty, and health have presided over our land; war is a stranger; and famine and the pestilence that walketh in darkness are never experienced." DeWitt Clinton was the first Governor of New York to recommend the observance of Thanksgiving day. As Vice-President of the American Bible Society, at its Seventh Anniversary Meeting, May 8, 1823, he delivered an address

in which he embodied the Masonic idea of the immortality of the soul. I have alluded to this on another page.

This is the man who entered the Masonic Society in early manhood, and continued actively to teach and to practice its noble principles to the day of his death. As early as 1793, he delivered a Masonic oration from which the following is an extract:

“A Mason is bound to consult the happiness and promote the interests of his brother; to avoid everything offensive to his feelings; to abstain from reproach, censure and unjust suspicions; to warn him of the machinations of his enemies; to advise him of his errors; to advance the reputation and welfare of his family; to protect the chastity of his house; to defend his life, his property, and what is dearer to a man of honor, his character, against unjust attacks; to relieve his wants and his distress; to instill into his mind proper ideas of his conduct in the department of life which he is called to fill; and let me add, to foster his schemes of interest and promotion, if compatible with the paramount duties a man owes to the community.”

There is a synopsis of Freemasonry rarely equaled and never surpassed.

DeWitt Clinton was Grand Master of Masons in New York, for many years. He was also General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter, and Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of the United States, at the period of his death. His interest in Freemasonry was steady and persistent. We have a copy of a diary he kept from June 30 to August 22, 1810, while operating as one of the Commissioners to explore the proposed canal route, from Albany to Buffalo. In this pocket volume are numerous Masonic allusions, as follows:

“July 22. The wind became favorable part of the way, and we arrived at Musquito Point, eight miles, at 11 o'clock. William Lyon keeps the tavern, which has a Masonic sign, and appears to be a decent house.

July 24. It being a considerable rain, we stopped at Samuel W. Smith's tavern. He appeared to know us all.

The family were decent. Smith is a Freemason, and paid me particular attention.

August 1. At Fort Niagara, and Newark opposite (now called Niagara), which contains about eighty houses, a court house and two churches. Some years ago I got acquainted with Dr. Ker, Deputy Grand Master of Upper Canada, who I was told, resided in this place, and intended to pay me particular attention, if he saw me.

August 5. Black Rock; we dined at Miller's tavern, whose sign is surmounted with Masonic emblems."

As soon as intelligence reached Governor Clinton from the Batavia committee, appointed by the mass meeting, October 4, 1826, that William Morgan had disappeared, he issued the proclamation already given.

A few weeks later, Mr. Clinton addressed a letter to the Batavia committee, in which he said (January 8, 1827):

"I am persuaded that the body of Freemasons, so far from having any participation in this affair, or giving any countenance to it, reprobate it as a most unjustifiable act, repugnant to the principles and abhorrent to the doctrines of the Fraternity. I know that Freemasonry, properly understood and faithfully attended to, is friendly to religion, morality, liberty and good government; and I shall never shrink under any state of excitement, or any extent of misapprehension from bearing testimony in favor of the purity of an institution which can boast of a Washington, a Franklin, and a La Fayette, as distinguished members, and which inculcates no principles, and authorizes no acts that are not in perfect accordance with good morals, civil liberty, and entire obedience to government and the laws. It is no more responsible for the acts of unworthy members than any other association, or institution. Without intending, in the remotest degree, a comparison or improper allusion, I might ask whether we ought to revile our most holy religion, because Peter denied and Judas betrayed it."

COL. WILLIAM KING.

I find that although I have made frequent allusions to this gentleman, I have not given a connected account of his patriotic and Masonic career. Col. King was a soldier who had won his promotion by gallantry and good service as

colonel of the 15th regiment. In 1826 he was a resident at Lewiston, out of business, a petitioner to government for something to do to support his family, consisting of a wife and twelve children. Under the change of the jury system in 1827, adopted expressly to convict accused Masons, Col. King, one of the most respectable citizens of Niagara county and but recently a representative in the state legislature, was indicted with nine others in the summer of that year upon the well known charge of kidnapping and conspiracy. As all the rest were acquitted or released by the inability of the petit jury to convict, it is safe to assume that his innocence would also have been made apparent by a public trial. But the first indictments proved defective and in November, 1828, a second batch were passed, and these likewise proving defective, a third in May, 1829, but in the meantime the gallant soldier had passed beyond the reach of his persecutors, dying suddenly of apoplexy, May 28, 1829, at his residence in Youngstown. He was buried the next day with military and Masonic honors under the direction of Col. Jewett, commandant at Fort Niagara, and with a large concourse of afflicted relatives and friends.

No other case in all the diabolical persecution excites such pain on the contemplation (unless it be that of Eli Bruce) as the case of Col. King. He was for many years a resident of Niagara county. He had been government agent at three military posts, viz., Niagara, Plattsburgh and Michilimackinac, but by their successive abandonment by the troops, was left without support. In January, 1827, and before any charge had been made against him, he had received from government the appointment of Sutler at Cantonment Towson, Arkansas, 1,200 miles up Red river. On the 10th of February of that year he left Baltimore, and after his arrival at Towson learned that his name was bruited in the public papers in connection with Morgan's abduction. While preparing his business to return and an-

swer this he heard from his commander, Capt. Hyde, that civil officers (Bates and Garlinghouse) were in pursuit of him, threatening to lead him back in irons. They arrived at Towson, February 14, 1828, but found that Col. King had gone. On the 17th of May he reached New York, and promptly published the following notice in the Lockport "Journal:"

"TO MESSRS. GARLINGHOUSE AND BATES:

The undersigned asks leave to inform them that he has returned to the county of Niagara, where he can be found, and is ready to transact any business that they may have with him.

WILLIAM KING."

No attempt was made to arrest him. On May 19 he went voluntarily to Lewiston and recognized himself in the sum of \$2,000 with two sureties in the sum of \$500 each to appear at the next court. On May 27 he published an address to the public as follows:

"TO THE PUBLIC :

Fellow Citizens—Believing in the disposition of my countrymen to do justice to their fellow-men, and owing to the unwarrantable liberty taken with my name by individuals of whom I shall not now speak; influenced likewise by a sense of duty to my family, my friends and myself, I have thought proper to offer for your consideration, a detail of circumstances connected with my departure and subsequent return to the State, leaving for your candor to determine with what degree of justice I have been branded as a fugitive from justice.

A few years I was doing the business for three United States ports, viz: Niagara, Plattsburgh and Mackinaw. Within that time these ports have all been abandoned, and my business was entirely broken up. A family of twelve children had drawn so largely upon my resources as to prevent any accumulation of property, and the business of this part of the country did not offer me, as I was then without capital, sufficient inducement to remain, I consequently left for the city of Albany, where I received an appointment from the late Gov. Clinton to transact some business for

the State at Washington, to which place I repaired and remained till the 7th of February, 1827.

During my stay there I received from the Hon. James Barbour, Secretary of War, an appointment to do the business of Cantonment Towson, in the Arkansas Territory, on the Red River, about twelve hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi river. I left Baltimore on the 10th of February, and traveled by the way of New Orleans and Nachitoches to Cantonment Towson, where I arrived on the 1st of April, and established myself in business, which I pursued till informed by a gentleman who arrived from below, that my name was in the papers connected with the Morgan affair. This was the first information I had ever received to that effect. I replied to him that I would go home as soon as I could get my business arranged, and was actually getting on with the arrangement when, about the middle of February last a gentleman informed me that he had overheard a conversation between three men and Capt. Hyde, by which he understood that they had come from New York after me. I instantly replied that I was perfectly willing to deliver myself into their custody if I was suspected of having violated the laws of my country. But on being assured that Mr. Garlinghouse said he would be compelled to put me in irons, etc., I determined, though willing to return, not to be brought from there to this State in that way, and concluded to ride to a friend's about ten miles off, where I remained till I was sure they had taken their departure. Then I returned, put my business in the best state possible, and started for this place (Lockport), a distance of nearly four thousand miles, traveling nearly all the time, night and day, to arrive here with as little delay as possible.

I arrived here on Saturday, P.M., May 17, and on the following Monday went to Lewiston, where I entered bail before the first Judge for \$2,000, myself in \$1,000, and two sureties for \$500 each. During my absence I was continually writing to my family friends, as for instance I wrote from Albany, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Nachitoches, and Cantonment Towson. From the latter place I frequently sent letters, many of which never reached their destination, and especially one mailed on the evening of the 31st of August last, directed to my family, and containing \$300 for their support.

Such are briefly the circumstances connected with my departure and return, and it is for others to say whether I evinced any disposition to escape the justice of my country, and to judge of the motives of those who have condemned me unheard, and branded me to the world as a fugitive from the laws to which I have now voluntarily surrendered myself, and it is proper to add here that, although no means were left untried to procure a different result, no indictment could be obtained against me beyond that of a misdemeanor.

In conclusion, I ask of my fellow-citizens a suspension of opinion on the prejudicial reports which have been industriously circulated at my expense. By submitting voluntarily to the laws, I have given sufficient evidence of my determination to abide the issue to entitle me to a cessation, until I shall have had my trial, of that rancor with which some individuals have endeavored to prejudice and forestall the public mind.

WILLIAM KING.

YOUNGSTOWN, May 27, 1828."

This noble gentleman was never brought to trial, though earnestly courting investigation. In the latter part of that year (1828) he went west on business and promptly returned, remaining among his friends till stricken by death. Scarcely, however, had he left New York when he was again subjected to the charge of flight, and upon his death an industrious report was spread that he had committed suicide.

THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

There was nothing published during the Anti-Masonic period that so profoundly influenced the opinion of reflecting, impartial men as a paper in the "American Quarterly Review," of January, 1830. It is a review of Brown's "Narrative," issued a few months before. It was written professedly by some one not a Mason, though all my inquiries fail to discover the individual. The style, I think, is that of Edward Everett, but whoever he may have been, he deserves a medal and a monument for his fearless exposition of the depravity and hypocrisy of the politicians who controlled the Anti-Masonic movement.

He begins by admitting that Judge Brown has exhibited with candor, temper and clearness the history of what is called public excitement, a species of madness, which, having for the most part its origin in the best feelings of our nature, almost always degenerates into an instrument in the hands of designing men, either of political or religious persecution.

“The sentiment which gives rise to public excitement,” says this profound observer, “if not always virtuous, is generally mistaken for virtue. But such is the nature of man and such the perversion to which his best feelings are liable—such the dominion which cunning and hypocrisy too often acquire over the imagination when overheated by enthusiasm, that it has almost always happened in every age and country that the stream however pure in its source has been perverted to purposes of misery and mischief. Sometimes it rolls its destructive energies over all who stand in the way of its progress; at others turning short in its course, it overwhelms those who were the first to poison its waters and stimulate its fury.”

The writer goes on to say that he will not consider the subject of Anti-Masonry in the light of a political question. Its temporary influence in the great struggles of ambition is a matter of subordinate interest. He views it in a wider sphere of action and in permanent consequences. He considers the uses to which the excitement has been prostituted, disgraceful to the American character, as furnishing decisive proof that there are sufficient materials of ignorance and fanaticism among us with which to fashion the implements of proscription and persecution. He contemplates it as paving the way for bigotry and hypocrisy to intrude themselves into our political system and poison the spring of our liberties at its very source; in short, as a daring attempt to make the love of justice and the detestation of crime subservient to the purposes of injustice and oppression, and bring back the American people to the threshold of bigotry and intolerance. For these reasons

and not for its incidental connection with politics does he consider the subject as highly important.

In a spirit of indignant inquiry he asks, "What is the difference between the history of the persecution of the Freemasons in Spain and Portugal and that of the persecution of the Masons in New York? The feeling which dictated them is the same and if there is any difference in degree, it arises alone from the benevolence of our laws and the sanctity they throw around the person of every citizen. It is not for a moment to be doubted that if these real or pretended zealots could have had their way, sacrifices of blood would have been made on the altar of hypocrisy and fanaticism. Hypocrisy is cold and cruel; fanaticism is hot and malignant; both together constitute one of the most dangerous combinations against the freedom of opinion and the happiness of mankind that the mind can conceive."

After describing the work of Morgan or Miller, entitled "Illustrations of Masonry," the critic remarks: "Not being Masons ourselves, we cannot judge of their truth or falsehood; but whether true or not, we are free to confess there is nothing in them but what indicates with sufficient clearness, that Masonry is nothing more than a tie of brotherhood instituted for purposes of benevolence. These disclosures derive little claim to our belief, however, from the circumstance of their being made by persons who had belonged to the Fraternity of Masons, and consequently carrying with them the violation of a voluntary oath. The book itself, he says, is utterly contemptible and neither its author nor its abettors could probably ever have been heard of, out of the little village of Batavia, but for the sagacity of certain persons who saw in the excitement thus produced an instrument which, if dexterously wielded would become powerful in the attainment of their ends."

Following upon a sketch of the Morgan affair the accomplished writer says: "Having reviewed the prominent features and principal transactions of this mortifying exhibition of the facility with which the best feelings of our nature may be perverted to the worst purposes, we proceed to offer some reflections upon the subject. We call it a *mortifying exhibition*, not because the feelings of the people rose in just indignation against a series of unjustifiable

acts. This does honor to the moral sense of a community. It is the source of much that is good within us, since the detestation of guilt in others is one of the strongest securities for our own innocence. Had this honest and virtuous excitement confined its operations within just limits, and extended no farther than to the pursuit and punishment of the actors in the mysterious drama, but one sentiment of approbation would have arisen in the minds of all. But when we see this virtuous feeling diverted from its just and proper direction, overflowing its bounds and with undistinguishing fury involving the innocent with the guilty, denouncing a whole class and denomination of men spread through every part of the Union, who by no possibility could have participated in these offenses, and who have publicly disclaimed and condemned them and their actors,—when we see them proscribed and disfranchised religiously and politically, one and all, we cannot but lament and pity the extremes to which virtue may sometimes be impelled in the pursuit of the most praiseworthy objects.

We had hoped," he says with deep pathos, "never to live to witness any of these extraordinary panics and excitements which other ages and nations, and unfortunately our own, have offered to the contemplation of posterity, and which posterity wonders at and despises until it beholds them again repeated under its own eyes, and is compelled to sit down with the mortifying conviction that human nature is the same everywhere and at all times. Certain it is that the love of justice, the sentiment of piety and the detestation of crime have too often led mankind into excesses incompatible with them all, insomuch that had not these feelings of justice been derived from a higher source and sustained in our hearts by a higher power, the crimes of which in all ages they have been made the pretext would have banished them from the face of the earth.

The sweeping proscription of the Freemasons and the wide extension of Anti-Masonry are in a great degree owing to the intrusion of some selfish purpose, which has diverted this excitement, in its origin perfectly pure, from its just object. That intruding principle seems to have been a curious combination of religious and political ambition. For some reason or other Masonry has in various

ages and countries, been peculiarly obnoxious to the Church although one would imagine that, charity and benevolence being the basis of both, they would naturally be linked together in the bond of brotherhood. It is probable that the secrecy affected by the Fraternity is the root of this prejudice. Hence the idle reports concerning the nature and objects of Masonry. Hence the persecutions it has undergone in various countries. Hence the facility with which the people of western New York fell into the projects of wily politicians and ambitious clerks.

The principles of Anti-Masonry as proclaimed at public meetings and in their newspapers, pamphlets and almanacs are:

1st. That they will not support any person for any office, either in town, county or state, or any minister of the Gospel who is a member of the Fraternity.

2d. That they deem Freemasons, as such, unfit for any office of trust or confidence in town, county or state.

Such are the principles avowed by them. They amount to the exclusion of a large body among whom have been and still are numbered many of the most distinguished men of the present age. They are excluded from all participation in the offices of Church or state. But one step more and they are disfranchised. One step beyond that brings the stake and the fagot as in the days of abject bigotry and superstition. The moment any description of men or any profession are shut out from a voice in the state they become the victims of those who still retain the right of being heard.

As the laws stand at present they in a great degree protect our citizens from the effects of these sudden excitements. But in this country it should be remembered that all laws proceed from the people, and that consequently, when they are infected with any species of madness it will sooner or later extend to their representatives, and when this happens where then will be the security that any obnoxious class will not be persecuted and proscribed? The time may not be distant when Anti-Masonry will hold the balance between the two great parties, and where then will be the security that they will not be propitiated by the sacrifice of a portion of the community to the Morgan excitement? It is the Freemasons now; but we will sup-

pose some murder, real or imaginary, is traced to persons belonging to some other denomination civil or religious. Is it not equally easy and therefore equally probable that they in turn will be proscribed, persecuted and disfranchised? Thus each in succession may become the victim of some popular excitement and suffer by the operation of its own pernicious policy. Excommunication and interdicts will become the order of the day, and all confidence, all affection, all communion of interests be forgotten in the strife of political and religious ambition.

Fanning and stimulating these excitements is not less impolitic than dangerous. Political leaders may perhaps gain a temporary ascendancy in small portions of the country by mounting the bubble, but they will lose elsewhere more than will countervail all these momentary advantages. They forget the moral effects, the influence which such unworthy appeals to popular excitement for the purposes of ambition will have on those who are free from the contagion. The rational and reflecting portion of their fellow-citizens, who always form a phalanx of steady opposition to the progress of error and delusion, will turn in disgust from the spectacle of unhallowed ambition, stimulating unhallowed passions to a warfare against countrymen and brothers. Thus, while these short-sighted politicians are heaping up their little mole-hill from which to vault into the seat of power, they do not see the mountain rising at a distance, to circumscribe forever their petty and miserable career. Men whose whole lives have been passed in the struggles of political rivalry are most apt to imagine that because they have no other principle of action than politics, it must be so with the rest of mankind. Under the influence of this delusion they are prone to persuade themselves that every feature of their policy will be judged, not by moral tendency but by party feeling. They believe the people will approve of whatever strengthens their political association, and that this is a sufficient counterpoise to the obligations of justice and the claims of humanity. But we would impress this great truth upon the minds of daring and ambitious leaders, that they will always gain more upon the nation at large by adherence to moral feeling and the dictates of humanity, than by appealing to ignoble local feeling, and administering fuel to temporary popular

excitement. It is only within the petty limits of some town or district that such excitement can be kept up for any great political purpose. It is like the local infection arising from a stagnant pool or unwholesome fen which diminishes with the distance, and is at length perfectly neutralized by the purer atmosphere which it encounters.

The perversion of the virtuous feelings which are at the root of popular excitements is equally pernicious to freedom as to morality. Its blind fury strikes at all the social sympathies. It severs the bond of brotherhood and the ties of neighborly good feeling. It destroys all confidence in the general intercourse of life. The name of Freemason or any other name that happens to be obnoxious in these movements of popular madness becomes synonymous with wickedness and crime ; and the man is judged not by the tenor of his former life, but by a standard begotten by the cunning of intrenched hypocrisy on the madness of fanaticism. The mild and salutary principle which forbids our confounding the many with the crime of the few, is lost sight of in the crusade against wild phantoms, and the violation of every social and moral duty is sanctified by the mysterious unction of this holy warfare against our countymen and brothers."

My space fails here to contain the remainder of this powerful argument which neither Weed, Southwick, nor Spencer ever attempted to refute. He goes on to show how this perversion of virtuous feelings is equally fatal to the purity of religion, and closes by this just description of the book in question. "Judge Brown has executed his task in a manner to entitle him to the thanks of all rational persons. The 'Narrative' is clear, precise and particular, abounding in just principles, correct feelings, candid admissions, and manly censures of both Masons and Anti-Masons, when he thinks them wrong. It is singularly impartial, considering it was written in the midst of the fires of persecution, and proscription, and displays an intimate acquaintance with the history of similar excitements in different countries. We therefore strongly recommend it to attention, as a salutary

antidote to the epidemic which seems to be spreading itself in all directions throughout this many-headed, many-minded republic."

This article was republished in Great Britain and being translated, was copied into the papers of all Protestant countries in Europe.

CHAPTER XII.

MODERN ANTI-MASONRY.

MY work would be incomplete, were I not to say something concerning MODERN ANTI-MASONRY. There is such a thing not only in the hearts of persons blackballed and rejected in Lodges, or cast out from Lodges as unworthy of membership, but Anti-Masonry still exists in a political form. Yes, there is an ANTI-MASONIC PARTY (!), a political association that for two or three successive terms has run candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States (!), and even now has a train of individuals in the field, prepared for the elections of 1884! Few know it, but there are organized churches having Anti-Masonry as planks in their organic structures. The world at large is not aware of it, but by its name, AMERICAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, this party stands before the people with a newspaper organ, a catalogue of publications, a tract branch, and a corps of lecturers! It has a wealthy donor, a Philo Carpenter, of Chicago, who realizes the adage, "It is more blessed," and so on! Colleges are hitched on to it as a *tertium quid* between learning and fanaticism. I speak soberly.

I am aware that these statements will appear incredible to many readers, but I beg for the truth's sake which in all these 400 pages I have been endeavoring to tell, that no one will accuse me of falsehood or romance in what I now say. I have for years read the organ aforesaid (the "Christian Cynosure"). I have visited the publishing house of the American Christian Association where more than fifty books are published on Anti-Masonry and kindred sciences. I

have encountered their lecturers as they run to and fro exhibiting the secrets of Masonry to old women and children. Nay, most strange, nearest incredible of all, this political modern party of Anti-Masons has built a monument to the memory of William Morgan, and I who write it, saw it dedicated with Anti-Masonic honors September 11, 1882, just fifty-six years after the disappearance of that unsavory man from the scene of action. These things being so, must we not have a chapter in our book on MODERN ANTI-MASONRY!

In all historical reading I find no parallel to this Morgan monument. Coins, it is true, were sometimes struck to the most dissolute and hateful Emperors of Rome,—Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabalus,—coins containing inscriptions as false, and devices as untruthful, but these were always struck during the lifetimes of those monsters, and the first care of the Roman Senate following the decease was to order the dies broken, the coins in the treasury melted down, and those in circulation, so far as possible, called in. But never before have we heard of a monument erected to a vile traitor after his death. In my investigations around Jerusalem, I found no evidences that a monument had ever been reared in honor of him who betrayed to his foes his friend and familiar; nor is there any tradition,—even among the dim and shadowy myths that encumber the literature of that famed metropolis,—of such a structure. The Chief Priests when they received again the thirty pieces of silver that Judas Iscariot rejected, and with them bought the Potter's field, did not, so far as history goes, raise up even a headstone to Judas Iscariot. So, among the monuments reared by the British nation in memory of their benefactors,—there is a vacant place where the name of Benedict Arnold should come. But here, at Batavia,—however we will approach the subject systematically.

The newspaper organ of modern Anti-Masonry is entitled the "Christian Cynosure." By reference to the Unabridged the reader will discover that the name Cynosure is in itself, innocent enough. It is simply a term for that group of stars, to which the polar star belongs. Though strictly translated, it signifies dog's tail, yet I think no canine reference was intended by its adoption, but rather something to which popular attention should be directed. It was selected, I apprehend, to give notice to all people that here is a center of attraction. I trust my readers will believe me when I state that there is a paper published weekly, at \$2.00 per annum, in Chicago, Ill., entitled the "Christian Cynosure."

Lecturers of the National Christian Association have pervaded many of our states, especially those of the North. State associations have been formed in Connecticut, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, New York, and perhaps others. Quite a catalogue of Anti-Masonic books has been issued, among which are Finney's Lectures, Greene's Broken Seal, etc. A great variety of Anti-Masonic tracts has also been published by this association. Within the last few years parties have gone out in twos and threes, to "work the Masonic degrees in public," and it is said that for twenty-five cents a head, any man, woman or child, however innocent, may see an exact reproduction of the making of an Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craftsman and Master Mason. Readers will understand that I speak only from public report.

As an outgrowth of this strictly philanthropic movement, the association has issued expositions of Odd-Fellowship, of the Order of Husbandmen (The Grange), of various College Secret Societies, of the Eastern Star (alas, my own offspring), of Good Templarism, of the Grand Army of the Republic, of the Temple of Honor, of the Knights of Pythias, of the Order of United Workmen, in short, of every-

thing that has or claims to have a secret in it. Published at moderate prices (discounts to dealers, and punctual delivery guaranteed), the managers of the association are reported to have become among the thriving tradesmen of Chicago. But I must take breath, and begin my subject anew.

This secrecy shop at Chicago is an institution *sui generis*. No, there are records of one like it in the Escorial at Madrid, headquarters of the old Inquisition. I dare not say, as an irreverent newspaper reporter has said that "the secrets of all hearts are revealed there," but I may indorse these words of the naughty man, "were the gates of the New Jerusalem left open for a night, unguarded, the familiars of this espionage-shop would be there clandestinely to make an exposition outrivaling John Bunyan, and St. John at Patmos." Their industry is said to be diabolical. Wherever a party of ladies and gentlemen cultivate temperance in a secluded place (calling themselves Good Templars, or what not), there is a Chicago spy in the midst of them, and soon a volume, badly printed, on spongy paper, with pages that will not register—is issued "exposing the secrets of the Order." Wherever a company of persons cultivate a system of weekly benefits and funeral privileges, in a secluded place (calling themselves Odd-Fellows, Red-Men or what not), the ubiquitous emissary finds them out, and soon the world may know all about their methods. If a band of veteran soldiers, recalling the glorious memories of war, or a band of farmers striving to elevate their profession by confidential communications as to seeds, machinery and modes of culture, or a coterie of mechanics, or any other class of persons, in defiance of this erotic and disgusting inquisition dare to meet with locked doors, and a tiler outside, this devil on two sticks gains entrance by "falsehood, perjury and unmanly deceit," to learn the nature of their proceedings, and fill his pockets by exposing the same. Where will this end?

Shall not a lady meet her lover at the garden gate, and whisper a few soft nothings at parting? Shall not bank directors put their noddles together to consider the state of the money market? Shall not the priest ensconce himself behind his ragged curtain and listen to the confessions of his flock? Shall not,—but one answer to all these queries comes from the secrecy-shop. “In secret I have said nothing, go where you will, fortify yourselves as you will, I will be there!”

Lest the reader may think I am exaggerating this account of the Anti-Masonic doings, especially in their publication department, I append a list of works from the latest catalogue:

1. Sermon on Odd-Fellowship, Rev. J. Sarver.*
2. Oaths and Penalties of Freemasonry.
3. Sermon on Masonry, Rev. James Williams.
4. Sermon on Masonry, Rev. P. McNary.
5. Thirteen Reasons, etc., Rev. Robert Armstrong.
6. Freemasonry, a Fourfold Conspiracy, Rev. J. Blanchard.
7. Grand Lodge Masonry, Rev. J. Blanchard.
8. Sermon on Secretism, Rev. R. T. Cross.
9. Freemasonry Contrary to the Christian Religion.
10. Defense of D. H. Whitney.
11. Reminiscences of Morgan Times, Rev. D. Bernard.
12. Minutes of Syracuse Convention.
13. Proceedings of Pittsburgh Convention.
14. Masonry a Work of Darkness, Rev. R. Armstrong.
15. History of National Christian Association.
16. Geo. Washington Opposed to Secret Societies.
17. Secret Societies, Rev. H. H. George.
18. Sermon on Secret Societies, Rev. D. Dow.
19. On Secret Societies, Rev. J. G. Carson.
20. Secrecy Against Family, State and Church, Rev. M. S. Drury.

*The reader will be surprised, possibly shocked, to see how large a portion of these cranks in the Anti-Masonic Society prefix “Rev.” to their names. As a rule there is little clerical about them except the name.

21. Oaths and Penalties of Thirty-three Degrees of Masonry.

22. Are Masonic Oaths Binding? Rev. A. L. Post.

23. Secret Societies, Revs. D. McDill, J. Blanchard and Edward Beecher.

24. Odd-Fellowship Judged, Rev. J. H. Brockman.

25. Knights of Pythias Illustrated.

26. United Sons of Industry Illustrated.

27. Good Templarism Illustrated.

28. Exposition of the Grange, Rev. J. W. Geeslin.

29. Ritual of the Grand Army of the Republic.

30. Ritual of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union.

31. Temple of Honor Illustrated.

32. Adoptive Masonry Illustrated, Thos. Lowe.

33. Freemasonry Exposed, Wm. Morgan.

34. The Broken Seal, Samuel D. Greene.

35. Holden with Cords, E. E. Flagg.

36. Freemasonry Illustrated,

37. Knight Templarism Illustrated.

38. Revised Odd-fellowship Illustrated.

39. Character of Masonry, Rev. C. G. Finney.

40. Letters on Masonry, J. Q. Adams.

Besides all these there are no less than forty-nine Anti-Secrecy Tracts, minute spores or seeds of malaria, easily scattered and at little expense. These run mostly from two to four pages, and are sold low. It is quite a practice for the emissaries of the American Christian Association to slip into a church or public hall on the eve of a convention and drop these little torpedoes on the seats to afford reading preparatory to the proceedings. One of the tracts styled "Masonic Chastity" is quite popular at these meetings. It is said to have been written by a woman.

The reader ignorant of all these "deadly doings" of modern Anti-Masonry will naturally inquire what does all this literature treat of? What is it all about?

Those who, like myself, have been doomed to read the ten thousand pages of Anti-Masonic literature, issued prior to 1836, will see that the stuff in their catalogue is but a re-hash of the old Weedisms, and Southwickisms, and

Greeneisms of that period with most of the harsher epithets omitted.

It is an evidence of the vigor, and not to put too fine a point on it, the backbone of this national organization, that for two successive terms they have had an electoral ticket in the field for president and vice-president of the United States! In 1876, Hon. J. B. Walker, of Illinois, was their nominee for president, and Donald Kilpatrick, of New York, for vice-president; in 1880 Gen. J. W. Phelps of Vermont, for president; in 1884 it is understood that Jonathan Blanchard himself is to be the candidate for the chair of George Washington, John A. Conant of Connecticut to have the second place! The aggregate political vote of the party for Phelps in 1880, was said to be nearly eight thousand, but I cannot swear to this.

It is due to our opponents that I should give the platform upon which they challenge the suffrages of the nation; its planks are twelve in number, viz :

1. We hold that ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, is the true policy on the temperance question.

4. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State Legislatures, should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law.

5. That the civil equality secured to all American citizens, by articles 13, 14 and 15 of our amended constitution should be preserved inviolate.

6. That the arbitration of the differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.

7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men, is to make mere adepts and experts; therefore the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational establishments.

8. That land and other monopolies should be discontinued.

9. That the government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency.

10. That the tariff should be so adjusted that it will, as near as possible, give equal protection to all classes of industry in the government.

11. That the maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians, are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.

12. And finally we demand for the American people, the abolition of the Electoral College, and a direct vote for president and vice-president of the United States.

And now for the Morgan Monument. As far back as 1828, a New York paper, "The Lake Light" had the audacity to move in this enterprise. Its editor (name buried in oblivion) suggests that the legislature appropriate funds for the noble object of rearing a suitable monument to the memory of Captain William Morgan. "Washington won liberty," he declares in a strain of fervid eloquence, "and Morgan died for it. The former has his fame engraved in the hearts of his countrymen, and shall the latter remain buried in secret and not a stone tell where he lies? No. If the legislature refuse to aid in the premises the people will not. The young lion of the west never slumbers in a good cause. Let Morgan have his monument of his martyrdom for the cause of liberty!"

So little attention, however, was paid to this grandiloquent appeal, that the only reference to it I can find is from a neighboring sheet, which suggests that "before raising monuments to the dead, the living Mrs. Morgan and her orphaned children should be provided for!" Perhaps the reference was to the well-known jest over the grave stone of a starved genius in Great Britain: "He asked them for bread and they gave him a stone."

DEDICATION OF MORGAN'S MONUMENT.

* It was my fortune to be in Batavia, N. Y., from September 8 to 13, 1882, supplying such lacunæ as existed in the matters of names, dates, and facts, now wrought into this volume. During that time, the Fourteenth National Convention of the National Christian Association occurred there, and occasion was taken by its members to dedicate their Morgan statue just finished. As this society, with its branches, is the outgrowth of the Anti-Masonic excitement begun in 1826, and has come honestly into possession of the goodwill and stock in trade of the original concern, its history demands at least a little place in the present work.

From 1836 to about 1865, the fire of Anti-Masonic hatred had smoldered. John Quincy Adams threw up his little rocket in 1833, which made a blaze for the moment, but was too late to accomplish anything material. The old leaders, Weed, Seward, Spencer, Granger, etc., had gone into other isms, and could not be moved back into forsaken paths, however tempting. The subject was emphatically dead for thirty years. So far as I know, there was not an Anti-Masonic organ left out of the two hundred and odd that had flourished for their little hour. Not a volume of Anti-Masonic literature appeared in the literary notices, and it really did seem as though Anti-Masonry had followed its martyr, William Morgan, into silence. To quote the gentle murmurs of the Anti-Masons themselves: "The edge of popular hate was dulled by time; the enemy to humanity and religion seemed lifeless, and Christians do not abuse the dead! From these causes, and others (!) Freemasonry found a place and a time in which to renew its work. It made its second start under favorable circumstances."*

The medal for resuscitating the Anti-Masonic party must be awarded to the Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, now President

* "A Brief History of the National Christian Association," 1875, published by themselves.

of the college at Wheaton, Illinois, a minister of the Congregational Church, in whose membership at large are found very many of the warmest adherents to Masonry.

It is a standing reproach upon humble and earnest professors of the Christian faith, that Freemasonry has ever found its most heartless and uncompromising enemies among religious fanatics. I found it so in my travels through oriental lands; wherever a Moslem was remarked for his inordinate zeal in the performance of the Mohammedan forms of prayer five times every twenty-four hours, he was described to me as an implacable opponent to the Freemasons. The Anti-Masons in our own country contemplate the immolation of an extensive moral and benevolent society on the altar of sectarian bigotry, and the civil and political annihilation of its members. "Cain was known by the mark upon his fore-front; Anti-Masonry is known by its works. Future generations may justly reproach the present with having permitted that pestiferous sect to cast a spot upon the escutcheon of our national fame."

The Jonathan Blanchard already named called a convention of Anti-Masons at Aurora, Illinois, October 31, 1867. He was chairman thereof, and delivered the principal address. As the result of this, a second Convention assembled at Pittsburgh, Pa., May 5-7, 1868, and the Society named "National Association of Christians Opposed to Secret Societies" was organized, which, in 1874, was incorporated in Illinois under its present cognomen, THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The Christian denominations which oppose Freemasonry as rules of the church, are said to be the United Brethren, Papists, Seventh Day Adventists, Old School Baptists, and possibly some others. The Quakers have relaxed their anti-secret rule of late. Some of the governing bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran churches have adopted a system of anti-secretism, and there are probably single congregations

in all the Congregational churches of the United States that oppose Masonry.

It is difficult to conceive that such a man as Howard Crosby, D.D., of New York could put his name to such balderdash as the following, but he did, and that too as late as Aug. 7, 1882, and it was used at the dedication services just described. He says that "secret societies are childish, cowardly and corrupting, and true men ought to be ashamed of them and quit them. They are silly snares for senseless souls, and it is the part of good citizenship to expose their folly." This is from an eminent writer upon Bible themes and Chancellor of the University of New York.

That a peacock's feather like Wendell Phillips should indorse such sentiments is not so strange. "Every Freemason swears to break the law, commit the greatest crimes and repudiate Christianity. Every good citizen should make war on all secret societies, and give himself no rest until they are forbidden by law and rooted out of existence."

THE MORGAN MONUMENT.

The Great Lie in Granite, as it is commonly styled in and about Batavia, where it thrusts its ugly statue, thirty-five feet high, among God's elms and maples, cost \$2,500. This amount was raised by all manner of persuasions and in various sums from a dime upwards. A poor little fellow who had made twenty-five cents, circus money, by catching rats, was persuaded to invest it in the Morgan monument, for which act he has mourned through sleepless hours ever since. The cut given in another page will satisfy the reader as to how the thing looks. A very corrupt imagination must that writer in the "Avon Herald" have had who solemnly declares that when he asked this statue: "Are you dead, William Morgan?" the granite fellow winked jocosely with his left eye. It was also reported by the

same unreliable authority that this statue has been seen twice to visit the nearest grog shop and then walk back staggering to the pedestal and resume his place, but in a different attitude from before. I give these reports for what they are worth. They seem to me to have as little truth at the basis as the statue itself. The inscriptions are as follows:

First tablet (south side), "Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM MORGAN, a native of Virginia, a captain of the war of 1812, a respectable citizen of Batavia, and a martyr to the freedom of writing, printing and speaking the truth. He was abducted from near this spot in the year 1826 by Freemasons and murdered for revealing the secrets of their Order."

Second tablet (east side), "Erected by volunteer contributions from over 2,000 persons, residing in Canada and twenty-six of the United States and Territories."

Third tablet (north side), "The Court Records of Genesee county and files of the 'Batavia Advocate,' kept in the Recorder's office contain the history of the events that caused the erection of this Monument."

Fourth tablet (west side), "The bane of our Civil Institutions is to be found in Masonry, already powerful and daily becoming more so. I owe my country an exposure of its dangers.
CAPT. WILLIAM MORGAN."

In Giddins' almanac of 1830, it was said that Freemasonry was being taught gratis, in Massachusetts, by Jacob Allen; in New York, by Jarvis Hanks; and in Ohio and Pennsylvania, by other seceding Masons. Those men were said at the time, by various people, to be obtaining their bread by exhibiting themselves, and performing some indecent gambols. Singularly enough, the method which utterly broke down in the hands of one Avery Allyn, is continued at the present day. A number of persons are employed by the American Christian Association, to give public performances from village to village, endeavoring to throw the solemn drama of Freemasonry into contempt. Leader among these is a Jesuit priest, who, commencing

life in Ireland, came to America, renounced Catholicism—under instructions from the Jesuit-General, and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. This gave him a status to enter the Masonic Order, and become Master of a Lodge. The Episcopalians finding him more than they had bargained for, he next became a Congregational preacher; and under the tuition of the now-offered candidate for president of the United States, renounced Freemasonry and is employed by the association aforesaid, to give dramatic representations. All this is but a Jesuit trick, and it is a subject of surprise, that the managers of the association aforesaid put confidence in such a class of men.

It will be observed that in the list of Anti-Masonic publications are many works directed against what the party call "kindred associations." They charge upon Freemasonry the maternity of all the brood of secret societies that have quite exhausted the English language in their nomenclature: Red Men; Odd-Fellows; Good-Fellows; Knights of Honor; Sons of Temperance; Templars of Temperance; Good Templars; Royal Arcanum; Forresters; United Workmen; Grangers; Sons of Herman; Heptosophs; B'nai B'rith; Legion of Honor; Royal Templars of Temperance; Knights of Macca-bees; Knights of the Golden Rule; Druids; Elks; Knights of Labor; Order of Moses; Order of Immaculates; Knights of Pythias; Sons of Momus, and a hundred others. Now we are in no way responsible for these, nor can they be called in any sense, sister organizations. It is true, that Odd-Fellowship (born in 1819) got its popularity during the Anti-Masonic warfare; its Baltimore originators claiming that, while avoiding the cruel obligations and penalties of Masonry, they had retained all that makes that Order valuable. But there is no evidence that the Masonic leaders adopted or encouraged the act. The success of Odd-Fellowship has doubtless led to the creation of the others named above, but Freemasonry is no more entitled to the credit of their

good deeds, and no more responsible for their errors, than is the Congregational church responsible for the cranks who go out as its reverends, and play their pranks before a disgusted public.

We are not in possession of facts to show the results of all this publishing, lecturing and exposing, of all these national conventions and local gatherings, of all these county Anti-Masonic societies, and other methods of attack upon the time-honored Order. Freemasonry goes on with wonderful smoothness, gathering into its Lodges the best men in all professions, and doing its social and charitable work with a success that seems to proceed from the favor of God. It is claimed that, in many places where there has been a course of dramatic performances by the Jesuit priest aforesaid or his assistants, the work of the Lodge immediately freshens, converts are made to Masonry, and the list of members grows. It has been openly avowed by some who have come into the Order under this impulse, "that the degrees as worked by these Chicago vagabonds are so impressive as to tempt us to enjoy them under legal restrictions, done by regular workmen !" We but tell the story as we heard it. A leading secular paper referring to late exploits in the way of exposing Masonry, doubts whether as many Masons have seceded from the Order under these attacks as wives have been divorced from their husbands through the same evil influences.

With two or three kindred spirits I stood only a few paces distant from the granite structure, "sacred to Morgan," and listened, with some impatience, to the opening Ode. Would the reader like to see this? It was composed for the occasion by Mr. Alexander Thomson, of Wheaton, Illinois :

"HYMN FOR THE UNVEILING OF THE MORGAN MONUMENT.

Eternal source of light and love,
Send us Thy spirit from above:
And let thy truth, O Lord, prevail
Against the craft and might of hell.

Great God, we thought our land was free!
We thought throughout from land to sea,
There was no place where man might not
Give honest utterance to his thought.

But this tall shaft speaks other things,
Of hidden leagues of priests and kings.
Dark powers which, like the siroc-breath,
Breathe on our blood-bought freedom,—death

Behold, O Lord, thy Church in chains!
See how the power of darkness reigns
In Church and state, in hut and hall,
Confounding and corrupting all!

Arise, O Lord! the cause is Thine;
Put forth Thine awful power divine,
Thy blessed light that shall consume
All evils which its beams illumine.

And let our Monument proclaim
That MORGAN is a martyr's name!
Till heart and home from sea to sea,
Shout from the dark lodge-bondage free!"

It is hard to believe that a company of nominal Christian men and women made that address amid the fetters of "Old Hundred" (wretchedly led off by one Clark, wretchedly followed by the company), and made it, too, to our HEAVENLY FATHER! In fact, they informed HIM in this blasphemous way, that Freemasonry, in the year of grace, 1882, had enchained the Church, had confounded and corrupted all things ecclesiastical, political, social and domestic! As I stood, listening to this "lie in metre," the memory of David's tremendous words came over me: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the LORD shall have them in derision."

In the Morgan times, the Masonic journals were few and poorly patronized. Our opponents had command of the treasury, wherever it was situated, and could subsidize the secular presses at their pleasure. But in the year 1883, our batteries present a series of guns of caliber, sound Masonic journals, edited by talented and experienced Masons, from whose vigilant ken no fact of importance, either in attack or defense, escapes. Here is the list:

1. "Masonic Review," magazine, monthly, Cincinnati.
2. "Voice of Masonry," magazine, monthly, Chicago.
3. "Keystone," newspaper, weekly, Philadelphia.
4. "Masonic Advocate," newspaper, monthly, Indianapolis.
5. "Cornerstone," newspaper, weekly, New York.
6. "Liberal Freemason," magazine, monthly, Boston.
7. "Masonic Chronicle," magazine, monthly, Columbus, Ohio.
8. "Masonic Token," magazine, quarterly, Portland, Me.
9. "Canadian Craftsman," magazine, monthly, Port Hope, Canada.
10. "Repository," magazine, monthly, Providence, R. I.

Besides these, there are numerous secular papers, having Masonic departments. Of these, the New York Sunday "Dispatch" takes the lead, its Masonic page being the production of Hon. John W. Simons, one of the oldest and best writers in the Order.

CONCLUSION.

It is due, not to Masonic faith only, but to the ordinary courtesy of writers, that I should make my acknowledgments at least in part, to those who have supplied me with materials for this volume. I say in part, because I have not so religiously preserved my correspondence since 1846, as to enable me to make the list complete. The destruction of great masses of correspondence and documentary matter, in the burning of my house in 1861, and the reducing of papers every summer by the flames, will explain this, so that I must draw much upon my memory to prepare even the partial list that follows.

In the preface to my work, "Eli Bruce, the Masonic Martyr," published in 1860, I give credit to the following Masons, some thirty in number, of whom, at this present writing (March, 1883), only six remain, marked, as the reader will see, in small caps:

Salem Town, Aurora, N. Y., a most liberal donor.

N. G. Chesebro, Canandaigua, N. Y.

JOHN L. LEWIS, Penn Yan, N. Y.

Jerome Steele, Lockport, N. Y.

John Whitney, Chicago, Ill.

Ebenezer Mix, Batavia, N. Y.

William Seaver, Batavia, N. Y.

Daniel Seaver, Batavia, N. Y.

Finlay M. King, Port Byron, N. Y.

John S. Weed, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

Sylvester Gilbert, Ogdensburgh, N. Y.

Peter P. Murphy, Royalton, N. Y.

John O. Cole, Troy, N. Y.

Jeremiah Brown, Jeddo, N. Y.

ROBERT MACOY, New York city.

JOHN W. SIMONS, New York city.

Mordecai Myers, Schenectady, N. Y.

James M. Austin, New York city.

Giles F. Yates, New York city.
James Herring, New York city.
Philip C. Tucker, Vergennes, Vt.
SIDNEY HAYDEN, Athens, Pa.
JAMES S. REEVES, McConnellsville, Ohio.
Joseph Covell, Jay Bridge, Me.
George W. Chase, Haverhill, Mass.
Abelard Reynolds, Rochester, N. Y.
William C. Lathrop, Rochester, N. Y.
P. H. TAYLOR, Ionia, Mich.
Parkhurst Whitney, Niagara, N. Y.
Robert P. Dunlap, Brunswick, Me.
William C. Barker, Providence, R. I.
William M. Chubbuck, Youngstown, N. Y.

To this list I now add the following, as the nearest approximation to completeness:

Charles W. Moore, Boston, Mass.
Edward C. Raymond, Boston, Mass.
Winslow Lewis, Boston, Mass.
John Robin McDaniel, Lynchburgh, Va.
Edward A. Guilbert, Dubuque, Iowa.
Theodore S. Parvin, Iowa City, Iowa.
John D. Caldwell, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Thomas R. Austin, Vincennes, Ind.
Thomas Hayward, Tallahassee, Fla.
William P. Innis, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Ira Berry, Portland, Me.
James B. Taylor, Newark, N. J.
W. M. Cunningham, Newark, Ohio.
Chauncey M. Hatch, Bridgeport, Conn.
Benjamin B. French, Washington, D. C.
Albert G. Mackey, Charleston, S. C.
William S. Rockwell, Savannah, Ga.
Samuel G. Risk, New Orleans, La.

William P. Mellen, Natchez, Miss.
James Penn, Memphis, Tenn.
Philip Swigert, Frankfort, Ky.
Samuel C. Butler, Highgate, Vt.
Lewis Cass, Détroit, Mich.
William B. Hubbard, Columbus, Ohio.
Jeremy L. Cross, Haverhill, N. H.
Harry C. Atwood, New York city.
Alfred Creigh, Washington, Pa.
Stephen Berry, Portland, Me.
Daniel Sickels, New York city.
Josiah H. Drummond, Portland, Me.
Serenio D. Nickerson, Boston, Mass.
Henry R. Coleman, Louisville, Ky.
W. H. S. Whitcomb, Burlington, Vt.
Elisha D. Cooke, Louisville, Ky.
S. H. Dickinson, Fredonia, N. Y.
Henry B. Grant, Louisville, Ky.
E. S. Ferguson, Uhrichsville, Ohio.
Edward Giddins, Lockport, N. Y.
Charles Craig, Lockport, N. Y.
Aaron Griswold, Lyons, N. Y.
George P. Cleaves, Concord, N. H.
John K. Hall, Somerville, Mass.
Thomas Warner, Coshocton, N. Y.
A. P. Moriarty, New York city.
Cornelius Moore, Cincinnati, Ohio.
K. H. Van Rensselaer, Ohio.
Francis King, Indianapolis, Ind.
Harmon G. Reynolds, Springfield, Ill.
D. W. Thomson, Hemlo, Ill.
M. O. Sullivan, St. Louis, Mo.
James W. Staton, Brooksville, Ky.
D. H. Wheeler, Plattsmouth, Neb.
W. B. Langridge, Muscatine, Iowa.

Horace Chase, Hopkinton, N. H.
George H. Gray, Sr., Clinton, Miss.
John Scott, Nevada, Iowa.
Fitzgerald Tisdall, New York city.
Alex. G. Abell, San Francisco, Cal.
Col. McLeod Moore, Canada.
William Mercer Wilson, Simcoe, Canada.
Christopher G. Fox, Buffalo, N. Y.
John Dove, Richmond, Va.
James Evans, Richmond, Va.
Fred Webber, Louisville, Ky.
Samuel Lawrence, Marietta, Ga.
E. G. Storer, New Haven, Conn.
Thos. B. Harris, Hamilton, Canada.
Benj. C. Parke, Harrisburgh, Pa.
Theodore T. Gurney, Chicago, Ill.
Wm. J. Hughan, Truro, Cornwall, England.
Thos. R. Corson, Trenton, N. J.
Joseph Robbins, Quincy, Ill.
L. D. Croninger, Covington, Ky.
Enoch T. Carson, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Charles E. Meyer, Philadelphia, Pa.
A. T. C. Pierson, St. Paul, Minn.
Daniel Sayers, Montgomery, Ala.
John Frizzell, Nashville, Tenn.
Alfred Shaw, New Orleans, La.
Luke E. Barber, Little Rock, Ark.
John D. Vincil, St. Louis, Mo.
J. J. Mason, Hamilton, Canada.
J. B. Traves, Port Hope, Canada.
William R. Bowen, Omaha, Neb.
Robert Ramsay, Orillia, Canada.
Ed. C. Parmalee, Georgetown, Col.
Joseph K. Wheeler, Hartford, Conn.
W. R. Singleton, Washington, D. C.

DeWitt C. Dawkins, Jacksonville, Fla.

J. Emmet Blackshear, Macon, Ga.

John H. Brown, Wyandotte, Kan.

J. C. Batchelor, New Orleans, La.

Joseph H. Hough, Trenton, N. J.

The reader will not begrudge the little space which this list occupies; for it represents to a considerable extent that phalanx of Freemasons who, in Grand Lodges and in the newspapers, have upheld the banners of the Order during the generation just closing. It is this class of men among whom no seceding Masons were ever found. A large part of them, about two thirds, have closed their career, and their rolls written up and sealed, have been handed in to "the Great Master of Assemblies." The rest of us, for the most part, are furrowed and frosted by time, kindly hints that we, too, shall soon be wanted in the other sphere of action. Such a catalogue, then, is a fitting close to a volume like this which treats of the doings of the good and true during the last half century.

I am apprehensive that my readers, old friends, who know how averse I have always been to harsh debate, how determinedly I have set myself against the scurrilous literature that defaces much newspaper writing, will see, in this volume, a departure from my long-time custom. If so, I pray you, dear old friends, read again the first chapter, before you express a condemnation. See there how a man, rolling in wealth, rich in honors, at the end of a long life spent in political labors, at a season when he should have been preparing for another state of existence, deliberately sets himself, with all the weight of the authority given one of his class,—sets himself, I say deliberately, to defame Freemasonry! See how the newspapers of the day hasten by thousands to seize upon the half-remembered, scandal-soaked slush of the earlier and worse days of his political career,—and how they give it publicity, and thus seem to indorse

it. Think of the mortification inflicted upon the aged representatives of Freemasonry sitting in their chimney-corners waiting their appointed time to die, and compelled to listen to these "revelations of Thurlow Weed," uncontradicted by authoritative writers. Think of all this and say if it was not time for some one to reply!

But I protest that I never would have published this work — though I had so long been collecting materials for it — if that old man's drivings had been suppressed.

The Masonic Order had so completely outlived Weed and his party and his hatreds, we were all doing so well, that I should have buried the subject in oblivion and destroyed the material so laboriously accumulated rather than open a quarrel of which Fillmore, Seward, John Quincy Adams, Thaddeus Stevens, and all the more respectable members of the Anti-Masonic party became heartily ashamed before they died. Only one man was left, and he imbecile in body and mentally feeble, who could reopen the subject. Of all men living he was most interested in keeping the matter still. What evil spirit was it, then, that drew Thurlow Weed from his retirement to poison the community with Anti-Masonic slanders even with his dying breath?

I ask my old friends, those who have honored me with their patronage for so many years, to consider this volume as a reply to those slanderous "Revelations by Thurlow Weed," which indeed are not revelations. And as his communications have been reproduced, in whole or part, by every newspaper in the Union, arrangements will be made to bring this book into the sanctum of every newspaper establishment, and at the secretary's desk of every Lodge. The aid of all who love the Masonic Order and the truth upon which the Order is established, is fraternally invoked to assist in spreading this reply at least as far as the slanderous charges went.



ROB MORRIS, 1883.

THE LEVEL AND THE SQUARE.

[THE MOST POPULAR PRODUCTION OF DR. MORRIS.]

We meet upon the LEVEL and we part upon the SQUARE:
What words sublimely beautiful those words Masonic are!
They fall like strains of melody upon the listening ears
As they've sounded Hallelujahs to the world, three thousand years.

We meet upon the LEVEL, though from every station brought,
The Monarch from his palaces, the laborer from his cot;
For the king must drop his dignity, when knocking at our door,
And the poorest is his equal as he circles round the floor.

We act upon the PLUMB, 'tis our Master's great command,
We walk upright in virtue's way and lean to neither hand;
TH' ALL-SEEING EYE that reads our hearts will bear us witness true
That we still try to honor GOD and give each man his due.

We part upon the SQUARE, for the world must have its due;
We mingle in the ranks of men, but keep our secrets true;
But the influence of our gatherings is always fresh and green,
And we long, upon the LEVEL, to renew the happy scene.

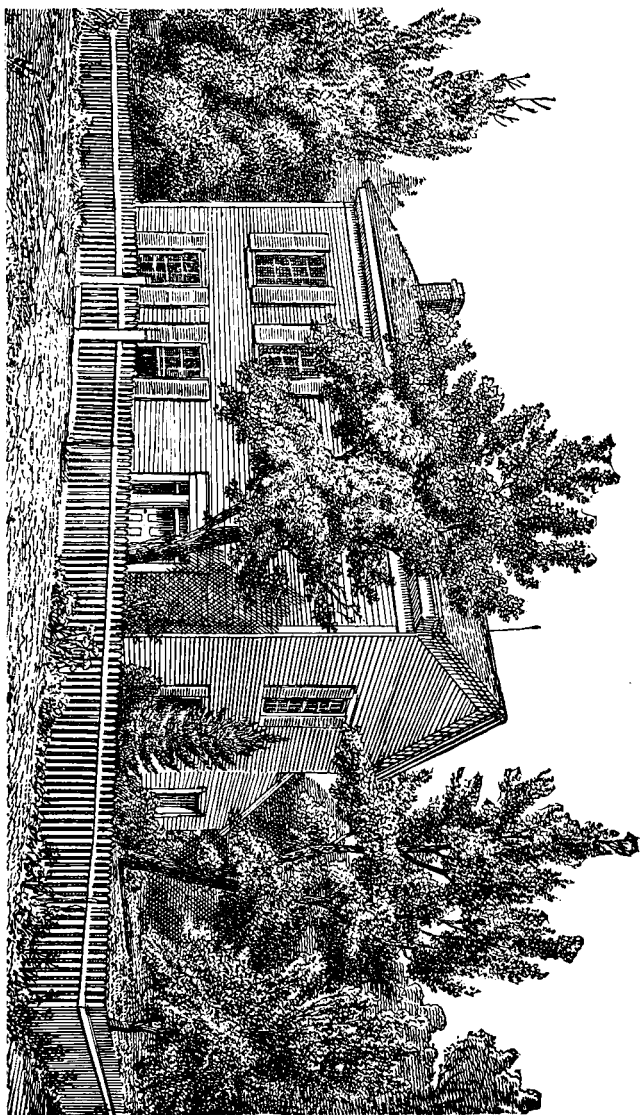
There's a world where all are equal,—we are hurrying toward it fast;
We shall meet upon the LEVEL there, when the gates of death are
past.

We shall stand before THE ORIENT, and THE MASTER will be there,
Our works to try, our lives to prove, with GOD's unerring SQUARE.

We shall meet upon the LEVEL there, but nevermore depart:
There's a MANSION, bright and glorious, set for the "pure in heart":
There's an everlasting welcome from the hosts rejoicing there
Who in this world of sloth and sin did part upon the SQUARE.

Let us meet upon the LEVEL, then, while laboring patient here:
Let us meet and let us labor, though the labor is severe!
Already in the western sky the signs bid us prepare
To gather up our WORKING-TOOLS and part upon the SQUARE.

Hands round, ye Royal Brotherhood, close in the Golden Chain:
We part upon the SQUARE below, to meet in Heaven again.
Each tie that has been broken *here* shall be united *there*,
And none be lost around GOD'S THRONE who parted on the SQUARE.



THE OLD KENTUCKY HOME OF ROB MORRIS, 1A GRANGE, KENTUCKY.

POEM

BY DR. MORRIS.

For the "Morris Symposium," New York, February 15, 1883,
read by the recipient of the distinguished honor:

'Tis well nigh forty years ago,
This gallant company set forth;
A warmer-hearted set, I trow,
Hath never walk'd this earth;
And here we are, a veteran ring,
A remnant old and grey,
Resolved, whate'er the *morn* may bring,
To-night we will be gay, dear boys,
Oh very glad and gay!

What's four score years to men like you?
The spirit scorns a base control;
Old time your sturdy backs may bow,
He cannot bend the soul;
The eye that scans an honest life,
Nor age nor clouds can dim,
The heart with generous promptings rife,
Sings a perpetual hymn, dear boys,
A light, perpetual hymn.

Shall we begrudge a tender tear,
To those who've stemmed the Lethean wave?
Ah no, 'twill cast no shadow here;
To name them, in the grave:
We loved them; there's no fear in love;
Then reach across the sea,
And hail them in their homes above,
Bright forms of memory, dear boys,
Blest forms of memory.

A moment longer, he whose name
To-night goes round your festive board,
In stammering words and couplets tame,
Thus pledges heart and word:
We may not meet again till death
Unite us 'neath his power,
But while I draw the vital breath,
I'll not forget this hour, dear boys,
Never forget this hour!

Then close the ranks, touch elbows, boys,
Old friends are dropping fast,
Close up, close up a manly front,
'Twill all come right at last, dear boys,
Sure to come right at last!

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