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THE

BROKEN SEAL;

OR,

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

OF THE

MORGAN ABDUCTION AND MURDER.

BY

SAMUEL D. GREEN.

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THE BROKEN SEAL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

SENSIBLE that I am drawing near the close of life, I feel it my duty to leave on record certain facts connected with my personal history, which may be of use to those who shall come after me. My life has been a long and eventful one; but I have no intention of writing an autobiography, except in relation to one feature of my history. Many years ago, I was brought, in the providence of God, into strange and intimate association with a series of events which deeply affected my own mind, and, for a long time, powerfully agitated society. I refer to the abduction and murder of Captain William Morgan, for unfolding what he deemed to be the pernicious secrets of the masonic order. I was a member of the same lodge with

him, was intimately acquainted with the man, and was an eye-witness of much that went on concerning him. I am prepared, therefore, to bear testimony on this subject, such as few other living men probably can give. To the rising generation the story is, in some good degree, a new one; but forty years ago, the whole land was moved with excitement in consequence of it.

Believing, as I most sincerely do, that the institution of Freemasonry, in its natural working, is injurious alike to individual and public morality, that it is secretly hostile to good and wholesome government, and still more hostile to the Christian church, I feel it my duty, before leaving the world, to tell what I have personally known of these things, and bear my testimony in this regard.

In doing this I trust I am not moved by a sense of private wrongs, or by any personal animosities. Almost all of those who were in active life with me at the time the events above referred to took place, are now sleeping in the grave. This is no time for personal griefs and resentments. I have passed beyond that period when the honors and emoluments of this world can greatly affect me. The generation with which I have acted my part on the stage is gone, or fast disappearing. It is

because I believe that what I have to relate has an intrinsic interest and a valuable lesson for others, that I am moved to tell it.

After this long lapse of years, I am aware that in little things my memory at times may be at fault. But all the substantial points of this narrative were matters of record at the time, and they were, moreover, events of such deep interest, taking such strong hold of the thoughts and feelings, as not to be easily effaced from the recollection. In small and unimportant details there may be an occasional mistake; but in the great things of the narrative — the larger outlines — I am not likely to be mistaken. At my period of life the memory is far more alive and fresh with reference to matters forty years ago, than to events of more recent occurrence. The only value which such a personal history as this can have, is its honest and reliable truth. My aim will be to make this narrative strictly truthful, whatever other elements it may lack. It shall be a straightforward story of what I myself passed through.

In respect to such items of the narrative as did not actually fall under my own personal inspection, but were yet connected with the same gen

eral series of events, I have constantly referred to contemporary history, and have consulted especially Rev. David Bernard's "Light on Masonry." At the time of the Morgan abduction and murder, Mr. Bernard was a member of the masonic lodge at Covington, in Wyoming County, only about twenty miles distant from Batavia. He had been for some years a Mason — had been led into it under the general representation that it was "an institution from Heaven; moral, benevolent, of great antiquity, the twin sister of Christianity, possessing the patronage of the wise, the great and good, and highly important to the ministers of Jesus Christ." Under this general impression he was taken, as I was, through the first three degrees, only to awaken in him the same disgust which I myself experienced after passing over the same road. "My disappointment," he tells us, "none can know but those who have, in similar circumstances, been led in the same path of folly and sin. I silently retired from the institution, and for three years was hardly known as a Mason." Still, by the representations of others, he was made to believe that there was some great good in the higher masonic degrees, and he started again and travelled on his way until he entered

the Lodge of Perfection, and took the ineffable degrees.

After all the experience he had, his opinion of the institution is summed up in the following plain, and unmistakable language: he "found it *wholly* corrupt; its morality, a shadow; its benevolence, selfishness; its religion, infidelity; and that, as a system, it was an engine of Satan, calculated to enslave the children of men, and pour contempt upon the Most High."

At the time of the Morgan abduction, Mr. Bernard was absent from home. He returned on the 16th of September, only five days after the abduction, to learn that Morgan was taken off and probably murdered. He says, "I conversed with Masons on the subject, and they *justified both his abduction and murder.*" From that moment he broke with the institution; came out boldly and denounced it; was, in fact, the first Mason that openly took this stand. For so doing he was threatened on every hand, and subjected to a long course of dangerous and most annoying persecution. But he held his ground, and three years after, in 1829, he published his volume of six hundred pages, in which are carefully gathered up all the chief records of those exciting times. This

book has been at hand while preparing this little volume, that I might refresh my memory upon any point about which I was in doubt.

I am not unmindful of the fact that Freemasonry is again popular and wide-spread in the land. In the opposition which arose after the Morgan murder, the institution throughout the country was greatly weakened and depressed. For twenty years little was heard of Masonry. Many of the lodges, in all directions, returned their charters and wound up their affairs. But in the coming on of the anti-slavery agitation, public attention was gradually called away from Masonry and its evils, and the institution, being left alone in the dark, with its few bigoted devotees, began to revive, until again it assumes a bold front, and stalks abroad with large pretensions. It is for this reason especially that I am induced to tell the story of the past. Most men, in connecting themselves with Masonry, take little thought of the consequences. By the peculiar and strange fascination which it has for many people, they are drawn within its embraces, and they do not reason carefully enough upon the subject to comprehend what effects are wrought by it upon themselves personally, or upon society at large. I do not

charge upon members of the masonic order generally, that they have any direct and conscious intentions against their neighbors, or the peace and welfare of community. They do not set out with the idea of being enemies either of God or man. But they belong to an institution which has its own laws and its own methods of working, and by it they are shaped and controlled in ways that they know not of. Working under cover of secrecy and darkness, it fortifies itself little by little, and in a thousand ways attempts to secure for its own members advantages over others in the privileges and honors of life.

In a recent public debate on Freemasonry, an officer in our late army, who was taken prisoner, and who spent weeks and months in Southern prisons, boldly undertook to defend the institution by showing the good which came to him personally from officers in the Southern army, when he was known and recognized as a Mason. This is a very easy and short argument if one will only consent to stop at the proper point. But in strict truth and honor, what right had others to give, or he to secure for himself in this way, kind offices, harshly denied to his fellow-prisoners? A soul truly manly would spurn benefits which must

come in through such by and forbidden channels, and would choose to suffer what others were called to suffer. How far is this secret giving and secret snatching after good from that broad Christian rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" !

But the important point, in all such arguments as this, is, that it opens up a vista far beyond what the speaker intends. If Southern officers would show these partialities, and be false to their trusts, under such circumstances, so would Northern officers; and you have a traitorous element in both camps, taking and giving without regard to general orders, or the general good. A man who will confess that he would accept such advantages in the dark, does thereby confess that he would give such advantages in the dark — that a Freemason's grip would have power and influence beyond the general claims of the nation and of humanity. Take this principle and carry it out into all the details of life, and it is a most enormous crime against society. And undoubtedly, if we could get at the facts, we should find that many things, in the progress of the late war, which seemed strange and inexplicable at the time, and which still seem so, would be easily explained by this

principle of individual favoritism working boldly against the general good.*

In war or in peace this can never be any other than a most mischievous and dangerous element in society. In the course of my life, and from my special means of knowledge and observation, I have seen the working out of this principle in so many ways, that I cannot but regard it as one of the most gigantic crimes against government and our common humanity. Masonry sometimes parades before the world its good and charitable deeds; its kindness shown between man and man; its care for the widow and orphan; and on the score of benevolence, dares to make comparison between itself and the church of Christ, forgetting that even its benevolence, so called, is founded upon selfishness. It is not, it does not even claim to be, that broad Christian benevolence which looks upon every man as a brother, and which makes the Samaritan neighbor to the Jew,

* In the third degree the Mason swears to help his brethren and seek their deliverance under all conditions of calamity, "*murder and treason only excepted.*" In the higher degrees this provision drops out, and he promises the like assistance, "murder and treason not excepted." Wherever, then, in all the world, the Mason gives the "grand hailing sign of distress," by his two uplifted hands, all true Masons are expected to govern themselves accordingly, and rush to his relief.

in spite of long ages of prejudice and hate. Masonry is something very different indeed from all this. It gives only in expectation of receiving as much again. And although this is the common way of the world, the rule most largely followed in individual action, yet men ordinarily do not try to incorporate it into institutions, & make it look noble by large combinations. It retains its old nature in spite of organization. It is intrinsically selfish, and not benevolent, and the more odious just in proportion as the attempt is made to lift it into prominence.

I will not, however, attempt, in this abstract way, to set forth the evils and wrongs of Masonry. I have an actual story to tell,—a deeply interesting story,—which will show the real workings of the institution in a far more graphic way than I could otherwise exhibit them; and to this personal narrative we will at once turn.

CHAPTER II.

HOW I BECAME A MASON.

I WAS born in the town of Leicester, Mass., on the 7th day of February, 1788. My great grandfather, Thomas Greene, was the first Baptist minister in that town, and through his agency the first Baptist meeting-house was built there. In my childhood, the country was just emerging from the fatigue and burdens of the long war of the Revolution. It was the day of small things. Society was in a rude and simple condition, as compared with the present. The means and opportunities of education were very inferior to those now enjoyed in New England. My education, during the early years of my life, in consequence of this fact, as also because of the frequent interruptions of sickness, went on irregularly. But at the age of fourteen I was set upon the study of Latin, at Leicester Academy, and was so far advanced in general education, that at the age of seventeen I

was employed to teach a district school in the neighboring town of Oakham. I was examined by the parish minister, Rev. Daniel Tomlinson. I was certainly not very well fitted for my new vocation by reason of the irregularities of my education; but some references which I made to Latin, and Latin rules of grammar, rather impressed the minister with my youthful learning, and I found no difficulty in obtaining my certificate.

This Mr. Tomlinson was a quaint and original man, and some pleasant stories are told of him. He was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, and was settled in Oakham in 1786, where he remained for fifty years. If I mistake not, he is the man about whom the famous church story of Oakham centres. In the time of a long and obstinate quarrel, when the members in church meeting assembled were accusing each other variously, the minister finally rose and said,—

“Brethren, this must be stopped. If the Lord will have a church in Oakham, he must have it out of such materials as we have here.” He is the same man also to whom a church member once went complaining, and wanting a letter of dismission to the church in a neighboring town. Said

the church member, "There are so many Achans in the camp here, that I want to get away to another church." "O," said the minister, "I guess I wouldn't go. We can take care of the Achans here as well as they can anywhere."

The following winter I taught school in Thompson, Ct., and was examined and approved by Rev. Daniel Dow, the minister of the Congregational church at Thompson from 1796 to 1849. He also was remarkable for his quaintness and keen wit, and was a man of much repute in the ecclesiastical affairs of his state.

In the intervals of my teaching I was attending school at Leicester Academy, and in 1807, at the age of nineteen, I entered the Sophomore class in Brown University. Here I remained for more than two years, when I was employed as assistant teacher in the principal school of Providence, and took my dismissal from college at the close of the first term of my senior year. And here, on the 29th of March, 1810, I was married to my first wife, Miss Susan Gibbs.

I need not stop to detail the varied experiences of my life for the first few years after my marriage. In 1812 began the war with Great Britain. The country was in a very depressed and uneasy

condition. New England, especially, suffered during all that season. Dependent so largely as she then was upon her commercial enterprises, those three years of war were with her years of sore discouragement and calamity.

In the year 1816 I prepared to remove, with my family, to Western New York. I had just before made a journey thither myself, and had concluded to cast in my fortunes with the new and chaotic society then forming in that portion of the country. The only place of much importance in Western New York had been Buffalo. That was burned in the war of 1812, and was now slowly rising again. The region far around was in a wild or half-broken state. Accordingly, in 1816, I bought a horse, additional to the one I before owned, had a pole put into my wagon instead of the pair of thills, before used, covered the wagon with a piece of sheeting, put in such things as were most necessary, took my wife and two little children, and started for the west. It was a long and toilsome journey, of about five hundred miles, over a rough country. Twenty hours would now suffice to make the journey along our great railroad tracks; but at that time it was a laborious enterprise, requiring weeks for its execution.

Our first residence was at Pembroke, about twenty-eight miles this side of Buffalo, where, for a time, I kept a public house, and engaged in various occupations, such as are natural in a new, rough, and sparsely-settled country. Previous to the war of 1812, and subsequently until the Erie Canal was built, the merchandise and produce of the country were transported to and fro between Albany and Buffalo, a distance of between three hundred and four hundred miles, in large covered wagons, with wheels of broad tire, drawn by teams of from four to eight horses. A number of these teams would be owned by one man, who usually accompanied them as a general superintendent of the journey. He would travel with a single horse in a light buggy, to give direction and assistance, in times of difficulty, to go forward and arrange stopping-places for the night, to see that hay and grain were in readiness for the horses, and provisions for the men on their arrival. In such a country the tavern was a great institution. My house, called the Brick Tavern, at Pembroke, was a convenient and natural stopping-place for these teams; and not unfrequently it would happen that from fifty to a hundred horses must be provided for at my barns for the night, and the teamsters taken

care of in the house. The life these men lived was a rough, hard, and adventurous one, and brought out the strong and sharp qualities of character, rather than the refined and graceful. This was before the days of the temperance reformation, and no small part of the business of the tavern-keeper was to provide suitable liquors for travellers, and for the dwellers around.

Many unique stories might be told of what transpired at my house during those years, illustrating the character of my guests, and also illustrating the state of society around me. One night there arrived at my house some eighty horses, with a due proportion of teamsters. In company with them came a foot traveller, with his knapsack, in which he carried the necessaries of life, victuals and drink. He had overtaken the teams a little way back, and inquired of the men where they were intending to stop for the night. "At the Brick Tavern, Mr. Greene's," was the reply. "Well," says the footman, "I will stop there too." These teamsters were good and generous customers. Their habits of life lifted them above all small and stingy ways. They had supper, lodging, and breakfast, liquor and cigars, for themselves, and feed for their horses, all bought and

paid for at the hotel. They did not attempt to carry any of these things along with them, though they might easily have done so.

On the other hand, all that this foot-traveller wanted was a good nice fire to sit by, and a bed to sleep in. He carried his food and liquor in his knapsack, and ate his supper from this in my bar-room. I had at that time an energetic man who served in the double capacity of barber and boot-black. In the course of the night this man gave a splendid shine to all the boots, the footman's included, as he had left them out for the purpose.

In the morning he rose and ate his breakfast in the bar-room, from his own knapsack, just as he had done his supper. At length the hour for starting arrived, and the teamsters gathered at the bar to settle their bills. As the custom then was, I set out my decanters of different liquors, that they might take a parting drink at their pleasure. After they had finished, up came the foot-traveller and inquired for his bill. "What have you had?" said I. "O, lodging," said he (the boot-black standing by and giving a most significant glance at his shining boots). "Your bill is six cents, then," said I, that being the customary charge at that time for a bed, in that part of the

country. He paid the sixpence, and then, looking at me, said, "Landlord, can't you afford to treat?" "To be sure," said I; "what will you have?" "I'll take a little brandy." I turned out a half-pint tumbler nearly full (the teamsters all looking on). He took it and drank nearly half of it. Then stopping, said he, "In fact, I can't drink it all." "Haven't you a little flask you can put it into?" said I. He took out his flask, and I emptied the remainder of the brandy into it. "Well," said he, turning to the teamsters, I don't wonder you stop here. It is the best tavern I ever saw. I shall always stop here, landlord, when I travel this way." "Do," said I, "by all means." After they left my house the teamsters *run him* hard upon his meanness. They told the story all the way from Buffalo to Albany, and so advertised my house thoroughly, and gave me a fine run of custom.

In 1822 we removed from Pembroke to Batavia, eleven miles farther east, and near the centre of Genesee County. This was the county seat. Soon after going there I opened the County House, as it was called, opposite the Court House. In about a year I admitted into the house a private female school. The Presbyterian minister of the place was Rev. Calvin Colton, since well known by his

writings. His wife, a woman of very superior education and character, had charge of the school that was kept in my house. My wife and I connected ourselves with Rev. Mr. Colton's church, and our children were baptized by him. In 1823 and 1824 Mr. Colton's parish was engaged in erecting a meeting-house; and when it is stated that this was the first real meeting-house built in Genesee County, it will help reveal the new and rude condition of society in Western New York at that time. This house was a good one, and was furnished with a steeple and a bell. Batavia at that time had, perhaps, two thousand inhabitants, and was a place of great importance, as the land office was there.

In Batavia was a Freemason's lodge, known as Lodge No. 433. Some of the principal citizens of Batavia were connected with it. The oldest deacon of our church was a strong and enthusiastic Mason, and was wont to say that he should as soon think of speaking against the God of heaven as against the institution of Masonry. Dr. Dibble, the physician in my family, was one of our church session. He was also an earnest Mason.

After accommodating the above-named school in my house for a time, I found that it interfered

with my proper business of hotel-keeping; and so the school was removed. My house was known now as the Park Tavern, or County Hotel. The building stood opposite the new park.

About this time an effort was made, in Batavia, to increase the interest in Masonry, and to gather new members into the lodge. Significant hints and invitations were given me from time to time, and I was at length prevailed upon to allow myself to be a candidate for admission into the order. Mr. Ebenezer Mix, the then surrogate of Genesee County, resident at Batavia, proposed me as a member, and I was admitted to Lodge No. 433 in the month of December, 1825, taking the first, or entered apprentice's degree, and in a week more I took the second and third degrees the same night.

Everything is so contrived in Masonry, that there shall be no going back when one is fairly launched upon the stream. There are many degrees in Masonry; but the mischief is concentrated in the entered apprentice's oath. At the very outset, and before this oath is taken, the candidate is so drawn in and entangled with promises of one kind and another, that he sees no possibility of turning back. He is put through a course

of preliminary nonsense, offensive to his moral sense, and degrading to his manhood; but he sees no chance of breaking away without raising about him a scene which he has not at the time the courage to encounter.

Before the oath is taken, the candidate is divested of all his apparel, — shirt excepted, — and furnished with a pair of drawers, kept in the lodge for the use of candidates; the candidate is then blindfolded, his left foot bare, his right in a slipper, his left breast and arm naked,* and a rope called a cable-tow round his neck and left arm, in which condition he is conducted to the door, where he gives, or his conductor gives for him, three distinct knocks, which are answered by three knocks from within, and a voice calls out three times, “Who comes there?” The poor fool on the out-

* The masonic language, describing the general condition of the candidate about this time is as follows: —

Q. “How was you prepared?”

A. “By being divested of all metals, neither naked nor clothed, barefoot nor shod, hoodwinked, with a cable-tow about my neck, in which situation I was conducted to the door of the lodge.”

The reason given in general for putting the candidate in this condition, is that Masonry is something of extreme antiquity — that it originated in a rough and primitive age, when the manners of men were rude, and they wish to preserve strictly the “old landmarks.”

side is then made to say, or his conductor says for him, in answer to this momentous question, "A poor blind candidate, who has long been desirous of receiving and having a part of the rights and benefits of this worshipful lodge, dedicated to God, and held forth to the holy order of St. John, as all true fellows and brothers have done, who have gone this way before him." After a deal more of idle ceremony, including prayers and forms semi-religious, the candidate is at last brought in a kneeling posture, with his left hand under the Bible, square and compass, and his right hand upon them, and in this attitude, blind-fold and half naked, and with the assurance that what he is doing shall not affect his politics or religion, he takes the entered apprentice's oath, as follows:—

"I, A B, of my own free will and accord, in presence of Almighty God, and this worshipful lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, dedicated to God, and held forth to the holy order of St. John, do hereby and hereon most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will always hail, ever conceal, and never reveal, any part or parts, art or arts, point or points, of the secrets, arts, and mysteries of ancient Freemasonry, which I have re-

ceived, am about to receive, or may hereafter be instructed in, to any person or persons in the known world, except it be a true and lawful brother Mason, or within the body of a just and lawfully constituted lodge of such, and not unto him or unto them whom I shall hear so to be, but unto him and unto them whom I shall find so to be after strict trial and due examination, or lawful information. Furthermore, do I promise and swear, that I will not write, print, stamp, stain, hew, cut, carve, indent, or engrave it on anything, movable or immovable, under the whole canopy of heaven, whereby, or whereon, the least figure, character, mark, stain, shadow, or resemblance of the same may become legible and intelligible to myself or any other person in the known world, whereby the secrets of Masonry may be unlawfully obtained through my unworthiness. To all which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, without the least equivocation, mental reservation, or self-evasion of mind in me whatever; binding myself under no less penalty than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea at low-water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours. So

help me God, and keep me steadfast in the due performance of the same.”

In December, 1825, I took this oath, going through all the attendant nonsense. Until the oath was imposed upon me, I had no adequate conception of its nature. Many a man, on going through these first ceremonies, has been utterly shocked and horrified at what he has done, and at the frightful obligations he has taken upon himself. His first disposition is to draw back, and have no more to do with an institution which uses such awful sanctions to cover and conceal what is of no real consequence to mankind.* His whole moral nature is shocked at such profane and enormous trifling. Many who take this oath, as soon as may be, withdraw from all active participation in the affairs of the lodge, finding that they have been deceived, and have embarked upon a course which their moral sense cannot approve. But it is difficult to do this at once, and abruptly. Many men, however, who have no keen moral sense, who are, in fact, only boys of a larger growth, seem to find great delight in the foolery of this institution. The big words and sentences, which

* Appendix A.

have to be mouthed over so often, exactly suit their taste. The endless forms and ceremonies, to be gone through with night after night, continue, to their undiscerning eyes, to wear the semblance of a majestic greatness. As children find a certain delight in playing with edged tools, so they handle these awful sanctions, these oaths and penalties, with a strange fascination. There is about the whole institution a certain barbaric glitter and pomp exactly fitted to please swelling and half-developed men; and these will stay fast by the lodge, and make it the great glory of their lives to manage its affairs, and mouth over its illustrious names and titles.

Of the thousands and tens of thousands, who, by one influence and another, are enticed within its folds, not many are at once launched upon such a wild scene of excitement and terror as it was my lot to encounter. Little did I dream, when I took upon myself the entered apprentice's oath, what was so speedily to follow; that then and there, in Lodge 433, was to take place that which would fill the whole land with intense excitement, moral and political, and would bring the institution itself of Masonry almost to the verge of destruction. By the act of that night in Decem-

ber, 1825, I had brought myself into the midst of a conflict of thoughts and feelings hard to be described, and where, at times, it was exceedingly difficult to know what to do, or whither to turn.

CHAPTER III.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM MORGAN AND COLONEL DAVID
C. MILLER.

AT the time I joined the Masons, Captain William Morgan was my neighbor, and I was in free and daily intercourse with him. He was a man of fine personal appearance, about fifty years of age, of remarkable conversational powers, so that he was everywhere known as a good talker. He was a native of Culpeper County, Virginia, and was, by trade, a bricklayer; but for several years before coming to Batavia, he had been otherwise employed. He was a soldier in the war of 1812, and brought his title of Captain from the army during that war. He had served under General Jackson, at New Orleans, and was a man of fine soldierly bearing. He was gentlemanly and agreeable in his manners. In later years the Masons charged him with being a drunkard, but, in my judgment, without reason. He was doubtless a

convivial man, and at times would drink freely, according to the fashions of the day. I myself have seen him when he had been drinking more than was good for him; but he was not what, in the general acceptation of the word at that time, or at any time, would be called a drunkard. It was the period of hard and general drinking, and certainly it ill becomes Freemasons to charge men on this score, for no body of men among us have done more, from generation to generation, to promote drinking habits than they.

After the close of the war, Mr. Morgan remained in Virginia until 1821, when he went to Canada, and was engaged in the brewing business, near York, in Upper Canada. Here he was successful, and was in a prosperous condition; when suddenly his establishment was destroyed by fire, and he was reduced from a state of ease and comfort to complete poverty, and was forced to return to his old trade of bricklaying. For this purpose he came to Western New York, settling first at Rochester, and then at Batavia, where he was living as before mentioned. During a part of the time at Batavia, while he was superintending the building of a brick house, he, with his men, boarded with me.

His wife was much younger than himself. They were married in 1819, when she was not more than sixteen years old. She was the daughter of a Methodist minister in Virginia — Rev. Joseph Pendleton. In the deposition which she was called to make in September, 1826, she describes herself as “Lucinda Morgan, aged twenty-three, the wife of William Morgan, of Batavia.” She had at the time of this deposition two children, one two years old and one about two months old.

Captain Morgan was a prominent member of Lodge 433, in Batavia, and was what is called *lecturer*. He was much at my house at the time I joined the Masons, and it was but natural that I should be in frequent communication with him touching matters pertaining to the institution. In fact, he *lectured* me, as it is called; *i. e.*, he went over with me, at the dead of night, the long farra-go of nonsense necessary to be gone through with in order to advance in masonic knowledge. I was committing these forms of words to memory to be used at the lodge in taking the second and third degrees, and he was acting as my guide and teacher. My wife, overhearing the talk between us, and having her curiosity excited by the strange accents, rose in her night clothes, and

stood in the dark to listen. After all was over, and I retired to bed, she said to me, "Husband, husband, how can you be so great a fool as to repeat such stuff as that?"

During the winter following my initiation, I was a regular attendant upon the lodge; but in the spring I began to tire of such performances, and to feel somewhat disgusted with the whole business. In fact, in the month of May, 1826, I withdrew quietly, and did not find it convenient to attend the meetings. And so I should have continued to do, except for the remarkable events which soon followed. In the latter part of July, after I had absented myself from the lodge some two months, I received a special notice and invitation to attend, and was told that business of a very important character was to come before the body. I went to the meeting. Mr. Ebenezer Mix, surrogate of the county, who had proposed my name for membership in the lodge, read a letter in which it was charged that Captain Morgain was writing out the secrets of Masonry, and that Colonel David C. Miller, editor and publisher of the *Batavia Advocate*, was about to publish the book which Morgan was preparing, and that David E. Evans, a rich man, had been applied to for money. The

matter was regarded as one of the most momentous interest. I never saw men so excited in my life. They seemed to be laboring under the strongest passions and emotions. Committees were appointed to do this and that, and every thing went forward with a kind of frenzy. I could not but be amazed at the fierce passions displayed; but for the present I saw that safety for myself, no less than the power to be of service to my neighbors, depended upon my disguising my feelings, and seeming to act cordially with the rest. I thus entered upon a policy which some, I know, will consider doubtful, and which, at times, was exceedingly difficult to be carried out. But I believed then, and believe now, that I was necessarily driven to this by the circumstances in which I was placed. Whether justly or unjustly, however, that was the course I adopted.

As I have already said, I had silently withdrawn from the lodge in the month of May, having become fully satisfied of its iniquities by my own knowledge, and should probably never have visited the place again, had I not been regularly summoned in this way. But when told that business of the utmost importance was to be transacted, I could not well absent myself without exciting

suspicion. At this meeting, and after the special business had been brought forward, I saw enough to induce me to believe that it was my duty further to attend the lodge, to learn the wicked plans concocted there against my neighbors and friends, and, if possible, hinder their execution.

At this meeting there was a great amount of violent talk in a roundabout and half-enigmatical way. Morgan was declared to be a wicked and perjured wretch, who ought to receive upon himself the penalties of the oaths which he had taken and broken; and it was said that "all honest Masons would see that they were executed." Although no one in particular said he would do it himself, yet one rich man did say that he would find whips and cords as long as others would use them. But the most curious talk that went on there was of a broken kind, one man uttering part of a sentence, and another taking it up and carrying it on, and then another, as though, by dividing up the sentence in this way, no one was specially responsible for it. An Episcopal minister, member of the lodge, for example, would take up his parable and begin as follows: "Should one of your neighbors kill another, and be proved guilty of murder in the first degree," (then another

person takes up the sentence) "And should he be sentenced by the judge" (another) "To be hung by the neck till he is *dead, dead, dead,*" (another) "Do you think the country would lay it to heart?" (another) "No; would not men rather rejoice that the country was rid of the murderer?" Then the minister would begin again. "Morgan has violated the laws of the most moral, benevolent, and I had almost said Christian institution," (another) "And should he be taken away," (another) "And executed, would Masons lay it to heart?" (another) "No; would they not rather rejoice that there could be found no track or trace of so vile a wretch as he?" Then some other train of thought would be started, as follows. The lodge was directly opposite the office of Mr. Miller's paper, the *Batavia Advocate*, and some one looking out of the window would begin. "The *Advocate*;" (another) "Can the secrets of Masonry be published there?" (another) "That which has defied the world, and been kept from time immemorial?" (another) "It would not be surprising if you should see the flames of it ascend to heaven."

These are given simply as specimens of the kind of talk which went on at that meeting. Then, again, the utterances of the meeting would take

another turn. At that time De Witt Clinton was governor of the State of New York, and was a Freemason of the highest order, standing at the head of the institution in the United States. From this circumstance, the Masons counted upon doing what they pleased with impunity. And so, at this lodge meeting, they would say, "Who is your governor? Who are your military officers? Who are your sheriffs? Who are your judges, and your jurors, and your county clerks? Who are your constables and justices of the peace? What can a mouse (meaning the government of the people) do with a lion?" They made great account of their means of communicating information swiftly and secretly. They talked much of the vast advantage they had over people who were not intrusted with their secrets.

Then, again, the Master of the lodge lectured the Masons of the lower orders, especially the Entered Apprentices. "Think," said he, "of *your power*. What cannot *you do* when guarded by our secrets?" This shows the mode in which Masons of the higher orders operate upon those of the lower degrees, by referring to their oaths. Much was done at this meeting with the direct intent of waking a spirit of murder and destruc-

tion in the hearts of all present. The aim was unmistakable. The lodge, after a wild and exciting session, adjourned to meet again on the 15th of August.


Soon after this meeting on the 25th of July, Morgan was taken in custody by the sheriff of Genesee County, on the suit of one Nathan Follett, a Mason. He obtained bail, and so was allowed liberty within the jail limits. At this time he was boarding at a Mr. Stewart's, in the centre of the village of Batavia; but for the purpose of security, and to avoid interruption, he spent his time mainly in an upper room of a Mr. Davids, on the other side of Tonawanda Creek, and out of the noise of the village.


As one of the ways of acting on the public mind, and getting things in readiness for that which was to come, the following advertisement appeared on the 9th of August, in a paper printed in Canandaigua:—

“NOTICE AND CAUTION.

“If a 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. *Brethren and companions* are particularly requested to *observe, mark, and govern* themselves accordingly.

 "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."

From the meeting of the lodge in July, violence was so manifestly intended against the persons and property of Morgan and Miller, my friends and neighbors, that I resolved to remain in the lodge, and attend the meetings for the sole benefit of those who were in danger. The language of the above notice, read by a Mason, could mean nothing else than violence. The call upon "brethren and companions" to "observe, mark, and govern themselves accordingly," was a distinct summons to acts of violence, and to spread the intelligence far and wide, which I, with my inside knowledge, could not fail to comprehend. At length I formed the determination, when the right time came, to make known the doings of the

lodge to some one without, in whom I could confide, and who would take measures to thwart the wicked designs of the Masons. I was some time in coming to this conclusion. I attended two or three adjourned meetings of the lodge in the month of August. The committees which had been appointed at the earlier meetings would make their reports, not in a clear and detailed way, but in a blind and confusing style. But so thoroughly was I convinced that the action of the body meant murder and destruction, that, after one of these meetings, I went home to my chamber, and, kneeling down, asked God what I should do. I had been brought into a place of great difficulty. I certainly would do nothing to promote the wicked plans concocted at the lodge. On the other hand, if I should absent myself from these meetings, and take my stand openly in opposition to these proceedings, I should not only expose myself to great personal danger, but should lose the power of helping those who were already in imminent peril.

A significant event transpired in Batavia on the 10th of August, 1826. Governor De Witt Clinton came to the village, and called upon the grand commander of the encampment, — a political ene-

my,—and, after a short stay, left abruptly. Morgan was now on his bail, living in the village after the manner before described. It began to be currently reported among the people that he was secretly writing out, and that Miller was about to publish, the upper degrees of Masonry to the Royal Arch. Some of the Master Masons were quite pleased at this, for they thought they should get the upper degrees cheap. But the Royal Arch Masons were greatly offended, and said that Morgan and Miller would never live to accomplish their purpose.

As time went on, Morgan himself did not longer seek to conceal his purposes. He had been deeply impressed with the danger likely to befall the country through this institution. Twice, at least, he said, in substance, in my presence, that Masonry had been kept a secret quite long enough; that it had become an alarming evil, and it was due to the world that it should be exposed; that if permitted to exist, and go on its way unchecked, it would undermine the Christian religion, and overthrow the government. Morgan was, in theory, at least, a Christian man. He was deeply impressed with the idea, that only through general intelligence, and through Christian influence,

could our free government be maintained. Many times I have heard him say, in substance, "Take down your pulpits, destroy your Bible and your Sabbath, let men feel no sense of accountability, and your republican government is at an end."

He used to say, that, as a Mason, he was well aware his life was in peril, but if he knew that the Masons would take his life, he should go forward, and, if possible, expose their pernicious secrets. "My life," he would say, "is the property of my country, and my countrymen have a claim upon my utmost faculties and powers for the preservation of all that is dear to intelligent freemen. The bane of our civil institutions is to be found in Masonry, already powerful, and daily becoming more so. If my life must be forfeited, I owe to my country an exposure of its dangers. Not that there are not good men in the order, but there are many evil ones."

He had been especially impressed with the action of a masonic council that had recently been convened in Charleston, S. C., in which the purpose of establishing a kind of oligarchy — an *imperium in imperio*, had been openly broached among them. He deeply felt that he had a solemn duty to discharge. He was no vain trifler,

who had resolved to do what he was doing because of some fancied wrong or personal slight. It was because the land, in his opinion, was in danger from the workings of a corrupt and secret institution.

As a man born at the south, and having held a military office in the then late war, he thought he knew what was passing in the southern mind, and he fully believed that a plot was concocting for the overthrow of our liberties, and that this scheme was secretly fomented under the covering wing of Masonry. It was not very long after this, it will be remembered, when South Carolina undertook to nullify the acts of the general government, and if we had had a James Buchanan or an Andrew Johnson in the presidential chair, at that time, instead of an Andrew Jackson, no one can tell what might have happened.

At any rate, Morgan was so impressed with the dangers threatening the country through this institution (whether his impressions were right or wrong), that he resolved, at all hazards, to let in the free light of heaven upon the masonic lodges. He had formed his plans, and had associated with himself Colonel Miller as his publisher; and when his purpose was discovered, he did not deny it. or

attempt to conceal himself, but boldly remained at his post, resolved to take the consequences.

The Masons on the other hand were resolved that the revelation should not be made — that the book should not be published, if it was in their power, even by the most extreme measures, to prevent it. Soon after the notice, as above given, was published in the Canandaigua paper, it was caught up and published in all the masonic papers east and west. A thrill of excitement had run through the whole masonic fraternity. They talked about a *traitor in the camp*, and this language, to a masonic understanding, meant one who had revealed the secrets. They called upon all Masons everywhere to “observe, mark, and govern themselves accordingly,” which was no other than a summons to violent and extreme measures.

Mr. David C. Miller (or Colonel Miller, as he was familiarly called) was living at Batavia at the time I became a resident there, and was pursuing his business as proprietor and publisher of the Republican Advocate. He had taken one degree in Masonry, in the city of Albany, some twenty years before. The circumstances under which he took that degree were these. He lived at Saratoga, and was known to be publishing a new edition of

“Jachin and Boaz,” an old book, first published in 1762, and designed to reveal the secrets of Masonry. The Masons thought if he could be got into their order it would stop his work on that book. He was accordingly beset with solicitations to become a Mason, to which at length he yielded. He went to Albany and took the first degree. As soon as he had taken it, he saw that it was the very same that he was already publishing. He was disgusted, rather than pleased, with the whole business. Captain Morgan, therefore, when he wished to publish abroad the secrets of Masonry, found in Colonel Miller a man ready to coöperate with him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STORM GATHERING.

So matters stood in the village of Batavia, in the middle of August, 1826. Captain Morgan was boarding with his young wife and two little children at a Mr. Stewart's, in the centre of the village, but kept himself during the day, for the most part, at a Mr. Davids's, on the opposite side of Tonawanda Creek, about a mile out of the noise and stir of the village. It had now become generally understood that he was writing out the secrets of Masonry, and it was evident that a storm of wrath was gathering to burst upon his devoted head.

Colonel Miller was still pursuing his work of publishing the *Batavia Advocate*; but he understood that his person and property were in danger, and he was living in apprehension of what might befall himself and his family.

About this time I attended an adjourned meet-

ing of the Master Masons' lodge. Some of the committees asked leave to report. The Episcopal minister, before referred to, objected to any detailed report. He said this was not the place to report. They must open these matters in the Chapter; but he would assure the lodge that the committees had done their duty—that the book should be suppressed, and their plans carried out, even though Morgan and Miller *should be lost to society*. It was sought to be impressed upon all Masons that they should take a decided stand in this crisis, that it was an awful crime not to do so, and that the judgment of Heaven would surely overtake all who did not use their utmost efforts to prevent the publication of the book. A letter was introduced into the lodge, purporting to be a copy of a letter which Governor De Witt 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."

This Episcopal minister, named above, was a great man in the lodge—a kind of oracle, from his rank and station, among the Masons. He was a

man, however, extremely fond (to use the technical language of the Masons) of "passing from labor to refreshment." He was addicted to the glass, and was often assisted home from the lodge, being unable to make his way by himself.

It was evidently the intention of the Masons of the higher degrees not to have matters too much talked of in the lodge, for they felt there might be spies in the camp. They did not then know what was passing in my own mind, though it was observed that I was not so loud in my demonstrations as were most of the members of the lodge. There were suspicions and anxieties lest some should not prove true to their masonic oaths, and so, as Masons met together in the street, it was a common form of question among them, "Do you think Freemasonry can be published in Batavia?" If the answer was, "No! Batavia would rock to her centre first," or some other answer in a similar spirit, all was regarded as right. I never could make quite the right answer to suit them; but a certain Mr. Wood took it upon himself to vouch for me that I was true.

About the middle of August there came to Batavia, from Canada, a man by the name of Daniel Johns. He professed to have heard what Morgan

and Miller were about, and to be deeply interested in the enterprise. He wished to associate himself in business with Mr. Miller, and offered to advance all the needed money for the purpose. He so won upon their confidence by his flattering manner, that he was taken into partnership. This man, as it afterwards appeared, was a Mason of one of the higher orders, — a Knight Templar, — and he took this method to discover the secrets of Morgan and Miller, and interrupt their designs, so that on both sides there were wheels within wheels, and matters were becoming quite complicated.

It was on the 19th day of August, 1826, on a Saturday, that three men, residents of Batavia, and Masons, in company with Daniel H. Dana, a constable from the neighboring town of Pembroke, appeared suddenly at the house of Mr. Davids, where Morgan had his room. There were two families occupying the house, the one already named, and the other of the name of Towsley. When the four men came to the house, they first inquired for Mr. Davids and for Mr. Towsley; and learning they were not at home, they, without further inquiry or remark, rushed up stairs into the room where Mr. Morgan was writing. Here the constable presented a warrant for his arrest. It was upon some

claim that a Mr. Thomas McCully held, or professed to hold, against Morgan, that this warrant was served. It was well understood, however, that the case was one got up for the occasion, to give vent to the masonic rage against Morgan. The sheriff was suspected of being a party in the transaction. He was seen in company of the men, as they were going to Mr. Davids's house, though he staid back, and did not actually enter the house with them.

Mr. Morgan was in his chamber, writing, with various papers about him. He was seized with the papers, and without delay was hurried off to the county jail. The story of his arrest spread quickly over the village, and some of his friends started at once to find the officers of the law, and secure his release on bail. But it was evident that the officers of the law were out of the way by intention. The sheriff, who was visible just before the arrest, and who was not known to have any business calling him from the place, was sought for in vain. Men hastened hither and thither—to his house, and to all his usual places of resort; but he was nowhere to be found. The jailer also strangely disappeared immediately after Mr. Morgan was lodged in jail. The motive for

all this was apparent. It was Saturday. If the officers could keep themselves out of sight until twelve o'clock Saturday night, Mr. Morgan would have to lie in jail, at least, till Monday morning. In this they succeeded. The friends and neighbors of Morgan were eager to give bail for him, but nobody could be found to transact the business. On the same day, at evening, the men who had arrested him went to the house of Mr. Stewart, in the village where Mr. Morgan boarded with his family, and where Mrs. Morgan then was. They professed to be in search of property on which to levy for debt. They asked questions at random of Mrs. Morgan; but their chief business evidently was to ransack among Mr. Morgan's household effects, in hopes of finding papers. They searched trunks, boxes, drawers, &c., examined the contents of letters, and took off with them a small trunk of papers, saying, if these papers were useful to Mr. Morgan, they would return them. The reason of this, as it afterwards clearly appeared, was, that they had not found at Mr. David's house the papers they hoped to find; and it was surmised that these might be found at Mr. Stewart's, where he boarded. They did find a part, but not all that they were after.

Mr. Morgan remained in jail until Monday morning, August 21, when he was released on bail. During the Sabbath, many persons visited him. There was much sympathy felt for him by those who were not Masons, and by some who were. I myself went to the jail, and talked with him through the grate, telling him that he was in danger. I had become well aware, from what transpired in word and act at the lodge meetings, that both Morgan and Miller were in peril, and through the grated window I communicated this idea to Morgan on that 20th of August. He did not believe that he was really in any serious personal danger. He knew, of course, from what was then passing, that there was a disposition on the part of the Masons to vex and annoy him. But he did not think matters would go beyond this. He expressed the belief that the laws of their country would, in the final resort, have more influence over members of the lodge than their masonic oaths. I told him that I had formerly thought so too, but that it was now my belief that violence was intended, and that he should be strictly on his guard in reference to the movements going on about him.

As I have already said, I had been long in coming to this opinion. At first I could not think that my neighbors, some of whom were high officers in the church and state, would, in obedience to their masonic oaths, be guilty of actual violence towards a fellow-man. I thought they meant, if possible, to frighten Morgan, and make him desist from what he was doing. But that they could be so blinded and infatuated as to harbor murder in their hearts, out of their devotion to Masonry, I could not for a long time believe. But as I had attended the various meetings of the lodge, and seen the signs and nods, and heard the significant words uttered, and, more than all, as I had, little by little, become aware of the awful hate which was cherished against Morgan and Miller, I saw how easy and natural it was that violence should spring out of it. I saw that the consciences of men were warped, and in the conflict between masonic duty and public law, the former actually had the supremacy in their thoughts. Moreover, under cover of the darkness of a secret institution, they somehow deemed it safe and right to do what they never would have thought of doing in the open day.

It was here, and under these circumstances, that I had the best opportunity of studying Masonry in its internal tendencies and laws. I had connected myself with the institution only a few months before, under a misrepresentation. I had been told that it should not militate against my politics or my religion; but I found it at war with both. I soon discovered that I was in a strange bondage to a power that I could not respect, and that imposed upon me services that I could not honestly render. I soon began to go to the lodge unwillingly, and to return from it with a kind of moral disgust. At the best, it was pompous nonsense and false pretension. At the worst it was deeply corrupting and immoral. It used the names and forms of religion only to dishonor and belittle them. It employed the Bible and prayer, and semi-religious ordinances; it made use of the name of God in a way to make the most holy things and the most sacred words only as the playthings of an idle hour. It put forth its claims to a vast antiquity,* and brought into its records venerable personages of the remote past, without the slightest regard to truth. It paraded itself

* Appendix B

before the ignorant and unlearned as if the chief care of God over this world had been to foster and keep alive this institution from generation to generation, as though it were something far more ancient than the Christian church, and not second in importance.

As soon as I was fairly within the enclosures of the lodge, I discovered, contrary to all my expectations, that I was in a place where half-educated, swelling, and unscrupulous men had an ample field for the exercise of their powers. Such men stood in the fore-front in the goings on of the masonic order. Men who delight to be dressed up in a little brief authority, on however small a scale; men who bustle about in aprons, and feathers, and all sorts of glittering gewgaws; men who have no scruples in letting fiction pass for truth, and pretence for reality,—these are the men who find Masonry something altogether to their mind. They hurry hither and thither to do its bidding; they bustle about, on St. John the Baptist's and other days, under the singular delusion that they are important persons—that caps, and sashes, and bands can make men great. A masonic lodge is a mutual admiration society of the most intense

order. It lives, moves, and has its being upon a system of the most enormous self-complacency. Tried by the touchstone of sober truth and reality, it withers in a moment. Its benevolence, on which it so prides itself, can never pass as genuine in the higher courts. It is benevolence *for a consideration*. The law of kindness which Christ lays down for us is something far above the utmost range and reach of Masonry. "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbors, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee; for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just." When men band themselves together to gain and keep for themselves such earthly advantages as they could not otherwise enjoy, it is often the most concentrated form of selfishness. It is a kind of secret conspiracy against the rest of mankind in behalf of their own set. It is no new thing for men of the worst character to be bound together as mutual helpers; and within a certain range they must exhibit what is called kindness, and show all the tokens of good

fellowship, else the confederacy formed for selfish and wicked ends will fall to pieces.*

* The following document, which was published in the Christian Herald, of Boston, April 14, 1830, will illustrate the *benevolence* of Masonry, about which there is always so much talk:—

THE LAST REFUGE OF MASONRY ATTACKED AND OVERTHROWN.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in his late address, states, page 4, "That the essential and legitimate objects of Freemasonry are exceedingly simple, and may be stated in a moment. They consist in the establishment of FUNDS for the relief of distressed Masons and their families, certain *secrets* to protect those *funds*, and secure them to their *appropriate use*, and a code of morals *enforced by Solemn Obligations*, designed to make all its members upright, honorable, and useful in life;" and page 13, "Freemasonry is not, strictly and properly, a *Secret Society*. The appropriate appellation of a society is derived from its essential and prominent *designs* and *features*. What are these? They are, in a word, the relief of the *distressed* and the inculcation of moral principles."

From these declarations we understand *Charity* or *Benevolence* is the last stronghold of Masonry. Here, then, we meet them on their own ground, and present to the public the following authentic statement of *the receipts and expenditures* of a *regular and highly respectable Lodge, now in operation in Boston, Mass.*

The books have been examined by those who had a legal right so to do. We shall not say when, where, how, or by whom. But from a careful inspection of these masonic records for a period of eighteen years, the following is found to be the result:—

Lodge in Boston

Dr.

For moneys received at lodge nights for "making membership, visitors' fees, and quarterage," during eighteen years,	\$1926.91
Due to the Secretary at the close of eighteen years,	65.50
Gross amount of receipts for eighteen years,	1992.41

In the winter of 1825-6 I had become fully satisfied that Masonry was no institution for

<i>Contra</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
By amount of several items paid on the different lodge nights, during the eighteen years, for REFRESHMENTS, WINE, LIQUORS, &c.	\$984.93
For aprons, gloves, some small fees to the Grand Lodge, printing blank notifications, advertising, Secretary's fees, and wax candles, &c., &c.	804.73
For "Tyler's" fees, crafting, &c., &c.	166.75
For Charity! THIRTY-FIVE DOLLARS! Yes! The gross amount of <i>all the</i> DONATIONS <i>out of the</i> TREASURY OF THE LODGE <i>during eighteen years, is the enormous sum of</i>	35.00
	\$1992.41

In justice to the members of this worshipful and *Charitable Institution*, it ought to be stated, that *voluntary contributions*, "not as a lodge," as stated in the records, were made at four different times, and four only (sixteen members on an average being present), amounting, in the whole, to forty dollars and thirty-one cents, for the relief of six individuals, who had petitioned for relief, and all of whom were *men!*

It also appears from the records, that during the whole of these eighteen years, only one petition from "*a poor widow*," applying for relief, was presented, and that *was referred to the next lodge night*, and there is no evidence on the records for ten months after, and as far as they have yet been examined, that the "*poor widow's petition*" was ever acted on, or even noticed.

For the *truth of the above*, we pledge ourselves to the public. Now, we only ask Masons, who, no doubt, are great proficient in the mathematics, to consider that it cost NINETEEN HUNDRED and FORTY-SIX DOLLARS and FORTY-ONE CENTS to *distribute* THIRTY-FIVE DOLLARS IN CHARITY! Is not this like the barren fig-tree? And if so, why cumbereth it the ground?

me. I had, as before stated, gradually ceased to attend the lodge meetings, just as thousands and tens of thousands of others have done, through a certain inward weariness and disgust. But I did not wish to signalize my non-attendance by making talk about the matter, or by any outward demonstrations. I wanted everything to pass in silence and quietness. And if nothing of an unusual character had arisen, I should probably have taken practical leave of Masonry in the spring of 1826, never more to mingle in its councils. But as soon as the high excitement about Morgan and Miller arose, I could not absent myself without exciting suspicion, and after a little I did not wish to withdraw, but preferred to remain and study the atrocious plans which were forming. It was a delicate part, no doubt, that I was playing, and was attended with no little difficulty and hazard; but I seemed to be called, by a kind of providence, to stand in that lot, and incur the incidental risks. I was studying Masonry now under new and peculiar conditions. I was learning what it was, and what it would do, when violent passions are kindled and a vindictive hate aroused.

For a long time I kept my own counsel. I had abundant food for reflection, but I had not divulged

to any person or persons outside what was going on in the lodge. I had occasionally ventured, in the lodge, and in my conversations with Masons, to try and give things a milder turn. But after a few attempts of this kind, which only turned attention towards me to no purpose, I preferred to hold my peace, to think my own thoughts, and make my own plans.

As has been already stated, Morgan was released on bail, after his confinement in jail over the Sabbath, and matters went on much as before. In the search which was made for papers on the day of Morgan's first arrest, August 19, some were found, and among the manuscripts taken was the Royal Arch Degree, which Morgan was writing out. This is the seventh masonic degree in order. This was brought up into the lodge room, and those Masons who had taken this degree were permitted to examine the manuscript. I had only taken three degrees, and did not share in this privilege. This degree was afterwards sent by Charles C. Church to Canandaigua, and from thence it was forwarded to New York city by express, to the Grand Chapter, which was then in session.

So matters went on until the morning of Friday,

September 8, 1826, which was an eventful day in my history ; and many things in my subsequent life date from that day. A messenger of the lodge came to notify me that about *three hundred* Masons were in and about the village of Batavia, gathered from all directions, met for the express purpose of burning and destroying Mr. Miller's printing office, and by open violence preventing the publication of Mr. Morgan's book. The cant phrase was again employed, that this book must be suppressed, if Morgan and Miller were *lost to society*. I had learned to know what that language meant. The notice was given us in the field, as I have stated, and we were expected to govern ourselves accordingly. For my own part, I saw that the time for action had come. The recollection of all that had transpired at the lodge for weeks before now came back upon me, and I realized that what I had feared was really about to take place. Peaceful and persuasive measures were no longer to be used ; but violence, even unto death, if need be, was intended by the present movement. Up to that time I had managed to keep my feelings, in a great measure, secret from the other members of the lodge ; and though they had, at times, thought me wanting in masonic zeal and energy, they had

not apparently suspected me of faithlessness to my masonic oaths, or dreamed that I would, in the last resort, seek to protect Morgan and Miller from masonic rage.

That morning I was in trouble. I saw that it needed only some slight act, on my part, to reveal my secret, and put me in the same category with Morgan and Miller. Madness was abroad upon the wind. The wild elements were let loose. An infuriated crowd swarmed about Batavia, and the storm might burst at any moment. To add to my care and responsibility, I was at the time one of the trustees, or guardians of the village. This was one of the methods of civil government and protection adopted by the young villages of Western New York. A board of trustees was chosen to guard the village against dangers of whatever kind, external or internal, and also to promote its general welfare. I held the office of trustee at this time, and my associates had chosen me superintendent of the village. Holding this office, and knowing also what had been secretly contrived against the place in masonic lodges, I was brought into peculiar straits. I called upon the sheriff, whose duty it was to aid in preserving the peace. He was a Mason in regular standing, and full of

masonic zeal. I cautiously said a few words, indicating in some measure my feelings in this crisis, when he warned me into secrecy, and reminded me of the binding character of my masonic oaths. This man was a member with me of the Presbyterian church. I called on another Mason, who was an elder in our church, and tried to open my heart to him; but before I had fairly committed myself he warned me to take care, and reminded me also of my oaths. I turned from men to God, and made my appeal unto him. He knew all that was passing in my thoughts. I remembered his promise, "For in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion, in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me; he shall set me upon a rock." I gathered comfort from this assurance. I committed my way unto God, and resolved within myself that Mr. Miller should know of the dangers threatening him, so that he might be upon his guard, and that I would assist him to escape out of the hand of the enemy.

There was in the village of Batavia a man whom I knew well, and highly esteemed — Mr. George W. Harris. He was by trade a silversmith, and had a shop in the central part of the village. In him I thought I could confide. Accordingly I went to

my desk, and on a piece of paper wrote out briefly the information I had that morning received. I made the request that Harris should transcribe my note, burn the original, and communicate at once to Mr. Miller the message I had communicated to him. I stated also upon the paper, that as a trustee of the village, I was under obligation to see that the persons and property of the inhabitants were protected. I wished to have a guard set; but for the present I wished my own name kept a profound secret from Mr. Miller and from every one else.

Compressing this paper into a shapeless wad, so small that it might be crowded into a thimble, I called at Mr. Harris's door, and said to him, "I have important intelligence to communicate to you, and in doing so I shall throw myself upon your mercy. If my intelligence is not improper, will you do what I request you?" He hesitated a moment, and I repeated the question. He answered in the affirmative. I threw the roll upon his counter, and left him suddenly. I left him thus without any further observations, in order to show him that I had put implicit confidence in him. He opened the note and read it, and proceeded at once to carry out its suggestions. He acted in

good faith with me, not revealing in any way the source from which he obtained his information. The guard was set and measures for safety and protection adopted. It was soon noised abroad what was going forward. The village was astir with excitement. Men gathered in the streets to talk over these exciting topics. Masons were about, here and there, trying to quiet the alarm, but more busy in seeking to discover how the information got out. No one could tell; only Mr. Miller had received the information through the post office. The guards were set, and no violence was attempted that day or night. The next day Mr. Harris called on me secretly to inquire what this quiet meant, and whether the Masons had dispersed. I told him they had not, but had been reënforced, and he must strengthen the guard. He did so, and this day and night all was still. This brings us along to Sunday, September 10. By this time it began to be thought that a false alarm had been given, and that there was really no danger of an attack. The guards were no longer set. Mr. Miller also changed his mind. On Saturday he had armed himself thoroughly for defence, having placed a swivel so as to command the entrance to his printing office, and he had armed men with

him in the office; but he began to think he had been needlessly alarmed. He resolved, therefore, to pass Sunday night in his office without any guard. When I knew that this was the determination, and that he was to pass the night at his office, I sent word to him through Mr. Harris, cautioning him not to attempt to leave the office during the night, however much he might be alarmed. I knew that nothing would be more in harmony with the wishes and plans of the Masons than to catch him in the open street by night.

What we have called Mr. Miller's printing office, was, in reality, two offices, or rooms, one on each side of a narrow passage-way, called *Printer's Alley*. In one of these was printed the *Republican Advocate*, and in the other the work on Mr. Morgan's book was going forward. These rooms were in the most thickly-settled portion of the village. They were in the second story of the buildings, and stairways led up to them from the outside. Underneath one of these rooms a large family was living, consisting of a man and wife and eight children. I was sorry that more credit was not given to my information, so that the guard should be kept set, as on the two previous nights.

But as these had passed in such comparative quiet, it began to be thought, even by Mr. Harris, that I might be misinformed, or that fear had unduly magnified the affair to my apprehension. And so the night of Sunday, the 10th of September, was passed without any extraordinary precautions.

That night the attempt was made to set both of the buildings, in which these offices were, on fire. Combustible materials were placed underneath the outside stairways, turpentine was freely used about the wood-work, and the buildings were fired at the dead of night, notwithstanding that the family of ten persons were asleep in one of them. This fire was instantly discovered and extinguished in a way that the incendiaries had not counted upon. Late at night there had come into the village several teamsters, with their teams, to load with flour early in the morning, and start for the canal. The hotels being all closed, they had lain down to sleep in their wagons. These wagons were standing on the other side of the street, directly opposite Mr. Miller's offices. No sooner were the fires set than these teamsters discovered them, sounded the alarm, aroused the neighbors, and had the flames extinguished

before they had gained any considerable headway. So close were they upon the work of the incendiaries, that they saw the villains running away. They gave chase, and compelled the runaways to drop their torches and the dark lantern they had used ; but they did not succeed in capturing them.

The events of this night satisfied Mr. Harris that my information, secretly conveyed to him, was correct, and that the quiet of the two previous nights was due solely to the precautions taken. The Masons, who were banded together for violence, understood well that if they attacked Mr. Miller's office on Friday or Saturday night, they would be likely, some of them, to come to grief. But as soon as it went abroad that there was no danger, and care was relaxed, instantly the conspirators returned to their work.

It was on Saturday, September 9, that Daniel Johns, before spoken of, who had come from Canada as a spy, and by his arts had worked his way into Mr. Miller's confidence, and been taken in as a partner in his business, — it was on Saturday that he suddenly took himself off, carrying with him one of the manuscripts of Morgan — Mark

Master's Degree, which was in Mr. Miller's hands to be printed.

So matters stood on the night of Sunday, September 10, 1826, in the village of Batavia. The fires which had been set had been providentially extinguished; but worse things were immediately to follow.

CHAPTER V.

ABDUCTION OF MORGAN.

THE events of Sunday night, September 10, had demonstrated that Batavia was full of the elements of mischief; that the conspirators had not dispersed, but were on hand, watching their opportunities. In the early morning of Monday, September 11, while everybody was busy talking over the exciting events of the night before, the rumor ran abroad that Captain Morgan had been seized and taken off. He went out of his boarding-house, a little before sunrise, into the street, and not returning, as usual, to breakfast, inquiry was made for him, when it appeared that he had been taken about seven o'clock, had been roughly forced into a stage, and carried off in the direction of Canandaigua. A man by the name of Nicholas G. Chesebro, of Canandaigua, who was Master of the masonic lodge in that place, had obtained from the justice of the peace there a

warrant for the arrest of Mr. Morgan on a charge of theft. It was alleged that Mr. Morgan, while boarding at Canandaigua some time previous, had stolen a shirt and cravat from one Kingsley, an innkeeper. This Kingsley afterwards made deposition that he had of himself no thought or intention of publicly making any such charge, but was moved to do it on some slight grounds of suspicion by Chesebro and his associates. They wished to find some possible ground for his arrest, and this case was worked up out of some old surmises to meet the exigency.

Canandaigua was the shire town of Ontario County, and was distant from Batavia about fifty miles to the east. Ever since the "Notice and Caution," published in a Canandaigua paper of August 9 (referred to in Chapter III.), it had grown to be a kind of cant phrase among the Masons, that Morgan "might be seen travelling east;" and it was intimated that Brant, the Indian Chief of the Mohawk tribe in Canada, would attend to his case, and put him out of the way. Many people, doubtless, regarded this as the mere talk of an idle hour; but others saw serious intentions lurking under the cover of this style of language. In those days of staging, and in a country, as yet,

comparatively new, the journey to Canandaigua was an affair of considerable labor and time.

As soon as I heard that Morgan had been taken in this way, my worst fears were aroused for his safety. Captain Davids, the man at whose house Morgan had been writing, came over very soon to see me. He wished to borrow my saddle. I tried to persuade him to take my horses and saddles, and start out twenty men on Morgan's track, and never lose sight of him. Unless this was done, it was my opinion that we should never see him again.

But here the masonic agency and influence came into full play, to silence suspicion and lull the people to sleep. It was at once the talk over all the village, that Mr. Morgan had been taken to Canandaigua on a charge of theft. The impression was sought to be made that this was something to be regretted, indeed, but could not be helped. This requisition had come, and he was obliged by law to yield to it, and all others must yield. No intimation was given that this was a trumped-up case; but the general idea conveyed was, that it was a matter which had come about in the regular and ordinary course of law. Great stress was laid upon the high respectability of the men who were

prominent in the transaction, and who had gone off with Mr. Morgan. The pretence was, that they were his friends, and that they had come out to see that he had fair play. Would such men, persons of such high standing in church and state, stoop to do a wrong or mean act? O, certainly not. The idea was preposterous. This was the kind of talk that went on all that day in the streets of Batavia, and in consequence of it the first excitement and alarm were allayed, and no pursuit of the abductors was made.

And here is a circumstance worth noting. Morgan's abductors *were* respectable men, in the common acceptance of that term. Judas-like, they did pretend to be his friends. They lent him their company under the garb of protection. It is a significant fact, as showing the corrupting nature of Masonry, and its power to work mischief in the dark, that these men, who were the leaders in this plot against Morgan and Miller, were men of standing and character. They were at the time holding the most important offices in church and state. They were judges and justices, sheriffs and constables, military officers of high standing, ex-members of the legislature, ministers of the gospel and deacons, members of churches, &c., &c. It was

perfectly apparent to me, who knew the inside working of things, that what was then going on in Batavia was no mad freak of low and drunken fellows. Everything had been considered and determined upon by the very highest authorities in the masonic councils. The orders were issued from the chief places of the fraternity, and men of all classes connected with the lodges, with here and there an exception, lent themselves to do the bidding of these upper circles. It was one of the cant excuses of the masonic order afterwards, that these acts of violence against Morgan and Miller were the work of a few worthless men, who acted contrary to the true principles of the institution. But can any man be credulous enough to believe that a few worthless men, acting not only against the general laws of society, but also against the rules and wishes of the Masons themselves, could manage to baffle the whole State of New York, cheat justice, and escape the punishment due to such atrocious crimes? No; a few worthless men have no such wide-spread influence as this. The course of events, for a long time after the abduction, showed plainly that there was a secret power at work against justice, vast and wide-spread in its range, with which it was almost

useless to contend. It was evident that the masonic fraternity, taken as a whole, justified these acts of violence, and were determined, at all hazards, to save from punishment the men who had committed them. Whichever way you might turn, and whatever course you might pursue, to bring the guilty authors of these wrongs to justice, you were met by a power in the dark, — a power seemingly omniscient and omnipresent, — tireless, and never sleeping. Judges upon the bench were corrupted; jurymen failed to see the truth; witnesses upon the stand would swear falsely; and however just might be one's cause, he was soon ready to cry out, "Vain is the help of man." Whatever crimes were committed against Morgan and Miller in Batavia in the year 1826, are not to be regarded so much as the crimes of individual men as of the whole masonic order, as then and now existing.

But let us go back and trace minutely the course of events after Mr. Morgan's arrest, on the morning of September 11. Immediately after his seizure, he was taken to a tavern kept in the east part of the village of Batavia by a Mr. Danolds, where the party made a short pause. While there, Mr. Miller came to the house to insist that Mr. Morgan

should not be taken away from Batavia, as he was there on the jail limits, as has been before stated, and he (Mr. Miller) was one who had given bail that he should remain within the limits. But Miller was violently thrust aside by Danolds, the tavern-keeper, while Morgan was taken into the stage, and the party pushed off towards the east. The company who took Mr. Morgan away was composed of about thirty persons. When they started from Mr. Danolds's tavern, a part of them, with Mr. Morgan, were in a stage, which had been chartered for the purpose. Mr. Chesebro, who had brought the warrant from Canandaigua, was on the seat with the driver. The rest of the company started to go on foot out as far as the *ponds*, as they were called, a mile or more from the village, where some carriages were in waiting for them. The stage had not gone more than eighty rods from Mr. Danolds's tavern, when the driver, becoming sensible that he was mixed up with a great amount of violence of some kind, and not knowing very well what it all meant, became alarmed, and refused to go on with his team. Chesebro, fearful of all delay, on the other hand, was urging the driver to make haste and get out of the county. The driver was at length

prevailed upon to go on as far as Ganson's tavern, which was six miles from Batavia.

This tavern of Ganson was a grand rallying-point for the conspirators, who had gathered in from all directions. It was in the town of Stafford. On Friday before, September 8, Ganson received orders from one Nathan Follett, an active Mason of the Batavia lodge, to have supper prepared for between forty and fifty men, who, it was said, would be at his house that night. They did sup there, and at a late hour started for Batavia, on their wild errand of burning and destroying Miller's offices, but were deterred from their purpose by the setting of guards, as has been already explained. So, on Sunday night, when this party came on from Canandaigua for the arrest of Morgan, their grand rallying-point, before going to Batavia, was this Ganson's tavern at Stafford. And here, in the forenoon of Monday, they gathered back again, with their prisoner in their keeping.

On reaching the tavern, Ganson, who knew the stage-driver, had a talk with him, and gave him such assurances of safety that he was induced to go on. So the party went forward. On reaching Le Roy, several miles farther on, one of the border towns, but within the limits of Genesee County,

Hayward, the constable who had served the warrant, offered to take Morgan before the justice of the peace, who had indorsed the warrant, and allow him to give bail, if he chose. The warrant, as we have already stated, was made out at Canandaigua by a justice of the peace of Ontario County; but as the party had come on to Batavia, they had stopped at Le Roy, and had had the warrant indorsed by a justice of the peace for Genesee County.

One of the noticable things about all these proceedings of the Masons at this time, was their care to keep within the semblances and forms of law, while they were breaking through all law, and that, too, on the largest scale. But they must have their warrant properly made and vouched, though founded on a mere pretence, before they could go forward and arrest Morgan. And now here, on the borders of Genesee County, they proposed to admit him to bail, which they refused to do at Batavia, because they knew that there he had friends who would instantly come forward and give bail for him, while here he was a stranger, and the offer of bail was only a solemn mockery and farce. As Morgan knew that his effort to procure bail here would almost certainly prove un-

vailing, he declined to make the attempt, stating that he preferred, on the whole, to go on to Canandaigua, and that when there, he was confident that he could convince Mr. Kingsley that no theft on his part was intended, and that if the missing articles had been taken by him, it was purely by accident. Mr. Morgan himself had not yet had his eyes open to know the full meaning of what was passing. He still innocently supposed that this charge from Canandaigua was made in something like good faith, and that if he could convince the prosecutor that he was not guilty of the charge, he should go free. But those who had him in keeping had no thought of letting him slip out of their hands in any such easy way as this. They had him on a criminal charge, and if this failed when the crisis came, as it doubtless would, and as they were very willing it should, they had other plans in store for continuing their grasp upon him.

The party, after a hard and wearisome day's journey, reached Canandaigua at nightfall. Here Morgan was at once taken before the magistrate, to see if there was evidence enough against him to bind him over for trial. There was not, nor did the men who had brought him all the way

from Batavia suppose there was. They would have been very sorry to have had him committed on a criminal charge, because his person would, in that case, have been taken out of their hands. The magistrate ordered his discharge. But as soon as he was set free, Chesebro produced a claim against him of two dollars, due to one Aaron Ackley, who kept a hotel in Canandaigua, and stated that the said Ackley had empowered him to collect this money. When this new claim was brought in so suddenly, Mr. Morgan apparently had a glimpse of what all this business meant. He chose to admit the claim, and pulling off his coat, desired the constable to levy on that as security for the debt. Hayward, the constable, however, refused to do this, and at about ten o'clock that night, after all the strange events of the day, Morgan was committed to jail in Canandaigua.

Let us turn back now to Batavia, and see what was transpiring there during this same day, from another point of view. The deposition of Mrs. Morgan is in itself so clear and touching a document, and so well calculated to throw light upon these transactions, that we give it entire.

“Genesee County, ss. LUCINDA MORGAN, aged twenty-three, the wife of William Morgan, of Batavia, in said county, being duly sworn, deponeth and saith, ‘That on Monday last, 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 been 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 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 Mr. Gibbs (meaning Horace Gibbs), and asked if it would do for him to go. Said Thomson 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 Mr. Gibbs was not a Mason, and he said he was not, and then asked deponent if she was acquainted with Mr. 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 Mr. Follett was not willing to go, unless she would let him (Follett) and Mr. Ketchum see the papers; he did not want to go on a Tom fool's errand. This

deponent then objected to these 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. Deponent told him she was afraid they would take the papers away from her, if she let them see them. Thompson said they would not. She offered to let Mr. Thompson see the papers. He said that would not answer; they would not take his word. Thompson then told her he would go to Humphrey's and stay until she had got the papers, and she must then make a sign to him when she was ready. Accordingly, a short time afterwards, she made a sign to Mr. Thompson, then standing on Humphrey's stoop, and immediately after, he, with Mr. Follett and Mr. Ketchum, came to her apartment, when Thompson introduced Follett and Ketchum, and said they had come to see the papers, which this 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 Mr. 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 four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, 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 those 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 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 did not 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 him (Ketchum),

but took him to be a gentleman; and Ketchum then said he called himself a gentleman, and she need not 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 Le Roy, 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 staid all night. The next day they again started for Canandaigua, where Ketchum put the papers into this deponent's trunk. They arrived at Canandaigua about twelve at noon, and stopped at a tavern at the corner of the main street. After being there some time, this deponent asked Ketchum if he had heard of Mr. Morgan. Ketchum said 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 Mr. 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 would go and make further inquiries for Mr. 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 Mr. Morgan had been there; had been tried for stealing a shirt, and cleared, and had been put in jail for a debt of two dollars; 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 two dollars, 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. The 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. This deponent was then walking the room in great distress, and in tears. She asked him if he could hear nothing of Mr. 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 Mr. Morgan would not be killed; that he would be kept con-

cealed 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 wanted also to see the printed sheets that Miller had printed on the three degrees. He then said he wanted to take the papers which he had received from this deponent to Rochester, and he thought through the means of them he could find where Mr. Morgan was; it was a secret where he was. Said he had paid her passage, and gave her two dollars to bear her expenses home. He then wrote his name with a pencil on a scrap of paper, hereto annexed, as follows: 'George Ketchum, Rochester,' and promised to write to her if he could hear of Mr. Morgan. He then told her if she would, by any means, get hold of the papers that Miller had, or find out where they were deposited, so that he could get hold of them, he would give her twenty-five dollars out of his own pocket, and he had no doubt the lodge would give her one hundred 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 he would try and find

out where Mr. 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 on 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 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 back 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 Mr. Morgan had managed rightly, he could have made a million of dollars if the work had been published.' Ketchum then departed for Rochester, leaving this 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, excepting a few, which were written by a person who sometimes assisted her husband by copying, or taking down as he dictated to him. The deponent further says 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 any money, except what is left of that given to her by said 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 twenty-second day of September, 1826, before me.

DANIEL H. CHANDLER, J. P."

It needs but slight help from the imagination, while reading this affidavit, to find in it a pitiful story of sorrow and distress — of labor, weariness, and anxiety, all to no purpose. How utterly false and cruel this treatment was, will appear when

we remember that Mr. Morgan had been in jail in Canandaigua, and this Ketchum, without doubt, knew where he had gone. The story of the man from Pennsylvania, who paid the two dollar claim, and took Mr. Morgan away to parts unknown on another claim, was a piece of fiction, based on certain facts, and worked up to serve the purposes of the moment.

On her sad journey home, with her infant child, when she reached Le Roy, James Ganson, before mentioned, who kept the tavern at Stafford, got into the stage with her, and told her that he was on the way to Batavia, "*to make arrangements for her support.*" He went on to give her the information, that her husband was still alive, but that she need not be surprised if she did not see him again for a year; and, in fact, if she never saw him again, she should be well taken care of, and her children should be sent to school as soon as they were old enough. When she reached Batavia, and had been home only a few hours, she was called upon by Thomas McCully, the man on whose claim Mr. Morgan was arrested in August, and made to pass the Sabbath in jail. He came also to assure her that he had been appointed by the lodge to look after her support, and provide

accommodations for herself and children. He proposed to board them at the tavern of Mr. Danolds, in the east part of the village, where her husband had been taken immediately after his arrest the Monday before. Who shall say that Masonry is not a kind and benevolent institution after this? Mrs. Morgan, however, promptly answered that she should accept no aid from the Masons, for she regarded them as the guilty authors of all her troubles, and she should not consent to take the bread of charity from their hands.

Her case, however, was one that appealed most strongly to her old neighbors and friends. She was, in the truest sense, an object of pity. As far as possible, her wants were supplied, and everything done that could be, to sooth and comfort her. An agent was despatched on her behalf, to go to Canandaigua, and try to discover the facts about Mr. Morgan. He did discover facts, portentous facts, and such as aroused the unmasonic part of the population of Batavia, and the region about, to a most unwonted pitch of excitement. Up to that time people had been inclined to believe the masonic talk. They thought that Morgan, in the hands of men of such high standing, could certainly receive no wrong. They trusted in the

idea that these men had gone along with him to see that he was treated fairly at Canandaigua, and that no harm should be done.

But what was actually passing at Canandaigua, just before Mrs. Morgan was there, waiting for Mr. Ketchum to try and find her husband, is made thrillingly clear by the following affidavit of Mrs. Mary W. Hall, wife of the jailer at Canandaigua. The testimony is long, and we need not give the whole of it. It goes on to recite that on Tuesday, the 12th day of September, she and her husband returned to their home, — which was in the jail, — after a short absence; that at evening of that day her husband went out from the jail, and soon after a man, calling himself Mr. Lawson, called and inquired for Mr. Hall, the jailer, and finding that he was not at home, requested permission to speak with Mr. Morgan, then confined in the jail. She told him this was against the rules of the prison, and that he could say nothing to Mr. M. except what she should be permitted to hear. Mr. Lawson talked through the grate of the door, and represented himself as a friend who had come to settle the claim against him and take him out from jail. Mr. Morgan apparently believed the story, and was willing to go. Mr. Hall, however,

the jailer, could not be found, and Mrs. Hall was not willing to take the money and discharge the prisoner. Lawson then inquired if she would do so in case Colonel Sawyer, of Canandaigua, should say it was right and proper. She refused. Lawson then went away, and soon after returned with Colonel Sawyer. They were quite indignant that she would not let Mr. Morgan go free, when they were willing to settle the claim against him; they said this claim had been assigned to one Chesebro, and they proposed to go and find Chesebro. After a little time they came back with Chesebro, and he also urged the liberation of Morgan, all on the ground of friendship for him. There had also been at the prison during the evening, along with these men, a man by the name of Foster. The rest of the story we will give in the words of Mrs. Hall, deposed before Jeffrey Chipman, Justice of the Peace of Ontario County. They had finally prevailed upon Mrs. Hall to receive the money and let the prisoner go free, although she had been over-persuaded to this course, and felt that it was an irregular proceeding. "This deponent took the keys, and was going to liberate Morgan; that Lawson spoke to this deponent, and said, 'Wait and I will go with you;'

that Lawson then stepped to the door and whistled, and then followed this deponent; that when they came to the outer door of the prison, Lawson said to this deponent, 'You need not fasten this door after us;' but this deponent said she should, for there were other prisoners in the room; that this deponent and Lawson went into the hall adjoining the room where Morgan was, and Lawson spoke in a low voice to Morgan through the grates, 'Get yourself ready to go with me — dress yourself quick;' that Morgan was soon ready, and this deponent let him out, and Lawson took Morgan by the arm, and went out of the prison to the outer door; that while this deponent was fastening the prison door, she heard at, or near the outer door of the jail, a most distressing cry of murder; that this deponent ran to the door, and saw Lawson and the man that he called Foster, one on each side of Morgan, having hold of Morgan's arms; that Morgan continued to scream or cry in a most distressing manner, at the same time struggling with all his strength, apparently, to get loose from Lawson and Foster; that the cry of Morgan continued until his voice appeared to be suppressed by something put over his mouth; that during the time that Morgan was

struggling, and crying murder, the said Colonel Sawyer and the said Chesebro were standing a short distance from the jail door, near the well, and in full view and hearing of all that passed, but offered no assistance to Morgan, nor did they attempt to release him from Lawson and Foster; but one of them struck with a stick a violent blow upon the well-curb or a tub standing near; that soon after this deponent saw a carriage pass the jail in the direction that Lawson and Foster took Morgan; that the evening was quite light in consequence of its being about the full of the moon; that she, this deponent, could distinguish from the jail door the horses in the carriage which passed to be gray; that the deponent supposed the striking upon the well-curb or tub by Chesebro or Colonel Sawyer was a signal for the carriage to come, as it came immediately after; that when the carriage passed, Lawson and Foster could not have got but a few rods with Morgan; that immediately after the striking upon the well-curb or tub Colonel Sawyer, and as this deponent thinks, Chesebro also, passed the jail door in the direction that Lawson and Foster took Morgan, but not apparently to render Morgan any assistance towards being released from Lawson and Foster; but Colonel Saw-

yer, however, picked up Morgan's hat, which had fallen off in the struggle; that when Morgan was taken from the jail it was about nine o'clock in the evening, or a little past; that this deponent has since been informed that Lawson lives about two or three miles from the jail; that this deponent has never seen Morgan since he was taken from the jail as aforesaid, and knows nothing about where he was taken to, or where he now is."

This testimony was sworn to by Mrs. Hall before the Justice of the Peace, on the twenty third day of September, eleven days after the transactions took place. This was the kind of news which the messenger despatched from Batavia brought back to Mrs. Morgan and her friends.

It will be observed, by noticing the correspondences of time, that Mrs. Morgan reached Canandaigua the day after her husband was taken out of jail in the manner just described. She had been made to believe that Mr. Morgan had been taken to parts unknown. She had been in the keeping of Masons, who told her what stories they pleased. A woman with a young child, she could not well go out into the streets of the village and gather information for herself, nor did

the people, who were not Masons, know what was going on.

We leave now the events that followed the abduction of Morgan, while we go back again to Batavia, to take a new starting-point, and follow out another series of events which transpired close alongside of those narrated in this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPTED ABDUCTION OF MILLER AND HIS RESCUE.

IN the afternoon of Monday, September 11, the same day on which Mr. Morgan had been forced away from Batavia, I suddenly received a summons from the lodge to go to Le Roy, a village distant some ten miles from Batavia. It was stated that there was to be held there an important masonic meeting, several lodges coming together, to see what further steps should be taken to suppress the publication of the book, and to consider what should be done with Morgan and Miller. I refused to obey this summons. Then the use of my horses and carriages were asked to convey thither the Masons who desired to attend. This also I refused. I did not intend that my own hands or my property should have anything to do in furthering the wicked designs then on foot.

The meeting was held, however, at Le Roy, many of the Masons going from our village. The

next morning notice was sent to me that I must appear at the east end of the village, under the brow of the hill, precisely at twelve o'clock; that the Masons were to rally there in a body; march in their strength at one o'clock, and in open day destroy Miller's printing offices, scatter his type, secure his person, and the manuscripts and printed sheets to be found in his office. It was said, for my encouragement, that strangers from abroad would take the fore front in the attack and destruction of property — men who could not be easily identified, if any stir should be made about the matter. The man who came to notify me, requested me to be particular to have the bell rung at twelve o'clock that day (the key of the church being kept at my house), so that those lying in ambush or lurking about the village, might have the signal for gathering at the rallying-place. I was requested to see the bell-ringer that morning by nine o'clock, so as to be sure and have this matter attended to. They wanted to gather at twelve o'clock, so that they might organize and be ready to march into the village promptly at one.

The plan was, as I was informed, that Miller, when taken, should be carried at once to Stafford, to the lodge-room, kept there till night, then taken

down to the "ridge road," as it was called, running from Canandaigua west towards Buffalo, passing some miles north of Batavia, and there he kept ready to join Morgan as he should be conveyed away from Canandaigua towards Canada.

The information which I thus received I communicated at once to Mr. Harris, and he forthwith apprised Mr. Miller of what was going forward, and of the imminent dangers awaiting him. He at once went into his office and prepared a handbill, containing these general facts, which he threw out of the window as soon as they were struck off, to arouse the people of the village. He purposed also to send them out into the country to call in his friends, and gain their assistance in this crisis. But the people of Batavia who were not Masons, would not believe the story; said it was preposterous to suppose that a band of men should come in there in open daylight, to do such work as this. They thought Mr. Miller was in a state of needless panic, and they dissuaded him from distributing his handbill. About this time I went up the street to hear what was said about the situation. No one suspected me as being the author of all this excitement, and the people told me that the

man who circulated such stories was a fool; that they were not for a moment to be credited.

This was only one day, it will be remembered, after Morgan had been arrested and taken out of the place; but, as has been already said, the people did not, at that time, understand the real transaction concerning Morgan. They thought he had been taken on an honest warrant, and carried away for examination. They did not know that it was wholly a plan and plot of the Masons to take him. Their minds, therefore, were not prepared to trust this story which Harris had communicated to Mr. Miller, and he to the people, which came from me. When this outside excitement died away, Miller felt that he was in the greater danger, as he really was. In passing along the street, I saw that Miller did not dare to come out of his office. Harris also was frightened at the turn things were taking, and he too had gone into his office, and locked himself in.

My own situation, too, was becoming very critical, and I felt it to be so. If by the public commotion which had been made the Masons should again conclude to retire, and not make the attack at that time, nothing would be more natural than that Mr. Harris should think I was making false

and exciting reports. As a reaction from his fear, and through the chagrin of seeming to give unreal information, he might seek to exonerate himself and lay the burden upon me, in which case the masonic rage would turn against me more violently, if possible, than against Morgan and Miller.

Things were coming to such close quarters, that I concluded to go home at once and make a confidant of my wife. Up to this time she had known nothing of what I was doing. I went to my house, asked my wife to step to a chamber window which looked out on Miller's office. Then I related to her what I supposed was about to take place, and told her my whole position and agency in the matter. I told her frankly that I had disregarded my masonic oaths, and that my relations to the Masons were, consequently, very curious and delicate, and if in any way they should discover what I had done, my life would be in danger. Little as she liked Masonry, and much as she had ridiculed its nonsensical forms a few months before, she *now* thought I had done wrong in breaking my masonic oaths, that my conscience was troubled because of this, and that I was half beside myself. She asked me, with a look of incredulity, if I supposed Masons would come into the village of

Batavia in open daylight, and destroy property? I told her I did believe it, just that, and if she would stay where she was, she would probably soon see the thing done. I told her, moreover, as she valued my life, to make no mention of my name in connection with these things; but if I should be missing, and could not be accounted for, then that she should publish to the world what I had said to her.

Hardly had I told her this, when I saw a Mason coming to my door—a Mr. Merrill. He called upon me, and said, “Greene, you must be ready to turn out, the Masons are coming down. If you know anything you must know nothing. You can swear one way as well as another. (This was a principle agreed upon and sanctioned by act of the lodge.) They are coming, you must be ready to help.” He then started to go; but when a few steps from the door he turned back, and said, “There is some traitor in the camp, and we will find him out yet. He shall have his house burnt over his head, and his throat cut from ear to ear.”

He then left me, and ran towards Mr. Miller’s office. Immediately the crowd of Masons began to gather, armed with hoop-poles. They had taken a parcel of these poles and sawed them in two,

making convenient clubs. The men rushed up stairs, burst open the door of Miller's office, seized him and Captain Davids also, on warrants, dragged them down stairs and out into the street, their hats flying one way and their heads twitched the other. I heard Miller cry out, "Treat me fair! treat me fair! and I will go with you."

The warrant on which Miller was arrested was made out at Le Roy, on the oath of Daniel Johns, the spy before spoken of, by Justice Barton, a Mason

My wife stood at the window spell-bound, looking upon these operations, until she saw Miller dragged into the street, when she grew frightened, and came to look after me. She had come to the conclusion that I was not so much beside myself as she supposed, and that there was real cause for alarm.

It was well understood that about three hundred Masons were in and about Batavia, banded together for this business. But after the information got out, only about one hundred and fifty of these men made their appearance in the village at the time of the onset, and of these, only about forty actually came up to make the attack on Miller's office.

As soon as Miller was taken he was hurried off with all despatch to Danolds's tavern, the same place where Morgan was taken, and as soon as the necessary preparations could be made he was started off in a wagon towards Stafford, with a motley assemblage accompanying, some in wagons, some on horseback, and some on foot. I at once requested Mr. Harris to employ Mr. Talbot, a lawyer, to make use of all possible forms of law for his recovery. He consented, and undertook the case, preparing to follow the fugitives who were bearing away the prisoner. I was surprised that others of the villagers did not volunteer to go along with him and assist him. I sought an opportunity, therefore, to have an interview again with Harris. I passed his office, and snipped a piece of paper into it, which said, "Follow me." I then passed around some buildings, and went into an avenue between my house and a brick store, where I stepped into my kitchen, and threw up a window looking into this passage-way. Mr. Harris came into the avenue, out of sight of the street, and underneath the window. I told him that something must be done immediately; that the whole community seemed to be paralyzed; that the Masons, by their talk, had so raised the prejudices

of people against Morgan and Miller, that they could do almost anything with them with impunity. I told him I thought it was our duty to do all in our power to rescue Miller, and that the community must, in some way, be aroused. I advised him to go and tell Mrs. Miller to sound the alarm — to go up Genesee Street, and down Park Street, and cry, "Murder!" and when she was questioned as to her reason for so doing, she should declare that Morgan was taken off yesterday, and her husband to-day, and unless they were pursued and rescued, they would certainly be murdered. I did not consider this a false alarm by any means, and I advised Harris to make Mrs. Miller believe that it was really true, so that she should cry in earnest.

Mrs. Miller caught the spirit of the occasion, and throwing a shawl over her head, she ran out into the street on her errand. The first man she met was a Mr. Cochrane. He questioned her about the matter, and she imparted to him her own fears, and roused in him a thorough excitement. He told her to go back into the house and he would do the business. Mr. Cochrane ran immediately and hired stages and wagons, all the while scattering the information abroad, and soon about one

hundred men were gathered together, ready to start upon the pursuit.

They overtook the company having Miller in charge at Stafford, six miles from Batavia. They had made a pause there, and he had been placed for safe keeping in the lodge-room, and was guarded by what is called, in masonic parlance, the Tyler's Sword. Mr. Talbot, the lawyer, demanded entrance, on the ground that Miller was his client, and the law allowed him to have intercourse with his client. This privilege was refused by the Tyler; but Mr. Talbot entered, and was followed by some of his neighbors and friends who had come on from Batavia. They found Mr. Daniel Johns, the spy, the pompous champion of Masonry, cutting a high figure. He was brandishing a sword over Mr. Miller's head, and telling him that he was not to be tried by any earthly tribunal, but was going where Morgan was. Seeing the state of things, Mr. Talbot stepped up to Miller, and said to him, "This is no court of justice; you must go on to Le Roy, where the warrant was issued." Then taking him by the arm, Mr. Talbot led the way, and, followed by his friends, went down into the street, to go on to Le Roy. Here the Masons rallied and took Miller out of the hands of Talbot,

and put him on board a wagon, and started again as if for Le Roy.

It was manifest that the Masons desired to consume the time until night in the vicinity of Stafford. They really had no intention of going on to Le Roy with their prisoner at all. Though the warrant was issued there, and Justice Barton was resident there, it was obvious that they were resorting to all sorts of shifts and evasions to use up the afternoon, and not go to Le Roy. But the cue of Mr. Talbot and his party was, that Mr. Miller must go at once to Le Roy. And under this pressure, which could not very well be resisted, both because of its reasonableness and because of the numbers supporting it, the noisy assemblage moved on in a somewhat miscellaneous way towards Le Roy, Mr. Miller sometimes seeming to be in the keeping of the one party, and sometimes of the other.

They reached Le Roy about nightfall, and after a long time spent in the same evasive policy, Mr. Talbot and his friends finally succeeded in getting Miller into the presence of Justice Barton. It was evident that there had been no expectation of any such proceeding. The constable and warrant were called for, but no constable, or warrant,

or plaintiff made their appearance; so that the justice was compelled to tell Mr. Miller he was discharged, and was at liberty to go where he pleased.

It may be remembered that Captain Davids was arrested at the same time with Mr. Miller. The warrant for the arrest of both was issued on the oath and at the request of this Daniel Johns, the spy, who had left Miller's office only the Saturday before, taking with him a manuscript belonging to the office. The person serving this warrant was Jesse French, one of the constables of the county. He arrested both Miller and Davids, as has been stated. But Davids happened to be on the jail limits of Batavia, and the sheriff of the county informed the crowd who had the two men in charge that Davids was in his custody, and could not be taken out of the place.

As soon as Miller was discharged, he, followed by his friends, was making his way towards a public house, when the constable French appeared again, and attempted to re-arrest him on the same warrant. Johns was present, and the two, French and Johns, called lustily on the bystanders to come forward and help arrest the prisoner, who had been taken out of their hands. A rush was

made, and Miller was again re-taken, and in the midst of a large crowd of Masons, was borne into tavern. His pursuers then began to think the times serious. It had come to be a question, no longer of law, but of which party was strongest. Cochrane and his men then brought a stage up to the door of the tavern, with the driver upon the seat and the stage-door wide open, and then rushing into the tavern-hall, they opened to the right and left, to keep the passage-way clear, while others suddenly took Miller out of the hands of his enemies, and bore him towards the stage. His friends instantly closed up behind, and in a moment he was in the stage, and on his way home. At a late hour of the night he was brought back to Batavia, to the great relief of his wife.

Since the company, through my secret agency, had been started in pursuit, soon after midday, I had not rested for a moment. I was in the street, joining in all the exciting conversation of the day — meeting with every little knot of Masons who might happen to be together, that I might instantly learn of any change of plan, if such change were made. If I had heard of any new policy — any different method of abducting Miller, or getting him out of the way of his friends

who were pursuing after him, it was my purpose to start out another posse from Batavia that night. But a little after eleven o'clock Mr. Miller reached Batavia, to my great relief. The stage-driver who brought him back was instructed to make all speed, and the ten miles from Le Roy to Batavia were passed at a rate much more rapid than usual.¹

There was a comic side to this day's work as well as tragic. "The Knights of the Hoop-poles" became a new order of Masons, in the common language of the people. Some poet thought the occasion a suitable one to be commemorated in song. He wrote, accordingly, "The Hoop-pole Band," which was afterwards published in a small pamphlet. We cannot give the whole of it, but we will give enough to show the spirit of the production.

² "Some poets sing in epic strains,
 Of warriors and their fates,
 And some that *rise* and some that *fall*,
 Of kingdoms and of states;
 But hark! the while in loftier song,
 And more sublimely grand,
 I sing to all the listening world
 The brave Masonic Band.

¹ Appendix C

² Appendix D.

“The world was still, and wonders rare,
 Save now and then a dream
 Of railroads, and of side canals,
 And guns that go by steam;
 When Morgan swore a mighty oath,
 In spite of friends or foes,
 That he, for cash or conscience’ sake,
 Would Masonry disclose.

“And Miller swore to print the tale,
 And spread it far and near,
 That all the *blind* on earth might see,
 And all the *deaf* might hear;
 That from the greatest to the least,
 By Scripture rule, forsooth,
 That all should come to knowledge of
 The hidden light of truth.

“Then hell broke loose, and all the host
 Of Masons circled round,
 To kidnap both, destroy the book,
 Or burn Batavia down;
 And fury seized on many a brain,
 And vengeance seemed to start,
 In room of Love and Charity,
 From many a Mason’s heart.

“And then the General Hoop-pole Knight,
 Renowned for chivalry,
 Began to feel *that feather grow*,
 Called *popularity*;

And how if he succeeded well
 By prowess in the fight,
 That he should be a Senator,
 As well as leading Knight :

“ And cried, ‘ Arise my friends, arise !
 With pistols, swords, and dirks,
 Hoop-poles and knives, and cudgels strong,
 Prepared for bloody works ;
 Without regard to powers that be,
 Or laws that men devise,
 On Miller seize, and seize the book —
 Succeed, or sacrifice.’

“ On, on, then rushed the lawless band,
 Determined, rough, and rare ;
 Precisely such as Milton sung,
 Arose from heaven’s despair,
 And bound their trembling bludgeons on,
 And waved their hoop-poles round,
 As token that the villain should
 Be tumbled to the ground.

“ Upright, above the rest, the Knight,
 All pale and waving stood,
 Just like a *crab tree* shrub amidst
 The hoop-poles of the wood ;
 While in the rear, on dapple gray,
 His Sancho seemed to flee,
 With lofty pride, *from making combs*,
 To deeds of chivalry.

.

“But still the band of Hoop-pole Knights,
 With awful wrath in store,
 Rushed in upon Batavia,
 And made the village 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,
 While Saneho seized on Miller's throat,
 As tigers seize their prey.

“On foot, on horse, in wagons stored,
 They marched ten miles or more,
 To guard their *victim of revenge*,
 And triumph in his gore;
 The while the people rose in strength,
 With blood at boiling heat,
 And sent him back to printing books,
 And made the band retreat.

.

“Nay, since the days of Don Quixote,
 When windmills were his foe,

There has not been a scene like this
Unless in shades below;
And even Don would laugh, and shake
His sides till in distress,
Had he but seen the Yankee Knights
Attack a *Printing Press*."

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT BECAME OF MORGAN.

THE sudden disappearance of Morgan, under circumstances such as have been detailed, was the universal topic of conversation in all that region of country. His wife and more immediate friends and acquaintances were thrown into a state of painful suspense. The public mind was full of wonder and curiosity. Hardly anything else was talked about. Day after day passed away, and nothing could, with any certainty, be ascertained respecting his fate. Rumors would come in from one quarter and another, some of no account, and others with a measure of truth. Snatches of intelligence were all that, for a long time, came to hand.

The agent who was despatched from Batavia to Canandaigua came back, bringing such depositions as that of Mrs. Hall, wife of the jailer, of which we have given a portion. These showed clearly

enough what had been done at Canandaigua, and the facts were sufficiently alarming. On the 4th of October a committee of ten of the citizens of Batavia issued the following address 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 the 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 the 12th of September he was released by a person pretending 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 travelling 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, how

ever, hoped by his wife and friends that he may be 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.”

[Here follow the names of the committee of ten.]

“N. B. It is hoped that printers throughout the State, Canada, and elsewhere, will give the above a few insertions, and thus serve the cause of justice and humanity.”

It should be said in passing, that very few printers had the moral courage to print the above notice, so completely were they in bondage to Masonry.

A call like this, issued from the village of Batavia, three weeks after Morgan's disappearance, shows how painful must have been the suspense to those most nearly concerned, and how carefully the abductors had taken pains to leave no clear

and definite traces behind them. For many weeks, indeed, everything was obscure and indefinite. Hopes were entertained that he would appear again—that he was kept somewhere in prison until his book could be effectually suppressed, and then he would be set at large. But after a time, and little by little, the remarks which were dropped by leading men among the Masons dissipated all hopes that he would ever be seen alive. It became more and more apparent that this thing had not been done in a corner; that a very large number of persons, far and wide, had been cognizant of the transactions; and their manner of talk about them was often of the most shameful character. It was a great subject of coarse joking among the Masons in their common conversation in the street, but especially in their lodge meetings. The efforts that were made, the measures that were taken to discover where he was, began to be a matter for ridicule and laughter, and even the distress and anxiety of his wife were joked about in public places.

I was still a Mason, be it remembered, in form, and kept up my connection with the lodge meetings. I felt confident that by the information I had communicated to Harris, and by the agency I

had put forth, I had saved the life of Miller, and the same, in my opinion, would have been true of Morgan, if my testimony had been more implicitly believed and acted upon. I tried to persuade Captain Davids to do for Morgan what Mr. Cochran and his neighbors had done for Miller, and if those most nearly concerned had not been incredulous and remiss, they would have roused the village of Batavia, and obtained a band of men to follow on and see that no harm was done to Morgan. But notwithstanding the part I had played in these transactions, I was still a Mason, in good and regular standing. Some might suspect me not to be true to my oaths; but my secret was not yet out. I still attended the lodge meetings, for I could not very well do otherwise, just now. There I heard enough, after a little time, to convince me that Morgan was no longer in the land of the living. It was just as well understood by the members of our lodge that Morgan was dead, as it is when our families attend the funeral of any person and return to tell the news, only the Masons did not make the announcement in the same way. They had a great deal of rough joking over the subject, implying that he was drowned somewhere in the direction of Canada. They would say of

the men who had him in charge, "They caught a bass the other night;" or, "Morgan was taken out in a boat, a stone was fastened to him, and the wind blew, and the unfortunate wretch was blown overboard and sunk;" or they would diversify the narrative by other fancy sketches of the same general character. It was perfectly apparent that the leading men among the Masons, all abroad through the region, understood well that Morgan had been put out of the way. If I never had had any other evidence that Morgan was murdered except what I had then and there from the mouths of Masons, it would have been enough.

The facts of the case, as they afterwards gradually came to light, and formed themselves into a continuous story, were these. Morgan was taken out of the jail at Canandaigua, on the night of the 12th of September (Tuesday), in the manner already described. He was bound and gagged to prevent his outcries, and then conveyed one hundred and twenty miles by stage, through the towns and villages of Western New York, along a much-travelled road, to the United States fort at Niagara. He reached this place in the early morning of Thursday, September 14, having been continuously on the road, with such short interruptions

as are incidental to a journey of this kind (changing horses, drivers, &c.), from Tuesday evening till this time. It had been a part of the general plan in the disposition to be made of Morgan, that he should be handed over to Brant, the Mohawk chief, and the Canadian Masons, and that they should despatch him. Accordingly, on the 14th of September, as soon as possible after reaching the fort, he was taken out and carried across the river, to be given up to the Canadians. But they would not receive him. They were shy of staining their hands with this bloody business. When the thing was looked at afar off, their masonic zeal doubtless prompted them to say Yes to the proposition, but when the time for execution came their courage failed them.

That Morgan was taken to the fort, then carried across the river and brought back, was told me as a positive fact by a minister (a Mason), who was personally cognizant of it. He said that he went directly from the installation of the lodge at Lewiston (only a few miles off) to the fort, and saw Morgan taken out and carried across the river. Though a minister, this man was such a thorough-going Mason, that when he told me this (he was talking to a Mason), he contended that, under the

circumstances, it was right and proper to take Morgan's life. I also received this information from a deacon, who told me that he visited Morgan while in the dark hole (he was placed in the magazine of the fort), and there heard him asked what death he would prefer to die. He answered, "That he should prefer to die like a soldier; that he had fought for his country, and as a soldier he would die for his country." This same deacon told me that Morgan asked for a light and for a Bible, that he might prepare his mind for his departure. But this request was refused, and the deacon said he thought if any man ought to be denied the Bible in such circumstances, Morgan was the man.

I am sensible that there are heavy accusations to be made against men who held these high offices in the Christian church. But they were not by any means the only ministers, deacons, and professing Christians who were actually concerned in the condemnation and death of Morgan. A large number of church members actually participated in the proceedings leading to his death, or openly justified these proceedings. This is one of the most appalling facts respecting Masonry as an institution,—that it should have power to warp

and pervert men, otherwise amiable, kind, and good, turning them into secret assassins. It was the boast of Masonry, at that time, that there were ministers and deacons enough ready to do this whole business.

When the men who had Morgan on their hands could not hand him over for execution to the Canadians, he was brought back to the American side of the river, and lodged in the magazine of the fort. This was on the morning of the 14th of September. There is reliable testimony that Morgan was there on Sunday, the 17th of September. There is reliable evidence that on Thursday, the 21st of September, he was not there, and has never since been seen alive by his friends. Somewhere between September 17 and 21, it is generally understood, he was taken out in a boat into the Niagara River, a stone was tied to him, and he was pushed from the boat into the river.

The story of Morgan, from the time he was seized at Batavia, September 12, to his death, about a week afterwards, is one of strange and peculiar interest. It has all the elements of wild romance. We have no means of knowing what was the current of his thoughts through those eventful days; but it seems pretty evident that he did not, at

first, apprehend the terrible dangers encircling him. He was naturally a man of a generous and confiding nature, and at the time of his seizure, and through his journey to Canandaigua, and trial there, he apparently believed, to a good extent, the words of those about him. They professed to be his friends, who were going along with him to see that he had a fair trial, and that justice was done him. Even when he was waited upon at evening, at the jail, he was deceived. He thought Lawson, Foster, and the rest to be his friends. It was not until he went out from the walls of the jail, and was seized to be thrust into the carriage, that the scales fell from his eyes, and the horrible suspicion of what all this business meant burst upon him.

In the investigations which were afterwards set on foot in regard to this whole affair, when once the people were aroused, an effort was made to trace out this strange journey from Canandaigua to Niagara, step by step. It was found impossible to do this; but such glimpses of it were gained through the witnesses, willing or unwilling, who came forward to testify, that virtually we have the whole story. And yet the flashes of light by which we gain these glimpses are brief and lurid.

The first sight we got of the expedition, after it left Canandaigua, is late at night, at the town of Victor, some ten miles or more away towards Rochester. A carriage is driven into the shed belonging to a tavern, kept by one Dr. Thomas Beach; but soon, lest there should be too much publicity in this, or because some information that was waited for had been gained, it is backed out and driven round into the yard of one Enoch Gillis, out of sight of the road, and about forty rods off from the public house. James Gillis, who was at the time living in Pennsylvania,—the brother of Enoch Gillis,—was active in the affairs of that night. He took his brother's horse and went off on the road towards Rochester. He also helped to procure another horse for Lawson. Gillis was seen the next day on horseback in the vicinity of Victor, after which he disappeared, and when he was wanted in the subsequent proceedings of the courts he was not to be found.

It may be remembered that Mr. Ketchum, who went from Batavia to Canandaigua with Mrs. Morgan, told her that Mr. Morgan had gone off with a man from Pennsylvania, who had taken him for debt. A shadowy foundation for this story may be found in the fact, that this Mr. Gillis, then resident

in Pennsylvania, was about, actually participating in this abduction.

The next we see of the party is in the vicinity of Rochester, twenty-eight miles off from Canandaigua. This is in the early morning of Wednesday, September 13. A little after daylight the expedition reaches Hanford's tavern, about three miles out from Rochester. But before its arrival (as it came out in evidence) another carriage belonging to a livery-stable in Rochester, owned by a Mason of one of the higher orders, was sent out to wait the arrival of the Canandaigua carriage. Somewhere in the vicinity of Hanford's tavern the party was changed out of the one carriage into the other.

The next point at which the expedition was recognized and traced was at Clarkson, some fifteen miles off from Rochester, towards Niagara. This was about nine o'clock in the morning; and what especially attracted the attention of observers was, that though a hot day, the curtains of the carriage were closed tightly. The carriage made a short stop at Clarkson, in the middle of the street, in the front of Baldwin's tavern. The driver ran into the tavern a moment, and then came out and went directly on. About two miles

beyond Clarkson new horses were procured from one Allen. The tired horses were taken off, and these fresh ones put on; but the men in the inside did not get out during the transaction, and the curtains were all the time kept tightly drawn. In the subsequent stir of the people, when the men who had been concerned in these transactions began to be looked up, the drivers from Hanford's on to Clarkson and beyond disappeared, and could not be found.

About twelve o'clock on Wednesday, September 13, a closed carriage drove into the village of Gaines, passed through without stopping, but about a mile west of the village made a halt in the road, at quite a distance from any house. Here a pair of fresh horses, belonging to James Mather, was brought up by his brother, Elihu Mather, who, after they were fastened to the carriage, mounted the driver's box and drove the team on some ten or fifteen miles, into the vicinity of Ridgeway. There was a strangeness about the whole transaction, not only in the closed carriage, but in the fact that Mr. Mather should drive it, as he was a man of property and standing, and not accustomed to such business. On his way

back, he jokingly said to some one, "I think I make a good stage-driver — do I not ?"

At Ridgeway, a man by the name of Jeremiah Brown, one of the chief men of the town, lately a member of the legislature, brought up a pair of horses from the field where they were working, and after giving them time to feed, they were hitched to this same closely-covered carriage, and as Mr. Mather had done, so Mr. Brown mounted the box, and turned stage-driver himself. This was along well in the afternoon. Just at nightfall the expedition reached Wright's tavern, a little north of Lockport. Here a halt was made, the carriage, instead of being driven up to the door, having been taken into the barn. There was considerable delay at Wright's tavern. There was quite a company of men gathered here. A woman connected with the hotel said that supper had been ordered for a company of Masons. There was to be the installation of a masonic lodge next day at Lewiston, some twenty miles away; but precisely what was indicated by the stir about Wright's tavern that night is not clear.

Just a little west of this tavern was the turn pike gate, kept by a man named Maxwell. About eleven o'clock that night a mysterious-looking

carriage came up very quietly, the gate was open, and Maxwell was in the house. He heard the carriage approach, and thought at first the intention was to steal through without paying fare. The whole scene was so peculiar and unique, that we may as well give the deposition of Mr. Maxwell.

“DAVID MAXWELL, being sworn, saith, that in the night of the 13th of September last he was at home attending to the keeping of the turnpike gate on the Ridge road, so called, about nineteen miles distant from Lewiston. About eleven o'clock, P. M., he was sitting in the toll-house, and heard a carriage pass through the gate very slowly; and upon opening the door he saw Jeremiah Brown, of Ridgeway, standing directly in front of the door, and saw the carriage standing in the road, about three rods west of the house. He, Brown, had a shilling in his hand, which he handed to him, being the exact amount of the toll on the carriage. Deponent said, ‘How do you do, Captain Brown?’ He made no answer, and turned away quickly, and went towards the carriage. Deponent called to him quite loudly, and said, ‘What is the matter?’ Brown answered, ‘Nothing.’ Deponent took no-

tice of the carriage, because he had never known Brown to have anything to do with a coach before, and it struck him as a thing out of the usual course. He thinks the curtains were closed. Brown joined the carriage, but whether he got into it, or got on the driver's seat, deponent cannot say. The carriage drove off quickly, when deponent entered the house: himself and his wife had a conversation, and expressed to each other their wonder as to the cause which should take Captain Brown west with a coach so late at night; he, Brown, is a farmer in good circumstances, residing about thirteen miles east of the gate, and well known to deponent and wife, and passing the gate frequently, and never to the knowledge and recollection of deponent with any other carriage than a common two-horse farm wagon. They eventually concluded that he perhaps had gone to Lewiston to an installation. The next morning, before breakfast, and not far from sunrise, the same carriage, as he thinks, arrived at the gate, driven by a person he did not then know (Mr. Mather, previously named). The middle curtains were then up, and deponent distinctly saw the said Jeremiah Brown sitting on the back seat of the carriage, appearing to be asleep, and leaning

back: he saw no other person in the carriage. Deponent said to the driver, 'How far did you go out? Did you go to Lewiston?' He hesitated a little, and said, 'No, we did not go to Lewiston.' The deponent and his wife then observed to each other that they had not gone to the installation. Deponent took notice that the coach was a chocolate color; it appeared to be a hack carriage that had been much used."

The next distinct glimpse that we get of this strange and mysterious carriage, still travelling on towards Niagara, with its carefully-guarded load, is at Cambria, six miles west, at what is called Mollineux's tavern. The party reached this place about midnight, September 13. Mr. Bruce, the high sheriff of Niagara County, came to the tavern first, and called up the elder Mr. Mollineux, desiring him to furnish a pair of horses for taking on a carriage to Lewiston. The request was complied with, and a pair of horses furnished that were young and spirited. Mr. Mollineux's son, having a pride in the horses, and knowing that they were mettlesome and free, requested the privilege of driving them to Lewiston himself. To this Mr. Bruce decidedly objected, and said

that he had a trusty driver in the person of Mr. Jeremiah Brown, the same man who had charge of the team when it passed through the turnpike gate. Young Mollineux knew Mr. Brown. While the carriage was at Cambria, and this change of horses was taking place, the curtains were kept carefully closed, and everything indicated great secrecy. The unusual circumstance of a man calling at the hotel at that late hour of the night for a pair of horses, the importance which Mr. Bruce seemed to give to the whole affair, the haste with which he desired the expedition to set off,—all conspired to make a strange impression upon every person not in the secret. A servant girl, belonging to the hotel, asked Mr. Bruce what the matter was. He answered, "You cannot know at present."

The distance from Cambria to Lewiston is thirteen miles. Mr. Brown mounted his box, and started at about midnight, as before stated, and before daylight the next morning returned to Mollineux's tavern, having driven the twenty-six miles in about five hours. The horses came back jaded and worn, and young Mollineux was in a state of high indignation. Here the horses, which had been taken off from the carriage the night

before, were replaced, and with Mr. Brown on the inside, seemingly asleep, and with a Mr. Mather on the box for driver, the carriage returned through the turnpike gate after the manner already described.

But we catch also a clear but momentary view of things at Lewiston, some time during the small hours of morning, September 14. This same Mr. Bruce, high sheriff of Niagara County, who had been so helpful at Cambria, called at Mr. Samuel Barton's, of Lewiston, one of the stage proprietors, and together they went to the stage office, to find what drivers, if any, were in. They found only Mr. Fox (Corydon Fox), who was asleep in an adjoining room. He was desired to get up a carriage immediately, to take a party to Youngstown, six miles distant. Paul Mosher was connected with this office, his special business being to regulate the arrival and departure of the stages. The account given of this affair, under oath, is as follows, Mr. Mosher making the deposition, and including in his statement what Fox had told him.

“Fox also stated that Eli Bruce, sheriff of Niagara County (or, as he called him, Bruce), came

with Mr. Barton, when he was called up. That, after the getting the carriage ready, Bruce told him (Fox) to drive round to a back street. He did so, and found a carriage in the street without horses. That there was something curious about it; he thought there was a man in the carriage who was gagged and bound. That there were two persons who came out of the carriage standing in the street, and both, with Bruce, got into the one he was driving. Bruce told him to go, or drive, on: he was directed to stop at the residence of Colonel King. He halted, accordingly, in front of the door, or house, at Youngstown. Bruce got out and called up King. Bruce and King both got into the carriage. That he heard a man in the carriage call for water, and Bruce said he should have some; he also thought he heard King say, 'Morgan, are you here?' That he (Fox) was directed to drive on, and when about half way from Youngstown to the fort, Bruce told him to stop. He did so, and they all got out, and he returned to Lewiston."

In all this journey, the aim was to have only Masons employed, in whatever capacity. But in the haste with which things were done at Lewis-

ton, Fox was called into service, though he was not a Mason. He had seen and heard strange things that night, unsuited to any save masonic ears and eyes. It was felt that a blunder had been committed. An effort was accordingly made at once to bring Fox into a masonic lodge. Money was offered him to pay the initiatory fees, and in about three weeks after this night's adventures, he was persuaded into the lodge at Lewiston.

There is evidence, too, of a sudden commotion after Morgan reached the fort. As has been stated, he was immediately taken over to the Canada side, and it was expected that Brant, chief of the Mohawks, would receive him and dispose of him. But he would not perform the disagreeable service, and so Morgan was brought back and lodged in the magazine of the fort.

Paul Mosher, of Lewiston, from whose deposition we have just quoted, testifies also, that in the afternoon of the 14th of September (Morgan reached the fort in the early morning of that day), "Barton came to the deponent, and directed him to borrow a saddle and bridle, and put them on a horse as soon as possible, and hitch it by another horse standing under the shed, pointing that way, and which horse appeared as if he had been

rode fast: he added, *that he had heard from the fort, and must send a man down, for he feared there would be trouble yet.* He (Mosher) did as directed, and the two horses were rode off soon after; the one put there by this deponent, by a Mason resident in Lewiston, the other by a person not known to this deponent. Next morning the deponent asked said Barton if there was any trouble at the fort; to which he replied, 'I guess it is still enough.'"

We have one more of these glimpses, or "night visions," in the deposition of Mr. Josiah Tryon. On the night of the 14th of September, he attended a ball at Lewiston, on the occasion of the installation of a lodge — a fact already referred to. He had a friend there who wished to go to Canada next morning, and for this he must be in Youngstown to take the boat early in the morning. In order to induce his friend to stay and attend the ball, he had agreed to take him to Youngstown, with a team. Accordingly, in the small hours of the morning of September 15, they started out from Lewiston towards Youngstown. The night was clear, and the moon was shining brightly, so that it was easy to discern surrounding objects, or recognize faces. About two miles out from Lew-

iston he met five men walking towards Lewiston, three of whom he knew well. Surprised at seeing this company on the road, at such an unusual hour (it was then between three and four o'clock in the morning), he reined up his horse, and said to one of them, whom he knew, "*What are you here this time of night for?*" The answer was, "*We have had a set down (council or consultation) at Youngstown.*"

The fort was at this time unoccupied, except by the keeper and his wife. Troops had been stationed there until the previous May, when they left. From that time until August, it had been under the general superintendence and care of a Mr. Giddins, who lived near, and who kept a house of public entertainment. In August he had passed the care of the fort over to a Colonel Jewett, and his wife, who lived in it. Mr. Giddins, in his deposition, thus describes the magazine where Morgan was confined.

"This building stands on the southerly side of the fort, is built of stone, about the height of a common two-story building, and measures about fifty by thirty feet on the ground; 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; covered with shingle roof. There is but one door, around which there is a small entry, to which there is a door also. There are no windows or apertures in the walls, except a small ventilator for the admission of air, and one small window in each end, about ten feet from the ground. They are usually kept closed, and locked on the outside with a padlock."

This is surely a formidable prison-house, and when one enters it as a prisoner, he may well give heed to Dante counsel, and "leave all hope behind." When it was found that Brant and the Canadian Masons would have nothing to do with Morgan, he was thrust in here.

The place had been agreed upon and arranged for beforehand; because there was evidently a doubt whether Morgan could be disposed of through the Canadians. But the plan had not gone so far as to be definite, in case he could not be left on the Canadian side. The place of his confinement had been fixed; but what precisely to do with him had not apparently been determined. Hence, with this new turn of affairs, a

council had to be called, as has been already intimated.

It is in evidence that, on the night of the 14th of September (the evening after the return from the Canadian shore), nine men ordered supper at Mr. Giddins's house, and left his house about eleven o'clock. Some of these were the same men that Mr. Tryon saw on the road near Lewiston, between three and four the next morning. During the evening of September 14, there was quite a gathering of men about the fort, some twenty or thirty coming hither in the steamboat. Most of these staid but a short time, and then disappeared. Ten or eleven of them remained a longer time before they scattered. The next evening, September 15, a smaller number was gathered. There was much earnest talk, but apparently a divided state of opinion.

As has been already stated, it is in proof that Morgan was still at the fort, locked up in the magazine, on the 17th of September (Sunday); but before Thursday, the 21st, he had disappeared, and was never more seen alive. The manner of his death has already been related.

We have gone over the events connected with this memorable journey, in this minute way, be-

cause it serves to show that a very large number of people were informed of what was going forward, and to some extent participated in these transactions. Intelligence had been conveyed through secret channels; and men rise up and play their parts by day and by night, just when and where they are wanted. There is a well-compacted movement going on over large reaches of territory, of which the outside world catches occasional glimpses, but knows not their meaning. It is only when the subsequent investigation brings out the facts more fully, that these broken fragments of a plan can be put together and made clear to the common mind.

Here this part of our narrative would naturally stop. But by a strange turn of providence, it came to pass that more than a year after the events just recorded,—on the 7th of October, 1827,—the body of a man, not far gone with decay, was picked up on the shore of Lake Ontario, at a place called Oak Orchard Creek. It was found by a company of men who were out hunting. A jury was called, and after a hasty examination, the body was buried. As soon, however, as the finding of this body became publicly known, strange

stories were told about it, and curious attempts were made to identify it as the body of this person, or that, who had lately disappeared in all that part of the country. The body was taken up again for further examination, and soon the reasons began to appear for believing that this was no other than the body of Captain William Morgan.

Men from Batavia and the region round about went to see these remains, and were satisfied. Mrs. Morgan herself, Mr. Miller, Mr. Harris, and others, who had known Mr. Morgan most intimately in his lifetime, saw and believed. A new jury was empanelled, and after a more rigid examination, the conclusion was reached, that these were the remains of Morgan, and his body was accordingly taken back to Batavia and buried.

The proofs of his identity could no longer be found, of course, in the fleshly appearances, but must be looked for in the more permanent and abiding parts of the frame. And here the coincidences were most singular and striking. It was little that the height and general structure were the same; these might be found in many men; but there were other things not to be overlooked. Mrs. Morgan had told beforehand what proofs of identity might be looked for.

Captain Morgan had a habit of whittling at the nails on his fingers. It was his fancy to wear them unusually long, and to trim them to a point. In ordinary conversation, often, when he was not aware what he was doing, he was thus scraping and cutting his nails. It was something altogether unusual for one to wear his nails shaped in the precise form which Captain Morgan gave his. But the body found on the shore of Lake Ontario showed this shaping of the nails. I myself saw these nails on the dead body after it was brought back to Batavia, and the sight of them, after his death, was to me the most impressive proof of his identity.

Then, again, Mr. Morgan had a singular characteristic about his teeth. Even his front teeth approached the molar or double-toothed formation. So it was in this case. Besides, he had lost one of his double teeth, and it so happened that this very tooth, drawn by a physician in Batavia, not long before, from some peculiarity pertaining to it, had been preserved. When brought out, it had every appearance of fitting the cavity exactly.

Then, to make the case still more convincing, he had received a deep wound over one of the eyes, and had struck an axe into his foot, cutting

asunder one of his great toes. All these marks were found upon the body.

The Niagara River had been dragged to find the body of Morgan. It was believed, at the time, that the body was started from its fastenings by this operation, and was raised to the surface. One of the men employed supposed that he caught sight of the body, but it sank again, and he lost it. The theory was, that it had been swept along, by the strong current of the Niagara River, into Oak Orchard Creek, and had been tossed about by winds and waves, until it washed ashore at the place where it was found. I myself saw the body after it was brought back to Batavia, and have no doubt whatever that it was the body of Morgan.

Let it be understood, however, that the proof of his death by violence does not rest upon this identification of the body. The fact of his death was established on evidence entirely independent of this. That was as thoroughly believed among the people of Western New York before the discovery of the body as afterwards. The finding of the body was only a strange and unexpected sequel. It serves to make an *ending* for the story but its *beginning* and *middle* had already passed into history, when this *dénouement* came.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT MORGAN ACTUALLY REVEALED.

It might seem strange, at first thought, that the attempt of Captain Morgan to publish the secrets of Masonry should have roused such an intense and wide-spread excitement among the Masons; for this excitement *was* intense, as has been made abundantly clear by the preceding narrative. While this process was going on at Batavia in the summer of 1826, in all the masonic circles of Western New York, and more or less throughout the land, there were passions aroused that amounted almost to a blind frenzy. Men acted as though the heavens were about to fall, or the earth to be destroyed. Never were greater emotions awakened from so small and unimportant a cause.

But there was, nevertheless, a philosophy underlying this excitement. It must be remembered that Masonry is too sacred and important a thing

to be committed to books. The theory is, that it must be transmitted from generation to generation through the air — that the whole communication of these tremendous secrets must be purely oral, passing from mouth to mouth, as the illustrious order lives along the ages. At the very outset, in the entered apprentice's oath, the candidate, under the most fearful penalties, is made to say, "I will not write, print, stamp, stain, hew, cut, carve, indent, paint, or engrave it on anything, movable or immovable, under the whole canopy of heaven, whereby or whereon the least letter, figure, character, mark, stain, shadow, or resemblance of the same may become legible, or intelligible, to myself or any other person in the known world, whereby the secrets of Masonry may be unlawfully obtained through my unworthiness."

If this language is not strong or comprehensive enough, each reader can make it so at his leisure. The idea, therefore, of actually writing out these secrets, would naturally fill the minds of those who were foolish enough to become enthusiastic Masons with a holy horror.

This was not the first time that the secrets of Masonry had been divulged, nor was Morgan the only one that has suffered death for making the

attempt. In 1762 was published, in England, the book called "Jachin and Boaz." These two ancient words are the names or designations of the grips used for the two first masonic degrees, the entered apprentice's, and the fellow-craft's. Soon after the publication of *Jachin and Boaz*, its author was found murdered in the streets of London, his throat having been cut from ear to ear. It was this book which Miller undertook to republish in Saratoga. After he joined the Masons, and took the first degree, as has been already related, he made a discovery. He found that the grip *Jachin*, which used to belong to the entered apprentice's degree, had been transferred to the second degree of fellow-crafts, and that the grip *Boaz* had been taken for the first degree; so that what used to read (in ancient times, before the first publication of this book) as "Jachin and Boaz," should now read "Boaz and Jachin." This was done so that it might be said that Masonry in modern times was not what it was before 1762, and that no one could tell what it was by reading the book "Jachin and Boaz." This, however, was only a catch, to deceive, as, with the exception of the merely nominal change just mentioned, all things remained just as they were before. The entered

apprentice's degree was the same, being, as of old, the first degree. But the grip for this degree was Boaz, instead of Jachin.

These words are brought from afar, even from the ancient temple of Solomon. In the First Book of Kings, in the long and minute description of the magnificent temple reared by Solomon, we are told, "And he set up the pillars in the porch of the temple; and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin; and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz." In the Second Book of Chronicles we have an account of the same thing, though in language somewhat different. "And he reared up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand and the other on the left, and called the name of that on the right hand Jachin, and the name of that on the left Boaz."

Masonry, in its idle and swelling claims to antiquity, owns all Solomon's temple, and most of what is valuable and grand from the creation down. It is an old adage, that "one may as well die for an old sheep as a lamb." And when Masonry undertook to get up a history for herself, and to choose her own grandfathers and grandmothers, there was nothing to hinder her from appropriating to herself what she pleased. The

“world was all before” her, and it was just as easy to have her first organization take place in the garden of Eden as anywhere else. Adam might as well be the first Mason as the first man. And so down through the ages, wherever anything great and venerable is to be found, let Masonry lay hold of it, for “possession is nine points of the law.” Accordingly, we find masonic literature loaded down with names, *real names* (besides many imaginary ones), that never had anything more to do with speculative Freemasonry than Julius Cæsar had to do in digging the Erie Canal. To connect Solomon and his temple with Masonry is like the prattle of little children who make pies out of mud, and get up a school out of sticks of wood. And yet, so constantly are these claims put forth, and so grandly are they mouthed over from generation to generation, that the more simple-minded among the Masons doubtless believe that they belong to an institution which is as old as Solomon, at least, if it be not as old as the world. Jachin and Boaz, therefore, are the two first passwords of Masonry. Through this august gateway the novitiate enters the wonderful temple.

There have also been other attempts to divulge the secrets of Masonry, besides this of “Jachin

and Boaz." But we will not dwell upon these items of old history.

What Morgan undertook to do was, to reveal the seven first degrees. He actually wrote out these degrees in full. By his knowledge as a masonic lecturer, he was able to do this. It was the intention that these seven degrees should be published together. This was the book which Colonel Miller promised to give to the world. It was in the hope and expectation of doing this that the book was so long delayed.

On the other hand, it was the intention of the Masons, when they began to combine together in the summer of 1826, to suppress the book altogether—to prevent the publication of any part of it. Morgan and Miller, knowing the dangers to which the book would be exposed while it was in course of publication, meant always that there should be in existence duplicate copies of each degree, so that if one were seized and destroyed, the other might survive. The commotions among the Masons during the summer of 1826 had reference to the suppression of the book, as also to the punishment of Morgan and Miller for having proved faithless to their masonic oaths.

At the time when Morgan was arrested, on Sat-

urday, August 19, and lodged in jail, and kept there over the Sabbath, the primary object of the movement, apparently, was to make a raid upon Morgan's papers. The plans for his abduction were not then ripe. Papers were seized at that time, and doubtless the men chiefly concerned thought they had accomplished more than they had. They did not understand the arrangement about *duplicate copies*. They did, however, find abundant proof that Morgan was engaged in revealing the secrets of Masonry.

But the man who really made the break in the process of publication was Daniel Johns, the spy, and the story may best be told by Colonel Miller himself. We copy from an account afterwards furnished by him for the paper called "The Morgan Investigator."

"To present occurrences in a connected order I must go back to a period of time anterior to that when an attempt was made to burn my printing offices. About the middle of August last, by particular request of the author, I applied to the clerk of the northern district of this state, at Utica, for a copyright of a work entitled 'Illustrations of Masonry,' &c. I had ascertained that every movement of mine was closely watched. To elude

pursuit various means were resorted to. On my return, which was by way of the canal, I left the boat at Fullam's Basin, eight miles east of Rochester. The boat had passed but a few miles after I had left it, when the captain was hailed from the banks of the canal, by a well-dressed individual, who inquired, 'Has not Mr. Miller been on board that boat?' and on being answered in the affirmative, demanded my baggage, by authority, as he alleged, of a written order from me; but being unable to designate what my baggage was, he was foiled in the attempt to become possessed of certain property that was then *supposed* to be in my charge.

"On the arrival of the boat at Rochester, which was between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, the strongest visible evidence was presented to me that the watch-dogs were on the alert; but on assuring themselves that there was no bone worthy of contention, I was left to the enjoyment of my own reflections.

"A few days after these occurrences, a man of good appearance, about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, well equipped, *with thousands of money at command*, was introduced to me at Batavia, by the name of DANIEL JOHNS, a Canadian. who was anxious to embark, through 'weal or

woe,' in the crusade against Masonry. His story being plain, plausible, and connected, he was unhesitatingly permitted to become a participator. He aided all he could, apparently, in the printing and folding of masonic books, and became an active, and, as was supposed, efficient guard against 'cowans and eavesdroppers,' as well as more prominent enemies. He slept in the printing-room with me, with pistols at the head of his bed, and often expressed his astonishment that I did not sleep. I *now* can see the villain, with his snaky head raised from the pillow, inquiring what position I lay in. He uniformly found me perusing a book or a newspaper. I used to apologize for disturbing his slumbers by a burning candle, assuring him that there was no danger to be apprehended from it. I had become wakeful and watchful, but not from suspicion of him.

"Thus time passed smoothly on for about twelve or fourteen days, enlivened now and then by some remarks at the expense of our enemies, and now and then forming the '*living arch*,' and repeating the distich, 'We three did agree,' &c. During all this time, however, Johns was extremely anxious of perusing the manuscript in the upper degrees of Masonry. This desire was not communicated

to me by him, but through another person. He was accordingly presented with the Mark Master's (or fourth) degree. This was on the evening of the 8th of September. The next day, at noon, he was missing. He was seen last to go into the post office of this village, and although immediately sought for and inquired after, was nowhere to be found; most conclusively demonstrating that Masons knew how to *secrete* as well as to keep a secret. On this occurrence Captain Morgan for the first time became alarmed for his personal safety, assigning as a reason, that the Masons had become, as they supposed, now possessed of all his manuscripts on the upper degrees, three of them having been previously taken from him a short time before, under the color of a civil process. Most of the day of the 10th I spent with him in arranging papers and in devising means for his seclusion and safety."

By this statement of Colonel Miller, it appears that the 5th, 6th, and 7th degrees, as written out by Captain Morgan, or, in other words, the Past Master's, the Most Excellent Master's, and the Royal Arch, were seized by the Masons at the time of his arrest, on the 19th of August. He had then just finished writing out the Royal Arch

degree, and there was no duplicate of this manuscript. This degree, as we have already stated, was sent at once to Canandaigua, and thence by express to the Grand Chapter at New York city.

In consequence of these breaks and hinderances, the publication of the work was put off. And, finally, when it was found that the original idea could not be carried out, it was decided to publish the three first degrees only. The volume containing these was issued, in spite of all opposition, a few months after Captain Morgan's death.

But the publication of masonic secrets was bound not to stop at this point. In the excitement which arose immediately after the abduction and murder of Mr. Morgan, members of the lodges of a conscientious turn of mind could no longer stand the moral pressure brought to bear upon them. Masons of every degree, even from the ineffable heights, bearing titles pompous enough to satisfy the most august and glittering * Oriental monarch (a Sennacherib or an Alhasuerus could not have desired anything more empty and swelling), began to bow before the indignant protest of public sentiment. One after another, men came forward and

* Appendix E.

gave up their impious and high-sounding secrets. The lower degrees, in a moral point of view, are modest, compared with the upper. In the six lower degrees one is bound to help a brother Mason in all cases, "murder and treason only excepted." But, as we have already said, when one reaches the seventh, or Royal Arch degree, the form of language changes, and one binds himself to help his brother, *right or wrong, murder and treason not excepted*. And generally in these upper degrees there is a defiant and Heaven-daring tone, as if Masonry were sufficient to make laws for itself, without regard to God or man.

The work, therefore, of exposing these pernicious secrets went on very rapidly after Captain Morgan's death. A convention of seceding Masons was held the following February at Le Roy, and they resolved to make a full revelation of masonic mysteries. The fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees, as written out by Captain Morgan, were afterwards obtained from Mrs. Morgan; and when Rev. David Bernard, in 1829, published his work entitled "Light on Masonry," the six degrees, as written out by Mr. Morgan, were brought together. In the same work will be found almost all the higher degrees, many of them, however, not written out with the

fulness and minuteness of those revealed by Mr. Morgan. The author, speaking of his book, says, "While preparing it for the press, I obtained from the highest authority thirty-three of the sublime and ineffable degrees, all of which I KNOW TO BE CORRECT, and I give them to the world verbatim et literatim."

In answer, then, to the query suggested in the title to this chapter, it may be said that Morgan wrote out fully and carefully the seven first degrees of Masonry; that three of these were published soon after his death, in the work issued by Colonel Miller that the three next were afterwards published in the "Light on Masonry," and that indirectly, and growing out of what he did and suffered, the secrets of Masonry were soon very generally exposed to the public gaze.

CHAPTER IX.

MY SUBSEQUENT EXPERIENCES WITH MASONRY.

THE course I had pursued during the exciting scenes of the Morgan abduction was such as would naturally bring the Masons into bitter hostility to me. It is not too much to say that they hated me with a perfect hatred. Taking human nature at what it is, I cannot much wonder at it. I was the first to reveal their plans to the world, and to take measures to thwart their infamous designs. To say that this made me enemies which have never forgiven me, but have pursued me with the bitterest feelings, would be to say what every candid man must see would be the result of my relations to the Masons of Batavia. Masonry was a great power in the State of New York, and in the land generally, at the time of the Morgan abduction. It was only by reason of its great strength that it dared defy public opinion, and do what it then did. It had got possession of the places of power

throughout the state. It had a mighty sway in matters civil and ecclesiastical. It could ruin the business interests of any ordinary person against whom it chose to set itself in array. It did speedily ruin my business in Batavia.*

In the latter part of the summer of 1829, having some business to transact in connection with a mortgage on a farm in the western part of Connecticut, I came back to New England, bringing with me my oldest daughter, and taking her for a visit to her grandmother's in Providence. While staying a few days in Providence, I was invited by a Mason to go with him over to Pawtucket to attend an anti-masonic meeting that was to be held there. I consented. He did not then know of my history, but supposed that I was a Mason still in regular standing; nor did I, on my journey over, reveal the state of things. The meeting was a large one. The speakers, in the course of the proceedings, unfolded the secrets of Masonry. When the meeting was nearly over, and the people were going out freely, some one on the stand called out and wished to know if there was any Mason present who would confirm or

* Appendix F.

deny what had been said. I rose and said in a full, strong voice, that the ceremonies and operations, as they had been described, accorded very accurately with those in the lodge with which the late Captain William Morgan was connected; that I was a member of the same lodge with him, and was well acquainted with the method of doing things there.

No sooner were these words spoken than the most enthusiastic greeting was given me by the assembly. Men about the doors called after those who had gone out, "There is a man here who knew Morgan, and was in the same lodge with him. Come back! come back!" Soon the house was packed full again, galleries and all, and I told the story of Morgan to most eager and attentive listeners, and three Masons renounced Masonry on the spot.

Immediately after this meeting, leaving my daughter at Providence, I started for Goshen, in Litchfield County, Ct., to attend to the business pertaining to the mortgage. But the report of the meeting at Pawtucket had been noised abroad through the papers, and a messenger was sent after me with letters to persuade me to visit Boston and deliver a lecture. The messenger who

came was Frederick A. Sumner, and he brought a letter to me from Dr. Abner Phelps. The messenger came first to Providence, and, finding I had gone to Western Connecticut, followed me all the way thither, to invite me, in behalf of a most respectable committee, to give an anti-masonic lecture in Boston. I accordingly consented, and arrangements were made that I should speak in Fanueil Hall on the evening of September 8. Handbills had been posted all over the city for days, giving notice of the meeting. I reached the city in due time, and stopped at a hotel in Milk street. I found Boston full of excitement with reference to the approaching meeting. The Masons were numerous and strong in the city, and they threatened to break up the meeting. The anti-masonic party also was full of spirit, and was determined to resist this attempt. Clubs and billets of wood were freely carried into the building, to be used in case the exigency should arise calling for them.

When I reached the hall in the evening, I found it packed. Such was the excitement then prevailing about the Morgan affair, that there was the most intense desire to see any one who had been mixed up with that business. When I reached

the door, so great was the press, that I was literally lifted from the floor and borne all the way to the stage without once touching my feet.

But it was evident that the Masons were there in great force. I went through the preliminary part of my lecture very well; but when I came to the story of Morgan and his abduction and murder, the uproar began. The room resounded with cries, "Pitch him out of the window!" "Kill him!" "Break his neck!" &c., &c. I would wait a little for the tumult to subside, and then attempt to begin again, when the same noise and confusion would set in in full force. I finished my lecture in the best way I could under the circumstances. Dr. Thompson, of Charlestown, was the presiding officer, and he did all he could to quiet the storm by appealing to their pride as a Boston audience, and in various other ways, but his efforts were unavailing.

Then it became evident that we were in some measure besieged by the Masons. They had banded together to block the doors, and prevent all egress of the crowd from the building. They were waiting apparently for an attempt to be made to get the lecturer and the leaders of the meeting out, and this would be the signal for vio-

lence. It was near eleven o'clock when a carriage was brought quietly to the back door of the hall, and I was taken out by the stairway behind the stage, and conveyed to my hotel.

At three o'clock the next morning I took the stage to return to Connecticut.

So full of rage were the Masons, that after I left the city, they printed and posted up all over the city, in connection with my name, some verses from one of the imprecatory Psalms — the 109th psalm.

“Let his days be few, and let another take his office.

“Let his children be fatherless and his wife a widow.

“Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places.

“Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let strangers spoil his labor.

“Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children.

“Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.”

On my return again to Boston some little time after this, I saw some of these handbills which

had spoken in so complimentary a manner of me. They had been preserved by my friends as memorials of the anti-masonic meeting in Faneuil Hall, on the night of September 8, 1829.

This was my first introduction to a Boston audience, and there was nothing, certainly, in the events of that night to convince me that it was better behaved than other audiences.

It was not until the January following the Morgan murder, that I really broke with the Masons, and renounced the order. I kept my secret until that time, though not without falling under considerable suspicion. But in January I publicly seceded, and took my stand openly in opposition. I was afterwards summoned to attend the lodge; but giving no heed to the call, the Masons took their revenge by expelling me, which was just as well. Between them and myself I was by that time pretty completely out of the order.

From the fall of 1826 on to 1830, I was compelled, with thousands of others, to be witness of the abortive attempt to bring guilty men to justice. Month after month, and year after year, the prosecutions started against the Morgan abductors dragged their slow length along. Everything would seem to be in train for a

speedy result; but the hope was always a vain one. Secret hands, out of the darkness, were all the while working against truth and righteousness. If the prophet Isaiah had written some of the verses of the fifty-ninth chapter of his book expressly to describe what was going on in Western New York during those years, he could not have hit the case more exactly.

“Therefore is judgment far from us, and justice doth not overtake us: we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness.

“We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes. . . .

“And judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter.

“Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.”

We will not undertake to tell the weary story of those four or five years. But in the Appendix we give the story as it was told, while yet the subject was fresh and new, by Mr. John C. Spencer, of New York, in the very able and carefully-prepared report which he presented to the Anti-Masonic Convention in Baltimore, in 1831, having

been previously appointed for that duty. The story is a long one, but we prefer to give it unbroken, that it may be understood by the people of this generation what a pernicious power Masonry is, when it is once fairly entrenched in society.*

My own experiences in the courts taught me how useless it was, in those times, to look for justice by an appeal to law. When the Masons, on every hand, set upon me to ruin my character and my business, I attempted to gain the help of law, but found, by a bitter experience, that no adequate protection was to be looked for from that quarter. I was compelled to leave it to time to vindicate my character and motives in doing what I had done.

The great anti-masonic movement was now well under way, and from my experiences I seemed to be called naturally into the field as a lecturer. From 1829 on to 1834, I was largely employed in this way, speaking in a great number of places in various New England states. Everywhere I went, I had to encounter a strong masonic hate. I could not but be sensible that hostile eyes were upon me, watching every movement. Sometimes this

* Appendix G.

hatred would break out into open abuse and violence, and sometimes it kept a more decorous and smothered form, but was none the less real. It was not pleasant to live in such an atmosphere, surcharged all the while as it was with the elements of violence. I knew, by a most vivid experience, what had been, and I knew that what had been might be again. The institution of Masonry, though scotched, was not killed. It was still bold and defiant, all the more bitter, perhaps, because its power and influence were now beginning to wane. Many stories might be told, many incidents and illustrations given, showing what kind of a life a man had to live, who was a public anti-masonic lecturer, between the years 1829 and 1834. But I will content myself with a single incident additional, and will take one that had more of detail in it than was ordinarily the case, and one that is well fitted to illustrate the whole subject.

I was lecturing in Connecticut,—had been at Woodstock, and from there to Norwich. I had an appointment at New London, but meanwhile had turned back to lecture at Hebron, before going to New London. This was in the early fall of 1829. I spent the night at Hebron, staying at the public

house. After I had retired to rest for the night, about eleven o'clock, my room was suddenly invaded by some ten or twelve men, under the lead of one Taintor, who had come, as he said, to serve a writ upon me for debt. His manner, and the manner of the men with him, was very peremptory and rough. There was a most needless and indecent haste in all their proceedings. They would not give me time to dress properly, but hurried me down half dressed into the bar-room. They said I was to go with them that night to jail in Tolland. The town of Tolland was some fifteen miles away. The road leading thither was through a lonely and hilly region, with scattered farm-houses here and there. The way was rough and rocky.

It was late in the evening. The people of Hebron had retired to rest, and I seemed to be at the mercy of these men, who had seized me under the forms of law, but, as I knew in a moment, on a case artificially got up for the purpose, and without a shadow of justice in it. This, however, was to be shown in the future. Meanwhile they had me in their clutches, and, for the time being, I seemed to be helpless. There was sitting in the bar-room, at that late hour, a man who was troubled

with asthma, or phthisic. He was sitting up to rest, because he could not well lie down. Seeing him there, and noticing that he appeared to be a man of character and respectability, I made my appeal to him. I said, in substance, "These men have arrested me on pretence of debt, and propose to hurry me away at once to Tolland jail. The claim on which they arrest me is an old affair, and is all settled. I have a receipt for it among my papers at home. But that cannot avail me here. It is not that for which they have arrested me. I understand well their motives. My name is Samuel D. Greene. I am an anti-mason. I am lecturing on that subject. I was a member of the same lodge with Morgan, and knew all the arts and devices by which they took him away and murdered him. These men have arrested me because they are Masons, and I am exposing Masonry. If they take me away to-night, I have reason to fear that they mean violence. I therefore make my appeal to you. If you suffer me to be taken away without giving any alarm, and if violence comes to me in consequence, my blood will be required at your hands."

The man spoke up, and said, "My name is Hazel Gott, and I suppose I am worth thirty thousand

dollars. Mr. Taintor, this is aailable offence — is it not?”

“Yes,” said Mr. T., “but you would not give bail for such a miserable wretch as he is — would you? He is about disturbing society, and stirring up strife continually.”

“Yes, I will give bail for him,” said Mr. Gott. “How much is the bail?”

The bail was fixed at three hundred dollars. Mr. Gott promptly recognized for me to that amount, and when he had done so, generously said to me,—

“Now, Mr. Greene, go your way, and keep on with your work. You need not trouble yourself, or give a second thought to that three hundred dollars.”*

I thanked him for his great kindness, but intimated that I should not cause the bail to be forfeited, but should appear in due time at the court in Tolland, and answer to the charge. By the terms of the bail I was called to appear in December following; but afterwards, in consideration of the fact that my residence was out of the state, the

* I ought to add here as the sequel of this story, that Mr. Gott, though an utter stranger to me until that night, was afterwards one of my truest friends. He sent me, by letter, twenty dollars, to help me on in my defence.

time was extended, as was required by law, until March, 1830.

When the time came for the session of the court in March, I appeared at Tolland, and gave myself up to the proper authorities, and was locked up in jail to await the coming on of the case. During the first night I was in jail, the wife of the jailer came into the prison, and spoke to me in a low voice, through the grate, asking if my name was Greene, and then telling me that they were plotting to take me out of prison and carry me off. When this intelligence reached me, it was so much like Western New York, four years before, that I could not fail to understand the meaning of the transaction. Through her I had intelligence at once conveyed to Elisha Stearns, Esq., my lawyer, living in Tolland, to come and take me out of jail on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Accordingly, he came, and in the early morning I was taken out of jail.

I was prepared to make a legal defence against the claim brought against me on the writ by which I was first arrested; but so decidedly illegal and disorderly had the whole proceeding been, and so evident was it that the affair was merely a masonic persecution, that my counsel thought best to put

in a plea of abatement. The forms and documents used against me were vitally deficient.

To show how this had come about, it is necessary to go back a little and explain. This suit was begun by Benjamin Salsbury, of Stafford, Ct. A note, which I had given many years before, in 1816, in Pembroke, N. Y., had come into the hands of Salsbury through his wife. The note was for thirty-eight dollars, and had been settled. I had the receipt for it; but somehow the note had been overlooked, and had not been given up or destroyed. Salsbury expected to find me at New London, where he knew I had an appointment to speak. Accordingly, he went to New London, and had the writ drawn there, and directed to the sheriff of New London County. Then he heard that I had turned off to Hebron, and was not coming to New London directly from Norwich, as he had supposed. Not wishing to lose time, and being eagerly bent on working out his masonic hatred, he came up to overtake me at Hebron. The town of Hebron is in Tolland County, and the sheriff of New London could not execute the writ. So Mr. Salsbury stops at Colchester, the neighboring town to Hebron, and gets A. D. Scovil, Esq. to empower Newell Taintor to make the arrest.

Here was the fatal defect in the writ. In this transfer of authority none of the rules had been observed which were required, in such cases, by the laws of Connecticut. We need not attempt to specify all the points wherein the papers were deficient. But they were openly and obviously so to every legal mind. They had been prepared not with legal calmness, but in the hurry of masonic hatred, which could not wait to comply with little forms. My counsel, therefore, moved a plea of abatement. Something like this result was a kind of legal necessity from the premises. Yet, notwithstanding these fatal defects, so strong was the masonic zeal animating the lawyers on the other side, the judges, &c., that there was still a manifest disposition to press on with the case. My lawyer, seeing the tendencies, thought the safest way, therefore, was to move that the case be erased from the docket; for, in truth, there was no case. The writ had not been served (in the technical sense).

Even in this state of things, one of the lawyers on the other side had the audacity to move that I should be called, and should be defaulted. When my lawyer saw what Masonry would dare to attempt to do in a court of justice,—for he had never

before so clearly discovered its character,—he rose and said with earnestness, “What! oblige us to answer or be defaulted, and have judgment rendered against us without any precept (or writ), and when we have a just legal defence, too! Render judgment upon your peril.”

The court could not have the face to go farther in this direction, and the case was quashed. Then came the time for the other side to look after its interests. Those concerned in the case wished to come to a settlement with me. I had it in my power to make them suffer; that is, if justice could be obtained through the courts, which was doubtful. However, not being disposed to render evil for evil, I made a settlement with the parties, and the following is the receipt, word for word, which I gave on that occasion:—

“Received of Benjamin Salsbury, Jr., Newell Taintor, Amherst D. Scovil, Esq., and Ephraim Hyde, by the hand of the said Benjamin Salsbury, Jr., sixty-nine dollars and fifty cents; and in consideration thereof, I do hereby release and discharge them, and either of them, and all others acting by or under the direction and authority of them or any of them, from all manner of action or

actions, cause or causes of action, claim or claims, and demands, which I ever had or now have against them or either of them, or against any other person or persons acting for and in their behalf, or under their authority, or either of them, for any assault and battery and false imprisonment committed on me by them or either of them, or by any other person or persons acting in their behalf or under their direction or authority, or either of them, up to this date. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Tolland, this twenty-seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty.

SAML. D. GREENE.

SEAL.

Attest, { ELISHA STEARNS,
 { AHOLIAB JOHNSON."

I was employed in those years, not only as a lecturer, but also as an editor and publisher. In 1827 I had charge of the Masonic Investigator, published at Batavia, and which continued for some years, until the masonic trials were ended. In this paper was gathered up almost all the anti-masonic literature of those early years.

In 1830 I took charge of the Anti-Masonic Christian Herald, in the city of Boston. This

paper was designed to be a religious newspaper, with a special guardianship and support of the anti-masonic cause. I kept my connection with this paper until 1835. One of my sons, who was very young then, but who served as a carrier to deliver the papers to subscribers in one section of the city limits, remembers to this day how full-grown men used to send their provoking remarks at him; and some of them forbade their children to play with him, because his father edited and delivered an anti-masonic paper.

As already stated, many other facts might be given illustrating the hostility which I everywhere encountered among those who still held fast to the masonic institution; but I will not prolong the narrative by their recital. A man in my position during those years need not be surprised, when he undertook to lecture against Masonry, to find himself in the midst of a mob, and to receive a salute of eggs, brickbats, and other convenient missiles.

However, the work went on gloriously in spite of all opposition.* There was a great satisfaction in helping forward the movement. The anti-ma-

* Appendix II.

sonic cause gained ground with rapid strides. There was an uprising of the people against the haughty assumptions of Masonry, such as was no longer to be trifled with. It was a question of mighty import, whether a free people was to be ruled by a set of Freemasons working in the dark, — concocting their schemes in the seclusion of the lodge-room, — whether “justice was to be turned away backward” by the arts and contrivances of a set of men who were bound together by secret oaths of the most impious and shameful character. The work went on, year after year, until Masonry was an utterly dishonored institution in this free land. The great body of those who had taken its oaths had either publicly seceded, or had ceased to attend upon its meetings. States came forward and passed laws forbidding extrajudicial oaths. The charters of the lodges, in a majority of cases, were returned, and the lodges utterly broken up. Not many years ago, in the State of Massachusetts, only five masonic lodges remained out of some five hundred. The institution was believed to be dying, and as far as any outside influence was concerned, was practically dead.

But of late years Masonry is growing again, and that rapidly. During the fierce anti-slavery ex-

citement through which the land has been passing, the dishonored institution again saw its chance to rise and spread. The public mind had become thoroughly absorbed with other interests. Masonry embraced its opportunity. Little by little it has been fortifying itself in the dark, gathering in its numbers, until, now and then, it makes some outward demonstration calculated to impress the world with its great strength. A day like that we had in Boston, a few years ago, when the new Masonic Temple was finished and dedicated, and when President Johnson was invited on from Washington to *grace* (?) the occasion with his august presence, was fitted to make men thoughtful with reference to the growing power of this institution. Masonry showed a great procession on that day. The sight was anything but pleasing to one who remembers the past, and who knows the mischievous and corrupting power of the order.

But for all this, Masonry is not yet back again where it was in 1826. As compared with her presence and influence then, she is even now a dishonored institution. The class of men who were then prominent in her councils are no longer in her councils at all, and cannot be drawn there at present. They are shy of all approaches looking

to such a connection. The history of Masonry, in this respect, has been a little like the history of intemperance. The drinking habits of society, as they were forty years ago, have been dishonored and abolished. There is plenty of hard drinking now; perhaps it is on the increase. There are multitudes of men in our cities and towns who call themselves very respectable, and who use wine and strong drink freely themselves, and offer it to their guests. But the great body of truly religious and strictly moral people, throughout the land, do not do this, though they once did it. It may be possible to prove that there is more spirit used now than there was forty years ago; but it is not possible to prove that drinking is as reputable now as it was forty years ago, or that the same classes of people give themselves up to it.

So with Masonry. The institution is not yet reinstated. It does not hold its old place in the public estimation. Formerly Masonry drew its active supporters from the ministers, deacons, and members of every denomination of Christians. Now it is comparatively rare to find church members, and especially ministers of certain of our religious denominations, in its ranks. We do not know precisely how the case stands in the Con-

gregational churches, but of the more than three thousand ministers of that order in the land, we will venture the guess, that not so many as one in a hundred is a Mason.

There is one large and growing denomination of Christians in this country where we are sorry to see a different tendency prevailing. We hear it said that the ministers of this denomination, in large numbers, have connected themselves with masonic lodges within a few years. Their initiatory fees are paid by others, as an inducement for them to come in. After all the light which has been shed on Masonry in these latter days, and when one considers how all sacred and divine things are turned to sport in the masonic literature, how any minister of the gospel can think himself in the way of duty by confabulating with Masons is more than we can understand. We believe the plea commonly urged is, that it will give them greater facilities for usefulness. But this is "going down into Egypt for help" with a vengeance. We should as soon think of joining some *drinking club*, in order to gain the means of preaching the gospel more effectually, as to join with the Masons. It is very certain that no denomination of Christians can stand the moral influ-

ence of such a connection a great while, without the most serious inroads upon its piety.

Masonry is not back where it was in 1826, but it is gaining strength in a way that is alarming. The foundations of great public structures have to be laid "with imposing masonic ceremonies," and in numerous ways it is manifest that the institution is on the watch to extend itself on every side.

I am an old man, and I shall soon be gone. But I leave it as my last injunction to my countrymen, that they watch this institution with a jealous eye. It is an old enemy to their liberties. It has no thought of the *general good*. It is not founded and worked upon any such idea. It is built upon the principle of tyranny in all ages, "*the good of the few at the expense of the many.*" Whenever and wherever Masonry is asserting her claims, and pushing herself forward, one may be perfectly sure that such are her secret purposes and aims.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE way in which a man was enticed into the embraces of Masonry, in old times, and before public attention had been called to the moral character of the institution, is very finely described by Bernard in the introduction to his book, "Light on Masonry." We have copied some sentences of it before, but we here give the passage not only to illustrate this point, but also as a most graphic picture of what was going on in all the surrounding lodges at the time of the Morgan abduction.

"Soon after I commenced the service of Christ, Freemasonry was commended to my attention as an institution from heaven — moral, benevolent, of great antiquity, the twin sister of Christianity, possessing the patronage of the wise, the great, and the good, and highly important to the ministers of the Lord Jesus. Wishing to avail myself of every auxiliary in promot-

ing the glory of God and the happiness of my fellow-men, I readily received the three first degrees. My disappointment none can know but those who have, in similar circumstances, been led in the same path of folly and sin. I silently retired from the institution, and for three years was hardly known as a Mason. I was not, however, without my reflections on the subject. I considered what I had taken as frivolous and wicked, but was unwilling to believe that there existed no substantial good in the order; and this idea was strengthened by the fact that many of my friends of a higher grade in Masonry taught me, that what I had received was not the 'magnum bonum' of the institution, but that this was yet to be obtained. Not being able to advocate its cause from the knowledge I had derived of its principles, and supposing that the obligations I had received were morally binding, I could not say 'pro nor con' concerning it, without a violation of my conscience. With these views I embraced an offer to advance into the higher orders of mysticism, and reached forward to attain the desired end. In the reception of the chapteral degrees my embarrassment increased.

"When I came to the oath of a Royal Arch Mason, which obligates to deliver a companion, '*right or wrong*,' I made a full stop, and objected to proceeding. I was then assured, in the most positive terms, that all would, in the end, be explained to my full satisfaction. But no such explanation took place. Thought I, is this Freemasonry? Is this the ancient and honorable institution patronized by thousands of the great and good? Upon my suggesting some queries to a masonic friend, he gravely informed me that

the first seven degrees were founded on the Old Testament, and were but a shadow of good things to come; that if I wished to arrive at *perfection*, I must proceed to the sublime and ineffable degrees. These assurances, the awful oaths I had taken, with their penalties, and the vengeance of this most powerful institution, combined to deter me from renouncing it as evil. After much deliberation, hoping to find something in the higher orders to redeem the character of the institution in my estimation, I entered the lodge of Perfection, and took the ineffable degrees.

“About this time I learned that Morgan was writing Masonry for publication. My informer was *then* a Baptist minister, in high standing, and a Royal Arch Mason. He remarked that Morgan’s writing Masonry was the greatest piece of depravity he ever knew; that some measures must be taken to stop it; that he would be one of a number to put him out of the way; that God looked upon the institution with so much complacency, he would never bring the perpetrators to light; that there had already been two meetings on the subject; and that he expected there would be another on that day; and finally attempted to justify his murder from Masonry and the word of God.

“This conversation took place in Covington (where I then lived), five weeks before Morgan was murdered; and I should at this early period have informed him of his danger, had I not understood that he was on his guard, and prepared for a defence.

“The next week I left home for my health, and was absent some weeks. I returned on the 16th of September, and soon learned that Morgan was kidnapped, and probably murdered. I conversed with Masons on

the subject, and they *justified both his abduction and murder!* . . . A meeting of the lodge in Covington was soon called, the object of which was to concert measures for an agreement, among the fraternity, in what they should say in relation to the outrages, and to attend to members who were disaffected with their proceedings. I attended for the purpose of freeing my mind. When the lodge was duly opened and the subject introduced, I arose, and in the most decisive manner disapproved the conduct of the fraternity in their violation of civil and moral law. The meeting was long and *horribly* interesting. The true spirit of the institution was peculiarly manifest, especially towards me. . . . The murder of Morgan was justified, and everything said that was calculated to harrow up the feelings of a patriot or Christian. Elder A., a Knight Templar, being present, boldly asserted that if he should see any man writing Masonry, he should consider it his duty to take measures to stop him; that as cities and churches had their laws, with a right to inflict their penalties, so Masons had their laws, with the right to inflict the penalties to them; and that the *lodge* was the place to try a Mason; that if Morgan had been writing Masonry, and his throat was cut from ear to ear, his tongue torn out by the roots, and his body buried beneath the rough sands of the sea, at low-water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours, he could not complain in not having justice done him. Amen, amen, amen, was the audible response around the room.

“At the next meeting of the lodge, by request of the Master, I attended. Here a scene passed which language cannot describe. Several hours were em-

ployed in abusing and making charges against me, the principal of which were, I had spoken against the institution. Many questions were asked and insults offered me. I told them frankly I had spoken against the principles of the order; that the right of opinion, the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, were privileges given to me by God; purchased by the blood of my fathers; that I had inhaled them with my first breath, and I would only lose them with my last; that if they could remove my objections to the institution, which I then exhibited, well — if not, they could expel me; but if they proceeded to further abuses, they must suffer the consequences. My objections were not removed, and I requested permission to withdraw. Soon after I left them, they expelled and immediately commenced a most wicked persecution against me. The *professed* ministers of Christ, infidels, and drunkards, from Buffalo to Albany, were united to destroy my character. I was admonished by oral and epistolary communications to be on my guard, to carry arms; and so great was my personal danger, that my friends would not suffer me to ride alone from one town to another. In short, they opposed my interest, deranged my business, pointed me out as an unworthy and vicious vagabond, an object of contempt, and transferred *this* character after me; and it would seem that they intended to do it during my natural life. The united efforts of the fraternity to injure me have, however, proved unavailing.”

B.

HOW OLD IS MASONRY?

WE have made frequent reference in the body of our narrative to the claims of Masonry to a vast antiquity. John the Baptist, Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, and even Enoch, and the early patriarchs of the world, are made to figure. In the *American Anti-masonic and Biblical Review* (May, 1868), published in Newbern, N. C., Rev. J. C. Bigham, in an article entitled Masonic Tradition, goes over the ground of these mighty pretensions. Some of the time he used Webb's Freemason Monitor, which was first published in 1796, and is still regarded as a standard work among Masons. He first quotes from the Monitor as follows:—

“In the instruction given in the second degree, the creation of the world is described, and many particulars recited, all of which have been carefully preserved among Masons, and transmitted from one age to another by oral tradition.”

We copy also from his article the following precious tidbit of history:—

“Masonry appears to have found great difficulty in crossing the flood. Noah and his sons were not initi-

ated, and the ineffable secrets could not be intrusted to their care. To meet this emergency, says the Monitor in the history of the 'ninth arch' degree, Enoch built a temple under ground, according to a pattern given him from heaven, which was also the original pattern of Solomon's temple, containing nine arches, one above another. He then caused a triangular plate of gold to be made, each side of which was a cubit long, enriched it with the most precious stones, and engraved upon it the ineffable characters, including the sacred name of God, which none but Masons knew, and deposited it in the deepest arch. He made a door of stone and put a ring of iron therein, by which it might be raised, and placed it over the opening of the upper arch, that the matters enclosed therein might be preserved from the impending destruction. He then built two great pillars, the one of brass, to withstand water, and the other of marble to withstand fire, and engraved on the marble pillar hieroglyphics, signifying that there was a most precious treasure concealed in the arches under ground, and on the pillar of brass the principles of the liberal arts, particularly of Masonry.

. . . Here this precious piece of tradition closes in the copy of the Monitor before me of the edition of 1864. Stearns, in his letters on Masonry, quotes the remainder of the story from an edition of the same work published in 1802. It is as follows: 'Fourteen hundred years afterwards, when Solomon was about to build the temple, his workmen, in digging for a foundation, discovered the ruins of an ancient edifice: he therefore declined to build upon that spot. Some days after this, he sent three master architects to make further search among the ancient mines. One of them,

in working in the rubbish with his pickaxe, found an iron ring, fixed in a large, square stone. With much difficulty they raised the stone, when the mouth of a deep and dismal cavern appeared. This proved to be the first arch of Enoch's temple. One of the men descended into the ninth arch, and there discovered the triangular plate of gold, richly adorned with precious stones, just as Enoch had left it. There was the sacred ineffable name of God, which, during all that time had been unknown, and even yet is known only to Masons. This wonderful prize was taken up and presented to Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, who, on beholding it, were struck with amazement. They afterwards examined the sacred characters with attention, and Solomon declared that 'God had bestowed upon them a particular favor in having permitted them to discover the most precious jewels of Masonry.' With all haste, Solomon proceeds to reorganize the long-suspended institution."

Thus it will be seen that Masonry had rather a tough passage from the antediluvian days on to the time of Solomon; but when we reach the age of the building of the temple, according to masonic literature, all is plain sailing. In the fifth chapter of the First Book of Kings, we are told that "Solomon had threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains; besides the chief of Solomon's officers which were over the work, three thousand and three hundred, which ruled over the people

that wrought in the work." All this force the Monitor at once appropriates for Masonry, and describes it as follows:—

“There were employed in building the temple three grand masters, three thousand and three hundred masters, eighty thousand fellow-crafts, and seventy thousand entered apprentices, or bearers of burdens.”

Masonry revels in Solomon's temple. History no farther back than that—only about three thousand years ago—is quite modern to an institution of such tremendous antiquity. Masonry is perfectly at home here, even in the “most holy place.” Coarse and red-nosed fellows of this nineteenth century talk about Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, as if they were old cronies of theirs, with whom they used to go to school, and sit on the same bench.

Of course, an institution that sweeps over ancient times so easily, taking in the antediluvian world, and the age of Solomon, need make slight pause at John the Baptist, and all the ages of chivalry. St. John the Baptist's day—the 24th of June—is a great day with the Masons. What precisely he did on that day, we do not clearly understand, whether he ate “locusts and wild honey” in larger measure than usual, or whether

he had his head cut off to please Herodias. But it is not to be doubted that he did something remarkable on the 24th of June, old style, and that the Masons are the people who own John the Baptist, and have the right to celebrate the day called after his name.

We have no idea, of course, that the better informed among the Masons believe these great swelling words. They repeat these legends just as children tell over, from generation to generation, the wonders of Mother Goose, — how

“There was an old woman tossed up in a blanket,
Seventy times as high as the moon,”

with all the rest of the marvellous tales about “Old Mother Hubbard,” and “There was a man in our town,” &c., &c. But many of the weaker brethren do actually believe these stories about Solomon, Hiram, John the Baptist, and the like. They are really carried away with the idea that they belong to a community of the utmost respectability, and of the most immemorial antiquity.

Now, as a simple matter of fact, Freemasonry is of quite modern origin, only reaching back into the earlier part of the last century. Our own Benjamin Franklin was born in the city of Boston,

several years before this institution had any existence in the world. Its history is easily traced. The year and day of its origin are known. It began in the city of London on the 24th of June, 1717.

For two or three centuries before this date, there had existed in England societies representing different trades and professions. In all, there were more than ninety of these unions, composed of men of the various trades and handicrafts, the stone masons among the rest. These men met professedly to improve themselves in their employments, to secure themselves against frauds and impositions, and to gratify their social natures. Sometimes they were secretly at war with government, and attempts were made to suppress them. But none of these organizations had the name or the marks of Freemasonry up to the date given above — 1717.

In 1666, it will be remembered, occurred the great fire of London, by which so large a part of the city was burned to the ground. After this, as was natural, the trades, and especially the masons, grew to an unusual importance. Various companies of these masons had been associated in rebuilding the great structures of London. These com-

panies had their separate halls, or places of meeting, their separate charity funds, &c. Time passed on, and these societies had come into rather a low condition morally. They were more convivial than useful. At length, in 1717, on the 24th of June, four companies of these stone masons met at the Appletree Tavern, in London, and agreed to give up their separate organizations, to throw by their working tools, and combine themselves into a new order. This was the beginning of speculative Freemasonry. The leading men in this movement were worthless and abandoned. They had sunk down into a kind of idle and corrupt state, were reckless and dissatisfied, and desired to organize themselves into some society which should give exercise and play to their morbid passions.

Three years after, in 1720, they burned all their papers, so that the origin of the society might, if possible, be shrouded in mystery. But the whole affair lies so near our time, and within the era of well-attested history, that this beginning could not be concealed. In 1723 came out what is called the Book of the Constitutions of Masonry. In this book we have the lofty claims and pretensions of Masonry, set forth in that bold and lying

spirit which has been current ever since. If his satanic majesty himself had undertaken to give the history of Masonry in this world, he could not possibly have mingled more falsehood with the narrative than is found in all our masonic historical literature. A society can hardly hope to impress the world with its moral excellence when it is so rotten and false in its very foundations. Nothing which is intrinsically good could ever dare, even in sport, to iterate and reiterate such unfathomable lies about its own nativity. Mr. Henry Dana Ward, in his brief History of Freemasonry, says,—

“From the time of its birth, the lying wonder began to run to and fro in the earth wherever British commerce could convey it; and charters for holding masonic lodges were everywhere sold at a cash price, and an annual stipend by the Grand Lodge of London. To that grand lodge the inhabitants of most parts of continental Europe, of the East and West Indies, of Africa, and of America, paid an annual tribute for the right to confer the three degrees of *Morgan's* Masonry. . . . A. D. 1729 Freemasonry was first introduced into the East Indies; 1730, the Grand Lodge of Ireland was formed; 1731, a patent was sent from England to erect a lodge at the Hague; 1733, Freemasonry established itself in North America, at Boston.”

The more intelligent and sensible Masons are now abandoning this claim to an immense antiqui-

ty. Rev. Mr. Studley, in his address in 1867, at the time of the great masonic gathering in Boston, said, —

“It is not a pleasant task to disturb the complacency of men who are determined to enroll Nimrod, and Moses, and Solomon, and the King of Tyre, and his namesake, the widow’s son, among the actual past members of our order; but I am constrained to believe that those distinguished men were not Freemasons, except in the Pickwickian intimations of our ritual.”

While Mr. Studley might not agree with us in reference to the exact year when speculative Masonry began, yet he concedes all that we desire to claim, viz., that speculative Freemasonry is something of comparatively modern origin.

C.

WE have given the account of what took place in Batavia on that memorable Tuesday, the 11th of September, 1826, from our own stand-point of knowledge and observation. But it may interest the reader to go over the same ground again, rapidly, from the stand-point of Mr. Miller's experience and observation. The following is the testimony which he gave before the Genesec Court of Oyer and Terminer, some weeks after, when French, the constable, and some of his associates were indicted for riot.

“David C. Miller sworn. Between the hours of twelve and one o'clock of the 12th of September last, witness heard a voice at his door, demanding admittance; the door was opened, when Jesse French seized him, as he said, by virtue of criminal process, roughly; was ordered to speak to no person, and told no person had a right to speak to him. Was taken into a back room of Danolds's, put under a guard of two persons armed with clubs, and detained one or two hours; requested to see the precept (or warrant); was told he had no business to see it. Then asked what magistrate issued it; was told it was none of his business. French professes to be an officer. These requests repeated,

but conduct of officer continued perverse, austere, and threatening. Witness demanded what crime he was seized for? answered, he would see. Was at length ordered into a wagon with nine persons, of whom Wilcox was one. All had clubs, as witness thinks. In this manner proceeded to Stafford, six miles, towards Le Roy. Some persons were before on horseback. Stopped at Prindle's inn; was ordered to go into an upper room of a stone building, and taken there. Near by witness requested to go into a room in the tavern; was denied. In the room in the stone house, the guard was increased, armed as before; thinks Hurlburt was one of the guard; Wilcox was one. Was detained there some time; repeatedly urged to be taken to the magistrate, having by this time incidentally learned that he was at Le Roy; was repulsed. At length orders were given by French to take witness into the street. On arriving at the street, was ordered into a wagon, one guard being on each side of him, as was uniformly the case when he went out. Wilcox and Hurlburt guarded him principally at Stafford, with new hickory or oak clubs, appeared to be cut from hoop-poles; were from three to three and a half feet long, and about an inch and a half in diameter; from forty to sixty were mostly armed in this manner; some might have left them. Was not in fear; while in the lodge-room at Stafford, was told by a stranger in the presence of Hurlburt, Wilcox, and some others, 'You are not going to Le Roy; you are not to be tried at Le Roy; you are not to be tried by an ordinary tribunal; you are going where Morgan has gone.' Witness then asked, 'Where is Morgan?' the answer was, 'You will see.' Witness first thought the object of his arrest was to ransack his

office, but, from the transactions at Stafford, became satisfied that they intended to put him out of the way, as a prisoner or otherwise. Remained a few minutes in the wagon, say eight or ten; was then ordered out to return to the lodge-room; witness peremptorily refused. Wilcox then had him by the arm, and he thinks Hurlburt; they insisted on his going back; some person, at all events, had hold of his arm on the other side. Some of witness's friends had arrived by this time; got into the wagon again with the usual guard. Remained a few minutes, and was ordered out again by French. Remained out a few minutes, and ordered in again; remained a few minutes, saw they were not going on, requested to get out, and was allowed to, guarded as before. Again went into the wagon, at the instance of Mr. Talbot; after some minutes the wagon was ordered to pass over the bridge to the next tavern; then ordered to halt for supper. During all this time, however, Mr. Talbot, his counsel, was urging French to go on and do his duty by taking witness to the magistrate.

“On the wagon going to the other tavern, and before witness had got out, Talbot came up and told witness to get out and go home, and let him see who dared detain him, saying he was satisfied they did not intend to take witness to the magistrate. Expressed his surprise, and remonstrated repeatedly. Witness accordingly got out and moved towards home, got beyond the tavern where they first stopped, Wilcox and Hurlburt by his side; after having passed the first tavern a little, French pursued on, and there overtook and rescued him; was then returned to the crowd, and a warm conversation ensued between French and Tal-

bot; several others made remarks. Talbot again demanded the motive of the process (having repeatedly requested it before). French said it was trespass on the case. This was the first time he would consent to give the character of the process. Bail was then offered; witness then said he would ride with his friends in their carriage; that he, French, might have as many guards as he chose. Had got into their carriage. French attempted to get him out; did not succeed. Heard James Ganson say, 'Miller must not go or ride in that carriage.' Witness's counsel then advised him to get out and walk on towards Le Roy; he did so, followed by a numerous retinue, some in wagons, and some on horseback, and Hurlburt and Wilcox at his side, as he thinks, though his keepers were sometimes changed. Passed about three quarters of a mile in this way, when he was ordered to get into another carriage with a very fleet span of horses. The whole cavalcade then moved on at a rapid pace; French sometimes in front, sometimes in rear. Seemed under the influence of strong feelings and uncommon ones. Proceeded with considerable noise to Le Roy. On arriving at Hall's tavern, at Le Roy, all got out, and witness started immediately for the magistrate; was seized by French, and told he could not go; he must go in there. A considerable collection of persons gathered about him, a majority of whom witness took to be friendly. French, after several attempts to get him into the house, left him; this was about sunset, as witness thinks; at length was taken by the arm by witness, and told he was going to carry him to the magistrate; the crowd crowded them along towards his office; they arrived there, when French again put witness under

the keeping of Hurlburt and Wilcox, and disappeared himself. He was, after some time, called for, and sought after, but could not be found. The magistrate, Mr. Barton, was asked how long he would detain him; replied, 'Only a reasonable time.' After some little time Barton remarked they did not seem intending to appear, and he could then be discharged. Talbot replied, 'they did not wish to be hasty.' Witness was discharged. On returning, and nearly opposite Hall's, was seized again by French. Witness proposed passing Hall's and going to Walbridge's, a little distance beyond. French seized witness violently behind, and hallooed a *rescue*. Witness's friends parted him from French. French seized him in this manner three times. Witness was rescued. At Walbridge's French arrested him again on a new warrant, issued by Esquire Skinner. Witness's friends saved him from arrest again, put him into a carriage, and he came home. It was after dark before he left Justice Barton's. Thinks it was as late as eight or nine when he was arrested the last time by French, at Walbridge's."

A few weeks later, Mr. Miller was requested to furnish for publication a more detailed account of what he passed through during that memorable week of the abduction of Morgan. From this account we take some further extracts, beginning with the attempt to burn his offices on Sunday night, September 10.

"Between the hours of two and three o'clock on the morning of the 10th, I was alarmed by the cry of

‘Fire!’ My windows being closed, and a lighted candle in my room, prevented me from discovering its nearness. I awoke Captain Davids, who was asleep in an adjoining bed, and informed him of the alarm, and immediately repaired to the west window of my room, which overlooked the adjoining building, in which was my newspaper office, distant about fifteen feet, the width of the alley, and saw that the fire was communicated to that building, under the flight of stairs which led to the upper room by an outward passage. This discovery, and the dashing of water upon the fire by a person who had been roused by the alarm, were almost simultaneous. At this point of time, my companion was in the act of unbarring the outer door. I requested him to desist—the advice that I had received within the preceding six or eight hours, from a man of deep and thorough penetration, not, in any event, to unbar my door at the dead hour of night, flashing across my recollection. ‘No means,’ said he, ‘will be left untried, and no trick unresorted to, to gain access to your room and papers. Be prepared for all sorts of alarms, and guard against the most cunning stratagems.’

He here refers to the advice which I myself had sent him, through Harris, as detailed in the body of the narrative.

“In the morning I found that the fire had been communicated to the building I was in, as well as to the one adjoining. The intention of the incendiary was, to make thorough work, if we may judge of the com-

bustible materials used. Straw, spirits of turpentine, cotton wicking wound round and impregnated with pitch, was the fuel for the quickening flame. That Providence 'which compasseth all things' is visible in this transaction. Its shield was thrown over us. Two strangers, residents in an adjoining county, whose business brought them to this place at an hour when the public houses were closed, gave the alarm, and hailed the incendiary, who dropped his dark lantern, and fled."

Then follows the general account of what took place on the morning of the 11th, pertaining to the abduction of Morgan. The narrative with regard to himself then goes on.

"The 12th of September opens a scene in which I was compelled to be somewhat conspicuous. At the hour of ten in the forenoon, I received a note, couched, as nearly as can be recollected, in the following language: 'Be on your guard! Between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, at the ringing of the bell, your offices are to be destroyed. The party will consolidate their forces under a hill east of the village, and will approach in solid column.'"

This also was the message which I had sent through Harris:—

"From the presumed source of this information I gave full credit to its contents, and immediately commenced writing a handbill, warning the public of the threatened danger, and put the manuscript into the

hands of the compositor, to be printed and circulated ; but I was dissuaded from this by some of our citizens of the first respectability, alleging, as they did, their disbelief that so daring an outrage could for a moment be harbored in the bosoms of free American citizens, and at the same time naming the effort that Masons had made to impress the belief that I, or some of my friends, had, the morning before, set fire."

D.

ANTI-MASONIC POETRY.

No great excitement can spread and prevail among a free and educated people, which does not soon show itself in song. We have given a part of the famous "Hoop-pole Song," which was quite popular in the time of it, and did its work among the people. But our readers may like to see other specimens which were called out by the prevailing excitement.

To understand the following, and as an illustration of the kind of intellectual food upon which Masons feed, it must be borne in mind that Jubela, Jubelo, and Jubelum are the three atrocious villains who murdered Hiram Abiff, Grand Master of the lodge at Jerusalem, because he would not tell them a wonderful word which was the Master Mason's word. He, faithful fellow that he was, wouldn't do any such thing, but preferred to die first. Accordingly he did die, and with him, as was long supposed, died that wonderful word which he would not tell. But after four hundred and seven-

ty years, by some wonderful interposition of Providence, that marvellous word was re-discovered. However, the word *Mah-hah-bone* had been, in the mean time, substituted for it, and so it was thought best to continue this latter word, as is done down to the present ages.

But after the murder of Hiram Abiff, King Solomon at once sent out twelve men,—three east, three west, three north, and three south,—to hunt up the murderers. They were found at last, by the hearing of their voices issuing from a deep cavern in the depths of the earth, each one wishing that he had already received upon his person the horrible punishments, in such cases made and provided. This shows a very active state of conscience on their part. Each one of them claimed to be a great deal more guilty than the others, and the messengers of Solomon gratified them by taking them back to Jerusalem, and putting them to death after the most approved masonic fashion. And this was the tragic end of “Jubela, and Jubelo, and also Jubelum.”

"A MASONIC LAMENTUM.

To the tune of—

"One morning very early,
One morning in the spring,
I heard a maid in Bedlam," &c.

'One night, at a late hour, 'twas twelve o'clock or more,
I heard the Masons in a lodge most violently roar;
Their playthings round they rattled, and one thus sighing said,
'Our *craft*, it is in danger, I am very much afraid.'

CHORUS.

"O, Jubela! and Jubelo! and also Jubelum!
We're in a peck of troubles now, the times are troublesome;
Half-naked we must wander, *slipshod* forever go,
Or each true Mason hang himself in his own *cabl-tow*.

"Farewell to brother *Boaz*, farewell to *Jachin*, too,
Our *grips* and *words* are all exposed; O, what shall Masons do?
Poor *Tubal-Cain* and *Shibboleth*! their days are almost done,
And, O! the hardest cut of all, is loss of *Mah-hah-bone*!
O, Jubela, &c.

"E'en *Chibbelum*, the worthy! must vanish with the rest,
And the five points of fellowship become an idle jest;
No more we'll raise up Hiram, the widow's cunning son;
Alas, my loving brothers, our craft is near undone!
O, Jubela, &c.

"O, strike your throats with *gauges*, and beat your hearts with
squares,
And with *gavels* thump your pates, till you drive out all your
cares;
Our noble *Master* battered was, nor mysteries would unfold,
But we live on so abject when every secret's told.
O, Jubela, &c.

“ Let each one give the signal of trouble and of pain,
 For very much 'tis doubted if here we meet again ;
 We'll doff our *sheepskin aprons*, and fit them for our pates,
 To turn us into plummet, lo ! Justice ready waits.

CHORUS.

“ O, *Jubela !* and *Jubelo !* and also *Jubelum !*
 We're in a peck of troubles now, the times are troublesome ;
Half-naked we must wander, *slipshod* forever go,
 Or each true Mason hang himself in his own *cabl-tow*.”

The following has less genius, perhaps, but is well suited to its purpose :—

“ SONG.

*Death and burial of the old offender, commonly called
 Freemasonry.*

TUNE.— *Funeral Dirge.*

“ Mourn, mourn ye mystic sons of woe ;
 In sadness bow the head ;
 Bend every back in sorrow low ;
 Poor Masonry is *dead !*

.

“ Clinton the great, stands snivelling by,
 His dying eyes to close,
 While Root and Bucklin heave the sigh,
 And wipe each mournful nose.

“ Alas, poor Jachin ! is it true
 That Masonry is gone
 To the dark shades, with all his crew,
 Boaz and Mah-hah-bone —

“ And signs and grips, and idle words,
 And chisels, mauls, and gauges ;

With sheepskin aprons, wooden swords,
Which we have worn for ages?

“O, must we go to that dread bourn,
With all his mystic pothering,
From whence, alas! there's no return,
Until the final gathering?

“Now, to the dark and silent tomb
With sorrow we resign him;
And with the cypress covered o'er,
To infamy consign him.

“There let him lie beneath the load
Of his own imperfection;
And, O! we pray a gracious God,
Grant him no resurrection.”

We will give one specimen more, which is a little more stately in its flow.

“Promiscuously, through every state,
There is dispersed a certain sect,
Who call themselves the Sons of Light,
But darkened is their college;
They seldom meet by light of sun,
But wait until his beams are gone,
And shades of night are stretched along,
To hide their boasted knowledge.

“They vaunt, and say, ‘Our craft begun
In reign of wise King Solomon,
When Hiram there, the widow's son,
First built the brazen altar.’
They pass between Jachin and Boaz,
Stripped off is every rag of clothes,
Nor boot nor shoe to guard their toes,
Led by a hempen halter.

“The imprecations they invoke
Would make an Algerine half choke,
No savage e'er such language spoke,
As they have packed together;
When brought to where they see the light.
They're furnished with a *sheepskin* white,
Which round their waist is belted tight,
A simple badge of leather.

“They use no post, or beam, or stud,
No stone, nor brick, nor loaded hod,
Nor yet a single ounce of mud
Is found in all their labor;
When all is said, or learned, or done,
No architect is yet begun,
They push about the bowl of rum
Till scarcely one is sober.”

E.

Soon after the abduction of Morgan, a seceding Mason, writing in the *Le Roy Gazette*, shows the inconsistency of Masonry with a simple republican government, in the following striking manner:—

“I shall, in this number, show that the titles given to the officers in our institution have a very bad effect upon republican principles. Our ancestors, oppressed by the aristoeratical principles of Europe, having endured for a long series of years the oppression of kings, lords, and dukes, and no choice left them but slavery or flight, resolutely chose the latter; and breaking asunder the bonds which bind friends together, and suffering the hardships of a tempestuous passage, sat themselves quietly down in the savage wilds of North America. No lords or dukes, no grand high priests nor grand kings were there to extort the hard earnings of the laboring poor, bound together by mutual wants, and asking no privilege from others which they were unwilling to bestow, they here sowed the first seeds of equal rights and privileges, which have sprung up and yielded an abundant harvest; they here taught their sons to prefer death to slavery. Af-

ter the struggle of the Revolution, and no enemy near to disturb their deliberations, a government was founded on plain, simple, republican principles. No high-sounding titles found a place in the government; no high priests were exacting tithes; no grand kings, with their royal robes, were demanding the admiration of the people. All were reduced to a common level, and the man that held the highest and most enviable station mortal ever held, was styled simply President of the United States. Such was the government founded by a Washington, a Franklin, a Jefferson, and the patriots of the Revolution.

“Now let us examine our institution, and clearly ascertain whether it is founded upon as pure a basis as that of our common country. If it is as pure and well adapted to our circumstances, we had better ingraft with it our political government; if not, and if it does have a tendency to inculcate aristocratical principles, then abandon Masonry, and adhere to the government as founded by our ancestors, *for it is true, in the various requirements of life, we cannot fulfil our duty to both at the same time.* The government was founded in open day, with all the light of heaven shining upon it, its principles open and equal to all men. Masonry is the child of darkness, and nothing but secrecy can sustain it. Its principles are partial, and its ultimate aim is *the benefit of the few at the expense of the many.* All its ceremonies are anti-social and anti-republican; the titles given to its officers I do not believe are very republican. I will rehearse them, that you may at a single glance see the bearing they have on the pure republican. In the Grand Lodge they have their

Grand Lecturer,
 Grand Junior and Senior Deacons,
 Grand Master of Ceremonies,
 Grand Marshal,
 Grand Secretary,
 Grand Treasurer,
 Grand Chaplain,
 Worshipful Grand Junior and Senior Wardens,
 Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master,
 Most Worshipful Grand Master.

And in the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter there
 s an

Excellent General Grand Master,
 Excellent General Grand Chaplain,
 Excellent General Grand Treasurer,
 Excellent General Grand Secretary,
 Most Excellent General Grand Scribe,
 Most Excellent General Grand King,
 Most Excellent General Grand High Priest.

The titles in the Grand Encampment are

Worshipful Grand Sword Bearer,
 Worshipful Grand Standard Bearer,
 Worshipful Grand Marshal,
 Worshipful Grand Recorder,
 Worshipful Grand Treasurer,
 Worshipful Grand Wardens,
 Worshipful Grand Captain General,
 Worshipful Grand Generalissimo,
 Worshipful General Grand Master.

What titles the

Knights of Tutons,
Knights of Calatrava,
Knights of Aleantara,
Knights of Redemption,
Knights of Christ,
Knights of the Mother of Christ,
Knights of Lazarus,
Knights of the Star,
Knights of the Band,
Knights of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary,
Knights of St. Michael,
Knights of St. Stephen, and
Knights of the Holy Ghost,

gave to their officers, I do not know; but thus much I do know, that every officer, in the long catalogue of titles, had some emblem of royalty affixed to him. This being the case, my brethren, and it being equally true, that the great end and aim of Masonry is to create distinctions among mankind, and secure to the few the rights of the many, will any of you blindly adhere to Masonry when its comes in contact with the least of those equal laws which were secured to you by the blood of your fathers? If you will then I must bid farewell to you and Masonry."

F.

MANY years ago, when this whole subject was fresh upon my mind, I wrote out for Southwick's National Observer the story of my persecutions in a series of letters. I cannot do better than give some extracts from that account, that the reader may see exactly the course of events through which I passed.

“ Since the lodge passed censure on me for not adhering to the bloody laws, they called my conduct *unmasonic*. The main object of all their procedures seems to be, that justice may be hoodwinked, and liberty bound in chains. Means are resorted to by every cunning device, that the order may stand before the world in a fair and flourishing appearance. They have attempted to secure all the uninitiated who, in the least had any knowledge of the outrages, in their masonic shackles, and in some instances have succeeded. In the institution there are some ‘leaky vessels,’ and from such sources I know that the fraternity are admonished and enjoined to withhold intercourse and deal with all who have left them, to detect the informant, and to make no communications to the suspected brethren; evidently drawing a line between Anti-masons and themselves, emblematical of their *supposed* lordly power. But under a free government, where

we breathe (unbiassed by masonic oaths) no such air, the honest are discovering the wickedness of the craft; and when the opposers of law and religion secure one, the dear and sacred principles of liberty and law encouraged others to pursue a different course. Many of the chapters and lodges are in a tremendous quarrel, and some have voted their charters back to the mother fountain of iniquity. I say fountain of iniquity; for reason, without the aid of religion, teaches me that arson, kidnapping, and murder are crimes of the darkest dye, and the fountain which feeds them must be corrupt at its source. The lodge and chapter in this and other places *acted in concert and under the direction of the Grand Lodge of the State*, and the said Grand Lodge DID CAST LOTS *who should come out and DESPATCH MORGAN and MILLER if necessary to suppress the development of masonic secrets.* My authority is from the best sources, and is unquestionable. When the acts of the chapter and lodges were known, they refused to act as bodies on the deed of death, but frequently met in knots of eight or ten to contrive mischief, and even then admitted to their confidence none but those who had been actually engaged in the conspiracy for aiding and abetting; but so black and horrid were their plots, that among these few desperadoes several shuddered and revolted.

“I have thus far given a brief account of what actually passed at the commencement of the outrages committed on Morgan and Miller in order to suppress the publication of the secrets of Masonry. Also, the masonic punishment inflicted on me for objecting to such procedures. Were I to give a full account of all the facts in my possession relative to the case, and all

the abominable persecutions and hellish machinations against me personally (yet by them truly masonic), it would be devoting more time to the subject than I feel willing, at present, to spare.

“ S. D. GREENE.

“ BATAVIA, October 2, 1827.”

From this effort I received momentary relief. My business revived, and to appearance I was about to receive the reward of a grateful public for daring, in time of peril, to do my duty. But on the 25th of January, 1828, the *Republican Advocate*, published at Batavia, and edited by David C. Miller, inserted my letters, with these remarks : —

“ In this paper will be found the first number of Captain Greene’s letters, addressed to the editor of the *National Observer*, which will be continued from time to time, until they are all published.

“ In the development of the masonic outrages, no man has been placed in a more delicate and difficult situation than Captain Greene, and but few would have met and overcome the toils and snares of his enemies with greater facility than he has done. Surrounded by false and foul brethren in the lodge and in the church, his has been a state of the severest trials for the last fifteen months, but, single-handed, he has triumphed over the wiles of closely-combined enemies determined on his ruin. Naturally warm and ardent in his feelings, and young in the knowledge of its mysteries, he was, unasked and unsolicited, made the depository of ma-

sonic *intentions* and masonic *power*. If he shrunk from the horrid picture of meditated violence, arranged in the Grand Chapter of the State, commanding its subordinates, with fire, fagots, poison, and blood, to stop the publication of the secrets of Masonry, he did no more than any honest man should have done. But when he dared to give *warning* of danger to the victims of masonic wrath and power, he showed that he not only *felt* but *dared* to act.

“In proportion to the value placed upon property and life, the public are indebted to Captain Greene. But for his timely caution our dwellings would have been wrapped in flames, and our streets drenched with blood. It was *this* that called upon his devoted head the anathemas and continued curses of such men as Doctor Dibble (sometimes called Deacon Dibble, and by the *very* irreverent, Deacon Devil).* It was this deacon that took him to task, and put him through a severe masonic drill, when he discovered that he recoiled from the view of arson and murder; it was *this* deacon also, who told him that ‘there are, belonging to the masonic order, sufficient numbers of deacons of the church and *ministers* of the gospel who stand ready to tear Miller’s printing offices to the ground;’ thus endeavoring to inspire him with the strength and terror of the order. It was *this* deacon, too, who remarked to him in the same conversation, ‘should you

* “Our readers will excuse us for indulging in epithets and names, when they are made acquainted with the fact, that several individuals of our village drive a considerable trade at slandering certain characters, among whom stand preëminently conspicuous, *Deacon* Dibble, Grand Commander Sir Henry Brown, General Towner, and Ebenezer Mix.”

see them [the Masons] tearing down Miller's buildings, or even taking his life, lift not your hand or voice in opposition.' And it was *this* deacon who told Mr. and Mrs. Otto that the Grand Lodge of the State had sent on orders to suppress Morgan's work, cost what it may, *even to the shedding of blood!*

“Under the discipline of such a drill-master, with all the terrors of the hell-engendered order spread before him, few would have dared to have been just. It is for this doing and daring that Captain Greene is visited, in character and property, with continued masonic curses. To illustrate this, we need only name a recent occurrence: the hero of the occurrence will be found to be one of the most mischief-making, meddling bipeds that ever stood upon two feet; one for whom Masonry was made, and he for it; we here scarcely need name *Ebenezer Mix*. True to his sworn fealty to his lovely Masonry, which enjoins upon him ‘*to make its enemies his enemies,*’ in a late peregrination to Buffalo, *Mix* took it into his head to stop the stage at almost every public house between this village and that, not to pay his devoirs at the bar, but to berate the character of Captain Greene and his family, and advise the kindly listening landlord to warn his travelling customers against Greene's house, giving it a character of *lowness* and *looseness*. Discovering, by a word which fell from some one, that one of his fellow-passengers was Greene's bar-keeper, *Mix*, with an assurance and effrontery for which he is unsurpassed, turned to him, and inquired, ‘Have you a wife?’ on being answered in the affirmative, he continued, ‘What! and left her at Greene's?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Then I advise you to go immediately back, if you regard your own honor; set-

tle with him, leave him, and I will look you up some *respectable* place."

"Such facts as the foregoing, in connection with hundreds of other masonic efforts to destroy that might be named, has called forth these remarks. And we can assure the traveller, who has occasion to stop at our village, that at Greene's he will find good accommodations, ready and willing attendants, an intelligent landlord, surrounded by an interesting family."

These remarks seemed to give a new impulse to the Masons generally, who were implicated in consequence of fellowshipping the conspirators and murderers, but more especially the conspirators themselves, and new exertions were made, and not a stone left unturned to bring me to utter ruin. Colonel Miller took leave of the *Advocate*, as editor, and in his address to his personal friends and the public he observes, —

"To my Personal Friends and the Public.

"The witnesses are numerous and honorable that Masonry is worthless; that it is a curse to a free, thinking, moral people; lodges are returning their charters, and the best members of the fraternity raising their voices and pens against it; embodying a multitude of faults, without a single virtue to soften its vices, he must indeed be a visionary who can cherish a lingering hope that the order can be sustained. With these views of the subject, and when it is considered that the struggles I have been compelled to make have been ardent

and intense, I think the public will agree with me, that I may, with propriety, withdraw from the field, more especially as I have never been anything further than a simple instrument in originating this moral revolution. In this I have not claimed, neither do I claim, any other merit than that of *daring* to do my duty; and even in this I owe all to the support and moral firmness of a few dauntless individuals, whose nerves were strung with an energy equal to the danger and justice of the cause.

“In this great struggle, the names of George W. Harris and Samuel D. Greene, of John Hascall, James Ballard, Herbert A. Read, and Elder David Bernard, stand conspicuous in the great moral daring. They were Masons, and as such perilled all that is dear to man to promote the great controversy. To some of them the public are indebted for the exposure and suppression of intended violence, by their untiring vigilance and timely warnings, and to all for their various independent and manly efforts in unveiling the hideous deformities of a moral monster. I speak particularly of these gentlemen, because they were in the field at a time that called for more than ordinary daring. If to any in this section much is due, it is to them.”

After many more remarks of a general nature, he closes as follows: —

“With these few remarks I take my leave of you, and I hope forever, as the conductor of a public journal; and as sincerely wishing you social and political happiness, as I believe in the ultimate downfall of Masonry.

DAVID C. MILLER.”

Still determined to act only in defence for the preservation of life, and that of my family, I commenced diffusing more universal information on the subject of Freemasonry, by establishing an Anti-masonic reading-room, which the *Batavia Advocate*, of December 5, 1828, notices thus:—

“We are pleased to observe that a number of Anti-masonic editors have complied with Mr. Greene’s request in sending papers to his Anti-masonic reading-room; and trust others will follow their example. Mr. Greene derives no advantage from this, having only established the room for the public accommodation.”

This room was a place of much resort. Information was obtained, confidence was restored, and my business and custom increased; and on the 14th December, 1828, I put the following advertisement into the *Republican Advocate*:—

“BATAVIA HOTEL.

“HAVING for a long time kept Public House, the subscriber has the assurance to observe that he is competent and qualified for the task. He has removed from the house called the County Hotel, or Park Tavern, to the Old Stand, known as the Russell, or Gibbs House, in the central part of the village. He has a good house, well fitted up, good attendants, and a plenty of good victuals and drink, and (in the recent outrages upon Morgan and Miller, for which the country is brought to the blush), happens to be on the *good* side of the question. Gentlemen, call and see the *worst* man in all the country — so say the *Masons*.

“S. D. GREENE.”

In consequence of my success, or the advertisement, "vengeance" was visited upon me by besmearing or painting my house and windows on the night of the last day of December, 1828, which gave rise to the following letter to Frederick A. Sumner, of Boston, and published in the Boston Anti-Masonic Free Press:—

"BATAVIA, January 20, 1829.

"DEAR SIR: The guardian care with which you observe every part of the Anti-masonic cause deserves well of an enlightened community. No one with whom the masonic party is at war but the editor of the Free Press, like a faithful sentinel upon the watch-tower of freedom, observes and defends him. With due respect and grateful acknowledgements I tender you my hearty thanks for the notice you have in this instance taken of me. Sir, I left not the masonic ranks for honor or profit, but to satisfy my conscience in regard to that duty I owed to my God, myself, and country. Such sentiments as are expressed in the "Free Press," not only revives the drooping, but animates them to onward achievements in the noble cause of virtue. Your notice of the reading-room is gratifying. I keep it up for the public good: it is a master engine to throw light abroad. It makes the Masons tremendously mad; they sometimes come in, *when I am absent* from home, and tear up the papers. They are sure to tear the Boston Free Press and the Anti-Masonic Enquirer. This looks like Masonry. New Year's morn was ushered in to me rather unpleasantly. They had (agrea-

ble to their usage), the night before, marked my house with printer's ink in large letters and obscene words, the whole length and one end (the end in which the reading-room is), and the pillars in front they striped round like barbers' poles, a cross on every pane of glass in front of the house and the end of the reading-room. My name on the sign was blotted out. The lilies and the scrolls on the sign were tied about with tailor's list, nearly two hundred yards, and fastened to my pillars in front and door-knobs; and in the act to take down my bell from the top of the house, they got alarmed and fled; as yet they are not discovered. Public feeling is aroused on the subject; the streets were crowded with masonic spectators, jacks and doughfaces shrugging up their shoulders, braying and grinning, while two hands and myself were engaged in defacing, with spirits of turpentine, their vulgarity. With patience I bear the indignity, for I know that the destruction of the order is to advance the cause of religion and liberty. Every insult they can bestow on me is the test how much to love, or how much to despise others in proportion as others defend and remain quiet in relation to me. Every merited contempt they bring on themselves, they turn and say, 'This would not have been so were it not for Greene; he has brought us into this difficulty;' therefore partially attributing to me what God has guided me in the way of truth, and this annoys them in their diabolical plans. I am not sorry, but glad.

"I am, dear sir, yours with due respect,

"SAMUEL D. GREENE."

At the January term of the court, 1829, my house was well filled with boarders and customers; and the next resort of the craft was to hire the butcher, who was a *Freemason*, to sell me no meats for my table, which caused the following notice to be given in the *Republican Advocate*; and after great exertions, I obtained a butcher, who answered the advertisement, and furnished me with meats.

“ WANTED,

IN the village of Batavia, a butcher, who will regularly supply the market, daily, with fresh meat during the year. A good, substantial man, destitute of the freaks incident to Masonry, will find good encouragement.”

Numerous other equally base efforts were made by the Masons to destroy me, and totally ruin my business. Outrage followed outrage in quick succession, which I forbear to notice here, lest I should make this Appendix too long; but such were the bitter hostilities pursued by the Freemasons against me, that a Senatorial convention for District No. 8, convened at Batavia, N. Y., on the 28th of January, 1829, passed the following resolution:—

“ *Resolved*, That the cold-blooded and deliberate malice exhibited by the masonic fraternity, and their more contemptible associates, towards Samuel D. Greene, a seceding Mason, and a member of the Pres-

byterian church, in Batavia, who, at an early day, embarked in the present glorious struggle for equal rights and privileges, and against whom a series of outrages have been continually directed, with a purpose steady as time, and appetite keen as death; and from which it would seem nothing but his entire ruin and prostration, both in character and property, or the grave itself, could rescue him, has excited the general sympathy of this convention, and ought, and we have no doubt will, receive the most decided and marked disapprobation of every honest man in the community."

My creatures were killed; my dog was taken down to the brook, his throat cut from ear to ear, and buried at low-water mark; the windows of my house were broken; the furniture of my bar destroyed, and my liquors spilled. Masons putting up at my house would steal their own cloaks and blankets from their carriages, then prosecute me for the value, from a distant part of the county, putting me to great expense and trouble to nonsuit them, and sometimes not till after they had, by some means or other, obtained two or three adjournments, and caused me and my witnesses to travel the distance over as many times. This was done to bring my tavern into disrepute; and the story was industriously circulated that travellers' things were not safe at my house. My furniture injured, and in my attempt to save it from destruction, I have been choked in my own house, till my family were alarmed lest my life should be taken. All this done with the avowed intention of tempting me to commit assault and battery, or seek redress by lawsuit, that they might avail them-

selves of the law to destroy me effectually. My help hired to leave me, others sent, who, after hired, would get in debt, and prove unfaithful. Sham sales of stage-horses made to unprincipled drivers, who would keep their teams at my house, on usual contracts, and when a quarterly bill was presented against the ostensible owner, it would be shoved off upon the driver, who was irresponsible, and would abscond, or, if sued, pay the debt upon the jail limits. Merchants with whom I had dealt would divide my accounts, and sue me on every day's trade, causing me to pay unnecessary costs. Thus I was annoyed; and one specimen more, out of many endured, shall suffice at this time, lest I make my Appendix too long. During the sitting of one of the courts, and my house full of boarders, an evidence in court brought a large iron-bound box to my house containing twenty-five rattlesnakes, which he had taken in Michigan, for a man in the city of New York. After speaking for his board and lodging at my house, he obtained permission to store his box in my granary till the close of the court, or the case, on which he was an evidence, should be disposed of. Certain Freemasons found out that there was such a box containing these animals in my possession, and they contrived to alarm the neighborhood, and frighten the women and children with the story, which was circulated in all parts of the village at the same time, that the snakes had escaped, and they were in danger of being bitten. The windows flew up, the women called in their children, while the Masons, followed by the boys and a rabble, simultaneously, rushed into my house and yards, sheds and barns, bearing all kinds of weapons, to kill the

snakes, thickening the air with screeching and screaming, loading me and my house with curses and all manner of epithets, because I had suffered the box to be left, and the snakes to escape. *When, lo! the snakes were all this time safe in the box.* This was done to frighten away some of my custom; but finding this plan had failed, they went immediately to the mothers of my hired girls, and said to them, "Greene would not part with your girls on any account." "Why," said the mother. "Because," said this Mason, "Greene has got twenty-four rattlesnakes in his cellar wall, and your girl is the only one who dares visit his cellar." The mothers, half frightened to death, hastened to my house to persuade their daughters to run no more risks, but to leave my house immediately. This *deranged my business*, and delayed my cooking, while my domestics were engaged to allay the excitement; but nothing would satisfy the mothers until their girls would leave the house. By thus depriving me of help, and spreading such a report, I had to incur great expense, and for it, unnecessary labor, to replace my help. And when my house was full, in the recess of the court, the Masons, headed by Johnson Goodwill, the perjured witness from Batavia, when partly drunk, would ride up their horses within my piazza, and call for rattlesnake soup; and lighting from their horses, travel through my bar-room, pretending to knock the snakes from their heels.

Finding it impossible to pursue my business as a public taverner in Batavia, I disposed of my establishment in the spring of 1829; and for the purpose of obtaining the avails of a small mortgage I had in Con-

necticut, I took a journey to that State, and during my travels visited Boston, where I received some propositions which induced me, if I could settle my business in Western New York, to embrace, and move to Boston. I returned to Batavia, and settled my affairs in the best manner possible, and returned to Boston in December, 1829. Believing it a duty to do all in my power to destroy so great an enemy to religion and law, and religiously believing that Freemasonry is the man of sin spoken of by the Apostle in the second chapter of Second Thessalonians, I commenced traveling and giving public lectures on Freemasonry, and spreading information by obtaining subscriptions to Anti-masonic newspapers, and had much success; while the Boston Masonic Mirror, the organ of the masonic institution in Massachusetts, published by Moore & Sevey, and the New York Batavia Times, published by Frederick Follett (a notorious witness, who came from Batavia to Boston to swear against me), kept up against me a constant routine of masonic slanders; and one of those articles published in the Times, and then in the Mirror, I was induced to notice, and in behalf of the Commonwealth, complained of Moore & Sevey for a libel, of which, for want of testimony that was impossible to obtain at the time, the defendants were acquitted. Notwithstanding the determination of the Masons to destroy me and my family, and bring disgrace upon religion and the church of Christ, of which I am, though unworthy, a member, I have made my defence and published this my Appendix.

Eight years have now passed away. The murderers of Morgan and their numerous accessories scattered over

a great extent of country, still live. Murderous Freemasonry throws over them its effective shield, and protects them in its foul embrace, unscathed by the faithful execution of the laws. And even in this city of Boston, distinguished as its citizens justly are for their intelligence, love of order, justice, and "the supremacy of the laws," so late as 1833, a known and self-acknowledged *Morgan conspirator* had the effrontery to present himself before a Boston jury as an unimpeachable witness, to swear down my character, and attempt to affix such a stigma to it as suited him and his brother conspirators to give me, in obedience to their masonic oaths. Let no one hereafter say Masonry has had no influence in the courts in Massachusetts. And where is the security for life, liberty, property, or character of its citizens, when masonic jurors and masonic witnesses are secretly arrayed against them? Masonry, whose object and aim is to exalt itself above the laws of God and man, whose existence is a violation of every principle of the social compact, destructive to the fundamental principles of law, justice, and equal rights, and is treason against any government of law, still is able in the State of New York to set the execution of the laws at defiance, and trample them under foot. And it is only by the dissemination of the truth respecting the nature, principles, and spirit of the masonic institution among the citizens of the United States, and the consequent political action at the BALLOT-BOX, that we will ever be able to extirpate this foul excrescence on the body politic, and save our republic from the most degrading despotism that ever it pleased God, in his righteous displeasure, to afflict a people. If by any humble exertions of mine this is

effected for our country, that it may remain the "home of the brave, and the land of the free," I shall feel conscious of doing my duty, and amply repaid for all my exertions, sacrifices, and sufferings.

SAMUEL D. GREENE.

BOSTON, September 23, 1834.

G.

IN the body of our narrative we have spoken of the effort made to bring the Morgan abductors to punishment, as an "abortive attempt." We cannot better justify the use of that language, than by giving in full the report which follows:—

REPORT, &c.

The President of the Convention (Mr. John C. Spencer), from the committee appointed on that subject, remarked, that the convention had done him the honor, by a special resolution, to place him at the head of the committee, probably from the circumstance that his official connection with the prosecutions in question had given him ample opportunity to become acquainted with the proceedings, respecting which the convention had desired information; and that a report had accordingly been prepared, which would now be submitted:—

"A history of the judicial proceedings had in the State of New York, to discover and punish the offenders concerned in the kidnapping and murder of William Morgan, seems at this time to be required, in order to preserve, in an authentic shape, facts of the utmost importance in the history of our country; and to present in the most simple form that series of evidence which establishes the agency and combination of mem-

bers of the masonic fraternity in impeding inquiry, baffling investigation, and defeating the ordinary administration of justice. It is a melancholy picture of folly and crime; but the sooner and the more extensively it is known, the speedier and more effectual will be the remedy which the intelligence and public spirit of a free people will apply. Those events are rapidly receding from our minds, and giving place to others of greater novelty, but of inferior importance; and of those which remain, many become confused and indistinct in our memories. The very difficulty which has been experienced in collecting the facts now presented, is an admonition of the duty of preserving them in their original features, and before an opportunity is afforded by the lapse of time to deface or distort them.

“It is already too well known, that in September, 1826, William Morgan was forcibly carried from Caundaigna to Niagara Fort, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, through a well settled country, and directly through five populous villages; was confined in that fort, and finally murdered. So well had the plan been digested, and so faithfully was it executed, that not a citizen along this extensive tract was alarmed by any appearance of violence, and not a suspicion was awakened along the whole route. Five changes of horses were made, and three different carriages were employed; more than six persons, besides the ill-fated Morgan, were to be provided with food and refreshment; numerous drivers and agents to provide relays of horses must have been employed; and yet not a suspicion of the dark deed which was transacting was awakened along the whole route. This single fact speaks volumes respecting the capacity of an organized

body, like that of the masonic fraternity, to carry into effect any project, however iniquitous, and even in the heart of our country to immolate its victim without interruption. It is a fearful fact, and furnishes a key at the very threshold, to explain many otherwise incredible and mysterious circumstances. To accomplish such a deed in such a manner must have required a perfection of organization and of discipline, and a command of means, that may challenge comparison with any system ever disclosed to the world. When we recollect that this occurred in a season of profound peace and fancied security, and that it seems to have required but the application of the ordinary means of the society, we may look back with amazement at the peril we have passed, and may look forward with some apprehension whether that peril be indeed entirely passed.

“The first intimation which the public received, that a crime hitherto unheard of in our country — that of stealing a free citizen — had been committed, came from the publication of sundry affidavits, which had been procured by an active and patriotic individual, who had gone from Batavia to Canandaigua to make inquiries for Morgan. These affidavits, which were taken on the 23d of September, and published a few days afterwards, aroused the public attention in that quarter; meetings were held in different villages, and committees of citizens appointed to inquire into the fate of a citizen, who had been lawlessly torn from his family and his country. Proclamations were issued by the executive of New York, in the month of October, enjoining upon all officers the duty of apprehending the offenders, and offering rewards for their conviction,

and for authentic information of the place to which Morgan had been conveyed. But to all inquiries and efforts difficulties and obstructions of every kind were interposed. The press, so loud-mouthed and so hasty on every similar occasion of public outrage, was either silent, or sounded false notes with a view to mislead investigation. It is not the purpose of this report to dwell on this part of the subject, but it is conceived that no opportunity should be neglected to bring to recollection the shameful defection of the public press from its most sacred and peculiar duty, and the numberless falsehoods, which the newspapers of every party invented and circulated, to baffle and misdirect inquiry. At one time, the victim of masonic vengeance was selling his *Illustrations of Masonry* in Boston, and reaping a harvest from the speculation; at another, he was in Vermont, employed in the same business; again, he was at New Brunswick, in the British dominions, engaged in the fisheries; again, he was at Smyrna, in the costume of a Turk, where, notwithstanding his dress, he had been discovered by an acquaintance, and he had kindly sent messages to his anxious friends in this country. This course of wilful misrepresentation and of equally deceptive silence, when the press was bound to speak, was produced either by masonic influences or by a dread of masonic power. In either case, what strong proof does it furnish of the tremendous power of a society, which could thus subdue the whole public press of the country! These, and a thousand similar publications, did, for a time, serve to distract the public mind; but they never for a moment diverted those high-spirited men who had undertaken the inquiry, from pursuing their object with limited and in-

sufficient means, but still steadfastly and vigorously. A delegation from different committees met at Lewiston, in the winter succeeding the murder, for the purpose of making examinations on the spot. Abuse, and every other species of intimidation, were employed, but in vain. The celebrated Lewiston committee, as that delegation has been called, collected a great variety of most important facts, and published them under the sanction and responsibility of their names. This document, in all respects worthy the notice and consideration of a people jealous of their liberty, and anxious to preserve the lives of their fellow-citizens, was never copied, either in the whole or in substance, by a single newspaper of any party, except some two or three independent presses in the immediate vicinity. But still the report received some notice from the newspaper press. It was calumniated as an *ex parte* statement of political zealots; it was represented as a fabrication of its most important facts, and a distortion and misrepresentation of others; and its authors were lampooned as a set of knights-errant engaged in an enterprise of folly. Will it be believed, that this character was given, by the universal newspaper press, to a document which was at the time so much entitled to respect, as well from the facts it exhibited, as from the calm, dignified, and respectful manner in which those facts were presented, and which has since been confirmed by judicial evidence, in every, the most minute particulars of its statements? It is a circumstance reflecting the highest honor on the authors of that report, that it contains at this moment the best account which has yet appeared of the leading facts in the kidnapping and removal of Morgan, which were then known; and

that if a history of that transaction should now be compiled from judicial evidence, its most important features could not be more faithfully or more accurately given than they have already been presented by the Lewiston committee. For this reason, among others, the history of the removal of Morgan from his family by the abuse of legal process; of his being betrayed under the guise of friendship; of his being stolen in the night time, and forcibly transported to the banks of the Niagara; of his crossing that river and returning, blindfolded and guarded; of his removal to a citadel of the United States; of his confinement in a dungeon over which floated that flag which is the nation's pledge of protection to every one of its citizens, and of his foul and cowardly assassination;—the history of these events will not be given in the narrative which is now presented. It is confined to the purpose, first, of detailing, with exactness, the judicial proceedings which have been had, and of the efforts made to institute such proceedings, for the detection and punishment of the offenders; and, secondly, of presenting, in one connected view, such facts as occurred in those proceedings and efforts which exhibit the difficulties that were encountered, and expose to the naked eye of all who look at them the radical cause of those difficulties.

“The first grand jury that assembled in the county of Ontario, after the removal of Morgan from the jail of that county, met in November, 1826; and being composed of citizens of the greatest respectability, earnestly and zealously engaged in the necessary inquiries into the atrocious crimes which had been committed. The Lewiston committee had not yet assem-

bled, and the only information in possession of the public was derived from the publication of the affidavits before mentioned. The witnesses examined by this grand jury were, therefore, those only who resided in Canandaigua, and were knowing to the single fact of Morgan's removal from the jail. The deliberations of the jury resulted in their finding two bills of indictment; one against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, Loton Lawson, and John Sheldon, for a conspiracy to carry off and kidnap Morgan, and for actually carrying him to parts unknown, and for false imprisonment; the other was against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Moses Roberts, and John Scofield, for a conspiracy to charge and accuse Morgan of stealing a linen shirt and a silk handkerchief, and to subject him to punishment therefor; and in prosecution of such conspiracy, the obtaining a warrant from a justice of the peace. The defendants, excepting Scofield, were arrested, and held to bail for their appearance to answer. N. G. Chesebro was, at the time, master of the lodge in Canandaigua. He was a respectable mechanic, sustained a fair character, had a family, a good business, and was generally esteemed. Edward Sawyer was also a respectable mechanic, with a family, of good character, held a commission as colonel of militia, and was among the most respectable inhabitants. Loton Lawson was a farmer, not of much property, but 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 lodges. John Sheldon was a poor and dissipated man, at the time confined on the limits of the jail for debt. Harris Seymour was a young man of great re-

spectability, and connected with the first families in that vicinity; he had been a merchant, but had failed in business. Henry Howard was a very respectable merchant, lately emigrated from England. Moses Roberts was a journeyman hatter, in the employ of Chesebro; as was John Scofield. This man, Scofield, absconded soon after the transaction, and has never been heard of since that time, at least not by the officers of justice. The characters and occupations of these men are given, in order to enable those to judge for themselves, who have repeatedly inquired whether the persons implicated in the outrages upon Morgan were of the lowest classes in society, and of such a description that they would have committed those offences, without the stimulants of masonic oaths and discipline. The materials, in the course of this narrative, will be found abundant to afford a satisfactory answer to these inquiries.

“In the month of December, 1826, a grand jury assembled in Monroe County, the county adjoining Ontario, in which the village of Rochester is situated, and through which Morgan was carried. They were particularly and strongly charged by the presiding judge to inquire into the subject. They called all the witnesses before them, who, in that state of information, were known. Among others, Ezra Platt was examined by them. This man, it will be recollected, furnished the carriage at Rochester, into which Morgan was removed from that which brought him from Canandaigua. He testified that his carriage had been engaged by some one for the Masons, and that he charged the hire of it to the Royal Arch Chapter; but he did not know who engaged it, or who went in it.

Edward Doyle testified that he knew nothing about the transaction to which he could testify without criminating himself. The same answer was given by another person, whose name it is not proper to mention. The jury could not find any bills of indictment, but they made a presentment, in which they state that they had ascertained that Morgan had been carried through their county, and add: 'From the great caution which seems to have been observed in keeping both Morgan and the place of his destination from the view and knowledge of all but such persons as may have been confidentially intrusted with the design, and who would decline giving evidence, upon the ground that it might tend to criminate themselves, the grand jury have found it impossible to establish, by competent testimony, the unlawful agency of any citizen in this county, in that transaction.'

"This result only stimulated an enlightened and patriotic people to greater exertion. A county meeting was immediately called and held to devise measures to ferret out the hidden workers of iniquity. A large number of Masons attended, among them Burrage Smith and John Whitney. At this meeting a committee of investigation was appointed, upon which were placed several Masons. The other members soon ascertained that all their proceedings were divulged by their masonic associates, notwithstanding an honorary obligation to the contrary, entered into by them; and those who did not belong to the fraternity, determined to act without the knowledge or assistance of any Masons. Up to this time, the outrages on Morgan had been considered the work of a few misguided and unimportant individuals; but the conduct of Masons,

generally, and particularly of those who had been placed on the committee, excited the suspicions of the observing, that the masonic fraternity was in some way connected with those outrages. It was long, and with great difficulty, that this suspicion ripened into belief. Men could not believe that their fellow-citizens, with whom they were in habits of daily intercourse, and whom they had been accustomed to respect, belonged to an institution which made the concealment of the most atrocious crimes one of the most solemn obligations of the order. But day after day added new proof to the suspicion. They beheld the very committee who had been appointed indiscriminately from all parties, and by citizens of all parties, vilified and traduced for a faithful discharge of their duties. Men who had no possible motive but the ascertainment of truth, and the detection of the guilty (for as yet no party had been arrayed, and no political objects had even been surmised), for discharging a public trust, of the most solemn nature, with fidelity; these men were ridiculed, misrepresented, insulted, and traduced daily by the members of the masonic fraternity; that evidence which can be deduced only from a long course of observation of minor facts and circumstances, and which, in its nature, cannot be communicated to others, was furnished to an intelligent and observing people; and the conclusion was soon produced, that the laws of the country could not be enforced so long as Masonry held its sway over the minds of men; and that submission to its secret and irresponsible power, or an open and avowed war of extermination, were the only alternatives. Although somewhat foreign from their present purpose, your committee cannot forbear from here

pausing, and asking, whether to their distant fellow-citizens, there is not furnished strong moral evidence of the baneful nature of the masonic institution, in the fact, that more than half a million of free, enlightened, and intelligent inhabitants of that section of country which has afforded the best opportunity for judging, have, in language that cannot be mistaken, expressed their deliberate convictions that Freemasonry cannot exist consistently with our institutions. Why are they not witnesses in the same sense in which the reputation of an individual in a community is proof of his moral worth? And why is not their testimony equally satisfactory?

“In December, 1826, a meeting of the citizens of Niagara was held at Lewiston, at which a committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of Morgan’s abduction, and to endeavor to bring the offenders to punishment. Having ascertained that Morgan had been taken to Canada, one of the committee crossed the river early in January, 1827, at the time a grand jury was in session. He went before the grand jury, and proposed to furnish them with the names of witnesses residing in Canada, if the grand jury would agree to investigate the matter. After consulting together, they resolved to do so; and they were accordingly furnished with the names of several Masons residing in the town of Niagara, which is more commonly called Newark, who were believed to be important witnesses. The jury adjourned soon after. The next day the complainant was informed that after the adjournment of the jury the witnesses who had been designated had been conversed with; that after the assembling of the jury in the morning they had con-

sulted the district judge, and, thereupon, had resolved to do no more in the premises. The complainant ascertained that the district judge was a Freemason, and that the foreman and a portion of the jury were also Masons. This relation is derived from the gentleman who was the complainant. It needs no comment.

“On the 29th of December, 1826, Eli Bruce was arrested and brought before a magistrate of Niagara county, on a charge of falsely imprisoning Morgan, and of secreting him, &c. There was no legal proof before the magistrate that any one had been forcibly brought from Canandaigua, and Bruce was discharged. But, on the examination, one fact appeared which deserves to be noted. Bruce had requested Samuel Barton to furnish him a carriage, to proceed down to Niagara from Lewiston. The next morning, Bruce, having returned to Lewiston, was asked if he went to Youngstown the night before. He said he did. He was then asked if he took Morgan down. He said he did; and observed that ‘Barton was very imprudent in sending Fox (the driver of the carriage); that he had told him his business, and he ought not to have sent any but a Mason.’ It was the gradual disclosure of such facts as these that excited the suspicions, and ultimately produced the belief, of the participation of the masonic fraternity in the transaction; and that there was something in the nature of the institution which justified its members in relying on each other for assistance and secrecy in the commission of crime.

“The next event of importance in the history of these judicial proceedings, was the sitting of the court of Oyer and Terminer, for the county of Ontario, in January, 1827. Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Saw-

yer, and Loton Lawson, being called on to proceed to the trial of the indictment against them, which is previously mentioned, pleaded guilty to that indictment, and the two first named filed affidavits explanatory of their agency in the transaction. These have been extensively published, and are well known. Lawson made no attempt to explain or extenuate his offence, and was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for two years. Chesebro was sentenced to a like imprisonment for one year, and Sawyer for one month. Sheldon went to trial on the question of his identity, expressly admitting the crimes alleged in the indictment to have been committed; thus excluding all proof of the main facts, which the public had anticipated would be developed on these trials. He was, however, found guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment. In passing sentence upon the defendants, the circuit judge, who is now governor of New York, descanted, in terms of great severity, upon the nature of the crimes they had committed; and, at the request of several citizens, furnished a copy of his remarks for publication. They were published accordingly, and have been extensively circulated in that part of the country. Still, a few extracts, it is believed, will not be unacceptable. The judge says, '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. . . . 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 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 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.' The point of these remarks will be better understood from a knowledge of the fact, that the counsel of Sheldon, in their addresses to the jury, had cautioned them against being influenced by the excitement that prevailed; had represented that excitement to have been produced by ambitious demagogues, who hope to 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm;' and had deprecated the attempt to connect the masonic institution with such foul acts as were charged. The remarks of the judge were intended as a rebuke for this language; and the praise which he lavished on 'the blessed spirit' was thus intended and understood as an encomium on Antimasonry. The truth and force of his observations are not diminished by the circumstance, that when he ceased to be an independent and impartial judge, and became a political partisan, associated with Masons, and dependent on them for success, he himself sought to discredit this 'blessed spirit,' to check 'the ceaseless vigilance,' and to rebuke and paralyze 'the untiring activity' which he had commended. Its only effect is, to establish most conclusively the contaminating influ-

ence of Freemasonry, and its vast power, which could compel a public officer thus to proclaim his own inconsistency, and repudiate sentiments which found their echo in the bosom of every American who was neither 'hoodwinked nor cable-towed.'

"In the month of February, 1827, a grand jury for Ontario county again assembled at the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and renewed the inquiries for the detection of the offenders against Morgan. They found a bill of indictment against seventeen persons, for a conspiracy to kidnap and carry away that person, and for falsely imprisoning and carrying him to parts unknown. These persons were James Lakey, a physician, Chauncy H. Coe, a stage proprietor, Hiram Hubbard, the keeper of a livery stable, John Butterfield, whose occupation is unknown, James Ganson, an innkeeper, and formerly a member of the state legislature, Asa Nowlen, an innkeeper, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Joseph Scofield, and Moses Roberts, who have been before mentioned, Halloway Hayward, a constable, James Gillis, a respectable farmer, John Whitney, a respectable stone-cutter, Burrage Smith, a grocer, Simeon B. Jewett, an attorney and counsellor at law, and Willard Eddy, whose occupation is unknown.

"At the same court, the indictment against Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, and Moses Roberts, for conspiring to charge Morgan with stealing, which had been found, as before mentioned, was brought to trial. It was in proof that these persons had gone with Chesebro from Canandaigua to Batavia, to arrest Morgan on the warrant which had been fraudulently obtained against him, issued by the justice, Chipman, for stealing a shirt and handkerchief; that he had been taken

in Batavia, and hurried off with great severity and rudeness, and without giving him an opportunity to apprise his friends of his situation. But it was held by the court, that the warrant was evidence of probable cause, and that the defendants could not be convicted. They were accordingly acquitted.

“In March, 1827, another grand jury assembled in Monroe county, at the court of Oyer and Terminer. A majority of them were Freemasons. Very faint efforts were made to obtain testimony, and no indictments were found.

“In April, 1827, a grand jury assembled at the Oyer and Terminer, in Niagara county, and a complaint was made to them against Eli Bruce, then sheriff of that county, by one of the county committee. It seems to have been anticipated that this grand jury would enter upon an investigation of the subject, and preparations were made accordingly. It is stated by Hiram B. Hopkins, a Royal Arch Mason, and at the time deputy sheriff, that he was instructed not to summon any grand jurors but such as were particularly friendly to the masonic institution. At that time grand jurors were selected by the sheriff from the citizens at large. The jury were accordingly packed, pursuant to these instructions, — twelve of them being Masons, and the others friendly to the order. Mr. Hopkins says, ‘The district attorney was a Royal Arch Mason, who knew all about the Morgan affair, in my opinion; and the foreman of the jury was one of the warmest zealots of the order in the county.’ One of these grand jurors has furnished a statement of the proceedings before them, from which the following is taken: The foreman claimed the right to examine the witnesses him-

self. After several had been examined by him in such a way as to give no information, one of the jurors put questions to a witness. When that witness had retired, this juror was called aside by the foreman, and privately solicited to refrain thereafter from asking questions, and to leave it with the foreman. The juror, however, persisted; and, on one occasion, insisted that a witness should answer what he knew of the matter. The witness objected, because, he said, he considered his testimony irrelevant, and because he was a poor man, who got his living by labor; and if he should testify, it might prove a serious injury to himself and his family. A large majority of the jury decided that the witness need not answer; but the pertinacious juror insisted on his right, and finally obtained his point. The witness was called back, and testified that Bruce had acknowledged to the witness his agency in carrying Morgan to Niagara. Witnesses were introduced and examined to impeach the credibility of the last named witness. Another witness testified that he had been informed, by a respectable inhabitant, that Morgan had been carried to Fort Niagara, thence to Canada shore, and thence returned to Fort Niagara; that he had been subsequently put to death; that his body was in the bottom of the Niagara River, and might be found if searched for immediately, and he (the informant) could tell the place where it would be found. The witness stated that he derived this information from a man who said he was a Mason, and insisted that his name should be kept secret, for that if it were known his life would pay the forfeit. The pertinacious juror required the witness to give the name of his informant, with a view to have him called as a witness, which he refused

to do; and nearly, if not quite all the other jurors, sustained the witness in his refusal. During the pending of the inquiry before the jury, the foreman was seen to leave the jury room, and retire to a private room with Bruce, and there remain for a considerable time. Among the witnesses examined before this grand jury was Corydon Fox, who has at all times, when properly asked, testified to the fact of Bruce's riding with him on the driver's seat of the carriage, which Fox drove, and which contained Morgan while he was conveyed from Lewiston to Niagara; and it must have required great ingenuity to prevent this witness from stating that fact. Among other witnesses examined, were Solomon C. Wright, Ezekiel Jewett, the keeper of Fort Niagara, Elisha Adams, the ferryman at Youngstown, Edward Doyle, Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, and Samuel M. Chubbuck. These names are mentioned, because they are familiar to those who have read the trials, as the very individuals who must have known all about the transaction. It does not appear that any of them, on this occasion, refused to answer on the ground that such answer might criminate themselves. By what device they satisfied their own consciences, and avoided disclosing the truth, may, perhaps, be explained by what Edward Giddins says, in his Almanac for 1829, at p. 45: 'During the winter,' he says, 'I had frequent conversations with Masons on the same subject, all of whom used the same argument, and concluded by urging that they had agreed to testify, when called on, *that they knew nothing about the affair*; that they thought themselves justified in doing so by the nature of their masonic oaths, which they never could think of breaking.' 'And,' he says, 'that in order

to dispel his doubts he was particularly referred to that clause of the Royal Arch Mason's obligation, which binds them to rescue a companion, whether right or wrong.' The unsullied character of this man for truth has lately been so thoroughly tested, and so triumphantly established, that nothing need be said to impress any one with the absolute verity of any relation he deliberately makes.

"The conduct of this grand jury and of the witnesses has been dwelt upon with some minuteness, as furnishing evidence which no dispassionate mind can resist, of the awful prostitution of the most sacred offices of justice, and of the dreadful suppression of truth, produced by masonic obligations. The cap-stone of this edifice of guilt and infamy yet remains to be exhibited. Seventeen of this grand jury made a formal representation to the governor of the state, that, after a long, laborious, and 'particular examination of all the witnesses, it did not appear that Eli Bruce, or any other person named, was guilty of, or accessory to, the abduction of William Morgan;' and they make known to the governor the result of their inquiries, 'that blame may not rest on the innocent!' It would scarcely be believed that the Eli Bruce, here referred to, is the same man who has been proved, over and over again, by the same witnesses who were examined by that grand jury, to have been the chief actor in conducting Morgan through Niagara county, who hired horses twice, and a carriage once, for the purpose, and who has himself, in open court, sworn that he did so!

"The next grand jury that assembled in Niagara, in May, 1827, consisted of nineteen persons, of whom fourteen were well-known Masons. It was so palpably

useless to make any further efforts with such a grand jury, that no complaint was made to them. A law, however, was passed by the legislature this year, directing grand jurors to be selected by lot from lists to be returned by town officers. As soon as this law went into effect impartial grand jurors were obtained, and in Niagara county complaints were made before them, in the latter part of the year, and indictments found against William King, Ezekiel Jewett, Elisha Adams, Solomon C. Wright, Jeremiah Brown, Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, Timothy Shaw, William Miller, and Samuel M. Chubbuck. William King was esteemed one of the most respectable citizens of the county, having represented it but a short time before in the state legislature. Ezekiel Jewett was very respectable, and was employed by the government to take charge of Fort Niagara: he and King were both colonels. Elisha Adams was the ferryman at Youngstown. Solomon C. Wright was a respectable innkeeper and a postmaster. Jeremiah Brown was a respectable farmer, in good standing. The others were all respectable men, and regarded as peaceable and orderly citizens.

“In August, 1827, at the Ontario General Sessions, Halloway Howard, James Ganson, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, and Moses Roberts were brought to trial on the indictment against them for conspiracy and the abduction of Morgan, and were acquitted. With regard to all of them but Ganson, the proof consisted in their having gone with Chesebro to Batavia to arrest Morgan, and having brought him to Canandaigua; and with respect to Ganson, the proof consisted in his having aided them on the way. Chesebro was examined as a witness, and testified that those persons were not

informed by him, and did not know, to his knowledge, of any ulterior design with respect to Morgan, after he should be brought to Canandaigua. This testimony produced their acquittal. Chauncy H. Coe, Hiram Hubbard, and James Lakey were tried at the same court, upon a similar indictment. With respect to Coe, the chief testimony was, his having engaged the carriage and horses of Hubbard, with which Morgan was carried off; and Hubbard was implicated, from the fact of having furnished, and himself drove the carriage. Lakey was implicated in consequence of his interference in procuring the warrant for the arrest of Morgan. The proof, however, did not establish that previous knowledge of the purpose for which the carriage was wanted to justify a conviction, and they were acquitted.

“At this time, Edward Sawyer, who had been subpoenaed as a witness, did not appear, and an attachment was issued against him. Whether his appearance and testimony would have varied the result in any of the trials before mentioned, it is impossible to say; although, from his testimony on subsequent occasions, it is presumed it would not.

“At the same term an indictment for conspiracy and for kidnapping was found against Eli Bruce, David Hague, Orsamus Turner, and Jedediah Darrow. Bruce, as is well known, was sheriff of Niagara, and in high standing in the community. Hague was a tailor at Lockport, and died before he could be brought to trial. Turner was the publisher of a newspaper at Lockport, of respectable character. Darrow was also a respectable man, but his occupation is unknown. He was afterwards appointed postmaster.

“At the Ontario General Sessions, in February, 1828, an attachment was ordered against Jeremiah Brown, who had neglected to appear as a witness, according to a subpœna, and against Isaac Farewell, for the same cause. It afterwards appeared that Farewell had at this time been sent into Canada, where he was kept, while his family remained in Niagara county. No proceedings were had at this term upon the indictments pending.

“In the winter of 1828, the acting governor of New York called the attention of the legislature to the alarmed state of the public mind in relation to the fate of Morgan, and to the inefficiency of the ordinary means to bring the offenders to justice; and he recommended the appointment of a special attorney, to take charge of the investigation. A law to that effect was passed, notwithstanding a vigorous opposition; and Mr. Moseley was appointed the special attorney. In August of that year, the indictment against Bruce, Turner, and Darrow was brought to trial at the Ontario General Sessions. In order to maintain the indictment for a conspiracy in Ontario, or for the kidnapping in that county, as the defendants had not been personally acting in the matter in that county, it became necessary to prove a pre-concert to remove Morgan from Canandaigua. With regard to Turner and Darrow, no such proof existed; what they did in relation to the transaction occurred after the arrival of Morgan at Lewiston, or while he was at Batavia. They were acquitted, and Bruce was convicted; but sentence was suspended to take the opinion of the Supreme Court upon some legal exceptions that had been made, in reference, chiefly, to the point whether he had been guilty of any

offence in Ontario. On this trial, Solomon C. Wright was examined as a witness, and testified in such a manner that he was afterwards indicted for perjury. Edward Doyle, who had entered into a recognizance to appear as a witness, failed to do so, and forfeited his recognizance, which was estreated at this term.

“In November, 1828, an indictment was found at the court of Oyer and Terminer, of Orleans county, against Elihu Mather, for the conspiracy and kidnapping. Mather was one of the most respectable citizens of that county, and was very generally esteemed. Soon after this indictment he removed to Vermont, where he was beyond the reach of process to compel his appearance as a witness on the trial of other persons.

“In the same month new indictments were found in Niagara against the same persons already mentioned as having been indicted in that county, the former bills having been found defective. In the succeeding winter, Mr. Moseley, being appointed circuit judge, resigned the office of special attorney, and in March, 1829, J. C. Spencer was appointed in his place, at the solicitation, as is understood, of members of the legislature from the western part of the State of New York.

“In March, 1829, preparations were made to try the indictment against Elihu Mather, in Orleans county, at the court of Oyer and Terminer which was then held. But it was removed by the defendant, by certiorari, into the Supreme Court, which operated as a postponement of the trial for about six months.

“In the same month, a vigorous effort was made before the grand jury, which assembled at Rochester, in Monroe county, to penetrate the cloud of darkness

which rested on the transactions at that place, and to detect the offenders there. A great number of witnesses were closely examined, but very little in the shape of legal testimony was elicited, while a clew to many important facts was obtained. Among these witnesses was Isaac Allen, with respect to whom the grand jury made a report to the court, that he had refused to answer questions put to him, touching his knowledge of the facts, whether a carriage had stopped at his house on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of September, 1826; whether any person had applied to him to furnish a pair of horses to draw a carriage to the west about those days; and whether a certain person, who was named to him, was at his house on either of those days, at a time when a carriage was going to the west. And the jury reported that the reason assigned by Allen for his refusal was, that the answers might tend to implicate himself. An elaborate argument was made before the court by the special attorney, and by the counsel for Allen, who was the same counsel that has appeared in behalf of the persons indicted on almost every occasion. The court decided that the witness was bound to answer the questions; but he persisted in his refusal, and was committed to prison. The purpose of making an example of a contumacious witness having been thus accomplished, he was discharged after a few days, with the consent of the prosecuting officers. This grand jury found an indictment against Simeon B. Jewett, an attorney at law, and Burrage Smith, for the conspiracy and kidnapping. They had been previously indicted in Ontario, but the overt acts charged against them having been committed in Monroe, as alleged, it became expedient to indict them in that county. Bur-

rage Smith had previously gone out of the state, with John Whitney, to the South-western States. Messrs. Phineas P. Bates and Joseph Garlinghouse — the one of them then sheriff, and the other the former sheriff of Ontario — went in pursuit of them, and of William King, who had gone to Arkansas, leaving his family in Niagara. They were clothed with authority from the governor of New York to demand the fugitives and bring them to that state. The history of their expedition has been published by those gentlemen under the sanction of their names; and it discloses the fact that the same cause operated to defeat their purpose, and successfully baffled their enterprise, which has been found invariably obstructing the march of justice through all the proceedings connected with this whole transaction. Twice did they pursue the fugitives into the remotest corners of the Union, and in each instance they failed. They have unreservedly given the facts which justify the belief that their failure was owing to the interference of Masons in communicating intelligence to the persons for whom they were in search. After penetrating to the western boundaries of Missouri, and traversing the country to New Orleans, these gentlemen returned, with a solemn conviction that, if they had succeeded in arresting any of the fugitives, they would have been utterly unable to return with them to the State of New York; and that their prisoners would have been taken from them, either by the perversion and abuse of legal forms and process, or by open violence. It should be remarked, that one of these gentlemen was a Royal Arch Mason, and that what he witnessed during these journeys, so entirely satisfied him of the dangerous nature of the institution,

and its adaptation to the commission and concealment of crime, that he has abjured all connection with it, and has united his voice and his efforts with the great multitude of his fellow-citizens in that quarter, to exterminate it from the soil of America. Burrage Smith died in New Orleans some time after the pursuit for him. William King returned to his family in Niagara, and published a blustering notice to Messrs. Bates and Garlinghouse of his having come back to stand his trial. Immediate measures were taken for his arrest, and he was put under heavy bonds. The next day, after hearing that Bruce had testified to the fact that King accompanied him in the carriage which contained Morgan, and had crossed the Niagara River with him, Colonel King suddenly died, as was said, in an apoplectic fit. John Whitney also returned at his leisure, and was afterwards tried.

“At the February Sessions of Ontario County, in 1829, an attachment was issued against Lyman Aldrich for not appearing as a witness upon the indictment against Gillis and Whitney, pursuant to a subpœna; and his recognizance, entered into for that purpose, was forfeited. He was arrested and committed to prison, and by that means his attendance at the ensuing court was secured. Attachments were also issued against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, and Thomas M. Boughton, who had been subpœnaed as witnesses on the same indictment.

“In May, 1829, inquiries were renewed by the special attorney before the grand jury of Niagara county. A multitude of witnesses were examined, and, although many important collateral facts were elicited, yet the great point — the murder of William Morgan — could

not be legally established. At this time, an irregularity was discovered which might prove fatal to the indictments found in that county, and new bills were prepared and found against the persons who had already been indicted.

“Previous to this time efforts were made to procure the attendance of Ezra Platt as a witness. This was the individual who had hired his carriage to a person he did not know, which had been employed in the transportation of Morgan, and for the hire of which he had charged a Royal Arch Chapter. He had removed to the city of Albany, where he was publicly employed in a stage-office. His previous conduct had been such that good cause existed to procure a warrant for his arrest, with a view to bind him over to appear as a witness. Application was made to Judge Duer, the then circuit judge of that district, who granted the warrant, which was put into the hands of an officer. Platt suddenly and immediately disappeared. False and delusive information was given of the place of his concealment, and search was there made for him in vain. The first authentic account received of him was, that he had gone to the State of New Jersey, where he remained so long as his testimony as a witness was required.

“Notwithstanding these difficulties at the Ontario General Sessions in May, 1829, the indictment against John Whitney and James Gillis was brought to trial. Whitney had returned, as before mentioned. Gillis was in the State of Pennsylvania. Whitney was convicted, but the jury could not agree as to Gillis, they not having time to deliberate on the subject before the expiration of the term of the court. Whitney was

sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On this trial, Lyman Aldrich, the witness who had been the cause of much trouble and delay, was offered as a witness, and was objected to, on the ground of his want of religious belief. The question was elaborately discussed, and he was finally admitted. On this trial, Eli Bruce was produced as a witness on the part of the defendants. He testified to the fact of Morgan's having been transported to the Niagara River, blindfolded, of his having been carried across that river, returned and shut up in Fort Niagara, with the assistance of Bruce himself. At this term, the opinion of the Supreme Court having been obtained upon the case of the same Eli Bruce, he was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for two years and four months. Previous to his sentence, Hiram B. Hopkins was examined, and testified that he was the deputy of Bruce, and kept the jail of Niagara county; and that while Morgan was at Batavia, a plan was on foot to bring him across the country to Lockport; and that, in obedience to Bruce's directions, he had prepared a cell in the jail in which to confine Morgan while on his way to meet his doom. This shocking perversion of a building, consecrated to the purposes of justice, justly enhanced the punishment of Bruce. 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 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 com-

fort that the laws 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!

“At the same court, an attachment was issued against James Mather for refusing to obey a subpoena to appear as a witness on the trial of Whitney. Edward Sawyer was fined twenty-five dollars for his contempt in not appearing at a former court as a witness. John Voorhis was indicted for dissuading Lyman Aldrich from attending a former court as a witness, and for carrying him off to prevent his appearance. These persons were all members of the masonic fraternity.

“In June, 1829, a grand jury assembled at the Court of General Sessions, held for the county of Genesee, at Batavia, and an effort was made to discover the persons in that county who had been engaged in the conspiracy against Morgan. Exertions had been made at an early period in that county, before grand juries, to develop, the transactions at Batavia. But all attempts having been baffled, they were not renewed until this time. Persons had been indicted, tried, and convicted for a riot in the outrages upon David C. Miller and his printing office, in which the Illustrations of Morgan had been printed. But no bills had been found against any persons for the offences against Morgan, and of course there were none pending. One of the standing counsel of the persons indicted in other counties, however, attended. The purpose must be left to conjecture, except so far as it is explained by subsequent occurrences. Eli Bruce was brought, on a *habeas*

corpus, from the jail of Ontario, to testify before this grand jury in Genesee. While on his way to the jury room, and before he reached it, a letter was put into 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 this refusal of Bruce, and complimented him highly for what they were pleased to call his constancy and fidelity.

“Numerous witnesses were examined, and a new scene in the drama was developed. Indictments were found against William R. Thompson, Nathan Follett, Blanchard Powers, and William Seaver, for a conspiracy to kidnap William Morgan, and carry him from Batavia to parts unknown. Thompson was the sheriff of that county; the others were all respectable citizens.

“In July, 1829, a court of Oyer and Terminer was held in Niagara county, at which it was intended to bring on the trial of the indictments that had been previously found in that county. But they were all removed, at the instance of the defendants, into the Supreme Court, by certiorari. The examinations before the grand jury were resumed. Among others, James Mather was examined, and gave such unsatisfactory and equivocal answers, that the jury reported him to the court, by whom he was admonished; but all efforts failed to obtain from him such answers as the jury deemed satisfactory.

“Between this and the next courts that were held, efforts were made to obtain some witnesses who had kept secreted, and whose places of residence were now

discovered. Upon satisfactory proof being made to the first judge of Monroe county, a warrant was obtained from him for the arrest of Prior Harris, in order to hold him to bail for his appearance as a witness. This man was the driver of the stage which had gone to the west of Rochester on the same day that Morgan was carried through that place. The warrant was obtained with great secrecy, and put into the hands of a confidential officer, who proceeded to the county of Montgomery to execute it. While riding in the stage through that county, he met and passed Harris, who was driving another stage. The officer proceeded immediately to the sheriff of the county, to obtain a deputation which would authorize him to execute his process there. On his return to the place where Harris had stopped with his stage, the officer discovered that he had suddenly fled, leaving his stage and horses. All attempts to discover him were fruitless. The officer is of opinion that he was followed from Rochester, or accompanied by some one who gave the alarm, or the sign of distress, to Harris.

“Hannah Farnsworth, a relative of Solomon C. Wright, who was believed to be an important witness, had, for a long time, baffled all efforts to compel her attendance at court. At length a warrant for her arrest was obtained, and a vigilant officer succeeded in taking her. On bringing her before a judge to give bail for her appearance, she and her friends refused to give bail, and she was committed to the custody of the sheriff of Ontario.

“In August, 1829, at the Ontario General Sessions, an attempt was made to bring on the trial of the indictment against Solomon C. Wright, for perjury com-

mitted on the trial of Bruce. But from the absence of important witnesses it was impossible. Hannah Farnsworth, the witness who had been detained in order to testify on the trial of Wright, was discharged by the court, on her entering into a recognizance for her appearance, and making a promise, in open court, that she would appear. She never afterwards appeared, or could be found.

“At the same court, Elijah J. Roberts, the editor of a newspaper called the Craftsman, was indicted for a libel on the jury who convicted John Whitney. This paper had been established by contributions of Masons, and was patronized almost exclusively by them, for the purpose of vindicating their order. Its editor had warmly espoused the cause of the indicted persons, and represented them as innocent and persecuted men, while his paper overflowed with abuse of every public officer and private citizen who had taken any part in the exertions to bring to punishment the kidnappers of Morgan. He was tried on this indictment in January, 1830, when the jury could not agree on their verdict. It was afterwards ascertained that the disagreement proceeded from four Masons who were on the jury. He was again tried in June, 1830, when he did not even call a witness to prove the libels he had published, and he was convicted without hesitation, and fined fifty dollars. The history of this case is introduced in consequence of its connection with the main trials, and to exhibit one of the instances of the operation of masonic feeling in the jury-box.

“In August, 1829, a court of Oyer and Terminer was held for Monroe county; and, as this was the last court at which a grand jury would be assembled in

that county before the statute of limitations would attach upon prosecutions for the conspiracy and kidnapping, preparations were made for a more thorough investigation than had yet been had. Orson Parkhurst, the driver of Platt's carriage, which conveyed Morgan from Rochester, had absented himself from the state immediately after that transaction. His place of concealment had been changed from time to time, but at length it was discovered. An agent was employed to go in pursuit of him, and to bring him to the State of New York. The agent succeeded in finding him in a sequestered part of the State of Vermont, and brought him to within forty or fifty miles of Rochester. He had been watched at Albany, on his return through that place, and was followed on his way to the west. At night a stranger came on board the canal boat, in which the agent and Parkhurst were, and in the course of the night Parkhurst disappeared, and no tidings have since been heard of him. It is believed that this man could have identified many persons at Rochester as having been engaged in the carrying of Morgan through that place.

“Inquiries, however, were pursued before the grand jury; much information was obtained; and an indictment for conspiracy and kidnapping was found against the Rev. Francis H. Cumming, a settled clergyman at Rochester, who had been regarded as among the most respectable of his profession.

“At this court, the indictment against Simeon B. Jewett was removed into the Supreme Court by the defendant.

“In September, 1829, a further examination of witnesses was had before a grand jury in Niagara county;

and bills of indictment were found against Henry Maxwell, Norman Shepard, and another, whose name is not recollected, for a conspiracy to remove Morgan from Batavia, and kidnap him. An attachment was issued against John W. Beals, who had been duly subpoenaed as a witness to attend this court, and had refused to attend. He is a Mason of high grade, as is understood, and a very respectable citizen. He was taken on the attachment, and gave bail to appear and answer for his contempt. He did not appear, and his bonds were forfeited.

“In October, 1829, Simeon B. Jewett made a motion to the Supreme Court to quash the indictment found against him in Monroe county, on several grounds;—that the town officers, in selecting grand jurors, had evinced partiality in not taking any Masons, and returning many Antimasons; and that some of the grand jurors had expressed opinions unfavorable to his innocence. The motion was denied. The court held that the discretion of selecting grand jurors was vested by law exclusively in the supervisors; and the only power the court had was to inquire whether any of those actually returned possessed the qualifications required by law; and as the contrary had not even been alleged, there was no ground for the objection. With that latitude of remark which judges are sometimes apt to indulge upon matters; in respect to which they previously admitted that they had no power, some of the court thought proper to express disapprobation of the supervisors’ excluding any set of men on the ground of their belonging to any particular association or fraternity,—although it had just been admitted that the discretion rested wholly with the supervisors. This remark,

which was entirely extrajudicial, is therefore as liable to observation as if it had not been made on the bench. Can any unprejudiced man seriously think that members of a fraternity should be placed upon the inquiring and accusing jury which had in charge an accusation that vitally affected that fraternity? Apply the principle to any benevolent society, to a church, to a banking company; would any one, in his senses, select the members of such societies or companies to investigate a charge, which, if true, ought to destroy the society? But the objection applied with tenfold force to the selection of Masons to detect and prosecute the persons engaged in the offences against Morgan. The facts detailed in this report show how far they had made common cause with the offenders, and how little they were to be trusted. A thousand corroborative facts and circumstances, which were daily passing before the eyes of an intelligent people, evinced the close connection between the Masons and their general defence of the outrages. Add to this, that the horrid obligations of the fraternity to conceal each other's crimes, to fly to the assistance of each other in every extremity, save that of endangering life, and to espouse the cause of a brother, whether right or wrong, had been revealed, and repeatedly confirmed, by judicial evidence. Would it not have been a dereliction of duty to, appoint men, under such circumstances, to determine whether their brethren should be punished for an offence committed under the sanction of masonic obligations? The subject might be more amply discussed, but thus much seemed due to a body of honest and independent citizens, who have been traduced beyond measure for the performance of a sacred and solemn duty, according to

the dictates of their consciences, and for giving a decision similar to what has been had in the highest court of the state, for the trial of issues of fact, and by one of the judges of its Supreme Court.

“At the court of Oyer and Terminer, held for the county of Orleans, in the month of November, 1829, Elihu Mather was brought to trial, on the indictment against him before mentioned, for conspiracy and kidnapping. The then special counsel determined to test, in the most solemn and formal manner, the question, whether Freemasons were competent jurors on the trial of issues in which a brother Mason was a party. The first juror called, who was known to be a Mason, was Robert Anderson. The special counsel challenged him peremptorily, on the ground that he belonged to the same society and corporation with the defendant. It was admitted that the Royal Arch Chapter was incorporated, that the juror and defendant were both members of it: and the 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 circuit judge overruled the challenge; and the juror was then challenged for favor, as it is called, on the ground that he was not impartial; that he belonged to a secret society, called Freemasons, of which the defendant also was a member, and that they had taken oaths which bound them to assist each other in every extremity. Triers were appointed by the court; witnesses were called to prove the masonic obligations, and among others the juror himself was examined. After a long investigation and discussion by counsel the juror was rejected. Another juror, by the name of John Dolly, was soon

after called, and challenged for favor on the same ground. A desperate effort was made by the counsel for the prisoner to procure the admission of this juror. The triers were agreed upon by the counsel on both sides, and appointed by the court. The masonic oaths and obligations, up to and including that of the Royal Arch Companion, were proved by the most respectable witnesses; and they appeared to be precisely those revealed by William Morgan, and the Le Roy convention of seceding Masons, and which are contained in Bernard's Light on Masonry. In order to impair the effect of this testimony, the counsel for the defendant called William W. Ruggles, a master of a lodge, an adhering Mason, and one of the counsel for the defendant, and endeavored to show by him that lectures were given in the lodges explanatory and qualifying the obligations. This attempt was an entire failure; but the witness was compelled, in the course of his testimony, to repeat the oaths; and he confirmed the witnesses on the part of the prosecution, particularly that the Master Mason's oath contained an obligation to keep the secrets of a brother, with the exception of murder and treason; and that the oath of a Royal Arch Companion contained a promise 'to espouse the cause of a brother engaged in any quarrel or difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he was right or wrong.' After a severe and obstinate contest, this juror was also rejected by the triers. The trial proceeded; and the fact that Mather, the defendant, a respectable farmer, had himself turned hack-driver, and drove the carriage containing Morgan through the county of Orleans, was abundantly proved. From the difficulty of extracting the facts from the witnesses, the

point that Morgan was forcibly carried away with the knowledge of Mather, depended on the circumstances of the case, which, although they were strong, and would have been abundant in an ordinary cause, were deemed not conclusive. In addition to this, the judge charged the jury erroneously on a point of law, as was afterwards determined by the Supreme Court, and the defendant was acquitted. In the trial of the cause, a witness, who was a Royal Arch Companion, and who resided in a distant and remote part of the state, testified that after some of the prosecutions had been commenced, Mather applied to the chapter where the witness resided for funds to relieve and defend Bruce and his associates. The witness could not, or would not, relate the result of the application. In the course of this trial, William P. Daniels was examined as a witness. He was a Freemason, and came into court attended by counsel, to whom he resorted, when a question was asked him, to advise him whether to answer it or not. He several times declined answering questions; and, on one occasion, persisted in his refusal, until the order for his commitment was nearly completed, when he relented. But he was excused from answering some important questions, on the ground that by answering he would criminate himself. At one time, he referred to a written memorandum, and read from it his answer to a question that had been pressed upon him; upon inquiry, he stated that the memorandum had been prepared for him by his counsel!

“At the ensuing term of the Supreme Court, in January, 1830, the exceptions which had been taken to the charge of the judge in Mather’s case were argued, and in the ensuing May, that court decided that the

judge had been in error; but for some reason, which it would be difficult to state, the court refused to direct a new trial, and Mather has thus escaped. At the same term of the Supreme Court, Simeon B. Jewett, who had been indulged with that time for pleading to his indictment, interposed a plea, that one of the grand jurors who found the bill had not the requisite property qualification. A motion was made to overrule this plea as frivolous. The court expressed its impression that the plea was bad, but refused the motion to overrule it, for the purpose of enabling the defendant to place it upon the record. It was then demurred to; the demurrer was argued in the succeeding May term; and nine months afterwards, in January, 1831, the court formally decided that the plea was bad. In that state the indictment still remains.

“In April, 1830, preparations were made for trying the indictments in the county of Niagara, but the judge refused to try them.

“In May, 1830, J. C. Spencer resigned the office of special counsel, alleging, in a letter which was published, that his confidential communications to the executive, under whose authority he acted, had been disclosed, so as to reach the counsel for the accused, and enable them to paralyze his exertions; and that, instead of leaving to the executive and the accounting officer of the state, as the law had originally provided, the adjustment of the compensation of the counsel, according to the services actually rendered, a law had been passed, fixing it at a sum so grossly inadequate as to imply a reproach in the officer and a want of confidence in his exertions, or an opinion that the prosecutions and their object were unimportant. During the

preceding winter, the senate of the state, of whom a large proportion, if not a majority, were Masons, had passed a resolution, calling on the comptroller for a detailed account of all the expenses incurred by the special counsel, with all the vouchers for the items. The accounts and vouchers were accordingly furnished and published, and thus disclosed to the world and the accused the name of every witness who had been examined on the finding of the several indictments, and who was relied upon to sustain them. Every facility was thus given to the operation of the causes that had so often prevented witnesses from being found when they were wanted; and, when found, had prevented their attendance; or, if they attended, had produced short and imperfect memories. The efforts of an officer of the government were thus repudiated by the government itself; something worse than indifference was exhibited at the success of his exertions; and, instead of being sustained by the countenance of the government, he was left to contend against the large body of indicted individuals, and against the whole machinery of masonic combination, including the libels of the press, singly and unaided. That officer declared that, under such circumstances, he could be of no further use in conducting the prosecutions; and he resigned his station, that it might be occupied by some one possessing, in a higher degree, the confidence of the executive. The usual and customary weapons of the fraternity were resorted to and employed to prevent the impression which such occurrences would naturally make upon the public mind. The most atrocious calumny was heaped upon the officer by the masonic press. The executive added to the charge of

violating official confidential communications, by publishing official letters of the most sacredly confidential character, in which the special counsel had inquired whether a proclamation of a previous governor, offering a reward and pardon for the discovery of the murderers of Morgan, was still in force? and asking the advice and direction of the executive whether a direct application of the promises in that proclamation should be made to a particular witness? The moral sensibilities of the associates and defenders of man-stealers and murderers were aroused, and they were shocked at such attempts to bribe witnesses. The governor, who had offered the reward, escaped all censure; but the agent, who proposed to obey the directions of his superior, received the full measure of masonic indignation. Perhaps a more stinging rebuke of such glaring hypocrisy could not be furnished than that which the same governor, very shortly afterwards, himself exhibited, in offering a reward and pardon for the discovery of the persons who had set fire to a powder-mill! Mr. V. Birdseye was appointed special counsel, and entered on the duties of the office.

“On the 15th of June, 1830, a special circuit was held in Niagara county, by Mr. Marcy, then one of the justices of the Supreme Court of New York. The first indictment tried was that against Ezekiel Jewett. Orsamus Turner was called as a witness; but, before answering any questions, desired to consult with his counsel. This was refused, and the examination proceeded. He was presently asked whether the defendant, Jewett, was one of the persons consulted with in relation to separating Morgan from his friends in Batavia, as a means of suppressing the contemplated publi-

cation of a book containing the secrets of Freemasonry. He declined answering it, on the ground that it would implicate him in a prosecution for the murder of Morgan. The court told him that he was bound to know that he was guilty of the murder of Morgan, and that his answer would afford a key by which his guilt would be exposed, before he could refuse to answer on that ground. The court overruled the claim of privilege, and told the witness he must answer; to which he answered, 'I will not answer.' He was then sentenced to imprisonment for thirty days, and to a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars. He was then asked whether he knew that Jewett was applied to for a place in or about Fort Niagara, for the purpose of confining William Morgan. This he refused to answer, and was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days. He was then asked whether he was present when the subject of preparing a place for the confinement of Morgan was discussed, in the presence of the defendant. This, also, he refused to answer, and was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days. During his confinement, this witness was supplied by his masonic friends with every luxury that the country could furnish, and that money could procure; he was constantly visited by his masonic brethren, and their wives and daughters; and, at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, was conducted from the jail to his residence in a coach and four, with attending Masons, shouting at the triumph of crime over justice!

"But to return to the trial. Eli Bruce was called to the stand, and refused to be sworn, saying, 'I was once before sworn and examined, and no good came of it.' He was sentenced to imprisonment in the jail of Onta-

rio county for thirty days. John Whitney was next called, and he also refused to be sworn. He was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment, and to pay a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars.

“Upon the same trial, William P. Daniels was examined, and refused to answer whether he was at Solomon C. Wright’s house on the evening before the installation of a chapter in Lewiston, and deliberately swore, that the answer to the question ‘would involve him in a crime more serious than a misdemeanor — an indictment against him as an accessory, before the fact, to the murder of Morgan.’ He was warned that he must know more of the fact that Morgan was murdered than the public generally did before he could make such an excuse, and he was cautioned as to the consequences of his swearing falsely; but he persisted in his refusal, and in the reason assigned for it, and of course was excused from answering the main question. He, too, was attended by counsel, whom he consulted as questions were propounded to him.

“After such refusals, and a thousand prevarications of other witnesses, the defendant was acquitted, although not an individual who heard the trial had a doubt of his guilt.

“The indictment against Jeremiah Brown was also brought on to trial, and the same solemn farce was gone through, which resulted in his acquittal.

“During these trials, Judge Marcy rejected one Mason as a juror, on the ground that he had voluntarily entered into obligations which were incompatible with the impartial discharge of his duty. He admitted another Mason as a juror, between whose case and that of the former no difference could be perceived but this —

that the latter juror declared he did not himself think his masonic obligations would sway him.

“Much had been expected from this court, from the circumstance that one of the highest judicial officers of the state had been taken from his appropriate duties and sent to hold the circuit. It was supposed that his learning, talents, and energy would have commanded respect and deference, and would penetrate the thick cloud that hung over the deeds of darkness respecting Morgan. But masonic obligations were found superior to the arm of the law, and Justice was vanquished in her own temple. The court adjourned, after a session of more than three weeks, without accomplishing anything.

“At the Ontario Sessions, in February, 1830, James Mather was fined twenty-five dollars for his contempt in not appearing as a witness at a former court.

“In November, 1830, at the Ontario Sessions, James Gillis was tried on his indictment, and acquitted. The then special counsel made no objections to Masons sitting as jurors.

“In March, 1831, another special circuit was held in the county of Niagara, by Judge Nelson, then recently appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court. The indictment against Elisha Adams was brought to trial, and after a long examination of numerous witnesses, which established in the minds of all whose minds were susceptible of the impressions of truth the undoubted guilt of the defendant; yet one of the jurors, by the name of William Willson, who was a Mason, refused to concur with his eleven brethren, expressly declaring that he would not believe witnesses who had violated their masonic obligations. The jury were

accordingly discharged. 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.

“Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, Samuel M. Chubbuck, Timothy Shaw, and William Miller were also brought to trial. Whitney, Beach, and Miller were acquitted; the jury could not agree as to Shaw and Chubbuck, and they were discharged. Norman Shepard and Henry Maxwell were also tried and acquitted, the witnesses not remembering, on the trial, facts that they acknowledged they had sworn to before the grand jury, or remembering them in such a manner as rendered them nugatory. Nothing worthy of special notice occurred at these trials besides what has been mentioned. After a session of some weeks, Judge Nelson adjourned his court, leaving the investigation very much where Judge Marcy had left it. It was impossible to obtain convictions if Masons were on the jury. In other cases witnesses absconded, or refused to answer, or answered so equivocally that no reliance could be placed on their testimony. One of them, by the name of Murdock, purposely absented himself in a neighboring county until the trials were over.

“During all these trials, of which an account has been given, beginning with that of Elibu Mather, the same corps of counsel appeared for the defendants indiscriminately. They were gentlemen of distinguished professional character, who were not in the habit of bestowing their services gratuitously. They spent months in this service, absent from their families and their business. The enormous expense which must have been incurred in their employment could not

have been defrayed by the defendants in all cases, for they are known to be utterly unable to do so. Speculation, of course, has been afloat as to the source whence their compensation was derived. After the evidence which was given on one of the trials of application being made to a distant chapter to contribute to the defence of the persecuted Masons in the west of New York, and after the developements which have recently been made of appropriations by the Grand Lodge of one hundred dollars to Eli Bruce, and by the Grand Chapter of New York of one thousand dollars for an indefinite charity, which has never been accounted for or explained; it is not a very irrational conclusion that the masonic body, as such, have furnished the means of defending these criminals. It should be known that the laws of New York make ample provision for counsel for those prisoners who are unable to employ them.

“Immediately after the termination of the last trials at Lockport, before mentioned, in April, 1831, the statute authorizing the appointment of a special counsel expired by its own limitation, and the majority of the committee of the Assembly of New York, to which the subject was referred, refused to recommend a renewal of the law. There remain four or five indictments still undetermined. With the insufficient means of the county attorneys, who are the public prosecutors, to contend against such obstacles as are constantly interposed, and with the general impression that all attempts to obtain a fair administration of justice in these cases will be fruitless, it is presumed that no further trials will be had. The sword of justice has fallen pointless and blunted at the feet of Freemasonry.

“In May, 1831, Solomon C. Wright was brought to trial on the indictment against him for perjury, at the Ontario General Sessions. He had sworn that no suspicious carriage had arrived at his house in September, 1826, and had denied other circumstances calculated to identify the persons and the carriage conveying Morgan. On his trial it was abundantly shown that his testimony in these respects was false; but the court held that the materiality of these facts, in the original case, was not sufficiently shown, and he, too, was acquitted. This is the last trial that has taken place, growing out of the abduction of William Morgan.

“It is not inappropriate to the subject of this report to state, that the five persons who have been convicted, either upon their own confessions, or upon the most conclusive proofs, of a participation in the forcible abduction of William Morgan, — to wit, Chesebro, Sawyer, Lawson, Bruce, and Whitney, — remain in full standing and fellowship as members of the masonic order, and have not, in any way, been proceeded against by the lodges or chapters. One of those under indictment, Simeon B. Jewett, has been elevated to high and distinguished honors in the fraternity, and notice of the fact has been publicly advertised in the newspapers of New York. Probably such an impudent defiance of the public authority has no parallel in our history.

“It is also proper to remark, in connection with this subject, that in the winter of 1830 a petition was presented to the Assembly of New York, praying that an inquiry might be instituted by that body into the conduct of the Royal Arch Chapter of that state, particularly in appropriating money to assist the kidnappers in escaping from justice, and that the act incorporating

the chapter might be repealed. This petition was shuffled off, by a reference of it, on the order of the House, to the attorney-general, who was himself a member of the same Royal Arch Chapter.

“The duty imposed on this committee has now been discharged. It is regretted that so much of detail became necessary in order to present the facts and incidents required by the resolution of the convention. Although many of these details are familiar to most of the members, yet many of them are presumed to be new. Their collection into one mass, and their arrangement in the order of events in which they occurred, will give to every one, however familiar with the general history of the case, a more clear and distinct perception of that body of evidence which, in the judgment of your committee, establishes beyond the possibility of contradiction, the systematic interference of the masonic fraternity to defeat the regular administration of justice. It remains for an intelligent people to weigh these facts, to compare them with the terms of the masonic obligations, with the whole object and spirit of the fraternity, and with the fundamental basis of the compact between its members, and then determine whether the existence of such an order of men is compatible with that equality of rights and privileges promised by our constitutions, or whether it can be tolerated consistent with a maintenance of the SUPREMACY OF THE LAW.”

In this connection we give also the letter of Mr. Spencer, stating his reasons for resigning his office of special counsel. This is a very instructive epistle.

MR. SPENCER'S RESIGNATION.

MESSRS. DAY AND MORSE: Having declined to act as special counsel under the act of the last session of the legislature, I am desirous that my reasons for doing so should be known to my fellow-citizens. I therefore enclose a copy of the letter to Governor Throop on the subject, for publication.

J. C. SPENCER.

May, 4, 1830.

HIS EXCELLENCY ENOS T. THROOP, Acting Governor.

SIR: I have just received a copy of an act passed at the last session of the legislature, entitled "An act directing a special circuit to be held in the county of Niagara, and for other purposes," the fifth section of which declares that "the act to provide for the employment of counsel for the purposes therein mentioned, passed April 15, 1828, shall be continued until the first day of May, 1831; but that the compensation to be allowed to the special counsel appointed pursuant to said act shall not exceed one thousand dollars over and above his necessary expenses."

As this act proposes a continuance or renewal of my appointment, upon terms different from those contained in the statute under which the appointment was made and accepted, the question is necessarily presented to my mind whether I will accept the new proposition?

To determine this question, it is necessary to advert to the nature of the employment, the relation in which it places the incumbent to the government of the state, and the circumstances under which the offer to renew it is made.

The government, by a special law, took into its own hands the investigation of the fate of William Morgan, and all the incidents connected therewith ; it was not content to leave that investigation to the ordinary officers of justice, but directed the employment of a special agent for that purpose by the executive, at whose pleasure the appointment was to be held. The government thus became the prosecutor, and in that, as in every other executive function, it was represented by the governor. The special counsel was not to be a private prosecutor, but the agent of the executive. As such it is most evident he was entitled to the aid, advice, direction, and support of the executive and of the other branches of the government. In order to exhibit the urgent necessity of such aid and support, it cannot be necessary to refer to the nature of the investigation, the large number of persons accused, their connection with a powerful society, and their individual influence : for your Excellency and the whole community but too well know the magnitude and amount of the obstacles to be encountered. Whether the whole constitutional power of the government would be sufficient to overcome them, was problematical ; that anything short of that power would fail, was certain. Nothing but this conviction could have justified the law directing the employment of a special counsel. Under that conviction, and with full and entire confidence, not only in the formal concurrence of the executive, but in his sin-

cere and hearty coöperation, I entered upon the duties of the employment to which Governor Van Buren invited me. The only inducements to this step were the hope of allaying the fears and anxieties which prevailed respecting the sufficiency of the laws to punish the outrage which had been committed, and the belief that a faithful and thorough investigation would satisfy an alarmed community, whether it resulted in the punishment of the guilty or not. Your Excellency succeeded to the executive chair, and I had no reason to doubt but I should receive from you and from the legislature the same sincere support, the same official countenance, which had been expected from your predecessor. In this I have been disappointed. Positive aid, beyond the performance of formal duties from which there was no escape, has in no instance been rendered me. And instead of receiving any countenance or support, I have been suffered to stand alone, an isolated individual, carrying on the most laborious and difficult prosecutions, as if they were private suits instituted by me, and without any participation of the responsibility by the members of that government which employed me. Indeed their responsibility has been disclaimed by every means which the circumstances would allow. Without dwelling upon the omission to notice, in any way, the suggestions contained in my report to your Excellency, or upon other evidences furnished during last winter by the debates and other proceedings in the legislature of unfavorable sentiments towards the prosecutions and towards me, as their conductor, it is sufficient to refer to the very act which proposes a renewal of my employment, as indicating anything but approbation, concurrence, and support. Its terms are recited above;

the original act is continued, *but* the compensation shall not exceed so much. The original act provided that the expense should be paid on the order of the governor, after being audited by the comptroller. It can scarcely be supposed that there was any want of confidence in those officers entertained by the last legislature. In another case (the Astor controversy) there was an unbounded discretion vested in the governor alone, in respect as well as to the number of counsel to be employed, as to the amount of their compensation. That discretion has been left unrestricted. It is difficult to account for the difference between the two cases, without ascribing it to a design to give offence, or to a wish to evade the responsibility of sanctioning my proceedings. In either view, it seems to be a mere permission to continue, for a compensation no longer to be fixed at a fair and just rate, depending upon the circumstances, but for a stipulated sum by the job, as it were; and the inadequacy of which sum marks the estimate put upon the value of my services by those who offer it. I owe it myself to say, that the *amount* of the compensation would not deter me from continuing in the employ of the government if the circumstances justified, and duty required that continuance. It is not in that view that I regard the matter as worthy of a moment's thought; but it is, that the amount proposed, the manner of the proposition, and the circumstances under which it was made (which are as well known to me as the other citizens), furnish to my mind indisputable evidence of the unfavorable sentiment entertained respecting the prosecutions, or the agent conducting them, or both. The act presents the singular paradox of disavowing, as far as possible, the

agency it proposes to renew, and of inviting the agent to proceed, in such repulsive language, as to render his acceptance incompatible with the least self-respect. If I have not fulfilled the intentions of the government, I should be displaced; and if continued, I should be supported and sustained by that government.

I have to complain, also, that my official communications to your Excellency have been divulged, so as to defeat my measures, and bring undeserved reproach upon me. Those communications related to the means of discovering evidence of the fact of William Morgan's death; they were not only in their nature strictly confidential, but the success of the measures suggested depended entirely upon their being unknown to the parties and their friends. Yet they became known to a counsel of the persons implicated in the offences upon William Morgan. I cannot comment on this fact in such a manner as to do justice to my feelings, and at the same time preserve the respect which is due to the chief magistrate of the state. It must be left to the consideration of all impartial men, with the single remark, that it imposes an insurmountable obstacle to all further communications of a confidential character with your Excellency. I should thus be deprived, as special counsel, of an aid altogether indispensable to further proceedings. That the reproach which the revelation of that correspondence has brought upon me is undeserved, may at least be presumed from the fact of your Excellency's having continued my employment for more than a year after those communications were made to you.

For the reasons which have now been given to your Excellency, at such length, the hope of being any fur-

ther useful in conducting the prosecutions against the persons implicated in the outrages upon William Morgan has failed. The conviction is forced upon my mind, that if the laws are to be vindicated against the offenders in that transaction, it must be done by some one possessing more fully than myself the confidence of those administering the government, and who will be better sustained by them than I have been. Public duty, therefore, does not require me to forfeit my own self-respect and the esteem of others, by continuing in a situation where I should be exposed to treatment like that already received, and where I am practically disavowed and disowned by my employers.

Whatever inclinations I may have had to resign the appointment of special counsel before the passage of the act of the last session, they yielded to the belief that it would be rendered unnecessary by the refusal of the legislature to renew the original law. I think it may be safely affirmed to have been a very general, if not universal opinion, that it would not be renewed. A resignation under such circumstances would hardly have been deemed voluntary, and would have subjected me to reproaches to which I was unwilling to submit. There were some cases in hand which required the attention of one who had been familiar with them, and there were some matters connected with the prosecutions which could not well be regulated by another. Notwithstanding the unpleasantness of my situation, in relation to the government, it seemed a duty to proceed as well as I could under the circumstances, until I should be released by the refusal of the legislature to renew the act, or until, by the passage of a new law, the option should be presented of continuing or retir-

ing. Everything has been done, therefore, within my power, to accelerate the proceedings, and among others, was the recommendation to a member of the judiciary committee of the Senate to provide for a special circuit in Niagara. This measure will tend much to expedite the proceedings in that county. Issues are joined upon all the indictments pending there, except as to one defendant, who is out of the state, and everything which could be prepared by counsel is in readiness for that circuit.

In conclusion, I have only to say, that there are numerous facts and voluminous papers in my possession relating to the pending prosecutions, which will be cheerfully communicated to my successor, and every other aid in my power, which he may desire, will be rendered to him.

Your Excellency's fellow-citizen,

JOHN C. SPENCER.

CANANDAIGUA, May 3, 1830.

H.

As an illustration of one of the pleasant things connected with the business of lecturing in those years, I give the following. The Royal Arch Mason, who asked me the questions, was afterwards governor of the State of New Hampshire; but what was more gratifying to me, he afterwards came out and renounced Masonry:—

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIMASONIC STATE CONVENTION.

S. D. Greene's Reasons for seceding from Masonry.

The hour designated having arrived, Mr. Greene addressed the convention, notwithstanding the severity of the storm. The room was well filled with an attentive audience, when, at the close, a Royal Arch Mason present arose, and asked if there was any seceding Mason present; and if there was, he wished to know what reasons he would offer for having seceded. Mr. Greene again took the desk, and gave his reasons in a mild, but convincing, most powerful, and interesting manner; that not only thrilled the whole audience, and was satisfactory to every one present, and acknowledged so even by the gentleman himself. With the following apology, Mr. Greene presents his reasons:—

“The members of the convention manifesting a desire that my reasons for seceding, offered before them and the *Royal Arch gentleman*, should be written out and published with their proceedings, I have consented, and offer the following. Though undoubtedly falling far short of the original, and it is not unlikely that many have escaped my recollection, for, it will be recollected that they were given after an address to the convention, and in the hearing of the gentleman, when I had supposed that I had already offered reasons enough why every Christian and honest republican should not only (if they were Freemasons) secede, but arise in their strength to abolish Freemasonry from their embrace, and from the earth forever. The following were offered, if not all. S. D. G.”

“MR. PRESIDENT: The gentleman has asked my reasons for seceding from Freemasonry. With your leave, sir, I will briefly state them.

“My first reason for seceding, is, because I could not keep and obey the laws of God and my country without abandoning the designs of my masonic oaths. These were imposed upon me without my knowledge or consent, for I could not know what they would require. And at the time of taking the Entered Apprentice’s oath, and every other oath, the master assured me that ‘the oath should not militate against my religion or politics.’ He then gave me the first oath, which was, ‘to hail, conceal, and never reveal, any part or parts, art or arts, point or points, of the secrets of Freemasonry;’ and if called upon afterwards, in a court of justice, and sworn to tell ‘the truth, and the whole truth,’ in relation to the truth of Morgan’s disclosures, I could not

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do it, and at the same time observe the words of my masonic oath. Being under superior obligation to God and my country, I was forced to renounce the wicked design, which would oblige me, if I obeyed it, to lie to the Holy Ghost, and perjure myself before my country. Therefore I renounced the design, and kept my oath. To be a seceder, then, is to scrupulously observe your oath, as you understood it; that it should be in accordance with your religion and politics, and despise the cheat, for God requires it; man requires it, and your country requires it. There is not one *oath* of Freemasonry which *can be observed*, agreeable to its letter, without violating *every obligation* I am under to God and my country.

“My second reason is, because I could not know the principles of Freemasonry when I was only acquainted with what Freemasons said they were in their constitutions, charts, and monitors, and with its initiatory rites and forms. I could only learn them, as above, in the fulfilment of its ‘laws, usages, and customs.’ These ‘laws, usages, and customs’ were, when known or put into execution, diametrically opposed to every moral, religious, and political principle; consequently, Freemasonry is opposed to a free government, as it would break down every moral restraint, and tend to establish infidelity and anarchy.

“Third, because, if I acted the part of a free man, and exposed that which was wrong, my life was in danger. I must have my throat cut, my left breast torn open, my heart and vitals taken from thence, or my body parted in the midst, to satisfy the demand of these unlawful, and extrajudicial oaths, at which sav-

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ages would blush, if tendered to them understandingly, and which cannibals knowingly would never take.

“Fourth, because it teaches another way to heaven than that which is taught by the Holy Bible, and the mallet is to do the office work of Christ and the Holy Ghost. For Freemasonry teaches that the ‘mallet is used for knocking off the superfluities of the conscience, and to fit the soul as a living and lively stone for that spiritual building, that house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.’ This is awful blasphemy, as well as the levelling of the Holy Bible with the square and compass.

“And also its initiatory rites are in direct opposition to the command of God, ‘Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;’ yet this is practised in the farce of stamping the foot, clapping the hands, and tearing the bandage from the candidate’s eyes, to show him three burning candles, and God’s Holy Book *disgraced* with the square and compass. The *Worshipful Master* at the same time making a profane use of a greater figure than was ever used by man: ‘God said, let there be light, and there was light.

“Fifth, because Freemasons perform ‘lying miracles,’ in that they pretend to raise the dead; as in the case of Hiram Abiff, after he has been dead and buried two days under the rubbish of the temple, and twelve days at the hill of Joppa, and is so putrid that the flesh cleaves from the bone, when in fact the candidate lies then, instead of being dead and rotten, laughing in a blanket. And also because the pretension of Freemasons is false. And instead of Freemasonry being old, it is young. That the history of Hiram’s death by Jubela, Jubelo, and Jubelum, at the building of Solo-

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mon's Temple, is a lie, proved so by the word of God, in the Scriptures, which asserts that Hiram was alive after the temple was completed, and examined the vessels thereof, which he had cast. The use of the Latin terminations, Jubela, Jubelo, and Jubelum, proves Freemasonry an impostor, and contradicts its pretended antiquity, as well as the faint letter G, found upon the *naked, putrid, rotten left breast* of Hiram, when history proves that the Roman letters were not known, nor the Latin language spoken, till hundreds of years afterwards.

“Sixth, because, upon the ancients they have very heavily laid their yoke. They have showed them no mercy. They have taken their characters to build up an institution fraught with all manner of iniquity. They have injured the church, and brought a stain upon the religion of Christ, by claiming Adam, Nimrod, Noah, Elisha, Elijah, David, Solomon, Hiram and Johns, and a host of others, who lived in former, as well as later ages.

“Seventh, because they pretend to be above all that is ‘called God, or is worshipped,’ for they not only declare in their heart, ‘*I am,*’ ‘and none else beside me,’ ‘*I AM THAT I AM,*’ but the master is called **MOST WORSHIPFUL**. And also, Freemasonry is after the working of Satan, because it not only claims high antiquity, but morality, benevolence, and charity, cardinal virtues of religion, and lays its burden upon the good and wise of former and latter times, but it shrinks not to adopt and organize into a system the ‘*mysteries of iniquity,*’ practised by the wicked in the days of Ezekiel; for, in the Royal Arch they have a vault, and with a crow-bar, pick-axe, and spade they dig in the wall, and behold a door, into which they descend and

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bring up the things deposited there,—the Key Stone, the Pot of Manna, Aaron's Rod, the Ark of the Covenant, Book of the Law, and Masonic Squares. They do as the wicked do, stamp with their feet, wink with their eyes, and make signs with their fingers. They blush not to declare that the Eleusinian mysteries form component parts of their order, and their book of constitutions holds out as an inducement to become : Freemason, ' that it will introduce them to the fellowship of corsairs, pirates, and marauders, who will treat them as a brother.' They also affirm that it is the handmaid of religion; and that prophets and apostles kings and potentates of the earth, have never been ashamed to grace their assemblies.

“Eighth, because their ceremonies lessen the sanction of the important lessons intended to be enforced by the exhibition of miracles. Yet the most profligate attempt to perform them in the resurrection of the dead, in the preservation of manna, since it rained from heaven to the children of Israel in the wilderness, as they marched from Egypt to Canaan. They cast the rod upon the ground, and pretend it turns into a serpent; taking it by the tail, it becomes a rod in their hand. They thrust their hand into their bosom, and take it out, and say, It is as leprous as snow; put it in and take it out again, and it is restored whole as the other.

“Ninth, because they pretend to be God, and standing in the place of God, showing themselves they are God, by taking a bush, and putting gum camphir upon it, they ignite it, and while the gum burns, as the bush is not consumed, they stand behind the bush the blind candidates are brought up before it, when the

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person behind the bush cries out, and says, 'MOSES, MOSES, MOSES!!!' The conductor answers, 'Here, Lord, am I.' The person behind the bush continues, and says, 'Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' The candidates plucking off their shoes, kneel down, while the *Mason* behind the bush declares, 'I am the GOD of thy FATHERS, the GOD of ABRAHAM, the GOD of ISAAC, and the GOD of JACOB.' The conductor raises the bandage from the candidate's eyes, and puts it down again, saying, 'Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon GOD.'

"Tenth, because it is a conspiracy against the moral and civil law, an inroad upon the unalienable rights guaranteed to us by our free institutions, in that it grants indulgences not sanctioned by either. To swear and keep an oath that is hid from him, for the Scriptures say, 'If a soul swear, pronouncing with his lips to do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him, when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these.'

"And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing.

"To obey all signs and summonses handed, thrown, or sent from a brother, to apprise him of all approaching danger, if in his power, giving him facilities to escape, though it might go to destroy the lawful rights secured to others. 'Not to violate the chastity of the female relatives of a Mason, *knowing* them to be such, but enjoining no such restraint towards other females.' To fly to the relief of a brother Mason, when he gives

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the grand hailing sign of distress, or hears the word accompanying it, and rescue him from the same, if there is a greater probability of saving his life than of losing their own, though it might be to clear a culprit, or weaken the arm of the law. To espouse the cause of a brother, and extricate him from difficulty, whether he be right or wrong. To keep his secrets, murder and treason *excepted* or *not excepted*.

“Eleventh, because, in the Templar’s degree they take a human skull and a lighted candle, and personifying the Saviour, use the words of his prayer, offered in consequence of our sins, in the Garden of Gethsemane, they drink wine from the human skull, and invoke double damnation upon their own souls.

“Taking the skull, with a glass of wine in it, they swear, ‘This pure wine I now take in testimony of my belief in the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul; and may this libation appear as a witness against me, both here and hereafter; and as the sins of the world were laid upon the head of the Saviour, so may all the sins committed by the person whose skull this was, be heaped upon my head in addition to my own, should I ever knowingly or wilfully violate or transgress any obligation that I have heretofore taken, take at this time, or shall at any future period take, in relation to any degree of Masonry, or order of Knighthood, so help me God;’ after this, repairing to the tomb of the Saviour, pretend he rises from the dead, by bringing up a transpareney, representing Christ rising from the grave, and pointing to the image, they sin. They perform a mock ceremony of the Lord’s Supper. Passing into the council, they swear to trust their everlasting salvation on the Cross and Mark of Masonry; for

APPENDIX.

say they, 'I do now, by the honor and power of the Mark of the Holy and Illustrious order of the Cross, which I do now hold to Heaven in my right hand, as the earnest of my faith, and in the dread presence of the most Holy and Almighty God, solemnly swear and declare, that I do hereby accept of, and forever will consider the Cross and Mark of this degree as my only hope.'

"And they last remark, 'Should you ask me what are the requisite qualities that a Freemason must possess to come to the centre of truth, I answer, you must crush the head of the serpent of Ignorance concerning the reigning religion. Behold! my dear brother, what you must fight against and destroy before you can come to the knowledge of the true, good, and sovereign happiness (of Freemasonry): behold that monster which you must conquer, that serpent which we detest as an IDOL, that is adored by the idiot and vulgar, under the name of RELIGION.'

"Thus I have shown, from personal knowledge, and satisfactory evidence, a few of the many reasons why I should renounce Freemasonry. If they are not satisfactory and sufficient, I will take the desk again and offer you more. But with your permission, Mr. President, I will ask the gentleman if I have offered him good reasons; being permitted, he answered, 'Yes, good reasons enough.'"

I.

IN the work recently published by Rev. Dr. Finney, entitled, "The Character, Claims, and Practical Workings of Freemasonry," we find the following confession, which is taken from a work we do not happen to have at hand, "Stearns on Masonry."

CONFESSION.

The murder of William Morgan, confessed by the man who, with his own hands, pushed him out of the boat into the river.

"The following account of that tragical scene is taken from a pamphlet, entitled, 'Confession of the Murder of William Morgan,' as taken down by Dr. John L. Emery, of Racine County, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1848, and now (1849) first given to the public.

"This confession was taken down as related by Henry L. Valance, who acknowledges himself to have been one of the three who were selected to make a final disposition of the ill-fated victim of masonic vengeance. This confession, it seems, was made to his physicians, and in view of his approaching dissolution, and published after his decease.

"After committing that horrid deed, he was, as might well be expected, an unhappy man, day and night. He

was much like Cain, 'a fugitive and vagabond.' To use his own words, 'Go where I would, or do what I would, it was impossible for me to throw off the consciousness of crime. If the mark of Cain was not upon me, the curse of the first murderer was,—the blood-stain was upon my hands, and could not be washed out.'

"He therefore commences his confession thus: 'My last hour is approaching, and as the things of this world fade from my mental sight, I feel the necessity of making, as far as in my power lies, that atonement which the violator of the great law of right owes to his fellow-men.' In this violation of law, he says, 'I allude to the abduction and murder of the ill-fated William Morgan.'

"He proceeds with an interesting narrative of the proceedings of the fraternity in reference to Morgan, while he was incarcerated in the magazine of Fort Niagara. I have room for a few extracts only, showing the final disposition of the alleged criminal. Many consultations were held, many plans proposed, discussed, and rejected. At length, being driven to the necessity of doing something immediately for fear of being exposed, it was resolved in a council of eight, that he must die; must be consigned to a confinement from which there is no possibility of escape—THE GRAVE.

"Three of their number were to be selected by ballot, to execute the deed. Eight pieces of paper were procured, five of which were to remain blank, while the letter D was written on the others. These pieces of paper were placed in a large box, from which each man was to draw one at the same moment. After drawing, we were all to separate, without looking at the paper

which each held in his hand. So soon as we had arrived at certain distances from the place of rendezvous, the tickets were to be examined, and those who held blanks, were to return immediately to their homes; and those who should hold the marked tickets, were to proceed to the fort at midnight, and there put Morgan to death, in such a manner as should seem to themselves most fitting. Mr. Valance was one of the three who drew the ballots on which was the signal letter. He returned to the fort, where he was joined by his two companions, who had drawn the death tickets. Arrangements were made immediately for executing the sentence passed upon their prisoner, which was to sink him in the river with weights; 'in hope,' says Mr. Valance, 'that he and our crime would thus be buried beneath the waves.' His part was to proceed to the magazine where Morgan was confined, and announce to him his fate; theirs was to procure a boat, and weights with which to sink him. Morgan, on being informed of their proceedings against him, demanded by what authority they had condemned him, and who were his judges. He commenced wringing his hands, and talking of his wife and children, the recollections of whom, in that awful hour, terribly affected him. His wife, he said, 'was young and inexperienced, and his children were but infants;' what would become of them were he cut off, and they even ignorant of his fate? What husband and father would not be 'terribly affected' under such circumstances, to be cut off from the living in this inhuman manner?

"Mr. V.'s comrades returned, and informed him that they had procured the boat and weights, and that all things were in readiness on their part. Morgan was told that all his remonstrances were idle; that die he must, and that soon, even before the morning light. The feelings of the husband and father were still strong within him, and he continued to plead on behalf of his family. They gave him one half hour to prepare for his 'inevitable fate.' They retired from the magazine and left him. 'How Morgan passed that

time,' says Mr. Valance, 'I cannot tell, but everything was quiet as the tomb within.' At the expiration of the allotted time they entered the magazine, laid hold of their victim, 'bound his hands behind him, and placed a gag in his mouth.' They then led him forth to execution. 'A short time,' says this murderer, 'brought us to the boat, and we all entered it. Morgan being placed in the bow, with myself along side of him. My comrades took the oars, and the boat was rapidly forced out into the river. The night was pitch dark, we could scarcely see a yard before us, and therefore was a time admirably adapted to our hellish purpose.' Having reached a proper distance from the shore, the oarsmen ceased their labors. The weights were all secured together by a strong cord, and another cord of equal strength, and of several yards in length, proceeded from that. 'This cord,' says Mr. V., 'I took in my hand [did not that hand tremble?], and fastened it around the body of Morgan, just above his hips, using all my skill to make it fast, so that it would hold. Then, in a whisper, I bade the unhappy man to stand up; and after a momentary hesitation he complied with my order. He stood close to the head of the boat, and there was just length of rope enough from his person to the weights to prevent any strain while he was standing. I then requested one of my associates to assist me in lifting the weights from the bottom to the side of the boat, while the other steadied her from the stern. This was done and as Morgan was standing with his back towards me, I approached him, and gave him a strong push with both my hands, which were placed on the middle of his back. He fell forward, carrying the weights with him, and the waters closed above the mass. We remained quiet for two or three minutes, when my companions, without saying a word, resumed their places, and rowed the boat to the place from which they had taken it."

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

IN the year 1831, a Declaration was put forth by twelve hundred Freemasons in Massachusetts, denying the charges against their order. The Antimasonic members of the Massachusetts legislature for 1832 appointed a committee to answer this paper. That committee reported at the Antimasonic State Convention, held in Worcester, September, 1832. The following is their report, and we give it for its compact and convincing character:—

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST FREEMASONRY.

The Declaration, signed by about twelve hundred Freemasons "of Boston and vicinity," denies, unequivocally, *all* the allegations against Freemasonry and Freemasons that have been made during the last five years. Some of the most material of these allegations, which the State Committee are prepared to prove, are the following. We allege, —

1. That the kidnapping, and consequent murder of William Morgan, was preconcerted in lodges and chapters, and carried on with their knowledge and coöperation, and that none but Freemasons were concerned in that outrage.

2. That the only motive for this crime, was the disclosure of masonic secrets by Morgan.

3. That the penalty imposed for a violation of masonic oaths is *death*, and *death* only.

4. That the masonic construction of masonic penalties is *death* for a violation of masonic law; and that no ceremony, lecture, or injunction in Masonry, previous to 1827, explains away this plain, literal construction, but that the whole tenor of all such authorities enforce it in the strongest terms.

5. That the manner of the infliction of death imposed by these penalties, in eight of the degrees, beginning with the first, is cutting the throat and tearing out the tongue; tearing out the heart; severing, quartering, and disembowelling the body, and burning to ashes; tearing the breast open, and throwing the heart on a dunghill to rot; smiting the skull off, and exposing the brains to the sun; pulling down the house of the offender, and hanging him on one of its timbers; striking the head off, and placing it on a lofty spire; tearing out the eyes, chopping off the hands, quartering the body, and throwing it among the rubbish of the Temple.

6. That Freemasonry, by the legitimate operation of her principles, and the literal construction of her oaths, has prevented the detection, indicting, and conviction of kidnappers and murderers.

7. That masonic jurors have refused to indict or to convict masonic offenders, and that masonic witnesses have refused to testify against them,

8. That in the contest of five years, between the legal tribunals of New York and Freemasonry, but two verdicts and three pleas of guilty have been obtained against the kidnappers and murderers, though well known; and the whole amount of punishment that has been inflicted for these outrages, committed by a large body of men, has been five years and five months imprisonment in county jails, distributed among five convicts!

9. That no "partial and inflammatory representation" of these offences, committed by Masons, has been made, beyond what the facts, as judicially established, fully warrant.

10. That these offences grew out of the legitimate construction and application of the oaths, principles, and engagements of Freemasons.

11. That the five Masons sentenced for participation in the crime, eighteen indicted, and many others implicated, have ever remained in full fellowship with lodges and chapters, and that some of them have been since advanced to high masonic honors.

12. That these convicts and kidnappers are held in full communion by Masons in Massachusetts, because the principles of Masonry require all lodges and chapters to receive and fellowship Masons, so long as they retain membership in any lodge or chapter.

13. That the perpetrators of the violence on Morgan were not "*a few misguided men*," but were men comprising the most active occupations and professions, as respectable in the communities where they lived, as the twelve hundred signers of the Declaration are in this community.

14. That at least three hundred and fifty Masons were accessory to the outrage, or principals in the crime, and that it became known masonically to at least five hundred more Masons in New York, soon after it was committed, and as there is no doubt, to acting masonic bodies generally, throughout the United States.

15. That lodges and chapters concealed the criminals, contributed money to protect them from justice, and to enable one of the actual murderers to escape from the country.

16. That forty-three of the most active criminals, whom we can name, were men of high respectability and standing, comprising officers of justice, and belonging to almost every occupation and trade, and to three of the learned professions, and that the murderers themselves were men of no mean consideration.

17. That masonic principles, oaths, and engagements, are, in every essential particular, the same in Massachusetts as in New York.

18. That a knowledge of the crimes of Masons in New York, by Massachusetts Masons, soon after those offences were com-

mitted, is fairly inferred from the introduction of a check-test or oath here from New York, established to exclude from the lodges those who studied the disclosures made by Morgan.

19. That the Masons of Massachusetts, when called upon formally, in 1830, by the State Antimasonic Convention, to disfellowship the masonic bodies in New York, which cherished the Morgan conspirators, declined to do so, or to deny, as a masonic body, the truth of the disclosures against Freemasonry, or to renounce the system, or to disapprove the murder.

20. That masonic newspapers, masonic officers, and Masons of great respectability, embracing even ministers of the gospel in this state and in Rhode Island, have justified the murder of Morgan, and declared he had met his just deserts for a violation of his masonic oaths!

21. That in repeated instances masonic oaths have proved to be stronger and more binding on masonic consciences, than civil oaths in trials and examinations before judicial and legislative tribunals.

22. That masonic oaths, as administered in New York and Massachusetts, impose solemnly upon those who take them the following, among other obnoxious and criminal obligations, viz. :—

1. To conceal and never reveal, except to a brother Mason of the same degree, any of the secrets of Freemasonry, under any circumstances.

2. To obey all masonic signs and summonses, given by one Mason to another, or by a masonic body.

3. To obey the grand hailing sign of distress, at the hazard of life.

4. To keep a brother Mason's secrets of every description, when communicated as such, murder and treason only excepted, and they left to the election of the Mason receiving such secrets; and that this specific exception of only two crimes which may be disclosed, plainly enjoins the concealment of all other crimes.

5. Not to violate the chastity of the female relatives of a Mason, *knowing* them to be such, but enjoining no such restraint towards other females.

6. To keep *all* secrets communicated by a Royal Arch Mason, — or all secrets without exception, — or murder and treason not excepted.

7. To assist a Royal Arch Mason, espouse his cause, and extricate him from difficulty, whether he be right or wrong.

8. To travel forty miles barefoot, and on frozen ground, if required, to relieve the necessities of a worthy Knight Templar.

9. The drinking of wine out of a human skull, and imprecating the sins of the person whose skull that once was, upon the head of the candidate, as the Saviour bore the sins of the whole world, should the person who takes this oath ever violate any of his masonic oaths.

23. That the Master Mason's oath extends to the concealment of all crimes but *two*; and, therefore, if an oath to conceal *all* secrets, murder and treason not excepted, be indefensible, an oath to conceal all other crimes but these two is not less so.

24. That if adhering Masons can construe away their oaths which enjoin the concealment of each other's secrets, except, or including but two crimes (murder and treason), then, by the same process, they can construe away the injunction in the same oaths, to conceal any of the secrets of Freemasonry; and hence, that if an adhering Mason discloses such secret of a brother Mason, he is just as guilty of violating his oath as the seceding Mason is who discloses all the secrets of the craft.

25. That these facts prove Freemasonry to be "at variance with the fundamental principles of morality, and incompatible with the duty of a good and faithful citizen."

26. That the Declaration of the twelve hundred Masons is not only false in its denials, but false in its assertions, because, —

27. The candidate is *not* "made acquainted with the nature of the obligations he is required to assume" previous to taking his oaths, but he is required to promise to conform to the usages and customs of Freemasonry, without knowing what they are; and, by the Massachusetts book of constitutions, he is only permitted, before taking the oath, to see the charter and by-laws of the lodge and a list of its members, all of which contain no reference whatever to the oaths and obligations he is required to assume.

28. Because, the intimation from the Master, that the oaths will not interfere with religion or politics, is a deception, and no explanation of their nature, because it is not a part of the oath; and because the terms of the oaths, if they are to have any meaning at all, do interfere directly with religion and politics, and are nowhere explained, by any equally binding and concurrent authority, to mean anything different from their plain, literal import.

29. Because, if under such circumstances, Masons who profess to regard their oaths as binding at all, can explain away the literal import of their masonic oaths, they may, by the same reasoning, explain away the literal import of their civil oaths.

30. Because, obedience to the civil magistrate, and being true to the civil government, and just to the country, are not requisite to retain masonic fellowship and membership of a lodge, inasmuch as the book of constitutions lays down the maxim, that though a brother be a rebel against the state, yet "*if convicted of no other crime, they cannot expel him from the lodge, and his relation to it remains indefeasible.*"

31. Hence, that by masonic law and practice, *treason* and *murder* are not offences which are deemed of sufficient magnitude to authorize expulsion from the lodge.

32. That it is not true that Freemasonry secures its members

in the *freedom of speech*, because she fetters and hoodwinks them, and makes them swear to have their *throats cut*, and their *tongues torn out*, if they indulge in *freedom of speech*, touching any of the mysteries taught them by this pretended patron of freedom of speech; and because her books of constitution, monitors, and orators enjoin *silence* and *secrecy*; to be "cautious in words," to *manage* a discourse, and to "be voluntarily *dumb*," in order to avoid freedom of speech.

33. That these exclusive and selfish oaths, and the whole principles and practices of Freemasonry, do necessarily interfere with the dictates of conscience and the acts of Masons in matters of religion and politics, and disqualify men, under their influence, from conducting towards the rest of mankind with the same impartiality. in the capacity of jurors, judges, officers, or legislators, as can be exercised by men who acknowledge no other than civil, moral, and religious obligations.

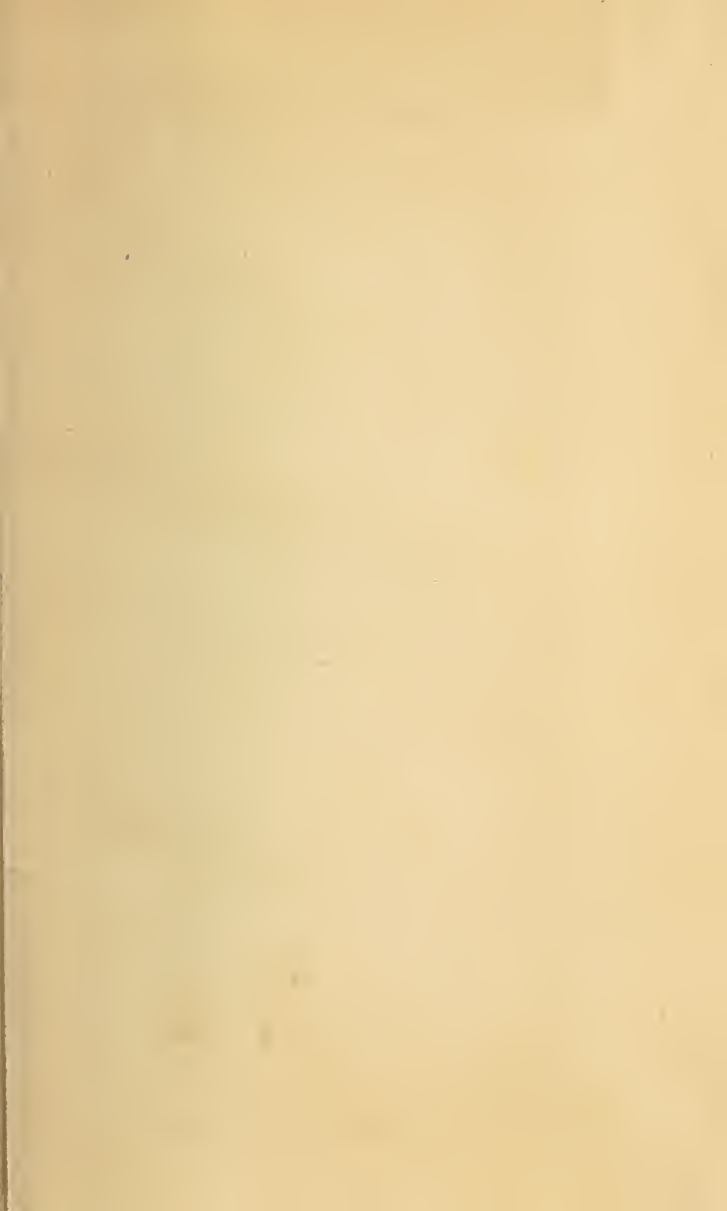
34. That if Masonry does disdain the making of proselytes, *Masons*, nevertheless, have repeatedly urged men to join the lodge.

35. That so far from admitting only those whose characters "are unspotted by immorality and vice," one of the inducements held out in her books of highest authority, to become a Mason, is, that it will introduce you to the fellowship of corsairs, pirates, and marauders, who will treat you as a brother.

36. That she not only admits men of the vilest character into her lodges, but retains in full fellowship the profligate, the abandoned, the worthless, the intemperate, the profane, and does not expel men guilty of kidnapping, murder, and treason.

37. That so far from being the handmaid of religion and virtue, she is the offspring of scepticism and vice, excluding revelation and the name of the Saviour from her seven first degrees; admitting the Bible of the Pagan and Mohammedan to a concurrent authority with the Bible of the Christian, as "holy writings," and practising secret rites and ceremonies, tending to bring the resurrection and the miracles of revelation into contempt.

38. That the pretended "charitable uses" of her "accumulated funds," received "in sacred trust," is deceptive; because no person likely to require charity, is, by her constitutions, permitted to be initiated; because her system of charity is merely a scheme of mutual assurance, rarely, if ever, paying out in charity what is received in fees, and appropriating to parades and processions, idle ornaments and *gorgeous temples*, the very funds pretended to have been received in sacred trust for charitable uses.



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