A

FULL EXPOSITION

OF THE

CLINTONIAN FACTION,

AND THE SOCIETY OF THE

Columbian Illuminati;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE WRITER

OF THE

NARRATIVE,

AND THE

CHARACTERS OF HIS

CERTIFICATE MEN,

AS ALSO

REMARKS ON

WARREN'S PAMPHLET.

BY JOHN WOOD, 1775?-1822

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE appearance of a pamphlet under the fictitious signature of WARREN, *containing the grossest falsehoods, imposed upon the public by plausible vouchers, has induced me, contrary to inclination, again to come forward, not only to refute the calumny, but if possible to prevent future attempts of the like nature, by exposing the banditti of infidelity in all their schemes of infamous ambition.*

A FULL EXPOSITION, &c.

THE prosperity of a nation, and the happiness of a people, depend on no circumstances so much, as a cordial understanding between the chief rulers.—The smallest deviation in point of sentiments among the first magistrates of a country, always creates jealousy and distrust, which finally lead to factions, that increase in mutual animosity, according to their distance from the seat of administration, and the means of arriving at the truth. A writer of some celebrity compares the best form of Government, to a nice piece of mechanism, which if the most trifling injury befalls the primary movements, communicates the disaster with accelerated force to the subordinate members, until the whole goes in confusion, and an entire dissolution takes place. The innumerable instances of fatal discord, which almost all nations have experienced in this respect, ought to guard the citizens of America from a like error, particularly when under their exellent constitution; the duration of the chief magistracy is so limited, that it ought to be the interest and duty of every good citizen, so far from fomenting any unhappy divisions which may arise, rather to endeavour, by every possible means, to effect a reconciliation and to preserve a mutual harmony between the officers of Government, until the expiration of the period for which they were elected—Then, and then alone, are the people to judge of the wisdom or degree of error which the executive has displayed; whether by a judicious administration they are to merit the thanks of their

countrymen and be restored to their former trust, or for folly and inconsistency, to be disgraced and marked with contempt.

It cannot be denied, that an injudicious disposal of offices, or attempts to infringe the constitution, are acts which will raise an immediate disgust in the minds of most citizens, at the conduct of the administration; but the most prudent and salutary mode to be pursued, even in such cases, will be, to guard with a watchful and submissive eye, the several servants of Government, until the proper opportunity arrive, for calling them to account for their perversion of justice.

Sentiments of this nature may not appear to carry equal weight by coming from the pen of a foreigner, as they would do, perhaps, from one who was attached to America from the natural ties of parental affection—They certainly do not, nor should I now presume to advise to one measure in preference to another, had not a train of circumstances already involved me in the political world, and compelled me to a public vindication, not only of my own conduct, but what I deem of much greater importance, an explanation of my connexion with the second character in the union, in a transaction, which, the malice of an aspiring party has taken the opportunity of aspersing with the venom of their poison.

The Gentleman who has honored me with an answer to my correct statement, has endeavoured to impose upon the public, by a species of plausible testimony, which unless examined, might have a tendency to carry conviction to the minds of the uninformed. The disingenuous artifice which he has adopted of separating both himself and the narrative writer, from Denniston and Cheetham, in order to double the evidence, so far from adding force to his argument, will, when exsposed, only like false colouring, betray his object, and make him appear to the world as a contemptable Jester——The epithets of Billingsgate which dance through every sentence of the Clintonian defence, may move my pity, but

shall not provoke my resentment. I shall meet the Pamphleteer upon the fairest of grounds, and promise, I will not desert the contest, until both he and his partizans shall appear to all mankind the mirrors of treachery and infidelity.—I shall proceed simply to inform the public, of the views of his party, and the characters which compose it.—I shall state the society of infidels which they support, and of which several of the party are members—I shall relate the views of this society, and the progress they have made; and then leave it to the citizens of the union, to decide upon the credit due to the narrative writer, and his band of patriots.

The Clintonian faction is of no modern date—A party particularly attached to the family of Clinton, has existed since the revolution.—A generous gratitude to the present Governor of the state of New-York, for his services during the war, laid the foundation of this party, which now, overleaping the boundaries of its native state, seems willing to extend its influence over the union.—The members of it actuated partly by prejudice, and partly by selfish motives, have extended the merited support, which they afforded the venerable Governor, into a dangerous partiality, in favour of Mr. De Witt Clinton. Without claim to one action of service; without a single recommendatory qualification, this young man introduced himself to one of the most important trusts of his state, merely on the supposition that the honesty of an uncle, was to flow in the veins of a nephew; but a fews months conduct only served to mark Mr. De Witt Clinton, as one of those instances, where vice is descended from virtue, and vicious inconsistency from prudent resolution.

The whole family of the Clintons, from the Governor down to the ignorant Denniston, were always opposed to Mr. Burr; but the original cause of their opposition, I am not acquainted with; probably it might arise from the opposite dispositions of the Vice-President and Governor Clinton, whose minds in respect to talent, are as differently formed, if I may borrow a comparison from Eu-

ropean characters, as ever were those, of the accomplished Chesterfield and the Methodist Westly.—In speaking of Mr. Burr and Governor Clinton, it may not be improper, if I bestow a little attention on that part of the View of Mr. Burr's political conduct, by the author of the Narrative, which is opposed to Governor Clinton.—That writer, who I have no hesitation to declare to be Mr. Cheetham; strenuously condemns every measure that was not introduced by the Clintonian party; and takes care to search out every step, in which Mr. Burr has deviated from them. In short, a person unacquainted with the politics of America, perusing this man's productions, would necessarily suppose, that the Governor was of divine origin; that the Clintonian system of legislature, was the only one, truly orthodox; that the sentiments of the family, merited the same respect, as the laws of Moses; and that the unfortunate unbeliever, was in reality a political infidel. The Clinton Family are held out, as the only sure land mark, to guide the wavering and uncertain citizen, through the political ocean of controversy. The Clintonian path is proclaimed as the only certain road to liberty and reason; the readiest way to happiness and riches, and the best guide to the favours of the bountiful Statesman of Monticello. Every thing, in the opinion of Mr. Cheetham, which is Clintonian, is excellent; while all matters, which have not received their approbation, are despicable.—It requires neither penetration to discover, nor ingenuity to prove, that to enforce this belief, is the principal aim, both of the Narrative and the View. In the year 1789, when Governor Clinton and Judge Yates, were held up for the important place of Governor, Mr. Burr is censured, because he supported the latter, in preference to the former.—Antifederalism in this case, was out of the question, as the two candidates were of the same principle. It was simply a contest between families, whose political opinions were alike: but in the judgment of Mr. Cheetham, Mr. Burr ought to be blamed because he did not support Mr. Clinton.—At the returning period of general election, Mr. Burr is again

censured for having suffered his friends, who belonged to the republican party, to set him up in opposition to Clinton—as if the latter alone had the exclusive privilege to the support of the antifederalists. Whether the facts which the Narrative writer here states are correct or not, is a matter of no consequence. They no way contribute either to prove Mr. Burr a federalist, or an antifederalist—or to raise or depress him in the opinion of any rational man. They must, however, serve to make him esteemed by every independent character, who wishes to move according to principle, and not act the humble tool of particular individuals.

The Clinton party did not, however, oppose Mr. Burr until after his election as Vice-President, although they used every private exertion, to cause certain electors of the different states, New-York in particular, to drop him for John Langdon—and Governor Clinton himself, even insinuated in a private circle of his friends, that if the Vice-Presidency had been pressed upon him, he would have accepted of it, had he known the republican party were to have set up Mr. Burr.*

But the circumstance which excited the Clinton chagrin to an apparent pitch, was the President bestowing several of the offices in New-York, to persons attached to Mr. Burr, in preference to their own creatures. So jealous were the Clinton family in this respect, that their tools industriously circulated reports of quarrels between the President and Vice-President, when the utmost harmony existed between them ; and they went so far as even to hint at some letter which was said to have been written so early as the month of May after the election, from the Secretary of the

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* *A most respectable citizen in New-York, who was said to be an amorous visitor in the Governor's family at this period, declared he heard Governor Clinton use an expression to this purpose at his own table.*

Treasury to Commodore Nicholson, reprehensive of Mr. Burr's conduct. From this period nearly, may be dated the Clintonian and Burr factions. The active characters which compose the former, are Mr. De Witt Clinton, Mr. George Clinton, Mr. Riker, Mr. Wortman, Mr. Osgood, Mr. Sylvanus Miller, Dr. Anderson, Editor Cheetham, and John Ferguson, the Secretary to the Commissioners of Bankruptcy.

As these men are all natives of America, except Mr. Cheetham, it is presumed the private history of their lives is sufficiently known; and, indeed, the character of Cheetham is so noted for infamy, that perhaps any further remarks to establish its notoriety, would be regarded only as taking a delight in treading the paths of vice and slander. Painful, however, as a topic of this nature must be to every generous mind, there are some cases which require an illustration of the vilest actions, in order to point out their effect upon society, and the link of the chain which connects them with the more virtuous works of the community. The character of Cheetham forms one directly of this description. Were it not for the humble part he acts in the service of De Witt Clinton, his name would be considered as a marked insult, offered even to the most profligate reader. But De Witt Clinton, although as a private individual, he may not deserve the notice of the public, yet, as a Senator of Congress, he merits attention, not only by his own actions, but those of his menial servants. The common executioner of justice, who ranks in a class the most despicable in a civilized nation, is often necessarily mentioned, from the offices which the law compels him to perform; and Cheetham, who may be regarded as the executioner of De Witt's pleasure, has a claim to a degree of notice from the same account.

This fellow is well known to be a native of Manchester, and a hatter by trade. The other particulars of his life, are not so generally public. He is the youngest of three brothrers, who

are reported to have been designated in their native town, by the epithet of the three jacobin infidels. Their names John, Benjamin and James, alone pointed them out as the descendants of a christian family, the founder of which, if we are to infer from the word *Cheetham*, most probably died on the gallows—James, the editor, was always regarded as the leader of the three, and the other two, who are no way remarkable but for stupidity, were rather pitied, as being the dupes of their brother, than censured by the public. When the mad doctrines propagated in the reign of Robespiere, lighted the torch of discord in Great-Britain, the manufacturing towns, from being the seats of industry, were suddenly converted into scenes of riot and rebellion. This was the field for the wild imgination of James Cheetham to roam about. With the Rights of Man in one hand, and the Age of Reason in another, he is said to have run from tavern to tavern, and from brothel to brothel, collecting and summoning together all that wickedness had rendered contemptible, drunkenness turned idle, and indolence made destitute. At the head of this ragged and half starved banditti, he traversed the streets in contempt of both church and government. The whig party, whose opposition was founded on rational principles, regarded him as only an ignorant desperado, leading a wretched rabble to destruction, and received the greatest pleasure, when both he and his gang were committed to Lancaster jail. Here Cheetham continued several months, to the infinite satisfaction of his townsmen, who viewed him as a nuisance to the place. Whether he was liberated without trial, or acquitted by some mistake in the indictment, I have not been informed; but certain it is, that all classes of citizens in Manchester, were so exasperated at his release, that they turned their former indignation into an unwarrantable rancour. Not being able to find the liberated felon, who was concealed by his mother in an old chest deposited in the garden, they wreaked their vengeance on the inoffensive John*. This poor fellow was made

* *I call this man inoffensive, although he possesses the same principles as his brothers, because he has never been known to at-*

fast to a pole, from the top of which was suspended an image of Thomas Paine, the idol of the family. Ribbons of infamy were tacked round him from his head to his heels, and in this disgraceful state, the miserable creature was carried round the town of Manchester, until night put a close to the tormenting scene. The punishment of John, was a sufficient example to the family; and both mother, chest, and sons, before next morning, took their flight for America. Arrived in the new world, I shall leave John and Benjamin to the industrious occupations which they pursue, and confine my remarks solely to the Citizen Editor. I have related in my Correct Statement, the manner by which he obtained a partnership in the American Citizen, and his ingratitude afterwards to his patron, Colonel Burr. Indeed, it most frequently happens, that acts of kindness to men of Cheetham's description, prove unfortunate to the generous benefactor, and ultimately confer on him dishonour and reproach. Their services while they last, are only marked with infamy, and their resentment, when excited, is often more fatal than the enmity of a stranger. When Mr. Burr expressed his disapprobation at the billingsgate, manufactured for the American Citizen, Cheetham turned his back on his friend, and cordially embraced the views of Mr. De Witt Clinton. There was a fortunate similarity of sentiment between this gentleman and the Manchester hatter; the coarse and vulgar language of the latter, which was offensive to every delicate ear, was peculiarly acceptable to the rough and vitiated taste of Mr. Clinton. Their friendship was moreover cemented by Cheetham's connexion with David Denniston, the blood relation of the Clinton family. The moment of union was also adapted to the wedlock of infamy. De Witt Clinton, then

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tempt an injury to others. He has an irreproachable character both as to temperance and industry; and were it not for the example of the editor, he might be justly esteemed a useful member of society, in the sphere in which he moves.

in the Council of Appointment, regardless of the admonitions of his venerable uncle, was spreading with malignant fury, ruin and destruction through the state of New-York. Honesty, merit, and virtue were compelled to seek for an asylum, by a hasty retreat from public duty into private life, while the vindictive brooding Wortman, the conceited Riker, and a band of pretended patriots, only capable of acting as the prompters of a puppet show, were hastening in, to garble on the fees of office, and to sport with the passions and prejudices of a populace warmed every morning by the declamatory jargon of Mr. Cheetham. During this farcical scene, the auctioneers or hammermen, were buzzing about, like wandering bees that had lost their hive. Mothers were seen suppliants for days together in Mr. Clinton's lobby, to obtain pardon for their sons; while affectionate wives did not hesitate to throw themselves at the feet of De Witt to shield their husbands from beggary. Every villain in New-York, volunteered in his service; even the miserable wretches in the state prison, cleared up their dismal countenances in hopes of liberty; for in a cause where no regard was paid to justice, nor attention to honour, the most infamous characters were necessary tools to its success. Private caucusses were nightly held in the chambers of Riker and Wortman, for the purpose of laying plans in order to promote the Clintonian interest among the lower classes. This was the greatest difficulty; there were few or no places fitted to gratify their desires; and the instability of an uninformed populace, both Wortman and Riker were well acquainted with. But they knew that they themselves were improper agents for this purpose. Other persons were required, whose habits of life rendered them more suitable orators for the occasion. David Denniston, at his leisure hours, with the assistance of Taylor Sidell, was deemed a proper person to convert the Yorkers. The latter has since been publicly rewarded for his services, and David, being a family cousin, has no doubt received a generous draught from the Clintonian cup. One Hereford, an Irishman, at that period

agent in New-York for the Aurora, and one Christian, a cabinet maker, another Irishman, were thought fit messengers to run among the new imported Hibernians, in order to quiet their loquacious wants. Walter Morton, a Scotchman, whose biography I shall presently give, was a proper visitor to the inquisitive and wary Caledonians.

De Witt Clinton was so eager at this period to have in his service those characters who are called club orators, that he is said to have visited most of the taverns in New-York for that purpose. He received information of a Barber, who had published an essay on the liberty of the press, had been secretary to the Scotch convention, was a deist in principle, and an excellent logician among jacobins. To this man he repaired, with the intention of making him hair-dresser to the whole Clintonian family, provided he would swear allegiance to their interest ; but what was his astonishment and disappointment, in place of a talkative bravado, which he expected to find, only to see a little fellow, four feet in height, about thirty years of age, but seventy in looks, with a mournful eye, sallow complexion, and tremulous hand, waving a broken razor along the surface of an old shoe, which served him for a whetstone. Mr. Clinton at the sight of the spectre, was most heartily inclined to take an immediate leave, but the philosophic barber, having requested him to be seated, he disclosed the object of his visit, and as a mark of brotherly love, submitted his face to the operation of a many toothed iron, for the space of half an hour ; all his arts of complaisance, however, were to no purpose, for he confessed to a person, who I heard relate the anecdote, that he never found so much *virtuous obstinacy*, in the heart of a *jacobin*.

The next circumstance in Mr. De Witt Clinton's political character, which I shall remark, is his election as Senator to Congress. This was a most important step to the party. They wanted an ambassador at the seat of government, and none certainly

was better qualified than the man to whom they had sold both their fortune and honour. Leaving the management of New-York in the hands of Riker, Wortman, and the editor Cheetham, he repaired to Washington about the end of February. There he set to work all his talents to render himself agreeable to Mr. Jefferson; he preserved a formal and distant civility towards Mr. Madison, (who, it is said, perceived his intentions) and slyly insinuated himself into the favour of the Secretary of the Treasury. Here I shall leave Mr. Clinton caucussing with the republican interest, until I relate the proceedings of his minions at New-York, during his absence. Wortman and Riker, with the editor Cheetham I have said were the persons to whom was entrusted the interest of the family. I ought, however, not to have passed over his brother George, whom the writer of the View calls, in page 91, a promising young man. Cheetham, when he used this expression, certainly must have had a contemptible opinion of the judgment of his readers—for no one knows the indolent weakness of George Clinton, better than Cheetham; perhaps a greater simpleton is not to be found in the whole city of New-York, if his cousin, the Governor's son, be excepted; and yet this same George, Mr. Burr is said to have dreaded, (vid. page 91.) His character, notwithstanding, is preferable to his brothers; he possesses a certain pride, not uncommon with ideots, which prevents him mixing with the buffoons of party, or becoming the bully of any individual. His countenance is open, neither marked with the gloom of Wortman, or the simpering smile of the deputy attorney general, and if separated from his party, he would be even a companion for honest men, on a joyful occasion. The most prominent political intrigue acted by the Clinton party, were their proceedings at New-York during the election for members to serve in the Legislature. To give the reader sufficient information on this head, it is necessary that I transcribe a few paragraphs of what Mr. Cheetham says in his View on the subject:—" Calculating on the efficacy of intrigue, and the knowledge of the art, the little band

entertained hopes that, at the spring election of this year, in the city of New-York, for members of Assembly, they could succeed in sending to the Legislature men zealous to promote the schemes of the Vice-President—It was expected by those who knew the projects and designs of Mr. Burr, and of those who were enlisted in his service, that the little handful of desperate and unsound citizens, would make an effort to get some of their associates nominated, and of course elected."

"Accordingly, a general meeting of the citizens was called by public advertisement. The design of the meeting was to recommend to the different wards in the city, the appointment of a committee of nomination, each to furnish an equal number. It was thought too, more proper that the meeting should fix on the number of persons to be sent from each ward, that an uniform rule might be pursued—Agreeably to the maxim, that a small body of men are more liable to yield to the impressions of intrigue than a large one, the Burrites, pluming themselves on their adroitness in the art, were for a small committee. Those who were sensible of their machinations, and determined to oppose them, considering that there is more safety in many than in a few persons, and that our citizens generally were unacquainted with the arts of the little faction, advocated a large committee of nomination. The Burrites were for a committee of three persons from each of the seven wards, making in the whole a general committee of twenty-one. Their opponents were in favor of seven from each, making in the aggregate a committee of forty nine. It was known that the little band had no more than ten active men among them, and it was probable that, if the general committee of nomination were to consist of no more than twenty one persons, one half of that number would be favourers of the views of Mr. Burr. In this case, four or five of the faction would have been nominated to represent the city in the State Legislature—and there is no knowing what mischief they would there have done."

"A committee of seven from each ward, however, was agreed upon in the general meeting, by a large majority—so far an important end was gained."

"It was now necessary to attend to the election of the committees in the respective wards—It was expected that the subtlest of the Burritian arts, would be employed to compass the election of as many of the band as possible.—The expectation was realized; their effects were pretty successful—ten or eleven were elected. This evinces the wisdom of the proposition for a large committee."

Mr. Cheetham then proceeds to state, that after the committee of nomination met, it was soon perceived, that a mutual jealousy existed between the friends and foes of the administration; that the former were by far the more numerous in the committee; and that they were determined to negative every proposition for placing one of the little band on the list of nomination, while the latter were not less resolute to oppose the nomination of any of the Clinton family. He adds that the nomination of W. P. Vaness, was a favourite point with the little band, but that Mr. Vaness was negatived, having only eleven of the forty nine votes.

Mr. George Clinton, he says, was elected a candidate by the committee of nomination; but, that the moment his election was ascertained, Mr. Swartwout rose and declared he would oppose him, in the general meeting of citizens, to whom the nomination of the committee was to be submitted.

He then proceeds to state, that after three or four days of deliberation and reflection, that portion of the committee who had elected Mr. Clinton were of opinion, that, for the sake of harmony and the furtherance of the election of Col. Broome, it would be proper to withdraw his name from the list of nomination.

It is hardly conceivable with what intention or hopes of belief,

the brazen mind of Mr. Cheetham has dared to make assertions, that he must have known would appear absurd to the general class of citizens in New-York. He was not ignorant that, though at the general meeting of the citizens, some of Mr. Burr's friends voted for a small committee, yet a greater proportion of them along with the Clintonians, were for seven members from each ward; he was present, and heard Doct. Smith, one of the most violent partizans of Mr. Burr, make a most elaborate and ingenious speech, in favour of the latter motion—He was sensible, that it was in a great measure owing to Doct. Smith, the friend of Mr. Burr, that the motion was carried.—He beheld also several of Mr. Clinton's warmest friends, vote on the side of what he terms the little band; the meeting in short, was never considered, except by the deputy Attorney Geneial, Mr. Wortman and Mr. Cheetham, as a political one, to divide the republican party.—They were desirous, however, it should be so considered, and left no means untried to effect their wish. To those citizens who were not in the secret, and were strangers to the Clinton intrigues, Cheetham's proclamation of a Burr faction appeared, at first, as the wild effusion of a maniac, and it was not until little Riker, like a twittering tom-tit, chirped the notes of the bully Bird, that the song gained any credit. Wortman also, as a drooping owl, was a harbinger of the mournful tale.—But it was left to Mr. George Clinton to complete the tragic scene; the baby cheeks of this gentleman are so well adapted to display the effect of a trickling tear, that it was with justice supposed the nerves of every Burrite would be convulsed on the occasion.—Accordingly on the appointed evening the tender hearted youth, supported by cousin Denniston on the right, and partner Wortman on the left, stalked forth, amidst the assembled citizens, and in plaintive accent, declined the intended honor, of being appointed to the Legislature.—Mr. Cheetham says, that the withdrawing of Mr. Clinton's name from the nomination, excited so much disgust,

that they were in every essential ward, indolent and lethargic at the ensuing election.—A vast majority certainly were so, and never turned out to the polls: but their disgust proceeded from a very different cause; it arose from this tragic political farce, acted by the Clinton family. Even the most ignorant negro, could not but discern the blushing hypocrisy, which flowed from the melting eyes of George, when delivering his address; the affected condolence of the deputy attorney general; the sympathetic grin of counsellor Wortman and David Denniston, and the pitiful displeasure which the grumbling Clintonians muttered on their gums, at the conclusion of the ceremony.

The sequel to the farce, was reserved to the management of Riker.

> "The children's wonder—signor Punchenello,
> Who struts upon the stage, his hour away—
> His outside gold—his inside rags and hay;"

and perhaps such an artful scheme was never laid by this gentleman before.—A young Frenchman from the West-Indies, a clerk in the house of the Messrs. Napier, in Pearl-street, and an acquaintance of Mr. Riker's, lodged in the house with Doct. Smith. The Doctor one morning, observing the Frenchman busily employed in writing election tickets, had the curiosity to look at one of them; when to his astonishment, he perceived it contained the name of George Clinton, who a few nights before, declined being a candidate, with the affecting ceremony I have mentioned; upon farther interrogation, the Frenchman candidly confessed, he was employed by Mr. Riker. Doctor Smith, confounded at this intelligence, hurried away to Mr. Riker's; but the deputy attorney general who is never discomposed, unless when uttering the truth with the most careless indifference said, "the fellow must have dreamt the story, or something to that purpose; and that he would see about it."—Doctor Smith returned to the Frenchman, who still insisted as to the name of his employer—But Mr. Riker

having seen the poor foreigner that evening, according to his promise to the Doctor; a proper French tale was manufactured, against the next meeting of the citizens. The Frenchman came forward and declared, he only made use of Mr. Riker's name, in order to conceal that of the real employer: while the deputy attorney general, with his laughing logic, endeavored to persuade the marveling carmen of the truth of his assertions.—The spring of the plot being thus broken, the Clinton Band were obliged to resign with a tear of real sorrow that object which a few evenings before they were in hopes of accomplishing by a show of affected distress.

There was another object which was deemed at this time, of considerable importance to the Clinton interest—and this was to obtain the favour of the new made citizens. To effect this, a society was formed under the direction of Cheetham, for the avowed purpose of giving instructions to the foreigners in the different wards, relative to the mode of becoming citizens; but the real design was to explain to them the line of politics they were to pursue. The members of this society, I think, were Walter Morton, John Aird, David Denniston, Alexander Gordon, Henry Hereford, an odd fellow of an Irishman, called Caldwell, who on account of his drollery, goes under the name of old mother Cole, along with several others, whose names I do not recollect. I was introduced by accident one night at a meeting of these gentlemen, and as I was informed by Mr. Cheetham of the nature of the business on which they convened, it is most probable that they were all members—of this, however, I am not certain, as one or two of them might have been visitors like myself. It is needless for me to mention the ridiculous and irregular proceeding of Wortman, in running to the poll with the books of the Mayor's court under his arm, and with a troop of ragged aliens at his tail, when stamp certificates could not be procured. This unwarrantable act has already been sufficiently handled by others; the cause of it however, has not been so well understood. Wortman knew, as well

as the inspectors, that the votes of these aliens would be challenged : of this he could not be ignorant ; but he was in hopes that the ardency he showed to confer the brotherly title of citizen upon them, would be certain means of rivetting forever their friendship to the Clinton family, which he on that occasion in a manner represented. The Mayor one of these days of citizen making, chanced to be half an hour longer than ordinary in opening the court. This, by the Clintonians, was asserted to be a trick of Prevost, the recorder, Mr. Burr's step-son, who by some manœuvre or other, contrived to postpone the business :—for every accident that tended to procrastinate the making of citizens, even the want of stamp certificates, was thrown at the door of Mr. Prevost.

About this period Mr. De Witt Clinton returned to New-York, having, no doubt, fully discussed, before he left Washington, Mr. Burr's act of suppressing Adams' History. It was immediately upon his return, that Mr. Cheetham set about writing the Narrative. This I should have thought myself bound to have concealed, had not the duplicity he has evinced in Warren's pamphlet, forced me to a public disclosure. Mr. Cheetham, before Mr. De Witt's return, although he threw out a number of insinuations against the Vice-President, yet he cautiously refrained from a fair attack until the arrival of his patron, whose broad wing he probably supposed a sufficient shield for every species of slander and falsehood. Whether Mr. Cheetham wrote all the Narrative, or what assistance he received from De Witt, Riker and Wortman, I know not—but certain it is, he told me he was the author—and equally certain I am of having seen him repeatedly employed at writing the manuscript ; but this, however, I shall discuss more fully when I come to speak of Warren's pamphlet ; but I must first, according to the plan I have laid down, describe the Society of the Columbian Illuminati, and their connection with the Clintonians.

The schemes of those sects called Illuminati, have of late years

so much engaged the public attention, not only in Europe, but in America—and their views have been so fully discussed by writers of every denomination, in books, pamphlets and newspapers, that it would be deemed superfluous and unnecessary, were I here to enter into an elaborate investigation of the subject. It is proper, however, that I should deliver my opinion in a few words, and in precise terms, of the real intentions of the Illuminati—having been accused more than once of an inconsistency in point of sentiment, respecting these secret societies. The hasty reader of my History of the Swiss Revolution, has said that I gave full credit to the stories of Robison and Barruel, and that I attributed to the Illuminati, the fatal disasters which have befallen the nations of Europe; while in my letter, addressed to Judge Addison, of Pennsylvania, I have appeared inclined to look upon the relations of the French Jesuit and the Scotch Professor, only as tales, or the fabrications of artful men. But this is an inference made without either due consideration, or proper attention to what I have written. In my History of Switzerland, if the reader look to pages 300 and 301, he will perceive that I do not attempt to give a decided opinion on the views of the Illuminati, until the defence of Dr. Adam Weishaupt, the founder of the sect, should make its appearance. My words are, "This subject has already undergone a laborious investigation by two writers of extensive penetration and ingenuity, (the Abbe Barruel and Professor Robison) and as an answer to these gentlemen is now preparing by the principal leader of the accused party, (Dr. Adam Weishaupt) it is to be hoped the real agents and conspirators of the French revolution will soon be brought to light, that the world may know whether the disciples of Voltaire and D'Alembert, or the zealous partizans and pretended supporters of the christian faith, have been the greatest cause of French infidelity, and French republicanism." After the appearance of Weishaupt's defence, which was twelve months posterior to my publication of the History of Switzerland, and other tracts in vindication of the Illuminati printed in Germany, which I had an

opportunity of perusing when in London, on my way to this country, I confess my opinion of those philosophic meetings was rather favourable than otherwise. The sentiments respecting them which I then entertained, are expressed in my letter to Judge Addison, and the authorities referred to on which I founded my opinion. But since writing that letter, such events have occurred on the continent of Europe, and such changes have arisen in the opinions of the philosophers of Germany, and several of the literati of Paris, who once advocated the cause of Illuminatism, that it now appears to me, to be a subject, respecting which, we ought to decide with the greatest caution, and if possible, to draw a middle line between the specious pretexts offered by Weishaupt in his defence, and the hasty charges of Robison and Barruel. The existence of a similar sect in New-York, which has been secretly established for upwards of three years, ought, however, to have the greatest weight in proving that there has been no small foundation for the plots reported by these writers.

I am well aware, that Authors in general, are too frequently censured for not rigidly adhering to the tenets they first set out with, but no censure is more unjust and ridiculous—for it is impossible that any writer on historical, political, or civil events, can assert the truth of what he states, with the same confidence as a mathematician can vouch for the accuracy of a proposition. The data of the latter are unalterable, and can neither be affected by any power mortal or immortal ; but the data of the former, depend entirely upon the veracity of a few individuals, who if detected in malice, caprice, or deceit, the literary fabric which has been built, tumbles to the ground, like a building raised on a watery soil, whose pillars are of no avail, when the slippery foundation once gives way. It is only a mind immersed in prejudice, and enveloped in ignorance, that will refuse to yield ideas, however long established, if formed from principles afterwards demonstrated to be incorrect. There can be no political or moral tenets but which must submit to the test of experience. The period of trial may be variable, according to chance or the nature of the

subject, and mankind in general, are sensible of this ; a foolish obstinacy, or selfish motives, alone prevent their candid confession.

The most violent jacobin in the United States, has, I am persuaded, in the space of the last twelve months, at some interval or other, supposed a limited monarchy to be the best government under the sun ; while the most furious tory, at some other moment, may have desired a democracy. Even our President himself, who, I trust, enjoys a portion of judgment much superior to that of any of his courtiers, has probably in secrecy, more than once blushed at the folly of his admirers, and would often have gladly dispensed with the servile compliments of his train. The grand political trial, as to the expediency of a sudden change in a government which has received the sanction of ages, appears in Europe to be now verging towards a close. The Aphelion of revolutionary madness is passed, and a few years more will possibly bring mankind to that point in the circle of politics, from which they started, intoxicated with the metaphysics of Paine, and the dreams of Mirabeau. This in reality has been the question which for these ten years, has agitated the world, and not whether a monarchy or a republic is the wisest scheme of government—for if in the order of things, France had been for centuries an established republic, an attempt at monarchy would have produced the same fatal consequences as their recent struggles for liberty. Two of the most powerful advocates for the revolutionary system, Mr. Intosh and Godwin, have already given up the contest, and their disciples, it may be supposed, will of course retract their opinions, and follow their masters. At any rate, in a country such as this, the people of which enjoy a constitution not formed by their ancestors, but by themselves, it is the duty of every prudent man, whatever might have been his former sentiments, now to take a warning from the fate of France, and to discourage every attempt which may be made to effect a change either in the moral, political, or religious sentiments of the people. I

know it is an idea too generally held among the deistical republicans of the present day, that the constitution of America has granted to all its citizens an enjoyment of opinion in religious matters, unfettered either by the precepts of the Old Testament, or the superior mandates of the Son of God. The Legislatures of the different states have, however, wisely regarded that article of the constitution in its proper light, and while they allow the citizens an unrestrained liberty as to the form of worship, yet they prudently ordain a strict observance of Sunday, justly supposing this to have been the spirit of the constitution, and the idea of its framers, who never dreamt that a species of beings, would spring up in America, like the savage brute, that would acknowledge no divine superior, but only aim at glutting the appetites of hunger and lust.

The society in New-York, which I am about to describe, was in fact a society of this nature, erected in rebellion to the religious acts of the state. This will be proved from their constitution, and the confession of several of the members. It was a society fraught with the blackest intentions, to overturn the divine revelation, and to raise the hand of opposition against the opinion of every christian. Their scheme was not confined to the state of New-York, but following the example of the Illuminati in Europe, it will be seen from the ninth article of their *printed constitution*, that they had corresponding committees, to propagate their new philosophy throughout the world. It may be answered to what I state, that from the low estimation in which most of the members of this society were held, by the majority of respectable citizens in New-York, that their proceedings could have had no influence beyond the narrow and contemptible circle of their own acquaintances ; but it ought to be remembered, that some of the most lamentable revolutions in the world, have arisen from trifling causes and trifling actors. The Club of William Tell, in Switzerland, which was only composed of the lowest or-

der of mechanics, laid the foundation for the easy conquest of that country by the French. This Club was, in most respects, a parallel of the theistical society of New-York. Their first institution was merely a drunken meeting, to commemorate the memory of the deliverer of Switzerland. From this arose a convivial Club, which met more frequently. Convivial cheerfulness produced convivial arguments, until at length a regular debating society was formed; although its members were ignorant of every law of logic, and every rule of rhetoric. In a little time they advanced a degree farther, and assumed the title of the Philosophic Society of William Tell, upon the supposition that the peasant of Uri, must necessarily have been a philosopher, as well as a skilful archer. Their rude philosophy, as might be expected, lighted the road to jacobinism; and in the space of a few years after their first organization, they had extended the horrors of their order, into the deepest recesses of the Alpine regions. There was not a city, a town, or a village of Switzerland, in the year 1792, which did not contain a society of Tellets. The dress they used in their Lodges, and the furniture of their halls, corresponded with their character and their designs. These will appear incredible to any person who has not had the opportunity of witnessing their ceremonies, which like those of the Illuminati, were not kept secret; for every member had the privilege, on ordinary occasions, of introducing an acquaintance, and the first sight naturally afforded to a stranger an horrific surprise. The visitor was carried by his friend into an adjoining chamber, until his name was announced to the Club; he was then introduced into a hall painted black, which was lighted by torches placed in standards, shaped into the form of human skulls.* The mem-

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* *The tribunal at Geneva, in which Bousquet presided, in* 1794, *which condemned to death so many citizens, was of the order of the Tellets, and the ensigns of office were nearly the same:—See my History of Switzerland, page* 339, *as also the Annual Register for* 1795.

bers were seated round a long table, and were dressed in flowing garments of scarlet, the sleeves of which, were tucked up; their breasts and legs were bare, and each man wore a small breast plate, the badge of the order, representing the story of Tell, shooting the apple from the head of his son.

I have mentioned the Tellets in my history of Switzerland (p. 309) but I have described them here more particularly, to prepare the mind of the reader for similar scenes, which have been acting for several years in the city of New-York, by men with whom we are all acquainted, but who have carefully concealed their proceedings, even from their most intimate acquaintances. —This is no tale, no visionary dream or artful fabrication—Dr. Morse will have no occasion to write to foreign professors to obtain information as to the reality of the Illuminati—he will only have to write to the Mayor of New-York, to inform him whether such men as Elihu Palmer, a blind preacher, and David Denniston, an editor of the American Citizen, are in existence, and it will be proved by me that the same Elihu Palmer and David Denniston, with many other zealous Clintonians, have been members of a society, first termed the Philosophical, and afterwards the Theistical, for the avowed purpose of propagating Deism and opposing the christian religion.

The origin of this society was, however, more systematical than either the Tellets of Switzerland, or any other perhaps of the description which has been established—It arose upon the ruins of the celebrated democratic society of New-York, in the same manner as the Illuminati originated from the remarkable Lodge of the Electic Masonry at Munich, called the Theodore of good council—it was composed of the scattered dregs of those Jacobin Infidels, who covered the democratic society with disgrace, and shed a degree of odium upon the pure doctrine of republicanism, which the efforts of the virtuous patriot, will not for years wipe away—it issued from the tomb of its fallen parent, like a foul spectre, blotted with crimes, gaping with vengeance, and eager to drag

the weak and unsuspicious mind into the abyss of eternal torment.—As the graceless son of a graceless family, most frequently exerts all his ingenuity to complete the infamy of a ruined reputation, so the members of the Theistical Society, meditated upon every scheme to add the last reproach to their characters, already broken and despised.—The imported scum of the Edinburgh Convention, and the refuse of the banished rebels of Ireland, joined also their hearts and hands with the Infidels of New-York, in planning this society.—It was in short a combination of treachery, of indigence, of frenzy, intemperance and every species of polluted baseness, for the purpose of combating religion, virtue and wisdom. Among such a motly crew, one might suppose their resolutions would be marked with folly and ignorance; but this was not the case; for although all the Devils which issued from Pandora's box, may be supposed to have had a voice in their decrees; yet it is to be remembered, that each of them had been previously exercised, for several years in similar schemes, and therefore, knew how to gloss the blackest villainy under the specious veil of morality—They were no novices in this respect; they were not stangers to the art of cunning or deceit. They were well acquainted, both how to make, and lay their traps, so as to be invisible to any eye, not tinged with suspicion—Like felonious robbers, they associated with, feigned, and courted the habitudes of industry and religion during the day, that they might with more security in their nightly cabals, mangle the divine Revelation into a banquet of pleasure, and season the works of the Fathers, with the seeds of Epicurean philosophy. All their intercourse, all their actions and dealings were infectious. They were the hidden instruments of vice and torment; like poisonous plants, corrupted themselves and corrupting all about them.

When I give this picture of the society, I do not pretend to say but what there were members to whom this character does not apply. I know there were several who were ensnared like harmless flies in a spider's web, and were detained with no other view

but to serve as a bait for the ignorant multitude. There were others again, who, at their first visit, started back with the same horror as an innocent youth, when drawn by accident into a bagnio of dissipation—retreats, and confused with shame, conceals from his friends, the seat of wickedness which his eyes have witnessed. There were also among them, a few of those deluded minds, who, ignorant of the christian religion, are impressed with a prejudice against all its professors, but in other respects are good industrious citizens—Their weak imaginations were dazzled with the specious logic held forth to them, and they volunteered with the greatest zeal in what they believed a righteous cause, and of service to the community—They were told that the only intention of the Society was to oppose political and religious prejudice, to cultivate moral duties, and to bring mankind into a perfect state of liberty, equality, and happiness. This was the great object presented to the credulous pupil, as may be seen from the first article of their printed constitution, which the reader will presently peruse. But these well meaning members were kept apart, as will be proved, from the ringleaders—they were totally unacquainted with their schemes—they imagined nothing was transacted but in their presence—they had no idea that there were different grades in the society—they were ignorant of the diabolical plans which were daily forming by the directors—they knew nothing about the proceedings of secret committees—they imagined there were none superior in knowledge or rank to themselves. Like honest simpletons, they thought all which they saw and heard, was for the public good. They, therefore, made no secret of communicating what they knew to their friends and acquaintances, they rather exhorted them to become members of the charitable institution, to partake of its blessings, and to be enlightened by the influence of its doctrines.

Having now given a short sketch of the nature of the society which I call the Columbian Illuminati, though termed by its members the *Theistical*, I shall proceed to shew my proofs for the

existence of such a society, and give the names and characters of some of its leading members, with an account of their constitution; their connexion with the Temple of Reason, and the cause of their affection for the Clinton family.

Although I have been in the habits of intimacy for these two years with several of the principal members, yet I never received the smallest hint of their institution; so secret were they, in their communications to all persons who they had reason to believe were not deists. I have seen them, indeed, frequently exchange private signs, but imagined they were masonic.

Societies of this nature would probably, forever remain unknown, were all the members true to their oath of fidelity: but the propagation of deism, like that of treason, is a crime so heinous, that it generally sooner or later, awakens the consciences of some of the actors, whose hearts are not altogether hardened in the deeds of iniquity. This was the case with two or three of the members of the Theistical Society: one young man in particular, a practitioner of physic, who had been educated in the principles of christianity as taught by the Quakers, unfortunately became initiated in the mysteries of the Theistical society, (I ought not, however, to say unfortunately,) as he was one of the instruments by which their secrets became public. With all the ardor which a novel doctrine commonly inspires the mind of youth, he embraced their tenets and prosecuted the study of their philosophy, until he arrived at the honour of being elected a member of the highest grade—He continued in this elevated and secret station for the period of one twelve month, exercising with keenness the different propositions which were presented to him for investigation by the President Palmer, and in instructing and preparing the minds of the minor pupils, who were placed under his care: Providence at last opened his eyes, and disclosed the road of error, along which he was galloping to destruction, and with the same haste with which he mounted the pinnacle of ignorance, he de-

scended, and quickly regained with repentant steps, his former mode of worship. A proper and just zeal for christianity, caused him to reveal the dark machinations which were plotting against the teachers of the gospel. This account I have had from a particular friend of the young Quaker, but he expressed a desire that I should not publish his name. The Society, however, will easily recognize him, from the description that I have given.

When the veil of secrecy was thus rent, several other members followed the example of the Quaker Doctor. Some were struck with the terror of loosing the small pittance which they earned by their daily labour, if their nightly proceedings were known, and they, therefore, hastened to rid themselves of the part which they acted. Others again, of the well meaning members, took the opportunity in order to vindicate their characters, of giving a candid statement of what they knew to their friends. Among the latter, were Mr. George Baron, a respectable mathematical teacher in New-York, and a Mr. Carver, of Cedar street. It is, however, a justice which I owe both to Mr. Baron and Mr. Carver, to declare that the facts which I am going to relate, were previously communicated to me by others, and were only corroborated by their testimony.

Mr. Baron confirmed what I had heard from several others, that the society, after the example of the Illuminati, were divided into three or more grades; but that the members of the first grade were ignorant of any others but themselves; that the members of the second grade thought that they themselves were the highest, and concealed with the same caution their proceedings from their junior Brethren, who may be termed the minervals, as the latter hid their designs from the public. The third grade kept also secret their proceedings from the first and second, but all the three communicated with the President, who was Mr. Elihu Palmer, the Weishaupt of the order.

The President, and all the different grades, were accustomed

to meet on stated evenings, in the same room, where business was transacted as if they were members of the same rank and degree of information. It was utterly impossible that any minerval could guess, from what was said or done at the general meeting, that there was any other independent association formed among particular members. The proceedings of these evenings, consisted principally in metaphysical discussions, and decisions of questions proposed by the President, or some of the members. These questions were, with some few exceptions, no otherwise criminal than as being opposed to the divine revelation, and calculated to throw an appearance of ridicule on every thing christian. Those questions which were of a more serious nature, and a deeper and blacker complexion were reserved to the meetings of the individual grades, which met separately at Palmer's house, as the scheme would have been immediately detected by some of the junior members, had they convened in the public room of rendevous.

Palmer's Principles of Nature, was the text book to all the members; and it was put into the hands of every minerval at his first entrance. Before the book itself was printed, detached parts of it were given to the members of the higher grades in manuscript, with particular orders how to use it. The general meeting had a treasurer and a secretary; Mr. Carver was the treasurer, but he appears to be entirely ignorant of the superior grades; he was only a minerval, and was quite amazed when Mr. Baron spoke to him, in my own hearing, about the oath which was taken by the superior grades, as the minervals only gave a simple promise of secrecy. But the superior grades had separate oaths and separate constitutions. Mr. Baron stated that the oath of the grade to which he was admitted, was expressed in nearly the same words which Professor Robison gives in his history of Illuminatism, with the single exception of the word religion, which was omitted, and he supposes it must have been copied from Robison's book—but of this he is not certain; he only recollects that

when it was presented to him to take, he thought so. Mr. Baron, however, ingeniously got that part of the ceremony waved, by entering into a mathematical dispute with David Denniston, which so much attracted the attention of President Palmer, that he afterwards forgot to administer it.

The oath of the Illuminati here alluded to, is to be found in the 95th page of the New-York edition of Robison's Conspiracy. It is as follows: "I N. N. hereby bind myself, by mine honor and good name, forswearing all mental reservation, never to reveal, by hint, word, writing, or in any manner whatever, even to my most trusted friend, any thing that shall now be said to me respecting my wished for reception, and this whether my reception shall follow or not; I being previously assured, that it shall contain nothing contrary to *religion*, the state, nor good manners. I promise that I shall make no intelligible extract from any papers, which shall be shewn me, now or during my noviciate. All this I swear, as I am, and as I hope to continue, a man of honour."

Mr. Baron and several others, have assured me, that when the minerval took this oath, he went up to the President Palmer, who whispered certain sentences in his ear; what these were, as Mr. Baron had not taken the oath himself, he does not know, and my other informers said they were bound under the strictest ties of honour never to reveal them. Mr. Baron says the reason Mr. Palmer whispered them in a low voice, and not in the hearing of the society, was the fear of some discovery being made at a future period, of their proceedings. Mr. Baron, however, supposes that they related to the real intention of the society, and afforded an explanation of the articles in the constitution; that in short, the new made minerval was informed he was to consider himself as the perpetual enemy not only of christianity, but of every christian; that he was forever to renounce all form of government but what was strictly democratical; that on no considera-

tion he was to afford support or assistance to any person, relation, or acquaintance, who professed any mode of divine worship, or who advocated any system of government, different from a pure democracy.

The printed constitution of all the grades assembled, I received from Mr. Carver, the treasurer, for the purpose of publishing. Mr. Carver, I have already mentioned, is a well meaning, but unfortunately an enthusiast in the cause which he has undertaken. He informed me they had also another constitution in manuscript, but that it was kept secret, and he blamed extremely some of the members, particularly Mr. John Sidell, who he was informed was in the practice of sporting with its contents. The following is a copy of the printed constitution, and the articles which it contains, the reader cannot but perceive they are strict imitations of the rules laid down in Robison's book. It would, in fact, have been impossible for any man to have drawn up a constitution, so similar to the constitution of the Illuminati, without having the latter in view.

"CONSTITUTION

OF THE

THEISTICAL SOCIETY,

OF

NEW-YORK:

"Agreed upon January, 26th year of American Independence."

1st. "The object of this society is to promote the cause of moral science, and general improvement, in opposition to all schemes of *religious* and *political imposture*."

2d. "The accomplishment of this object must depend upon the views and disposition of the society, and be regulated by its votes at their respective meetings."

3d. "No person shall be admitted into this society, unless he be recommended by a member thereof, as a person of good moral

character, and unequivocally attached to the objects of this institution, and be voted in by the majority; and, in all cases of improper conduct, the right of expulsion shall be vested in the society, and every person on becoming a member of this society, shall subscribe his name to the constitution."

4th. "The society shall by nomination and vote, appoint a President to preside at each meeting."

5th. A treasurer shall be appointed for the term of six months, who shall receive all monies, and account for the same to the society."

6th. "A secretary shall be appointed every six months, whose duty it shall be to record such proceedings as the society shall think proper."

7th. "The society shall meet at such time and place, as the majority shall direct."

8th. "Each member of the society shall pay into the hands of the treasurer, on each meeting, six cents; and the funds arising from this source shall be disposed of by the will of the majority."

9th. "A corresponding committee shall be annually appointed to communicate with other societies of the like nature."

10th. "Each member of the society shall observe order and decorum during the time of meeting, and cultivate a spirit of friendly and philosophical intercourse."

With regard to the first article, little doubt can be entertained of the sense in which the society understood the phrase "religious and political imposture." Mr. Palmer the President, is a professed preacher of deistical tenets, and all the members of the society, Mr. Carver and Mr. Baron, who are of like principles, assured me that none could be admitted, who acknowledged a be-

lief in christianity. The term religious imposture, can, therefore, mean nothing else but the doctrine of divine revelation. The members, I am informed, were also avowed supporters of democracy. Political imposture must of course, signify every form of government not purely democratical. Here, therefore, was a society erected in one of the principal cities of the United States, the members of which, by the first article of their *public constitution*, were declared enemies to all religions and all governments, not conformable to the whimsical jacobinism of Paine, and the wild philosophy of his disciple blind Palmer; one of the principal members of this society, was David Denniston, the editor of the American citizen, the friend of the *pious* divines Osgood and M'Knight, and the cousin of Mr. De Witt Clinton. I may be censured for making thus free with the name of Dr. M'Knight; but how is it possible to judge of the principles of men but from the company they keep, and the persons whom they patronize? If Dr. M'Knight will come forward and disavow all further connexion with Denniston and the American Citizen, and profess an entire ignorance of the secret society, in which Denniston has been engaged, then every christian will most readily acquit him of any intentional injury to the divine cause of Revelation; but if on the other hand, Dr. M'Knight persevere in giving countenance to this contemptible tool of infidelity, must not every good christian and rational man regard him as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and class him among those priests of hypocrisy, who have injured morality and religion more than either the bigot of superstition, or the philosopher of scepticism.

How similar are the sentiments in the 1st. 2d. and 3d. articles, to those of Weishaupt in his account of the association of the Illuminati; they breathe the same spirit and delusive ideas. "Our secret association, says Weishaupt, (Robison, page 92) works in a way that nothing can withstand, *and man shall soon be free and happy*." "And what is this general object, the happiness of the human race? Is it not distressing to a generous mind, after

contemplating what human nature is capable of, to see how little we enjoy? When we look at this goodly world, and see that every man may be happy, but that the happiness of one depends on the conduct of another; when we see the wicked so powerful, and the good so weak, and that it is in vain to strive, singly and alone, against the general current of vice and oppression, the wish naturally arises in the mind, that it were possible to form a durable combination of the most worthy persons, who should walk together in removing the obstacles to human happiness, become terrible to the wicked, and give their aid to all the good without distinction; and should by the most powerful means, first fetter, and by fettering, lessen vice—means, which at the same time, should promote virtue, by rendering the inclination to rectitude, hitherto too feeble, more powerful and engaging: Would not such an association be a blessing to the world?" Palmer understood well the effect of this cant of Weishaupt's and accordly adopted it in the public constitution.

The fourth article, which orders that the society shall by nomination appoint a President each meeting, may appear inconsistent with what I have stated respecting Palmer, whom I have observed, was always their President. But this article only alludes to the election of the acting President for the night, in the event of Palmer's absence. This form of constitution was drawn up on purpose to shew the public eye, in case any suspicions of their real proceedings should get abroad, in the same manner as Weishaupt drew up a constitution for the Illuminati to be exhibited, breathing nothing but religion and morality. The name of Palmer, who is known every where to be a deist, was carefully omitted by the Theistical society. Several others, as well as Mr. Baron, have informed me that the manuscripts, or secret constitutions of the several grades, contained the most bitter invective which ever was penned, against every species of religion, and expressly bound every member to renounce all form of worship whatever.

The corresponding committee, established by the ninth article, I am informed, carried on a continued correspondence with the several states in the Union, with Britain, and with France. Mr. Baron agreed as to the truth of a report, which I heard ; that this committee sent an address about ten months since, to Thomas Paine, at Paris, along with a copy of Palmer's Principles of nature, to which they received a polite and encouraging epistle in answer, exhorting them to persevere in their proceedings, and that he would soon be over to America himself, where he trusted he should be suffered to spend the remainder of his days, in their company. The letter and book I believe, were sent by chancellor Livingston ; but of this, Mr. Baron and my other informers, are not certain. Paine's answer was addressed to the President, Palmer, and was perused by Mr. Carver.

The last article, ordering an observance of decorum in the society, during the time of meeting, was extremely necessary, if we consider the temper of many of the characters, of which it was composed—This article was the one, most frequently violated.—A young man, an attorney, lately promoted to a lucrative office, in New-York, by means of the Clintonian interest, and whose name I would expose, were it not for a regard to the feelings of his family, was particularly riotous and obscene in his conversations.—One evening he was the cause of entirely breaking up the meeting by a frolic he acted, which I shall relate for no other purpose, but to shew the brutish irregularity which sometimes was carried on among them, notwithstanding their pretended regard for decency, and the awe the presence of the philosophic Palmer might be supposed to inspire. A bald headed Caledonian, once an orator in the Edinburgh convention, though now in America, forced to stroll about, to teach wh—s to dance and negroes to fiddle, rose with majestic gravity, in order to argue with David Denniston, the impropriety of having a president or superior in their society. In the depth of his argument, an unlucky spider, like Pindar's louse, dropped " with legs wide sprawling" on the in-

fidel's head.—The young attorney in eager anxiety to rescue his brother, from the insect's venom, snatched the staff of authority which Palmer held, but not being a skilful marksman, in place of destroying the little tenant of the loom, he knocked the fiddler down—The confusion which ensued, may be easier conceived than described. It was in vain that the attorney protested the innocence of his intentions ; it was in vain that his friend, a meager looking watchmaker, advocated his cause. The blind President at length, descended from his seat, cursing and groping among his noisy pupils, and commanded David Denniston to enforce order ; but David's exertions were to no purpose ; and the Illuminati, were obliged to lay aside all moral discussion for the evening.

The punishment inflicted upon members for such offences, were most frequently pecuniary fines ; but sometimes marks of disgrace were devised.—This young attorney, for his unruly behaviour, is reported to have been more than once condemned to walk the streets for ten days, with his beard unshaven—His acquaintances, who were not in the secret, used to be astonished at the slovenly appearance which he sometimes exhibited, but never conjectured that he was performing penance to the Illuminati.

Several of the questions proposed for decision were truly disgusting, and prove that they had studied with some attention, the secret correspondence of Weishaupt, as related by Robison, which sanctions the vilest lust. The philosopbic Barber, to whom Mr. De Witt Clinton paid his respects, with the gravest countenance, proposed one evening, the following question : " Wherein does the moral turpitude of incest consist ?" How this important proposition was decided I know not ; but it is probable, from the example of their German brethren, that no turpitude was assigned to the act.

A gross argument, abounding with profane expression, arose one night upon the following words, " ought the *man commonly*

called Jesus Christ, to be regarded a *bastard or the son of Joseph?*" These questions with their decisions, Mr. Baron informs me, were never entered on their books, for fear of detection.

The President Palmer gave out for an important debate in one of their meetings, the following interesting querie: "Whether would the practice of going in all weathers and seasons, bald headed and uncovered, be more conducive to mental knowledge, than the ordinary habit of wearing hair and hats?" The philosophic Barber, it might be supposed, on account of his profession, would have advocated the wearing of hair; but either a more powerful regard for the mind, or the practice of shaving, induced him, it is said, to make a speech of three hours in length, both against hair and hats. All the other members, however, with the exception of a Taylor, supported their curls and locks, with the same zeal as the cooks of his British Majesty did the honour of their heads.

Among these various questions, one really philosophical was one night proposed. This was, "supposing the earth was perforated from one side to the other, required the effect of a stone or ball dropped into the perforation?" This question having puzzled both the brains of Palmer and the deep minded Denniston, was obliged to be submitted to the decison of Mr. Baron, the only mathematician among them.

These incidents which I have related, would appear romantic and scarcely deserving credit, were there not several members who willingly will vouch for the truth of them. Mr. Baron was present when they all took place—but it is to be remembered, he was not my first informer: he only confirmed what was related by others.

One great object with the society, was the propagation of books suitable to their principles in politics and infidelity. The works of Paine met their approbation; but they thought that some of the members were capable of producing works that would answer

the purpose still better. The President Palmer was unanimously chosen to compose a system of Deism, which he accordingly did, and entitled it, The Principles of Nature. I have stated the circumstance of their sending a copy of this book to Paine, and the gracious answer which he returned. I am informed, a very lengthy address was also sent along with a copy to Mr. Jefferson; but I have not had an opportunity of perusing the answer which they received from the President of the United States. The philosophic Barber undertook the task of forming a political tract, which he called an Essay on the Liberty of the Press. He dispatched a copy of the work immediately, when finished, to Monticello, and received a letter from *Mr. Jefferson, complimenting him highly on the production*, and expressing at the same time, his satisfaction, that the United States were blessed with such authors, or words to that purpose. He had another copy given to Mr. Burr, but the Vice-President did not condescend to take the same notice of the book as Mr. Jefferson did; although the author says it was delivered into his hands, in the utmost style of ceremonial politeness, by William Temple Broome, Esq. late a Notary in New-York, a gentleman who even excelled the little deputy attorney general in tiptoe scraping, courteous smiling, and fashionable grimace.

But the grand literary journal set in motion by the Columbian Illuminati, was the Temple of Reason. This far exceeded any production of the kind ever attempted. Its mode of publication, which is weekly, was also supposed would have a much better effect than sending forth to the world a finished system, however artfully executed. They compared its power in this respect, to the superiority that a continued attack has generally over a momentary shock, which, though given with greater violence, soon expires, and only causes the object intended to be destroyed, to be fortified with greater strength and judgment than before. The instrument they fixed upon for the execution of their project, was one Driscoll, an Irishman, then newly arrived in America; and if

they had searched all the cells of jacobin imposture in Paris or Dublin, they could not have found a more proper person for their purpose. This Driscoll was, only a few years since, a Romish Priest, and possessed all the jesuitical cunning which the apostates from that order generally do. The first difficulty which presented itself in putting the scheme in execution, was the want of money—for the Illuminati were more deficient in that wordly evil, than any other. Cheetham is said to have made the friendly offer of being Driscoll's security for the purchase of types. Whether Cheetham was a member of the Theistical society or Columbian Illuminati, is a circumstance, the certainty of which I have not been able to ascertain. Mr. Baron thinks he belonged to the highest grade, and never made his appearance in the general assembly, but of this he is not positive. He says in some conversation which he has had with Mr. Cheetham, the latter always expressed a dread that the proceedings of the society would, in time, become public, which event would be extremely injurious to the characters af those concerned—He also insinuated, (Mr. Baron says) that on account of a defect which he has in hearing, it would be impossible for him to understand the secret injunction whispered by President Palmer, after the administration of the oath. This editor of the Citizen, is more cautious in his actions than his partner Denniston; and although I believe him to be infinitely more criminal in every respect, than any one of the Clintonian faction, Riker and Wortman excepted, yet it is much more difficult to trace the secret springs on which he moves; in place of the vulgar stupidity which unveils the projects of Denniston's brain, Cheetham's possesses all the cunning of an artful prostitute, that under a placid countenance, masks deep designs and plotting vengeance.

Cheetham, however, as well as Denniston, betrayed himself in one act, which very nearly sunk the American Citizen in the eyes of his christian subscribers—This was the enclosing of Driscoll's

hand-bills, within those copies of the American Citizen, which were intended for the subscribers, supposed to be deists; but the paper carrier not being versed in the principles of his several customers, (unluckily for Denniston and Cheetham,) distributed as many of the infidel Advertisements among christians as deists.—An apology, however, for the unholy deed, was, I believe, made by the editors, as soon as they became acquainted with the circumstance.

After the temple of reason was set on foot, and had the appearance of being in a flourishing condition, the Illuminati began to be jealous, that all the profits of the work would be monopolised by Driscoll.—They remonstrated with the apostate Priest, on the reasonable propriety of allowing the funds of the society, at least one half of the profits—They reminded him, that he was taken into their service, with scarcely a shirt to his back; that they clothed him in a decent garb, and placed him in a most respectable situation; that without their assistance, he probably would have been reduced to the necessity of again humming mass to a few superstitious Irish maids.—But Driscoll was too long a Jesuit not to have a more powerful regard for personal emolument, than the enriching of any society under the sun.—He discovered that the number of deists who were not Illuminati were more numerous than those who were; and although, perhaps, the opposition which he would meet from the Theistical society, would prevent his succeeding in New-York, yet there were other towns in America which contained deists also.—He accordingly repaired to Philadelphia, and established histemple of reason in that city, under the auspices of the friends of Mr. *William Duane*.—The Columbian Illuminati, perceiving the impossibility of persuading Driscoll to a compliance with their demands, judged it most expedient, for the success of their object, to compromise matters with him.—They accordingly allowed him the full enjoyment of the emoluments of his paper, and empowered him besides, to make converts, and establish a similar society in Philadelphia; which the artful Priest soon accomplished.—Thus Illumination progressed from

New-York to Philadelphia; but here it was not to stop.—A society of deists on like principles, was established in a few months, at Baltimore; but both it and the Philadelphia society, I am informed, hold constitutional patents, of the Theistical society of New-York.

A deistical society on the principles of the Illuminati, I can with confidence assert, has been established within the last two years, at Edinburgh, in Scotland, the members of which, correspond regularly with the members of the Theistical society—But whether it was established independent of the New-York society, or under their directions, I know not—I rather imagine, it was instituted by the means of one Donaldson, who was a member of the Theistical society at its first institution, but afterwards returned to Edinburgh, his native town, as I find a person of the same name, is secretary to the society at Edinburgh—The names of the two leading men in the Edinburgh society, are, George Paton and Alexander Campbell—The former is celebrated as being the first penman in Scotland; but the latter, is only known, as the author of a contemptible performance, called the history of Scotch poetry. This Campbell is no relation to the elegant author of the Pleasures of Hope; although they profess the same principles in politics, yet their manners in other respects, are as different as their merits.

Another great point with the Theistical society of New-York, in common with the Illuminati of Germany, was to endeavour, if possible, to get all the public offices in the United States, filled with deists.—The readers of Robinson's books, will recollect, how zealous the German Illuminati were in this respect "Accordingly (says Robinson, Page 105) the order laboured in this, with great zeal and success—A correspondence was discovered, in which it is plain, that by their influence, one of the greatest ecclesiastical dignities was filled up, in opposition to the right and authority of the Archbishop of Spire, who is there represented as a tyrannical and biggotted Priest—They contrived to place their

members as tutors to the youth of distinction—One of them, Baron Leuchtsenring took charge of a young prince, without any salary—They insinuated themselves into all public offices, and particularly into courts of justice. In like manner, the chairs in the university of Ingolstadt were (with only two exceptions) occupied by Illuminati." The number of members in the list of the Theistical society of New-York, which I have, amounts to ninety-five; I would give their names, but this would serve no purpose, and only expose their families, perhaps, to misery; every one of them, however, without exception, is in politics a Clintonian, and several of them have been promoted to offices by the Clinton interest. Their love for Mr. De Witt Clinton, proceeds in a great measure from an idea that he is a deist; whether he is so or not, it is impossible for me to decide; it is enough that they think so, and on that supposition they will almost hazard their lives in his behalf. One thing, however, is certain, that Mr. Clinton has afforded his patronage to several who were avowed deists, and he has even been the means of displacing christians, to make room for deists. The present agent for the Temple of Reason, in New-York, is well known to be indebted to Mr. Clinton for the lucrative situation in the mercantile line, which he at present enjoys. One of the members of the legislature of that state, who was foisted in by the Clinton interest, is an avowed supporter and hearer of the President Palmer; and for ought I know, also a member of the highest grade among the Illuminati; for there were several, Mr. Baron tells me, who belonged to the highest grade, that never met in the general convention.

The oath taken by the directors in the highest grade, was nearly the same with the oath administered to the minerval among the Illuminati, when he became an Illuminatus minor, and must, without doubt, have been copied from it.—It was reported to me in these words.—

"I a member of the Theistical society, protest before you, the

worthy President of our order, that I acknowledge my natural weakness and inability, and that I, with all my possessions, rank, honours, and titles which I hold in political society, am at bottom only a man; I can enjoy these things only through my fellow men, and through them also I may love them. The approbation and consideration of my fellow men are indispensably necessary, and I must try to maintain them by all my talents. These I will never use to the prejudice of universal good, but will oppose, with all my might, the enemies of the human race, and of political society, I will embrace every opportunity of serving mankind, by improving my understanding and my affections, and by imparting all important knowledge, as the good, and statutes of this order require of me. I bind myself to perpetual silence, and unshaken loyalty, and submission to the order, in the person of our President, here making a faithful and complete surrender of my private judgment, my own will and every narrow minded employment of my power and influence. I pledge myself to account the good of the order as my own, and am ready to serve it with my fortune, my honour and my blood. Should I through omission, neglect, passion, or wickedness, behave contrary to this good of the order, I subject myself to what reproof or punishment our President shall enjoin. The friends and enemies of the order shall be my friends and enemies—and with respect to both, I will conduct myself as directed by the order, and am ready in every lawful way, to devote myself to its increase and promotion, and therein to employ all my ability. All this I promise and protest, without secret reservation, according to the intention of the society which require from me this engagement. This I do as I am, and as I hope to continue a man of honour."*

The directors and the members of the highest grade, used to employ themselves in composing essays for the instruction of the

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* *This document I received the last time I was in New-York, when the pamphlet was nearly compleated. But I had it from an authority which the reader, I think, may rely on.*

new made members. But after the example of the German Illuminati, they adopted fictitious names. I am informed that Palmer called himself Weishaupt; the young attorney who knocked the Fiddler down, adopted the name of Counsellor Zuack; that David Denniston was styled Coriolanus; Taylor Sidell Cicero, and the philosophic Barber Gardenston.

Before I take my leave of the New-York Illuminati, I shall relate a scheme they contrived in order to promote the circulation of the Temple of Reason. They were afraid that its circulation would be confined to the deists alone, and this would be accomplishing but a trifling part of their object: the great point was to circulate it among the christians. They, therefore, thought if some good pious literary character could be prevailed upon to start a paper in opposition to the Temple of Reason, in defence of christianity, it would be the means of having them both read, and they had too much confidence in their own abilities, not to suppose that the arguments brought forward in the Temple of Reason, would quickly overcome what they called the pedantic bigotry of a christian divine. Accordingly, a committee was fixed upon to wait individually upon a Mr. Donald Frazer, a christian teacher in New-York, who has gained some popularity by his opposition to Paine's Age of Reason. Mr. Baron informed me he was one of this committee, and that he used all his logic with Mr. Fraser, to persuade him to commence a christian paper, which he advised him to call either the *Temple of Christ*, or the *Temple of Truth*—he stated to Mr. Fraser the many advantages which would arise to christianity from such a publication, and the eminent hazard the christian religion would necessarily be in, from the influence of the Temple of Reason, unless such a plan were adopted. Mr. Baron also urged other motives, which never fail to have some effect, even with the most indifferent mortal; these were the pecuniary emolument which would arise from the sale of the paper, and the laudable praise which he would receive from all his christian brethren. By these powerful arguments on the part of Mr. Baron, it is a certain fact, that Mr. Fraser was

at length prevailed upon to set on foot a defence for christianity, and even went so far as to arrange matters with a bookseller for that purpose; and the Temple of Christ would, without doubt, have made its appearance from the pen of Mr. Fraser, had not one of Mr. Fraser's friends, who received some hints of the scheme of the Illuminati, dissuaded him from it. The truth of this circumstance, Mr. Fraser, as well as Mr. Baron, will attest.

I have now related the origin and progress of Illuminatism in this country. It arose, the reader will perceive, upon the ruins of the democratical society; it first exhibited itself in the form of a philosophical club, then assumed the more metaphysical appellation of the Theistical society, divided itself into different grades and orders, after the example of the institution of Weishaupt, had separate constitutions and separate oaths, appropriate to the several grades. They had also pass words, which I forgot to state. Mr. Baron says the pass word in the general convention, was truth. After the example of the German Illuminati, they also established publications for the express purpose of disseminating their principles; they sent copies of these publications to Paine at Paris, and to the President of the United States. By means of a corresponding committee, similar societies were established in the different cities of America. Their principles in politics, corresponded with their ideas of religion, viz. the rankest jacobinism, with the vilest deism. They all attached themselves to the interest of Mr. De Witt Clinton, judging, probably, by a knowledge of his cousin Denniston, that he would be favourable to their cause, and Mr. Clinton, in return, appears not to be ungrateful. He has been the means of displacing several worthy christians, to make way for them; and he bestows in bountiful measure, all his patronage to support their political paper, the American Citizen. Nothing can prove more distinctly the mutual affection and sympathy which exist between Mr. Clinton and the Columbian Illuminati, than these acts of kindness. The link which connects the infidels of New-York with the Clinton family, must now be obvious, and the ardent zeal which is displayed to

promote the greatness of that family. The Columbian Illuminati are not to be despised, although there are no principal characters among them. They are to be dreaded, and every good christian ought to use his exertions to crush their endeavours. In the words of Robison, " their torch, though of the grossest materials, darts with a horrid glare into every corner, rousing hundreds of filthy vermin, and directing their flight to the rotten carrion, where they can best deposit their poison, and their eggs, in the breasts, to wit, of the sensual and profligate, there to fester and burst forth in a new and filthy progeny."

It only now remains, that I should observe the pamphlet which has been written in answer to my correct statement, under the fictitious signature of Warren, with the characters which the same Warren has thought proper to call to his aid as certificate men, and to hold forth to the world as the principal witnesses of the criminality of Mr. Burr. As Mr. Warren appears solicitous that his pamphlet should be regarded as a specific remedy for the vices of the Clintonian family, I would recommend to him, when he issues a second edition, that either Mr. De Witt Clinton, or his friend Dr. Ledyard, certify upon the title page, the admirable virtue contained in the Antidote; for so many spurious medicines have of late been imposed upon the public, that unless some person of honor and veracity attest their efficacy, they pass unnoticed and disregarded.

Waving, however, this objection, for the present, I shall consider the Antidote as having previous to its composition, been inspected by the discriminating organs of Dr. Ledyard, and Mr. De Witt Clinton; I shall even allow, that the deputy attorney general, has exerted all his ingenuity in preparing an agreeable odour for the wonderful drug. I shall admit that the pondering mind of Wortman has had a part in compounding the delicious bitter which it contains, and that the sturdy muscles of the Citizen Editor have been fatigued for weeks together in its manufacture—nor

shall I refuse the supposition, that when finished, it received the divine benedictions of Osgood and M'Knight. But I will insist, notwithstanding, to have the liberty of analyzing both the acids and alkalis it contains; and if, after a deliberate investigation, the component materials appear to belong to no physical class in nature, that the Antidote be rejected as unworthy the attention of any but the credulous patients of impostures and quacks.

It would be absurd to attempt to refute all the jargon which this pamphleteer has advanced in the three first pages of his poison. I shall, however, answer one remark there stated. He asserts that I am unworthy of notice, because I am a stranger in the land, unacquainted with its history, habits, and institutions. Had I related any other circumstances than those in which I acted myself a principal part, the observation would have been in some degree a justifiable one; but when my pamphlet was only intended as a correct statement of a business in which I was personally concerned, and which was misrepresented by the Narrative writer, I certainly had a preferable claim for credit, to a person who wrote from information received from a secondary source; but even allowing we stood on an equal footing in this respect, I believe I may safely assert, without incurring a charge of vanity, that the Narrative writer can lay no greater claim to an acquaintance with the history, habits and institutions of America, than I can do myself. He may, perhaps, presume upon a three years longer residence in the states; he may affirm that he is more generally known in the sixth and seventh wards of New-York, and he may strengthen his argument, by relating that he has had the honour of dining at Mr. Jefferson's table, and of privately inspecting two letters, which were intended for the post-office. These are circumstances, I confess, in which he has the advantage of me; but they are incidents of such a nature, as will never rouse my ambition, or provoke a desire of rivalship.

The next circumstance worthy of notice, in Warren's production, is the artful tale which he has contrived to account for Mr.

Ward not publishing my first statement of the suppression. The particulars of this circumstance are very short. Mr. Ward, upon first reading the advertisement in the newspaper, previous to its publication, supposed it a matter of justice due to all concerned, that a correct statement should make its appearance. But after the Narrative was published, so much party spirit was evidently displayed in the production, that Mr. Ward was apprehensive of being involved in the dispute, were he to appear as an active agent in the publication of a reply, he, therefore, declined having any concern with it, as a publisher; but he will readily attest that the account I wrote for him, precisely agreed with my Correct Statement, and only differed by the introduction of other matters, which afterwards came to my knowledge.

Mr. Warren comes forward as the advocate of Mr. Barlas. "I know (says Warren) that his character for integrity is unimpeached—As a man of business, he is industrious and honest—As a citizen respectable, and as a christian sincere." To what a deplorable situation is poor Barlas now reduced, that he has no other defender but the miscreant Warren? For Barlas was once a pious clergyman, and in the words of the English satyrist:

——— "No dray horse ever work'd so hard
From vaults to drag up hogshead, tun, or pipe
As this good priest, to drag for small reward
The souls of sinners from the devil's gripe."

Were it not for the officiousness of his friend Warren, Barlas might for me, meditate all his life in his darksome cell, on those love sick thoughts which are reported to have driven him from his native home, and separated him forever from the dearest of his congregation, the ladies, who

"Protested that they lov'd him as their life,
So sweetly he would look, when down to pray'r!
So happy in a sermon choice!
And then of nightingales the voice!"

I never quote poetry, but when the phiz of Barlas, or the figure of the little deputy attorney general, or some such ludicrous idea presents itself to my mind; in those cases, I believe the liberty is pardonable, but scarcely in any other, in subjects of this nature. To say any more of the reverend bookseller, would really be cruel; by his connexion with Warren, he has already suffered too much; every honest man would wish he had other friends and acquaintances.

Warren states, that he believes Duane's letters to me, were directed without exception, to Messrs. Denniston and Cheetham. In this he is mistaken; several of them were directed to Mr. Ward, and they contained more than either Warren or Duane has mentioned. They comprised all the stories inserted in the history respecting Mr. Adams.

The tedious relation in the Antidote, respecting the manner in which the correspondence inserted in the Narrative was obtained, is an entire fabrication. Mr. Cheetham, repeatedly informed me, that he was the author of the Narrative himself; that he obtained all the information respecting the suppression from Barlas and his sister; that he perused the correspondence in Barlas's back shop, and that the courteous damsel brought him a copy of the history, one Sunday to his house. As to the certificates of Denniston and Cheetham, with which the Antidote abounds, they can carry no credit to the mind of any virtuous man, after it has been ascertained, that Denniston was a member of the Illuminati society, and that Cheetham was a principal supporter of the infidel Driscoll.

The letter of the *acute* Walter Morton, deserves the attention which is due to the certificate of a stranger, until his character be exposed; Mr. Cheetham being, probably, apprehensive that the public would be ignorant who this zealous Jeffersonian was, thought proper to inform them that he was a man *dedicated to mercantile pursuits.* This finesse of Cheetham's, had for several days the desired effect with the small circle of readers, into whose

hands the Antidote fell ; and they verily believed, that the Caledonian, who used to hobble at my heels in the dark nights of winter, was no other but Mr. Thomas Morton, a respectable merchant in pearl street, but that the press compositor, by mistake, had inserted Walter in place of Thomas. But when it is said Mr. Thomas Morton declared his entire ignorance of the affair, the natural conclusion was, that Walter Morton must have been one of those convenient creatures, who, like Dr. Warren, start up at a nod of the citizen's brain, and with the pliancy of an evil fairy, volunteer to grumble his favorite ditties, and to vouch for his billingsgate. No father notice would, therefore, have been taken of the letter, had not the Scotch snake-scraper, fearing that his literary epistle would be consigned to oblivion, ran to the coffee-house, as is reported, and proclaimed himself the author. This is a place where the scouts of the citizen office seldom enter, but when they exchange their tattered rags for sunday clothes, a mark of christianity not yet laid aside by many of the Columbian Illuminati. The unusual appearance of an huge greasy looking fellow, with large goggling eyes, coming to sound his classic fame, naturally attracted attention. To every enquiry which was made respecting his place of residence, he replied, it is said "I keep Jammie Thompson's books in maiden lane."

As I have used the word, snake-scraper, it is proper that I explaiu the term.—In every country there are beings of this description ; in England, Ireland and America, as well as Scotland—They are divided in Britain, into four species ; the king snake, the law snake, the parson's snake, and the dirty snake.—The king's snake it the most lordly of the four ; he kicks all mankind with his tail, but his majesty's minister, whose paw he licks, and to whose breech he bows, in hopes either of place or pension—The parson's snake is a more courteous reptile, he laughs like little Riker with earls and dukes, prays to Bishops with all the fervency of M'Knight, and wags at the tables of the great, until he rolls himself into a covert of luxury and ease.—The law snake though

not so majestic in appearance is swifter in motion than either of his superiors, and never fails by one means or other to seize the prey, on which his eyes have once darted.—The dirty snake or snake-scraper, is the most dirty of all human reptiles, he solely exists, by drawling his blotted carcase along the tract, marked out by the filth of his brethren, he pokes his head into the vilest hovels, and if necessity requires, he gilds his scales by wallowing in the streams which flow from the fragrant abodes of his goddess Cloacina—Among this latter species I class Walter Morton the principal certificate man of Dr. Warren. The birth, education and practice of this fellow are indexes in his life which characterise him as a snake scraper, as completely, as any marks which the naturalist adopts to distinguish the various animals of the creation. His father, and for ought I know his grandfather, and great grandfather, exercised in a country village in Scotland, what is deemed in that country the most contemptible of professions, an understrapper in the excise—Walter Morton himself, I mean Warren's obedient servant, as soon as his father had instructed him to reckon on his fingers pounds and pence; was set adrift to earn his livelihood in the same *honorable manner*. He therefore lingered out the years which he spent in Scotland, in the out houses of brewers and distilleries; this was the school in which he was taught the principles of honesty, and the society which instructed him in manners, truth, and politeness. He improved the knowledge which he had acquired in his native country, by an intimate acquaintance with Cheetham, Denniston, and other Clintonian patriots—I could give many other particulars of this man's life, but they would only be disgusting and forbidding to every moral reader—what I have said, is enough to shew the reliance or degree of credit which his elaborate epistle deserves.

As to Christian's certificate, I shall only remark, that this man was a member or connected with the society which I style the Columbian Illuminati; and that he belongs to the lower class of Irish—When I use this expression, I trust, it will not be

deemed a reflection on the nation. There are no people in the world, on whose honor or veracity I would place more reliance, than the well informed Irish ; but the ignorant of that country are by prejudice and the early habits of life, so led a way by passion, that little or no dependence can be placed on their assertions.

Mr. Aird is the only certificate man in Warren's list, who deserves the smallest degree of attention. Of this young man, I think myself bound in honour to affirm, that I do not believe he would set his name to what he thought an incorrect statement.—But the natural violence of his temper, and his zeal for the Clinton family, often hurry into his mind, ideas for which he has no foundation.

Before I conclude, it is proper to mention two circumstances which have come to my knowledge since the first sheets were thrown off. The first respects a circumstance which I transcribed from the view of Mr. Burr's political conduct, which states "that Mr. Van Ness was negatived, having only eleven of the forty-nine votes." But the cause of this was owing to Mr. Van Ness himself declining being held up, after Mr. George Clinton withdrew as it was imagined that he was obnoxious to the friends of the latter gentleman, and if his name were withdrawn along with George Clinton's it would be the means of adjusting any differences which existed among the minds of the citizens.

The next incident relates to a conversation which I have had with the plilosophic Barber—He Informs me that Mr. De Witt Clinton paid him two visits in place of one, but that he never offered him the honour of shaving the family—He only complimented him upon the Republicanism of his pamphlet, and conversed with him about *one hour each time*, on the principles of government.

I have now treated in order, the different matters which I proposed in the beginning of this pamphlet. How far I have fulfilled my promise in exposing the faction of the Clinton family, and their connexion with a society of Illuminati, the reader will judge. My

motives however they may be construed by the wicked and the ambitious, I flatter myself will be viewed by every impartial and good man as proceeding but from one cause, an earnest desire of preserving that religion which all real patriots ought to profess and with the approbation of this part of the community my mind shall be satisfied. What I have done is no more than a duty incumbent on every christian. The divine Revelation is a right handed down to us by our ancestors, and delivered to our care, with the obligation of transmitting it to our posterity as the dearest of earthly inheritance. Those who maintain a different doctrine and tell Americans, that their constitution sanctions no one religion in preference to another, only wish to ensnare the judgment of the unthinking and wavering citizen. The constitution of the United States, we ought to thank providence, has been erected on the fundamental principles of christianity; principles which will remain, when the names of their most violent opposers will be buried in oblivion, when neither Clinton or his party will be heard of, and when the standard of infidelity will only be regarded as the signal of vice, treason, and rebellion.