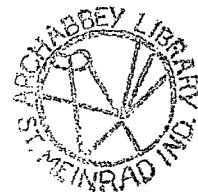


THE ANTI-MASON PARTY  
AND THE ELECTION OF 1832

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## INTRODUCTION

The period of history between the Administrations of John Quincy Adams and William Henry Harrison has been viewed many times by the scrupulous microscope of the historical researcher. The ending of the Era of Good Feelings, the rise of Andrew Jackson, the question of state's rights in regards to the nullification, and the rechartering of the National Bank are some of more explored issues of this historical period. Although at times only briefly mentioned, the development that the political party structure experienced during this time is also important for consideration. The birth of the national convention for nominating a party's presidential choice, the entrance and influence of the first third party in American Political History, the Anti-Masons, and the methods of campaigning are some of the more outstanding developments that contributed to the modern political character of the election of the president.

The origin of the first National Nominating Convention has

brought much discussion but the actual movement behind the action has all but been passed over by many of our present day historians. The fact that the Anti-Masons Party held the first assembly, later to be known as a nominating convention, has always been mentioned along with the fact that it was the first third party to enter national politics. But this is generally all that is mentioned concerning the party, denying any mention of the importance that this party was considered to possess during the election of 1832.

The leaders of this young movement had decided upon a course of action which would force the National Republicans into backing their candidate for president. The name of Henry Clay was very appealing to the Anti-Masons at first, but his unwillingness to cooperate with that party as exemplified by a letter written to a group in Indiana proved to be a grave political faux pas. This one letter completely alienated both the Anti-Masons and also the Masons who had previously supported him. This letter written in response to a group of Anti-Masons in Indiana can be seen to have been a major reason why the states of New York and Pennsylvania went for Jackson in the election of 1832. The effects of this particular letter is only really fully appreciated by a knowledge of the rise and spread of this particular party, the Anti-Mason Party.



## CHAPTER I

### THE ANTI-MASON PARTY AND THE ELECTION OF 1832

#### The Rise and Spread of the American Anti-Masonic Party

The tracing of the actual beginnings of any political party is extremely difficult for the reason that various factors can be seen contributing but yet not actually being the initial spark. In exploring the origins and spread of Anti-Masonry, the movement must be seen as being actually two movements, political and non-political or social. The first of the two movements, social or non-political Anti-Masonry, is more of a human reaction and in this way it can be traced to a single point in history, that being the abduction of a disgruntled Mason. Anti-Masonry as a political movement, on the other hand, does not arise entirely from the abduction of one man, but rather from what political opportunists, such as Thurlow Weed of New York<sup>1</sup> and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania,<sup>2</sup> could manipulate into political advantage. In considering even the origin of social Anti-Masonry, the abduction of William Morgan is merely a point in time that gave the movement a beginning and should be treated

as nothing more.

William Morgan, a wandering printer by trade, had eventually settled in Batavia, a small town in western New York. This small town was the place of origin for not only this man's fate but the fate of the good name of many thousands of well intentioned Masons. Morgan, dissatisfied with the Masonic Order of which he was a member of low rank and with an eye toward pecuniary benefits, being unsuccessful in business, resolved to publish a pamphlet exposing the secrets of that sect. When his intentions became known to the Masons of that area, he was subjected to different forms of pressures encouraging him not to publish his work. These encouragements finally culminated in his abduction on September 11, 1826, and removal to Canada. The subsequent trials of his alleged abductors resulted in a great amount of interest being shown in the case and the Masonic institution itself.<sup>3</sup>

Before discussing the subsequent investigations into the mysterious disappearance of Morgan, a short background of the politics of the State of New York is needed. This background is needed in order to understand fully the following events which proceeded to establish Anti-Masonry as a political party and the first third party in the history of the political parties in the United States. In the year 1826, the state saw within its borders two distinct social and economic patterns developing; a type of individual liberalism and a corresponding reactionary conservatism. The strict conservative pattern was composed of

industrialists, merchants, prosperous farmers and all those from the various economic levels who believed in tradition and stability. The other pattern was largely composed of the agrarian class which was complemented by a strong liberal factor of common laborers, urban mechanics and others who would welcome social reform and general change within the status quo.<sup>4</sup> The latter was the group that was especially wooed by the leaders of the Anti-Mason Party. The Anti-Mason Party, although rising from strict conservative elements, appealed to many liberal agrarians because of its platform of trying to rid the country of the subversion of the Masonic institution, more imaginary than real. This fact of attraction seemed to interest many disenchanted Adams' men. It was only natural that the differences between these two groups, the one composed of industrialist and merchants the other that of the farmers and the urbanites, would be transferred over into politics. The agrarians and the urbanites aligned themselves with the present state administration, the Jacksonian Democrats; and the industrialists, who are discussed later, were sympathetic, but not fully in accord with the Adams' party, the National Republicans.<sup>5</sup>

De Witt Clinton, governor of the state from 1826 to 1828, was a high official in the Masonic Order in 1826 and a recent member of the Jackson camp.<sup>6</sup> These facts concerning Governor Clinton would prove to be a decisive factor to many people of the state in deciding which party to vote for in the upcoming elections.

The Jackson party at this time, both on the national and state levels, was rising in popularity. Jackson's support can be attributed to a number of factors one of which being directly traced to President Adams and his Administration. Adams' hesitancy to distribute political spoils and the ever present charge of corrupt bargaining which resulted from the appointment of Henry Clay as Secretary of State following the disputed Presidential election of 1826, all led to public disapproval of the occupant of the White House and his party. When Adams' term of office was half over in 1826, there were unmistakable signs of disintegration of his party in New York State, a fact that produced a deep concern among the party's conservative members, such as Weed, for the future.<sup>7</sup>

As the knowledge of Morgan's abduction rapidly spread, so did public reaction to the act. It was generally thought that Morgan was abducted and then taken to the Canadian border where he was supposedly drown. The citizens of Batavia and the other towns in the area of the supposed route of Morgan's captors, held public meetings to determine the truth of the matter. These meetings in turn appointed committees to investigate the circumstances that attended Morgan's disappearance.<sup>8</sup> As the different investigations proceeded, it became apparent that many of the pertinent facts of the case were being quickly hidden and subsequently over looked. Suspected persons simply disappeared, witnesses were seemingly spirited away and others brought before grand juries refused to testify on the ground that their testi-

mony might incriminate them.<sup>9</sup> During these investigations, it was also learned that all those implicated in the transgression were Masons. It was also learned that the sheriffs, judges, and juries who were responsible for the due process of law who had often times balked in their duties and responsibilities were also Masons. As a result of these proceedings, rumors began to circulate rapidly and gain wide support that the "...masonic institution was in fact responsible for this daring crime."<sup>10</sup> These rumors plus others concerning the fact that the legislature, if asked, would do nothing of practical use, since it was under the control of a Mason governor, quickly led conservatives and liberals alike of western New York and other parts of the state to the belief that Masonry was incompatible with citizenship and Christian character and should be subsequently abolished.<sup>11</sup>

With this belief, the citizenry of western New York began in 1827 to divide into opposing groups and to take sides on the issue of tolerance or intolerance of Masonry. The issue was not a political question as such in the beginning and this should be carefully noted. Anti-masonry was based at this juncture upon the belief that Masonry was essentially anti-democratic in its nature and conception. The novelty of the abduction of William Morgan and the attempt by the Masons to shroud the whole affair in secrecy led to numerous rumors which maintained public interest at a high pitch of excitement for a considerable length of time.<sup>12</sup>

The furor created by the heated debates that were found in the local newspapers throughout the state and elsewhere, the charges and countercharges that occurred between the two groups, the Anti-Masons and the group that sympathized with the Masons, plus the political conditions of the times all contributed to the first political beginnings of Anti-Masonry. A large group of citizens throughout the western counties of the state, without any regard to previous party alignments, united in the common belief that Masonry was against the very structure of society by placing itself above the law. As a result of this growing feeling, many at their town meetings in the spring of 1827 passed resolutions stating that they as a group would withhold their support, by means of the ballot, of any member of that institution seeking public office. With these resolutions, political Anti-Masonry had its commencement.<sup>13</sup>

These actions can be considered the actual beginnings of the political movement which resulted in eventually the forming of the Anti-Mason Party. Those considered at this time as being the leaders of the movement were against the prospect of carrying Anti-Masonry onto the stage of national politics. Also at this time the same persons were not in favor of forming a separate political entity but rather preferred to work within the existing political structure of the two parties to exclude Mason members from receiving the nominations of those two groups.<sup>14</sup>

The spread of the conflict between the Masons and the non-Masons prompted a resolution on the floor of the New York State

Legislature in 1827. The resolution petitioned for an official investigation and the imposition of state justice, as the local courts were found inadequate in this particular case. From the resulting debates, anti-Masonic feeling can be clearly seen to have spread not only locally but on to the state level as well. With these debates it was found to be that anti-Masonry was treated as having definite political significance.<sup>15</sup>

The resolution was defeated by a margin of nearly 3 to 1 which seemed to indicate to many people of the west that the rumors were possibly true that the legislature was in fact controlled by Masons of both parties. Along with this defeat, and other similar actions taken by the legislature later in the year of 1828, the Anti-Masons in reactionary measures extended their proscriptions from that of local officials to the representatives to the state legislature. From town meetings to county wide conventions, resolutions were passed advocating the support of purely Anti-Masonic candidates for the state legislature at the next election.<sup>16</sup>

With the first state wide convention as held in LeRoy, New York in March of 1828, together with the fact that the expressed purpose of that meeting was to evoke public interest against the principles of Freemasonry, the Anti-Masonic movement began to take on the appearances of a separate political entity. The "LeRoy Convention" passed a resolution recommending another convention to be held in August of the same year in order to better effect the cause of the movement by means of pressure from the

ballot box. The overthrow of the institution, at this point of the history of the Anti-Mason Party, was the principle object to be accomplished and the abduction of William Morgan was only referred as one of many examples of the fearful and secret power of that order.<sup>17</sup>

The convention in August, called by the LeRoy Convention, was held at Utica with the unexpressed purpose of nominating candidates for Governor and Vice-Governor. When this step was taken by that assembly it came as no great surprise to the state. With this direct assertion of political effort, plus the results of the movement in the western portions of the state in the elections of 1827, the political might of the movement was beginning to be felt by members of both existing parties. Therefore with the national elections approaching, both the Democrats and the National Republicans were interested in gaining of the Anti-Masons. The Adams' party decreasing in popularity, saw in this minority the strength that it felt was needed to win the state's electors. The Adams' party was encouraged by the fact that the majority of the movement were originally of their party and, secondly, it was widely known that Jackson was a Mason and Adams was not.<sup>18</sup> President Adams himself was known to be very much in opposition to the growth of secret societies. The President was asked directly by a group of Anti-Masons in March of 1828 his position as regards to Masonry. Adams' reaction, which was later widely circulated, was very much what the Anti-Masons were looking for in a presidential candidate: "...I state



that I am not, never was and never shall be a free mason."<sup>19</sup> The Mason members of Adams' party already embittered by the proscriptions placed upon their order immediately became strong Jacksonian Democrats.<sup>20</sup>

As the forces for the national election were being drawn up in opposition to one another, the leaders of both parties tried to present a broad united front to their opposition, even though their forces were often times of varied political beliefs and backgrounds. Leaders of the Jackson party within the state, after giving up hope for the Anti-Masons joining their cause, held up the "coalition" between the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans as being representative of the politics of the National Republicans for trying to force a purely local issue as a Presidential question.<sup>21</sup>

The anti-Jackson forces, on the other hand, were being brought into line by the leaders of Adams' National Republicans in New York who looked upon their party as something that had outlived its usefulness but saw in the Anti-Masonic movement a means of possible rebirth for them. The leaders of the Anti-Masons, such as Weed, looked upon their movement by this time of 1828, as being not so much a moral crusade but rather a vehicle for the realization of certain objectives.<sup>22</sup>

On the state level, the Anti-Masons did not find the prospects of a coalition appealing, as it was on the national ticket. Thus it is found on the state ticket that the National Republican party is represented by candidates that differ from those offered

by the Anti-Masons. The election results lend themselves to speculation for it would seem that if the two parties had joined, the state would have gone National Republican rather than Democratic. The national results showed not only the rise of Jackson's popularity but also the lack of the extent of the Anti-Mason issue.<sup>23</sup>

The election of 1828 proved to be the advent of political Anti-Masonry as a separate entity but only so far as the state level. On the nation ticket even though it was linked with the Adams' party, the Anti-Masons after the election separated themselves and tried to stand independent of, and in fact opposed to, both parties.<sup>24</sup> The election infused new life into the movement politically but as yet it was lacking the political machinery of an organization such as was needed to stand alone against the other two older parties.<sup>25</sup>

Anti-Masonry spread as a social movement quickly into the five adjacent states, which included Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Vermont, Massachusetts, and into Connecticut as well as Rhode Island and far away Michigan, where conservative New England stock had migrated.<sup>26</sup> But why was there ready acceptance of a proscriptive movement? One reason that is given is that temperance was associated with Anti-Masonry for it was widely known that Masons used wine in their services and this was very much contrary to the beliefs of many of the puritanical stock that made up much of New England. Other reasons that could be given would be of strictly sectional appeal that Anti-Masonry had in

a particular area. For example, Anti-masonry spread largely out of fear of the strength of the order in New York State. In Pennsylvania, the movement grew among Scotch Presbyterians and numerous German pietistic sects that feared and hated oath-bound groups. In Massachusetts, it was popular because it was an outlet for the prejudice of rural orthodoxy against the aristocracy of Boston and the other cities of the state.<sup>27</sup>

As Anti-Masonry spread, both political and social reactions toward Masonry were naturally proportionally increased also. Masonry was condemned from the pulpit by many of the leading churches of the New England area. Ministers of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches took considerable pains in pointing out the faults of the order. The Catholic Church had years before condemned anyone joining the order and with this added political activity took the opportunity to reaffirm its position. The movement from its very outset degenerated into a conflict between two forces, the Masonic lodge and the Anti-Masons, that were bitterly contested on all grounds, socially, religiously, economically, and finally politically. Many thousands of innocent Masons who intended to remain neutral were drawn into the bitter charges and counter-charges of the conflict. They were all considered equally guilty of numerous and imaginary crimes supposedly committed against God and country. Even people who were at one time known to be lodge goers, but had long since given up going to the meetings were, nevertheless, denounced as murderers. The principle that gave the "right" to

many people to denounce at will was the idiom," once a Mason always a Mason."<sup>28</sup>

The immediate reaction of most Masons was to answer charge for charge with counter-charge and with measured "warmth" and hostility. Quite naturally there were reported incidents of violence between the two groups, Masons and the active non-Masons, but nothing of great significance. On the whole, the average, educated Mason calmly awaited the passing of the storm.<sup>29</sup> Edward Livingston, Secretary of State during Jackson's first tenure in office, was installed as the General High Priest of the order in May 1830. Mr. Livingston's remarks in accepting the exalted position was very typical of the feeling of most educated Masons regarding the Anti-Mason movement and how to handle the sting of the abuse:

Calumnities so absurd as uttered against us, are best met by dignified silence. An intelligent and enlightened community will not be deceived by them.<sup>30</sup>

Just as Edward Livingston had predicted, an enlightened community would judge the merits or non-merits of the movement. There appeared throughout the editorial pages of many newspapers during the period of the movements growth and spread bitter denunciations of the movement when it entered the political arena:

Why mingle masonry with political questions? Why connect it with elections? Why make it the standard of political faith-the object of a furious perscription and an exorable proscription? Why not leave it, like every other question of morals, or of religion, to the high

tribunal of public opinion?<sup>31</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### THE ANTI-MASON PARTY AND THE ELECTION OF 1832

#### The Anti-Masonic National Nominating Convention

As the Anti-Mason movement gained headway through political maneuvers, opposition to Masonry on the grounds of its social or non-political aspect decreased within the movement of Anti-Masonry. From the outset of the party's organization the Anti-Masons saw in the ballot, an effective tool to fight the spread of the feared social disease, Freemasonry. The actual movement began in 1826, became an independent political entity on the state level in the 1828 election, and in 1830 made its entrance onto the national scene of politicking. By 1832, the more fanatical proscriptive element of the party was held only by a small group rather than by the entire membership of the party. The interest of the party, at this time, was more aimed toward national issues rather than that of subordinating members who believed in Freemasonry. As the 1830's progressed, the Anti-Masons seemed to be attracting other minority that were opposed to the Democracy of Andrew Jackson. The Anti-

Jacksonism feeling of the Anti-Masons first was the result of the strong adherence that the General had for Freemasonry. The 1830's saw this feeling develop into a high degree of intensity. This feeling now was based on political rather than social reasons. This political opposition was not only fanned by new leadership within the party but from no less than the National Republicans.

In September of 1830, a meeting, attended by a number of representatives of the various states to which Anti-masonry had spread, assembled in the city of Philadelphia. This meeting was called for the purpose of making known the basic principles of their party.<sup>32</sup> A resolution was passed calling for another convention in the following year for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. With this resolution, a political era in American History passed and the national nominating party convention, which eventually became an institution of the American political scene, was ushered in.<sup>33</sup>

The Philadelphia Convention, assembled on September 11, 1830, was attended by delegates from New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Maryland, and from the territory then known as Michigan. From the outset of the convention, the leadership was firmly in the hands of the New York delegation. This delegation was led by Francis Granger, who was also appointed president of that particular assembly.<sup>34</sup>

Aside from the fact that this convention was important in the aspect that it was the political birth of the National Anti-Mason Party, the resolution that was adopted overshadowed any other result of that meeting:

Resolved; That is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention, on Monday, the Twenty-sixth day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore... to make nominations of suitable candidates for the office of president and vice-president, to be supported at the next election.<sup>35</sup>

Prior to this statement and thereafter, the leaders of the Anti-Mason Party were considering different individuals as possible nominees to carry their banner in the upcoming election. Among the first of those considered was Richard Rush, one time Secretary of the Treasury under John Quincy Adams. Rush was a very outspoken National Republican who branded the Masonic institution as subversive to the law and one of the greatest threats to America's liberties.<sup>36</sup> These political sentiments of such a prominent individual as Rush, made him attractive to many Anti-Masons as a possible candidate. Rush after some consideration made it known that if the nomination was offered to him from Baltimore he would decline it.<sup>37</sup>

In considering a candidate, the leaders of the party deemed it necessary that "their Man" must have two critical characteristics: he must not, above all else, be a Mason which was ironical for a Mason was later to be chosen as the Anti-Mason candidate: and he must be acceptable to the National Republicans. The first of these stated characteristics reveals



very plainly the party's proscriptive principle; and the second is of practical political nature. Since the conception of the idea to extend Anti-Masonry of the National scene, the leaders of the party, such as Weed and Seward, saw the political expediency of a cooperation, a coalition between the National Republicans and themselves if they were to inspire any hope of success against Andrew Jackson. The man at this time who seemed to some to have this type of appeal was ex-president John Quincy Adams. In 1830, now a member of Congress, Adams was a strong opponent to any type of secret society, especially toward Freemasonry. His disapproval of that order dates back, at least publicly, to April of 1828 when in a letter Adams wrote that he never was and never would consider being a mason.<sup>38</sup> Adams was repeatedly approached by his Anti-Mason friends to seek the nomination actively. Adams finally answered their urgings by publically stating, "I do not desire to be President of the United States again... I hope they won't mention me except upon the ground that I am the best candidate."<sup>39</sup> The last part of Adam's statement certainly gave hope to his Anti-Mason friends who continued to work for the ex-president's nomination at Baltimore. Till the summer of 1831, when it became known that Rush would decline the nomination if presented with it, Adams himself worked for Rush's nomination by that convention. But as the convention neared, Adams remained the only apparent candidate who would draw upon any substantial support from the different delegates preparing to assemble at

Baltimore; yet there was never was any substantial plurality behind him. In a letter from William Seward to Thurlow Weed just prior to the actual convention, it is clear that there was some Adams' support among the delegates along with a corresponding opposition: "... Rhode Island and Massachusetts will go to Baltimore in favor of Adams, in spite of anything I or any other person can do." <sup>40</sup>

Although Adams did have some support during the pre-convention period, he did not have the support of the New York delegation whose leaders were in reality the leaders of the party. The leaders of the party continued to search for the seemingly right man. During the process of this search, John C. Calhoun, Representative from the State of South Carolina, was looked upon as a candidate possibility. His private views concerning Masonry were favorable to the Anti-Masons as they thought should befit their candidate: "...I am so far Anti-mason, that I believe the institution not only useless,...but also pernicious."<sup>41</sup> But for other reasons Calhoun was unacceptable to the Anti-Masons. Besides the fact that Anti-Masonry was a northern movement and he was a southern, Calhoun strongly advocated South Carolina's nullification of the Tariff of 1832 which considering this position in its historical context seemed, "...too black upon his record."<sup>42</sup>

From the outset there seemed to be one man, Henry Clay, who was qualified to unite both the National Republicans and the Anti-Masons sufficiently to bring about the defeat of Andrew

Jackson. But he was a Mason. To Weed and most of the other leaders of the party Clay's Masonry did not present any real problem if only he could, in some way, make a slight renunciation of his Masonry and give the same degree of indication of acceptance to the Anti-Masons. Clay's political opinions in general along with his American System in particular were acceptable to the New England Anti-Masons. Clay's acceptance of Anti-Masonry did not seem as far-fetched as it might at first appear to be. Clay although a Mason was at the same time known only to be half-hearted in his belief of Freemasonry; thus it would not be a total compromise of principles on Clay's part.<sup>43</sup>

With the September of 1831 nearing, Clay, along with the other candidates under consideration for the Anti-Mason nomination, was hard pressed by the Anti-Masons for some indication on how he felt concerning Anti-Masonry. The fact that Clay was pressured from all sides to make such a statement seemed to make his statement all the more important. On one side, influential Masons in the National Republican Party urged for a complete renunciation of the movement; while the Anti-Masons urged for some indication of his sympathy toward their movement. However after an extended period of public neutrality on the subject, Clay, through his private correspondence allowed his sentiments be known:

...while I do not, and never did, care about masonry, I shall abstain from making myself any party to that strife. I tell them that masonry or anti-masonry has...nothing to do with politics...<sup>44</sup>

Without a public declaration of his feelings, and with only rumors concerning his feelings upon the subject, the Anti-Masons had no choice but to consider Clay as being unacceptable. Nevertheless much disappointment was felt by members of both the Anti-Mason and National Republican parties. Even after the nomination of an Anti-Mason candidate, neither side ceased their activities toward the marriage of the two parties under Henry Clay.

With no strong backing of either Adams or Calhoun, with Clay's refusal to publicly affirm or denounce Masonry, and with Rush's complete withdrawal, the Anti-Masons were on the eve of their nominating convention without any candidates to choose from. There seemed to be one hope left for the party as the leaders viewed it, John McLean. When Rush was being considered, McLean was approached and found to be willing to give his consent to his nomination by the Anti-Masons with the stipulation that no other candidate by any other party be put up to oppose Jackson.<sup>45</sup> McLean was Post Master General in John Quincy Adams' administration and was presently serving as Supreme Court Justice under Chief Justice Marshall. With the situation growing darker for the Anti-Masons as the convention neared, McLean was being looked upon with more and more added interest. McLean was looked upon at first with some suspicion by the New England Anti-Masons because it was widely known that he was the protégé of Calhoun's and the stigma of Calhoun's nullification principle was very infectious.<sup>46</sup> The immediate reasoning behind the can-

idancy of McLean was that the leaders of the Anti-Masons hoped that the Judge, being from Ohio, would secure his home state for their cause. The old suspicion of the New England Anti-Masons was never really overcome completely. Even his old friend, Calhoun, was not totally in favor of his nomination and was very much in doubt concerning his chances of being a capable candidate against Jackson. For as Calhoun estimated the situation, McLean, being a western, would completely alienate the Eastern National Republicans which as a consequence would insure the reelection of Jackson. If Jackson was not strong enough to take the election outright from McLean, the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives where the Anti-Mason party was very weak in support.<sup>47</sup>

When the Baltimore Convention opened in September 1831, the delegates were split among Adams and McLean with the Judge being the choice of the Majority.<sup>48</sup> But then the unexpected happened. It became known, immediately prior to the assembling of the delegates, that Henry Clay would be tendered the nomination of the National Republicans regardless of the Anti-Masons' nominee. It was also known that Clay would accept the nomination from that assembly when it met in two months following the Anti-Mason Convention. This information stimulated a reaction from McLean, who, reverting back to his original stipulation, sent a letter to the now assembled delegates withdrawing his name from consideration.<sup>49</sup>

With McLean withdrawing, Adams was seemingly left with an

open field without any contenders, but yet he did not have anything that even resembled a majority. When the delegates assembled in the saloon of the Athenaeum in Baltimore on September 26, 1831,<sup>50</sup> they did so without any outstanding candidate in mind. The leaders of the party were desperate. Adams was the only candidate who enjoyed any type of support among the delegates. Nevertheless the majority of the delegates were hesitant to nominate a man who was a minority president previously and who had suffered a stifling defeat in the last election.<sup>51</sup> Another feeling that was dividing the delegates into two separate camps was the thought that a minority wanted the nomination of a person who would withdraw in favor of the National Republican nominee. The other group, the majority of the party, favored choosing a candidate who would ratify their nominee rather than support Clay.<sup>52</sup> Adams would not be sufficient to win the nomination of the National Republicans for the third time.

As a seemingly measure of desperation, the Anti-Masons turned to William Wirt, Supreme Court Justice and also Attorney General in John Quincy Adams' cabinet. Wirt strangely enough, was a life long Mason and never in reality renounced his Masonry. Although having, obviously, no great zeal for Anti-Masonry as a social movement, Wirt was persuaded by Weed, Spencer, Tracy, and Phelps, all delegates, to accept the nomination, which he did.<sup>53</sup>

Wirt's object in accepting such a nomination from the Anti-Masons was his naive belief that he alone could unite the two parties and successfully defeat Jackson. The Anti-Masons, on

the other hand, were prompted in their selection of this eleventh hour candidate by the fact of his prominence in the National Republican Party and his close friendship with Henry Clay.<sup>54</sup> Wirt's prominence in the National Republican Party is exemplified by two notices that are found in the press of that period. The first example is found in newsprint on September 8, 1831. The date is very significant for this prior to the actual convention of the Anti-Masons and at this time it looked as if McLean was all but confirmed by the convention as the nominee of the party. The article reported on the activities of a meeting that was held by a large group of National Republicans in Pittsburg. This meeting suggested the nomination of Henry Clay as candidate for the Presidency and William Wirt as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency.<sup>55</sup>

The other example of Wirt's prominence in the National Republican Party is found in another paper's article relating the fact that he had resigned his seat as a delegate to the National Republican Convention as a result of his recent nomination.<sup>56</sup>

The Baltimore Convention lasted only three days, September 26-28. The actual minutes of that convention do not indicate the slightest trace of the progression of events that resulted in Wirt's nomination. The New York delegation was firmly in control of the convention with John Spencer of that delegation as president of the assembly.. Without any nominating or even seconding speeches, as is customary today, Wirt was nominated on

the first ballot with the vote being nearly unanimous. Out of the one hundred and eleven votes cast, Wirt received one hundred and eight; Rush received one; two delegates abstained. The Vice-Presidential nominee, Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania, was nominated by the same lopsided vote; out of one hundred and ten cast, one hundred and eight went to Ellmaker, one to Spencer, and one delegate abstained.<sup>57</sup>

In reviewing the results of the convention, it is evident that the purpose of the assembly was merely to rubber stamp the nominee brought forth by Weed and the other leaders of the party. But the actual assembling of a party for the expressed purpose of voting openly on their selection of a candidate is a significant point that should be noted. The Baltimore Convention replaced the secretive party caucus dating back to 1792 as the means of selecting the party's choice.<sup>58</sup>

On the third day of the convention, the ballot that finalized Wirt's nomination was taken and a committee of three was appointed to communicate the "news" to Wirt.<sup>59</sup> Wirt on the same day sent to the convention floor a letter which was his acceptance speech. This letter of acceptance is far from what would be expected from a candidate running on the Anti-Mason ticket. Wirt openly affirms his attendance in the Masonic Lodge and does not in any way deny his own Masonry, though he does condemn the Morgan incident as being contrary to the public good. Wirt goes on further to state that he does not believe that the office of the Presidency should be used for, "...the purpose of a blind and



unjust proscription"<sup>60</sup>, which is the basic principle of the Anti-Mason Party; the general proscription of all Freemasons.<sup>61</sup> These views, as expressed here in Wirt's acceptance speech, are identical to those of Henry Clay's which seemed to deny him the same nomination.<sup>62</sup> Wirt's acceptance speech merely reflects the desperate state the leaders of that party were in during the latter part of September of 1831.

The reaction of the informed public to Wirt's nomination was of very bitter tones directed not at Wirt but rather at the party itself. One newspaper, pro-Clay in its editorials, shows mild surprise at the nomination of Wirt and is very typical of what was found at this time in other papers:

The selection of Mr. Wirt as their candidate shows conclusively either that the Anti-masons themselves have been heretofore unjustly reproached with a violent and persecuting spirit, or that Anti-masonry has changed its character; for they take him up as their candidate in the face of his pointed rebuke of the only traits in the party to which anyone has ever had a right to take exception—that is, its alleged intoleration and proscription.<sup>63</sup>

The same editorial continues by echoing the general feeling toward the candidate himself:

Since, however, the Convention were [sic] driven to the necessity of selecting a candidate without reference to the principles of their party, it must be allowed that they could not have inscribed on their banner a more respected name than that of William Wirt. Possessed of talents of the highest order, sound to the core in his political principles.., he is a citizen<sup>64</sup> whom his countrymen may well delight to honor.

This type of praise is typical of the majority of editorials

concerning the selection of Wirt.

On the other hand, the party actually presenting a candidate, brought down much criticism upon itself, especially from the pro-Clay papers. Most attacks came in the form of pointing out the improbability of Wirt being elected;

The object of every man in becoming a candidate for public office is to be elected. Mr. Wirt cannot form an exception to this general rule. Both himself and his friends, no doubt, have made their calculations of the probable chances of his success in the approaching contest. But for our life we cannot perceive by what political arithmetic they have arrived at the conclusion that he has the most distant prospect of being elected.<sup>65</sup>

But yet the same party was treated with a certain amount of respect; for as one paper states, "The Anti-mason Party, possesses, we believe, great negative strength." "The same article proceeds by taking a familiar stand:" "...but no one so overrates its power as to consider it able to carry a candidate into the Presidency on its own shoulders, without other aid." <sup>66</sup> This last point which refers to the minority position of the party, points to the possibility of a coalition in order for that party to defeat Jackson. This political fact of a coalition, as mentioned above, was worked for prior to the National Republican Convention and even after that convention. The two candidates were not separated by any personal principles; and, as to party principles, the Anti-Masons seemed to have abandoned them with the nomination of Wirt. As one paper bluntly states: "...If that party ground their support on principle, it is

given in direct opposition to the only principle which distinguished them from the Republican friends of Mr. Clay."<sup>67</sup>

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ANTI-MASON PARTY AND THE ELECTION OF 1832

##### The Indiana Letter and the Presidential Election of 1832

The object of any political party in modern theory is to present to the electorate a candidate who has the greatest possible appeal. The Anti-Mason Party in the election appealed to only a small group of voters in the states, primarily, of New York and Pennsylvania. This small group of voters was considered by the National Republicans as a major part in their campaign strategy.

The period between the conventions of the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans was filled with political maneuvers and log rolling rather than the trading of political theories and niceties. It was filled with practical politics generally not discussed in history text-books.

Although the National Anti-Mason Party presented a separate candidate for President in the election, the party at no time in its short history had grand illusions of propelling its candi-

date into the White House without substantial support from the National Republicans. The majority of the leaders of the Anti-Masons, such as Weed and Seward, were devoted to the cause of the defeat of Andrew Jackson rather than the destruction of Freemasonry in the United States. The fact that Jackson was a Mason was political hay for Weed and other political opportunists who viewed the Anti-Mason Movement as a means of accomplishing their primary object, Jackson's defeat.<sup>68</sup>

The Anti-Masons convening of a convention prior to the National Republicans' was to have forced the National Republican Party in accepting the Anti-Mason candidate in the name of political unity in promoting the common cause, viz., the defeat of Andrew Jackson. This act can be seen only as a political maneuver in order to obtain for the weaker party, the Anti-Mason Party, political leverage. But after the convention had been actually called, it was found that Henry Clay was going to accept the nomination of the National Republicans regardless of what the Anti-Masons were to do. With this fact being known it seemed like the situation would come down to determining who was politically the strongest and would accept the other party's principles in order to defeat Jackson. The Anti-Masons were, nevertheless, determined not to back the National Republican candidate because of his Masonry. It seemed that there was going to be an impasse which would probably result in the reelection of Andrew Jackson. The leaders of both parties realized this and tried to prevent the consequence but the National Republicans

were unwilling to yield. The National Republicans were unwilling to drop Clay for the Anti-Mason candidate for the reason, as is found in the National Republican press at this time, that they could not in principle support a person who advocated proscription against any group.<sup>69</sup> This is what the National Republicans wanted the electorate to believe. Yet in realistic party politics, it would seem that the National Republicans felt that if they endorsed the Anti-Mason candidate, they would lose their identity as a political party.

The Anti-Masons in 1831 firmly believed that they could choose a candidate who would be acceptable to the National Republicans. The result was William Wirt. Wirt himself believed, though naively, that he would be renominated by the National Republicans and that he would lead the united attack upon the Jacksonian Democracy.<sup>70</sup> During the two months that intervened between the two conventions, the Anti-Masons still maintained the hope that Clay's hatred for Jackson would overcome his personal ambitions and would refuse the National Republican nomination if and when offered. It was known that Clay and Wirt entertained similar views on most fundamental concepts and that they held each other as friends. The Anti-Masons reasoned that it would be very attractive to Clay to step aside and allow Wirt to be elected and then he would enjoy the position of being the power behind the throne.<sup>71</sup> The terms of a coalition, as the Anti-Masons saw it, between the two parties would be the acceptance and support for Wirt in exchange for support for Clay's American

System.<sup>72</sup> Both parties, especially Clay, realized the full import of a divided opposition against Andrew Jackson, and that it would almost insure Jackson's reelection.<sup>73</sup>

As the National Republican Convention neared and all indications pointed to Clay's certain acceptance of the nomination, Wirt lost all hope of his own nomination and as he wrote to a friend, "...so be it, in a personal point of view I shall feel that I have made a lucky escape."<sup>74</sup>

With Clay's nomination, Wirt quickly changed from the role of an idealist to that of a pragmatist. Wirt's only thought was to withdraw in favor of Clay. This attitude as exhibited by Wirt was the second alternative that was open to the Anti-Mason Convention and now in the election of 1832, namely, that they support the National Republican candidate, Henry Clay. When Wirt's sentiments became known, two forces urged him to retain his nomination. The Anti-Mason leaders encouraged Wirt to remain in the political arena on the pretense that Clay could not draw the support that Wirt could in New York and Pennsylvania and would eventually realize Wirt's importance.<sup>75</sup>

The other force moving Wirt to retain his nomination was brought to bear by the one person that Wirt hoped to benefit, Henry Clay. Clay was afraid that if Wirt withdrew the Anti-Masons would ascribe his action to Clay's influence and any hope of support by that group be lost.<sup>76</sup>

Clay's fear of strong Anti-Masonic reaction was well founded. Immediately following the Baltimore Convention of 1831,

Clay had written to a group of Anti-Masons in Indiana informing them of his bitter opposition to political Anti-Masonry. This letter, known as the Indiana Letter, was reproduced by well meaning National Republican newspapers to induce Masonic support of Clay.<sup>77</sup> The result was more of the opposite, for the Anti-Masons reacted very bitterly against the National Republicans and especially Henry Clay.<sup>78</sup>

The Indiana Letter was written, from all indications, as personal correspondence and when accidentally published revealed to the electorate the privately held views of Clay's. Henry Clay's attitude toward Anti-Masonry is very important to the understanding of why a coalition never became a reality. Henry Clay, like most successful politicians, tried to keep his personal and political views separate. Clay had a rather negative view toward Anti-Masonry in national politics but this was limited to only personal correspondence. On the other hand, Clay viewed Anti-Masonry as a political necessity in his bid for the Presidency in 1832. The writing and the subsequent printing of the Indiana Letter was merely an intersection of these two views, his private and political outlooks.

By early 1830, the campaign strategy of Clay was being prepared for the upcoming election. At that time it became apparent to Clay that three states were keys to that election. Clay felt that if the states of "...Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York should unite on any particular candidate, opposition to that candidate will be unavailing, in all probability."<sup>79</sup> With-



out these states supporting the National Republicans, Clay had no chance in stopping Jackson, for their combined electoral vote was 95 at a period of history when it took only 143 electoral votes to elect a president.<sup>80</sup> Clay was supported by Danial Webster and other National Republican leaders in his assessment of the importance of the three key states: "...if Jackson loses either New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, he will be defeated."<sup>81</sup> As these considerations are made known it can be easily understood why Clay took an interest in the activities of the Anti-Masons in Pennsylvania and especially New York. Clay's actual interest in the Anti-Mason Party was more than he himself would admit to Weed just prior to the election:

I received your favor of the 9th inst., as I did the previous ones, communicating the progress of measures to produce cooperation between the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans in the State of New York. I most earnestly hope that such cooperation may be cordially produced to the satisfaction of both parties. If it could be secured, and if, as the necessary consequence, the Jackson party could be defeated in New York, there is only wanted a perfect persuasion of that result, throughout the Union to insure a signal overthrow of Jackson at the approaching election.<sup>82</sup>

With Clay's interest in the Anti-Mason party deepened because of the electoral vote that hung in the balance, Clay early in the campaign worked toward the eventual coalition that had to be brought about in order to save the Union from four more years of Jackson. The effect of such a coalition was stated by Clay in 1830 in a letter to a friend: "...Jackson would probable lose one or both of these states New York and Pennsylvania , in either of which case I think he would be

defeated."<sup>83</sup>

Part of Clay's strategy toward effecting a union between the two parties was to remain neutral, in the public light, in order to remain aloof from the bitter debates found in the newspapers of the time. Even as late as July of 1831, just prior to the Baltimore Convention, Clay declined an invitation to publically comment on the political activity of the Anti-Masons:

I think it best not to touch upon the subject [Anti-Masonry]. Principle and policy are both opposed to my meddling with it. At the same time, I believe it would be politic to leave the Jackson party exclusively to abuse the Antis."<sup>84</sup>

Aside from the fact of his public "no-comment" attitude toward Anti-Masonry, Clay harbored a deep resentment that some politically ambitious people actually introduced such a proscriptive element into national politics, as demonstrated by the Anti-Masons. This attitude of Henry Clay's is what prompted the reply that was found in the Indiana Letter stating that he felt that Anti-Masonry had no place in national politics.<sup>85</sup> Clay explains his position in a private letter of the period: "I think that we ought not to admit the right of mixing Masonry or Anti-Masonry, or any other society, whether literary, benevolent, or religious, with politics."<sup>86</sup> Clay's feelings on Anti-Masonry as found in the latter correspondence seems to take a more bitter tone than was exhibited in the Indiana Letter. A private letter written immediately after the infamous letter that was sent to the Anti-Masons in Indiana reveals a strong, odious sentiment that seems to even surpass

the strong feelings that Clay had for Jackson:

If the alternative be between Andrew Jackson and an Anti-Mason candidate, with his exclusive proscriptive principles, I should be embarrassed in the choice. I am not sure that the old tyranny is not better than a new one. That can endure, at the furthest, only four or five years more, while the latter might be of indefinite duration. The one is an exhausted volcano, the other would be bursting of a new eruption, spreading no one can tell to what extent, nor how long it would last.<sup>87</sup>

As the events that lead up to election day 1832, are explored there seemed to be on the part of the National Republicans a feeling of almost casualness as to the fact of a coalition, even after the Indiana Letter was circulated. It seemed that the whole attitude of Clay was of political smugness. The tactic of remaining silent about Anti-Masonry seemed to be a political maneuver on Clay's part and it worked almost perfectly until the Indiana Letter. Clay's confidence is very easily detected in his letters of the period even up to the election day itself. Clay felt, as an example of his smugness, that with the Baltimore Convention, the Anti-Masons would abandon the whole cause by the spring of 1832 after seeing the futility of running a candidate.<sup>88</sup> An understanding of Clay's behavior might be grasped in exploring Clay's connection with the Anti-Mason party and especially his relationship with Thurlow Weed.

Early in the year 1827, the Adams' party was looking for a possible successor for Adams and it seems that Clay was the logical choice. During the same year, a dissatisfied Adams'

supporter from the State of New York saw a great deal of Clay and other leaders who were dissatisfied with Adams. The politician was Thurlow Weed. Weed was representing other dissatisfied Adams' men who saw hope for their failing party in Henry Clay.<sup>89</sup> At that time Anti-Masonry was not in any sense a political party but Weed and others were, as Clay later assessed them to be, "...men in pursuit of power."<sup>90</sup> Even in 1827, Weed foresaw the political leverage that the Anti-Mason Party might be in the position of someday wielding.

At this time, 1827, Weed, through the close friends of Henry Clay, tried to work out an arrangement which would allow an Anti-Mason to support Clay, a Mason. As Weed stated later that, "...an arrangement was effected with Mr. Clay, which, as was believed, would bridge over our trouble."<sup>91</sup> This arrangement was for Clay to acknowledge, in some small way, political Anti-Masonry and, to remain quiet on how he personally felt toward Anti-Masonry. He would not necessarily compromise his principles. This "arrangement" would allow the Anti-Masons to vote for the National Republican ticket nationally and the Anti-Mason ticket on the state level.<sup>92</sup> Clay's acknowledgement was sent in a letter to General Porter, a close friend of Clay's. What was said in the letter was never made known because, before it was to be published, the Indiana Letter was before the people.<sup>93</sup>

The Indiana Letter written October 2, 1831, so embittered the Anti-Masons that they defied any attempt by the National

Republicans to effect any type of coalition on the national ticket from this date up to the very day of election.<sup>94</sup> The feeling that this one letter generated among the Anti-Masons effectively alienated Clay from their support even in the face of evident defeat. This feeling is found in a letter sent to Weed just prior to the balloting:

Our Anti-Masonic friends stand firm, and treat with contempt the cry of coalition...The great object we have in view - the destruction of Freemasonry - will be promoted even by a defeat, provided we are careful to keep the object distinctly before the people.<sup>95</sup>

Realizing the feeling the Indiana Letter created, it can be easily seen why Clay encouraged Wirt to retain his nomination.

The views that Clay expressed in the Indiana Letter are merely consistent with his personal opinions that he had already previously mentioned only in private correspondence. The question that would logically be asked is why is it written, but the answer cannot be factually given, only speculation remains for there is no indication in his letters of the period. Could Clay have been so politically naive as not to have realized the possible outcome that it might have? It would seem not. Could Clay have been hit with a sudden moment of self-righteousness to state what he really felt about the movement? Again it would not seem probable at all. Or could the answer be found in the reasoning that, as in all political campaigns, mistakes are made which, when made, do not seem to be great, only in retrospect.

The rank and file members of the Anti-Mason after the

Indiana Letter quietly accepted the fact of defeat but the National Republicans on the other hand did not. To them a coalition candidate was the only way to defeat Jackson. When the Anti-Mason party first entered the political sphere early in the 30's many National Republicans were quick to observe the negative potential that the party exhibited. One supporter remarked to Clay concerning his apprehension: "This cursed Anti-Masonry embarrasses everything, and defeats all attempts at systematic operation against the common enemy."<sup>96</sup> A united front against the enemy was the concern of most Nationals. Even Clay was concerned when he heard of the possibility that the Anti-Masons might hold a nominating convention:

It seems to me that nothing can disappoint the hopes of our friends, but Anti-Masonry. If that party should nominate a candidate at Baltimore, and adhere to him, they may prevent any election by the colleges, and possibly may lead to the election of the present incumbent. <sup>97</sup>

When the Anti-Masons did nominate a candidate, the reactions were mixed. Some agreed with Clay that, "...the policy of the Antis is to force us into their support. Ours should be to win them to ours."<sup>98</sup> The convention at Baltimore was for that expressed purpose, to influence the National Republicans to support the Anti-Mason candidate. Some National Republicans immediately panicked and began to appeal to Clay in the spirit that the Anti-Masons hoped and prayed for:

Now Sir, since your own election is impossible would it not be the greatest blessing which you could possibly confer upon your country, to retire from the contest, and let all your forces be brought over to

Mr. Wirt's side, and thus by securing his election, you would be the means of delivering the country from the domination of the present weak and imbecile Administration.<sup>99</sup>

As the first waves of sudden bewilderment hit the National Republicans and the talk of "bolting" the regular party was heard, the pro-Clay newspapers reacted with different types of techniques geared to lead the electorate back to the old party. The types of editorializing concerning the upcoming National Republican Convention and the election took on two types of approaches that promoted their candidate; wooing the Anti-Masons into the National Republican camp; and reaffirming their hold upon the wavering members who wanted to desert the party and support the Anti-Mason candidate.

The efforts of the National Republican press used two approaches to influence the Anti-Masons to come under the banner of Clay. The most frequently used approach was that of gentle persuasion. The first editorial aimed at the Anti-Masons appeared immediately after the Baltimore Convention. The type of political verbiage as found in this type of editorials pointed out very respectfully that Wirt had no real hope of being elected even if the National Republican supported him. The same editorials also pointed out the fact that there was no basic difference between the two candidates and that Wirt was a National Republican at heart.<sup>100</sup>

Another method that National Republican editors used was the publishing of early political poles which has been develop-

ed to a highly scientific art. The newspapers point out, with much pain by illustration and graph, the probabilities of each candidate in the election, and naturally Clay seemed to have a slight edge over Jackson.<sup>101</sup>

With the publishing of "non-biased" poles of the probabilities of the election, another approach was used to encourage support. The editors continually suggested, using Clay's arguments, that Anti-masonry had no place in national politics. Using this as the basis of argument, many editors suggested that those Anti-Masons who nevertheless agree with Clay's policies should not let their personal convictions interfere with their political convictions.<sup>102</sup>

As the National Republican Convention neared, another type of editorializing took place. This time it was aimed at the National Republican who advocated dropping Clay in favor for a coalition campaign under William Wirt. The tone of these types of editorials seemed to point out the fact that the Anti-Masons had no party principles except that of proscription, that did not differ in any way from the National Republicans and could see no other reason for deserting the regular party.<sup>103</sup> The fact that this type of editorial increased in number and intensity immediately prior to the National Convention itself would tend to indicate that the feeling of supporting Wirt over Clay was very much in evidence. The press constantly emphasized Clay's strong political principles and Wirt's apparent lack of them.<sup>104</sup>



The National Republicans met in December in the same city of Baltimore as had the Anti-Masons just two months earlier. The result was what was expected: the nomination of Henry Clay as their presidential candidate. The other result that many National Republicans hoped for, Wirt's subsequent withdrawal, did not occur. Clay, as was discussed above, would not allow Wirt even to follow his own wishes in the matter.<sup>105</sup> As was discussed, Clay was afraid of the Anti-Mason reaction to such an obvious political maneuver on the part of Clay. But yet Clay had not submitted entirely to political defeat from the loss of New York because of the lack of coalition with the Anti-Masons. It now seems that Clay had a second plan worked out with Weed and the other Anti-Mason leaders to secure a coalition, one that was secret in nature. The plan called for the election of separate state electors by both the National Republicans and the Anti-Masons but they would be nominated and technically non-committed as to whom they would cast their votes for President. By this plan, as the planners thought, the combined leaders could throw the electoral votes to Wirt if there was a possibility of his election, or the impossibility of either Clay or Wirt being elected; and for Clay if his election could be secured with the votes of New York.<sup>106</sup> Clay in a letter to Weed speaks of this agreement and the progress that was being made to effect it:

I received your favor of the 9th inst., as I did the previous ones, communicating the progress of measures to produce cooperation be-

tween the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans in the state of New York. I most earnestly hope that such cooperation may be cordially produced, to the satisfaction of both parties. 107.

On the other hand, the general rank and file of both parties were in complete darkness of the coalition that was being brought into existence by the maneuverings of their leaders. Unknowing National Republican editors continued to try various means in order to win over the support of the Anti-Masons. One newspaper tried to make Clay acceptable to the Anti-Masons by printing an affidavit signed by the secretary of the lodge which Clay was supposed to have once been a member. The affidavit certifies that Clay withdrew from active membership of the fraternity in 1824, two years prior to the Morgan incident. 108 This appears to be an attempt to show that Clay was less a Mason than their own candidate would appear to be.

The National Republican press used yet another type of persuasion which has become known today as "bandwagoning". One National Republican newspaper notes the switching of party alliances by a newspaper that supported the Anti-Masons until Clay's nomination, at which time the National Republicans received their support. 109

The agreement of cooperation between the two parties began to unfold as the state conventions drew near. The purpose of these conventions was for the nominating of electors who would in turn be presented to the electorate according to our electoral process. The Anti-Masons held their state conventions

at Utica on June 21, 1832, a month prior to that of the National Republicans. The Anti-Masons at this time nominated five electors for each of the eight districts of new York State.<sup>110</sup> Henry Clay, less than three weeks previous to this convention, expressed his hopes concerning the convention and the results that were likely to be produced:

The progress of the work of co-operation between the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans in New York continues, and every day adds to our confidence that it will be secured, and that its result will be to deprive Jackson of the support of that State. It is an affair, however, of much delicacy and of no little difficulty...<sup>111</sup>

Reaction to the state electors, when it became known that the National Republicans merely were going to nominate the same men, was mixed. The National Republicans on the whole were overjoyed with the prospect of a coalition, but the Anti-Masons, on the other hand, treated the news with much distain. Edwin Croswell, the editor of the Albany Argus, the outspoken champion of political Anti-Masonry, expressed the sentiments of most Anti-Masons immediately proceeding the Anti-Mason convention at Utica after the names of the nominees of electors had been known:

Judging from the names, as far as they are known to us, it is a coalition, as palable as the thing can be, and not be formally announced by the contracting parties. Clay men, masons, and Anti-masons alternate through this combination of the factions; ...the whole scheme is apparent. We shall see how far the honest portions of both parties will consent to the transfer.<sup>112</sup>

This scheme of the Anti-Mason and the National Republican leaders seemed to cause more of an unfavorable reaction rather than the sudden surge of unifying at the last moment of the

Anti-Jackson forces. The attempt hurt Clay politically, for he actually lost votes rather than gained some. Masons seeking refuge in the New York National Republican Party and strengthened by Clay's remarks in the Indiana Letter, were suddenly disenchanted. They suddenly found themselves in a position where they might be actually supporting Wirt by means of this arrangement. As a result there was a great amount of National Republicans who were Masons that voted for Jackson which proved to be Clay's biggest faux pas. 113

The rank and file conservative Anti-Masons on the other hand, was left in a quandry. On one side their vote might be used to support Clay who was considered by some to be worse than Jackson; on the other side, they were faced with the Mason, Jackson. Many Anti-Masons as a result voted for the lesser of the two evils, Jackson. This fact is borne out by the election results which gave Jackson a majority of 13,600 votes. The staunch Anti-Masons, who felt that they were sold out to Clay and the Masons, stayed away from the polls on election day. This fact is borne out by a letter that Weed received after the election:

Election is over, and the result is bad enough... when I last wrote you I supposed there had been little or no effort made in this country to bring electors to the polls; but I find that I was mistaken. In many towns everything was done that could be done, but to no purpose. Voters stayed home...114

During the time that the Anti-Jackson forces suffered through their inability to settle on a coalition candidate, the

Jackson forces remained outside and aloft from the medley concerning the place of Masonry or Anti-Masonry in politics. When the cry of contempt arose from New York over the apparent coalition, the Globe, Jackson's most leading newspaper, merely reprinted, without comment, the Indiana Letter in its entirety.<sup>115</sup> Clay's response to the group in Indiana seemed to be a contradiction of Clay's political beliefs. This was all that was needed, for the entire Democratic press took up this lead and continued to reprint the letter until election day. The effect that this had on the Masons in Clay's party was incalculable and the result was seen on election day.<sup>116</sup>

The result of Clay's not presenting a constant political conviction to the electorate cost him dearly in terms of votes and possibly the loss of the States of New York and Pennsylvania in particular. Clay even lost the election by a majority of 13,600 and was completely overpowered in Pennsylvania by Jackson's 24,300 majority. The fact that Clay lost the election by more than 137,400 of the popular vote is not as significant as the fact that Clay in the states where he hoped to stop Jackson, made his worst showing. William Wirt, on the other hand, as expected, did not make as strong a showing in New York State as was expected by the National Republicans. Wirt only pulled 13,108 votes from the entire nation, of which 11,152 came from the State of Vermont, the only state that he received electoral votes from.<sup>117</sup>

Weed in commenting on the election some years later in his

autobiography suggests that Clay lost that election because of his inability to form a coalition with the Anti-Masons. Weed attributes Clay's writing of the Indiana Letter as the one single reason for his failure in 1832.<sup>118</sup> Many historians tend to disagree with Weed by stating that if a single issue is to be narrowed down as being the the actual cause of Clay's failure, it would be attributed to his unpopular stand on the National Bank and its renewal. Jackson's subsequent veto message, after Clay championed the renewal bill through Congress, appealed to the democratic instincts of the electorate. Clay, on the other hand, appeared to the electorate as being concerned primarily with the interests of industry.<sup>119</sup>

The bank issue and Clay's political negotiations in New York with the Anti-Masons contributed to the success of the Democrats and Jackson. The loss of the key states by Henry Clay can be attributed to the rise of the common man and his awareness of the political power that he does possess. In New York, Weed and the other Anti-Mason leaders and their dealings with Clay seem to be merely only one event in a series through which men attempted by political means to gain power. Henry Clay at this junction seems to be put in the same lot; yet was Clay merely caught in a bind brought on by his own political ambitions? It would seem to be that Clay, from his personal correspondence, tried to use, similar to the Anti-Mason leaders, Anti-Masonry as the means to an end. The sudden seemingly stampede of disenchanted Masons from the National Republican

Party to the Jackson Party is merely one incident that illustrates the importance of respecting the political as well as the religious intelligence of the electorate. This election also points out the importance of the editorial pen. The electorate would no longer be in complete darkness as to the political developments that were previously unreported. The election of 1832 marked the beginning of the political reality of cultivating and appealing to masses rather than factions and small interest groups. "The day of Democracy, the day of the majority had dawned."<sup>120</sup>

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Thurlow Weed was a conservative newspaper editor who in the course of the history of Anti-Masonry proved to be one of its outspoken leaders. Weed proved also to be an invaluable source for the early history of the party through his autobiography and memoirs.

<sup>2</sup>Thaddeus Stevens, later known for his radical stand on Reconstruction in 1865, was one of the outstanding leaders of the Anti-Mason Party in the State of New York and Pennsylvania between the years 1828- 1833.

<sup>3</sup>Jabez D. Hammond, The History of Political Parties in the State of New York (4th ed.; Cooperstown: Phinney & Co., 1847), II, p.238. Hammond's work is considered an excellent source for the early history of the Anti-Mason Party in New York and its spread as a political party throughout New England. See also, Thurlow Weed, Thurlow Weed; Autobiography, edited by Harriet Weed (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1883), I, p.371.

<sup>4</sup>Glyndon G. VanDeusen, Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1947), p.42.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p.43.

<sup>6</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.239.

<sup>7</sup>VanDeusen, op. cit., p.43.

<sup>8</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.371.

<sup>9</sup>Weed, op. cit., p.253.

<sup>10</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.373.



<sup>11</sup>Charles McCarthy: "The Anti-Masonic Party: A Study of Political Antimasonry in the United States, 1827-1840." Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1902, I, p.371. McCarthy's work up to the present is considered the most in-depth study of the rise and fall of the Anti-Mason Party. McCarthy's primary objective in his work is the exploration of the origin of the party and its influence upon the Canal question in the State of New York between the years of 1827 and 1840.

<sup>12</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.374. Robert V. Remini, Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p.188.

<sup>13</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.378. Weed, op.cit., p.242.

<sup>14</sup>Hammond, Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>McCarthy, op. cit., p.372.

<sup>16</sup>Weed, op. cit., p.255. McCarthy, Ibid., p.372.

<sup>17</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.385.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.386. Weed, op. cit., p.302.

<sup>19</sup>Letter of John Quincy Adams to Oliver Heartwell, April 19, 1828, as found in Niles Weekly Register(Baltimore), August 30, 1828, Vol. XXXV, p.5. (cf. Appendix #1).

<sup>20</sup>Weed, op. cit., p.301.

<sup>21</sup>McCarthy, op. cit., p.376.

<sup>22</sup>VanDeusen, op. cit., p.42.

<sup>23</sup>Hammond, op. cit., p.391.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>McCarthy, op. cit., p.382.

<sup>26</sup>Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Quincy Adams and the Union (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p.277.

<sup>27</sup>Wilfred E. Binkley, American Political Parties: Their Natural History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p.159.

<sup>28</sup>Weed, op. cit., pp.302-303. Hammond, op. cit., p.374.

<sup>29</sup>Hammond, Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Address by Edward Livingston, in the National Intelligencer as reproduced by Niles Weekly Register, May 22, 1830, Vol. XXXVIII, p.237. (cf. Appendix #2).

<sup>31</sup>"Anti-Masonry", Philadelphia National Gazette, Sept. 28, 1831, as reproduced by Scioto Gazette, (Chillicothe, Ohio), Oct. 12, 1831, p.3. (cf. Appendix #3).

<sup>32</sup>McCarthy, op. cit., p.398. Bemis, op. cit., p.278.

<sup>33</sup>Frederick W. Dallinger, Nominations for Elective Office (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), p.36. From the time of President Jefferson presidential candidates were chosen by party leaders in secret meetings known as caucuses.

<sup>34</sup>"Anti-Masonic", Niles Weekly Register, Sept. 18, 1830, Vol. XXXIX, p.58. (cf. Appendix # 4).

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Oct. 2, 1830, Vol. XXXIX, p.91. (cf. Appendix #5).

<sup>36</sup>Letter of Rush to the Committee of Correspondence, May 4, 1831, A Collection of Letters on Freemasonry in Chronological Order, (Boston: 1849), p.14, as quoted by Bemis, op. cit., p.280.

<sup>37</sup>Diary of John Quincy Adams, VIII, p.403, as quoted by McCarthy, op. cit., p.533.

<sup>38</sup>Letter of John Quincy Adams to Heartwell as reproduced in Niles Weekly Register, Aug. 30, 1828, Vol. XXXV, p.5. (cf. Appendix # 1).

<sup>39</sup>William Seward, Autobiography (New York: 1891), pp.206-207 as quoted by Bemis, op. cit., p.291.

<sup>40</sup>Letter of William Seward to Thurlow Weed, Boston, Sept.14, 1831, Thurlow Weed, Memoir, edited T.W.Barnes (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884), II, p.41.

<sup>41</sup>Letter of John C. Calhoun to Van Deventer, may 25, 1831, "Letters of John C. Calhoun", Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1899, II, edited by J.F. Jameson, p.293.

<sup>42</sup>Seward, Autobiography, I, p.184, as quoted by McCarthy, op. cit., p.533.

<sup>43</sup>VanDeusen, op. cit., p.58.

<sup>44</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Francis Brooke, June 23, 1831, Henry Clay, The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay, edited by Calvin Colton, (Cincinnati: H.W. Derby, 1856), IV, pp.303-304.

<sup>45</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, p.389.

<sup>46</sup>Weed, op. cit., II, p.41.

<sup>47</sup>Calhoun, op. cit., pp.292 & 296.

<sup>48</sup>"Candidates and Conventions", New York Commercial Advertiser, as reproduced by the Daily National Intelligencer (Washington), Sept. 27, 1831, p.2. The National Intelligencer, besides the Niles Weekly Register, was the national spokesman for the candidacy of Henry Clay during the campaign for the election of 1832. See Clement Eaton, Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics, edited by Oscar Handlin, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1957), p.86. (cf. Appendix # 6).

<sup>49</sup>Letter of McLean to Thurlow Weed, Sept. 7, 1831, Weed, op. cit., I, pp.389-390.

<sup>50</sup>"Minutes of the National Anti-Mason Convention", Baltimore Patriot, as reproduced by Niles Weekly Register, Oct. 8, 1831, Vol. III, p.107. (cf. Appendix # 7).

<sup>51</sup>Bemis, op. cit., p.292.

<sup>52</sup>Claude Bowers, The Party Battles of the Jacksonian Period (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1965), p.235.

<sup>53</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, pp.390-391.

<sup>54</sup>VanDeusen, op. cit., p.59. Bowers, op. cit., p.235.

55"National Republican Meeting at Pittsburg", Daily National Intelligencer, Sept. 8, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 8).

56"John B. Morris esq. has been appointed to represent the city of Baltimore in the next convention which is to assemble in this city in Dec. next, in place of William Wirt esq., who resigned his appointment on accepting the Anti-Mason nomination for the president of the United States.", quoted from Niles Weekly Register, Nov. 19, 1831, Vol. III, p.221.

57"Anti-Masonic Convention", Niles Weekly Register, Oct. 8, 1831, Vol. III, pp.108-109. (cf. Appendix # 7).

58Dallinger, op. cit., p.13.

59"Anti-Masonic Convention", Niles Weekly Register, Oct. 8, 1831, Vol. III, p.109. (cf. Appendix # 7).

60"National Anti-Masonic Convention", Niles Weekly Register, Oct. 1, 1831, Vol. III, p. 85. (cf. Appendix # 9).

61Weed, op. cit., I, p.255.

62Letter of Clay to Brooke, Jan. 23, 1831, Clay, op. cit., pp.303-304.

63"Anti-Masonic Convention", Daily National Intelligencer, Oct. 5, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 10).

64Ibid.

65"Anti-Masonry", Philadelphia National Gazette, Sept. 28, 1831, as reproduced in the Scioto Gazette, Oct. 12, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 3).

66"Anti-Masonic Convention", Daily National Intelligencer, Oct. 5, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 10).

67"The Presidential Election", New Hampshire Statesman, as reproduced in the Scioto Gazette, Nov. 16, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 11).

68VanDeusen, op. cit., p.42.

<sup>69</sup>"Henry Clay", Boston Courier, as quoted by the Scioto Gazette, Nov. 9, 1831, p.3. (cf. Appendix # 12). "Political Anti-Masonry", Harrisburgh Chronicle, as quoted by Scioto Gazette, Dec.7, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix #13).

<sup>70</sup>Bowers, op. cit., p.235.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Bemis, op. cit., p.279.

<sup>73</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to J.S. Johnston, July 23, 1831, Clay, op. cit., p.307.

<sup>74</sup>John P. Kennedy, Life of William Wirt (Philadelphia:1849), II, p.314, as quoted by Bowers, op. cit., p.236.

<sup>75</sup>Bowers, Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>"Mr. Clay" & "Mr. Clay's Answer" [The Indiana Letter], Louisville Journal, as reproduced by the Daily National Intelligencer, Sept.29, 1831, p.3. "Mr Clay and the Anti-Masons", Kentucky Republican, as reproduced by the Scioto Gazette, Nov. 23, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 14).

<sup>78</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, pp.353-354.

<sup>79</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Brooke, April 19, 1830, Clay, op. cit., p.261.

<sup>80</sup>United States Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1960), p.683.

<sup>81</sup>Letter to Henry Clay from Daniel Webster, May 29, 1830, Clay, op. cit., p.275. Letter of Henry Clay to Brooke, April 24, 1830, Clay, Ibid., p.263.

<sup>82</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Thurlow Weed, April 14, 1832, Weed, op. cit., II, p.42.

<sup>83</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to John Bailhache, Nov. 24, 1830, Clay, op. cit., pp.288-289.

<sup>84</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Francis Booke, July 18, 1831, Ibid., p.306.

<sup>85</sup>"Mr. Clay's Answer", Louisville Journal, as reproduced by Daily National Intelligencer, loc. cit., cf. Appendix # 14. Letter of Henry Clay to Brooke, Jan. 23, 1831, Clay, op. cit., p.304.

<sup>86</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to J.S. Johnston, July 23, 1831, Clay, Ibid., p.307.

<sup>87</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to a friend, Oct., 1831, Clay, Ibid., p.316.

<sup>88</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Francis Brooke, Jan., 1831, Clay, Ibid., p.304.

<sup>89</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, p.350.

<sup>90</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Baihache, Nov. 24, 1830, Clay, op. cit., p.289.

<sup>91</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, p.350.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p.351, as interpreted by VanDeusen, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

<sup>93</sup>Weed, Ibid., pp.351 & 354.

<sup>94</sup>Letter of John C. Spencer to Thurlow Weed, July 13, 1832, Weed, op. cit., II, p.43.

<sup>95</sup>Letter of Spencer to Weed, Sept. 21, 1832, Ibid., pp.43-44.

<sup>96</sup>Letter of Peter B. Porter to Henry Clay, Oct. 6, 1830, Clay, op. cit., p.284.

<sup>97</sup>Letter of Clay to Johnston, July 23, 1831, Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p.308.

<sup>99</sup>Letter of Timothy Pickering to Henry Clay, Oct. 22, 1831, Clay, op. cit., p.319.

<sup>100</sup>"The Anti-Masonic Convention", Daily National Intelligencer, Oct. 5, 1831. (cf. Appendix # 10).

<sup>101</sup>"The Presidential Election", New Hampshire Statesman, as reproduced in the Scioto Gazette, Nov. 16, 1831, p.1. (cf. Appendix # 11). Editorial, "Mr. Wirt", Scioto Gazette, Oct. 12, 1831, p.2. (cf. Appendix # 15).

<sup>102</sup>Editorial, Daily National Intelligencer, Nov. 23, 1831, p.3. (cf. Appendix # 16).

<sup>103</sup>"Anti-Masonry", Scioto Gazette, Oct, 1831, op. cit., p.2. Editorial, "Mr. Wirt", Scioto Gazette, Oct., 1831, op. cit., p.2.

<sup>104</sup>Editorial, Oct., 12, 1831, Ibid. "Henry Clay", Boston Courier, as quoted by Scioto Gazette, Nov. 9, 1831. "Political Anti-Masonry", Harrisburgh Chronicle, as reproduced by Scioto Gazette, Dec. 7, 1831, p.2.

<sup>105</sup>Bowers, op. cit., p.236.

<sup>106</sup>Seward, Autobiography, p. 100, as paraphrased by Bowers, op. cit., pp.236-237. Hammond, op. cit., p.398.

<sup>107</sup>Letter of Henry Clay to Thurlow Weed, April 14, 1832, Weed, op. cit., II, p. 42.

<sup>108</sup>"Mr. Clay and Masonry", New York Commercial Advertiser, reproduced by Niles Weekly Register, Jan. 7, 1832, XLII, p.346.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p.347.

<sup>110</sup>"New York Anti-Masonic Convention", Niles Weekly Register, July 7, 1832. ILII, pp.338-339. (cf Appendix #17).

<sup>111</sup>Letter of Clay to Brooke, June 2, 1832, Clay, op. cit., p.339.

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<sup>113</sup>Hammond, op. cit., pp.402-403.

<sup>114</sup>Letter of Patterson to Thurlow Weed, Nov. 15, 1832, Weed, op. cit., II, p.47.

<sup>115</sup>"The Indiana Letter", Globe(Washington), Oct. 8, 1832, commented on by Bowers, op. cit., p.238.

<sup>116</sup>Bowers, Ibid., pp.237-238.

<sup>117</sup>Clifford L. Lord & Elizabeth H. Lord, Historical Atlas of the United States (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1944), p.223.

<sup>118</sup>Weed, op. cit., I, p.354.

<sup>119</sup>Eaton, op. cit., pp.96-100.

<sup>120</sup>Bowers, op. cit., p.227.





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# 1

*Washington, 19th April, 1828.**Oliver Heartwell, esq. Canandaigua, N. Y.*

Sir—In answer to your inquiry in your letter of the 31st ult. I state that I am not, never was, and never shall be a free-mason. I give you this answer in the spirit of friendly return to the kindness with which you have made the inquiry. But unwilling to contribute in any manner to that excitement produced by the mysterious abduction and too probable murder of Wm. Morgan, I request you not to give publicity to this letter. The deep and solemn feeling which pervades the community on this occasion, is founded in the purest principles of human virtue and of human rights. In the just and lawful pursuit of a signal vindication of the laws of nature and of the land, violated in his person, which has been undertaken, and is yet in progress with the authority and co-operation of your legislature, I hope and trust that the fellow citizens of the sufferer will temper with the spirit of justice, the reparation of her wrongs, and in the infliction of every penalty, carefully abstain from visiting upon the innocent the misdeeds of the guilty.

I am, with respect, your fellow citizen,

J. Q. ADAMS.

# MASONIC.

*From the National Intelligencer.*

The following addresses were delivered at the installation of the grand officers of the General Royal Arch Chapter of the United States, in the city of Washington, on the 3d instant.

The honorable *Edmund Livingston*, of Louisiana, having been duly installed as General Grand High Priest, and conducted to the chair, he rose, and addressed the assembly as follows:

**Companions and brethren:** To have been deemed by a delegation from all the states of the union worthy of filling the highest station in the highest order of regular masonry, and of succeeding in it a man whose life was an honor to his country, and whose death was bewailed as a public calamity, cannot but excite the most grateful emotions.

But there is a period in life when all honors lose much of the value at which they were before appreciated. When popular favor, the gilded bubble which danced before us, and which we pursued with so much childish eagerness, vanishes into air; and, when feeling the approach of that event which must put an end to all our hopes and fears, our projects of fortune, and plans of ambition, the mind looks back, with satisfaction, only on the remembrance of good deeds, and can find no solid hope of future temporal happiness, but in promoting that of others, and receiving as our reward the esteem of the worthy and the wise.

Arrived at this period of life, and having for many years retired from any participation in the labors of the craft, it was with great surprise that I received the notice of this unsolicited distinction which had been conferred upon me. Grateful for the honor, I should yet have declined it, but for the consideration, that a refusal might be ascribed to an unworthy fear of encountering the clamor raised against our institution, or to a consciousness that the vile and absurd accusations against it were well founded. Either of these suspicions would have injured, not my character only, but that of the whole fraternity. I therefore determined to undertake the duties of the place into which I have just been installed; but it was not without much reluctance, suggested by the consciousness that my long retirement had rendered me less fit to fill the station, than many others, quite as well qualified in every other respect. But this was removed, when I learned the name of the most worshipful companion who was elected to the second, although more worthy of the first place in our institution. His high masonic attainments, the knowledge I have long had of his worth, enabled me to rely on his aid in such duties as my skill would enable me to perform; and on his kindness to replace me in all others.

Companions and brethren! For the first time in the history of our country, persecution has raised itself against our honorable fraternity. It does not, indeed, as in other countries, incarcerate our bodies, strain them on the wheel, or consume them in the flames of the inquisition; but its attacks are, to an honorable mind, as unjustifiable. It assails our reputation with the blackest calumnies; strives, by the most absurd inventions, to deprive us of the confidence of fellow-citizens; belies the principles of our order, and represents us as bound to each other by obligations subversive of civil order and hostile to religion.

What shall we say to these imputations? Shall we re-estimate? Shall we challenge a comparison between the characters, services, and virtues, of those who have been and now are, the ornaments of the craft, and of society, with the characters, services, and virtues, of the proud-est of our accusers? Shall we point to wretched, relieved from misery by our charity, the shelly families reconciled by our interposition, the distressed stranger comforted by masonic kindness in a foreign land, the tears of widows and of orphans dried by our benevolent affection, and the broken spirit healed by our ever consolatory? Shall we condescend to justify our order against imputations, too atrocious to be persisted in but to malice, too absurd to be credited, but by the grossest ignorance? Or ask whether any American can doubt about the purity of principle in a society over which Washington, and Warren, and Clinton have presided—to which Franklin and Montgomery, and many of our revolutionary statesmen and heroes belonged, whose lives were passed in the service of their country, who honored it, while living, by their virtues, and who did in its defence, and of which Jackson and Lafayette, and a thousand others whom the people have delighted to honor, are actually members?

Shall we use these, and the numerous other conclusive arguments, to repel the accusations that are made? Not, my brethren, by my advice. Calumnies so absurd as are uttered against us, are best met by dignified silence. An intelligent and enlightened community will not be deceived by them. And we should be just, and reflect how much cause for high excitement has been given, by the outrageous abduction of a citizen, dragged from his family and friends, in the midst of a populous state; followed up, most probably, by the perpetration of a most atrocious murder.

It was natural, from all the circumstances of this most extraordinary and savage act, to believe that it was committed by masons.

It was in human nature, unenlightened and prejudiced human nature, to impute the cause of the offence to some secret tenet of the fraternity, and to involve them in the criminality of their guilty neighbors.

It was natural that ambitious men should keep up the excitement, and direct it against political adversaries for their own elevation.

And it was quite natural that men should be found simple enough, not to see through their views, credulous enough to believe their absurd tales, or sufficiently unprincipled to propagate them, knowing them to be false.

All these considerations will induce us indulgent to the feelings of others, and severe in repressing our own.

Indignation is natural when we hear the society to which we belong accused of promulgating, by its doctrine, a detestable crime, and we are, on every occasion, tempted to ask with warmth, how is it, that, even supposing a foul murder to have been committed by masons, and that they were incited to it by masonic enthusiasm and a mad perversion of its principles? How is it that you can, on this account, entertain the absurd idea that such are the true tenets of a society, among whose members were men who, have for ages, been distinguished for every virtue, for patriotism, disinterestedness, and charity—and which now contains some of those most celebrated for religion, morality, and worth, pious ministers of the gospel, upright magistrates, men of all professions exemplary in their lives and conduct? Might you not as well ascribe to our holy religion the crimes of those who, in all times, have, by their mad bigotry and enthusiastic zeal, committed murders, and spread devastation in the name of a God of mercy and peace? Let us, my brethren, read in our most sacred ritual, that is, in the manuals of our order, this is the first maxim of a virtue that could be, by any probability, ascribed to imitations, heated by a perverted sense of duty—let us bend in humble acknowledgment of His divine goodness, which has inspired the brotherhood with such a sense of their duties as masons and men, that they may challenge a comparison with an equal number from any rank and profession, for obedience to the laws, the performance of all public duties, and the practice of private virtues. Let us pray for the continuance of His aid, that we may be strong in faith, rich in merit, and abundant in charity. Let the circumstances of the times be an additional motive for us to watch over our conduct, to improve our lives, give no cause for suspicion, and, if showing any other defence, let our answer to our calumniators be—OUR LIVES.

Companions and brethren! When I shall have become better acquainted with the affairs of the general grand chapter, and with the situation of the several state grand chapters under its jurisdiction, I shall make such communications as I think the good of the fraternity may require. Adding now only this exhortation, not to be tempted by the example of our enemies, to the slightest interference in political parties; using your privilege as individual citizens, without contaminating your lodges and chapters with matters that may interfere with their great duties, or disturb their harmony, or convert them into theatres for the exercise of political animosity. I need not urge obedience to the laws—it is the foundation of our fraternity.

From the Phil. National Gas. Sept. 28.

The mingled remarks on Anti-Masonry are from a patriotic, impartial, and gifted mind. We commend them to the sound sense of the country, upon which we have been accustomed to rely in all important public questions.

### ANTI-MASONRY.

The spirit of Anti-Masonry has diffused itself extensively over the middle and northern States. It has now erected itself into a formidable political engine, which may exert an extraordinary power over the affairs of the country.

The Anti-Masons are now a political party, whose sole ostensible purpose is the suppression of Masonry. To effect this object, they propose to disfranchise all Masons—to disqualify them for holding any office of profit or honor—and to render them incompetent witnesses and jurors.—The plan of operations is to make this a test of political faith—to obtain the legislative power of the States—to elect the Governors of the States—and finally to control Congress—and wield the executive authority of the government.

They are about to assemble to nominate a candidate for their party, for the highest office in the country, with whom of course engagements have been made to carry their system into effect by a sweeping disfranchisement and proscription of a large and respectable portion of our citizens.

The Anti-Masons, composed of all parties, political and religious, are about to raise themselves into the dignity of a national party, without any known political opinions, and recommend only by their zeal against Masonry.

They are then to select a President from any party, with any principles, or no principles, not whom they would choose, but whom they can get, distinguished only by the zeal of intolerance and the spirit of persecution—possibly a mere demagogue, willing to catch at any desperate chance. And are the sober people of this country prepared to place at the head of this great nation such a man, to wield its destinies?

Shall we lose sight of the principles upon which parties are founded, those vital principles of the Constitution, and of public policy, upon which depend the Union of the States, and the prosperity of the country?

Can we for a moment tolerate the formation of a new national party, upon grounds distinct and foreign to the principles, the policy, and the purposes of Government?

Why mingle Masonry with political questions? Why connect it with elections? Why make it the standard of political faith—the object of a furious persecution and an inexorable proscription? Why not leave it, like every other question of morals, or of religion, to the high tribunal of public opinion?

They have denounced the order to the whole world. They have added to the force of numbers and influence a powerful press. They have exposed its errors and its follies. They have exhibited either truly or falsely its enigmatical language—its emblematic signs and its mystical rights. They have stripped it of all that was venerable in its forms and imposing in its ceremonies.—The illusion which time and mystery had thrown around it is dispelled, and it now stands exposed to the power of reason, the shafts of satire, the force of ridicule, and it shall deserve it, the scorn of enlightened men. Is not all this enough to satisfy our zeal, and must we add to it the power of party and the terrors of proscription? The laws will punish its crimes, opinion will crush its errors or abuses, society will shun it down—these are the remedies.

Masonry may not be worth preserving, and therefore not worth defending. It would probably decline under the general indifference or under the force of public sentiment. If, left free it would cease by neglect, and the total want of interest or motive in the continuance of the institution. But persecution will keep it alive—make war upon it and they will defend it—men will brave denunciation and even proscription as they do martyrdom; the spirit of independence will rise up against the spirit of intolerance, &c every feeling of their nature will revolt at the attempt to erect a tyranny over their minds and their actions.—the people will see it involves a principle that lies at the base of all free Government—that opinion shall be free from political power as well as legal restraint. Will they not remember the wicked persecutions and the sanguinary spirit it engendered in the old world? Will the descendants of those who fled from those persecutions, to obtain the liberty of conscience, and the right of opinion, encourage here, by a dangerous example the beginning of a system of intolerance, that may in its course successively proscribe every party in Government and every sect in Religion?—What? create a new moral Sun—a standard of religious or moral faith—a political test, against the very spirit of the Constitution—violate the right of opinion, establish a doctrine of conformity and drive free men from their prin-



ciples and their associations by violence and by exclusion from the privileges of citizenship?

Little do they know of the human heart and of the spirit of liberty in this country if they imagine the people will tolerate any political party, in any scheme of power, to impose restraints and conditions unknown to the law upon their thoughts, their actions or their opinions. God forbid! Where will it end—what freedom of speech, or what liberty of conscience will remain, if men are proscribed from public office for their opinions of nature and matter,—of theology or morality? What is it but to create a test, to erect a majority into a despotism to control our beliefs and our faith? What proof is safe from sectarian zeal?—Happy in the enjoyment of our civil and religious liberty—let us preserve it.

Nothing is more to be feared than an intolerant spirit; it is not only the greatest enemy to public liberty, but it becomes a religious, fanatical, and persecuting spirit, and will be, as it always has been, the dread of the security of the people.

If Masonry is now to be sacrificed on the altar of political ambition, what shall next be offered to appease the anger of popular factions? If Masons are to be bound and handed over to a ruthless proscription who next shall be immolated? Who is safe or what is sacred? Who shall stay its course or set bounds to its power?

Political parties are founded upon the elementary principles of Government, and separated from all the affairs of the Church and all other extraneous matter; but admit this intervention with the private rights of the people, and connect it with the legislation of the country, the administration of the government, and the organization of political parties, and soon there will be a religious party in politics and a political party in religion. Politics and religion & morals will mingle in every form of combination, to obtain ascendancy and power. Civil liberty can only be preserved by keeping the government free from all other influences, and that principle lies at the foundation of our government.

These views present themselves in the abstract and altogether disconnected with the merits of Masonry, and are equally true whether there be any thing in it good or evil. It is, at best, perhaps merely indifferent, having many things connected with it that seem unmeaning and absurd forms and ceremonies—unworthy the serious attention of sensible men and perhaps the age in which we live.

It has no object that cannot be obtained in some other way. There can be no motive for secrecy in a free Government, whatever there may have been in despotic ones. There is perhaps no principle worth clinging to, none worth struggling for. It may be abandoned without any sacrifice—it had become almost indifferent, and in a few years would have become obsolete. But this furious crusade against the members of this order will rouse their pride, provoke their indignation, and put them on their defence, and a violent conflict will ensue. These two parties thus arrayed against each other, will connect themselves with the great political parties of the country, and thus infuse into the dominant party, and the operations of Government, a portion of their malignant and vindictive spirit.

But without entering into the defence of Masonry—can an institution that has existed so long, which has received the sanction and the support of the wise and good of every country, and which claims in our own the most distinguished names for piety, patriotism and talents, be founded in any principles dangerous to the rights of the body of the people, or injurious to public morals? Can it have stood the test of time, the scrutiny of good and enlightened men, and the vigilance of society, if its principles are bad, its practices evil, or its tendency immoral or dangerous? Can good and virtuous men and citizens unite for a secret, wicked, unlawful purpose, and for what object? The injurious effects of their precepts, or their example upon the administration of justice, or on popular elections cannot be seen or traced.

They have no distinguishing marks of character, or peculiar habits of life, no system of morals or political or religious principles. They are of every party, of every sect, of every profession, of every condition, neither better nor worse, nor essentially different from other people. They have the same interests—the same affections and passions—the same friendships and hatred. They contend openly and violently with each other in personal affairs, in courts of justice and for public office. There appears in their intercourse in society, and in their conduct to each other, rather a want of the brotherly love, which constitutes the moral beauty of the order, which has seized on the imagination and warmed the hearts of so many of its votaries.

The murder of Morgan is an abomination. But worse crimes have been committed in the name of God, and for the cause of religion, by fools and fanatics.—



The crime is disavowed by the society. It is an outrage committed by a few obscure and ignorant individuals against the public peace and the law of the land. The society claim no exemption from the laws; and pretend no right or power to punish by death offences against its own laws; no such violation has before occurred and perhaps never will again. If the principles of the society justify murder, and if the murderers are protected—if they are placed above the law, by the number, zeal and influence of its members, the institution would be justly abhorred and its crimes denounced.—There would be no occasion to invoke the aid of all good men in exposing its principles and suppressing the detestable association; it would sink under the general odium.

There would be no necessity to call in the aid of political power to connect the abuse with the business of the General Government, and make it the paramount interest of the nation. That might be left to the law, the press, and the force of public opinion.

It is proper to distinguish between the guilt of lawless and profligate individuals, and whole societies of honorable men. It is only upon those who avow this doctrine, or practice upon it, that the public indignation should fall.—But are the whole body

of the country to be roused to a general war against a numerous, intelligent, and powerful society, for the crime of a few illiterate and misguided men? There is an extraordinary degree of excitement and insatiation in the public mind in certain quarters. But in sober reason, can we believe that a large proportion of professional men, and men otherwise distinguished by fortune and family connexions, with all the ordinary motives of interest and ambition, could unite extensively through our country, to form an institution vicious in its principles and wicked in its purposes—and attempt, in the presence of a moral, religious and jealous people—a country of laws, and with a free press, to execute its nefarious schemes, and preserve its secrets from exposure by the dread of its punishments and the severity of its inflictions? Our personal knowledge of individuals, as well as the general character of the people of our country, forbid the idea.

It is therefore submitted to the good sense of the people, whether there is any thing in this controversy worthy to be considered of paramount interest—whether it ought to become a political affair—and the foundation of a national party—and whether evils will not grow out of it, more to be deprecated than those to be remedied.

#4

ANTI-MASONIC. "The United States' anti-masonic convention" commenced its session in Philadelphia on the 11th inst. Leave was asked, (on the part of those who had been appointed to provide a place of meeting) for the use of the "Hall of Independence," but the request was decidedly refused.

The convention met in the district court room, on Saturday last—present 95 delegates—23 from New York, 15 from Massachusetts, 8 from Connecticut, 5 from Vermont, 2 from Rhode Island, 23 from Pennsylvania, 7 from New Jersey, one from Delaware, 5 from Ohio, one from Maryland, and one from the territory of Michigan.

Francis Granger, of New York, was appointed president—Joseph Rader, of Pennsylvania, Abner Phelps, of Massachusetts, Robert Hanna, of Ohio, and Samuel W. Dexter, of Michigan, vice presidents—John Clarke, of Pennsylvania, and Noble B. Strong, of Connecticut, secretaries; after which the convention was opened by prayer from the rev. Mr. Thatcher, one of the members.

[The results of this meeting shall be duly noticed.]

#5

ANTI-MASONIC. We neglected in our last to notice the adjournment of the anti-masonic convention which was lately held at Philadelphia. A full account of the proceedings has not reached us—but, it appears that, among others, the following resolution was passed, after considerable debate, some being opposed to mixing political questions with anti-masonry—

*Resolved*, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention, on Monday the twenty-sixth day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both houses of congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the office of president and vice president, to be supported at the next election; and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-masonry may require.

#6

### Conventions and Candidates.

FROM THE N. Y. COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

**Conventions.**—The Grand Anti-Masonic National Convention, for which such extensive preparations have been making for months past, is to assemble in Baltimore, on Monday next, the 26th instant. We have, from time to time, observed the names of many distinguished individuals among the delegates selected for this meeting. The delegates from the North and East have generally passed through this city on their way to the place of meeting. John C. Calhoun would have been their candidate for the Presidency, had it not been for his late pamphlet. That publication as we learn from the delegates with whom we have conversed, has left him no hope from this quarter; and it is now understood that their choice will fall upon the Hon. John M'Lean, late Postmaster General, and at present one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. An active correspondence has been carried on for some time past between that gentleman and the leaders of the Anti-masonic party, which we learn has resulted in a pledge to accept the nomination should it be tendered to him—as it almost to a certainty will be. The National Convention of the National Republican Party will assemble in Baltimore, in December next. And preparations are on foot for the meeting of a Convention of Delegates from the National Republican Young Men of the United States to be held in Washington, early in May next, before the close of the ensuing session of Congress.

**Mr. CALHOUN.**—There will be three candidates for the Presidency, at least, and probably four. Certainly there will be four, if Mr. M'Lean should be nominated at Baltimore; for it may as well now as ever be distinctly understood, that Mr. Calhoun will in any event be a candidate. He has placed himself in the hands of his friends, and these friends will not allow him to be withdrawn. We speak advisedly upon this subject.—*Ed.*

FROM THE ALBANY (ANTI-MASONIC) EVENING JOURNAL.

**THE HON. JOHN M'LEAN.**—The following extract of a letter from a highly respectable gentleman, resident in Cadiz, Harrison County, Ohio, and a member of the corresponding committee of that State, to a friend in this city, indicates the feelings of Ohio:

"We are looking forward to the Baltimore Convention with great anxiety. It is expected several delegates from this State will be forward; we hope John M'Lean will be nominated for the Presidency; we have had several letters from him, in all of which he expresses himself as decidedly *Anti-masonic*."

# NATIONAL ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

*From the Patriot.*

*Baltimore, Sept. 26, 1831.*

At 12 o'clock, M. the delegates to the national anti-masonic convention assembled in the saloon of the Athenaeum, and were called to order by the hon. Judge Burt, of New York, when the hon. John Rutherford was called to the chair, and the following officers being nominated were unanimously chosen:—

JOHN C. SPENCER, of New York, President.  
JOHN RUTHERFORD, New Jersey, 1st V. P.  
JONATHAN SLOAN, Ohio, 2d V. P.  
THOMAS ELDER, Penn., 3d V. P.  
JOHN BAILEY, Mass., 4th V. P.  
BENJAMIN F. HALLET, }  
EDWARD D. BARBER, } secretaries.  
S. C. LEAVITT, }  
CALEB EMERY, }

On taking the chair, Mr. Spencer addressed the convention as follows:—

Gentlemen—I return you my thanks for the distinguished honor you have conferred in calling upon me to preside over your deliberations. While I distrust my ability to discharge the duties of the chair, I have yet learnt in the school of anti-masonry to decline no duty to which I may be called in the promotion of our great and growing cause. But my reliance, gentlemen, will be on your patriotism and urbanity, to render the duties of the station light and easy. I ask your indulgence for any errors that may be committed, assuring you that nothing offensive to any member shall proceed from the chair, or be permitted in the deliberations of the convention.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, of Mass. voted, that the credentials of the delegates be now received and examined; upon so doing it appeared that there were present, from

New Hampshire	1	New York	31
Maine	2	New Jersey	4
Massachusetts	13	Pennsylvania	19
Rhode Island	4	Ohio	5
Connecticut	6	Maryland	1
Vermont	5	Delaware	1

On motion of Mr. Walker, of Mass. voted, that a regular roll of the members of this convention be now made, and that the state, county and town, in which they reside, be fully designated.

On motion of Mr. Morris, of N. Y. voted, that a committee of three be appointed to invite the hon. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, to take a seat in this convention. Messrs. Rutherford, of N. J. Burt, of N. Y. and Elder, of Pa. were appointed said committee.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Phelps, that a committee of one from each state be appointed to report upon the business of this convention, viz:

Phelps, of Mass.	Terry, of Connecticut,
Ward, N. Y.	Barber, Vermont,
Jones, Penn.	Vanderpool, N. Jersey,
Hallett, R. I.	Sloan, Ohio,
Cram, Maine	Gibbons, Delaware,
Emery, N. H.	Shriver, Maryland.

Voted to adjourn to meet again at 4 P. M. Met agreeably to adjournment. Mr. Phelps from the committee reported on the business to be adopted by the convention, which was unanimously accepted.

On motion of Judge Hopkins, of New York, voted, that Messrs. Hopkins, of N. York, Jones, of Pa. and Walker, of Mass. be a committee to wait on his hon. chief justice Marshall, now in this city, and request his attendance on the sitting of this body.

Mr. Ward, from the committee, at the call of the convention, submitted a report which was read and laid upon the table.

The president of the convention announced the appointment of the following committees:

On masonic penalties—Hallett, of R. I. Larned, of Maine, Morris, of N. Y. Grimshaw, of Pa. and Warner, of Ohio.

On judicial proceedings in the case of Morgan—J. C. Spencer, of N. Y. Ogle, of Pa. Walker, of Mass. Gibbons, of Del. Russell, of N. York.

On the address to the people—Holly, of N. Y. Denny, of Pa. Leavitt of Connecticut.

On publishing the proceedings—Phelps, of Mass. Hopkins, of N. Y. and Foote, of N. Y.

On finance—Irwin, of Pa. Boynton, of Conn. Beckman, of N. Y. Jenkins, of Ohio, Shriver, of Md.

The committee appointed to wait on Judge Marshall, reported by their chairman that they had seen that gentleman, and that, in reply to their invitation, his honor politely stated that he should leave the city at 6 o'clock, to-morrow morning, and therefore be unable to attend, although it would afford him great pleasure to do so.

On motion of Mr. St. John, of N. Y. voted to adjourn till 10 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

## List of delegates attending the NATIONAL ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

*Maine.*  
Hanes Larned.  
*New Hampshire*—Caleb Emery.  
*Vermont.*  
Joseph H. Brainerd  
Edward D. Barber.  
*Massachusetts.*  
John Bailey  
Mieah H. Kaggles  
Hiram Manly  
Gardner Burbank  
Samuel B. Barlow  
Epaphras Hoyt  
Nahum Hardy.  
*Rhode Island.*  
Benjamin F. Hallett  
Walter Paine, jr.  
*Connecticut.*  
Henry Halsey  
Henry Terry  
Sheidon C. Leavitt.  
*New York.*  
Jonathan Ferris,  
Thomas S. Lockwood  
Samuel M. Hopkins  
David Russell  
Samuel Partridge  
James Geddes  
John C. Spencer  
Evert Van Buren  
John Birdsall  
George H. Boughton  
Samuel St. John  
Samuel A. Foote  
Nicholas Devereaux  
Myron Holley  
Tilly Lynde  
Timothy Childs  
Noble D. Strong  
William G. Verplanck.  
*New Jersey*  
John Alling  
Northrop  
William Vanderpool.  
*Pennsylvania.*  
William Grimshaw  
Owen Stover  
James Paule  
Christian Pretz  
John Burrows  
Jacob Cassatt  
Jacob B. Miller  
William W. Irwin  
Robert Falconer  
Samuel Harvey  
Benjamin Riegler  
Charles Waters  
Ragle  
Samuel J. Packer.  
*Ohio.*  
Warren Jenkins  
Robert Hanna  
Pike  
Fowler.  
*Indiana*—John Taylor.  
*Delaware*—Joshua V. Gibbons.  
*Maryland*—John S. Shriver.

Tuesday, Sept. 27, 10 o'clock, A. M.  
Met pursuant to adjournment.

The proceedings of yesterday were read by the secretary.

Messrs. Oliver, of Mass. Harvey, Heister, Ragle, Burrows, Waters and Stevens, of Pa. Baker, of Ohio, and Strong of N. Y. appeared and took their seats.

A letter directed to the president of the convention from Samuel Stevens, a delegate from N. York, was presented and read to the convention, and on motion of Mr. Seward, of N. Y. was ordered to be entered at large on the journal of the convention.

Mr. Hopkins, of N. Y. announced that chief justice Marshall having been unexpectedly prevented from leaving the city, would soon be in the hall, to attend the deliberations of the convention.

Mr. Rutherford, of N. J. from the committee appointed to wait on the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and invite him to be present at the deliberations of the convention, reported,

"That the committee have seen the secretary of Mr. Carroll, and are informed that Mr. Carroll left this city in the month of June last, for his country residence on the manor of Carrollton, sixteen miles from Baltimore, and that he is not expected to return until the month of October next; that he is in good health, but is desirous to avoid the fatigue of journeys to and from the city. The committee, therefore, did not proceed to Carrollton yesterday, more especially as the weather was inclement, and the visit and journey would occupy part of two days.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, of Mass.

Voted, That the time appointed to make nominations of president and vice president of the United States, be postponed till to-morrow at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Mr. Davis, of Vermont, submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That this convention will adjourn without day on Wednesday next, the 28th inst.

Ordered to lie on the table.

On motion of Mr. Hallett, of R. I.

*Resolved*, That the resolution of this convention inviting the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, to be present at the proceedings of this convention, together with the report of the committee appointed on that resolution, be transcribed and certified by the officers of this convention, and communicated to Mr. Carroll.

Mr. Burt, of N. Y. called for the reading of the rules and orders of this convention, which were accordingly read.

Chief Justice Marshall, introduced by Mr. Hopkins, of N. Y. appeared in the hall, in pursuance of the invitation given him, and took a seat to attend the deliberations of the convention.

Mr. Hallett, from the committee appointed to report on the construction of masonic penalties, &c. made a report, which was read and laid on the table.

The president from the committee appointed to prepare a brief history of judicial proceedings, &c. made a report, which was read and laid on the table.

Convention adjourned to four o'clock, P. M.

Four o'clock, P. M. Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Messrs. Pike and Fowler, from Ohio, appeared and took their seats.

The reports of the committees on the construction of masonic penalties, and on the history of judicial proceedings, being under consideration, a debate ensued in which Messrs. Foote, of N. Y. Hallett, of R. I. Ward, of N. Y. Morris, of N. Y. Seward, of N. Y. Walker, of Mass. and Harvey, of Pa. took part.

Mr. Northrop, of N. J. appeared and took his seat.

The reports on the construction of masonic penalties and on the history of judicial proceedings, were ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Jones,

*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to report on the extent to which the principles of free masonry are political, and opposition to them by an organized political party.

Messrs. Jones, of Pa. Seward, of N. Y. Sloane, of Ohio, Bailey, of Mass. Emery, of N. H. were appointed said committee.

The convention adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, Sept. 28.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Wm. Vanderpool, of N. J. appeared and took his seat.

Mr. Seward, of N. Y. submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were read and passed.

*Whereas*, Wm. G. Verplanck, of Ballston, Saratoga county, N. Y. a delegate originally appointed by the state convention of the state of New York, has since the last adjournment, arrived in this city, having been detained by accident on his journey. And

*Whereas*, The place of said delegate has been supplied as a vacancy.

*Resolved*, That said Wm. G. Verplanck be admitted to a seat as an honorary member with the privilege of participating in the debates, but not in the votes of this convention.

Mr. Samuel J. Packer, of Pa. was also admitted to a seat in the convention in accordance with the foregoing resolution.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, of Mass.

The resolution relative to the nomination of president, &c. was re-considered and amended, so as to strike out that part requiring the convention to go into committee of the whole for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Walker, of Mass.

*Resolved*, To proceed to ballot for candidates for the offices of president and vice president of the United States.

Messrs. Phelps, of Mass. and Stevens, of Pa. were appointed by the president tellers to receive and count the votes.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for president.

Mr. Hamblly, of Pa. being absent, on motion of Mr. Irwin, of Pa. Mr. Packer was admitted to vote in his stead.

Mr. Phelps, one of the tellers, reported as follows:—

Whole number of votes.....	111
Necessary to a choice.....	54
William Wirt, of Maryland.....	108
Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.....	1
Blank.....	2

The president announced the result, and declared William Wirt, of Md. duly nominated as the anti-masonic candidate for the presidency of the United States.

On motion of Mr. Stevens, of Pa.

*Resolved unanimously*, That William Wirt, of Md. be nominated as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of president of the United States at the ensuing election.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three members be appointed to communicate the preceding resolution to Mr. Wirt, and to request his acceptance of the above nomination. Messrs. Rutherford, of N. J. Sloane, of Ohio, and Elder, of Pa. were appointed said committee.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for vice president.

Mr. Stevens, one of the tellers, reported as follows:

Whole number of votes given.....	110
Necessary to a choice.....	53
Amos Ellmaker, of Penn.....	108
John C. Spencer, of New York.....	1
Blank.....	1

The president announced the result and declared Amos Ellmaker, of Pa. duly nominated as the anti-masonic candidate for vice president of the United States.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, of Mass.

*Resolved, unanimously*, That Amos Ellmaker, of Pa. be nominated by the convention, as the anti-masonic candidate for vice president of the United States, at the ensuing election.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three members be appointed to communicate the resolution above to Mr. Ellmaker, and request his acceptance of the above nomination. Messrs. Bailey, of Mass. Lyman, of N. Y. and Shriver, of Maryland, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Morris, of N. Y.

*Resolved, unanimously*, That a committee of three members be appointed to express, by written communication, to the hon. Richard Rush, of Pa. the profound sense of this convention, of the patriotism, principle and firmness which dictated his eloquent exposition of the evils of free masonry, and their high appreciation of the beneficial results which it cannot fail to produce. Messrs. Morris, of N. Y. Denny, of Pa. and Gibbons, of Delaware, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Rutherford, from the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Wirt, &c. reported that the committee had performed that duty, and that he would send a written communication to the convention at 5 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, of N. Y.

*Resolved, unanimously*, That the thanks of this convention, be presented to those citizens of Baltimore at whose expense this convention has been accommodated with the use of the splendid hall of the Athenaeum, and that this convention have felt peculiar pleasure in receiving such a proof of hospitality from the inhabitants of this elegant and polished city, and that the president of this convention be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the mayor of this city.

On motion of Mr. Turner, of R. I.

*Resolved*, That the president of this convention be requested to present a copy of the printed proceedings of this, and of the anti-masonic convention held at Philadelphia last year, to the president and vice president of the United States, to the ex-presidents of the United States, to the heads of the several departments, to the hon. John Marshall, chief justice, and to each of the justices of the supreme court of the United States, to the governors of the several states of the union, to gen. Lafayette, to the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, to the mayor of the city of Baltimore, to the trus-

tees of the Athenaeum of Baltimore, and to such other distinguished individuals of this country, as he may deem expedient.

On the consideration of this resolution a debate ensued, in which Messrs. Turner, of R. I. Vanderpool, of N. J. Hallett, of R. I. Phelps, of Mass. Denny, of Pa. and Miller, of Pa. took part.

Mr. Bailey from the committee to wait on Mr. Ellmaker reported that the committee had performed the duty assigned them, and that Mr. Ellmaker would shortly make a communication to the convention.

Adjourned to 5 o'clock, P. M.

September 28, 5 o'clock, P. M.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Ward, from the committee on resolutions, made a report which was twice read and unanimously adopted.

Messrs. Foote, Fuller and Hopkins, of N. Y. Hallett, of R. I. and Stevens, of Pa. severally addressed the convention in support of the resolutions.

Mr. Seward, of N. Y. submitted the following resolutions, which were read and passed unanimously.

*Resolved*, That the committee of finance be authorised to pay over any surplus funds which may remain in their hands, towards the expenses of the national corresponding committee to be distributed by the publishing committee.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be returned to the national corresponding committee for the faithful discharge of their duties during the past year, and that this convention entertain a profound conviction that the results of their labors must be eminently beneficial to the cause of anti-masonry.

The report of the national corresponding committee was called up and ordered to be printed.

Adjourned to 8 o'clock this evening.

[The further proceedings of this convention, to its adjournment *sine die*, were published in the last REGISTER.]



HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, for President.  
WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, for Vice President.

In pursuance of public notice, a large and respectable number of the National Republican Party attended at the Court House, in the City of Pittsburgh, on Saturday, the 27th of August, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

Gen. WILLIAM MARKS was called to the Chair, and EDWARD PERLAND, and CHARLES H. ISAAC, were appointed Secretaries.

The object of the meeting having been fully explained by the Committee calling the same, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That this meeting concur in the recommendation of HENRY CLAY as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and pledge themselves generally and individually, to use all fair and honorable means, to promote his election to that high and distinguished station.

*Resolved*, That having the highest confidence in the unblemished integrity, sound republican principles, and exalted talents of WILLIAM WIRT, Esq. of Maryland, (late Attorney General of the United States,) we recommend him to the consideration of our fellow citizens as a suitable candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States.

*Resolved*, That CHARLES SHALER and WALTER FORWARD be appointed our Delegates to attend the National Republican Convention of Delegates from the several States, to be held at the City of Baltimore in December next, and that they be instructed to nominate HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, as President, and WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, as Vice-President of the United States; and to use their most efficient exertions to have them placed on the National Republican ticket, for President and Vice President, at the next election.

*Resolved*, That we concur with our friends at Harrisburg, in the proceedings of their meeting held on the 15th inst. in the adoption of the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That with the approbation of our friends in the several Congressional Districts in this State, we appoint, on our part, as Delegates to the National Convention at Baltimore, for the two Senatorial Delegates, JOHN SERGEANT, of Philadelphia, and ABNER LACOCK, of Beaver.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to our friends in the city of Philadelphia, the formation, without delay, of a Central Committee of Correspondence for the State and the Union; and that we recommend, that as soon as such Committee is organized that it communicate with the several Committees of Correspondence, in the various counties of this State, all useful intelligence, at least semi-monthly to such County Committees.

*Resolved*, That such Central Committee be requested, as it may be deemed by them useful to communicate to the different County Committees, all intelligence relative to the organization and prosperity of the National Republican party throughout the State and Union, and generally every description of information calculated to further the views and interests of the friends of national industry.

*Resolved*, That William Marks, James Riddle, W. W. Fetterman, Thomas Gibson, Christopher Cowan, David Cron, Walter H. Lawrie, James Adams, Robert Christy, Thomas Carter, Charles H. Isaac, Robert Burke, William Robinson, Jr. John Pollock, and John H. Butler, be a General Committee of Correspondence, for the county of Allegheny; and that any vacancies occurring in our delegation to the Convention at Baltimore, or in the foregoing Committee of Correspondence, be filled up by the members of said Committee.

*Resolved*, That the editors of newspapers friendly to the cause of genuine patriotism, the prosperity of our common country, the encouragement of domestic industry, and internal improvement, as sanctioned by Congress for upwards of thirty years; as well as those in favor of a sound and well regulated currency, be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

WILLIAM MARKS, Chairman.

# 8



## NATIONAL ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Necessity, in the mechanical department of our business, and the near close of the week, forbids a present insertion of the regular minutes of this convention, with a list of the members attending, &c.—but these are chiefly matters for record only, and will not lose any part of their interest by a little delay—the people, generally, being chiefly concerned in the result, which shall be stated below. It may be sufficient to observe that about 112 delegates attended—Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania being fully represented—that on Monday the 26th, the convention was organized by the appointment of JOHN C. SPENCER, esq. of New York, as president, four vice presidents and as many secretaries; and that several committees were appointed, &c.—that on Tuesday, the 27th, various reports of the committees were presented and accepted, and much incidental business attended to—and that, on Wednesday, the 28th, WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, was nominated as president of the U. States, and AMOS ELLIOTT, of Pennsylvania, as vice president; each receiving 108 votes of the 111 members present—after which, and in conclusion, the following proceedings were had.

*National anti-masonic convention, Sept. 28.*

*Resolved unanimously*, That WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, be nominated as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of president of the United States at the ensuing election.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three members be appointed to communicate the preceding resolution to Mr. Wirt, and request his acceptance of the above nomination.

Mr. Rutherford, of N. Jersey, Mr. Sloan, of Ohio, and Mr. Elder, of Pennsylvania, were appointed the said committee.

At the meeting of the convention at 8 o'clock, P. M. the following communication from Mr. Wirt was received:

Gentlemen: The unanimous resolution of the "national anti-masonic convention" assembled at this place, nominating me as their candidate for the office of president of the United States, at the ensuing election, is an honor very grateful to me, as a proof of confidence from so respectable a body, and quite as unexpected as it is grateful. My pursuits, habits and inclinations, have removed me so far from the political excitements and contentions of the day, and I know so well, from a close personal observation of twelve years, how little of attraction there is in the office of president of the United States, to any man who values his own peace, that it was as far removed from my wishes as my expectations, that it would occur to any portion of my fellow citizens to present my name to the consideration of my countrymen for that office. Not only have I never sought the office, but I have, long since, looked at it with far more of dread than of desire, being fully aware of its fearful responsibilities, and of the fact, demonstrated by past experience, that no degree of purity and intelligence that can be exerted in the discharge of its duties, can protect its possessor from misrepresentation and aspersion.

Give me leave to add, gentlemen, that one of the last quarters from which I could have anticipated such an honor, is the anti-masonic convention; because, adopting, (too hastily, I am happy to find), the current rumors of the day, I had supposed that the very principle of your union was a war of indiscriminate proscription against all persons throughout the United States, who had ever borne the name of mason; that you would put in nomination no person who had ever been a mason himself, and who would not, moreover, pledge himself to become a party to such a war of indiscriminate extermination, and wield the appointing power of the office under your dictation; who would not, in short, become the president of your party, instead of being the president of the United States. I am happy to find that this is an error; for I should have been grieved, for my country, to see the rise of any party that should affect to seize upon the reins of government, and, through the agency of an automaton president, to direct its powers to the vindictive purposes of party proscription and persecution; and I should be grieved, for myself, to learn that there had been any thing in my life and character that could mark me out as a fit instrument for the execution of such a purpose. I am relieved from both these apprehensions by learning, since your assemblage here, that you have no other object in view than, in effect, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the land, that you seek to disturb no portion of the peaceable and virtuous citizens of our country in the enjoyment of those social rights which are secured to them by their constitution and laws, but on the contrary, that the principle which has embodied you, is one of self defence, in the enjoyment of those rights; that having become convinced by

the disclosures made under oath, by numerous and respectable witnesses, in the trials which have been agitating the state of New York, for several years, and by your investigations consequent on those disclosures, that the masonic society has become a tremendous political engine, with the power and the disposition to set the laws of the land at defiance, to mark out and sacrifice its victims at pleasure, and with impunity, and to silence all individual opposition by the mysterious terrors which it diffuses throughout the community, you have come to the determination to root out this noxious institution, if you can, *by the use of all the peaceable, legal, and constitutional means in your power*; that the most effective means of this character which has presented itself to you, is by the exercise of your elective franchise; that deeming every man unfit for office, who, in accordance with the principles established on the trials in New York, considers his masonic oaths and obligations as superior to his obligations to the constitution and laws of the country, you will support no man for any office who holds that principle, or adheres to the society whose principle it is; that you consider a man's allegiance to his country his highest earthly obligation, and that no man is fit to be trusted with one of the offices of the country who will permit a doubt to rest on the fact of his allegiance. These I understand to be your principles, and I see nothing in them which does not commend them to every man whose mind and heart are sound: for there can be no question among reasonable men, that in a free government like ours, the constitution and laws are our only sovereign; that the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of our people depend on the steady, faithful and effectual administration of our laws; that any secret society which, by the force of mysterious oaths and obligations, and by the extent of its combination, seeks to disturb the action of those laws, to set them at defiance, to ride over and control them, to usurp the government, to hold the lives, peace and happiness of society at their mercy, and to establish a reign of terror over the initiated and uninitiated, is a political monster as fearful as the *invisible tribunal* of Germany, or the *inquisition* of Spain, and ought to be extirpated, without delay, by the use of all the peaceable means which the constitution and laws of our country furnish. I am further sure that, in our country, it is but necessary to establish the fact of the existence of such a society to insure its annihilation.

But, gentlemen, although your resolution asks of me no pledges of promises, yet the name and style of the convention from which it proceeds, *the anti-masonic convention*, may be considered both by yourselves and our fellow citizens, at large, as necessarily involving by implication such promises and pledges, and it is therefore proper that I should be perfectly open and candid with you, that there may be no misapprehension between us, and that you may be able to disembarass yourselves at once, by changing your nomination, if you find that you have acted under mistake in passing this resolution.

You must understand, then, if you are not already apprized of it, that, in very early life, I was myself initiated into the mysteries of free masonry. I have been told by masons that my eyes were never opened, because I never took the master's degree; but my curiosity never led me thus far—and, although, I soon discontinued my attendance on lodges, (not having entered one even from curiosity for more than thirty years, I believe) it proceeded from no suspicion on my part that there was any thing criminal in the institution, or any thing that placed its members, in the slightest degree, in collision with their allegiance to their country and its laws. On the contrary, having been before my initiation, assured by a gentleman, in whom I had implicit confidence, that there was nothing in the engagement which could affect either my religion or politics (which I considered as comprehending the whole range of my duties, civil and religious, and as extending not to the first degree only but to the whole masonic order) and being further informed that many of the most illustrious men of Virginia, with general Washington at their head, belonged to that order, and had taken the degree of master, I did not believe that there could be any thing in the institution at war with their duties as patriots, men and christians; nor is it yet possible for me to believe that they could have understood the engagement as involving any such criminal obligations. I have, thence forward, continually regarded masonry as nothing more than a social and charitable club, designed for the promotion of good feeling among its members, and for the pecuniary relief of their indigent brethren. I have, indeed, thought very little about it for thirty years. It had dropped from my mind so completely that I do not believe I should have been able to gain admittance into any lodge at all strict

in their examinations, where I should have had to depend alone on my memory; and so little consequence did I attach to it, that whenever masonry has been occasionally introduced as a subject of conversation, I have felt more disposed to smile than to frown. Thinking thus of it, nothing has more surprised me than to see a blown into consequence in the northern and eastern states as a political engine, and the whole community excited against it as an affair of serious importance. I had heard, indeed, the general rumour that Morgan had been kidnapped and very probably murdered by masons, for divulging their secrets; but I supposed it to be the act of a few ignorant and ferocious desperadoes, moved by their own impulse singly, without the sanction or knowledge of their lodges; and thus thinking, I have repeatedly and continually, both in conversation and letters of friendship, spoken of *masonry* and *anti-masonry* as a fitter subject for farce than tragedy, and have been grieved at seeing some of my friends involved in what appeared to me such a wild and bitter and unjust persecution against so harmless an institution as free-masonry. I have thought and repeatedly said that I considered masonry as having no more to do with politics than any one of the numerous clubs so humorously celebrated in the *Spectator*; and that with regard to the crime in Morgan's case, it was quite as unjust to charge that on masonry as it would be to charge the private delinquencies of some professing christians on christianity itself. Thus I have thought and thus I have continually spoken and written in my private letters to several of my friends. It was not until the period of your assembling here, that on the occasion of a friendly visit from one of your members, and my taking the liberty to tell him on the excessive zeal which had been excited on an occasion so inadequate, that he placed before me a detail of some of the proceedings on the trials of the conspirators against Morgan: when, for the first time, I saw the masonic oaths as established by the testimony both of adhering and seceding masons on the trials in New York. I observed that in one of them (called the royal arch) the candidate swears among other things that he will aid and assist a companion royal arch mason in distress, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if in his power, *whether he be right or wrong*; and that he will conceal the secrets of a companion royal arch mason given him in charge as such, *murder and treason not excepted*; and in other oaths, in still higher degrees, I also observe that the candidate binds himself to avenge the violated secrets of the lodge by the infliction of death on the offender, and to revenge the wrongs of a brother to the utmost extremity; and the whole taken up with the most horrible imprecations and blasphemous mockeries of the rites and tenets of the christian religion.

In the details of the trials in the case of Morgan it became manifest that these oaths are not considered by those who impose and take them as mere idle and unmeaning words; but that they are viewed as solemn obligations which are to be practically enforced, and which in the case of Morgan there is too much reason to believe were *tragedically* enforced. According to the reports of the details of that trial as given at some of your former meetings, and given at greater length at your meetings in this city, (at one of which, in common with other citizens, I was present), those oaths are understood literally, and literally enforced; and, according to the exhibition of the evidence made in those reports, the conspiracy against Morgan was not, as has been commonly supposed, the act of a few ignorant men, alone, but was engendered in the lodges themselves, enforced under their direction and supported at their expense; the conspiracy embracing, within its sweep, men of all degrees, men of the learned professions, farmers and mechanics; with too much reason to believe that the secret energy of the masonic spirit had entered and polluted even the temples of justice; and with the most demonstrative proof that the persons who had entered into these unhallowed oaths, considered their allegiance to the lodges as of higher obligation than their allegiance to the laws of their country. If this be masonry, as according to this uncontradicted evidence it seems to be, I have no hesitation in saying, that I consider it at war with the fundamental principles of the social compact, as treason against society, and a wicked conspiracy against the laws of God and man, which ought to be put down.

But gentlemen, this was not, and could not be masonry as understood by Washington. The thing is impossible. The suspicion would be paralytic. Nor can I believe that in the quarter of the union with which I am best acquainted, intelligent men of high and honorable character, if they have been drawn in to take these shocking and impious oaths, can consider them as paramount to their duties to their God and their country. It is true that after the practical exhibition of masonry which we have had in New York, no man of common prudence can sleep over these discoveries, and will take care in every case of doubt to inquire. But both justice and prudence demand discrimination: for the powers of a president ought not, in my opinion, to be prostituted to the purpose of a blind and unjust proscription, involving innocence and honor with guilt and treason, and no man is worthy of a nomination to this high office in whose judgment and patriotism, confidence cannot be placed to make the proper distinction between them. In the view of all honorable men he would deservedly become an object of disgust, if he could stoop to commit himself by any pledges, in a case like this, as the price of his nomination.

If with these views of my opinions, it is the pleasure of your convention to change the nomination, I can assure you very sincerely that I shall retire from it with far more pleasure than I should accept it. If, on the contrary, it be their choice to abide by it, I have only to add, that in a government like ours, I consider no citizen at liberty to reject a nomination by so respectable a body, upon personal considerations.

Be the final determination of your convention what it may, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the honor conferred on me by this nomination, and I beg the anti-masonic convention to accept the assurance of my respect for them and for their cause. I do not address them as a party, because I understand the principle of their union to be, *to assert the supremacy of the laws*, which I trust is and ever will be the sacred and immutable principle of our common country. WM. WIRT.

Messrs. Rutherford, Sloan and Elder, committee of the national anti-masonic convention.

Baltimore, Sept. 28, 1831.

The communication having been read, the following resolution was adopted:

*In the national anti-masonic convention, Baltimore, 28th September, 1831.*

*Resolved unanimously*, That the answer of the hon. WILLIAM WIRT, to the resolution of this convention, nominating him as a candidate for the presidency, be entered on the minutes of this convention, as part of its proceedings, and that this convention recommend to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, a cordial and vigorous support of Mr. WIRT, at the next election, as the anti-masonic candidate, for the office of president of the United States.

Resolutions of similar purport were unanimously adopted by the convention, nominating AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania, as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of vice president of the United States: And, for the appointment of a committee to announce to him the nomination.

At the meeting of the convention, at 8 o'clock P. M. the following communication was received from Mr. ELLMAKER:

*Baltimore, September 28, 1831.*

Messrs. John Bailey, John S. Shriver and Samuel P. Lyman.

GENTLEMEN:—I acknowledge, with much satisfaction the friendly manner in which you have communicated the two resolutions this day adopted by the national anti-masonic convention: one, nominating me as the anti-masonic candidate for the vice president of the United States at the ensuing election; the other, appointing you a committee to communicate the preceding resolution to me and to request my acceptance of the nomination.

I know well, my humble pretensions to be a candidate for that high office. But a zealous and firm attachment to the cause of anti-masonry, will not permit a refusal of the nomination. I, therefore, accept it.

With great respect, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,  
AMOS ELLMAKER.

The communication having been read, a resolution of like import with that above set forth in the case of *Mr. Wirt*, was unanimously adopted by the convention.

The convention then proceeded to the transaction of other business connected with the objects in view.

*Mr. Helley* from the committee charged with that duty, reported an address to the people of the United States, which was read and unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published. This address though occupying upwards of an hour in the reading, was listened to with the most profound attention by the audience. Several members made pertinent and able speeches in which they spoke of it in warm and glowing terms, complimented the author on the research and ability therein displayed.

A resolution was offered by *Mr. Phelps* of Mass. and adopted, recommending a national anti-masonic convention to be held in September, 1835, in the city of Washington, unless otherwise ordered by the central committee of correspondence.

A vote of thanks was passed in favor of the central committee of correspondence, and for the continuance of their appointment till after the next presidential election.

A resolution was unanimously adopted thanking the president of the convention for the ability and impartiality displayed in the discharge of his duties, to which he responded in an eloquent and feeling address. A vote of thanks was also passed in favor of the other officers of the convention, for the prompt and able manner in which they had discharged their assigned duties. About 12 at night, the convention adjourned *sine die*.



# WASHINGTON.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1831.

## THE ANTI-MASONIC NOMINATION.

The recent nomination of Mr. Wirt as a candidate for the Presidency must, we suppose, be called the Anti-Masonic nomination, because it was made by a body of Delegates chosen by the Anti-Masonic party; though that distinguished gentleman must have experienced not a little surprise, on finding that he, of all persons in the world, had been elected to the special confidence of that party. For he not only has not been heretofore an enemy to Masonry, but has thought it as harmless as any ordinary club, and has heartily condemned the proscription of it.

Not does the Letter of Mr. Wirt, according to our construction of it, exhibit any change of his views on this head. It breathes not a sentiment to which, without pretending to be Anti-Masonic, we cannot cordially respond. On no occasion have we ever undertaken to condemn with as much freedom as Mr. W. does, the exclusive spirit which in some districts of our country has animated the Anti-Masonic party. With him we say, in reference to the abduction of Morgan, and other things which it seems have been given in evidence in the New York trials, *is this to Masonry*, let it be put down; and with him we are of opinion that the excesses and abuses of Masonry are no more justly chargeable to the Masonic Institution than the excesses which have been committed in the name of Christianity are to the Church of Christ.

Under these circumstances, the selection of Mr. Wirt as their candidate shows conclusively either that the Anti-Masons themselves have been heretofore unjustly reproached with a violent and persecuting spirit, or that Anti-Masonry has changed its character; for they take him up as their candidate in the face of his pointed rebuke of the only traits in the party to which any one has ever had a right to take exception—that is, its alleged intolerance and proscription.

The opinions expressed by Mr. Wirt, in his letter, are common to the mass of the people—to those who are Masons, we presume, as well as to those who are not. The two letters which we publish to-day from distinguished citizens of the State of New York, express sentiments in relation to Masonry equally as strong, at least, as those of Mr. Wirt. Both these gentlemen are friends of Mr. Clay; and Mr. Clay himself, though his

position as a candidate for the Presidency does not allow him openly to avow them, entertains views on this subject in no respect differing from those of Mr. Wirt, or General Porter, or Mr. Rochester.

There was nothing, in fact, peculiar in the case of Mr. Wirt to recommend him to the favor of the Anti-Masons, as a party, any more than there is in the case of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Calhoun, (both of whom had friends in the Convention.) The support of him by that party as a candidate for the Presidency cannot be placed on the ground of his being one of themselves. It cannot be accounted for, indeed, on any ground publicly taken by them.

Since, however, the Convention were driven to the necessity of selecting a Candidate without reference to the principles of their party, it must be allowed that they could not have inscribed on their banner a more respected name than that of William Wirt. Possessed of talents of the highest order, sound to the core in his political principles, irreproachable in all the relations of life, he is a citizen whom his countrymen may well delight to honor.

In the Letter of Mr. Wirt, accepting the nomination, we see nothing to lessen the high estimation in which we have learned to hold his character. He says, very justly, that no man possessed of proper qualifications for the station, as Mr. Wirt must be admitted to be, has a right to refuse to serve his fellow-citizens, when called to the highest office in their gift. He discloses very candidly, we think, the state of his mind on the subject; and we yield him entire credit when he says that his ambition does not lead him to court the suffrages of the People for the Presidency.

What effect the nomination of Mr. Wirt may have upon the canvass for the Presidency, is a matter of speculation, which we have had but little opportunity of comparing opinions upon, and respecting which we offer very briefly the course of our own thoughts.

Can Mr. Wirt, in the first place, be supported for the Presidency, with any prospect of success, independently of the preference of the great body of the National Republican party of which he has been considered a prominent member? The affirmative of this proposition will not, we presume, be maintained by any one. The Anti-Masonic party, we believe, possesses great negative strength; but no one so overrates its power as to consider it able to carry a candidate into the Presidency on its own shoulder, without other aid.



Secondly, will the National Republican party agree to sacrifice its own undoubted preference merely to propitiate the pride of party which has led the Anti-masons to make an independent nomination? Can those who are upon principle friendly to the elevation of Mr. CLAY to the Presidency, abandon him merely because the Baltimore Convention, not finding a suitable candidate in its own party, have borrowed one from theirs?

Thirdly, if the Convention of the National Republicans which is to assemble at Baltimore in December should nominate Mr. CLAY for the Presidency, and he be the generally received Candidate of that party, as he certainly now is, will the Anti-masons, as friends to their country, concurring generally in political sentiment with the National Republicans, adhere to a nomination, for the success of which there will in that case be no possible chance?

We think not. Our opinion of the Anti-Masons has been raised by the late proceedings of their Convention at Baltimore. We see, by the selection which they have made of a candidate, that proscription is not their object; and, by a vote of 108 out of 111, they have certified to us, in the same manner, that at heart they are National Republicans. That being the case, if it appears at the Convention in December that Mr. CLAY is decidedly the choice of the National Republicans, we have a pretty confident hope that the Anti-masons will yet lead their force where its power will be felt, and where it may aid that victory which they will have merit in achieving. The preference of Mr. CLAY by the Convention will be no slight or disrespect to Mr. WINT; for that preference, judging from our own feelings in the matter, will not be incompatible with the profoundest respect for his public character and esteem for his private virtues. There are other situations of high dignity to which Mr. WINT would do honor, and no one would be more rejoiced to see him in the highest of them than the friends of Mr. CLAY.

Upon the whole, the Baltimore nomination does not appear to us at all to change the position of the National Republican party. The Anti-masons

have, to be sure, shifted ground a little, and wisely; but the National Republican party stands precisely where it did. They will neither act capriciously, nor under the influence either of fickle counsels or wily arts, but hold on to the faith steadily, fearlessly, and firmly. The candidates who may be nominated for the President and Vice President at the December Convention, and those only, will be their candidates, and receive their united support.

The communication which will be found in our columns to-day, concerning the case of the Cherokees, was, in the original, preceded by several paragraphs entirely too flattering to us and too undeserved to find a place here. The essential part of the communication, however, is retained. We cannot concur with the writer in his condemnation of the decision of the Supreme Court, nor do we consider the case of the Indians to have been prejudiced by it. With regard to the case of the Cherokees generally, if we have not dwelt as much upon it as upon some others, it is partly because we have not so much confidence in our own views of it, but more because the tongues and pens of the most eloquent and able of the land have been employed upon it so generally as to leave no hope of our being able to throw new light upon it. We shall not, however, balk the wishes of any of our friends, who desire to discuss the subject in our columns, so long as we can find room for their communications.

Mr. CLAY's friends, both east and west, are inclined to see him become a candidate for the Senate, instead of the Presidency. Can there be stronger proof that his prospects for the latter are hopeless.—*N. Y. Standard.*

The Official paper transfers the above to its columns, but certainly will not endorse it as true, that Mr. CLAY's friends are inclined to see him in the Senate, in preference to the Presidency. Was not Gen. JACKSON a candidate for the Presidency when he came to the Senate? Was his being sent there a proof that his friends meant to desert him, or did they intend it as a demonstration to the world of their sincerity and good faith in recommending him for the higher office?



From the New-England Statesman.

# THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Since the nomination of Mr Wirt by the anti-slavery, much speculation has been indulged in the course of the approaching contest and its probable results; speculations which we regard as altogether ill-timed, and without inducement—innocent as they, oft-times tempered with sarcasm and unjust reflections, excite unfriendly feeling among brethren of the same family, thereby promoting dissensions and divisions, and driving still more distant the hope of reconciliation.

To our view there is but one course for the opponents of the present administration—or rather, to the re-election of Gen. Jackson—and that course will doubtless be adopted by the Republican National Convention which is soon to assemble at Baltimore. To the decisions of this body, composed of men conspicuous for their talents, experience, patriotism and sagacity, we may safely give our confidence in advance, because they will not be adopted without mature deliberation, with a single eye to the great principles on which depend the continued prosperity of the country.

It is conceded on all hands that the opposition constitutes, at this time, a considerable majority of the people; and that majority is daily increasing. It then behoves them to be united. Our government presents the anomaly, in a Republic, of a chief magistrate ruling by the will of the minority; and while corruption, caprice and despotism, are the distinguishing features of his reign, should such a state of things continue? To prevent its continuance the opposition must be united.

Public opinion has long been concentrated upon Mr Clay as the successor of Gen. Jackson. As a citizen of uncommon worth, as a statesman, and as a philanthropist, he has merited and received the respect and admiration of his countrymen. With every requisite qualification for the high office, the early and ardent supporter of a system of national policy, alone calculated to sustain and advance the prosperity of the people, and to elevate the character and influence of this Republic among the nations of the earth, he is not only the most suitable, but by far the most prominent candidate for the station.

Mr Wirt, whatever may be his merits and qualifications, can in no possible event succeed; and as he could not but be aware of this, as well as of the consequences of his continuance as a candidate would expose the party with whom he has acted and with whom he now professes to act, it has never seemed to us that his consent to the nomination was given in earnest sincerity. Indeed the supposition that it was, is opposed by his character for republican firmness, disinterested patriotism, and in fact his whole course of life. He regarded it as a three and he has to have treated it as such.

The party which nominated Mr Wirt. And in him no qualification which Mr Clay does not possess in as good a degree; and there is no argument to be advanced in furtherance of his pretensions, which cannot apply with equal sincerity and force to Mr Clay. If that party ground their supposition principle, it is given in direct opposition to the only principle which distinguishes them from the Republican friends of Mr Clay.

With Mr Clay for their candidate, the opposition will succeed, beyond a doubt; and nothing has as yet occurred to warrant the expectation that any other candidate can succeed against Gen. Jackson. The west is indisputably for Clay; and, in the event of his withdrawal, from any cause, the votes of Kentucky, Ohio, &c. will probably be given for Jackson. The administration party seem to be aware of this, which accounts for the unceasing calumnies with which Mr Clay is daily assailed through the subaltern press.

As regards the relative prospects of the candidates, the following may be set down as a fair estimate of the number of votes each would receive (Clay and Jackson being the only candidates) under the new census, supposing the apportionment to be settled on one member of Congress for every forty thousand inhabitants:

	Jackson.	Clay.	Doubtful.
Maine	10		
New-Hampshire			7
Vermont	7		
Massachusetts	14		
Rhode-Island	4		
Connecticut	8		
New-York	42		
New-Jersey	8		
Pennsylvania			20
Delaware	3		
Maryland	10		
Virginia	63		
North Carolina	17		
South Carolina	11		
Georgia	10		
Alabama	7		
Mississippi	5		
Louisiana		5	
Tennessee	15		
Kentucky		14	
Ohio		21	
Indiana		9	
Illinois	3		
Missouri	4		
	106	745	30

Remaining for a choice 142. According to the above, allowing Jackson all the doubtful States, as here set down, together with Maine, Illinois and Missouri, which are by no means secure to him, and Mr Clay is elected.

Virginia	20
N. Carolina	17
S. Carolina	11
Georgia	10
Alabama	7

Mississippi		8	
Louisiana	5		
Tennessee		15	
Kentucky	14		
Ohio		21	
Indiana	9		
Illinois		5	
Missouri		4	
	<hr/> 74	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 197
			<hr/> 7

Here we see the three large States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio go for Jackson, as his ticket of Electors will doubtless be elected by a plurality of votes in each of these States, if the opposition are divided. His election is the consequence.

But for the sake of illustration, let us adopt the proposition which has been suggested, of running Mr Wirt alone against Jackson. The probable state of the vote would be as follows:

*Wirt. Jackson. Doubtful.*

Maine		10	
New Hampshire			7
Vermont	7		
Massachusetts	14		
Rhode Island	4		
Connecticut	8		
New-York	42		
New-Jersey	8		
Pennsylvania			20
Delaware	3		
Maryland	10		
Virginia		23	
North Carolina		15	
South Carolina		11	
Georgia		10	
Alabama		7	
Mississippi		3	
Louisiana		5	
Tennessee		15	
Kentucky		15	
Ohio		21	
Indiana		9	
Illinois		5	
Missouri		4	
	<hr/> 98	<hr/> 154	<hr/> 36

With these views, the idea of opposing the re-election of Jackson with any other candidate than Mr Clay, is not entitled to consideration. The popularity of his name

and principles have successfully opposed the power and influence of the patronage of the federal executive, directed with a single view to its own support. The necessity of concentrating the whole force of the opposition upon him is apparent. If the circumstances were different—if in the present crisis the prospects of another, devoted to the same cause and holding to the same principles, were better than his own, we apprehend that Mr Clay would be among the first to aid his election. He is not to be viewed as the ambitious aspirant, who would stick at nothing to accomplish unholy designs—as a demagogue who trims his sails to catch each popular breeze, but rather as the patriot whose life and splendid services have been devoted to his country and the cause of civil liberty—claiming gratitude and distinction only by the measure of his merits.

Should Mr Calhoun be brought forward, which as yet seems to be undecided, his appearance can only lessen the chances of Jackson; nevertheless, loaded down as he is with the doctrine of nullification, he cannot under any circumstances prove a very formidable opponent. We count not upon his strength, averse as he is, and as his supporters must be, to every salutary principle in a free government, they must either stand aloof from the contest, or lend their feeble aid to the party now in power, whose principles and feelings more nearly assimilate to their own.

It is too well understood to require here to be stated, that the contest is not merely for the ascendancy of men: we urge no combination for the promotion of the selfish ends of individuals; but on the result hangs the success of *principles* on which mainly depend the prosperity of every man in the community, who relies in any degree on his industry or enterprise for support; and, perhaps, those on which is based the existence of this Republic. It is the duty then of every man who has the good of his country at heart, to take a decided and firm stand on this occasion, and with this single object constantly in view, to rally under the banner of

*"Clay, Liberty and Union."*



From the Boston Courier.

### HENRY CLAY.

The Anti-masonic papers far and near, are laboring to prevent a nomination by the great National Republican Convention about to meet in Baltimore. They would doubtless like very well to drive Mr. CLAY from the course, under the impression that if he were withdrawn, the National Republicans would be induced to support Messrs. Wirt and Ellmaker. Some of the Anties entertain a sort of "sneaking hope" that Mr. Clay will voluntarily desert his own cause: others are disposed to coquette with the members elect of the convention, to induce them to adopt Mr. Wirt, and his incumbent, Mr. Ellmaker, who himself avowed that he had no other claim than being a thorough going Anti-mason. The editors of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser have just discovered that the National Republican Convention will meet at too early a period, and recommends that they make no nomination this winter, but adjourn to next May! This is certainly the most shallow device of the enemy, that we have yet heard of. It is an old trick, well understood by legislators, to get rid of a disagreeable measure by long postponement. Postpone till May! Absurd. Those who advise such a step well know that such an adjourned meeting would be impracticable, for various obvious reasons. They would never consent to go home, and come back at that busy season. The fact is, if there has been any mistake in fixing the time of the meeting of this Convention, it has been in fixing it at too late a period. Had it been assigned to the first of September last, or at an earlier period, it would have operated much more favorably, for the person nominated, particularly if that person had been Mr. Clay.

The fact is, Mr. Clay is decidedly the strongest man at this period, that can be brought into the field to oppose Jackson.—Should the convention even adopt the nomination of Mr. Wirt, which they have no idea of doing, he would not command half so many votes as would Mr. Clay, if nominated with Mr. Wirt for the candidate of the Anties. The National Republicans have therefore but one course to pursue: they must adhere to their PRINCIPLES and to their MAX as the only guaranty of final success. If they abandon their men and their principles, the party will lose its spirit and identity, and soon be scattered to the four winds. Let them be firmly united, and if any party can overcome Jacksonism at the next contest, it will be the Nationals, and should they not succeed this time, they will still have been engaged in a noble cause, and will be embodied so firmly as to triumph without doubt at the next succeeding contest. Let them therefore not turn a deaf ear to a caution as to all the glib and artful advice of their doubtful compari-

#12



From the Harrisburgh Chronicle.  
**POLITICAL ANTI-MASONRY.**

Shade of Michiavel, spirit of Loyola, genius of Tallyrand, stand back and hide your little heads! The profound policy and stratagem of the Anti-masonic leaders in Pennsylvania eclipse you all.

Reader, don't want to overreach thy neighbor by circumspection, weariness and craft, read the letter that follows. For two years and more you have heard of *secret societies, deeds of darkness, and plots against your rights and liberties*; yea, that the people of the United States had, for the last twenty-five years, enjoyed neither rights nor liberties, and that the apostles of Anti-masonry had come among them for the pure and single purpose of putting down *secret societies, of exposing to light, deeds of darkness, of asserting the supremacy of the laws*. Here is a letter muzzling the bulldogs set to give the alarm when danger impended from *deeds of darkness*: A letter concerted in secret, written in secret, and communicated in secret, directs these savage and uncompromising bulldogs on what *how* to pitch their nose! This is what we call the profundity of the stratagem, namely, practising the tactics which they have charged against the democratic party, and converting the General Committee into a Grand Lodge. Who would have expected such a catastrophe to the crusade in the "Holy Cause of Anti-masonry." But here is the letter, as it came to us in the printed "Circular" shape.

**CIRCULAR.**

A very large number of the Anti-masons in all parts of the state have frequently, during the last two years, expressed the opinion, that the great Anti-masonic Party of Pennsylvania, should be denominated the *Democratic Anti-masonic party*.—The propriety of this measure was deemed doubtful in some counties, a year or two ago; but at the present time, there are good reasons for believing, that it would be well received by the whole party throughout the state.

The Anti-masonic party sprung emphatically from the people. It is composed of those whose leading principle of action is the support of the equal rights and privileges of the people, and opposition to all aristocracies and select orders, whether of kings, high-priests, knights, or illustrious nobles; and it is essentially and inherently democratic, in all its objects, views and organization.

The Anti-masonic "State Committee" deem it highly proper at this time to send this "Circular" to the different Anti-masonic editors, of Pennsylvania, recommending to them the use of the phrase *Democratic Anti-Masonic*, whenever the party is spoken of formerly, such as the occasion of town-

ship, or county meetings, forming county tickets, celebrating the 4th of July, &c. &c. and denigrate our opponents according to their true character the *Aristocratic Masonic party*.

It is hoped by the state committee, that the several editors of Anti-masonic newspapers will see the propriety and necessity of the immediate adoption of this measure. The effect of a general and simultaneous movement of the whole body of newspapers attached to Anti-masonry, would be highly beneficial.

It may also be very advantageously suggested to the several editors, to continue and repeat in almost every number of their papers, some remarks on the peculiar fitness of the word *democratic* as applied to the Anti-masonic party; and of the term *aristocratic*, as applied to the Masonic party. A celebrated and popular writer forcibly and correctly observes, "that the power and value of the press is shown, not so much in inculcating new truths, as in the repetition of important ones."

This circular it is understood, is not to be published in the newspapers.

J. VALLAHE,  
 W. L. AYERS,  
 JOHN FORD,  
 Z. L. NEWMAN,  
 JOHN BOURGESS,  
 B. J. S. STEVARD,  
 JOHN R. ROSEBURY.

On behalf of the  
 State Committee

**THE NEXT PRESIDENCY.**—We are not willing to admit any embarrassment in making up our mind upon the question of the next presidency. We honestly and sincerely deplore the present distracted and humbled condition of the country, and are prepared to promote any arrangement for the provision of a thorough, appropriate remedy. It is not to be disputed, that a large majority of the people have become fully sensible of the incapacity and unfitness of (Gen. Jackson to guide the public affairs of this republic. Dissatisfaction is too loud and general not to be heard and seen. The voice of the country calls for a change in the office of chief magistrate, and yet such is the divided condition of the people, that every lover of his country must tremble at the prospect of the probable re-election of one so distinctly condemned as he who now rules over us.

For several years past a body of men has been organized in this country, known as "National Republicans," for the sacred, single purpose of cherishing the national honor, of protecting its fellow citizens in the full enjoyment of their legitimate and "unalienable rights—of promoting the general welfare," and of upholding all those civil institutions, through whose benign influences (under a kind providence) this Union has been preserved, and we are what we are. It is to such a party, strong in numbers, but stronger in patriotism, spread over every mountain and valley of this wide republic, that the friends of



"law and liberty" have been accustomed to look for succour and redemption. It is with unfeigned regret, that we find ourselves compelled to speak in vindication of the rights of such a party from the unmerited, heedless assaults which another class of citizens are now making upon it.

What the design of the Anti-Masonic party may have been, in selecting our esteemed countryman W. Wirt as their candidate for the presidency, we know not. — One thing, however, is certain. No sooner was the nomination announced than active ingenious attempts were made by the friends of Mr. Wirt to derange the harmony of the National Republican party — to impair its confidence in the strength and pretensions of its distinguished patriotic leader, and to impress the public mind with the belief that Mr. Wirt was the blessed chosen instrument to defeat the re-election of Gen. Jackson. Consequently a call has been made, and is still making upon the "National Republicans," the friends of Henry Clay, to disband and rally around the Anti-Masonic standard.

We think it time to respond, as far as we are concerned, to this call and we mean to do so in a few words; wishing to be understood as speaking *not only for ourselves*, but we feel authorised to say, in the name and in behalf of ninety-nine in a hundred of the party in this county, to which we have the honor to belong. We say then that: **WE CAN NEITHER ABANDON OUR PRINCIPLES NOR OUR MAN**, and, consequently, will not be found marshalled under the *Anti-Masonic* banner in the coming contest. And why should we? — Why abandon H. Clay who commands the votes of at least ten states, and take up W. Wirt, who has got the support of a single state in the Union that we know of? Why desert H. Clay, the known admitted friend of all those measures of public policy, which vitally concern the high and permanent interests of this nation, for the purpose of aggrandizing the fortunes of a rival, incomparably his inferior in skill, in wisdom and experience. It is a graceless proposition to say the least of it, and illly comports with the character for liberality and patriotism claimed for those who urge it.

Again — what security have we that the *Anti-Masonic* party will extend to Mr. Wirt a cordial united support, should he be nominated by the *National Republican Convention*? Such a nomination must strip him of his *Anti-Masonry*, and we predict would drive from him the great mass of Anti-Masons.

All honorable men abhor a compromise of principles. Can National Republicans vote for Anti-Masonry in all its length and breadth? For the election of an Anti-Jackson candidate of acknowledged capacity & fitness we are willing to spend ourselves, but our passion for the Anties is not so great as to induce us to go for the whole fraternity, Anti-Masons and all. In conclusion we say, we are resolved to abide the decision of the convention to which has been referred the subject of candidanship, not doubting that its choice will be the exalted citizen of the West, **HENRY CLAY**.

*Fred. Herald.*

*From the Richmond Whig.*

We observe in the *National Republican* of New Haven, the following quaint notices of distinguished men, and invite attention to it.

**CHAPMAN JOHNSON**, of Virginia.

I never saw this man, or conversed with any one who ever saw or knew him, but I always see with pleasure his name on a y committee, report or delegation, because he is always on the side which I approve. I doubt much, whether his high talents, his undeviating devotion to the right side of the question, and his entire character have been duly estimated in New England.

**JAMES HAYBOUR**, of Va.

Is better known and valued at the North. We cannot say with certainty, what men will do but we believe, that he would not turn to the right or to the left for the *Presidency*.

**GOV. HAMILTON.**

Thunder and lightning without rain.

**Mr. M'DUFFIE.**

A man of first rate genius and high business talents. Lost in the fog of Nullification.

#### V. P. CALHOUN.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, which leads to fortune." He lost the tide and was swamped in his *sentiments*.

#### PRESIDENT JACKSON.

When he wakes in the morning he wonders how this country could have selected him as the President; and when his Cabinet Council is convened, it is Greek to him. If heaven has any blessings in store for us, it will restore him to the Hermitage.

#### P. M. GEN. BARRY.

Not the representative of things past, but we hope and trust, the *shadow* of good things to come.

#### BLAIR, KENDALL & HILL.

"Riding in the whirlwind and directing the storm" against all the valuable institutions of our country, arraying the aristocracies of crime, poverty and ignorance against the virtue, wealth and intelligence of our country, and ascribing to this miserable administration the credit due to its predecessors.

#### WM. WIRT.

A distinguished lawyer, a mason, a personal and political friend of Henry Clay will not when the trial shall come permit his name to be used against him. Mr. Wirt has been bred in better habits.

#### HENRY CLAY.

Is the centre of the 24 stars of the Union, and will be supported by *National Republicans* in every quarter. He lives and breathes in the affections of this people. He is the friend of liberty throughout the globe. He is the eminent supporter of the *AMERICAN SYSTEM*. Do men talk of surrendering his pretensions to the presidency? They talk *without book*, as they will find after the session of the Convention at Baltimore in December next.



## MR. CLAY AND THE ANTI-MASONS.

Having generally heard the following correspondence spoken of, and guessing that our readers would take an interest in perusing it, we have requested and procured a copy of it for publication.—Ky. Rep.

Hanover, Ind. Sept. 2, 1831,

Hon. Henry Clay.

Sir—Having been appointed by an Anti-Masonic meeting in Hanover, Indiana, to open a correspondence with you for the purpose of ascertaining your sentiments with respect to masonry, we take this opportunity of addressing you on the subject. We feel ourselves impelled to this duty, and to the taking of this step, from the consideration that in us is placed a part of the sovereignty of this country; that on us, as constituent parts of this government depend the perpetuity of our republican institutions, the character and prosperity of our nation, the happiness of its citizens, and the destiny of millions yet unborn.—As citizens of this republic we feel it our bounden duty to watch over the destinies of our nation, to guard with studious care our rights, and to detect and exterminate whatever has a tendency to corrupt our republican institutions, or set aside our laws. The subject of free-masonry is one which has of late engrossed the attention of the people in many parts of the United States. It is a subject which is of vital importance, and demands the serious attention of every christian, patriot and republican.—What may be your sentiments on this subject, we know not, by some it is affirmed, that you are now a mason of the highest order, and a zealous supporter of the masonic institution; and by others, that though you were once a mason, you have of late abandoned the society and are now opposed to the institution; so that we have been unable as yet to ascertain with certainty your sentiments on this subject.—As we are again shortly to be called upon to choose a man to preside over the councils of our nation; as it will then be our duty and privilege to raise our humble but independent voice in favor of him whom we may deem most worthy of our suffrage; and as you now stand a candidate for a high and important station, as your friends and fellow citizens, we would solicit from you a frank and candid statement of your sentiments on this subject. We solicit this with the more confidence, because we believe you have always sustained the character of the frank and affable friend, and the faithful and undisguised politician, and that you would scorn to obtain the suffrage of the people by concealing your sentiments.

Yours Respectfully,

JAMES A. WATSON,

NOBLE BUTLER,

JAMES H. THOMSON.

## ANSWER.

ASHLAND, Oct. 6, 1831.

Gentlemen:

I hope you will excuse the delay in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 2nd ult. which has arisen from my absence from home and from various engagements.

Waving the considerations that I have no knowledge of the existence of an Anti-Masonic meeting in Hanover, Indiana, other than that which is derived from your letter, nor of your appointment as a committee to correspond with me, other than your statement, nor the satisfaction of a personal acquaintance with you, I will proceed at once to reply to your letter.—Its professed object is to ascertain my sentiments on the subject of masonry; and the reason assigned by you for this enquiry is thus stated by yourselves: "As we are again shortly to be called upon to choose a man to preside over the councils of our nation; as it will then be our duty and privilege to raise our humble but independent voice in favor of him whom we may deem most worthy of our suffrage; and as you now stand a candidate for a high and important station, as your friends and fellow citizens, we would solicit from you a frank and candid statement of your sentiments on this subject."

I do not know a solitary provision in the Constitution of the United States which conveys the slightest authority to the General Government to interfere, one way or the other, with either Masonry or Anti-Masonry. If therefore a President of the United States, or any other functionary of that Government, were to employ his official power to sustain or to abolish, or to advance the interests of Masonry or Anti-Masonry, it would be an act of usurpation or tyranny.

You have not called upon me for my opinion upon any great practical measure falling within the scope of Federal power; but passing by every question of vital interest, within the sphere of its operation, you demand my sentiments upon a subject with which I humbly conceive it has nothing to do, and you place this demand on the ground of the influence which my sentiments might exert upon the exercise of so undoubted and important privilege which you possess as citizens of the United States.

A compliance, on my part, with your demand would amount to an implied admission, that individual sentiments, on the subject of Masonry, formed a proper consideration in regulating the exercise of the elective franchise in respect to offices of the Federal Government. I can make no such admission. I cannot believe that whether I am hostile or friendly to Masonry or Anti-Masonry, is at all material in the formation of any judgment, on the



part of my fellow citizens, concerning my prospects for any office under the government of the United States. That elevated office, to which you allude, should in my opinion, be filled by one who is capable, unswayed by sectarian feelings or passions, of administering its high duties impartially towards the whole people of the United States, however divided, into religious, social, benevolent or literary associations.

Entertaining these views, I have constantly refused to make myself a party to the unhappy contest raging, distant from me, in other parts of the Union, between Masons and Anti-Masons. Whilst these views remain uncorrected I must adhere to that determination. If, indeed, you gentlemen, will point to the provision in the Federal Constitution which can be legitimately made to operate upon the subject in question, I would not hesitate promptly to comply with your request. In the meantime, in declining it, I hope you will consider me as not wanting in proper respect to you or to those whom you represent, but as acting from a conviction of the impropriety of blending an alien ingredient with a question, already sufficiently complex, and also from a sense of personal independence.

I am with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

Messrs. JAMES A. WATSON,  
NOBLE BUTLER,  
JAMES H. THOMSON.

## Mr. CLAY.

The following correspondence lately took place between Mr. Clay and certain Anti-masons in Indiana. We need not ask for it the particular attention of the community. It cannot fail to be read with deep interest.—*Louisville Journal.*

HANOVER, IND. Sept. 2, 1831.

Hon. Henry Clay:

Sir: Having been appointed, by an Anti-masonic meeting in Hanover, Indiana, to open a correspondence with you for the purpose of ascertaining your sentiments with respect to Masonry, we take this opportunity of addressing you on the subject. We feel ourselves impelled to this duty, and to the taking of this step, from the consideration that in us is placed a part of the sovereignty of this country; that on us, as constituent parts of this government, depend the perpetuity of our republican institutions, the character and prosperity of our nation, the happiness of its citizens, and the destiny of millions yet unborn. As citizens of this republic, we feel it our bounden duty to watch over the destinies of our nation, to guard with studious care our rights, and to detect and exterminate whatever has a tendency to corrupt our republican institutions, or set aside our laws. The subject of Freemasonry is one which has of late engrossed the attention of the people in many parts of the United States. It is a subject which is of vital importance, and demands the serious attention of every christian, patriot, and republican. What may be your sentiments on this subject, we know not. By some it is affirmed that you are now a Mason of the highest order, and a zealous supporter of the institution; and, by others, that though you were once a Mason, you have of late abandoned the society, and are now opposed to the institution; so that we have been unable as yet to ascertain with certainty your sentiments on the subject. As we are again shortly to be called upon to choose a man to preside over the councils of our nation; as it will then be our duty and privilege to raise our humble but independent voice in favor of him whom we may deem most worthy of our suffrage; and as you now stand a candidate for a high and important station, as your friends and fellow citizens, we would solicit from you a frank and candid statement of your sentiments on this subject. We solicit this with the more confidence, because we believe you have already sustained the character of the frank and affable friend, and the faithful and undisguised politician, and that you would scorn to obtain the suffrage of the people by concealing your sentiments. Very respectfully,

JAMES A. WATSON,  
NOBLE BUTLER,  
JAMES H. THOMSON.

**Mr. CLAY'S ANSWER.**

ASHLAND, Oct. 8, 1831.

Gentlemen: I hope you will excuse the delay in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 2d ult., which has arisen from my absence from home, and from various engagements.

Waiving the considerations that I have no voice in favor of him whom we may deem most worthy of our suffrage; and as you now stand a candidate for a high and important station, as your friends and fellow-citizens, we would solicit from you a frank and candid statement of your sentiments on this subject."

I do not know a solitary provision in the Constitution of the United States, which conveys the slightest authority to the General Government to interfere, one way or the other, with either Masonry or Anti-Masonry. If, therefore, a President of the United States, or any other functionary of that Government, were to employ his official power to sustain or to abolish, or to advance the interests of Masonry or Anti-Masonry, it would be an act of usurpation or tyranny.

You have not called upon me for my opinion upon any great practical measure falling within the scope of Federal power; but passing by every question of vital interest, within the sphere of its operation, you demand my sentiments upon a subject with which I humbly conceive it has nothing to do, and you place this demand on the ground of the influence which my sentiments might exert upon the exercise of an undoubted and important privilege which you possess as citizens of the U. S.

A compliance, on my part, with your demand, would amount to an implied admission, that individual sentiments, on the subject of Masonry formed a proper consideration in regulating the exercise of the elective franchise in respect

to offices of the Federal Government. I can make no such admission. I cannot believe that whether I am hostile or friendly to Masonry or Anti-Masonry, is at all material in the formation of any judgment, on the part of my fellow citizens, concerning my fitness for any office under the Government of the United States.— That elevated office, to which you allude, should, in my opinion, be filled by one who is capable, unswayed by sectarian feelings or passions, of administering its high duties impartially towards the whole people of the United States, however divided into religious, social, benevolent or literary associations.

Entertaining these views, I have constantly refused to make myself a party to the unhappy contest raging, distant from me, in other parts of the Union, between Masons and Anti-Masons. Whilst these views remain uncorrected I must adhere to that determination. If, indeed, you gentlemen, will point to the provision in the Federal Constitution which can be legitimately made to operate upon the subject in question, I would not hesitate promptly to comply with your request.— In the meantime, in declining it, I hope you will consider me as not wanting in proper respect to you or to those whom you represent, but as acting from a conviction of the impropriety of blending an alien ingredient with a question, already sufficiently complex, and also from a sense of personal independence.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant.

H. CLAY.

Messrs. JAMES A. WATSON, NOBLE BUTLER,  
and JAMES H. THOMPSON.



#15

**MR. WIRT.**

The Anti-Masonic nomination for President is one which does that party great credit. Mr. Wirt is a gentleman of letters, of great legal attainments and of unblemished public and private character; but with comparatively little experience as a politician. His answer to the Convention—which will be found on the first page of to-day's paper—seems to have been framed with a view to preclude the confirmation of his nomination; inasmuch as he there expressly states, that he was once initiated a mason, without having made a formal renunciation of the order, and that he declines making any pledges to exclude masons from office (should he be elected) as the price of his nomination.—This is liberal—It is precisely such political toleration, as the public had a right to expect of one, who bears the elevated character of Mr. WIRT.

With regard to the treasonable part of the obligation of a Royal Arch Mason, to which Mr. Wirt has adverted, we have the authority of a respectable citizen of this town—who is of that degree in masonry—for saying, that he is in error; and that his informant has imposed upon him. Set Mr. Wirt right, by the correction of this error, and it seem that he is no longer an anti-mason. The nomination, therefore, so far as it respects a candidate holding opinions and cherishing feelings in direct hostility to Freemasonry, as a distinct order in this country, is a palpable and an acknowledged failure.

The object of every man in becoming a candidate for office is to be elected. Mr. Wirt cannot form an exception to this general rule. Both himself and his friends, no doubt, have made their calculations of the probable chances of his success in the approaching contest. But for our life we cannot perceive by what political arithmetic they have arrived at the conclusion that he has the most distant prospect of being elected. In the State of New York—the strong hold of anti-masonry—it is said that that party can command from sixty to

one hundred thousand votes: about one third of the whole number which will probably be given at the next presidential election; and if three candidates be run, the electoral vote of that State may be given to Mr. Wirt. In Pennsylvania, the anti-masonic party are evidently on the wane and cannot, it is confidently asserted, give more than thirty, out of two hundred thousand votes for their candidate. In Vermont, the anti-masonic candidate may, possibly, obtain the vote of that small State. In the other New England States—in New Jersey, Maryland, and in the whole of the Western States, he will receive but a nominal support; whilst the entire South—where anti-masonry has not yet penetrated—will go *en masse* against him. Under no state of things, then, can Mr. Wirt, in our judgment, be elected by the people; and if there should be no election by them, we feel confident that his chances are equally as hopeless, of being chosen President, by the House of Representatives.

As the friend of Mr. CLAY—desirous that he should be the successful candidate before the people—we cannot conceal our regret that this nomination should have been made; and that Mr. Wirt should have been so regardless of the great interests of the country and the success of his own party—for he was not only a member of the late Administration, but a zealous supporter of its policy—as to have accepted it; inasmuch, as its obvious tendency must be, to divide and distract the National Republican party, so far as this can be done, by running a second candidate, who is identified, by his public opinions, with that party. Relying, however, upon the wisdom, virtue and integrity of the great body of the American people—believing that they have seen enough of the present profligate administration to make them anxious to exchange it for a better—and, above all, entertaining, as we do, the opinion that Mr. CLAY is better known to the country than any other candidate that can be offered against the wretched apology for a President in the person of Andrew

#15 (cont)

Jackson, we do not despair of his ultimate triumph, notwithstanding the aberrant movement of Mr. Wm and the anti-masonic party, by which he can only expect to be supported.

Let the friends of Mr. Clay, then, abide firmly by the great principles upon which his election is urged to the Presidency—Let them unite, as one man, upon him; and not wander off after strange gods—Let it be their daily employment to expose to public gaze the waste and the imbecility of an administration which has, thus far, only disgraced the country and prostrated its national character at home and abroad, and trust to the good sense and sound patriotism of the people for the issue:—And if truth has not lost its power—facts their moral force—or reason its salutary influence over the public judgment, he cannot fail to be elected President, by the suffrages of the people, at the polls.

#16

Speaking of an editorial article in a late number of the National Intelligencer, the Virginia Spectator says—

"We had thought the feelings and opinions of this paper were directly opposed to the crusade now going on against the Masons, and were pleased to see, as we supposed, several articles indicating this state of things—What then must have been our surprise when we saw in the article below these words, 'will, we hope, without relinquishing their hostility to Masonry,' &c.—clearly, as we suppose, saying, that the opposition to Masonry is right. If we have been mistaken in our opinions of the former course of the Intelligencer, or in its present sentiments, we would be glad to be corrected."

We the more readily correct the misapprehension of the Editor of the Spectator, because our loose phraseology may have misled others as it has misled him. He judged us rightly when he thought that we were directly opposed to a crusade against Masonry, as we should be opposed to a crusade against any other harmless society, or any peculiar delusion or belief. We respect to a certain degree all honest opinions. We believe the main body of the Anti-masons to be perfectly honest in their horror of Masonry, and that in proportion to the extent of that honest hate they are liable to be led astray by intriguers whose object in joining them is purely selfish. The sentiment which we meant to express, therefore, the other day, was, that those Anti-masons whose politics agree with Mr. CLAY, might vote for him, without abandoning their honest convictions on another matter which has no relation to politics. Certainly we did not intend to be understood as expressing the hope that the Anti-masons would or would not relinquish their hostility to Masonry.

Whilst on this subject, we take occasion to notice a remark, which we have elsewhere seen, that, in our reference to political manœuvres at the Anti-masonic Convention, we may have alluded to Mr. BAILEY, of Massachusetts. Though he may have fallen into a snare, it is proper for us to say that our remarks were not intended to include him as being concerned in the scheme of defeating, by means of that Convention, the election of Mr. CLAY. In our own mind, we have located the intrigue in a part of the country remote from the vicinity of Boston.



#17

## NEW YORK ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

The convention assembled at Utica on the 21st June. About one hundred delegates from every section of the state appeared with credentials, and took their seats.

This convention organized by appointing *Albert H. T. ...* Eric, president, *John Cox Morris*, of Oswego, and *Robert ...* end, Jr. of New York, vice-presidents, and *Samuel P. ...* of Oneida, and *John N. ...* of Amsterdam, secretaries.

After the appointment of committees to report on a ticket and an address, &c. the convention proceeded to nominate by ballot, candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, when upon canvassing the ballots, they found that *James ...* been cast for *Francis Granger*, of Ontario, and *Samuel ...* vance, of New York. These gentlemen were therefore elected to be unanimously nominated as candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor.

The committee appointed to form an electoral board, &c. the following:—

*Electors at large*, hon. *James Rury*, and hon. *John C. ...* &c. &c.

*First district.*

*Stas Wood*  
*Henry Cathal*  
*Harvey Lord*  
*Joseph Tucker*  
*Ellis Potter.*

*Second district.*

*Count DuBois*  
*George A. Gay*  
*Nathaniel DuBois*  
*Chas. Hathaway*  
*James Turk.*

*Third district.*

*Martin DeForest*  
*Justin McKinstry*  
*Gideon Hawley*  
*William Tuttle*  
*John Gelbard.*

*Fourth district.*

*Josh. Boyce*  
*Robt. Livingston*  
*Gilbert Waring*  
*Don't McMartin, Jr.*  
*Jos. A. Bellina.*

*Fifth district.*

*George Huntington*  
*Charles Miller*  
*Nath. Schoemaker*  
*Orin Wilson*  
*Garret Shinn.*

*Sixth district.*

*James Hawks*  
*Edward G. Per Lee*  
*John Miller*  
*Charles Burr*  
*Sam'l. Dunlap.*

*Seventh district.*

*Robert Cook*  
*Hiram F. Mather*  
*Nath. W. Howell*  
*Robert S. Ross*  
*Asa B. Smith.*

*Eighth district.*

*Nathan Miner*  
*Shubael Dunham*  
*Isaiah Hutchinson*  
*John L. Lacy*  
*George H. Gouglton.*

This report was unanimously adopted, when *Mr. J. C. ...* cer. from the committee on that subject, read an excellent effective address, which was received with enthusiasm, and then, after the re-appointment of the present central committee, the convention adjourned.

We have never attended a convention where so much love and zeal and confidence prevailed. There was a single purpose, and a union of the heart regarding the whole nation. Every delegate seemed to be animated deeply with the sentiment which is abroad in the state, exerting its influence to save the union. [*John ...*]

It appears, by what we see in the New York ... other than the above tickets will be run at the elections in New York, except those for the support of *Jackson* and *Mr. Van Buren*, and their political friends, the elements of opposition to, or in support of, the administration of the United States, it seems, will be.

The character and probable effect of these proceedings, we clearly ascertained, in the following remarks of the ... Argus.

"Judging from the names, so far as they are known to us, it is the coalition, as palpable as the thing can be, and not to be formally announced by the contracting parties. Clay men, masons and anti-masons alternate through the combination of the factions; and this is the quid pro quo for the support, by the Clay partisans, of the anti-masonic candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. The whole scheme is now apparent. We shall see how far the honest portions of both parties will consent to the transfer. The idea of a Clay state convention is the merest humbug. No such is to be held—or intended to be held. The bargain is completed, and even the mockery of its ratification by the Clay partisans (for that is all that another Utica convention would think of doing), will be avoided."

The "National Gazette" says—"The anti-masons of N. York have nominated an electoral ticket which cannot fail to be acceptable to the national republicans. If the candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor, who have been also adopted by the anti-masonic convention, are not the men whom the national republicans would have absolutely preferred, yet they must be deemed the best likely to succeed, and the first object for a good citizen is to rescue the state of New York from the hands or clutches of those, who, according to rule it is to use power and patronage as 'the spoils of victory.'"



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