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No. 5.

FIFTH ANTIMASONIC STATE CONVENTION, FOR 1834.

**ANTIMASONIC
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,**

FOR

MASSACHUSETTS,

HELD AT BOSTON, SEPT. 10 AND 11,

1834,

**FOR THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND LIEUTENANT
GOVERNOR, AND TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF EQUAL RIGHTS,
BY THE SUPPRESSION OF**

SECRET SOCIETIES.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY LEONARD W. KIMBALL, FOR THE CONVENTION.

1834.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION

OF

ANTIMASONIC REPUBLICANS.

Boston, Wednesday, September 10, 1834.

FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN DELEGATES, from twelve counties and one hundred and ten towns, assembled in the REPRESENTATIVES' HALL of the State House, at 10 o'clock A. M. and were organized by the choice of

WILLIAM JACKSON of Middlesex,	<i>President ;</i>
STEPHEN WHITNEY of Franklin,	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
CHRISTOPHER WEBB of Norfolk,	
AUSTIN FLINT of Worcester,	
NAHUM HARDY of Middlesex,	

Secretaries—Benjamin Franklin Hallett, Russell Jarvis, of Boston, Herman Atwill of Concord.

On motion of Mr Odiorne of Boston, prayers were offered by Rev. Mr Goff, member from Milbury.

The rules and orders of the National Antimasonic Convention were adopted.

Committee on Nominations.

On motion of Mr. Churchill of Milton, a committee of one from each county, was appointed, to report on the time and mode of going into a nomination for Governor, viz: Phelps of Suffolk, Churchill of Norfolk, Knox of Worcester, Clark of Middlesex, Newhall of Essex, Ruggles of Bristol, Lazell of Plymouth, Hallett of Barnstable, Phelps of Hampshire, Fuller of Hampden, Hoyt of Franklin and Dewey of Berkshire.

The Committee report, that at a quarter before one, this day, a nomination list be opened, and suspended from the desk, for the record of the names of candidates proposed by any member,—and that at one o'clock the Convention proceed to give a written ballot for candidate for Governor, two thirds of the whole number of votes being required to constitute a choice. The nomination for Lieutenant Governor, to follow in the same manner—which was unanimously adopted. The balloting was subsequently postponed till 3 o'clock P. M.

On motion of Mr. Hallett of Suffolk, accommodations were provided for gentlemen connected with the public press, who may wish to obtain the proceedings of the Convention.

Committee on Honorary Members.

Messrs. Adams of Middlesex, Rice of Worcester, and Walker of Suffolk, were appointed a Committee on Honorary members, and reported the names of several gentlemen, who were admitted to seats in the Convention, with the right to participate in its deliberations.

Committee on Finance.

Messrs Wm. W. Fuller of Middlesex, Tilden of Suffolk, Eddy of Plymouth and Bates of Bristol, were appointed to examine and audit the accounts of the Depositary appointed by the Convention, held in Boston, Sept. 1833.

The Committee reported "that they have examined the accounts and vouchers, for each item, which are herewith presented, and find all correct. That the amount contributed last year by the Convention, for publishing the proceedings and diffusing information, was \$222.71, of which \$210.86 has been expended for that purpose, leaving a balance of \$11.85. That of the sum of \$119.50 collected for the dissemination of Antimasonic publications and tracts, \$39.90 have been expended, leaving a balance of \$79.60. All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. W. FULLER, for the Committee."

Depositary.

The above report was accepted, and B. V. French of Boston was chosen Depositary for the ensuing year.

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS TO BE TRANSACTED.

Messrs. Hallett, Bigelow and Yale, were appointed a Committee, with instructions to report upon further business necessary to be acted upon by the Committee, and subsequently recommended the following course, which was adopted:

That Committees be appointed as follows:

1. A Committee on Ways and Means to collect sums for publication and diffusing information:

2. A Committee on General Resolutions.

3. A Committee to report on the expediency of taking measures to recommend to the Antimasons of the Nation, the support of an Antimasonic Register, to be issued monthly, or otherwise, and to compile a documentary history of Antimasonry from its origin:

4. A Committee to report on the expediency of Memorializing Congress, at its next session, to alter the law of Naturalization, so as to provide for a longer term of residence before citizenship; and to require the renunciation of all oaths of allegiance or service to secret societies, as well as to all foreign kings, princes and potentates:

5. A Committee to nominate to this Convention suitable candidates to represent the Antimasonic Republicans of Massachusetts, in a NATIONAL ANTIMASONIC CONVENTION, recommended by State Conventions in Vermont, Maine and Connecticut, and by County Conventions

in Pennsylvania, to be holden at Philadelphia on the third Tuesday, (the 16th) of June, 1835, and to report a resolution, approving of the holding of such National Convention :

6. A special Committee, to report resolutions, expressing the sense of this Convention on the loss that the cause of Antimasonry, of pure government, of learning, of virtue and of religion, has sustained in the decease of WILLIAM WIRT, the late candidate of the Antimasonic party, for President of the United States :

7. A Committee to prepare an Address to the People of Massachusetts on the approaching election :

8. A Committee to prepare and publish an exposition of the grounds upon which the Bill concerning Masonic Societies, reported by a Committee of the last Legislature, ought to be passed into a law :

9. A Committee of three from each county to make a distribution of the Memorial to the Legislature in favor of the passage of the Act concerning Masonic Societies :

10. That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of providing for a better organization of the Antimasonic party in this Commonwealth :

MEMORIAL TO THE LEGISLATURE.

The following Memorial to the Legislature, was read to the Convention, whereupon it was

Voted, That this Memorial be recommended to the citizens of this Commonwealth opposed to secret societies, for their signatures, and that copies be distributed in the several towns in the State, for that purpose, to be presented by the people to the Legislature at its session in January next.

[Printed copies of the Memorial, for procuring signatures, may be had on application to the State Committee, or to the office of the Daily Advocate.]

MEMORIAL.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives in General Court Assembled.

The undersigned citizens of the town of _____, respectfully represent that at the two former sessions of the Legislature, Memorials signed by many thousands of the people of this Commonwealth, were presented, praying for a repeal of the Charter of the Grand Lodge ; for a full investigation into Freemasonry, and for the passage of a law prohibiting the future administration of *Masonic* and extrajudicial oaths. At the last session the Grand Lodge surrendered its act of civil incorporation, at the same time, telling the Legislature, in defiance, that Freemasonry, in this State, "would continue to exercise its *Masonic prerogatives*, independently alike of popular will and legal enactment." Thus openly avowing a determination to resist the supremacy of the laws, whenever they interfered with the supremacy of *Masonic prerogatives*.

At the same session an act was passed concerning unlawful oaths, before the Committee of both Houses, to whom the Memorial against Freemasonry had been referred, were able to present their report.

Your Memorialists, therefore, infer that the law in question, which they believe will be insufficient in abolishing Freemasonry or preventing the future administration of Masonic oaths, was passed without a full understanding of the means necessary to detect the administration of such oaths in secret, by persons and to persons, all sworn to secrecy under no less penalty than to have their throats cut from ear to ear or their skulls smote off, if they ever violate their oaths or obligations.

The existing law, therefore, does no more than affix a penalty to an offence which was already such at Common law, namely, the administration of unlawful oaths; and as it is believed that adhering Freemasons, who still claim the right of exercising their "prerogatives," among which the right to administer oaths stands foremost, do not regard Masonic oaths, as *unlawful*, it is apparent that the law will be inoperative on them, nor can its violation be detected, by reason of the secrecy with which such oaths must be administered, if at all.

To obviate these defects, and to remedy the uncertainty of the application of the law against unlawful oaths to Freemasonry, the joint committee of both Houses, at the last session, after an investigation, in part, to the extent of their limited powers, reported a bill "concerning Masonic Societies," which, in addition to the existing law against unlawful oaths, your Memorialists believe would be entirely effectual in detecting and suppressing the further administration in this Commonwealth of Masonic oaths and obligations. That bill was acted on the last day of the session, and yet, it was lost in the House only by a vote of 106 to 118.

The means of carrying into effect any law against the administration of oaths in secret, by secret societies, all sworn to secrecy under the penalty of *death*, we are persuaded can only be found in an Act requiring a registry of the names and meetings of the members of such societies, and the names of the persons and the nature of the obligations assumed by those that may be hereafter admitted into such secret societies. As a matter of public police, to enable the laws to be carried into full effect, the measure is believed to be clearly proper and constitutional. Such an act, concerning masonic Societies, was passed in Great Britain in 1798, in consequence of the disclosures of the nature of Freemasonry, made by Professor Robison. That act declared every society or lodge of Freemasons (none of which were incorporated) to be an unlawful combination and confederacy, unless "the name or denomination thereof, and the usual place or places, and the time or times of its meetings, and the names and descriptions of all and every the members thereof, be registered with the clerk of the peace for the county, &c. within two months after the passing of the act, and also on or before the 25th day of March in every succeeding year." [See Blackstone's Commentaries, note vol. iv. p. 153.] This act of the British Parliament, which had long remained inoperative, has recently been revived and enforced, in consequence of the alarm excited by combinations against the supremacy of the laws among secret and other oath-bound societies.

Your Memorialists earnestly desire the passage of such an act as will prevent the necessity of the people again and again appealing to their Representatives for a law that shall render further legislation in this matter unnecessary. We respectfully ask that we may not be misunderstood, and that no doubt may be left, by the action of your

Honorable bodies on this Memorial, whether it is the clear intention of the Legislature to prohibit or not to prohibit the administration of *Masonic* oaths. The law of the last session is but a partial and inefficient granting of the prayer of former Memorialists, and is wholly unsatisfactory to the great body of the people who are striving to suppress Freemasonry; while its doubtful construction renders it a snare to the consciences of Freemasons. On this point we beg leave to adopt the language of the Report of the Committee appointed to investigate Freemasonry, the last session. The Memorialists ask for a law that will prohibit the future administration or use of Masonic oaths, by providing certain means for their detection, if they shall hereafter be administered "If it be the design of the Legislature, (say the Committee) to pass a law for that purpose, is it not important that it should be so plainly expressed, that no person may be led to violate its spirit, from a misconstruction or evasion of its letter. If Masonic oaths are not intended to be prohibited, then it cannot be the intention of the Legislature to grant the prayer of the Memorialists. If, on the other hand, it is deemed important that the administration of Masonic oaths should be suppressed, it cannot be done too effectually. So, also, if the members of the Fraternity honestly intend to administer or repeat, *no more oaths* or obligations, the proposed bill will have no more effect upon them than any other class of citizens. But if they, or any portion of them, are resolved to administer Masonic oaths, independent of legal enactments, ought not these enactments to be so distinct and certain as to insure the exercise of the "prerogatives" of the Law, over the "prerogatives" of the Lodge?"

Wherefore your Memorialists pray—

1st. That the said report and bill of the Committee of Investigation of the last session, may be reprinted for the use of the present members of the Legislature:

2nd. That a further investigation into freemasonry may be had by a Committee with power to send for persons and papers:

3d. And especially, that the bill concerning masonic societies above referred to, as reported by a joint Committee of the last Legislature may now be passed into a law of this Commonwealth.

And as in duty bound will ever pray—

[The following is the Act reported to the Legislature at its last session by the joint Committee on the Memorials relating to Freemasonry, which Act the Memorial adopted by the Convention, prays may become a law.]

AN ACT concerning Masonic Societies.

SEC. 1. Be it enacted, &c., That if any person hereafter initiated, or admitted into any Fraternity, Association or Society, or passed or advanced therein, from one degree or grade to another, or elected an officer thereof, shall be required to take, repeat or subscribe to any oath, affirmation or obligation in the nature of an oath, not authorized by law—the person or persons who shall administer, or shall aid and assist in administering, or shall voluntarily take, repeat, or subscribe any such oath, affirmation or obligation in the nature of an oath, shall forfeit the sum of dollars, to be recovered by indictment, to the use of the Commonwealth, or by an action of debt, to the

use of the person suing for the same, before any Court of competent jurisdiction. And in the examination or trial of all complaints, prosecutions or actions under this act, every person present at the administering, taking or subscribing to any such oath, excepting the person or persons indicted or sued therefor, shall be a competent witness, and compellable to testify. Provided, always, that such person is not otherwise incompetent to testify, or has not voluntarily rendered himself incompetent, after the offence was committed; and also provided, that no person so testifying in such trial, shall be ever liable to a prosecution or action for such violation of this Act, as shall have been so testified to by him.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That each and every Society of the Order of Free and accepted Masons—Lodges, Chapters, Encampments, Councils, Colleges or Consistories, or by whatever style or name the same may be known, shall make returns in writing, yearly and every year, to the Secretary of State, on or before the first day of January, of the number and names of the officers and members of such Society, the number and names of the persons who have been admitted, initiated or advanced from one degree to another in said Society, or by any of its officers or members, within the year last preceding said returns, with the mode and manner of their initiation, admission, or advancement from one degree to another,—the form or forms of the several promises or obligations which have been administered or repeated to any person or persons, at any meeting of such Society, by any of its officers or members, or by any other person within the said year, together with the time and place, and occasion when and where the same was administered, repeated, or taken, the times and places of meetings of such Society holden within the said year, together with a schedule of all the property, real or personal, liable to taxation, belonging to, or held by, or in trust for said Society—which return shall be signed by the presiding officer, or one of the principal officers of such Society, with a certificate endorsed thereon, or attached thereto, by a Judge of some Court of Record, in the County where said Society is located, that the truth of said return has been testified to, under oath or affirmation before him, by the officer or person making said return. And any presiding or principal officer of any such Society, neglecting to make such return aforesaid, shall, for every such neglect, forfeit a sum not less than

to be recovered by indictment, to the use of the Commonwealth, or by an action of debt, to the use of the person suing for the same. Provided, however, That the provisions of this section shall not extend to any Society therein described, *which shall not have held any meeting, or transacted any business within the year for which said return is to be made.*

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Wednesday P. M. Sept. 10.

The Convention met at 3 o'clock.

MR HALLETT, of Suffolk, offered the following resolution, previous to going into a nomination for Governor, in order that the sense of the Convention might be fully expressed, as to the main considerations which have called this assembly together, as the representatives of a large body of the *people*, instructed to present candidates for the two

first offices in the Commonwealth, on grounds distinct in one essential and *paramount* principle, from those on which any other party in the State will present or support their candidates. The resolution was also offered in this stage of the proceedings, that an opportunity might be given to any member who was not convinced of the indispensable duty and necessity of making a distinct Antimasonic nomination, to assign his reasons, and to propose any other course. After some further remarks from several members in favor of the resolution, it was unanimously adopted, not an individual of an assembly of over 400 citizens from all parts of the Commonwealth, intimating that the time had come when Antimasons could forego the support of an unequivocal Antimasonic candidate for Governor.

Preliminary Resolution on Distinctive Antimasonry.

Resolved, That the primary object of this Convention in making a nomination for the offices of Governor and Lieut. Governor, is to bring *distinctly* before their fellow citizens, the question whether organized FREEMASONRY, shall or shall not be abolished, by the force of public opinion and Constitutional Acts of Legislation, operating through the ballot box, to the exclusion from offices of political trust, of those who adhere to or uphold the Masonic Institution, in the state or the nation, and are found identified and acting with Freemasonry as a party.

MR RICE of Worcester, said he hoped to see that resolution printed in capitals, and held up for the guide of every true hearted Antimason in the Commonwealth. It maintained the only principle and practice whereby the curse of Freemasonry could ever be effectually removed from our land. He hoped that every member would take a copy of this resolution, and carry it home with them and act upon it. It was just what they wanted.

Nomination List.

The President of the Convention announced that the nominating list for Governor was open for the Secretaries to receive any names that might be presented. The following names were placed on the list, no others being suggested, viz. John Bailey, Edward Everett, J. Q. Adams, Heman Lincoln, Samuel Lathrop, Seth Whitmarsh, M. H. Ruggles.

MR BIGELOW of Middlesex said that the name of Mr Everett could not be presented to the Convention with any expectation that he would accept the nomination if tendered to him under existing circumstances. It was his duty to state to the Convention that it would be unavailing to give their votes for Mr Everett.

MR HALLETT, of Suffolk, said that this was a proper time to have this Convention and through them the people of this Commonwealth apprized of the true relation in which the Antimasonic and National Republican parties stood to each other, in the matter of conciliation. "*Conciliation*" had been urged upon Antimasons as a paramount duty. Last year the sincerity of those who made this call upon us was tested. The Antimasons nominated John Quincy Adams, pre-eminent as a statesman, and the soundest of the sound as a National Republican, but he was guilty of being an *Antimasonic* National Repub-

lian, and therefore John Davis was thrust before them, by the preachers, but not the *doers*, of conciliation.

It was pretended at that time, by some of the Masonic party, that the Antimasonry of Mr Adams was not so serious an objection as was his former desertion of the federal party, and his known hostility to the men and the measures of the Hartford Convention. To obviate this pretended or real objection to the *democracy* of Mr Adams, it was well known to the Committee of the Worcester Convention, who pushed Mr Davis into the field, that if the name of Edward Everett were presented, Mr Adams would use his influence with those who nominated him to permit him to withdraw, in order to promote a concentration of action in the election of Mr Everett; harmony of action with those who thought alike on national measures, being the paramount consideration that had induced Mr Adams to accept the nomination for Governor. But the name of Edward Everett was received by the Masonic Committee of the Masonic Convention, at Worcester, with scarcely less scorn than that of Mr Adams, although Mr Everett never had, and never *has*, in any way detached himself from the National Republican party, but uniformly supported its most ultra measures in state or nation, with the bare exception of the support of Freemasonry.

Under these circumstances, Mr John Davis was brought before the people, sustained upon no one distinct principle, that did not fully apply to Mr Adams, but the simple consideration that the latter was opposed to Freemasonry. Mr Davis, therefore, was emphatically the candidate of Freemasonry, and in full view of the immeasurably higher claims of John Quincy Adams, he suffered himself to be used by Freemasonry, for the sole purpose of preventing the very "*conciliation*," he and his party have pretended to preach up to Antimasons! The result of that "*experiment*" was that the people left Mr Davis in a minority of nearly 13,000 votes. He never was elected by the people, he never ought to be elected by the people, and I venture to say he never will be elected by the people, Governor of this Commonwealth.

Contrast, for one moment, the conduct of Mr Davis with that of Mr Everett, to whom the gentleman from Middlesex has referred.—Mr Davis has recently put forth an extremely equivocal, non committal letter, in which he speaks of the "*estrangement*," as he calls it, of the Antimasonic party, as though they had deserted *him*, and gives it as his serious opinion "that the Commonwealth will not have its just influence in the councils of the United States, unless those who harmonize in their views of public policy, can act in concert." He also admits that the Masonic Institution is a disturbing cause, and in effect laments that the Antimasonic party will not unite with the National Republican party, to re-elect Mr John Davis Governor!

And this is the language of his Excellency, when he *himself* was the only "disturbing cause" that prevented harmony of political action in the support of Mr Adams last year; and when he *himself* is now also the only "disturbing cause" that has prevented a like harmony this year in the support of Edward Everett.

Cannot the Commonwealth have its just influence in the Councils of the Union, unless the Antimasonic party vote for Mr. John Davis, and elect him Governor? Is this the meaning? If "harmony" is all that is wanted, would the state have been less harmonious than it now

is, had Mr Davis not permitted his name to be used last year, by Masonry against Mr Adams? Would there have been less harmony this year, than there now will be, had Mr Davis withdrawn after the evidence he has had of the disapprobation of the people, and the name of Edward Everett been presented as a point of political concentration? What has prevented this, but the "disturbing cause" as existing in the Masonic influence, which compels Mr Davis, after he has been once rejected by the people, pertinaciously to insist upon a second defeat from the same source, in defence of the same Masonic party, who were permitted to use his name, the *only name* they *could* have used to exclude Mr Adams? What prevents Mr Davis from being placed in the same position he placed Mr Adams in last year, but the known fact, so honorable to Mr Everett, so dishonorable to Mr Davis, that the former will not consent to do what the latter did; permit his name to be used against a personal and political friend whom he regards as possessing equal qualifications and higher claims than himself, to the suffrages of the people? If, sir, said Mr H. in this view of the subject, the supporters of Mr Davis can derive any gratification or benefit from the fact that Mr Everett is in favor of his election and cannot consent to become a "disturbing cause" by permitting his name to be used against a political and personal friend, I for one, am not disposed to deprive them of all the benefit and all the honor of such a recommendation of their candidate.

These facts, sir, show conclusively that "*conciliation*," as used by the supporters of Mr Davis, means nothing but *submission*. Antimasons must consent to have such men as Mr Adams and Mr Everett set aside, for Mr John Davis; they must yield up their *principles* to the Masonic influence that controls the party who support Mr Davis, they must lie down, and make a bridge for these men to walk over them into power—all this they must do in dishonor to themselves and their cause, or in the opinion of Governor Davis the Commonwealth will not have its just influence in the councils of the United States!

Be it so then. Antimasons wash their hands of it. Let the *people* understand the *truth*, and they will place the responsibility of this division and pretended "estrangement" where it *belongs*, upon John Davis and those who support him, in presenting the only obstacle to the harmony of political action.

These, sir, are the facts in the case. These are the *actual* efforts at conciliation which the Antimasonic Republican party have made, within the past year, only to have them treated with Masonic scorn and insult. Who is to blame then, if this party now resolve to depend on their own resources; to select able and sound and efficient candidates from their own ranks? If coming as they do from the *people*, they take their candidates, not from the exclusive circle of aristocracy, but from the *people*. Look around, sir, in this assembly. Do you find great wealth or great individual pretensions here? No sir. You see the best samples that the enlightened towns of this Commonwealth can furnish, of their substantial, intelligent, moral yeomanry, mechanics and workingmen. "A bold yeomanry a nation's pride," who are not so incumbered and tied down by wealth and luxury and love of ease, and social influence, and party discipline, that they dare not express their free opinions against Freemasonry, for fear of losing office or official friends. Men of moral courage, the mid-dling interest of the Commonwealth, to whom alone, in these degen-

erate days, our country can ever look for the exercise of that moral courage which achieved her independence, at the risk of everything but principle, and which alone, can secure and perpetuate her institutions at the same risk.

Ballot for Candidate for Governor.

On motion of Mr Bigelow, the Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the office of Governor. The President, on motion, nominated, Messrs. Bigelow, Newhall, Rice and Collins to collect and count the votes, who collected the written votes and reported as follows: Whole number 329. Necessary to a choice, 216. John Bailey has 163, Heman Lincoln 151, John Q. Adams 10, Samuel Lathrop 2, William Foster 3. No choice.

Second Ballot.—Whole number 333. Necessary to a choice 222.—John Bailey has 191, Heman Lincoln 139, Scattering 3.

Third Ballot.—Whole number 327. Of which JOHN BAILEY has 318, Heman Lincoln 6, J. Q. Adams 2, E. Everett 1. Mr Bailey was declared the candidate.

NOTE.—This is the largest ballot ever given in any political Convention in this State, for nominating candidates for office. Last year Mr Adams received 216 votes in the Convention, and Mr Lathrop, the preceding year, 238. It is proper to state, that it was understood in the Convention, that neither Mr Adams nor Mr Lathrop were candidates, though their names were placed on the nominating list.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

Ballot for Candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

The Convention then proceeded to select a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and the same Committee having collected the ballots, reported that the whole number was 317, and that HEMAN LINCOLN has 317, who was declared nominated.

Messrs Knox of Worcester, Fuller of Middlesex, and Smith of Essex, were appointed a Committee to wait on the Hon. John Bailey, of Dorchester, and tender to him the unanimous nomination, by this Convention, for Governor of the Commonwealth, and request him to allow his name to be used for that office.

Messrs Ruggles of Bristol, Farnsworth of Middlesex and Lazell of Plymouth, were appointed to wait on Hon. Heman Lincoln of Watertown, and tender to him the unanimous nomination by this Convention for Lieutenant Governor, and request his acceptance of the same.

The chair announced the following

Special Committees.

1. *On Resolutions*—Hoyt of Franklin, Knox of Worcester, Fuller and Bigelow of Middlesex, Lazell and Breck of Plymouth, and Dewey of Berkshire.

2. *On Finance*—Lazell of Bridgewater, Paine of Boston, Lawton of Watertown.

3. *On Memorializing Congress upon the law of Naturalization*—Hallett of Suffolk, Waters of Essex, Atwill of Middlesex.

4. *On nomination of candidates to a National Convention, in June 1835*—Lamb of Suffolk, Peters of Worcester, Adams of Middlesex.

5. *To report resolutions relating to the memory of William Wirt—Knox of Worcester, Hoyt of Deerfield, Gifford of Westport.*

6. *On the law concerning Masonic oaths and Societies—Hallett of Suffolk, Bigelow of Weston, Fuller of Middlesex.*

7. *On a National Antimasonic Register—Phelps of Suffolk, Fuller of Middlesex, Henshaw of Essex.*

8. *On the better organization of the Antimasonic Republican party—Phelps of Suffolk, Farnsworth and Clark of Middlesex.*

9. *Committee of twelve on an Address to the People—Hallett of Suffolk, Buffum and Yale of Essex, Fuller, Atwill and Bigelow of Middlesex, Hoyt of Franklin, Knox and Brigham of Worcester, Brown of Norfolk, Breck and Turner of Plymouth.*

Committees for the distribution of Memorials.

Suffolk—J. V. Bacon, Samuel D. Green—Hull of Chelsea.

Plymouth—Lazell, Bridgewater—Soule, Middleboro'—Pool, Abington.

Bristol—Shove, Fall River—Lincoln, Taunton—Barney, New Bedford.

Barnstable—Hallett, Barnstable—Gifford, Sandwich.

Franklin—Hoyt, Deerfield—Whitney, ditto—Whitaker, New Salem,

Berkshire—Dewey, Lenox.

Essex—Smith, Salem—Barker, Methuen—Buffum, Lynn.

Worcester—Brigham, Worcester—Nolen, Brookfield—Lathrop, Westboro'.

Hampden—Bliss, Wilbraham—Barlow, Granville—Flagg, Springfield.

Norfolk—Brinley, Roxbury—Brown, Medway—W. H. Mann, Dedham.

Hampshire—Phelps, Belchertown—Starkweather, Northampton—Smith, Hadley.

Middlesex—Clark, Watertown—Atwill, Concord—Fuller, Lowell.

Adjourned till Thursday morning.

Thursday Morning Sept. 11.

(The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock, and prayers were offered by Rev. Mr. Goff of Milbury.)

Report from the Committee to wait on Mr Bailey.

MR KNOX of Worcester, from the Committee to inform Mr Bailey of his nomination and request his acceptance, reported that they had waited on that gentleman at his residence in Dorchester, and after communicating to him the wishes of the Convention, and their unanimous desire that he would accept their nomination, received from him the following communication, which they laid before the Convention, and which was received by that body with animated expressions of gratification.

*Mr Bailey's Acceptance.**Dorchester, 11th Sept. 1834.*

GENTLEMEN—I have received with deep sensibility the communication made to me by yourselves this morning, from the State Antimasonic Convention, now in session in Boston, informing me the Convention have agreed to present my name to the people of this Commonwealth, as a candidate for the office of Governor at the ensuing election, and asking my acceptance of the nomination.

Strongly convinced of the purity and patriotism of purpose which actuate that portion of the people of the Commonwealth represented by the Convention, in their efforts to suppress an institution which has thrown its shield, in a neighboring State, over high moral and political crime, I am equally convinced that any success which has hitherto attended these efforts, should serve only as an encouragement to "persevere" in their use, until the great object shall be substantially and effectually secured. That it is not yet secured, seems to me most manifest. Of this truth, facts of public notoriety are daily occurring, which it would seem difficult to mistake.

With these impressions of the position of the cause cherished by the Convention, and with an honest and warm devotion to it individually, founded on convictions of its purity and importance to our country, I accept the nomination with which the Convention have honored me; not, however, without the deepest persuasion, that other names might have been selected, which would have done far more honor to the cause, and have met with a more favorable response from the suffrages of the people.

I pray you to assure the Convention of the high sense entertained by me of the honor done me by their selection, and to accept yourselves the tender of my thanks for your personal kindness in the discharge of the office assigned you. At the same time I beg leave to congratulate you and the Convention on the spirit of harmony and determination, which continues to animate you and their constituents, in pursuit of the great object of their efforts. The fullness and respectability of the Convention, and the unabated spirit of the people in every quarter, are an earnest that the success of a good cause cannot be ultimately defeated. Sincerely hoping that, by such a result, one cause of dissension in the community may be forever removed,

I am, with the highest respect,
gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

JOHN BAILEY.

To Joseph Knox, William W. Fuller and George H. Smith, Esquires.

Lieut. Governor.

MR RUGGLES, of Bristol, from the Committee to wait on Hon. Herman Lincoln, with the nomination for Lieut. Governor, reported that that gentleman desired them to express to the Convention, his sense of the honor conferred on him, and his sincere regard for the principles by which that body was governed; and that he regretted that feelings of personal consideration obliged him to decline the acceptance of their nomination.

The Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Lieut. Governor.

nor, and Mr STEPHEN WHITNEY, of Deerfield, received the unanimous vote of the Convention, the whole ballots being given for him.

Mr Whitney, who was present as one of the Vice Presidents of the Convention, assigned his reasons for declining accepting the nomination. The subject of a further nomination was postponed till the afternoon.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS.

MR HOTT, from the Committee to report resolutions expressing the sense of this Convention, upon the present position and duty of the Antimasonic Republican party, made the following report :

1. *Resolved*, That while there is no want of talent and individual intelligence in this nation, the great and alarming defect in public and eminent men, is a WANT OF MORAL COURAGE, without which "*the public agent is a public curse.*"

2. *Resolved*, That this cause is more and more operating throughout the country, so as to leave the men the people would have looked to as the *champions of principle*, the mere *creatures of circumstance*, and the agents of party ; thus compelling the mass of the *people* to withdraw their confidence from men of mere high intellectual attainments, and to look mainly for the advancement of the fundamental, *democratic* principles of our government to those who *think and feel and act more like themselves.*

3. *Resolved*, That in the deliberate judgment of this Convention, there can be no violations of the constitution of more fatal bearing, or more justly alarming, than those which have feloniously deprived the United States of one of its free citizens, and suppressed the impartial administration of criminal justice.

4. *Resolved*, That a power unknown to the laws—seating itself by stealth in the bosom of the country—exerting a control over the property, liberty and lives of 100,000 of our fellow citizens,—claiming to be exempt from all public accountability, and banded together by oaths of mutual preference, concealment and protection, has no right to exist, and cannot exist but in contravention of the common rights of freemen.

5. *Resolved*, That we see gratifying indications of the force and effect of political Antimasonry, in the spread, and in some few cases open avowals of the opinion among intelligent Freemasons that the institution ought to be abandoned : that such a course admits that opposition to Freemasonry is founded on fundamental principles of *right*; and therefore, that such avowals, whether by individuals or unorganized bodies of Freemasons, ought not to induce Antimasons to deviate in the slightest degree from that open, disinterested and patriotic course, by which their political action has hitherto been so honorably distinguished, but should urge them to "*persevere,*" from the certain conviction that their principles in opposition to secret societies, must become the principles of the *nation*, if they are not now surrendered to doubtful expediency.

6. *Resolved*, that the signs of the times are auspicious to the cause in which Antimasonic Republicans have long toiled, and that we are more and more impressed with the importance of adhering to our principles as an '*inflexible minority,*' regardless of mere success in the election of our candidates, if by holding up those candidates so that

other parties must adopt or get over our principles before they can get into office, we oblige them to look at and examine the fundamental grounds of constitutional right on which we stand, and demand the utter extinction of organized freemasonry.

7. *Resolved*, That we have reason to suspect the patriotism of any party who carefully exclude from places of trust the advocates of the "supremacy of the laws," and at the same time call upon others to "sacrifice all minor considerations" to secure the continuance of constitutional liberty.

8. *Resolved*, That we love our country too well to trust the government of her affairs in the hands of any class of men, however capable and however specious their professions, unless they are known to be openly opposed to freemasonry, and as ready to resist its usurpations as they are the usurpations of the Chief Executive, or any measure, which are destructive of equal rights, and inconsistent with the supremacy of the constitution and laws.

9. *Resolved*, That the Antimasonic Republican party is a national party, formed on a basis involving fundamental and paramount constitutional and national principles; and that it cannot be dissolved or disorganized by the acts of individuals or committees; and that while every one is bound to act or not to act with the Antimasonic party, as his own convictions of duty dictate, the proper concentration of public sentiment to determine when such a party has accomplished its objects, and may be merged in other parties, with honor to itself and with safety to equal rights, is a body similar to that which formed it, composed of the delegates of the people, *assembled in National Convention*.

10. *Resolved*, That whenever public virtue shall have become so far extinct in a country as to look with indifference upon an association which claims a right to kidnap and murder its members, and has carried that "prerogative" into effect, in defiance of the laws, the people of that country have lost their patriotism and no longer deserve the name of freemen.

11. *Resolved*, That on this 8th anniversary of the Masonic outrage committed on a free fellow citizen, WILLIAM MORGAN, it is peculiarly incumbent upon all those who would preserve their own hearths from violation, their own lives from secret murder, and their public laws from successful defiance, to chastise from their hearts every sentiment unworthy of the generous spirit in which our liberties originated, and to gird themselves anew for the great battle of patriotism upon which they have entered.

The General Resolutions were separately read and considered, and discussed at length by Messrs Walker and Jarvis, of Boston, Knox and Rice, of Worcester, and were then laid on the table.

[The publishing Committee regret that they are unable to present a sketch of this interesting discussion, in which the true distinctive principles of Antimasonry were fully maintained, and the appeals of all other parties to Antimasons to disband their organizations, proved to be unfounded either in principle or policy. The false pretence that Masonry was extinct, because some seventy, or eighty Masons disconnected from the Lodge, had recommended that its charters should be cancelled, was clearly exposed, and the strong inducements presented which urge Antimasons to "*persevere*" now that they have the honorable accomplishment of their patriotic object, *full in view*, and which they can lose only by not being true to themselves. The danger was pointed out

of Antimasons suffering themselves to be drawn aside from their purpose, by the clamor of party, upon temporary and mere pecuniary questions, which had recently created so great excitement in the nation. It was urged as a duty enjoined upon them by the first principle of their party, *to stand by the constitution and the laws*, to resist unwarrantable assumptions of power from any and every quarter, but not for a single moment, to relax the grasp they have on the tyrant Freemasonry, for the purpose of putting down other supposed or real abuses, before they have fairly accomplished this grand, and primary object of every true-hearted Antimason—for it might be surely and safely relied on, as an invariable rule of action, that if Antimasons were called upon to go with any party in any measures, which party would not take with them opposition to Freemasonry, the patriotism and the objects of that party are to be doubted. They may talk of putting down executive usurpations, but if they do not mean honestly to put down the usurpations of Freemasonry over the laws, and equal rights, no reliance can be placed in their sincerity or their patriotism.]

Messrs Hallett, Knox and Hardy were appointed a Committee to confer with Mr Stephen Whitney, upon the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, which he had declined in open Convention, and to report in the afternoon.

On motion of Mr Yale of Middlesex, Messrs Yale, of M. Rice of Worcester, Lovell, of Barnstable, Ruggles, of Bristol and Bacon, of Middlesex, were appointed a committee to report on the reorganization of the State Committee.—Adjourned.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 11.

The Convention met at 3 o'clock.

MR HALLETT, from the Committee to wait on Mr Whitney, reported that they admired the truly Republican simplicity with which the nomination of that gentleman, for Lieut. Governor, had been made and received. It would be recollected that Mr Whitney was the first Vice President of this Convention—that he was absent from his seat, when put in nomination, but came in while the ballots were in the process of counting, and was first apprized of his nomination, by the announcement from the chair. Instead of waiting for the formality of a Committee, he rose, in his place, and declined the nomination. Subsequently a Committee was appointed to confer with him, and after performing that service they are constrained to report to the Convention that Mr Whitney respectfully declines the nomination, for reasons alike honorable to himself, to the Convention and to the cause.

Lieutenant Governor.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Lieut Governor, when it appeared that the whole number of ballots given in, were for HON. GEORGE ODIORNE, of Boston, who was declared nominated.

Resolutions on moral principle, and the memory of William Wirt.

MR KNOX, of Worcester, from the Committee on the memory of William Wirt, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously and impressively adopted.

Resolved, That one of the highest purposes of organized Antimasonry is, to give strength and security to our institutions, by making principle political,—by eschewing, in nominations for office, men of splendid talents mixed with splendid vices—by demanding of public

18 RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO MR. WIRT, AND MORAL PRINCIPLE.

men, that they shall possess *moral* and *virtuous*, as well as political and intellectual qualifications; and thus inducing the people of this great republic, in the exercise of their sovereignty, to carry their *hearts* and their consciences, as well as their *votes*, to the ballot box.

Resolved, That none but *unprincipled men* are alarmed at the plan of making principle *political*, and that, unless the moral and virtuous and religious portion of the people, resolve that *principle* as well as mere *measures* of policy, shall be an indispensably requisite in candidates for office, the affairs of the nation must inevitably become the mere stock in trade for trading politicians to traffic upon, for their own selfish purposes, to the utter degradation and ruin of the country.

Resolved, That the national antimasonic party were pre-eminently successful in carrying these principles into practice, in the selection of a candidate for the office of President of the U. S. in the last election, and that nothing but party spirit and an alarming deficiency in the exercise of a just estimate of the importance of electing to the highest offices, men who fear God and follow after righteousness, could have led the people of this nation to give a preference to either of the other candidates for President over WILLIAM WIRT.

Resolved, (in the language of Hon. S. L. Southard, in his discourse before the members of the bar, at Washington,) That in the death of WILLIAM WIRT "a whole nation feels that HE has departed who was one of the strongest among her strong; one of the learned among her scholars; one of the most eloquent among her advocates; one of the most elevated among her dignified; one of the most *virtuous* among her wise; one of the most admired among her beloved."

Resolved, That the universal tribute paid by religion, virtue, talent, and even *party*, without distinction of name or sect, to the lamented WILLIAM WIRT, *after his death*, is also a high tribute to the moral discrimination of the National Antimasonic party, who alone justly appreciated these pre-eminent qualities *during his life*, and sought to render them of immense practical benefit to this whole nation.

Resolved, In the language of the eulogy pronounced on MR. WIRT at Washington in the midst of the brightest intellects of the nation—that in WILLIAM WIRT was exemplified one of those alarmingly rare instances of a pre-eminently great man who "possessed strict and scrupulous integrity, enthusiastic warmth and bravery of spirit, and especially that MORAL AND CIVIC COURAGE, which is the most uncommon, most difficult of attainment, and most valuable and commanding of all the qualities which dignify and adorn the man and the citizen."

Resolved, in the language of those who eulogised him *after his death*, but opposed his elevation to the Chief Magistracy, *while living*; that the selection of WILLIAM WIRT, as a candidate for the Presidency, by the National Antimasonic party, "under the circumstances, is an evidence of his imposing character in the country; and that it was justified by all the high properties which can give honor and dignity to that elevated station."

Resolved, That the above resolutions be appropriately communicated to the family of the late WILLIAM WIRT, by the President and Secretaries of this Convention.

The general resolutions were again taken up, separately considered and unanimously adopted.

LAW OF NATURALIZATION.

Mr HALLETT of Suffolk, from the Committee consisting of Messrs. Hallett, Waters of Essex, and Atwill of Middlesex, submitted the following report.

THE COMMITTEE directed to report on the expediency of the people addressing a memorial to Congress, praying for an alteration in the laws relating to the naturalization of foreigners, so as to increase the prerequisite qualifications, before the exercise of the rights of citizenship, and requiring a renunciation of all oaths of allegiance or service to secret societies, as well as to foreign kings, princes, states and potentates, report—That in their opinion the facilities by which admit foreigners, whose habits and feelings have been fixed under monarchical and despotic forms of government, are admitted to the elective franchise of the United States, tend alarmingly to throw into our popular elections a balance of power dangerous to our liberties, and peculiarly adapted to undermine our republican institutions. Some of the reasons for this opinion, they beg leave, briefly to suggest.

Popular self government cannot exist and be maintained, without intelligence and a just estimate of the value of equal rights and wholesome laws, pervading the great mass of the people. The corruptions and oppressions of government, (from which our fathers fled to this country, in order to hold forth a lively experiment that a government, which seeks the greatest good for the greatest number, can best be maintained by making the direct will of the people the only sovereignty in the state,) had their origin in the ignorance and imbecility of the great mass of the people who were and who still are the victims of arbitrary power. From this mass, accessions to our population from abroad, must be mainly drawn. If, then, by a long continued process, such a portion of this mass should be infused into the population of this country, as to render it too powerful to become neutralized and amalgamated by the influence of our Republican institutions, the consequence must inevitably be the ultimate establishment and consolidation here of those enormous evils in government from which the virtuous founders of this great republic fled; and thus the rich inheritance of liberty become alienated from the children of those who achieved it.

The freest and most democratic country on the earth, should ever retain its pre-eminent distinction, as an asylum for the oppressed; but in order to preserve such an asylum, and to perpetuate the bright example of popular government which we are holding forth to the nations, under the blessing of heaven, care should be taken that the law of naturalization should be so framed that it may operate as a *primary school*, to qualify those admitted to it to become free citizens. The rapid increase of foreign migration, particularly through the operation of a system widely extending in foreign countries, by which the United States is made to subserve the purpose of a great Alms House to the corrupt governments of the old world, seems imperatively to demand a prudent exercise of the power of prescribing qualifications for citizenship, which the Constitution has confided to Congress. It is due not only to ourselves, as a free people, but it is also due to those who seek an asylum here with the honest intention of becoming good citizens and enjoying the privileges here reserved for them; that these privileges should not be suffered to be destroyed by an in-

discriminate admission to their enjoyment of great masses of population incapable of valuing, and predisposed to undermine them.

These restrictions need only be extended to the safe exercise of the right of sovereignty residing in this whole people, securing to all who come among us, the full enjoyment and protection of our institutions and laws, in the pursuit of happiness, but requiring a wise probation, preparatory to a full participation in the power of declaring what shall be the form of our government, and the nature and operations of its laws. A vast portion of our most valuable and efficient population, are adopted citizens, the true friends and supporters of liberty, who love it the more, and guard it with the more care, by contrasting its blessings with the oppressions they have suffered from bad government. To all such we extend our warmest sympathies as fellow citizens; and if there be any just cause of alarm in the operation of the existing laws on naturalization, *they* are as deeply interested as we are, in the adoption of wholesome and wise laws to avert the evils from this source with which the country is prospectively threatened. Let not, then, any unworthy jealousies prevent the co-operation of adopted with native citizens, in a measure, having equally in view the preservation of the interests and rights of both, by providing a more thorough probation for a qualification for the exercise of the high and responsible trusts of an American citizen.

Upon the other branch of the inquiry, the Committee are also deeply impressed with the importance of guarding against the introduction into this free country of the machinery of those ready engines of conspiracy, which are found in secret and irresponsible societies, whose oaths and signs binding to mutual guilt and mutual confidence, have ever been the rallying points for concert, in mobs and riots in the old world, and which have been, and will continue to be used for instruments of outrage, mobs and murder among us.

The oath of allegiance to country, should be a *whole* oath. It demands the *whole heart*, and admits of no divided interest, attachment, or obligation. For these reasons the law of naturalization requires a full renunciation of all allegiance or duty, founded on any oath, promise or natural relation, to foreign states or powers, princes or potentates. The spirit of the law, therefore, demands the *full renunciation of all oaths* incompatible with the oath of allegiance. The oaths which bind the members of secret societies, under penalties of death, to a secret and irresponsible government, unknown to the law, with no reservation of the paramount claims of civil government, are, and must be incompatible with allegiance to country; and therefore he who cannot renounce such oaths, when admitted to citizenship, cannot become wholly and undividedly a citizen of this government, and ought not to be admitted to a participation in the rights of sovereignty.

For these reasons, and many others that might be urged, your Committee believe that the time has arrived, when an appeal should be made from the people to Congress, on this momentous subject. Most of the political parties of the day shrink from it, lest it should lose them some favor and some votes. We do not intend to present it as a party measure, but the Antimasonic party, as essentially and fundamentally the democratic party of this country, and from its high moral purpose, and fearless determination to make *principle* political, in all matters touching the supremacy of the laws, is perhaps the only organized source from which a movement towards the accomplishment of this great object can be hoped for. Your Committee, therefore, relying

on the co-operation of sound, and sensible, and patriotic men of all parties, recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That means ought to be taken to present memorials to Congress from the people, praying for measures to insure a more thorough qualification of adult foreigners, previous to their full admission to the powers of an American citizen; and for a provision extending the renunciation of oaths of foreign allegiance to a like renunciation of all oaths to secret societies.

Resolved, That a concurrence in this measure be recommended to the Antimasonic State and National Conventions, and to the people at large.

Resolved, That be a Committee to carry
the resolutions into effect.

MR WALKER, of Boston, opposed the two last resolutions on the ground, that it was inexpedient to identify the Antimasonic party with a measure which might be used by other political parties to injure our cause. He admitted that there was serious danger to be apprehended from the sources pointed out in the Report. With that report he substantially agreed, and was willing to adopt the first resolution, but he was strenuously opposed to taking measures which should place upon the Antimasonic party the responsibility of carrying forward this object.

MR KNOX, of Worcester, said he hoped the Antimasonic party would have the moral courage to ask only, what is right and not what is expedient. He was tired of this constant appeal of parties and of political men to policy. Expediency was so much sought after in political operations, that principle was almost entirely forgotten. The possibility of the loss of a few votes, was suffered to outweigh fundamental principles, and unless there was more of principle and less of policy in the management of the political concerns of this country, we should by and by have not a single fundamental principle of our government left in its original purity. The Antimasonic party did not profess to go for policy, but for principle, and at all hazards. Their aim was to get men to think and act right, and not merely to get their votes, without getting their honest convictions. To do this effectually, they must discard mere policy, and when they find that a measure is sound and right, pursue it. Could any man doubt that the evils complained of, in the immense introduction of foreigners into this country, who become citizens before they have learnt a conformity to our institutions, is an alarming and an increasing evil? Who is more interested than the naturalized citizen in the preservation of the privileges he enjoys, by the prevention of an indiscriminate introduction of citizens who will render those privileges of no avail to him? So far from apprehending a loss of votes, from such a measure, he should look confidently for the gratitude of those adopted citizens, whose rights would be so essentially protected by it.

The Resolutions on memorializing Congress upon the subject of Naturalization, being under consideration, and the second and third, appointing a committee, &c. to carry the measure into effect, having been objected to, and Mr Ruggles of Troy having opposed them,

MR HALLETT said, that the committee were not desirous of pressing the matter, though it was one upon which the moderate men of all parties, who loved their country and wanted to preserve the purity of her institutions, must sooner or later act, with decision. The systematic measures now going forward in Great Britain, and the corrupt governments of Europe, to make America the grand alms-house for their pauperism, and the Botany Bay for their crime, must be guarded against, or the homogenous and republican character of the people of the United States must be lost. The first resolution approved of the

general objects of the report, and was not objected to. If that were adopted it would, perhaps, be as far as it might be desirable for this Convention to go, in bringing the question before the public for consideration and future action, especially as many members, whose opinions were always found sound, preferred that course. He would, therefore, move to lay the second and third resolutions on the table, for the purpose of disposing of them, and adopting the first.

The motion was carried, and the first Resolution was then unanimously adopted.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

The Convention proceeded to act upon the several reports of Committees which had been laid upon the table.

National Antimasonic Convention.

MR LAMB of Suffolk, from the committee, reported the following resolution, which passed unanimously:

Resolved, That this Convention approves of the call for a National Convention at Philadelphia, the 16th of June, 1835, to deliberate on the affairs of the National Antimasonic Party, which call has been made by the States of Vermont, Maine and Connecticut, and a part of Pennsylvania; and will proceed to elect a sufficient number of Delegates to insure the full representation of this State in such Convention.

The following citizens were then chosen as Delegates:

Suffolk—Benjamin F. Hallett, Amasa Walker, Abner Phelps, Russell Jarvis.

Norfolk—Joseph Morton, Fisher A. Kingsbury.

Worcester—Joseph Knox, Elijah A. Brigham, Francis Howe.

Middlesex—William Jackson, Nahum Hardy, William W. Fuller, John Eames.

Bristol—Seth Whitmarsh, Micah H. Ruggles.

Plymouth—Nathan Lazell, John B. Turner.

Essex—George H. Smith, David Pingree, Richard P. Waters, Jonathan Buffum.

Franklin—Epaphras Hoyt, William Whitaker.

Barnstable—George Lovell.

Hampden—Samuel B. Barlow.

Hampshire—Daniel Phelps.

Berkshire—James W. Robbins, Edmund Dewey.

Organization of the Party.

The committee appointed to take into consideration a more perfect organization of the antimasonic party in this Commonwealth, made their report, through their chairman, Abner Phelps of Suffolk, as follows, all of which was unanimously adopted.

That the great object of this Convention being to spread information before the people on the subject of freemasonry, it is obvious that assistance must be employed in various parts of this Commonwealth. They therefore respectfully recommend, that a State Committee be appointed for the purpose of diffusing such information, by holding correspondence and publishing and circulating documents and papers,

with power to designate County Committees where no County Committee is already appointed, to act until the people of such County shall raise a Committee, and otherwise to attend to the general objects of this Convention.

Further, they recommend, that a county committee be appointed in each county—where they are not already chosen—in such manner as the people in those counties shall determine. And that it be the duty of each antimasonic county committee in this Commonwealth, to correspond with and advise the State Committee and ward or town committee, within their respective counties; to collect and diffuse information on the subject of freemasonry; to take care that the people in all elections, are seasonably provided with antimasonic votes; to call meetings and otherwise attend to the objects of this Convention as they may think proper; and also, that each committee, appointed under this organization, fill their own vacancies; and when any member or members of either State, county, town, ward or district committee, shall be present at the meeting of either of the above named committees, he or they shall be considered members of the same, and act accordingly.

Powers of Committees.

MR HUNTINGTON offered the following resolution to prescribe the powers and duties of State and county committees, as the agents and organs of this Convention and of the people, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that all State, central and county committees, ought to be considered merely as agents appointed by the people, or their conventions, to carry into effect specific measures directed by the people, and have no authority whatever, as such committee, to originate measures or principles, which pledge their constituents to any course of action, or to do any other official act not expressly included in the ministerial purposes for which such committees may be appointed.

Report on the Act concerning Secret Societies.

The Committee on the subject of an exposition through this Convention, of the grounds on which they approve of the Act concerning Masonic societies, reported to the Legislature, at its last session, by the Committee of that body appointed for that purpose, respectfully represent,—That there is not time for preparing such a document to be presented to this Convention, but that they believe the reasons in favor of that Act becoming a law are so forcible, that if fairly presented to the public, they must convince all candid minds, really desirous of putting an end to organized Freemasonry in this Commonwealth, that it will most surely be effected, so far as legislation is concerned, in aid of public sentiment; by means of a law requiring an annual registry of all organized Masonic bodies, who shall hold meetings within the year: all who do not hold meetings, not to be required to make any returns of names of members.

The proposed law requiring a return of the names of members, &c., applies only to such Masonic bodies as actually hold meetings, and transact business Masonically, within the year. All who do not meet are exempted from the operations of the law. Of course, there-

fore, the Act applies only to those who are resolved to continue Freemasonry against the spirit of the law concerning unlawful oaths, and to exercise the Masonic "prerogative" of administering oaths as the Grand Lodge have declared they will do, "independently alike of popular will and legal enactment."

The peculiar efficacy of such a law, has been demonstrated in a neighboring state—Rhode Island. The civil Charters of most of the Masonic bodies in that State, had been granted without reserving to the Legislature the right of appeal. On this ground the Masons holding such charters set up the claim of *vested rights*, and threatened the State with an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, if such charters were repealed by that body. To avoid any course that might be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of other and valuable corporations, the Legislature of Rhode Island, instead of repealing the irrepealable charters, required annual returns from all Lodges and Chapters who should not surrender their civil charters; adopting, substantially, the law of England of 1798 against secret conspiracies.

This provision at once relaxed the strong grasp with which the Masons had clung to, and defended their civil charters in their trial before the Legislature; and the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, in their circular of June last to other Grand Lodges, say that they surrendered their charters, solely to avoid the operations of this law, and to escape from the "vexatious inquiries" of the General Assembly into their *private* affairs.

The language of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, in their Grand Circular of June 24, 1834, to all the Grand Lodges in the U. States, was as follows, to which we invite the special attention of those who suppose that any particle of the creative powers and prerogatives of Freemasonry has been given up.

"The more immediate cause for surrendering the *civil* Charter, (says the G. Lodge of R. I.) was, that the Grand Lodge preferred that course rather than *submit* to a law passed at the January session of the Legislature, requiring all the incorporated Masonic bodies of the State to make annual returns to the General Assembly of their proceedings, with a list of all their members.—The Grand Lodge has surrendered nothing more to the General Assembly than what they had received from that body, it being a naked charter of incorporation, which only enabled the Grand Lodge to hold property, without conferring any MASONIC power or privileges.—By retaining the charter, the Grand Lodge were considered as *being amenable to the Legislature*, and *liable to vexatious inquiries and odious exactions, WHICH THEY NOW FEEL THEMSELVES ABSOLVED FROM!* To avoid the operation of the law, as it respects the Grand Lodge, its charter of incorporation has been surrendered to the General Assembly, *by doing which, we have disarmed our enemies and the Legislature of all RIGHT TO VISIT US, OR INTERFERE WITH OUR CONCERNS!!*

We are entirely satisfied from this precedent, that if a similar law were applied to all Lodges and Masonic bodies, whether incorporated or not, it would certainly lead to an entire discontinuance of their Masonic meetings in this Commonwealth, sooner than they would "*submit*" to the supremacy of the law and permit the public to know *who* are the men who assemble in these secret meetings of conspiracy against equal rights.

Such a measure leading to such a result, and interfering with no

pretended "imprescriptable right of association," because the government always has a right to take care that its laws are not secretly evaded, would be more efficacious in abolishing organized Freemasonry, than whole volumes of laws against unlawful oaths, the administration of which, in secret, there are now no possible means of detecting and punishing.

Your Committee therefore recommend the following :

Resolved, That this Convention approves of the Bill reported by a Committee at the last session of the Legislature concerning Masonic Societies; and that, as the propriety of passing such an Act, has been called in question in discussions out of the Legislature, Messrs. Hall, Bigelow and Fuller, be a Committee to prepare and circulate in behalf of this Convention, at some time before or during the meeting of the Legislature, an exposition of the grounds upon which Antimasons desire the passage of that Act.

The Report and Resolve were adopted.

National Antimasonic Register.

The Committee appointed to report on "the expediency of taking means to recommend to the Antimasons of the nation, the support of an Antimasonic Register, to be issued monthly or otherwise, and to comprise a documentary history of Antimasonry from its origin," represent, through their Chairman, A. Phelps, of Suffolk,

That they are fully of opinion, that means ought to be adopted for the establishment and support of an Antimasonic periodical which shall collect and embody in a cheap, convenient and durable form, a History of Masonry and Antimasonry from the beginning, for the benefit of mankind; and they respectfully recommend to this Convention the appointment of a Committee to adopt the most suitable means for carrying the above purpose into effect.

The Report was adopted, and Messrs. Phelps, Fuller and Henshaw appointed the Committee.

State Committee.

Mr. Bemis, of Middlesex, offered the following, which passed unanimously.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due to the State Committee for the patriotic and fearless manner in which they have discharged their duties the past year.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate and appoint a State Committee for the ensuing year, consisting of the following.

Abner Phelps, George Odiorne, John D. Williams, Henry Gassett, Benj. W. Lamb, Thomas Walley, Jonathan French, Daniel Weld, Jacob Hall, Benjamin V. French, John P. Whitwell, Benjamin F. Hall, David Tilden, Amasa Walker, of Boston; E. A. Brigham, of Worcester; Joseph Knox, of Hardwick; Francis Howe, of Brookfield; Asaph Churchill, of Milton, and Jonathan Buffum, of Lynn.

MISCELLANEOUS RESOLUTIONS.

On motion of Mr. Walker, of Boston, the following Resolution, (after a discussion in warm commendation of the course pursued by our fellow citizens in Worcester to counteract the secret conspiracy

that has been unexpectedly developed there for the destruction of Antimasonry, through its unfaithful organs of communication) was heartily adopted.

Resolved, That the Antimasons of Worcester county are deserving the thanks of this Convention for the firm and energetic manner in which they have met the late trying emergencies in which they were suddenly and unexpectedly placed.

Support of the Press.

Resolved, That the duty is becoming more and more imperative upon antimasons, to support those presses that support antimasonry, and that it is recommended to the friends of the cause to take especial measures for distributing antimasonic papers, particularly during the election, and the session of the Legislature.

Printing Proceedings.

Voted, That the proceedings of this Convention be referred to the State Committee as a committee on publication, and that they be printed.

Votes of Thanks.

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be offered to the Hon William Jackson, for the able, faithful and impartial manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of this Convention, during its present session.

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Rev. Mr GORFE, for his services as chaplain.

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be given to the Vice Presidents and Secretaries, for the performance of their duties.

Final Resolve to support Candidates.

The following Resolve was read and passed with great animation :

Resolved, That, deeply impressed with the paramount importance of our cause, and of the selection, for high offices of political trust, of *men of the people* ; men of *moral courage*, as well as of sound political principles ; this Convention do unanimously nominate JOHN BAILEY of Dorchester, for the office of Governor of this Commonwealth, and GEORGE ODIORNE of Boston, for the office of Lieut. Governor ; and in the firm and conscientious conviction that we are acting for our *country*, our *whole country* ; for the cause of truth, of equal rights, and of the "supremacy of the laws," we present these nominations to the people of this Commonwealth, and will use all exertions, becoming good citizens, to ensure their success.

At half past 5 o'clock, the Convention adjourned without day.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *President*.

BENJAMIN F. HALLETT,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
RUSSELL JARVIS,	
HERMAN ATWILL,	

LIST OF DELEGATES

Who took their seats in the Fifth Antimasonic Republican State Convention, held in Boston, September 10, 1834.

SUFFOLK.

<i>Boston.</i>	Perez Gill
Abner Phelps	Newell Withington
Jonathan French	George Gibson
John D. Williams	Leviuel Cushing
George Osgorne	James H. Paine
Benjamin Frost	Heman Holmes
Charles A. Macomber	Romanus Emerson
Ebenezer Tasker	Joshua Chamberlain
Francis Merrillfield	Isaac Porter
Ralph Huntington	Stephen Child
Joseph Noyes	Abner R. Campbell
Samuel N. Fuller	William H. Hayward
Nathaniel Tolman	James Cheever
Tilley Brigham	Wm. Lloyd Garrison
Parker Barnes	Samuel Dexter
Joseph V. Bacon	Larra Crane
John Adams	D. K. Hitchcock
Thomas Warren	Russell Jarvis
Aaron Bancroft	Thomas Barnes
Moses Mellen	John Emerson
Thatcher R. Raymond	John Sullivan
David Chamberlin	Dexter Dickinson
Thomas Blasland	Ferdinand Herman
Noah Gray	Charles Warren
Aaron Guild	Luke Simonds
Leonard W. Kimball	Daniel F. Child
Aaron B. Fairbanks	Abner Child, jr.
Daniel Weld	Nathaniel Howard
Thomas Walley	Edmund D. Lucas
Jacob Hall	Simeon Palmer
John P. Whitwell	George Savage
Samuel D. Greene	Ichabod Macomber, jr.
Aaron Hale	Ebenezer Goodrich
Joshua Cheever	David Tilden
Ichabod Macomber	Benjamin V. French
John Greenwood	Benjamin F. Hallett
Thomas Hill	Henry Gassett
Joel Thayer	Martin Packard
Riley Hayford	Richard S. Roberts
G. Johnson	Marshall Tenney
J. B. Hewes	Amasa Walker
Freeman L. Cushman	Elbridge G. Wallington
Benjamin W. Lamb	Caleb Pratt
Nathaniel Holmes	Samuel Hudson
S. S. Littlehale	Benjamin Sweetser
Isaac F. Rowe	
<i>Chelsea.</i>	
Zachariah Hall	

ESSEX.

<i>Ipswich.</i>	Thomas J. Lummus
Aaron Wallis	Daniel Henshaw
<i>Lynn.</i>	Ebenezer Brown
John Stone	Hiram West
Christopher Robinson	Daniel W. Newhall

LIST OF DELEGATES.

E. C. Richardson
 Christopher Babier
 Enoch Phillips
 George W. Radden
 Daniel Farrington
 Samson Cummings
 Charles Hudson
 William Abbot
 F. S. Newhall
 Jonathan Buffum
 Benjamin Currier
 James Parrott
 Joseph Breed, 3d
 Israel Perkins
 John Sanford

Jesse L. Lewis
Lynnfield.
 Joshua Hewes
 William Perkins
 John Upton, jr.
Methuen.
 Stephen Barker, jr.
Salem.
 George H. Smith
 Richard P. Waters
 Daniel Potter
 William Fabens
 Richard M. Chipman
 Daniel Hammond

MIDDLESEX.

Bedford.
 P. W. Chamberlain
 Lewis P. Gleason
Billerica.
 John Eames
 Michael Crosby
 Timothy Davis
Brighton.
 Ebenezer Withington
 Ebenezer Hovey
 James Greenwood
 William B. Hovey
Bozborough.
 Ephraim Willey
Burlington.
 Israel Munroe
 John Marion
 William Winn
 James Reed
 Nathaniel Kendall
Cambridge.
 Andrew Allen
 Josiah Burrage, jr.
 Emery Rice
 Edward T. Whitney
 Samson Tarbell
Charlestown.
 Edwin Munroe
 Jacob Foster
 Nathan Blodgett
Concord.
 Herman Atwill
 Cyrus Wheeler
 George F. Bemis
 William Munroe
 Reuben Brown
East Sudbury.
 James Francis
Framingham.
 Nathaniel Fisk
 Elias Temple
 Patten Johnson
 John Temple
 John J. Marshall
 Lawson Rice

Groton.
 Amos Farnsworth
Holliston.
 Alden Leland
 Odlin Batchelder
 Hiram A. Morse
 Elisha Dewing
 Thomas Dickinson
Hopkinton.
 Aaron Smith
 Nathan Phipps
 Abraham R. Ellery
Lezington.
 Austin Chittenden
 Wm. H. Smith
 Wm. Simonds
 Ebenezer Smith
Littleton.
 Wm. Lapham
Lowell.
 Wm. W. Fuller
 Samuel Garland
 Hannaniah Whitney
 Joel Davis
 Allen H. Copeland
Marlborough.
 Isaac Hayden
 Ezekiel Parmenter
 Levi Bigelow
 Stephen Rice
Medford.
 Nathan Adams
 Archibald Hoyt
Newton.
 Wm. Jackson
 Matthias Collins
 Joel Fuller
 C. M. Stimpson
 Joseph Bacon
 Edward J. Collins
 Otis Trowbridge
 James Fisher
Reading.
 Eliab Parker, Jun.
 Jonas Parker

Hiram D. Sweetser	<i>Watertown.</i>
Charles F. Flint	Levi Thaxter
Caleb Wakefield	John Roberts
Wm. Parker, Jun.	James P. Briggs
<i>Shirley.</i>	Larkin Smith
David Livermore	Amos H. Livermore
<i>South Reading.</i>	Wm. White
Burrage Yale	John Clark
Martin Stowell	Stillman Lathrop
Aaron Cowdry, jr.	Stillman Lathrop, jr.
Jeremiah Green	George Lawton
James Eustis	Isaac Stone
<i>Waltham.</i>	<i>West Cambridge.</i>
Nahum Hardy	Caleb S. Wellington
Darius Wellington	<i>Weston.</i>
Converse Smith	John H. Going
Nathaniel Maynard	Alpheus Bigelow, jr.
Jonas Lawrence, 2d.	Abijah Pierce
Isaac Pierce	Winthrop Harrington
James S. Baldwin	<i>Woburn.</i>
David Townsend	Benjamin Wyman
Uriah B. Stearns	Stephen Cutter
Emery Bennis	Jonathan Thompson, jr.
George Coolidge	Henry Cutter

WORCESTER.

<i>Bolton.</i>	Caleb Burbank
Stephen P. Gardner	<i>Northbridge.</i>
Isaac Stratton	Asaph Rice
G. R. M. Withington	<i>North-Brookfield</i>
Oliver Barrett	Jonathan Cary
<i>Brookfield.</i>	<i>Shrewsbury.</i>
Henry Nolen	Henry Snow
Francis Howe	Prescott Brigham
Baxter Henshaw	Thomas W. Ward, Jr.
<i>Dana.</i>	<i>Southborough.</i>
Daniel Chickering	Josiah Johnson
<i>Grafton.</i>	Elisha Johnson
Henry Parker	Alexander Marsh
C. W. Forbush	<i>Upton.</i>
<i>Hardwick.</i>	Hollands Forbush
Joseph Knox	Edward Pond
<i>Leicester.</i>	<i>Ward.</i>
Austin Flint	Swan Knowlton
Horace Ayres	Aaron Bancroft, Jr.
<i>Milford.</i>	<i>Westborough.</i>
Dexter Walker	Lovett Peters
Edward R. Thayer	Joseph Lothrop
<i>Milbury.</i>	<i>Worcester.</i>
Joseph Goffe	Elijah A. Brigham.
Eli Goffe	

HAMPSHIRE.

<i>Belchertown.</i>	<i>Ware.</i>
Daniel Phelps	Lee Sprague

HAMPDEN.

<i>Monson.</i>	<i>Wilbraham.</i>
Benjamin Fuller	John Bliss
John Hoar	

FRANKLIN.

<i>Deerfield.</i>	Stephen Whitney
Epaphras Hoyt	

LIST OF DELEGATES.

BERKSHIRE.

Lenox.

Edmond Dewey

Braintree.

Abia Holbrook

Calvin White

Brookline.

Silas Peirce

Daniel Peirce

Cohasset.

Josiah O. Lawrence

Henry J. Turner

Dedham.

Wm. H. Mann

Jason Guild

Nathaniel A. Hewins

Harris Monroe

William Whitney

Abner Ellis.

Canton.

James Blackman

Samuel Tucker

Wm. M. Horton

Dorchester.

John Bailey

Cheever Newhall

Calvin Davenport

Thomas R. Shepard

Edward Foster

Richard Clap

John Warren

Isaac Howe

Foxborough.

Martin Torrey

Jesse Hartshorn

Franklin.

David Hartshorn

Levi M. Richardson

Willis Fisher

James Metcalf

Medfield.

Charles Hamant

Milton.

Asaph Churchill

Joseph Morton

N. R. Leman

Joseph Porter

Ebenezer Pope

John L. Pierce

Medway.

George Harding

Elial Metcalf

Levi Adams

Berkley.

Milton Paul

Dighton.

Richard Waitecoat

Leonard Gooding

NORFOLK.

Paul Daniels

Needham.

Moses Garfield 2d

John Slack

Benjamin Slack

Benjamin Slack, Jr.

Quincy.

Thomas Taylor

Henry Wood

Edward Glover

Randolph.

Samuel Paine

David Blanchard

Jacob W. French

Joseph Faxon

S. L. Bass

Henry B. Alden

Samuel Hollis

James Maguire

Benjamin Holmes

Roxbury.

Mark P. Sweat

Ralph Haskins

Joseph Curtis

Wm. Keith

Samuel Pendergrast

Francis Brinley

Thomas W. Tucker

Benj. P. Williams

Abner Child

Samuel Langley

John Heath.

Sharon.

Gilbert Lathrop

William H. Gay

Samuel Pettee

Stoughton.

Martin Wales

Jesse Pierce

Jabez Talbot

Cyrus Porter

Weymouth.

John Dyer, Jr.

Lemuel Humphrey

Leonard Tirrell

Wrentham.

Robert Blake

David Shephard

Harvey Whiting

BRISTOL.

Easton.

Nathan Willis

Tisdale Godfrey

Edward W. Morse

Fairhaven.

Noah Stoddard

LIST OF DELEGATES.

31

<i>New Bedford.</i>	<i>Taunton.</i>
Thomas Nickerson	Benj. Caswell
George W. Maker	Ichabod Lincoln
John Bailey	George Walker
Paul Barney	Daniel Brewer
John Burrage	John Williams
Isaac Case	Joseph Wiltbour
James D. Thompson	<i>Fall River.</i>
Wm. H. Stowell	Micah H. Ruggles
Rodney French	Brayton Slade
<i>Norton.</i>	Samuel Chase
C. Leonard	Jervis Shove
John Crane	<i>Westport.</i>
<i>Swansey.</i>	Abner B. Gifford
Thomas Warner.	

PLYMOUTH.

<i>Abington.</i>	George Russell
Micah Pool	<i>Marshfield.</i>
James Bates	Elijah Ames
<i>Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Middleborough.</i>
Nathan Lazell	E. T. Soule
Morton Eddy	Otis Soule
Samuel Leonard	Caleb Alden
Holmes Sprague	Geo. W. Wood
Jos. A. Hyde	W. S. Eddy
<i>East Bridgewater.</i>	<i>North Bridgewater.</i>
Christopher Bates	Thomas Gurney
<i>Halifax.</i>	Elbridge H. Packard
Beth Alden	Samuel Breck
<i>Hanover.</i>	<i>Scituate.</i>
Lebbeus Stockbridge	Cushing O. Briggs
<i>Hanson.</i>	Lemuel Turner
Joshua Smith	Samuel Waterman, jr.
<i>Hingham.</i>	James Curtis
Daniel Bassett	John B. Turner
<i>Kingston.</i>	

BARNSTABLE.

<i>Barnstable.</i>	<i>Sandwich.</i>
Benjamin Hallett	Josiah Gifford
George Lovell	Levi Gifford

RECAPITULATION.

	Towns.	Delegates
Suffolk,	2	91
Essex,	5	34
Middlesex,	27	111
Worcester,	16	33
Hampshire,	2	2
Hampden,	2	3
Franklin,	1	2
Berkshire,	1	1
Norfolk,	19	80
Bristol,	10	31
Plymouth,	14	27
Barnstable,	2	4
	<hr/> 101	<hr/> 419

HONORARY MEMBERS, .

WHO TOOK SEATS IN THE CONVENTION.

From Connecticut—Myron Holley of Hartford, Horace Cowles of Farmington, T. C. Hayward of Ashford.

Vermont—Hon Lebbeus Egerton, Lieut Governor of Vermont; Owen Spalding of Ludlow.

Massachusetts—Rev Moses Thatcher of Wrentham, Josiah Caldwell of Ipswich, Fisher A Kingsbury of Weymouth, Abner Gay of Chelsea, Jacob Robinson, jun. of Lexington, Edward Mansfield of South Reading, Abram Wellington of Waltham—13.

A P P E N D I X.

ADDRESS

TO THE ANTIMASONIC AND REPUBLICAN CITIZENS OF NORFOLK COUNTY AND OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—At a meeting of Antimasonic Republican Delegates to a Convention for the County of Norfolk, held in Dedham, the 20th of October, consisting of seventy-two Delegates from nineteen towns, it was unanimously

Resolved, That we most heartily concur in the nomination, by a State Convention embracing 420 Delegates from the *people*, of our fellow-citizen,

HON. JOHN BAILEY,

for Governor of this Commonwealth; because we have long known Mr Bailey, have often tried him in high and responsible offices, and always found him honest, capable, industrious and fearless, ever a friend to the constitution and to the people, and a true *republican* in principle and practice.

Resolved, That we believe Mr Bailey is peculiarly fitted to discharge the duties of Governor of this State, for twelve reasons:

1. *Because* he is a highly educated man, without having been bred a lawyer, and therefore has not had his views narrowed down by a profession, which, in modern times, is almost always found arrayed on the side of wealth and aristocracy, against the people—

2. *Because* he is neither a rich man nor a poor man, nor surrounded and controlled by aristocratic influences; but independent in circumstances, plain and simple in his habits, accessible to all his fellow citizens, as an equal, and not as a *graciously condescending superior*; working with his own hands upon his own soil, and not like many men, making great professions of love to the people, while their practice shows that they love them the *most*, the *nearer* it happens to be to an *election*.

3. *Because*, as an original republican, he was never committed to nullification doctrines, in any form, and has no connexion with the nullification of the present day; and therefore will not, as Governor

Davis and the leading *Whigs* are now obliged to do, in order to keep their party together, shake hands with the *nullifiers of the South*, and thus strengthen them in their ulterior designs to destroy the protective system, and enable any one State to dissolve the Union whenever a majority of that State pleases.

4. *Because* we view with alarm the very many indications that the Boston and Worcester aristocracy, under the name of *Whigs*, are not only consorting with the nullifiers of the south, but with the enemies of American Industry and domestic protection, as is exemplified in the striking fact, that in order to get votes for their party—no matter how, provided antimasonry is kept down—the most prominent Whig supporters of Mr John Davis, have recently nominated for a Senator of this Commonwealth, Mr HENRY LEE of Boston, who is known throughout this country and Europe, as the great champion of anti-tariff and free trade doctrines—the author of the famous Boston anti-tariff Report, and the NULLIFICATION CANDIDATE of South Carolina for the Vice Presidency!

5. *Because* JOHN BAILEY is a firm and consistent friend of American industry, for which he gave his votes in Congress in 1824, when John Davis and his party were opposing the tariff; and therefore, while we know that Mr Bailey will always look at the greatest good of the greatest number, we know too, that he will never consent to sacrifice the interests of the farmer, the mechanic and the working-man, to great corporations and money monopolies, as has been done by the party who succeeded in forcing Mr Davis into the Governor's chair, to the exclusion of John Quincy Adams, and against the will of the people, as declared by a vote of nearly thirteen thousand majority against him.

6. *Because* John Davis, though a respectable and well educated man, a sound lawyer, and we believe a man of honest intentions, is nevertheless, from the manner by which he was forced into office, so completely under the control of the *ultra aristocracy*, the *ultra federalism*, and the *ultra FREEMASONRY* of Boston and Worcester—against which John Quincy Adams faithfully warned the people, in his able address to them last winter—that he could not, if he would, act for the people and with the people—whereas JOHN BAILEY is equally free from the influences of aristocracy and freemasonry, and if elected, as Governor, must look for support to the body of the people—the middle interest, the yeomanry of the country, and not to the combined wealth of great cities and towns.

7. *Because*, as farmers, mechanics and workingmen, while we respect highly talented and distinguished men, and rejoice to do them honor whenever we find them acting honestly as friends of the PEOPLE, and not as the instruments of aristocracy and freemasonry—we nevertheless are pained to see the tendency in this country of distinguished men to combine with wealth and aristocracy against the popular will, and are tired of seeing elected to office men of great pretensions, who are no sooner put in power than they forget who made them, and use their talents, not to promote the greatest good of the greatest number, but the interest and self-importance of the fewest possible number, which is themselves.

8. *Because*, we have long tried Mr Bailey in the Legislature and in Congress—and we have always found him carefully looking after the interests of the people; and as a proof of his honesty and disinterestedness, when we want him for Governor, we find him at home, among us, as one of the people, qualified by long experience in State and Na-

tional affairs, to discharge with ability the duties of the office of Chief Magistrate of this Commonwealth.

9. *Because* we believe that the people of this Commonwealth, when electing State Officers, ought to bear in mind their qualifications to do the State service, as well as their opinions on national questions; and because we think that Mr Davis, the present Governor, has brought too much of national party politics into our State legislation, and means to pursue that course, as is evident from the address of the Whig State Committee, which dwells wholly on national politics, and neglects State affairs; Mr Davis, also, having been entirely connected with national party politics, and but little acquainted with the domestic concerns and interests of the State, he never having held any civil office in the State, previous to his being elected Governor by the Legislature: whereas Mr Bailey has for five years been a member of the State Senate or House of Representatives, and eight years a member of Congress, and for the past five years, a constant resident in the Commonwealth.

10. We also prefer Mr Bailey, because we are confident he is not like Mr Davis, in favor of appointing to office men who have sworn and adhere to their allegiance to a secret government, which binds them to obey all the signs and summons, given under that government, and to extricate its subjects from difficulty, whether they be right or wrong—and because, the present minority Governor, in utter disregard of the known opinions of a large majority of the people of Norfolk, has appointed to the important office of SHERIFF, an ADHERING MASON, who as a mason is under sworn obligations to all brother masons, to apprise them of approaching danger, to keep their secrets without exception, to fly to their relief, and to extricate them from difficulty, right or wrong!!

11. And furthermore we prefer Mr Bailey to every other candidate for the office of Governor, because, while we are firmly opposed to the manner in which General Jackson has administered the general government, and regard his Protest as utterly anti-republican in its doctrines, we nevertheless approve of his firmness in resisting the nullification of the south, and regret to see the Whig party, so called, acting in concert with, and endeavoring to conciliate the most notorious of the nullifiers; while the Union party in South Carolina, who are struggling against the attempt of the nullifiers to impose upon them an *odious test oath*—which, like the oaths of masonry, destroys the oath of paramount allegiance to the United States—are left in a hopeless minority, without one word of sympathy from those men who, in 1832, told antimasons they must give up antimasonry in order to help the national republicans put down the very self-same nullifiers, with whom THEY are now united, in a fraternal embrace, as capital Whigs!!

12. And lastly, while we strongly condemn *Jacksonism* “proper” in the nation, we see no hope of checking it by *modern Whigism* the fate of which as a National party under, its present Masonic organization, is already sealed past redemption, by the results of the recent elections in New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Georgia and some of the western states, the Whigs having lost three United States Senators already, and gained none, and Jacksonism having lost little or nothing, but increased especially in every state where a portion, or the whole of the Antimasonic party, have been *clamored* out of their distinct organization, into an union with the Whigs. Therefore we believe that the only hope of Massachusetts ever regaining her lost influence in the nation and restoring the Constitution and the Laws, to their entire supremacy, must be found, if any where, in the sound democracy of Antimasonry; and we

earnestly exhort the Antimasons of this Commonwealth; not to swerve for a moment from their purpose,—not to endanger their republican principles by an union with the combined aristocracy and Freemasonry that govern the Whig party in this state, nor to lose their identity in any other party name, or by adopting any other party principles, but to "*Persevere.*"

Resolved, That as JOHN BAILEY is our immediate fellow citizen, having been born and bred and lived among us, many of whom have known him from his youth—it is to be expected that we should best be able to answer the question, which is sometimes asked by those not well acquainted with our State politics—"Who is John Bailey?" A question, in relation to Governor Davis, which was repeatedly asked last year, and might well have been asked, because Mr Davis had passed his life in a lawyer's office, in the Courts, and in Congress, and had mixed but very little with the people, in any capacity.

Resolved, Therefore, that Joseph Morton of Milton, Joseph Curtis of Roxbury, Fisher Kingsbury of Weymouth, Samuel L. Bass of Randolph, William H. Mann of Dedham, Edward Foster of Dorchester, Christopher Slocum of Medway, Edward Glover of Quincy, William Cowell of Wrentham and Milton M. Fisher of Franklin, be a Committee, to present to the people of this Commonwealth, a sketch of the public services of John Bailey, to be published in connexion with these resolves, as additional reasons for preferring Mr Bailey over every other candidate that has been named for the office of Governor.

"WHO IS JOHN BAILEY?"

The committee appointed by a large Convention of Antimasonic Republicans of Norfolk county, to answer the question—"Who is John Bailey," respectfully present the following sketch of facts known to most of the citizens in the county, and to very many in the Commonwealth.

When a citizen is presented as a candidate for office, his friends wish him to be found honest, capable, and faithful to the Constitution; one of whom but little can be said, with truth, that is unfavorable, and much that is favorable, and that will commend him to the approbation of his fellow citizens.

JOHN BAILEY is a citizen, eminently of this description; in his private character purely moral, upright, religiously conscientious and above reproach—and in his public services, industrious, intelligent, unassuming, and ever faithful to his constituents and to the best interests of the people.

Mr Bailey was born in the town of Canton, in Norfolk county, where he remained on his father's farm, engaged in the ordinary occupations of the industrious sons of industrious farmers, till the age of seventeen. He was fond of study at an early age, and was enabled by the kindness and encouragement of his instructors, to prepare himself for College, which he entered the year 1803, at Providence Rhode Island, an education at that College being then less expensive, and in many other respects more favorable for a young man who had to make his own way in the world, than at the principal University then existing in his native state. His vacations were spent in school keeping to assist him in meeting the expenses of his education, and in 1807 he graduated, having the second honor in his class assigned him at Commencement.

Previous to this, he had evinced a strong predilection for the republican doctrines of the Jefferson school of politics, and as early as

1804, though then a minor, and without a vote, he was not inactive in the re-election of Mr Jefferson to the Presidency, to promote which he wrote and published several essays in the newspapers.

In October, 1807, the King of Great Britain made a proclamation relative to allegiance and impressment, calling upon all the natural born citizens of Great Britain, whether naturalized or not, to return to their allegiance, and denying the right of *expatriation*. This proclamation, which laid the foundation of the series of oppressions and outrages upon the American flag, that compelled this country to assert her rights, by the war of 1812, attracted the immediate attention of Mr Bailey. Though then a young man, and but little known, he wrote and published a pamphlet against the arrogant assumptions of this proclamation, in vindication of "The Rights of a Government to the services of its citizens or subjects, who have emigrated beyond its territorial jurisdiction, examined with particular respect to recent claims and usages of the British Government." About a year after this publication, the same subject engaged the pen of the venerable JOHN ADAMS, who treated it as one peculiarly demanding the reprobation of the American people. We believe it is a fact which cannot be disputed, that the pamphlet of young Bailey was the first public vindication of the rights of the American people against that proclamation, which the elder Adams and other eminent statesmen, afterwards regarded as one of the most flagrant encroachments ever made upon our national sovereignty.

In 1808, Mr Bailey was employed as the preceptor of Hallowell Academy, in Maine, until he was appointed an instructor in the University at Providence, the duties of which highly responsible station he discharged with unequalled abilities in the departments of learning entrusted to his care, for six years. There are many of the young men of Massachusetts, educated at Brown University, who can bear a grateful testimony to the fidelity and great ability with which Mr Bailey devoted himself to the instruction and improvement of the classes under his care, and particularly in all that related to the geography, resources and general statistics of the country. Nor were his pursuits confined to the mere duties of an instructor. A portion of his time was devoted to the study of elementary law, for which purpose he entered his name in the office of Hon. James Burrill, jun. one of the most eminent lawyers and statesmen, that New England has ever produced—not, however, with any intention of ever pursuing that profession, but in order to imbue his mind with the fundamental principles of law and civil government.

In connexion with his occupation for six years, as an Instructor in Brown University, we have conclusive testimony of his worth furnished in an address by his fellow citizens to the people of Norfolk district, published in 1824, when Mr. Bailey was a candidate for Congress. That address contains the following extract of a letter written by the learned and venerable President of Brown University, Dr. Messer, to an eminent citizen of Massachusetts, (Judge Story,) dated in 1817, nearly three years after Mr. Bailey had resigned his situation in the University. The extract is as follows:

" You will permit me to state, that during ten years he was a member of this Institution, four as a pupil, and six as a Tutor; that no spot on his moral character was ever seen; that one of our best scholars, he was also one of our best Tutors; that his application is intense, his learning profound, and his ability equal to the investigation of almost any subject; and that his knowledge of facts, and especially such as relate to politics, and to political men, is remarkably accurate and extensive, and his faithfulness in the discharge of

official duty remarkably inflexible and punctilious. I can, therefore, with cheerfulness, and without reserve, recommend him to the Government, when appointing distinguished and confidential agents."

The address of 1824, from which the above is quoted, adds :

"In confirmation of this extract, if confirmation were necessary, it might be stated, that after having had his salary in the University repeatedly increased, till it was more than had ever before been given to one in his station, he resigned his office in 1813. A committee of the government solicited his continuance, and offered a further increase ; and he continued. In 1814 he again resigned ; another committee inquired of him if a further increase would induce him to remain ; to which he replied, none which the government would probably think it proper to make. He then returned to his home."

It is also stated in the same public address, that after Mr. Bailey resumed his residence in his native town of Canton, in 1814, he was elected the May following a Representative from that town to the Legislature of this Commonwealth. Although the old parties of federalist and republican were then distinctly marked, and Mr. Bailey was identified with the latter, yet so acceptable were his services, that in the years 1816 and 1817, he was *unanimously* re-elected to the Legislature. "In 1816 he was commissioned as a magistrate of his county, and was appointed by the Republican members of the Legislature a member of the Republican Central Committee of the State, composed of five individuals, Maine then forming a part of the Commonwealth."

As Chairman of a Committee of Republican members of the Legislature in 1816, Mr. Bailey wrote the address to the people of Massachusetts, preparatory to the election of Members of Congress, which document we find thus noticed in the Washington National Intelligencer of November 11, 1816, now the leading Whig paper in the United States.

"*Sound Politics.* The following extract from the annual address to the Electors of Massachusetts by a Committee appointed for the purpose at a meeting of the Republican members of the Legislature, contains a forcible appeal to the good sense of those who will open their eyes to demonstration. In no part of the Union are sounder Republicans to be found than in the now federal state of Massachusetts."

In the fall of 1817, Mr. Bailey, then a member of the Legislature, was appointed to a principal station in the State Department at Washington, by Mr. Adams then Secretary of State, in which capacity Mr. B. continued for six years. The manner in which he discharged this delicate and important public trust, which for so long a period brought his mind in direct contact with all the details of public negotiations, domestic legislation and the enlarged interests of the country, will be best shown by another extract from the Norfolk address of 1824.

"On resigning his employment in the Department of State, he received the following unsolicited letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, dated Oct. 23, 1823.

"In accepting your resignation of the office you have held in this Department, I cannot forbear to assure you of the regret with which I feel the loss that the public will sustain by your removal—a regret only compensated by the satisfaction which I derive from the knowledge, that the nation will still possess the benefit of your zeal and talents, in another, and not less important branch of its Government.

"I avail myself of this occasion to offer you my free and candid acknowledgments for the assiduous and faithful assistance, which I have invariably received from you, in the performance of the duties devolving on this Department."

The immediate cause of Mr. Bailey's resigning his situation in the

Department of State, was the call of the people of his native county for his services in another and more prominent public capacity. As early as 1816, he had received several votes in the Convention of that year for nominating a candidate for Congress from Norfolk District. We again quote from the Address of 1824, which says—

“In a convention for nominating a candidate for Congress from Norfolk district, in the fall of 1818, though then at Washington, he received on the first ballot the highest number of votes; but parties in the district being then nearly equally divided, it was feared that his absence might affect a few votes, and thus give the election to his opponent; and his friends therefore united with the friends of another candidate.

In August 1823, a vacancy having occurred by the resignation of Gov. Eustis, an unusually full convention from every town in the district, nominated him for the eighteenth Congress, by a vote of about 34 to 12; and on the 8th of September, he was elected by the people; the votes being, for Bailey 994, Ames 567, Leland 126, all others 216.

The House of Representatives, however, at a time when the presidential question absorbed almost every other, declared the election void, on the ground that Mr. Bailey, at the time of his election, was not actually residing in the state; giving a definition of inhabitancy entirely contrary to the practice of this state, and it is believed, of every other state in the Union. Mr. Bailey returned to his home early in April, 1824.”

While Mr. Bailey was connected with the Department of State in 1820, Hon. Harrison Gray Otis published his celebrated “letters in defence of the Hartford Convention and the *people* of Massachusetts.” Mr. B. believing that the best way to defend the *people* of Massachusetts was to attach that unfortunate and ill advised political measure, where it belonged, to the leaders, wrote a series of numbers in the National Intelligencer, in reply to Mr. Otis, which, with those who did not approve of that Convention, were regarded as triumphant reply to the arguments of its great champion.

It is here worthy of remark, that Mr. Bailey, at a very early period and before the Tariff of 1816, had brought his mind to the conclusion, that the protection of our manufactures by government, was called for by the interests of the whole country, and especially of New England. He had, at that period, advocated this policy in the public prints, and during the four months he was in Congress, in 1823-4, previous to his seat being declared vacated by a party vote; he gave all the essential details of the Tariff law of 1824 his support. The final vote on the bill was taken after he had left his seat, when eleven members from Massachusetts voted against the Tariff, and one, (Mr. Dwight of Berkshire) for it. In 1827, the Editor of the Rhode Island American, a Tariff paper, alluded to this fact so honorable to the sagacity and independence of Mr. Dwight; upon which Mr. Bailey, then in Congress, addressed a note to the Editor, which was published in the Rhode Island American, stating that if he had continued a member of the House in 1824, his vote would have been added to Mr. Dwight's in favor of the Tariff of that year.

Suffice it to add on this point, that the later and the almost unanimous opinion of our citizens, in favor of domestic protection, is a striking evidence of the soundness and firmness of Mr. Bailey's then extremely unpopular course on this great national question. It is now admitted every where, that New England must have suffered most essentially in her population her prosperity, and general resources, if domestic industry had not been cherished among us.

After his return to his native town in 1824, Mr. Bailey was again put in nomination for Congress by his fellow citizens of Norfolk, and in the third trial, against an unprecedentedly bitter party opposition

he was elected by a majority of more than 400. This majority continued to increase at every succeeding trial for the eight successive years Mr. Bailey continued a member of Congress, until, at last, his election was carried nearly unanimously.

After holding the office of member of Congress for eight years and discharging its high duties with the same zeal, industry, intelligence, and regard for the people, that have ever marked his political course. Mr. Bailey declined a reelection chosen in 1830, on the republican principle of in office, and General H. A. S. Dearborn was his successor.

The estimation in which his fellow citizens held the public services of Mr. Bailey, is apparent from the fact that in April 1831 one month after leaving Congress he was elected a State Senator from Norfolk County, and that too, on the Antimasonic ticket, which the overbearing influence of Freemasonry at that time, contrived to render as odious as possible, in the eyes of the people. Still, the Antimasonry of Mr. Bailey, which he had adopted from the honest and conscientious convictions that have uniformly led him to correct conclusions, did not counteract his popularity, so as to prevent his election; though, when he espoused that cause he could have anticipated nothing but defeat and obloquy. In the fall of 1831, Freemasonry rallied with sufficient force in Norfolk, by combining the National Republican and Jackson votes against the Antimasonic ticket, to defeat the reelection of Mr. Bailey to the Senate. The same Masonic result was effected by a conference and coalition between the National Republican and Jackson parties in 1832; but in 1833, Antimasonry was stronger than her allied opponents, and Mr. Bailey was again elected by the people. It is a most honorable fact in the political history of Mr. Bailey, that he has been five times elected to the State Legislature, and five times to Congress, having served the people THIRTEEN YEARS as a National and State Legislator, (besides six years of public employment in the Department of State,) and yet he never was rejected by the people, when a candidate, until he opposed Freemasonry! With all the secret power of that proscriptive institution against him, he has been twice elected by the people, and but twice rejected, when a candidate. His dignified, affable and upright course in the Senate, though it brought him in collision with all the prejudices of Freemasonry, carried his personal influence through that body unimpaired. The ability, moderation and firmness, (offending none, and yet yielding no right and no principle,) with which he sustained in the last Senate, the measures for an investigation into Freemasonry, and for a law to suppress Masonic oaths and blasphemy, evince the powers and self possession of his mind, as a cool debater, a sound reasoner, and an affable opponent. In no situation could an individual have better exemplified those qualities of patient inquiry, candid concession to an opponent, entire moderation, and inflexible firmness in principle, which are such essential requisites in the Chief Magistrate of a great Commonwealth. The able report, which was the result of that Investigation, and which no one has yet dared to call in question in a single item of fact, bears ample testimony of the research and thorough examination, which Mr. Bailey ever gives to all subjects that come before him, demanding a careful and candid consideration.

We have now answered the question, "Who is John Bailey?" In doing this, and while we greatly prefer him to all other candidates for Governor, we mean not to disparage any one. It is in fact, a matter of honest pride to every son of Massachusetts, that a state divided into four parties, can, nevertheless, present for candidates for the Chief Magistracy four men of moral worth and sound intelli-

gence, such men as Bailey, Allen, Morton and Davis. Let us not dishonor ourselves and our State, by seeking to undervalue the reputation and character of our distinguished fellow citizens. Mr Bailey is presented as the Antimasonic Republican candidate. He is a Republican and an Antimason, and being sounder in principle and in all respects as well qualified, and in very many respects better qualified than the present incumbent; the popular measures and the uniform preference of the equal rights of the people over the usurpation of aristocracy and Freemasonry, which would find favor under his administration, furnish paramount arguments with every true friend of the "Supremacy of the laws," for giving his vote to John Bailey, in preference to any other candidate.

These considerations should stir up every Antimason in the State, and especially in Norfolk, to do his duty, with redoubled zeal. Norfolk gave an excellent Governor to the Commonwealth in 1823. If the *people* understand their true interests, and love to govern *themselves* better than they do to be flattered and governed by the aristocracy of wealth and of Freemasonry, Norfolk will give to the Commonwealth another and an equally popular Chief Magistrate, in 1835.

To accomplish this object, the tickets for Antimasonic Republican Senators must be carried, as they easily can be, by vigorous exertions in every county that is antimasonic and republican. The party now holding every office in the Commonwealth in their gift, are in a minority of 13,000, and therefore upon sound republican principles, 25,000 ought not to govern 38,000.

Rally then, to the polls, fellow-citizens of the Commonwealth. Never have you had so fair a prospect of electing a Governor of your own choice, as at this moment, if every antimasonic republican will but do his duty, regardless of the false and unfounded pretences, the threats or the flattery which are resorted to by the allied powers of freemasonry and the mis-called whigism of this State, to deter him from the inflexible performance of that duty, at the approaching election. By supporting Mr. Bailey and such sound and capable men as will give their votes for him, and for the cause of republican antimasonry in the Legislature, you endanger no national principle or measure, connected with the prosperity of your country, and you insure the destruction of a most dangerous secret power, which to this day continues to rule the State and make the men it places in office the instruments of its midnight cabals and oath-bound conspiracies against the equal rights of the people. Events that have already transpired, demonstrate that the antimasons of Massachusetts can do nothing to change the course of public measures in the nation, by now abandoning their own distinct organization, and uniting with the ruling minority party in the State, who have never failed, and never will fail, when in power, to proscribe antimasons, to sustain freemasonry, and treat with scorn and contempt those whom they have made subservient to their party purposes. Political antimasonry alone has humbled the arrogance of freemasonry, and that alone can compel that noxious and anti-republican institution not only to admit that it ought to die and to feign dead, but to expire in earnest, and become utterly extinct among us. Republican Norfolk, in an especial manner, has enjoyed the proud distinction of having an antimasonic Representative in Congress, and antimasonic Senators in the Legislature. She may yet have an antimasonic Governor, and to that end let not a single vote be lost to so glorious a cause, in the County or in the Commonwealth.

JOSEPH MORTON, Milton.

JOSEPH CURTIS, Roxbury.

FISHER A. KINGSBURY, Weymouth.

SAMUEL L. BASS, Randolph.

WILLIAM H. MANN, Dedham.

EDWARD FOSTER, Dorchester.

CHRISTOPHER SLOCUM, Medway.

EDWARD GLOVER, Quincy.

WILLIAM COWELL, Wrentham.

MILTON M. FISHER, Franklin.

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