

EX LIBRIS

BANCROFT LIBRARY

19th Rehat

~~Rehat~~

18th annual
meeting

XVI.—THE ANTIMASONIC PARTY: A STUDY OF POLITICAL ANTI-MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1827-1840.

By CHARLES McCARTHY, Ph. D.,

Sometime Fellow in History in the University of Wisconsin.

[The Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association was awarded to the author for this monograph.]

THE ANTIMASONIC PARTY.

By CHARLES MCCARTHY.

PREFACE.

The writer was first attracted to the subject of the Antimasonic party through a study which he made of the Erie Canal in connection with a class conducted by Prof. F. J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin. Since that time he has carried on the investigation wherever documents on the subject were to be found. These have been of such a miscellaneous character as to require some description.

Material.—As the party I am about to consider had no Congressional career, the printed debates, etc., give us no inkling of its principles and progress. The journals of the various State legislatures, too, furnish us with but the slightest information, as the legislative debates are not printed except in the newspapers. Although a few books and pamphlets have been written in which matter relating to the movement can be found, yet they have treated the question almost wholly from the social rather than the political aspect and therefore give the coloring and not the substance. Nevertheless, there are a few sources of this nature which are particularly useful, such as Weed's Autobiography, Seward's Autobiography, and Hammond's Political History of New York.

The newspapers, then, form the main contemporaneous sources of information. But as is true also in our own day this source must be used with the greatest caution. In dealing with such material, the political bias of every newspaper must be thoroughly examined. This I have tried to do, and I have also used where possible several newspapers of different political affiliations in order to verify statements.

As newspapers are ephemeral and difficult of access, I have often quoted at considerable length from them. In this way I have tried to illustrate the movement and show it in its true color. Considering the material, I believe this to be a more

truthful method than generalization because it gives the reader a chance to judge for himself as to the weight of a statement. Wherever possible I have used pamphlet material, almanacs, broadsides, and statements of old men who lived in the times described, in order to verify my coloring and to give the right setting. I have also visited personally nearly all the great centers of Antimasonic enthusiasm in order to examine the present-day feeling, the racial characteristics, and the economic and religious conditions of these sections.

Method.—I have tried to examine where possible into the economic, social, religious, and sectional basis of the movement. It is popular in making studies of these conditions to map the whole matter and reduce it to estimates, diagrams, and statistics. While the truth and accuracy of a great deal of this work is unquestioned, it is not entirely satisfactory as such a method does not admit of the elements of custom, prejudice and irrational impulse or enthusiasm. Such a method describes but poorly the excitement, the bitterness, the personal element, and the “hurrah” strength, which all go to make up any political movement. Such a method leads to dogmatic conclusions. It would be easy also to generalize and make my narrative clear cut, but it would not tell the whole truth. Movements like this do not start from one or two causes. The beginnings are often obscure and ill defined. The issues partake of a like nature. In fact, in order truthfully to follow the trend of such a movement we must diligently show the changes in principles from time to time and in different sections, and give a picture of the wavering, halting, confused nature of its growth. I have preferred this method for its truthfulness even at the risk of sometimes “not seeing the forest for the trees.”

I have divided my subject into five main parts, as follows:

1. The movement in New York.
2. The movement in Pennsylvania.
3. The movement in all other States briefly considered.
4. The movement in national politics.
5. A short analysis of the fundamentals of the movement.

My thanks are due to Prof. J. F. Jameson, of the University of Chicago, and Prof. F. J. Turner and Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Wisconsin, for helpful suggestions.

MADISON, WIS., *August, 1902.*

INTRODUCTION.

The period in the history of the United States covering the years between the administrations of John Quincy Adams and William Henry Harrison has received much attention from American historians. It is a period full of interesting and striking events. The struggle over the charter of the United States Bank, the great money crisis, the personality and political methods of Andrew Jackson, the social and economic conditions of the time, invite attention and study.

In spite of the great light thrown by historical research upon the period, it is nevertheless true that certain phases of the movements of the time have received but scant attention; and this neglect has tended to impair the value of research upon correlated matter. We have had, for instance, a great deal of discussion upon the origin of the national convention, and yet the fact does not seem to have struck the investigators that the party which made that political discovery first prominent deserves to be studied. It is strange, at least, that such an interesting movement as the Antimasonic party—a movement with which some of the greatest political leaders in the history of our country have been connected—should have escaped the attention of scholars. True, the Morgan mystery has received its share of attention, and historians have put it down as the main cause of this peculiar political organization; in fact, it is the practice of even profound historians to call the Antimasonic party merely an outgrowth of the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan. Americans are prone to create a political party out of anything, but a moment's reflection should convince us that a party having for its leaders men like Thurlow Weed and Thaddeus Stevens must have had its basis in underlying causes and must have been founded on stronger reasons than those which present themselves at a casual glance. A review of the political situation at the beginning of the period we have been considering reveals to us soil well prepared for political strife.

It has often been said that the period previous to the election of 1824 was an "era of good feeling." A cursory

glance, however, shows the same divisions as existed previously still existing. Although all factions had been apparently swept into the Democratic ranks, signs were not lacking that the party was not so thoroughly united as would appear at first sight. The Federalists, although dead as a national party, still kept up a feeble organization in many States. The radical Democrats had never succeeded fully in getting a firm foothold in New England or among the more conservative classes in many other sections. There was still enough dread of Jacobinism in the North to keep many aristocrats from joining with the Jeffersonian party.

It was but natural also that in a party so completely victorious, factions should have arisen. The reason for this is not hard to see—the loaves and fishes could not be divided well among so many. Men were discontented because they received so little for their services. Sections were dissatisfied because they gained so little from their loyal support. In the distribution of improvements and in the benefits of the tariff, commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing districts could not all gain alike. The West and the South and the East had all different social ideals. The rich and the poor classes could not agree entirely. Religious and nonreligious elements were as far apart as formerly. All of these differences were intensified by the social upheavals of this remarkable democratic period. The result of the election of 1824 showed plainly that these divisions existed, and the election of Adams intensified and sharply defined them.

In the State of New York, especially, differences had long existed over the Erie Canal question; and war between the supporters of the canal, championed by De Witt Clinton, and their opponents, the Bucktails, whose leader was Van Buren, had been carried on fiercely till 1826 when Clinton joined hands with his enemies^a and left the canal supporters without a leader and practically unorganized. Such was the political condition of New York when the western part was startled by the disappearance of William Morgan. It will be readily seen that this incident happened at just the right time and place to stir up the excitement which, ably led and skillfully directed, soon developed into a sturdy young political party.

^a See remarkable letter in Weed's Autobiography, I, p. 376. See also Albany Evening Journal, Oct. 23, 1823.

CHAPTER I.—THE MORGAN INCIDENT AND THE BIRTH OF THE MOVEMENT.

The mysterious abduction of William Morgan and the excitement which followed it has formed one of the most singular and interesting pages in American history. Contemporary literature and modern research for the curious and unusual has led to an immense amount of speculation as well as to heated argument and pamphlet controversy between the Masons and their opponents as to the cause and manner of Morgan's disappearance. But to the student of political Antimasonry who strives to relate the political effects of the incident, and not to delve into the question itself, the Morgan episode is merely incidental. With this fact in mind, and feeling assured that this phase of the matter has been sufficiently discussed, the investigator may give the Morgan incident but the passing notice it deserves as the immediate occasion of the political movement which is the subject of this paper.

William Morgan was an itinerant character who had eventually settled in Batavia, N. Y. He had been a Freemason, but having become dissatisfied with the order, he resolved to expose its secrets. When this became known, he and his associates in business were subjected to a series of petty annoyances which culminated finally in his abduction in September, 1826. The remarkable trial of his alleged abductors elicited the greatest interest, not only throughout New York but throughout the Union.

The startling reports which were circulated, together with the attitude of the Masons, soon worked the community into a high pitch of excitement. Rumors that jury and judges were under Masonic influence, and that the legislature too would do nothing of practical use toward bringing the offenders to justice, quickly brought about the belief in that locality that Masonry was incompatible with citizenship or Christian character and must be abolished. The newspaper controver-

sies, the heated arguments, the stubbornness and aggressiveness of the Masons, the church condemnations of Masonry, the incipient riots, the charges and counter charges, together with the political conditions of the times, led, in 1827, to the first steps in the organization of the remarkable political party that we are about to describe.^a In February, 1827, meetings were held at Batavia, Bethany, and Stafford, and about the same time at Wheatland, in Monroe County, and it was resolved to withhold support from "all such members of the Masonic fraternity as countenanced the outrages against Morgan."^b Soon afterwards other meetings were held at which resolutions were passed withholding support from all Freemasons. Efforts were made, with partial success, to keep the matter out of politics at the approaching town meetings; nevertheless the political organization spread rapidly in the general vicinity of Rochester. This city became the point from which, for some time to come, all Antimasonic movements, "whether of a judicial or legislative character, emanated."^c

The matter was now brought before the legislature. Francis Granger, already one of the leaders in the cause, brought forward a resolution petitioning the legislature to interpose its authority, as the courts of a single county were found inadequate for the emergency.^d The debates that followed show the degree of animosity which had been aroused, and also show clearly that Antimasonry was not only regarded by its opponents as a fanatical crusade, but that it was already suspected of having deep political significance—an excitement aroused and controlled for political purposes by shrewd and able leaders. On April 10, Mr. Root, the speaker,^e referred to the excitement as something of merely political origin, special investigation being unnecessary. He said in the course of the debate:

We read frequently of murders being perpetrated. Are committees of the legislature upon all occasions to be sent in search of the murderers? No,

^a For fuller accounts see Weed's *Autobiography*, I, especially; also Seward, *Autobiography*, I; and Bancroft's *Life of Seward*, I; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V.

^b Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 242.

^c Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 300. Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 378.

^d *Albany Argus (Democratic)*, April 5, 1827. See also Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 254.

^e Root was regarded as one of the most bitter opponents of the Antimasonic principles. See Adams, *Diary*, VIII, 441.

sir; but for the excitement, such a measure would not be thought of. Men are seeking to convert this subject into a political affair, and for the purpose of excluding Masons from public offices. Masons are represented as setting your courts and your laws at defiance, * * * the object is to keep Masons out of office, and those who raise the breeze, to occupy the places of honor and profit, * * * to keep up the excitement, a memorial has been drawn up and presented to the legislature, and the projector of it, I venture to say, is an emigrant from the neighborhood of Boston.^a

The resolution was defeated by a vote of nearly 3 to 1. Such an attitude could not but help the very cause which it tried to defeat, and the Jacksonian party, then in the majority, was thought by this action to have shown its complicity with the Masons. From the petty politics of the towns to the higher politics of the State government the Antimasonic proscriptions spread; and meetings were held everywhere, in which resolutions were passed advocating the support of purely Antimasonic candidates for the State legislature.^b

The Adams party, already weak, now showed signs of dropping out of the coming election in the so-called "infected districts," and the central corresponding committee of Genesee decided to abstain from all participation in the preparatory measures for the approaching election.^c This, and like actions, tended to drive the bitter and relentless nonmasonic opponents of Jackson into the only strong and vigorous party opposed to him, while the anti-Jackson Masons chose rather to support him than to go over to the hated opponents of Masonry.^d The amalgamation was helped along by the fact that Clinton and Jackson were both high Masons. Their recent political union was looked upon as another evidence of Masonic influence, and this fact stimulated the spirit of opposition to both.^e

Antimasonic nominating conventions were held all over western New York in October and September,^f and so suc-

^a Albany Argus, April 12, 1827.

^b Albany Argus, July 4, 1827.

^c Batavia Spirit of the Times, quoted in Albany Argus, July 28, 1827.

^d Weed, Autobiography, I, 301. The Antimasonic Jackson party, however, had a slight organization in the Twenty-ninth Congressional district this year. See Le Roy Gazette, Oct. 18, 1827.

^e Hammond, Political History of New York, II, pp. 380, 383. The account in Hammond is by Fred Whittlesey, one of the most active Antimasons. A great many of the Antimasonic leaders had been supporters of the Adams Administration. The "Morgan committee," consisting of Works, Ely, Bachus, Whittlesey, and Weed, were, with the exception of Whittlesey, supporters of the Administration. See Weed, Autobiography, I, 301.

^f Albany Argus, October 10, 11, 1827.

cessful were the candidates nominated that "the results of the election," says Whittlesey, "astonished all—even the Antimasons themselves—and opened the eyes of politicians to the growing power of the new party."^a The Jackson papers admitted that the Antimasons had succeeded in electing 15 members of the assembly.^b The Adams vote was comparatively light, and but 12 assemblymen of that party were elected.^c The Antimasons, however, did not elect a single senator even in the Eighth senatorial district—the hotbed of their cause. By a singular act of inconsistency and haste they had nominated a candidate in this district, but found after the nomination, when the campaign was in progress, that he was a Mason. The vote, however, was changed to the nominee of the "Bucktail" party in time to elect him by a large majority. In this manner they achieved a partial although unsatisfactory victory.^d

The results of the election encouraged the leaders to look forward hopefully to the year of the general election and the Presidential campaign.

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 382.

^b Chautauqua 2, Monroe 3, Otsego 2, Orleans 1, Seneca 2, Wayne 2, Yates 1. Albany Argus, November 23, 1827.

^c Albany Argus, November 23, 1827. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 283.

^d Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 384. This was characteristic of the Antimasonic party even in its later phase, and was often caused by the evident desire of the leaders to gain strength by sacrifice of principle or from the fact that in the outlying districts men of influence were nominated who were not avowed opponents of Masonry.

CHAPTER II.—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1828 IN NEW YORK.

When the year of the presidential contest opened it was found that the Antimasonic party had increased in strength, for many Masons had seceded from the order and had avowed their belief that Masonry was an evil. These renunciations, together with the acquittal of some of the accused and the refusal of the legislature to change the mode of selecting the grand juries, tended to confirm the idea that the Masonic institution was "dangerous in a free government, subversive of political equality, and hostile to the impartial administration of justice."^a

In February of this year a convention of seceding Masons met at Le Roy, Genesee County. It denounced Masonry, upheld Morgan's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and sent a memorial to Congress upon the use made of Fort Niagara by the Masons as a prison for Morgan.^b The publication of the proceedings of the convention in the papers throughout the country served as a most powerful stimulus to the new cause and made many converts. This meeting was followed by a convention at Le Roy on March 6, 1828. Twelve counties were represented, viz, Chautauqua, Orleans, Ontario, Erie, Monroe, Yates, Niagara, Livingstone, Seneca, Genesee, Wayne, and Tompkins. This convention urged the suppression of Masonry through the ballot box, and recommended the calling of a State convention at Utica in August following; it advocated the establishment of "free presses" and other means of spreading the "blessed spirit." At this convention Samuel Works, Henry Ely, Frederick F. Backus, Frederick Whittlesey, and Thurlow Weed were appointed

^aHammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 385.

^bWeed, *Autobiography* I, 256. See also McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 118.

a general central committee. These men, together with Timothy ^a Fitch and Bates Cook, remained upon the committee through the most important years of the Antimasonic party.

The rapid growth of the excitement, and the vigorous means adopted, alarmed the Jackson party, and on March 18 Lieutenant-Governor Pitcher urged the legislature to appoint a special commission to investigate the death of Morgan. On April 15 a bill for this purpose became a law, and Daniel Mosely of Onondaga was appointed commissioner. The motive of the sudden change in policy of the Democratic party is apparent. They had recognized the necessity of conciliating these Antimasonic elements before the approaching State and national elections, and their policy was altered accordingly. ^b

Both parties now vied with each other in their efforts to win over the Antimasons, and the Adams party rested their only hope of carrying the State upon an alliance with them. ^c The Adams men had an advantage in their candidate, for it was known that Jackson was a Mason while Adams was not. Furthermore, custom and precedence strengthened this tendency, for the district which was now the stronghold of Antimasonry had formerly been opposed to the Democrats. The basis of this opposition was economic, and, fortunately for the Antimasons, there was enough of the opposition spirit still left to rally a strong force to any banner, whatever its emblem, that would lead against the hated opponents of the canal. Adams combined in himself the elements necessary for such a union of forces.

The Jackson party, as soon as the sentiment in favor of Adams became apparent, sought to hold the "coalition" up to public opprobrium. They loudly proclaimed that "the friends of the Administration in the western part of the State have been unwearied in their exertions to connect the public feeling with the Presidential question; and that they have spared no pains to contribute to the public agitation with that in view. This purpose has been steadily pursued by several of

^a Proceedings of Le Roy convention, Albany Argus, May 17, 1828.

^b Weed, Autobiography, I, 258.

^c Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 386.

the Administration members of Congress from that section of the State, and by their agents and tools in these counties."^a

This effort was furthered by the attitude of the Masonic Adams men, as may be seen from the following extract from the Albany Daily Advertiser, the principal Adams paper of the time, referring to the Antimasons:

Their persecuting and unhallowed principle has extended itself to the Presidential contest, and the most disgraceful measures are now taken to make the Masonic question bear on that important election. It is said that one of the candidates for that office is a Mason, and therefore he must be opposed; that his opponent is not one, and therefore he must be supported. To this course, we enter our strong and solemn protest. We know not whether Mr. Adams be a Mason, and we care not. We are in favor of his re-election, but we must despise ourselves did we desire to gain a single vote through the Antimasonic excitement, and we look with contempt, and almost horror, on those who endeavor to further his election by such means.^b

It was the great aim of men like Weed to quiet such grumbling within the anti-Jackson ranks and to present a broad, united front to the enemy. Consistent Antimasonry was forgotten by these ambitious leaders and carried out only by the lesser but more fanatical politicians, such as John Crary and Solomon Southwick, who henceforth with their followers can be called the only true, consistent, and uncompromising Antimasons.

The papers of the day accused Weed of intriguing with Washington, and of receiving money to start various Antimasonic newspapers "in order to use the Morgan excitement for the benefit of the Administration party." Whatever may have been^c the truth of it all, Weed became Adams's political manager in western New York.^d From this time he was looked upon by his opponents as the leader of a conspiracy.^e He brought to his views some of the brightest men of the Adams party in the State, as well as some of the most able politicians the country has ever seen. These men saw that the Adams, or National Republican party, had outlived its usefulness and could not hope to compete upon anything like

^a Albany Argus, April 5, 1828.

^b Albany Advertiser, April 5, 1828. See also for similar opinions, Albany Argus, June 4, extracts from Buffalo Journal. (Adams.)

^c Geneva Palladium in Albany Argus, May 7, 1828.

^d Weed Autobiography, I, pp. 303, 307. Weed was at this time editor of the Antimasonic Enquirer at Rochester.

^e Albany Argus, April 9, 17, and July 14, 1828.

equal terms with the vigorous spirit of Jackson Democracy. In the words of one of these men, "The Administration party in this State is in the hands of men not able to steer it to a successful issue. * * * Were it not for the Antimasons, they would not have a loop to hang a hope on."^a

These men fought and worked first and foremost for Adams and against Jackson, and they held Antimasonry as merely an excitement that might be turned to their advantage. They made the mistake, however, of being overconfident of their power to lead the excite populace blindfold whither they wished. They encountered many strong, zealous, and often fanatical men who would not be led in this manner; and they never completely quelled their discontent. Antimasonry in consequence at no time presented a solid front to the enemy.

Signs of discontent with the leadership of men of the Weed stamp had already begun to appear. The Le Roy convention of July 4, 1828, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That whatever may be our predilections for the prominent candidates now before the public for the Presidency, and whatever part we as individuals may see fit to take in the national politics, we consider the same as entirely disconnected with Antimasonry, and of vastly paramount importance; that the convention would view with undissembled feelings of regret, any attempt to render the honest indignation now existing against the [Masonic] institution subservient to the views of any of the political parties of the day; that we do most unhesitatingly disclaim all intentions of promoting political principles.^b

Contrary to general expectations, however, the convention made no nomination for governor. This was looked upon as another of Weed's schemes, and it was asserted that he influenced the convention to give the Adams party a chance to nominate a suitable candidate to be indorsed by a later Antimasonic convention.^c

Weed made strenuous efforts to unite the parties, and traveled rapidly from place to place reconciling differences and seeking in every way to combine the elements of opposition. He was accused, indeed, by his opponents of bargaining even with Masons.^d In the light of subsequent events such a charge does not appear to have been without foundation. Weed's

^aA. H. Tracy to Weed, June 19, 1828. See Weed Autobiography, II, p. 321.

^bAlbany Argus, July 14, 1828.

^cIbid.

^dAlbany Argus, July 14, Aug. 4, 1828.

plans were realized in part. The Adams convention which was held at Utica on July 23 nominated Judge Smith Thompson for governor, and Francis Granger, the legislative champion of Antimasonry, for lieutenant-governor.^a But that arrangement did not satisfy the more bitter Antimasons, for Thompson, though not a Mason, was not a radical Antimason. To the enthusiastic opponents of Masonry the outcome of the convention seemed merely a trick to forestall their nominations and deprive them of a candidate of their own.^b They therefore resolved to hold a convention and to present a ticket, and in spite of the utmost efforts of Weed this convention, which met August 4, resolved "to disregard the two great political parties, that at this time distract this State and the Union, in the choice of candidates for office; and to nominate Antimasonic candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor."^c Mr. Granger, having not yet accepted the previous nomination, was nominated as candidate for governor and John Crary, of Washington County, for lieutenant-governor.^d

Mr. Granger was thus placed in a very difficult position. Both sides awaited his decision with anxiety. It was not until August 28 that, to the great indignation of the Antimasons, he declined their nomination. He had spent the time meanwhile negotiating with Crary. Crary signified his intention of declining, but intimated that Mr. Granger, as the nominee for governor, should publish his declination first. This he did, but "Honest John Crary" did not carry out his part of the agreement.^e

The radical Antimasons, not entirely disheartened, determined to have a candidate, and accordingly held another con-

^a Albany Argus, Aug. 4, 1828. Weed, Autobiography, I, pp. 302, 303. Weed says that the "delegates from the rural districts generally were for Mr. Granger" as governor. The reason he assigns for the nomination of Thompson was that the nomination of Granger, "avowedly to secure the Antimasonic vote, would offend so many National Republicans as to jeopardize not only the State, but the electoral ticket." Autobiography, I, pp. 302, 303, 304.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, p. 387. Albany Argus, Aug. 13, 20, 1828.

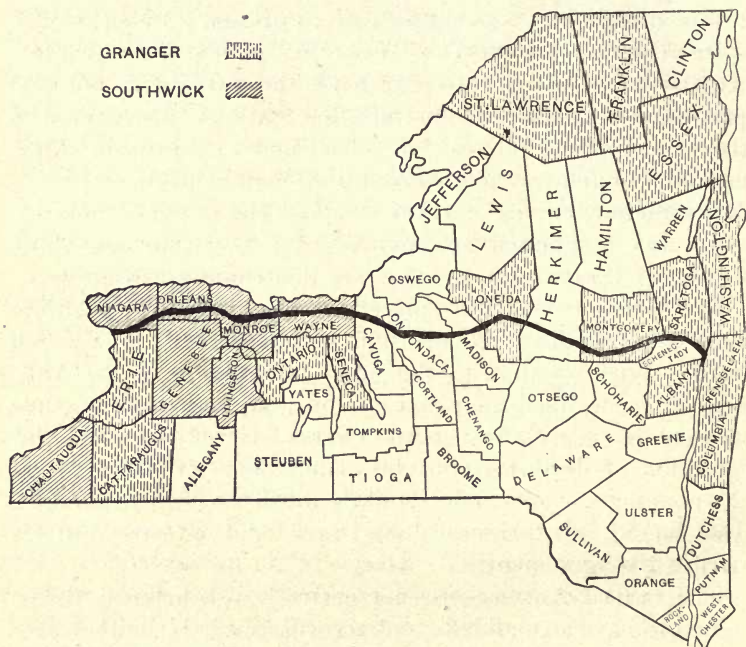
^c Albany Argus, Aug. 13, 20, 1828. See also Hammond, Political History of New York, II, p. 387.

^d Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 388. Albany Argus, August 11, 1828.

It was charged by the Jackson papers that Weed, who attended the deliberations, aided by John H. King, chairman of the Adams central committee, busily intrigued to prevent this nomination; but that a "large proportion of the convention saw the destruction of Antimasonry in the attempts of desperate political adventurers to connect it with the Presidential question. * * * They accordingly disappointed Messrs. Weed and King, and nominated their own candidates."

^e Hammond, Political History of New York, II, pp. 285, 286, 287.

vention at Le Roy on September 7.^a There they nominated a typical exponent of extreme Antimasonry, and at the same time a most picturesque figure in the history of New York politics—Solomon Southwick—author of Solomon Southwick's Solemn Warning, the editor of the National Observer, a renouncing Mason, a broken-down politician, who had been a candidate several times before, and incidentally had been accused of much corruption, and who was now an enthusiastic lecturer upon Antimasonry and upon the Bible.^b



Election for Governor of New York, 1828.

Weed, seeing his plans completely frustrated by this last nomination, denounced it and withdrew his support.^c He in turn was himself denounced by the Antimasons as a traitor. At a meeting of the Antimasons in Rochester, it was resolved "that the Antimasonic party in this county, has reason to fear that they have been betrayed by the men in whom they

^a Albany Argus, September 15, 1828. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 389.

^b Weed gives an interesting description of him in his Autobiography, I, pp. 43, 86. He represents him as full of quaint superstitions, often determining his actions by the toss of a coin. He was spoken of as a possible candidate as early as March, 1828, by the Antimasons. (Albany Argus, March 14, 1828.) He was henceforth with Crary, to stand at the head of the uncompromising Antimasons, bitterly opposed to Weed and his machinations.

^c Albany Argus, September 30, 1828.

have most trusted, and that the recent course pursued by Thurlow Weed, in giving support to the Administration in preference to genuine Antimasonry, calls loudly upon genuine Antimasons to come out and act independent of leaders."^a Followers of Weed retorted "that the character of Mr. Southwick was such as to discredit any party at whose head he might be placed."^b In view of this division, success for the State ticket was impossible.

In national affairs, however, the Antimasons were drawn to Adams through the influence of a letter in reply to an inquiry addressed to him on March 31, from Canandaigua, by one Oliver Heartwell, upon the subject of masonry. He replied, "I state that I am not, never was, and never shall be a Freemason." In spite of his request the letter was made public, and immediately became a subject for heated political discussion. The Jackson papers produced affidavits to show that a political bargain was made wherein the Antimasons promised support because of this assurance. Numerous sworn statements were produced on both sides of the question as to the exact wording of the letter. The whole matter resolved itself into a question of veracity between the Antimason, Heartwell, on one side, and one Cutler, who claimed to have a copy of the letter.^c The letter undoubtedly tended to unite the Antimasons of New York in support of Adams.^d

Meanwhile the excitement had increased as the election approached. Weed says:

The feelings of the Masons, exasperated by the existence of a political organization which made war upon the institution of Freemasonry, became intensely so by the renunciation of Masonry by ministers, elders, and deacons of the Presbyterian,^e Methodist, and Baptist churches. The conflict therefore became more embittered and relentless, personally, politically, socially, and ecclesiastically, than any other I have ever participated in, and more so, probably, than any ever known in our country. Thousands of Masons, innocent of any wrong and intending to remain neutral, were drawn into the conflict, when all were denounced who adhered to the institution. On the other hand, the Antimasons maintained that the abduction and murder of Morgan resulted legitimately from the obligations and teachings of the order.^f

^a Albany Argus, October 11, 1828.

^b Whittlesey's account in Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 390.

^c Albany Argus, August 6, 20, 1828. Adams was not at this time so radical an opponent of masonry as he soon became.

^d Weed, Autobiography, I, 302.

^e The term Presbyterian was often used to include Congregationalists at this time.

^f Weed, Autobiography, I, pp. 302, 303.

In the election the west gave a heavy vote for Adams; the counties of Orleans, Genesee, Niagara, Monroe, Livingstone, Ontario, Wayne, Erie, Chautauqua, including the "infected district," threw their votes for him.^a Eighteen electors were chosen by the people of the State favorable to Jackson and sixteen in favor of Adams. This made a total of twenty for Jackson, when there were added the two electors chosen by an electoral college acting for the State at large.^b Van Buren received 136,783 votes for governor; Thompson, 106,415; Southwick, 33,335.^c

In the senate the Antimasons were to have William H. Maynard, from the Fifth district, one of the most brilliant men the party ever produced—a man of remarkable talents, whose bright promise came to an untimely end in the great cholera scourge of 1832. Hiram F. Mather was elected from the Seventh and George H. Boughton and Moses Hayden from the Eighth district. These men, together with seventeen assemblymen, were to constitute the first real legislative party of the Antimasons.^d

The election of 1828 gave new life to the party. The end of that year showed Antimasonry advanced to the dignity of a recognized political unit, but an organization as yet without well-ordered machinery. The great leaders like Weed, who were to hold the reins in the future, were unsuccessful in wholly affiliating the movement with the Adams interests in the State, especially in the gubernatorial issue. The great difficulties of the future had all presented themselves. They arose from the fact that it was impossible to get perfect harmony between the extremists, who wished for nothing but the extinction of Masonry, and the machine politicians, who would manage this excitement to the interest of the old Adams party. Then, too, the Masonic Adams men, with their organ, the *Daily Advertiser*, formed an element which could not be mustered with complete success under the banner of Antimasonry, and in the eastern and southeastern counties these men held stolidly aloof from any combination with the Antimasons. Had all the supporters of Adams united on one

^a Albany Argus, November 18, 24, 27, 1828.

^b Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 289.

^c Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 290. Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 307. See also newspapers mentioned.

^d Albany Argus, November 18, 1828; Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 290.

gubernatorial ticket, had not the Antimasons voted for Southwick and Crary, it is very probable that Van Buren and Throop would have been defeated.^a

A considerable degree of success was achieved, however, in uniting these jarring elements to the support of Adams,^b although it is probable that the existence of the Antimasonic issue alienated from him a number of voters who would have been his supporters had not the cause been locally identified with the attack on Masonry.

^a Hammond, II, 289. Whittlesey, who was a Jackson man, does not hold this opinion. He tries to make out that Antimasonry sprang from both parties. It was to the interests of the Antimasons to show that the party had no political basis in any old party movement, but sprang spontaneously from both. There is a grain of truth in this, but anybody who examines the roll of leaders of the party, the fundamental causes, the locality, the attitude of the Jackson party, the future career of Antimasonry, can not but come to the conclusion that it had its basis politically in the old opponents of Jackson and of the Bucktails. See Whittlesey's account in Hammond's Political History of New York, II, 391.

^b Albany Argus, November 27, 1828; Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 391.

CHAPTER III.—REORGANIZATION AND GROWTH IN 1829.

The unexpected strength shown by the Antimasons under the most unfavorable circumstances in the election of 1828 encouraged them and discouraged their enemies. Thereafter the Adams party in New York was practically superseded by the new and vigorous organization, made up of the broken fragments of all parties. It was replaced, in fact, by an anti-Jackson party of discontent. Even the radical Antimasons to a large extent deserted their quixotic leader and joined the new movement. However, Southwick and Crary were not entirely mollified, but continued to prove a thorn in the side of Weed and his associates. Again and again Weed's plans were frustrated and his designs exposed to obloquy by these doughty warriors who saw but one issue, and that the true opposition to the Masonic institution.

The Democrats for a time did not cease to court the spirit which could be so dangerous in opposition. Governor Van Buren, astute politician, referred to the excitement in his January message to the legislature, as Whittlesey says, "In terms of moderate commendation, and deprecated the perversion of the feeling to selfish and sinister purposes. It was evidently intended to convey the idea that the excitement created by a great and local cause was worthy of the people among whom it found existence; but its direction to political objects was unworthy of their good sense and intelligence."^a The efforts of Van Buren and the Democrats had little effect in diverting the movement, which had already become an anti-Jackson crusade.

The Antimasonic convention which met on February 19, 1829, marks a new starting point in the history of the party in New York. In the words of Bancroft: "Henceforth, until

^aHammond, Political History of New York, II, 392.

the Antimasonic decline set in, they carried on the most effective system of political propagandism that the State had ever known."^a It was all the more effective because the political nature of it was concealed by an outward show of Antimasonry with all its verbiage and proscriptive declarations. Their peculiar methods were exhibited plainly by the proceedings of the convention. In the first place, the jarring elements of the party were brought together. The seemingly repentant Weed was forgiven and once more was admitted as a delegate. Although Solomon Southwick opened the convention with a long address, yet it was such men as Weed, Whittlesey, Granger, Seward, Myron Holley, Maynard, A. Tracy, and Henry Dana Ward who were the most active men in the assembly.

Resolutions passed the assembly to draft an address on the subject of the late Masonic outrages and on the principles of Masonry; on the nature and effect of Masonry on our civil and religious institutions; in relation to the truth of Morgan's illustrations; and of the exposure of the Le Roy convention; to enquire if any laws exist in this State relative to Masonic institutions, and if any application shall be deemed necessary for their repeal; to enquire if it be expedient to have a United States convention of Antimasons; to inquire if the wife of Morgan has the means of support for herself and children, and whether it is necessary to provide for her relief; to appoint a committee to inquire into the propriety of erecting a monument to Morgan, etc.

All of these resolutions passed. On Friday, February 20, it was resolved to hold a national convention at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830.^b This last action aroused a furor of criticism from the Democrats. The *Argus* remarked: "That meeting is just preceding the next election for governor of the State. Nobody, we presume, suspects Mr. Granger of any intention to connect the two subjects."^c In the light of these events, and considering the character of the men then in power, it is very doubtful if Mr. Whittlesey was justified in saying that the proceedings of the convention "were similar to those of former conventions and directed exclusively against Freemasonry."^d

The Democrats described the objects of the meeting as

^a *Life of Seward*, I, 29.

^b See *Albany Argus*, February 21, 23, 1829; *Albany Advertiser*, February 21, 1829.

^c *Albany Argus*, February 23, 1829.

^d *Hammond*, *Political History of New York*, II, 392.

“fully disclosed in the lives and conduct of the leading delegates and in the tenor of their proceedings.” The *Argus* said:

Indeed it is no longer attempted to be disguised, that the design of those who now have the charge of this combination is political, and that they look directly to the elevation of the political leaders in the game, and to the consequent overthrow of the Republican party. This is the whole design. The yearning for office and power and a resolution to strive to obtain it, by whatever means, was manifest in nearly all the movements from the opening maledictions of the great leader, Solomon Southwick, to the plausible sophistry of the newest convert, Myron Holley; and from the perpetual caucusings and private whisperings of the profligate Weed, to the exclusive and proscribing moderation of Samuel Miles Hopkins. * * * The same men, ever since they abandoned the name Federalist, have resorted to every trick and device, and have bestrid every hobby that promised the slightest aid in the accomplishment of their designs against Republicans. It is the same broken-down, foiled, and defeated politicians—the same traders under every flag—that have paid Antimasonry the compliment to assume its keeping, and to render it subservient to their political schemes. We have said that this is the old Federal party, and the disaffected of all parties in a new dress. In relation to the former party, there are honorable exceptions. There are many, we well know, who have not only refused the sanction of their names to this deception, but who, notwithstanding they have been approached with the assertion that it is best to encourage the scheme, “for it is the only way to defeat the Jackson party,” have spoken with scorn and indignation of the unprincipled attempt.^a

It was said by the Democrats that “not a single individual who supported the Republican [Jackson] ticket at the late election was a delegate to the convention.”^b Articles from the local papers, such as the *Oneida Observer*, were cited to similar effect, giving long lists of former Adams men, called “Federalists,” who had joined the Antimasons.^c The Antimasons in the legislature were meanwhile found upon the National Republican side in nearly every issue.^d

Trials and investigations had been going on all this time, and a growing party in the legislature, composed of Antimasons, was constantly clamoring for “more light.” The Democrats had learned by former experience the danger of resisting such demands, and, accordingly, select committees composed exclu-

^a Albany *Argus*, February 26, 1829. This is probably the work of Croswell, editor of the *Argus*, a member of the Regency, and one of the opponents of Weed. He was a brilliant political writer.

^b Albany *Argus*, March 5, 1829.

^c Albany *Argus*, February 26, March 5, 1829.

^d Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 392.

sively of Antimasons were appointed in the senate and house to recommend measures for the investigation of the Morgan affair. In the senate this committee brought in a report asking further direction from that house. The committee of the whole resolved to send back the report with directions to bring in such a bill as they thought expedient and proper "to remedy the evils complained of, if any legislation is deemed necessary."^a

In the house the Antimasons seemed to be equally lax and inefficient, now that they had partially obtained what they wanted. The only thing of importance which this committee did was to approve of continuing the law appointing a special commissioner.^b That such men did not take advantage of these concessions argues that they were probably hindered in some indirect way, as was often charged by the Antimasons. Incidents like the above seemed only to make the whole body of the party more and more bitter toward the Democrats. These concessions and Van Buren's message, however, show that attempts were still made to stem the growing influence and unity of opposition in New York.

The city of Rochester was during this time the point where the bitterest strife was waged. The spring elections left the town about equally divided between the friends of the two parties.^c In Rochester Weed published his *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*; and in Rochester the radical Masons determined to make a bold stand. The great majority of the Masons of that section of the State had condemned the Morgan affair and had given willing aid, as good citizens, toward the conviction of the participators therein. The enthusiasts, however, kept up a bitter warfare against Antimasonry, and finally made the great mistake of openly establishing a newspaper to uphold their cause. The paper was called the *Craftsman* and was printed at Rochester. Although its tone was Democratic, the Democrats recognized that it was a powerful help to Antimasonry and repudiated it. They looked upon it as a movement, "the tendency of which," they said, "can scarcely fail to revive the scenes of the past year, to at least continue, much beyond the natural duration, the embitter-

^a Albany Argus, March 2, 1829.

^b Ibid.

^c Albany Argus, May 12, 1829.

tered and excited feelings of the times, and to put weapons in the hands of those, who, under the mask of Antimasonry, have sought their own political and personal elevation." "With this paper and its contributors," says the Argus, "we presume the mass of the Masonic fraternity do not act; but whether they do so or not, the Democracy of the State, so far as we have been able to ascertain their wishes, decline its associations and disapprove of its course."^a

Governor Throop, too, realized the danger to the Democrats of these new efforts of the Masons to strike back at the Antimasons. In his inaugural address upon taking the executive chair vacated by Van Buren he reviewed the situation. He asserted that he was no Mason, and said:

And yet I find it difficult to believe that a society, which has been existing several centuries; which has enrolled among its members persons of all ranks and conditions, and many distinguished for their piety and purity of life, and devotion to their country, is founded on principles which tend to subvert all government, or exact obligations from its members incompatible with their duty to their fellow citizens, their country, and their God. I have not found that the members of the Masonic fraternity, anywhere, contend that there is in the present condition of the world, whatever may have heretofore been the case, any great object to be effected, or particular good to be obtained, by upholding the institution. If that be so, I can not but believe that all well meaning members will soon see the propriety of dissolving an association, which can only remain as a source of useless irritation among its members, and between them and the rest of their fellow citizens. But in making these avowals, I owe it to my own feelings, and to the occasion, to say, that any attempt to make the subject subservient to political or party purposes, which labors to introduce into the community a proscriptive crusade against any class of our citizens, and which threatens to expose this highly favored land to those scenes of fanaticism and bloody persecution which have in succession overturned and devastated the fairest portions of the globe, shall meet in me a mild and temperate but a stern and inflexible opponent.^b

Such an address, representing as it fairly did the sentiments of the nonmasonic Democratic politicians of the day, could in no wise satisfy the radical Masons or the Antimasons, and consequently it added no strength to the Democratic cause.

The election of 1829 was on the whole favorable to the Jackson party. Nevertheless, the strong Antimasonic Eighth senatorial district elected Albert H. Tracy, a man who was

^a Albany Argus, September 2, 1829.

^b Inaugural address, Albany Argus, September 4, 1829.

probably unsurpassed by any of the party in his capacity for political intrigue;^a for the first time Antimasonry crossed "Cayuga Bridge" and elected two out of the four candidates for the assembly in Seward's county;^b and there was also a slight gain in some of the old Adams counties, such as Washington and Oneida.^c The united opposition had learned a lesson by the split of the previous year, and this year they were careful not to encroach on each other's territory. The Antimasons seemed to have concentrated their strength in their former strongholds, and to have left by default a clear field for the National Republicans in the other counties.^d

The year 1829 was, in the main, a period of quiet preparation and organization. The plan for a national convention showed that the bold and ambitious leaders were gradually getting hold of the party and preparing it for its higher national career. True Antimasonry had become subverted to anti-Jacksonism. The beginnings of the Whig party in New York, and we may say in the nation, had appeared.

^a Weed acknowledges him to be the leader in this respect. Weed, Autobiography, I, 421.

^b Bancroft's Life of Seward, I, 29. Seward had not as yet distinguished himself in the cause to any great extent.

^c Albany Argus, November 16, 20, 26, 27, 1829.

^d Seward Autobiography, I, 75. In the "infected district" alone, the Democrist allowed 22 men to the Antimasons, viz: Chautauqua, 2; Erie, 2; Genesee, 3; Livingston, 2; Monroe, 3; Niagara, 1; Ontario, 3; Orleans, 1; Seneca, 2; Wayne, 2; Yates, 1. "It appears that in 20 counties the opponents of the National Republican party nominated 50 members for Assembly as Adams men, and that in 28 other counties the opposition 63 candidates, denominating them Antimasons—making a total of 113 candidates out of 128 members."—Albany Argus, November 26, 1829.

CHAPTER IV.—THE HIGH TIDE OF POLITICAL ANTIMASONRY IN NEW YORK.

The election of 1829 proved that the National Republicans had united with the Antimasons to a larger extent than theretofore. It was asserted by the Democrats that not one Democratic member had been returned from any of the districts in which Antimasons controlled the vote.^a In view of these results the Democrats despaired of uniting with the Antimasons and no longer hesitated to denounce the leaders and the "coalitions." In fact they openly opposed the Morgan investigation itself—a thing which they had seldom previously done. The leaders of the party, like Governor Throop, stated that Antimasonry was "overflowing its proper boundaries," was "misdirected in its efforts," and was "carrying into public affairs matters properly belonging to social discipline."^b The Antimasons in the legislature, led in the senate by Albert H. Tracy and in the assembly by Granger, Weed, and Philo C. Fuller, joined the opposition to the administration on all the leading questions of the day. The two great questions in New York politics were the Chenango Canal and the safety fund system in banking. The Democrats had constantly defeated the attempts to build a canal which should connect the interior lakes, and would consequently connect the Erie Canal with the Pennsylvania system through the Susquehanna River. It is not strange, then, that the Antimasonic party, containing as it did so many Clintonians, should champion the cause; nor is it strange that it should, by promoting this movement, strive to curry favor with the South central section of the State, and thus destroy its support of the Demo-

^a Address of the Jackson electors, *Freeman's Journal*, Cooperstown, N. Y., September 20, 1830.

^b Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 393.

crats. Accordingly we find them vigorously supporting this scheme.^a

The active, shrewd leaders who now controlled the destinies of Antimasonry never lost an opportunity to pierce a joint in the armor of the Regency. They were in legislative matters the old enemies of the Regency and the Bucktails. They stood, openly and avowedly, the party of internal improvements with the old Clintonian policy, vigorously advocating the extension of the canal system, as well as fighting every effort of the Regency to raise the tolls.^b

On the bank issue they made still another effort to curry sectional favor. The New York City banks had petitioned the legislature for some modifications of the safety-fund law and for charters under that act.^c When it was proposed to tax them in the regular manner, the Antimasonic leaders saw at once a chance to oppose successfully the administration and gain the favor of these institutions. As the strength of party was almost wholly in the agricultural interior of the State, this policy attracted great attention and was widely commented upon by the Democratic press of the day.^d Incidents of this kind were pointed out by the Democrats as proof positive that real Antimasonry no longer existed.^e

The party kept up the opposition to the Masons; trials and investigations went on as before; and petitions were presented for the repeal of the charter of the grand lodge of the State. All of these proceedings were looked upon by the Democrats as efforts to "keep the pot boiling" for political purposes; and indeed it was necessary that something of this sort should be done if the more radical of the party were to be kept at all in subjection to the machine. Two circumstances occurred in

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, pp. 327, 328.

^b Albany Evening Journal, April 15, 1830.

^c Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 327.

^d Says the Argus: "The banks of the city of New York were a few days since described by certain veracious newspapers as odious monopolies, aristocracies, and all that; and the idea that they should be received into the safety fund upon any other terms than the other banks of the State (whatever might be the peculiarities of their situation) was scouted through the same sources. Now, in order to regain the favor of those 'odious aristocracies,' it is declared to be a great hardship to compel them to contribute to the security of the people, in the same manner as the other banks of the State freely contribute; and the presses which assaulted them yesterday, declaim to-day almost with tears in their eyes, against a system which is so harsh as to require them not only to conduct their affairs well, but to secure the people against their defalcations."—Albany Argus, March 27, 1830.

^e Freeman's Journal, Cooperstown N. Y., September 20, 1830. Democratic addresses.

this connection to help the party to gain converts. In the convention of February, 1830, it was decided to draw up a memorial charging the grand lodge with furnishing funds to help the Morgan conspirators. The legislature, by a vote of 75 to 30, referred the whole matter to the attorney-general, who was to file a quo warranto if he should find the grand chapter guilty, and thus deprive them of their charter. Such action was plainly of no use to the Antimasons, as there was no way of compelling the members of the grand chapter to testify, and testimony had to be obtained before a quo warranto could be granted.^a Antimasons considered this action fair proof of the Masonic character of the Jackson party, and of the part Masons were playing in politics.

Another incident tended to confirm this feeling. Mr. John C. Spencer had succeeded Mr. Mosely as special counsel to investigate the Morgan outrage.^b In the course of his duties, he thought that by applying to the purpose the reward of \$2,000 which Governor Clinton had previously offered he would be able to solve the whole Morgan mystery, and consequently he wrote to Governor Throop for advice and authority to use the money. The authority was refused, and soon afterwards Mr. Spencer made a report to the legislature which bore very heavily upon the Western Masons. The legislature cut his salary down to \$1,000, thus showing their disapproval of his work. This produced, naturally, great indignation among the Antimasons and led to Spencer's resignation.^c

Mr. Spencer's letter of resignation was very bitter and reflected severely upon the administration. He complained that he was not given the "advice, direction, and support of the executive, and of the other branches of the government," and that "positive aid, beyond the performance of formal duties from which there was no escape," had in no instance been rendered him, and that official communications to the governor had been divulged so as to defeat his measures and bring undeserved reproach upon him. "These communications," he said, "related to the means of discovery of evidence of the fact of William Morgan's death; they were not only in

^a Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 394. Albany Argus, March 9, 1830.

^b Weed, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 233, 258. Mr. Spencer had been one of the counsel for the defendants in the trials of 1826.

^c Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 395.

their nature strictly confidential, but the success of the measure suggested, depended entirely upon their being unknown to the parties and their friends, yet they became known to the counsel of the persons implicated in the offense upon William Morgan."^a

The Democrats made all haste to disprove these charges and accused Spencer of wanting to use the money to bribe witnesses. They also accused him of lying, of "gross perversion of the facts in relation to Governor Throop, of the entire omission of the published statements of Governor Throop," and of divulging the facts himself.^b

All this tended to strengthen the Antimasonic spirit at a time when the shrewd leaders of the party could use it to the most advantage. It tended to solidify the opposition to the dominant party, and men, who before had been lukewarm, now turned sharply against an administration which was pictured in such high colors as "the hotbed of Masonry." It was easier to combine the scattered elements of the opposition than formerly, and in the campaign the opportunities thus afforded were skillfully used.

The party leaders now in power spared nothing that could be used to strengthen the machinery of its organization outside of the State as well as within. On February 25 a convention was held at Albany in which it was determined to strike out boldly for wider empire,^c or, in other words, to put the "new, vigorous, and enthusiastic Antimasonic party" in the place of the discomfited and overthrown National Republican party, which had practically withdrawn from the field in most of the Northern States. It became evident that the work done by the leaders in New York had stirred up many like movements in other States and that first steps in the formation of a great party had been taken.^d

When the convention met, a report was made on the press which showed remarkable growth; of the 211 newspapers in the State, 32 were Antimasonic. Thirty-six delegates were appointed to attend the Antimasonic convention, to be held in

^a Spencer's letter, Albany Argus, May 14, 1830.

^b They charged that the "trusty agent of the central committee [Weed] for the manufacture of 'Goodenough Morgans' was the special aid, second, and abettor of Mr. Spencer in all this matter." Albany Argus, June 24, 1830.

^c Seward's Autobiography, 1, 76.

^d Seward, *ibid.*

Philadelphia the following year. Among them were Tracy, Whittlesey, Granger, Holley, Seward, Maynard, Crary, and S. M. Hopkins, the greater number of whom belonged to the young group of politicians who were now directing the party. We see no mention of Solomon Southwick as a delegate to the convention, and he was probably discarded. However, though he was not there, his spirit was present, if we are to judge anything from the reports of the Democratic papers.^a

The convention also virtually discarded Mr. Southwick's political organ, the *National Observer*, and provided for the establishment of the *Albany Evening Journal*, to be conducted by Thurlow Weed. The party was thus provided with an efficient newspaper at the seat of government to compete with the *Argus* and the *Advertiser*. The first number of this paper appeared on March 22, and announced its political policy, pledging itself "to the cause, the whole cause, and nothing but the cause of Antimasonry; * * * a cause which comprehends all the great and cherished interests of our country." It promised to advocate "zealously on all occasions, domestic manufacture, internal improvement, the abolishment of imprisonment for debt; repeal of our militia system; and all other measures calculated to promote the general interest and welfare of the people."^b

It advocated also the temperance cause; contained a great amount of religious news, largely of a controversial nature; and in many ways tried to catch the spirit of the times. The establishment of this paper and its support of many things besides Antimasonry, together with the suspicion that it was created for the advancement of the shrewd young politicians who had followed the fortunes of its editor, drove many sincere Antimasons to oppose it. The dissatisfaction was greatly increased when such hints as the following began to appear in Weed's paper: "The great body of the Antimasons would

^a The *Albany Argus*, March 1, 1830, gives the following significant remarks of John Cox Morris: "He urged the purity and disinterestedness of Antimasonry and objected to having it said 'You want to be a member of the assembly;' 'you want to be a senator' (looking all around the chamber); 'you want to be a member of Congress' (laying his hand on his breast); 'you want to be governor' (dropping his hand toward Mr. Tracy, who sat directly in front of him). 'What,' said he, 'if you talk to a man of Antimasonry, is the answer? You are a d—d fool. You are followers of Solomon Southwick, and he is mad.'"

^b Handbill, with early numbers of the *Albany Evening Journal*.

much rather see Mr. Clay at the head of public affairs than the Masonic dignitary who tramples on the rights of the people."^a

The party had another difficulty to overcome, which tended to split the opposition to the Democrats. The rise of the Workingman's Party in New York at this time threatened also to thin their ranks. The birth of this party was due to agitation to secure for the mechanics of New York a more effectual lien for the labor and materials furnished in the erection of buildings.^b Moreover, the feeling in that democratic age that the workingman's position was despised, and that he was deprived of his rightful share in the government and offices, helped along the movement. All the discontented men who could not join the Antimasons, including, of course, great numbers of the anti-Jackson Masons, joined this party. It soon became a heterogeneous mass, which, says Hammond "professed, among other things, an opposition to the monopoly of banking, to banks and bank paper, although you might very soon perceive bank directors, clerks, and cashiers figuring in their ranks."^c On April 16 they nominated Erastus Root, one of the most radical Masonic leaders, for governor.^d

The Antimasonic leaders immediately began negotiations to win over this movement to the support of their party in the city of New York. "It seemed necessary," says Seward, "to name a candidate for lieutenant governor who resided in the city of New York, was identified with the 'working-men,' and free from the reproach of previous connection with the Antimasonic party. Samuel Stevens, a young, talented, and distinguished alderman of the city, was approached, and gave his consent to assume that place."^e

The leaders having planned the nomination, the next thing to do was to have the State convention ratify it. The convention was held at Utica, on August 11, and to Mr. Seward was

^a Clay was a Mason. That Weed was actually engaged in trying to tie the fortunes of the party to Clay is shown by the published correspondence with Clay. (Weed's Autobiography, I, 350.)

^b See Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 330.

^c Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 331.

^d Ibid. John Crary, of Washington County, said in the Argus, August 24, 1830, that "the Workingman's party has been considered under Masonic influence, and got up in cities and villages to oppose Antimasonry."

^e Seward, Autobiography, I, 78. To like effect Crary's letter, Albany Argus, August 24, 1830. Weed, Autobiography, I, 367, gives an account of the search for a candidate in New York and the final acceptance of Stevens.

assigned the duty of convincing the delegates of the "expediency and propriety of the nomination of Mr. Stevens."^a Mr. Seward, by that wonderful acuteness which always distinguished his political career, wove such a mesh of connection between Antimasonry and the political events of the past year that it was seemingly impossible to refute him. Among other remarks are those so aptly quoted by Bancroft, the resolution in which he said:

In the events which called the party into existence we have proof that the society of Freemasons has broken the public peace, and with a high hand deprived the State of a citizen; that in the guarded and studious silence of the press throughout the Union on the subject of that outrage, we have proof that Freemasonry has subsidized the public press; that in the refusal of the house of assembly to institute a legislative inquiry into the acts of the society of Freemasons in relation to that outrage, we have proof that the legislative department has been corrupted; that in the withholding by the acting governor of all positive aid in bringing to justice the actors in that profligate conspiracy, and in his recent denunciation of the same public, which when a judge he hailed as "a pledge that our rights and liberties are destined to endure," we have proof that Freemasonry has made a timid executive subservient to her will, and that in the escape of the guilty conspirators by means of the Masonic obligations of witnesses and jurors, we have fearful proof that Freemasonry has obstructed, defeated, and baffled the judiciary in the high exercise of its powers. That for these reasons the society of Freemasons ought to be abolished.^b

However, the radical Antimasons readily saw through the efforts of Seward and put up a vigorous opposition in the convention.

Mr. Stevens was nominated by Mr. Fessenden, a delegate from New York. Mr. Fessenden's words upon this occasion are highly interesting. After alluding to Mr. Stevens and his popularity among the workingmen of New York, he said he "should not object to Mr. Crary if the majority of the State were Antimasons, but of what use would it be to nominate a governor and lieutenant governor, and have both defeated."

He said he was "opposed to coalitions, but this was not a coalition; it was using the name of a man known to be opposed to the Masonic institution, the name of an individual popular and honorable, for the purpose of gaining a victory in favor of Antimasonry." He spoke at some length, alluding to the advantage of a partial victory if a complete triumph could not

^a Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 78.

^b *Proceedings of the convention*, pp. 4, 5. Bancroft's *Life of Seward*, I, 33.

be gained, and the desirability of obtaining all the votes possible, "whether Antimasons or not."^a This quotation is given in order to show more clearly the position of the Antimasonic party at this time. That such sentiments could have been uttered and such a nomination made shows clearly that the party had deviated from its fundamental principles, and really was indistinguishable from the old opposition to Jackson. An attempt on the part of the Radicals to make a separate nomination failed.^b

Southwick and Crary had now lost the last vestige of power in the new party. The celebrated author of "Solomon Southwick's Solemn Warning," like a prophet of old, wailed aloud in his grief and heaped solemn anathemas upon the heads of the iconoclasts who had dared to dispute his leadership. He accused Weed and his friends of trying to destroy his paper, of going into the "dark corners," as he says, "like Freemasons, which they pretend to oppose, and attempt by vile calumny and mean insinuation to impeach my fidelity, my prudence, and my judgment in supporting the cause, * * * let them meet me face to face, front to front, before a just, impartial, and independent people, and I fear not the issue. I shrink from no investigation, fear no responsibility, I fear none but God. I hate none but the devil, and his works of darkness."^c

Mr. Crary, too, in a letter stated his grievances. He said that Mr. Stevens was not an Antimason and "that whenever a candidate is nominated that does not sustain the character of an Antimason, the party and principle is dissolved." He accused the party of having lost its integrity, called for a purification, and urged the Antimasons to throw off "the bondage of men who have entered the party from unworthy motives, * * * so that the character of honorable men belonging to it be vindicated from reproach."^d

Many of the discontented men leaned toward the Democrats, and we hear Southwick proclaiming against "Henry Clay's Grand Trinity of Corruption, Bankocracy, Freemasonry, and National Internal Improvement." "Already," he says, "are the branches of the national bank multiplying among us, and

^a Proceedings of convention, Albany Argus, Aug. 16, 1830.

^b Weed, Autobiography, I, 367.

^c National Observer, August 21, 1830.

^d Letter dated Salem, August 17, 1830, in Albany Argus, August 24, 1830.

that, too, under Masonic influence as well as Clay influence, which are one and the same thing. The cloven foot of Clay begins to show itself so clearly in the movements of some folks who pretend to be Antimasons, that it may be seen with half an eye."^a

The last remarks were called forth, no doubt, by the increased interest shown by the political Antimasons in national affairs. The Antimasonic convention had assembled at Philadelphia September 11, and New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Maryland, and Michigan were represented. The convention was distinctly under New York influence, and Francis Granger, the candidate for governor, was president. The national character of the designs of the party were fully set forth, although it was not thought expedient to nominate a candidate for President. It was voted, however, to hold another convention of "the people of the United States opposed to secret societies * * * to meet on Monday, the 26th day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both Houses of Congress, to make nominations for suitable candidates for the office of President and Vice-President to be supported at the next election."^b

During the course of the proceedings the political nature of Antimasonry was openly avowed by Mr. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, who remarked "that he had been surprised the other day to hear a gentleman express his surprise that the convention had assembled for political purposes." He declared "that they had met for no other but political purposes."^c Here, then, we have the Antimasonic spirit fashioned into a recognized national political party with many issues to present to the people besides its opposition to Masonry. The resolutions of the convention are remarkable for the manner in which national issues are sandwiched in with rabid Antimasonry. The following may serve as examples:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider the nature, principles, and tendency of Freemasonry as regards its effects on the Christian religion.

^aSouthwick's letter, Albany Argus, October 16, 1830.

^bSee proceedings and also Philadelphia National Gazette, September 11, 1830; Albany Argus, September 17, 22, 1830.

^cNational Gazette, *ibid*.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to inquire and report concerning the effect of the ties and obligations of Freemasonry upon the commerce and revenue of the United States.

Resolved, That a committee be raised to inquire into the pecuniary circumstances and situation of the family of Capt. William Morgan, and to report what measures, if any, should be adopted.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider and report the most expedient time, place, and manner, for making nominations of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.^a

The gubernatorial campaign was exciting, and everything which could possibly be brought against the Jackson party was used. Some of these charges deserve a brief treatment. The Jackson party was decried in the Lake sections because Jackson had vetoed a bill for the construction of harbors on Lake Erie.^b

The Cherokee question and the missionaries were topics of general interest at that time and were used to the best advantage by the Antimasons in working upon the religious elements, and Antimasonic conventions throughout the State passed resolutions condemning the Democratic policy in these matters.^c The "American system," too, was universally supported by the party, and great stress was laid in this particular campaign upon the interests of "mechanics and workmen" as helped by that system. It was no doubt a very welcome shibboleth because of the efforts to draw the "Workmen's"^d party to their standard.

In distinctively state matters the canal and internal improvement question was put prominently forward. Granger, on accepting the nomination, had pledged himself "to foster and extend that system of internal policy which has placed our State upon its envied preeminence."^e The party, as usual, directed a fierce crusade against the Regency, declaring that the "Regency combined with the canal commissioners, had conspired to raise the canal duties so as to divert our commerce into the Welland Canal of Canada; * * * that they opposed the railroad contemplated to be made between Albany

^a From New York Courier and Enquirer in Albany Argus, September 17, 1830.

^b Albany Argus, October 21, 1830.

^c See Queens County convention, Albany Evening Journal, October 13, 1830.

^d Cayuga convention proceedings, Albany Evening Journal, September 25. Sullivan County convention, Albany Evening Journal, October 8, 1830. Seventh senatorial district convention, Albany Evening Journal, September 25.

^e Albany Argus, August 23, 1830.

and Boston; * * * that they denounced all internal improvements as "unconstitutional and dangerous to their party,"^a and that they contemplated levying a direct tax to provide funds for the State.^b

The irritation among the people of the southern and central counties because of the continued postponement of the Chenango Canal was one of the most valuable sources of gain to the party. Although Chenango County, which was most anxious for this improvement had been one of Van Buren's strongest counties in the famous election of 1826, and this district was in general a staunch Democratic one, yet because of this question, the Democrats were now in a fair way to lose their strength there. The Twenty-first Congressional district convention of Antimasons resolved that they deemed the construction of the Chenango Canal to be an object of "paramount and vital importance to the interests of this district," and that they would not "support any man for office whom we know to be opposed to it."^c As events proved, these threats were not idle, and represented not only the ideas of the Antimasons, but of the great mass of the inhabitants of the south central counties.

The Antimasonic excitement itself must not be forgotten in summing up the political condition of the people in this campaign. We have the following strange and chaotic conditions: (1) Antimasons attacking the Masonic institutions; (2) both Jackson Masons and Clay Masons attacking the Antimasons; (3) Clay Masons to some extent supporting Antimasonry; (4) Masons openly supporting Throop as Masons; (5) Weed negotiating for support from the Masons; (6) radical Antimasons attacking the followers of Weed; (7) Democrats attacking radical Masons and repudiating their support.

To explain more fully these conditions, it is to be noted in

^a Albany Argus, November 18, 1830.

^b Albany Evening Journal, October 19, 1830. Seventh senatorial district convention, *ibid*, September 25. Chenango convention, *ibid*, October 5, 1830.

^c Albany Evening Journal, October 15, 1830.

In a meeting of the Antimasons, of the town of Oxford, it was resolved: "That in the opinion of the meeting the defeat of the Chenango canal may be traced to the duplicity of the canal commissioners, the hypocrisy of its pretended friends, and to the deep and settled hostility of the Albany Regency to every question of public policy which does not minister to their private interests and selfish ambitions as individuals, and their ascendancy as a party."—Albany Evening Journal, October 4, 1830.

the first place that the Antimasons did what they could to keep alive the excitement and persecution of the Masons. Orations were delivered; collections taken up for the support of the widow of William Morgan; pamphlets, almanacs, and addresses circulated; Masons forbidden to preach or to partake in the communion service;^a and various itinerant preachers and lecturers patrolled the country in aid of the cause. Ex-Masons opened lodges, and disreputable characters as "poor blind candidates" were initiated as "entered apprentices," passed to the degree of "fellow-craft," raised to the "sublime degree of master mason," advanced to the "honorary degree" of "mark master," installed in the chair as "past master," received and acknowledged as "most excellent master," and exalted to the degree of "holy royal arch," before delighted audiences.^b The excitement was further propagated by the manufacture of other Morgan cases. In Washington County a great stir was produced over the murder of a man named Witherill, which was declared to be the work of the Masons.^c

The Antimasons received great aid from the increasingly bitter attitude of the radical Masons and their paper, the *Craftsman*. Of this latter, the Democrats said: "There is probably no single cause to which anti-masonry is more indebted for its continued prevalence in the western counties."^d Although this paper was plainly acting with the Democratic party, yet the *Argus*, the organ of that party, denounced it unsparingly. Its attitude is well shown by the following:

Though it [the *Craftsman*] desires to be understood as acting with the Democratic party * * * the truth of the matter is simply this: The *Craftsman* is devoted to the cause of Mr. Clay. For that purpose it was established and to that end its efforts have been directed. The design had been to give the publication a circulation and character on other grounds, so as to attach weight to its recommendations when the time would come for an avowal in favor of Mr. Clay.^d

^a Albany *Argus*, October 16, 1830. See papers of the day.

^b Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 76. See papers of the day.

^c Albany *Evening Journal*, October 16, 1830. Washington County was the home of John Crary, and bordered on the strong Antimasonic State of Vermont. It was a strong Antimasonic county.

^d Albany *Argus*, July 24, 1830.

The desperate efforts of the Democrats to get rid of this "Old Man of the Mountains" were piteous and unavailing. They could not escape the stigma of this forced relation.^a

While Weed was busily engaged in abusing others, he was being abused by the Democrats, by the Southwick Antimasons, and by the Clay men who refused to unite with him and whose organ was the Albany Advertiser. He was accused on all sides of being inconsistent and of recommending Antimasons to vote for Masons who had not renounced. One instance of this kind was especially harped upon. The Antimasons of Albany were not strong, and after vain attempts at organization, it was urged in a meeting on October 13, "that as our contest is against Masonry only, and we are sorry to say, that the consequence of this county being the very sink of Masonry that there is no prospect of our selecting an assembly ticket of our own on pure Antimasonic principles, and we therefore recommend to Antimasonic friends to select such persons not adherents of any secret society as they think proper to vote for."^b

Among the men recommended by Weed for the nomination were several who were accused of being Masons.^c Weed caused the report to be circulated that these men had renounced and that he had their renunciations in his possession, but that he did not wish to have them published till after the election for fear of injuring their popularity. His opponents clamored loudly for these renunciations, and the Southwick Antimasons accused him of having "been guilty of a mean and base deception" and of having "duped the honest Antimasonic yeomanry" to vote for adhering Masons.^d It was said that he had openly made bargains with the Masons for their votes.^e

^a The Anti-masons used the changed attitude of Throop toward their movement and his recent denunciation of it with success. It was said "that his inconsistent and contradictory conduct in relation to the excitement produced by the abduction of William Morgan shows him as destitute of firm principles as he is of intellectual strength. In 1827, as a judge of the bench, he abandoned judicial dignity and propriety and went out of his way to catch the popular breeze. He applauded the excitement, called it a 'blessed spirit,' and remarked that he saw in it a pledge of the continuance of the same principle which had achieved our independence. In 1829, while president of the Senate, he indulged in the most wanton abuse of the excitement he had two years before applauded; and compared it to the delusion of our ancestors respecting witchcraft."—Albany Evening Journal, October 19, 1830.

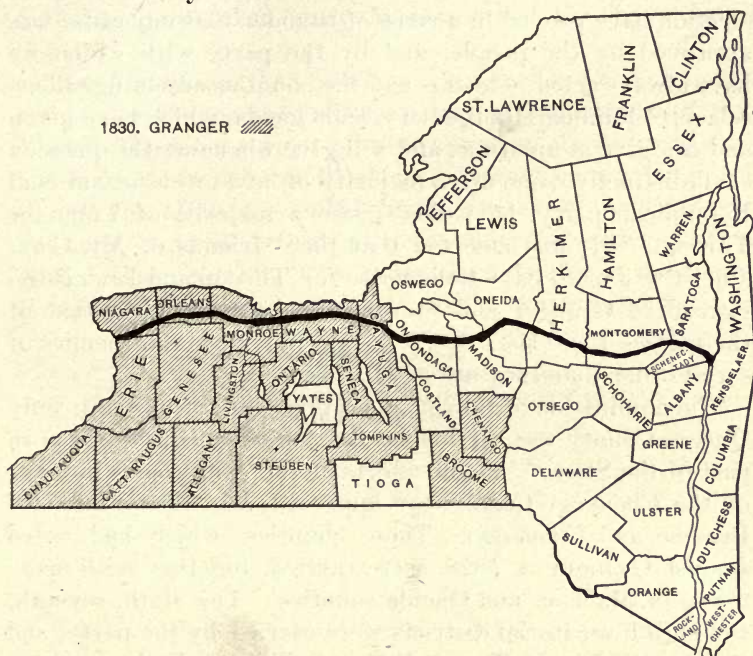
^b Albany Argus, October 19, 1830.

^c Ibid.

^d Southwick's National Observer, November 13, 1830; Albany Argus, October 17, 1830.

^e Albany Argus, October 16, 1830.

As will be seen later, there were some very good grounds for these accusations. Never was Weed more bitterly attacked. The papers were full of humorous and sarcastic allusions to him. He was called a "trickster," the "all powerful dictator," the "modern transformer who, if the anti-masons do not ratify his bargains, will clip their whiskers and so transform them that they will not be recognized by their wives when they return home."^a



Election for Governor of New York in 1830. Granger also carried Queens County (on Long Island), which does not appear on this map.

The results of the election were surprising. Throop received 128,892 votes, while Granger received 120,361.^b The election was lost by the fact that the Clay counties of the east, containing so many strong Masons, went over to the

^a Albany Argus, July 22, 1830. Newspapers of the day. This latter is a reference to the clipping of the beard of the dead body of Timothy Monroe in the well-known "good-enough-Morgan-till-after-the-election" story, which virtually became a Banquo's ghost to Weed. (See Weed, Autobiography, 1, 319; Bancroft's Life of Seward, 1, 39.) The papers of the day are full of these canards, and Weed is commonly called "Sir Whiskerando," "The Knight of the Shorn Whiskers," "The Manufacturer of Good-Enough-Morgans," etc.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 336. Root had withdrawn, but his successor, Ezekiel Williams, received 2,332 votes.

Jackson party rather than vote for Granger.^a Rensselaer, Columbia, Albany, Saratoga, Washington, Montgomery, Oneida, Lawrence, Franklin, and Essex counties had all been carried for Granger in the election of 1828. Now they had turned Democratic.^b

Many of the Clay papers openly avowed that they had defeated Granger on account of his Antimasonic principles. The Albany Advertiser boasted that "the results of the late election have proved in a voice of thunder that our cause was approved by the people, and by the party with which we have always acted. In this and the counties adjoining, Rensselaer, Columbia, Montgomery, and Oneida, which have given and can give at any time, and will give whenever the question shall distinctly come up, a majority of 3,000 for the National Republican party, have now given a majority of 7,500 for Throop."^c It was asserted that the "friends of Mr. Clay, almost to a man, gave their votes for Throop and Livingston instead of Granger and Stevens because they knew that of the parties these last * * * are not more the enemies of social order than they are of Mr. Clay."^d

The nomination of Stevens was apparently of no avail; only Queens County was carried by the Antimasons in the eastern part of the State;^e but the efforts of the Antimasons in favor of the Chenango Canal were appreciated in the counties of Broome and Chenango. These counties, which had voted against Granger in 1828, were carried, together with many towns in Madison and Oneida counties. The sixth, seventh, and eighth senatorial districts were carried by the party, and Charles W. Lynde, Trumbull Crary, Philo C. Fuller, and the brilliant young politician, William Henry Seward, were elected.^f Tompkins and Cayuga, although Throop lived in this district, were carried by Seward through the support of the "Workingmen."^g The Democrats acknowledged that the

^a See Albany Evening Journal, February 18, 1831; Albany Argus, November 10, 11, 15, 1830; Boston Independent Chronicle (Clay), June 30, 1832; Clay's Private Correspondence, 289; Adams's Diary, 8, 261; Antimasonic Inquirer in Ohio State Journal, December 2, 1830.

^b Rensselaer gave Throop 1,918 majority, Albany upward of 900, Columbia more than 800, Montgomery 1,749.

^c Albany Advertiser, November 20, 1830.

^d Ohio State Journal (Clay), December 2, 1830.

^e Albany Argus, November 11, 1830.

^f Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 337.

^g Bancroft's Life of Seward, I, 35. Seward Autobiography, I, 80.

Antimasons had elected 33 members to the lower house, while they claimed 91.^a

The election was a big disappointment to Weed, who was greatly downcast by the result. Many Masons who had promised him their votes, and upon whom he had confidently rested his hopes, voted against him. There seems to be no doubt, from his own admission, that he negotiated with the Masons, as Southwick accused him of doing.^b There is some reason to believe, too, that many Masons voted the Antimasonic ticket.^c

The Antimasons had lost the election by presuming too much upon the merely political nature of the citizens of New York. The management of the campaign shows great skill, but it also shows the political optimism of young men. Although this election is called the "high tide of political anti-masonry,"^d yet it showed the great inherent weakness of the Anti-Jackson party in New York, the difficulty of uniting all jarring elements under such a banner as Antimasonry.

^a Albany Argus, November 11, 1830.

^b Weed, Autobiography, II, 40. Weed to Granger.

^c Weed, Autobiography, I, 368. Whittlesey to Weed.

^d Bancroft's Life of Seward, I, 35.

CHAPTER V.—POLICY OF THE PARTY UPON LOCAL AND NATIONAL QUESTIONS.

Although their plans had miscarried in many respects, yet the Antimasons had good ground for hope, and were not discouraged or disheartened. They had, in both houses, as brilliant a group of young politicians as ever had graced the floor of the legislature of New York. Among these were the eloquent Maynard; the cultured, brilliant, and diplomatic Tracy; Millard Fillmore, whose fate it was to occupy the Presidential chair; the polished Granger; John C. Spencer, once the "special counsel," now a welcome addition to Antimasonry; and, above all in possibilities, William H. Seward, able, eloquent, and shrewd.^a These bright young leaders of the party in the legislature soon showed their strength in the many popular issues which they supported.

Very early in the session Seward attacked the militia system which then existed and which had degenerated to paper enrollment and a farcical field day. He showed clearly how useless was such an enormous system as then existed.^b

Another measure upon which the party stood together, and which tended to increase its popularity, was the bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, which passed with considerable opposition.^c

Of all their efforts, none had been more profitable to them than their advocacy of the Chenango Canal. The same attitude toward this particular project and the canal and improve-

^a See Bancroft's *Life of Seward*, I, pp. 37, 38, for a description of these men.

^b This system required 180,000 men, and of course precluded the idea of efficient drilling. It was unpopular, too, because of its compulsory nature and the fine imposed for nonattendance. Mr. Seward's amendment proposed to reduce the number and to make the service voluntary—in short, a system "which would do away with those features which rendered militia duty so odious that every young man sought to be released from it." The movement was a very popular one, and, in line with the Antimasonic policy, was vigorously supported by them. For Seward's speech, see *Albany Evening Journal*, February 9, 11, 1831. Maynard's speech in the committee of the whole, *ibid.*, February 8, 1831. See, also, Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 82, 180. Bancroft's *Life of Seward*, I, 80, 41.

^c Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 192. It did not go into effect till March 1, 1832. "The act as passed retained imprisonment as a punishment only for fraud committed by debtors, and forever prohibited the incarceration of debtors, who, though unfortunate, were not guilty of dishonesty." Seward, *ibid.*, I, 84. See also Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 379.

ment policy in general was again exhibited in this session. After a considerable struggle the Chenango Canal bill was finally reported to the senate on the last day of February. Here it was defeated by a vote of 16 to 14, the Antimasons voting in a body in favor of it.^a

The party attacked boldly the power of the Regency over the Erie Canal. Maynard was particularly persistent in his efforts. In pursuance of this policy, he introduced a resolution providing that there should be four canal commissioners who should be appointed by the legislature and hold their office for three years unless sooner removed by concurrent resolution of the senate and assembly. This plan was intended to "bring the question of their appointment before the people at stated periods." It was defeated, however, by a vote of 16 to 6 in the senate, the Antimasons voting in a body for it.^b

The people of Monroe, Livingston, Genesee, Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Steuben counties had several times petitioned for a canal from Rochester to the Allegheny and had been refused by the Democratic majority in the legislature. This was another item which added to the popularity of the Antimasons.^c

More important than these measures because of wider significance was the attitude of the Antimasons toward the banks of New York and the national bank. The State banks under the safety-fund system were naturally desirous of obtaining the profits and opportunities which they would gain if the deposits of the United States banks were turned into their vaults. The Democrats had been the originators of the safety-fund system and consequently were in direct opposition to the national banks.^d On March 4 a resolution was introduced into the assembly as follows: "*Resolved*, That it is the sentiment of this legislature that the charter of the Bank of the United States ought not to be renewed." The resolution was carried by a vote of 73 to 35 in the lower house and in the senate by a vote of 17 to 13.^e The Antimasons voted against it upon both occasions.^f The Antimasons made much political

^a Albany Argus, March 1, 1831. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 352.

^b Albany Evening Journal, March 11, 1831.

^c Albany Evening Journal, February 21, (?) 1831.

^d Seward, Autobiography, I, 85. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 350.

^e Albany Argus, April 9, 1831. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 351.

^f Albany Argus, April 12, 1831. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 352.

material of this question. They warned the people of the power of the State banks and the supposed corrupt relations of the canal commissioners with them,^a and held as one of their principal arguments that the United States Bank not only kept "in check the power of the aristocracy [Regency], but in consequence of being obliged by its charter to lend money at six per cent, it materially diminished the income which the State banks would derive from loans at seven per cent.^b" The attitude of Weed did not exactly concur with that of the rest of the party. That farseeing politician felt the pulse of the times. He saw the unpopularity of the Bank among the great mass of voters, and consequently already doubted the issue as a vote-winning political force. His paper was full of equivocations upon the subject. He intimated in several numbers that the Antimasonic members of the legislature who voted for the Bank were not necessarily in favor of that particular institution. These remarks were quickly taken up by the enemies of the party anxious to insert a wedge wherever possible.^c

Enough has been shown for us to see that there was a very strong and active party ably led in both houses of the legislature, and that they had substantially absorbed the old National Republican party and had taken up the old issues together with various clever vote-getting additions.

While Antimasonry was so prominent in the legislature the leaders were no less actively engaged in perfecting the political organization of the party, both in the State and in the

^a Albany Argus, May 2, 1831.

^b Address of the Antimasons of the legislature to the people of New York, Albany Evening Journal, April 28, 1831.

^c Albany Argus, May 20, 1831.

The Antimasons introduced during this session many matters of smaller importance, but yet of a popular nature, such as tended to strengthen their cause. A proposed amendment was introduced by Seward intended to secure a "decentralization of the political power of the State," providing that the mayors of all the cities in the State should be elected by the people. It was finally adopted after a hard struggle, and some years afterwards it was practically incorporated into the constitution of the State. Seward, Autobiography, I, 84. Albany Evening Journal, April 28, 1831. Bancroft's Life of Seward, I, 41.

A bill of like nature, intended to curtail the patronage of the governor, was that which was introduced advocating the appointment by the legislature, instead of by the governor, of the superintendent and inspector of the salt-manufacturing works of the State. There had been much abuse connected with this matter, as these officers, it was said, had mingled in the electioneering contests of Onondaga County, where the salt works were situated. Address of Antimasons of the legislature to the people of New York, Albany Evening Journal, April 28, 1831.

broad field of national politics. The Antimasonic State convention held on February 18 proved to be a very stormy affair. Men who had gone into the party to kill Masonry were disgusted with the way the election was conducted, and called loudly for reform. Immediately upon the opening of the convention they urged the adoption of a resolution that "we renew our league and covenant, and that we will not support any Mason for office, under any circumstances whatsoever, who adheres to Masonic obligations."^a It was urged that the party "might lose some of its adherents by adopting these resolutions; but ultimately it would secure its predominance."^b

Such ideas, of course, were utterly foreign to Weed's conception of politics, and they met with decided opposition from his followers. One gentleman said plainly "that Antimasonry had other and higher objects in view than the prostration of the Masonic fraternity. * * * Between two Masons who were candidates for office he would choose the least obnoxious when there was no chance of electing an Antimason. * * * He believed that there was no longer any danger to be apprehended from Masonry. That it was a corrupt institution he well knew; but to preserve the Union, which he considered in danger, he was willing to let Masonry exist a little longer."^c

Samuel Miles Hopkins, one of the oldest and most influential Antimasons, said that he thought that the Union was in danger from Jacksonism, and at the last election he had "thought it advisable to support men who were adhering Masons. * * * He was induced to oppose the nomination of the Antimasonic ticket in Rensselaer, Albany, and Washington counties. * * * He was free to admit, however, * * * that he had done nothing to advance the cause of Antimasonry, and now * * * he fully accorded with the sentiments expressed" by the resolution.^d

The resolution as amended by Mr. Fuller passed the convention on February 19 and read as follows:

Resolved, That inasmuch as very erroneous sentiments respecting the views of the Antimasonic party have been industriously circulated by its

^a Albany Argus, February 21, 1831.

^b Albany Argus, February 21, Proceedings of the Convention.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid., Hopkins's speech.

enemies, we do hereby declare that we will not support any man for office under the state or General Government who at the time of his nomination is an adhering Mason.^a

Weed was in the convention, and, as far as we know, was a silent witness of these proceedings which threatened to put so many stumbling blocks in his path in the future. The convention, in fact, was a distinct defeat for him and his friends.

The summer was passed in negotiations between the National Republicans and the Antimasons, for it was evident to the National Republicans, not only in New York but throughout the Union, that they needed the growing power of the Antimasons in order to win the approaching Presidential contest. Their candidate was Henry Clay, and they did what they could to make it appear that he was no longer a Mason, and tried to placate the Antimasons by calling upon the Masons to throw aside their order for the good of the National Republican party, and ultimately for the nation.^b

To Weed this union, which for a while seemed hopeful, now looked doubtful, particularly after his defeat in the convention and the reactionary attitude of the Antimasonic press.^c After negotiations with Clay he found it impossible to get him to renounce Masonry and he finally declared that "Mr. Clay's friends have placed Freemasonry between him and our party. * * * Indeed our party is prohibited from supporting Mr. Clay, even if it desire to do so, by [reason of] his own letter published last fall in the Daily Advertiser. In this Masonic organ, an extract from a letter from Mr. Clay appeared, in which he forbid the association of his name or interest with the Antimasonic party."^d

In accordance with this policy, Mr. Clay was abandoned in the Antimasonic national convention of September 26, 1831, and William Wirt was nominated as the candidate of the party.^e The leading spirits of this convention were New York men, including Seward, Spencer, and Weed. Spencer, the converted ex-"special counsel," presided.

^a Albany Argus, February 25, 1831.

^b New York Commercial Advertiser (Clay), in Albany Argus, June 30, 1831. Buffalo Journal (Clay), in Albany Argus, July 20, 1831.

^c New York Whig, in Albany Argus, July 21, 1831, and papers of the day.

^d Albany Evening Journal, June 1, 1831. See also *ibid.*, June 6.

^e Seward, Autobiography, I, 90. Weed, Autobiography, I, 389. The party as a national party will be considered later.

The election of November, 1831, excited very little new interest, since the great source of disturbance and political material—the Morgan trials—had ceased because of the fact that the statute of limitations barred further prosecutions except for murder; and as Masonic lodges had to a great extent given in their charters throughout the State, there was very little of that bitter spirit which had characterized the political elections thus far. More was now said about general politics.^a The party elected about 30 members to the assembly, and the National Republicans elected 6.^b

The end of the year shows Antimasonry developed into a full-fledged national party with a Presidential candidate. It shows us also the old spirit of Antimasonry still alive, but, in spite of the reactionists of the State convention, fast turning from the waning interests of the old excitement into a steady opposition to the Jacksonian policy and the Regency. Though losing a little in the election of 1831, we find it preparing to put forth all its strength in the great effort of 1832.

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 397. Seward, Autobiography, I, 91. The Craftsman still kept up its warfare upon Antimasonry, with an occasional fling at Throop, who had so offended them by his utterances. See extracts from Craftsman, Albany Evening Journal, February 28, 1831.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 397. The Argus allows them but 26. Albany Argus, November 14, 1831. Weed claimed 31 in the assembly and 7 in the senate. Weed, Autobiography, I, 391.

CHAPTER VI.—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1832 IN NEW YORK.

The session of the legislature of the year 1832 was occupied to a great extent by partisan politics of a national character.^a One of the first matters to come before it was the question of the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which had again been taken up by Congress. It was brought before the legislature of New York in the form of a joint resolution against the renewal of its charter. The question was ably debated, Seward leading the Antimasons in opposition.^b Notwithstanding the great efforts made the resolution finally passed the senate on February 4 by a vote of 20 to 10, the Antimasons voting in a body against it.^c The resolution passed the assembly by a vote of 75 to 37.^d

The State banks were assailed as having aristocratic and corrupt power in contravention to the charge brought forward by the Democrats that the Antimasons and Clay men were supporting an aristocratic monopoly. The opposition received unexpected succor from Mr. Root, who declared in Congress that the "Albany Regency favor the State banks and have brought them under control, and through them control the elections, the countervailing influence of the United States Bank being the only check upon their power."^e

Another very important matter brought before the legislature was the old question of the Chenango Canal, which had been brought up so many times and had been so many times defeated.^f The Antimasons had gained votes in the previous

^aSeward, *Autobiography*, I, 93.

^bHammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 402. Seward, *autobiography*, I, 209.

^cAlbany Argus, February 6, 1832. Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 407, sets the date as February 16.

^dHammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 407.

^eAlbany Argus, March 21 and April 12, 1832.

^fThe canal was one of a system. It is generally conceded that it promised least and yielded the least. Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 96.

elections by advocating this measure, and they now renewed the attacks. The great popularity of the canal in the southern part of the State made this one of the most strongly contested questions between the parties. The Democrats introduced a bill into the senate providing for the construction of the canal, but with so many restrictions that it could not have satisfied the petitioners.^a It was lost in the assembly by a vote of 64 to 52 despite all the exertions of Granger. The friends of the bill in the assembly consisted of the Antimasons, the members from the Chenango Valley, and several of the members from the city of New York.^b Meetings were held in the various counties, and a great convention of the friends of the canal met on September 5. Delegates from Oneida, Madison, Chenango, Otsego, and Broome were present, and the greatest indignation was expressed at the action of the Democratic majority.^c

Throughout the summer Mr. Granger was lauded as the great champion of the canal,^d and the Democrats saw clearly that desperate efforts must be made to retain these counties. In the first place, it would be fatal to run Throop, who had opposed the canal;^e in the second place, they determined to nominate a lieutenant-governor from that section, which they did in the person of John Tracy, of Oxford;^f in the third place, there is some reason to believe that they promised the people of these counties that the next legislature would pass a law providing for the construction of the desired improvement.^g The effects of these measures were decisive, and will be discussed later on.

In national affairs the Antimasons of New York came out with exactly the same platform as the National Republicans—in general, the American system, national bank, and internal improvements.^h They pursued the same policy as heretofore, and every little local issue was made to furnish ammunition against Jackson and against Marcy, who was running for gov-

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 413. Albany Argus, March 9, 1832.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 414.

^c Albany Evening Journal, September 13, 1832.

^d Albany Argus, July 9, 1832.

^e Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 406.

^f Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 406. Weed, Autobiography, II, 44. Spencer to Weed.

^g Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 422. Seward, Autobiography, I, 100.

^h Albany Evening Journal, August 24, September 14, 1832.

error. They raised the old cry upon the Maysville road veto, that Jackson was opposed to internal improvement. In this they made a mistake, because the Democrats triumphantly pointed out that the Maysville road would be a rival to the Erie Canal;^a they assured the people that no enterprise of the nature of the Erie Canal would be helped by the National Government; and insisted that all help from the Government must be confined to national objects, thus practically securing monopoly for the New York Canal over all others, and quieting the fears of those who dreaded that help would be given by the Government to the Pennsylvania system.^b

A bill was introduced providing for the improvement of the Hudson River, especially the part called the "Overslaugh," a few miles below Albany, known in the political literature of the times as "Marcy's farm." Marcy and other leading Democrats of New York voted against it, and Jackson vetoed it. The Antimasons naturally seized this opportunity, and conventions in various places passed resolutions against the use of the veto power.^c The Democrats explained that the veto was caused by the objectionable riders attached to the bill.^d Jackson's veto of a bill to improve two harbors situated at the mouth of the Big Sandy Creek and the Salmon River on Lake Erie, and Marcy's vote against the bill furnished material for opposition from that section.^e

Another grievance was in connection with the Lake Erie and Hudson River Railroad survey. This railroad was intended to go through the southern tier of counties. According to an act of Congress the survey was to be made at public expense, if the President should think it of national importance. Jackson detailed engineers for the purpose, but ordered the surveys not to be made unless the State or incorporated companies or

^aAlbany Argus, October 16, 19, 1832.

^bTallmadge's letter, Albany Argus, September 15, 1832. See also Albany Argus, October 5.

^cIt was declared "that the improvement of the navigation of the Hudson River is of national importance, not merely to this State, but of portions of New England and of all the Western States. * * * We can not comprehend the logic by which the President was led to the conclusion that such a measure was unconstitutional, when at the same time he approved of appropriations for objects far less national in their character and comparatively less important to any interest, either local or general."—Albany Evening Journal, Oneida convention of August 15, and Montgomery convention in Albany Evening Journal of August 25, 1832.

^dAlbany Argus, October 5, 1832.

^eProceedings of the Oswego convention, Albany Evening Journal, October 8, 1832. See, also, *Ibid.*, September 22, 1832.

individuals interested should meet all the expenses, except such as belonged to the personal compensation of the engineers and the procuring and repairing of necessary instruments. The money not being forthcoming, they stopped work. The President was declared by the opposition "to have evinced 'unprincipled opposition' to the internal improvements and the interests of the State."^a

These are but minor incidents. What was really remarkable about the year 1832 was the manner in which the forces of the opposition were collected and marshalled against the Administration and its candidate for governor. The Antimasonic State convention met at Utica on June 21. Albert H. Tracy, of Buffalo, was elected president, and Francis Granger, of Ontario, and Samuel Stevens, of New York, were unanimously nominated as its candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor. The convention concurred in the nomination of Wirt and Ellmaker for President and Vice-President, and nominated a remarkable electoral ticket, containing the names of many men who were at least not avowed Antimasons. Says Weed: "We aimed, in the selection of candidates, to secure the votes of all who were opposed to the re-election of General Jackson."^b Chancellor Kent was put at the head of the ticket, and half of the electoral ticket were Antimasons and half from the old National Republican party.^c The whole attitude of the convention shows it to have been completely under the thumb of Weed and his friends. The addresses dwelt upon the abuses of the Administration, and had little to say (doubtless to placate the Clay supporters) about the principles of the party.^d This policy was in line with the general silence upon Antimasonic topics for some time previous, partly, no doubt, caused by the dying out of the Masonic institution, and partly from the desire not to hurt the coalition by offending the Masonic National Republicans.^e

The plot had been so carefully arranged, and the electors so evenly divided that the National Republican convention of

^a Proceedings of the Cayuga County convention, Albany Evening Journal, October 3, 1832. See, also, *Ibid.*, September 5, 1832.

^b Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 413.

^c Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 99.

^d Albany Argus, June 23, 1832. See, also, *Ibid.*, October 9, Address of the Columbia electors.

^e Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 213. Letter of April 14.

July 25 found no difficulty in nominating the same State and electoral ticket, although they nominated Clay and Sergeant for Presidential candidates.^a

Seward says:

The question as to which man the electoral vote would be given if the ticket was elected was earnestly discussed, but, so far as I know, no public explanation was ever given. Perhaps I know all on that subject that was known by anyone who was not a member of one or of both of the State conventions. * * * I thought the chances about equal that the combined opposition might carry the State. I expected that, in that case, the electoral votes would be cast for Wirt and Ellmaker, unless it should appear from the results of the election in other States that, being so cast for Wirt and Ellmaker, they should not be sufficient to secure their election, but would secure the election of Clay and Sergeant if cast for them.^b

To bind the opposition more firmly together and to prevent quarrels, it was decided that a man from each party should attend the district and county conventions to harmonize conflicting interests and opinions.^c

But if the scheme seemed to succeed, the leaders of the Antimasons had, as events show, presumed too much upon the good nature of those of the party who were still bitter and uncompromising in their hatred of Freemasons. Weed's discomfiture in the convention of 1830 had not made a sufficiently lasting impression on him, and he again overreached his mark. The ghost of Southwick arose to confront those who would thus tamper with the "blessed spirit" and mingle with the worshippers of that "Satan's synagogue," the Masonic institution. The coalition was repudiated and denounced.^d

John Crary, the former candidate for lieutenant-governor, came out with a long letter in the *Argus* addressed to the Antimasons of 1828.^e This was an able document, and no doubt had great influence on the election. He claimed that

^a Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 413; Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 398.

^b Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 100.

^c Weed and Matthew L. Davis, the literary executor of Burr, were the men selected. Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 414. The Jackson men gave the name "Siamese Twin Party" to this coalition.

^d Spencer was evidently very early apprehensive of this feeling. In a letter to Weed, July 13, 1832, he says: "All that I apprehend from it is that our Antimason friends will doubt whether all our electoral candidates will go for Wirt," and advised against a nomination by the National Republicans. In a letter of September 15 he says: "Our Antimason friends stand firm and treat with contempt the cry of coalition. * * * Still, we have judged it expedient to furnish them occasionally with Antimasonic matter." Weed, *Autobiography*, II, pp. 43, 44. These letters are typical of the spirit of the leaders of the party.

^e *Albany Argus*, August 14, 1832.

the old Adams party had tried to appropriate the spirit of Antimasonry to itself since the spirit had shown its power in the election of 1828. He said:

It must be obvious that if Antimasonry was right in 1828, it must be wrong now, for it is different both in principle and practice from what it was then. In 1828 the object was the destruction of Freemasonry, now it is the protection of it, for the benefit of all those who will connive at the hypocrisy of the party. In 1828 the Antimasons abandoned their political parties for the cause of Antimasonry * * * now they abandon the cause of Antimasonry for the sake of resuscitating the old Adams party for the benefit of Mr. Clay, and unite with the Masons who are in favor of him. With a view to this object, we have seen the Antimasonic and National Republican journals cease their denunciations against each other and for months past chime in together against General Jackson and the Albany Regency.

This letter was followed by many others of similar nature. The radicals also received much encouragement from Antimasons outside of the State, especially from Massachusetts.^a

One of the most important documents used by the anti-coalition party was the "Appeal of the Antimasons of Columbia County" denouncing Weed and the coalition, and asking the electors to come out and say for whom they would vote. This paper received all the force of Weed's sarcasm and brilliant political wit and was as strongly defended by the Jackson papers and the Radicals.^b It exposed the political methods of the coalitionists in Columbia County, and then said:

At the local elections in almost every part of the State, coalitions as complete and as disgraceful have been formed. In proof of this, we refer to the support of Clay men and those opposed to Antimasonry on the one hand, and to the support of Antimasons by Clay men on the other, in almost every county in the State. We refer you to the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, Sullivan, Schenectady, and many other places. We refer you to the whole six counties composing the third senatorial district, in which the two parties united on a candidate for the Senate. We refer you to the convention in Montgomery County, called by 366 individuals, part of whom are Antimasons and part Clay men, to insure "concert of action among all opposed to the Republican party without regard to their opinions on the subject of Masonry." We refer to a convention of Antimasons and Clay men in Franklin County which appointed delegates to the State convention of both parties, or as it termed them "the divisions of the great political party," which resolved that for the accomplishment of the paramount

^a Letter from Boston Free Press (Antimasonic) in Albany Argus, August 14, 1832.

^b See Albany Argus, September 18, October 4, October 9, 1832. Albany Evening Journal, September 18, 1832.

object * * * all minor considerations should be made to yield, and that no difference not strictly of a political nature, should be allowed to create divisions and dissensions.^a

These statements are in the main true, as shown by those of Weed himself.^b They show that he had done his work well and that Antimasonry pure and simple had become but a shadow. We can say truly that with this election the Whig party was really formed.^c

The attitude of the National Republicans deserves notice. They were naturally delighted at the turn affairs had taken. The Albany Advertiser, which had been credited with carrying the National Republican counties of the interior against Granger in the previous election,^d agreed to support the "ticket on the broad and distinct ground that it was the paramount object of all those who truly love their country to put down and destroy the present shameful and corrupt administration."^e Many of the electors, like Chancellor Kent, were the oldest and strongest men of the party, which fact gave confidence that Clay would receive the electoral vote, and it was indeed understood that the Antimasons had formed the union on the ground that the electors should give their votes for Mr. Clay as an equivalent for the National Republican votes which would be cast for Granger. This seems to have been understood outside of the State, as well as within, and was evidently accepted by the Masons.^f

The election was hotly contested and the parties were highly excited;^g but the Jackson party, with its shibboleth of "Remember the Aristocrats at the Polls,"^h were too strong for the combination, and the "huzza strength,"ⁱ as Weed called it, won by a vote of 13,000 majority for its Presidential candidate.^j Marcy received a majority of nearly 10,000 votes. Granger regained the counties of Washington, Essex, and

^a Albany Argus, October 9, 1832.

^b Weed, Autobiography, I, pp. 413, 414.

^c A curious feature of the contest now showed itself because of the above and similar documents. As Masons had renounced in 1828, we have the papers full of renunciations of Antimasonry in 1832.

^d Pennsylvania Intelligencer, July 5, 1832.

^e Albany Daily Advertiser, August 3, 1832.

^f Albany Argus, August 11, 1832. See extract from Boston Masonic Mirror. See also Albany Argus, August 14, November 3, and Ohio State Journal, August 11, 1832.

^g Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 423.

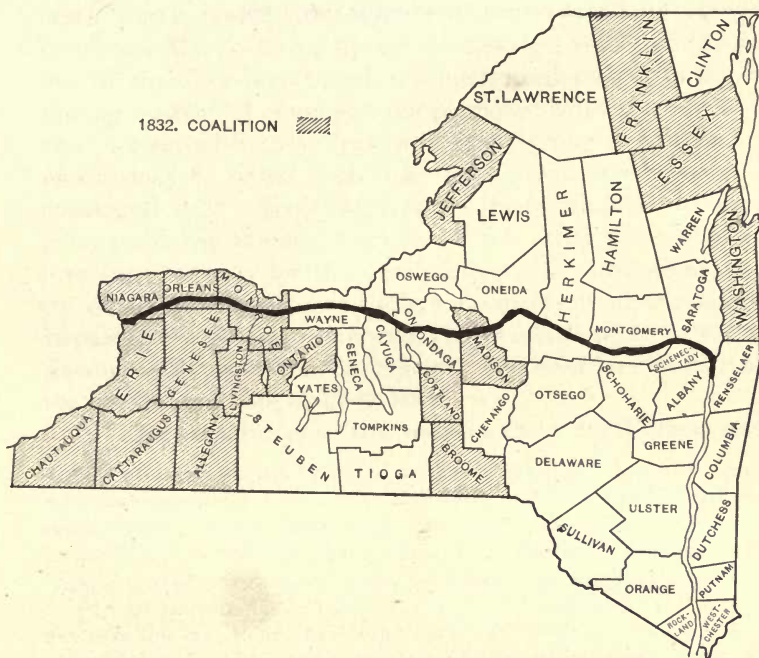
^h Albany Argus, November 3, 1832.

ⁱ Weed, Autobiography, II, 46.

^j Albany Argus, November 6, 12, 14, 15, December 13, 1832.

Franklin, which had voted for him in 1828. He also gained Madison and Cortland, which had never before voted for him; but he lost Chenango, Cayuga, Seneca, Tompkins, Steuben, and Wayne, which were carried by him in 1830. Chenango, which in 1830 gave him a majority of 1,100, now gave Marcy and Tracy about 40.^a

After the election, both the Antimasons and the National Republicans were generally satisfied with the struggle they had made. The only thing the National Republicans com-



plained of was the outside interference of the Boston Antimasonic press, which they charged with raising "discord by the continued and systematic and obstinate course of misrepresentation."^b There is no doubt that the radical Antimasons,

^a Albany Argus, November 21, 1832. See *Ibid*, November 11, 1830. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 399. Hammond, II, 424, puts it 200, which is an error. The action in Chenango was doubtless influenced by the changed attitude of the Democrats on the canal question.

^b From New York Commercial Advertiser, quoted in Ohio State Journal, Dec. 1, 1832. There is some evidence of this in Spencer's letter to Weed, of July 13. Weed, Autobiography, II, 43.

as well as many former supporters of Granger, turned away from him because of the sharp practice indulged in by the leaders. They had overreached themselves in their strenuous efforts. Antimasonry as a party was doomed, and already it was suggested that a new name be given to the combined parties^a now cemented by a common defeat.^b Indeed Antimasonry was to receive its death blow in New York within a year.

^a Weed, Autobiography, II, 47. Letter of Patterson to Weed.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, I, 398.

CHAPTER VII.—BIRTH OF THE WHIG PARTY.

The political year of 1833 opened with a triumphant Democratic party, which immediately began to fulfill its pledges. Governor Marcy, in his inaugural message, reviewed the subject of the Chenango Canal and finally indorsed it in the following words: "I commend the proposed work to your favorable notice, with the expression of a strong desire that its merits may be found such as to induce you to authorize its construction."^a Accordingly, after the legislature was organized, a bill for the construction of the canal was introduced into the assembly by the Democrats, with limitations as to the expense, and with but slight limitations in other respects.^b It passed the House on February 1 by a vote of 79 to 40^c and was immediately sent to the Senate. On February 21 it passed that body by a vote of 17 to 10.^d

Mr. Hammond says of this movement by the Democrats:

The reasons assigned by these gentlemen for their change of opinion were quite singular. * * * Several senators of high standing and character, declared in their places that they believed the project ought not to be sanctioned by the State; but as they had no doubt the applicants would persevere until a legislature would be chosen who would grant their request, they thought it their duty to vote for the measure: for if they did not pass the law, their successors would. To illustrate more clearly the rule of action by which these gentlemen profess to have been governed, I will suppose that I am quite sure that Tom Jones will steal your horse to-morrow night: and to prevent such an outrage, I determine to steal the horse this night.^b

The Antimasons had realized long before this that they would be beaten on this question out of which they had made so much political capital. Consequently many of them turned

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 431.

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 425.

^c Hammond, *Ibid.*, Albany Argus, February 2, 1833.

^d Albany Argus, February 21, 1833. Tracy and Seward voted against it.

and voted against the bill and in so doing fell back upon the support of the farmers of the western part of the State. To carry out this policy, Spencer, in a speech on February 1, opposed the bill because of the seventh section, which provided that the expense of the canal should be chargeable upon the canal fund. This, he argued, would prevent, for a time at least, the reduction of the tolls on the Erie Canal, and thus prevent the farmers of the west from competing with the south in the New York market.^a

Spencer's action met with at least a partial support from the Antimasons throughout the State and especially in the western part, where it was felt that the bill as reported was unfair to them. "The construction of the Chenango Canal," says the Rochester Inquirer, "is to be a charge upon the canal fund, and is therefore built by the tolls of the people of the west. We are for the Chenango Canal, but not on such principles. Mr. Spencer and our friends in the House have resisted the measure manfully, but what efforts can meet success against the settled determination of the Regency to pick the pockets of the people of the west? What earthly reason exists why money should not be raised for the object on the credit of the State, as was the case with the Erie Canal? And if the canal revenues are insufficient to meet the loans, let them be met by an equal tax. * * * Why should the farmers of Monroe contribute so vastly more than their proportion to this object? There can be no reason for it founded on justice."^b

The assembly inserted a provision in the bill providing that the surplus moneys belonging to the canal fund should be invested in that stock, but it was rejected by the senate. The Antimasons in general voted for the amendment and claimed it was defeated by the banks because it would "draw from the banks part of that enormous amount now loaned to them, at the very reduced rates of three and a half and four and a half per cent per annum, while they loan out at seven per cent."^c

The question of the canal is fully discussed here because of its great importance in the subsequent history of New York

^a Albany Argus, February 2 and March 8, 1833.

^b Albany Evening Journal, February 8, 1833.

^c Address of the Antimasonic members of the legislature. Albany Evening Journal, May 1, 1833.

politics.^a "It was," says Mr. Hammond, "the commencement of, or entering wedge to, a system of measures, and a policy which have involved the State in a debt, which, for aught I can perceive, will not be exterminated by the present [1852] and I apprehend, many succeeding generations." All agree that the work was absurd, and, as such, stands as a model of what American political parties can selfishly commence and carry through against public interests and for their own trivial triumphs.

The Antimasons confined their attention during this year to advocating the lowering of the tolls upon the Erie Canal. The people of the State directly interested in the canal were greatly dissatisfied because of the numerous competitors which were springing up. "There is scarcely a county between the shores of Lake Erie and the banks of the Hudson," said the Buffalo Patriot, "that has not applied to have its brooks made navigable and its coal beds and clay beds connected with the tide water in public works to be constructed out of the tolls of the Erie Canal. * * * The friends of the railroad on the south and the Oswego and Welland canals on the north will not relax their efforts to share the envied monopoly of the Western trade which we now enjoy."^b

The position of Antimasons on national questions underwent a decided change during the year. In the first place, the shrewd politicians who controlled the policy of the party saw that the election of 1832 was a positive decision against the Bank, and they as a body at length realized, what Weed had seen for some time, that they would lose popularity by supporting it. In the second place, they saw that it would be impossible again to unite on Clay as the leader of a strong tariff policy. The New York Whig puts Clay's position as

^a Political history of New York.

^b Albany Evening Journal, December 4, 1833. This discontent of the west led to the forming of a new party known as the "Liberal Republicans," which nominated Sheldon Smith, of Buffalo, for assembly. Mr. Smith voices the sentiments of the section in the following manner: "That the people of Erie, in common with other portions of the great West, have important and vital interests at stake, at the present time, is a proposition which all must admit. * * * Ever since the death of Clinton * * * a fatal, disastrous policy has been pursued by those who have had charge of the New York canals. * * * It was to be expected that the immensely rich and rapidly increasing trade of the boundless West would produce powerful competitors for its benefits. These competitors already exist on both sides of New York, and have already directed large portions of the trade into other and less natural channels. The return of trade to our State depends entirely on the more discreet management of our canals."—Albany Argus, October 29, 1833.

follows: "The new tariff bill from the hands of Mr. Clay separates him from the most ardent of his friends. It is regarded as a death blow to the tariff. Indeed, Mr. Clay avows it to be so, but he claims this: That the people have willed its death, and that all he could do now, is to make that death slow. He has obtained a nine years' life for the factories, which, without his aid, would have been cut down in two years."^a To avoid the issue thus presented, the Antimasonic members of the legislature in their address of this year to the people declared that "as a body, we are neither for the tariff nor against it. Nor for or against any of the other important projects of the day. We have no connection with them, but individually we act and think in reference to them according to the dictates of our judgments."^b

The attitude of Weed and a few powerful Antimasons toward the Bank had been hostile for some time. Just before the election we find him warning the friends of the institution that if they expected the votes of the Antimasonic members they would be disappointed. After saying that he "hoped that the friends of the Bank will not attempt to renew a desperate and unavailing conflict, * * * the Bank is doomed and nothing can arrest its fate; * * * the veto of the president received the sanction of the people," he said:

Can the Bank hope, under the existing circumstances to obtain a recharter? Certainly not by fair means; and it were better that a thousand such banks be annihilated than that other means should be brought into conflict with the purity of Congress. * * * The Bank must perish. The Kitchen cabinet and their King, * * * seek to make their opponents the supporters of the Bank. Shall we permit them to occupy this vantage ground? * * * It is absolutely certain that no party however pure, can rise with the U. S. Bank upon its shoulders, and it is equally certain that any party, however profligate, will triumph, if identified with Jackson in his crusade against the Bank.^c

With all these conflicts within the party, success in the election of 1833 was impossible, and the election terminated almost universally in favor of the Democratic party.^d All the senatorial districts but the eighth elected Democratic senators; and in this district (the western), where Antimasonry had its

^a Albany Argus, March 14, 1833.

^b Albany Evening Journal, May 1, 1833.

^c Albany Evening Journal, October 25, 1833. See also Albany Argus, October 26, 1833. Weed, Autobiography, I, 424.

^d Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 435. Albany Argus, November 16, 1833.

stronghold, A. H. Tracy, one of its most popular leaders, was elected by a vote of but 165.^a Out of the 128 members of the assembly elected, 104 were Democrats.^b Even the counties of Orleans, Chautauqua, Allegany, and Monroe gave majorities against the party in the west.^c

The election meant the death of the Antimasonic party and the organization of the Whigs. Weed says:

The election of 1833, demonstrated unmistakably not only that opposition to Masonry as a party in a political aspect had lost its hold upon the public mind, but that its leading object, namely, to awaken and perpetuate a public sentiment against secret societies, had signally failed. The Jackson party was now more powerful than ever in three fourths of the States in the Union. The National Republican party was quite as fatally demoralized as that to which I belonged. This discouraging condition of political affairs * * * resulted in a virtual dissolution of the Antimasonic party. All or nearly all of our leading friends having no affinities of sentiment or sympathy with the Jackson party found themselves at liberty to retire from political action or unite with the then largely disorganized elements of opposition to the national and State administrations. I had by this time become irreconcilably opposed to the Regency, and fell naturally into association with their opponents. The "Evening Journal" went diligently and zealously to work organizing the elements of opposition throughout the State into what soon became the "Whig party."^d

Many after reading this account will no doubt not entirely agree with Mr. Weed that the leading object of Antimasonry was to awaken and perpetuate a public sentiment against secret societies. At least it does not seem to be entirely true of the last few years of their existence. Even the statements of Mr. Hammond, shrewd and accurate historian as he was, seem naïve in the light of the history of the events here recorded. Nevertheless, his statement of the transition of the Antimasons to the Whigs is of value and contains hints of the nature of the Antimasonic movement in its last stages. In the consideration of this party it is strange that the historians of America have put so much weight upon Antimasonry itself and so little upon its political nature. After what has been put forward in this account, it is well to give Mr. Hammond's ideas,

^a Albany Argus, *ibid.* Hammond, *ibid.*

^b Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 435.

^c Albany Argus, November 16, 1833.

^d Weed, Autobiography, I, 425. The name Whig was used for the amalgamated party in 1834. Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 442; Albany Argus, November 11, 1834.

just and liberal as they are, upon the ending of the old party and the beginning of the new. Says Mr. Hammond:

It is remarkable, that when this attitude and name [Whig] was assumed by the National Republican party, the Antimasonic party instantly disbanded. They seemed as if by magic, in one moment annihilated. That unbending, and as they were called proscribing party, comprising many thousands of electors, among whom were great numbers of men of high character for their talents and standing, and distinguished for their piety and sacred regard to the dictates of conscience, who had repeatedly most solemnly declared, they would never vote for an adhering Mason for any office whatever, in one day, ceased to utter a word against Masonry, assumed the name and title of Whigs, and, as it were, in an instant amalgamated into one mass with the National Republicans, a party composed as well of Masons as of other citizens. This seems to be a high evidence of the community of feeling which existed among the members of the Antimasonic party; and that what is called the discipline of party was, by no means, confined to the Democratic party in the State of New York. It may, however, be said, and it ought to be stated, because it is true, that the institution of Masonry had, in point of fact ceased to exist, and therefore, that the Antimasons had accomplished the object they originally had in view, which was the destruction of Masonry. But then it is equally true, that Masonry was as effectually demolished in November, 1832, as in February, 1834.^a

In conclusion, it seems upon a careful examination of the subject that we can call the only true Antimasonic party in New York that of Southwick of 1828. The development of the great strength of the party under the name of Antimasonry we must attribute to the able leadership and fertile talents of Weed and his friends, aided by the political conditions of the times, and by many circumstances which will be discussed later on in this work. The spirit of Antimasonry which had found lodgment in the other States which we are to consider was a reflex of that in New York. It is to New York that the other States looked for guidance, for leaders, and to a large extent for political material and methods.

^a Hammond, Political History of New York, II, 399.

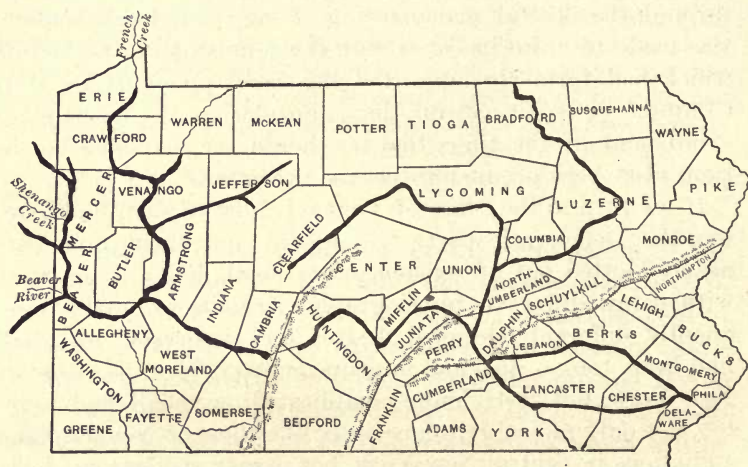
CHAPTER VIII.—THE FORMATION OF THE PARTY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Upon examining the rise and progress of Antimasonry as a political party in the State of New York, we saw that it started in the western part of the State in the honest spirit of opposition to the Masonic institution which marked the period directly after the murder of William Morgan. It was taken up by the religious sects of that part of the State and became, in fact, a religious crusade. We found also that it was soon brought into the politics of the day in local affairs, and finally, through the skillful maneuvering of tactful and able leaders, was made to unite its cause with the remnants of the faction which had formerly supported the canal policy of De Witt Clinton. It is but natural, then, considering the tremendous excitement of the time, that we should see the same conditions elsewhere producing the same results.

If we turn to the State of Pennsylvania we shall find here, too, the Democratic party triumphant and their opponents nearly blotted out of existence; we shall find a large State with many different physiographic conditions, and consequently different sectional desires and interests; we shall find here, too, a canal and improvement problem like that of New York, but vastly more complicated; we shall find here, too, not only radical religious sects like those of New England affiliations in central New York, but numerous German sects with tenets opposed to oaths, and also the Puritans of Pennsylvania, the stern and radical Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Considering the soil, it is not remarkable that the seeds of Antimasonry should have spread to Pennsylvania and found lodging in so well prepared a field as that which Lancaster County and the surrounding country presented. In the first place, this region was inhabited chiefly by German sectarians. Among these were the Mennonites, the German Reformed, the Amish, the Dunkards, the Moravians, the Schwenkfelders, the "New Born," the Inspirationists, and many others. Besides these there was a large sprinkling of Quakers, Lutherans, and Presbyterians. Many of these sects had provisions

in their creeds against the taking of oaths.^a In the second place, it is to be noted that much of this region was physiographically connected with the Baltimore market, and its interests lay to the south along the Susquehanna and not to the west. When the State was spending millions of dollars connecting Philadelphia with the West it can readily be seen that the internal improvement policy of the State would be unpopular in this section. In the third place, the lower tier of counties enjoyed a traffic east and west which the canal to the north would compete with and tend to destroy.

Another section of the State which offered good ground for the "Blessed Spirit," as well as for a new and vigorous political party, was the western tier of counties. In the first



Pennsylvania's Canal Problem.

place, the people who inhabited these counties to the north were mostly of New England stock, allied to their kin of the "infected district" of New York, to which this portion of the territory was physiographically connected; while the people of the center and south were of a peculiarly severe type of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and much opposed to oaths and secret societies. In the second place this tier of counties was separated from the east by high mountain ranges. It was the special desire of the people of the West to connect their section of the country with Philadelphia—in other words,

^a The Dunkards, the Quakers, and the Mennonites had such rules. Lehigh, Northampton, and Berks were inhabited, to a large degree, by Lutherans or German Reformed, who had at the time no provisions against taking oaths.

to have another Erie Canal. Pittsburg had already become a busy manufacturing center, and anxiously awaited the opening of the new canal to Philadelphia. The Democratic State administration, however, showed a tendency to procrastinate, and to dawdle away time and money in various branch canals^a and so-called improvements. The indignation of the western people was great, and culminated in a very hostile attitude toward all improvements not directly to their benefit. It can be easily seen that there was ready soil for the Antimasonic movement in Pennsylvania, but it can be easily seen, also, that the thorough organization of a party founded upon such diverse interests was a matter of great difficulty.

According to the Antimasonic accounts, the introduction of Antimasonry into Pennsylvania was attributed to the "visit of a Geneseean to the place of his former residence, and to the *Batavia Advocate* of 1827, which he carried in his pocket."^b Another account considers Whittlesey's activity in sending Antimasonic documents and papers into Pennsylvania as the chief cause of the movement there.^c At any rate, efforts were made to organize the party and establish a paper in the western part of the State as early as 1827,^d and in 1828 Weed's paper was ordered from Allegheny, Somerset, Union, Lancaster, and Chester counties.^e The first really effective act, however, was the establishment of the *Union Telegraph* and the *Antimasonic Herald*, in Lancaster County.^f The first appearance of political Antimasonry occurred in the fall of this year, when the party put forward a candidate for Congress, William Hiester, of Lancaster County, who was defeated by over 1,500 votes. It also put up a slight opposition in the Westmoreland-Indiana district, and also in Somerset, but elected nobody either to Congress or to the State legislature.^g

Antimasonry had little to do with the national election. The only counties giving Adams majorities were Delaware, Bucks, Adams, and Beaver. Jackson's total vote was 101,652, while Adams received 51,569.^h It is a fact worth noting that

^a Report of canal commissioners, December 25, 1827. Shulze's veto message, April 20, 1829, in Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, III.

^b Report on the press in the New York State convention of 1831. *Albany Evening Journal*, March 1, 1831.

^c *Albany Evening Journal*, June 13, 1831.

^d Seward's press report in United States convention at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830.

^e Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 310.

^f *Antimasonic Review*, I, No. 12, 375.

^g *Pennsylvania Reporter* (Democratic), Harrisburg, July 3, 1829.

^h *Pennsylvania Reporter*, Harrisburg, November 11, 1828.

the Adams counties lay in the southeast and in the west. The German counties to the southeast, as a general thing, gave large majorities for Jackson.

In order to trace, step by step, the growth of Antimasonry in Pennsylvania it is necessary to digress somewhat and to describe briefly the State and local issues before the people. The legislative session of the winter of 1828-29 is well worth our study in this connection, as its deliberations show us the sectional feeling then existing.

The southeastern counties of Pennsylvania are some of the richest in the State. With fine fertile limestone valleys bordering on mountains full of minerals and with good water power, their natural outlets were to the south. The high mountain walls to the west and north seemed to preclude the idea of trade and commerce in those directions and the people of this region longed for the improvement of those natural outlets which would be the means of enriching and developing their fair valleys. It is small wonder, then, that they should have little interest in great canal projects then being undertaken and should seek other means of bringing their goods to market.^a A project was therefore introduced into the legislature which in final form aimed to incorporate the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad Company, to construct a "railroad from the Maryland line * * * to some eligible and practical point in the Cumberland Valley * * * or to incorporate a Pennsylvania company for that purpose."^b

Preliminary to the above resolution was much debating pro and con. The opposition to the scheme was led by Philadelphia, and was the result of that city's efforts to check the trade to the south and receive it herself. The attitude of the city may be seen, by the following remarks:

The people of these counties [southern] acknowledge that they opposed the canal system; their excuse is that they had no interest in it; they were unwilling to extend that to others from which they could derive no advantage, and as interest is the sole ground on which they placed that matter, it is but fair they should be answered with their own arguments. It is not to the interest of the State to permit the construction of the Baltimore Railroad, but obviously against it, and therefore the State is bound not to grant it.^c

It was said in this connection that the proper title of the act should be "An act to vest in the State of Maryland commer-

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, January 23, 1828.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, February 13, 1829.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, January 30, 1829, Burden's speech.

cial jurisdiction over one-half the territory of Pennsylvania."^a We are not surprised to learn that the committee to whom the petitions were referred finally reported that the construction of such roads within the borders of Pennsylvania by the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad Company would not be in accordance with public policy.^b This matter was to be a bone of contention in the future and a fruitful source of strength to the opponents of the Democratic Administration.

In the session of the legislature, too, the loan for the canal system and improvements was roundly denounced by enemies of the canal and its branches. The size of the loan itself and the manner of securing it were especially attacked.^c The South and Southwest, which had enjoyed a great deal of overland traffic, felt the necessity of keeping the roads in order and of building new ones if they were to compete at all with the canal. They naturally grew indignant at the constant neglect of their interests while millions were being spent on a canal. Many speeches were made and petitions presented in favor of their cause, but they received scant attention.^d

Although this was the year of the gubernatorial contest, yet the Antimasonic spirit remained for a long time dormant and apathetic. Finally, however, a convention assembled at the court-house in Harrisburg on June 25, in which delegates from the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Lehigh, Dauphin, Union, Somerset, Franklin, Erie, Mifflin, Westmoreland, and Indiana appeared. These counties, it may be observed, are in the southeastern, southern, and western parts of the State. The proceedings of the convention were much like the earlier conventions in New York. After the usual stock Antimasonic speeches and resolutions, the convention listened to a lengthy address by Frederick Whittlesey, of the central committee of Rochester, N. Y. No doubt this had much inspiration in it, for the convention nominated for governor Joseph Ritner, of Washington County (in the western part of the State), a man of German parentage, a soldier of the war of 1812, and formerly a speaker of the lower house.^e The Democrats nomi-

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, January 30, 1829.

^b Report of committee on inland navigation and internal improvement, Pennsylvania Reporter, February 17, 1829.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, April 17, 1829. The loan was to be secured through the Baring Brothers, a proceeding very unpopular in these times of intense Americanism.

^d See Pennsylvania Reporter, April 21, 1829.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, June 26, July 3, 1829. Albany Argus, July 2, 1829. Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, July 31, 1829.

nated George Wolf, of Northampton County, a Mason, who had been a Representative in Congress for three terms.

The campaign which followed was quiet, and not at all characterized by the excitement which marked the early Antimasonic movements in New York. In fact it was asserted by the Antimasonic leaders that because of the insufficient organization in a great many counties, it was not known generally that there was any opposition to Wolf.^a What little excitement occurred was largely the result of the conversion to Antimasonry of Ner Middleswarth, of Union County, speaker of the lower house, who made the charge that the Masons approached him and assured him that he would be nominated for governor if he would become a Free Mason.^b

The results of the election showed that the people of Pennsylvania were ready for Antimasonry. Ritner polled 49,000 votes and carried the counties of Adams, Bedford, Cambria, Chester, Crawford, Dauphin, Erie, Huntingdon, Indiana, Jefferson, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lycoming, Mercer, Somerset, Union, and Washington, and polled a heavy vote in Berks, Fayette, Greene, Lehigh, Mifflin, Montgomery, and Westmoreland.^c In general, his heaviest vote was in the southern and western parts of the State.^d The Democratic papers conceded 15 members of the house and 1 member of the senate.^e Harmar Denny, an Antimason, was also elected to Congress from the Pittsburg district.^f

The election of 1829 demonstrated the fact that a new and strong party had arisen in Pennsylvania. The leaders had obtained results far beyond their expectations. The remarkable suddenness of its rise can only be attributed to the fact that the elements were all there, and it required but thorough organization to make it a triumphant success.

^a Seward's press report in the Antimasonic national convention, September 11, 1830.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, August 21, 1829.

^c Pennsylvania Intelligencer, December 14, 1829. Albany Evening Journal, November 11, 1830. Wolf's majority was about 27,000. Albany Argus, November 2, 1829.

^d In the western part of the State, in Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette, and Greene, the Antimasonic vote was no doubt reduced by an act of the session of 1828, which provided for the improvement of the Monongahela River from the city of Pittsburg to the Virginia State line. Work had not begun on this, however, at this time. Pennsylvania Reporter, October 9, 1829.

^e From the Bedford-Somerset district. See Pennsylvania Reporter, October 23, 1829. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, November 3, 1829.

^f Pennsylvania Reporter, December 1, 1829. Albany Argus, December 8, 1829. Seward's press report in the Antimasonic Convention, Philadelphia, September 11, 1830.

CHAPTER IX.—A WEAK LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION FORMED.

The legislative session of the year 1829-30 was in many ways similar to that of the preceding winter. The election of George Wolf, a strong exponent of internal improvements, was expressive of the desire of the people of Pennsylvania for the completion of the vast system of canals which was in progress. This question involved many local issues and it was obvious that the immense sums required would not be voted by the legislature, except by a system of logrolling. The counties bordering upon the north and west branches of the Susquehanna wanted local improvements in these sections in return for their support of improvements in other quarters or for the main line of the canal. It was thus impossible to put all effort into one great canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and the consequent result was immense sums of money frittered away upon short lines in every direction. By the report of the committee of ways and means of this year, we find that the State had already contracted loans to the amount of \$8,140,000 for improvements.^a

It is not surprising under these circumstances that a new loan should be unpopular in many sections of the State. A bill was finally passed approving of a loan of \$3,459,532 for the completion of such portions of canals and railroads as were under contract and for the payment of temporary loans. The Juniata division, the most difficult part of the main line, received but \$300,000, with provisions for a portage railroad over the Allegheny Mountains.^b The few Antimasons in the legislature showed as yet little organization and voted with

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, February 28, 1830.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, February 16, March 19, 1830. Primarily the branch canals were to follow the Susquehanna in order to form an outlet for the coal fields, but recently their advocates had grown more ambitious, and it was urged that the north branch could well connect with the New York system, while the west could be extended to open up the fine lands of northwestern Pennsylvania, and some even thought that it could be extended profitably to Lake Erie.

their sections on the local questions, while on the final vote they were nearly divided. As the opposition came mostly from the strong Antimasonic sections of the State a consideration of this opposition is of the utmost importance.^a

The southern portion of the State still clamored for appropriations for turnpike roads. They claimed that their fair share in the general welfare was denied them as the canal did not aid them. The roads were embarrassed with debt and it was claimed that they would have to be abandoned if not soon aided.^b

The controversies over the place of termination of the main canal in the west also caused much debate. Many preferred that the canal should terminate in Erie, while others desired to connect it with the Ohio system. Some favored the extension to the Ohio system by way of the Beaver and Chenango rivers, while others favored French Creek connections to Lake Erie. Those in favor of the Beaver-Shenango line strenuously opposed the appropriations for the French Creek line.^c This is especially significant when we consider the fact that Erie County was one of the strongest Antimasonic counties in the State.

The most significant act, perhaps, of this session, however, from an Antimasonic standpoint, and one which tended to weld the party together, was the bill which was introduced repealing the law to exempt the Masonic hall in Philadelphia from taxation. The debates were violent. The Masons

^aThe Albany Argus speaks of 13 men who gave their votes to Middleswarth for speaker. Albany Argus, November 26, 1829.

^bIn the course of debate upon this subject, Mr. Fetterman, of Bedford, said: "Had Pennsylvania made the leading routes herself and thrown them open free of toll, it would have enabled us to compete successfully with the great National road. When that road was first made, it had nearly depopulated 100 miles of your mountainous territory and ruined your citizens. However, Congress neglected it, and suffered it to go out of repair, and a reaction took place. Last winter Congress made an appropriation of \$400,000 for its repair, and, sir, there are fearful forebodings that it may prove as prejudicial to us as was the first commencement of that road * * * forebodings that may prove too true, unless some measures are adopted for our relief * * * if you will not adopt it, you had better at once strike off the proscribed section to Maryland and let us become a little State of our own." He said further that the route to the north of them had been aided by the laying out of the canal to such an extent "as to enable it to divert from them that business, and in some measure that carrying and traveling which they had formerly enjoyed * * * so that property had been depreciating in value, business had been declining, and their general prosperity was on the wane." Pennsylvania Reporter, February 12, 23, 1830. Members from Westmoreland, Cambria, Fayette, Franklin, and Cumberland spoke to the same effect. Pennsylvania Reporter, February 19, 23, 1830.

^cPennsylvania Reporter, March 5, 26, 1830.

defended their order, and the Antimasons, especially the members from Lancaster, vehemently denounced it. There seemed to be no good reason why the building should not be taxed, and the motion was carried 53 to 31.^a

In order to appoint delegates for the coming national convention, an Antimasonic State convention was held at Harrisburg on February 26. Joseph Ritner was president and delegates appeared from nearly all the counties. An event of the greatest significance to the cause in Pennsylvania was the fact that Thaddeus Stevens, of Adams County, took a seat in the convention. The delegates were appointed and the meeting adjourned without any remarkable results.^b

The campaign of this year caused but little excitement. The Clay men and their Antimasonic supporters attacked the last legislature for its extravagance. It was charged that the "affairs of the State were in an embarrassing and ruinous situation, with an impending load of taxes and a reckless and unattentive set of public servants."^c

The Democrats called upon all who "are opposed to the ruinous system of national appropriations of millions for roads through our neighboring States, when Pennsylvania has had to make her own roads and improvements, * * * all who are in favor of Pennsylvania sharing in the surplus revenue of the United States in order to extinguish our State debt without taxation," to oppose the progress of the Clay party. Jackson was lauded to the people of Pennsylvania as the champion, the protector, and the encourager of domestic manufactures, and the Antimasonic party was denounced as being but an ally of Clay, a party gotten together by ambitious and disappointed politicians.^d

In the election which followed, the Antimasons succeeded in electing, according to Democratic accounts, 6 members to Congress, 4 Senators, and 27 members of the House.^e They

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, February 9, 1830.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, March 2, 1830. Albany Argus, March 8, 1830. Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, March 12, 1830. Seward's report in the national convention, September 11, 1830, Philadelphia. These accounts all give but the barest outlines of the proceedings.

^c Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, October 1, 1830.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, October 9, 1830. See also *ibid.*, August 20, 1830.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, October 13, 17, 22. Albany Argus, October 18, 20, 21, 25, November 25, 1830.

gained in the west, but lost votes in the east, especially in Lebanon and Dauphin. They claimed to have polled 54,000 votes.^a

As in New York we can not attribute all of this success to the Antimasonic movement alone, but a large part of it was due to a combination of all elements of discontent under the guise of Antimasonry. No small share of its success must be laid at the door of the Clay party, which voted in the interior counties with the Antimasons.^b

^a Albany Evening Journal, October 26, November 11, 1830.

^b Albany Evening Journal, October 25, 1830. Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, November 12, 1830.

CHAPTER X.—THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1830-31 AND THE CANAL QUESTION.

Governor Wolf's message to the session of 1830-31 speaks of internal improvements in the following manner:

On the subject of internal improvements my opinion has ever been in favor of the policy; and, although circumstances have occasionally occurred, calculated to dampen the ardor of its warmest friends, still I feel persuaded that a gradual progressive system of improvements by means of roads and canals such as this State might have prosecuted from time to time, without embarrassing her finances, or endangering her credit, would have been the policy. The great mistake on our part, has been in undertaking too much at once, which has obliged us from year to year since the commencement of our public improvements to borrow and to expend large sums of money, and to incur the payment of a heavy interest, without obtaining from them any adequate return. Although all the works that have been contracted for, have been finished or are in a state rapidly approximating to completion, yet until those in the east shall be so connected with those in the west as to form one entire connected chain of communication between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, the great emporium of the east and west, we can not expect to derive much advantage from them.^a

The above has been quoted fully, not only because of its complete analysis of the problem before the people of the State, but also to show Wolf's policy at this particular time. He was to be constantly criticised in the future for favoring a widely extended and ruinous policy. It is safe to say that had he pursued the policy herein set down, however useless

^a "The connecting link necessary to complete such a line of communication between the east and west, as well as to give value to the works in that direction and render them useful to the people and profitable to the State, are the railroad from Columbia, in the county of Lancaster, to the city of Philadelphia, about 81 miles in extent, 40 miles of which * * * have been nearly completed." [Various other gaps in the line including the Allegheny Portage Railroad are mentioned, after which he goes on to say:] "The aggregate cost of constructing the several links * * * [is] a sum exceeding two million and a half, and may be safely set down at a sum not exceeding three millions of dollars. * * * I submit to the wisdom of the legislature, whether sound policy does not require that the connection mentioned should be formed with as little delay as possible, and whether the best interests of the Commonwealth in this particular are not intimately connected with its speedy completion." Message of Governor Wolf, Pennsylvania Reporter, December 10, 1830. Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, VI, 388.

it seems to run a canal through such a mountainous country, a great part of the opposition which he met from the counties on the main line would have been turned into support. There is no doubt also that the Democrats would not have lost the support of the thrifty, debt-hating, tax-hating German population to the extent that they did.^a As it was, logrolling proved too much for this policy.

In this session the Antimasons showed in their vote for speaker that they existed as a party in the legislature and had gained in numbers. Middleswarth, their candidate, received 24 votes to 20 for his opponent.^b On local questions, as a general thing, we may say that they voted with their sections, although on the question of the expenditure of large sums for the branch canals they voted in opposition pretty solidly.

Early in the session the members from the branch canal counties began a fight for their share in the public expenditures, and the claims of the West Branch, the Beaver Creek, and the French Creek divisions were earnestly advocated.^c A bill was introduced, and almost the entire session was taken up with discussing this all-important subject. The friends of the Beaver and the French Creek divisions were fairly successful, as the former received \$100,000, while the latter received \$60,000.^d This was considered as equivalent to the securing of the ultimate extension of the work to Lake Erie and, as we have before noted, through the Antimasonic region of the northwest. The North and the West branches both received liberal appropriations. Indeed, the act was a distinct victory for the branches. On March 21 Governor Wolf signed this bill and returned it to the house. In doing so he restated his former position, but submitted to the will of the majority.^e

Early in the year the Antimasons throughout the State began to hold local meetings in order to send delegates to the State convention to nominate delegates to the national con-

^aThe Germans, as a whole, supported Jackson in 1828. Albany Evening Journal, October 25, 1831. Pennsylvania Reporter, October 28, 1831.

^bPennsylvania Reporter, December 10, 1830. Niles Register, 39, 276, says 25.

^cHarrisburg Chronicle, January 31, 1831.

^dHarrisburg Chronicle, March 24, 1831.

^ePennsylvania Reporter, March 24, 1831. Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, 7, 208. He wanted at this time to extend the branch canals only to the coal fields. He seems to have been greatly dissatisfied at the result. It is well to note this as it is in marked contrast with his policy later on.

vention. It is a suggestive and illuminating fact as to the political affiliations of Antimasonry in the State at this time that the delegates to the State convention from many of the counties were instructed to vote for only such delegates to the national convention as were known "to be in favor of nominating * * * for President and Vice-President * * * men who are friendly to a system of protection to the farmer and mechanic, and a liberal system of national internal improvement, and who have no connection with, but, on the contrary, are opposed to the Masonic combination."^a

The State convention met the last of May and, in striking contrast with New York, it was poorly attended and not very enthusiastic. Of 133 members who should have been present, but 64, from 26 counties out of 52, actually attended. The convention condemned Jackson because of his Masonry, advocated an acknowledgment from all judges that they were not Masons, and appointed 28 delegates to attend the national convention at Baltimore. A significant act was a resolution instructing the delegates to the national convention to give no support to Mr. Clay. That statesman, although a Mason, had many friends in the assembly, and a hot debate ensued. The resolution passed only when it was modified by striking out Mr. Clay's name and extending the disqualification of Masonry to any candidate.^b

The Antimasons showed a little spirit in the preparation for the contest of this year. Conventions were held, addresses were made, religious controversies were aroused, renunciations of Masonry were printed, and all the paraphernalia of the party made its appearance. In the words of the Democratic papers: "Antimasonic papers were established through the German sections of the State, Morganic books, almanacs and ridiculous Masonic bugaboo pictures were peddled and distributed without number wherever the people were supposed to be sufficiently credulous to be imposed upon."^c

These efforts had begun to bear fruit in the increasing opposition to the Masons, as evinced in the continual notices of the dissolution of lodges. In dissolving their lodges, the Masons often issued addresses, pleading with dignity innocence

^a Cumberland County meeting, Antimasonic Statesmen, Harrisburg, April 27, 1831.

^b Albany Argus, June 3, 16, 1831. Pennsylvania Reporter, May (31) 7, 1831.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, October 28, 1831.

of any conspiracy or design upon the public weal, and stating that they dissolved their associations only for the peace of society. In the words of the members of the George Washington Lodge, of Franklin: "We know no duty which requires of us to continue an association when such continuance may distract society and separate those who ought to be friends; nor are we aware of any beneficial results likely to flow from an adherence to the order that will not be more than counter-balanced by the excitement which such an adherence may perpetuate."^a

In lines of national policy it is hard to see any great difference between the principles laid down by the Antimasonic conventions and the strong protective tariff policy advocated in Governor Wolf's last message.^b In fact, upon the leading questions of national polity, it is hard to see any difference between the Pennsylvania Democrats at this time and the followers of Clay.

In the Antimasonic campaign literature of the day, we find very little positive policy advocated on the question of State improvements. The fact was that the party had within its ranks so many conflicting interests that sound political policy compelled them to criticise rather than to put forward any definite plan of their own. This is well illustrated by the following statement from the proceedings of the Dauphin County convention: "Let it not be said that we are opposed to State improvements. No such thing, but we are opposed to placing the improvements of the State in the hands of the incompetent. We are opposed to lavishing the people's money on a band of government favorites; and it is notorious that the State improvement (if it can be so called) is a wicked system, or rather practice of a profligate and profuse favouritism."^c

Wolf was attacked as being the head of the system. It was declared "that a State formerly so happy, is now troubled with a governor who is a Mason and a weak-headed man, by whose corrupt administration, connected with the cooperation of a wicked and wasteful legislature, a debt has accumulated to more than fifteen millions, and yet not a single one of our

^a Albany Evening Journal, December 30, 1831.

^b Governor's message, Pennsylvania Reporter, December 10, 1830. Antimasonic Statesman, July 6, 1831.

^c Antimasonic Statesman, August 7, 1831.

public works is entirely finished for which these millions are appropriated. And as it appears to us probable that Masonic officers, under the protection of the Masonic governor * * * make full use of the opportunity of wasting the money; we feel ourselves entitled to meet their mischievous conduct by uniting ourselves in order to keep these squanderers from * * * all public offices by our suffrages."

The growing unpopularity of the Democratic National Administration, together with the attitude of Wolf, stated above, seems to have exerted a reviving influence upon the dying National Republican party. This is demonstrated by the success of the party in electing members to the lower house from Franklin, Delaware, Butler, Crawford, and other Antimasonic counties.^a

To their reviving hopes, too, we can probably attribute the local divisions and the presence of volunteer candidates to which the Antimasons ascribed their defeat in Adams, Union, Huntingdon, Westmoreland, Dauphin, and York counties.^b The Democratic accounts concede the election of 6 Antimasons and 4 Clay men to the senate and 20 Antimasons and 4 Clay men to the house of representatives.^c The loss to the opposition in the western counties may be attributed to a good extent to the money voted by the legislature for internal improvements in that section, while the most potent factor in its defeat throughout the State was Governor Wolf's policy upon national questions.

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, October 21, 1831. Albany Argus, October 22, 24, 28, 1831.

^b See Albany Evening Journal, October 25, 29, 1831.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, October 28, 1831.

CHAPTER XI.—THE ELECTION OF 1832 AND THE ANTI-JACKSON MOVEMENT.

The main question of the session of 1831–32, as usual, was the canal question. Governor Wolf in his message gave a short history of the canal and deplored the tendencies toward diffusion and isolation in the application of the appropriations. He indirectly censured the legislature of 1831 for not having stopped this process, but, in almost direct contradiction to these utterances, toward the end of the same message, he mentions favorably the extension of the North Branch Canal and the Pittsburg-Lake Erie connection. The message marks a decided, though not yet fully developed, change in his policy.^a

The canal bill precipitated the usual struggle. Great efforts were made by the members from the counties on the branches to get a share of the appropriations, while Philadelphia, whose interests lay in direct communication, opposed, as usual, all such appropriations. The opposition of Philadelphia was much resented in the country districts, and meetings in which resolutions were passed declaring “utter hostility to all intercourse by sale of our produce, or purchase of merchandise to or from any citizen of Philadelphia,” were matters of everyday occurrence.^b

The act as finally passed provided that the railroad between the Susquehanna and Philadelphia should be completed, and

^a Message, December, 1831. Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, VIII, 385. The canal system in 1831 embraced a canal and railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, a distance of 393 miles; a canal and slack-water route from Clarks Ferry, on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of the Juniata, to the head of the Wyoming Valley, upon the North Branch, 112 miles; a canal and slack-water route from Northumberland up to the West Branch at Bald Eagle, 68 miles; and a canal from the Delaware tidewater to Easton; in all, a distance of 700 miles of improvement, besides the projected works upon the Beaver Creek and French Creek divisions.—Pennsylvania Reporter, August 3, 1832; Albany Evening Journal, December 27, 1832.

^b Reports of meetings held at Williamsport, Lycoming County, and Wilkesbarre, Luzerne County.—Pennsylvania Telegraph (Antimasonic), March 24, 1832.

also the main canal between the terminus of the railroad at Columbia and the point of junction with the division of the same canal at Middletown, in the county of Dauphin. The completion of the portage railroad over the Alleghenies and the Franklin line of the Juniata division, also on the main line, were provided for. The appropriation for the Beaver Canal, after a long struggle, was finally struck out.^a On the whole, the bill can be called a victory for the Philadelphia party combined with the German anti-improvement elements. Governor Wolf, on returning the bill with his signature, March 30, 1832, remarked:

I trust * * * the representatives now assembled, will separate until justice shall, at least, have been so far done as to relieve the people of the North and West branches of the Susquehanna, and those on the Beaver and French creeks, along which extensive public improvements have been commenced, from the ruinous and deplorable condition in which the legislature of this State, should it stop at the point where the present bill leaves it, will have placed them.^b

Governor Wolf was thus forced into a policy of wide extension by an honest desire to protect the work already done. We have seen, however, that in his message of 1831 he had shown a change of policy in this direction. There is a possibility that he foresaw the united opposition of the year 1832—an opposition which was soon to become the basis of a strong political unity. Wolf goes on record from this on as decidedly favoring a widespread and diffuse system of internal improvements, a policy which he gradually upheld more and more as he found that his chief support came directly from it.

Another thing which was much discussed in this session was the repeal of the direct tax which had gone into operation on October 1. This tax was unpopular throughout the State, and especially in the conservative German anti-canal counties. An amendment to the canal bill was offered on March 8, proposing to repeal this tax, but was defeated, 76 to 22. It speaks little for the organization and tact of the Antimasonic leaders that five Antimasons voted against the repeal.^c

The party later used this bill against the administration, but those five relentless votes always stood forth to belie their

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, March 30, 1832.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, April 3, 1832; Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, IX, 221.

^c Pennsylvania Telegraph (Antimasonic), March 10, 1832; also, *Ibid.*, September 28, 1831, and September 19, 1832; Pennsylvania Reporter, September 14, 1832.

statements. Indeed, in striking contrast with New York, the party shows a remarkable lack of able leaders. Throughout the year they show but little organization. The reason for this can be easily seen when the interests of such strong Antimasonic regions as Erie and Lancaster are compared. As a general thing we find them, however, voting for the main line of canals against the branches.^a Other elements of organization can be found in the contest over the election of speaker,^b and also in the fact that Richard Rush received their undivided support for United States Senator.^c

The Antimasonic State convention which met on February 22, at Harrisburg, nominated Ritner for governor and indorsed Wirt and Ellmaker as national candidates of the party. They condemned the State administration, and made the charge that under the leadership of Wolf, a Mason, the government was under Masonic influence. It was declared that "Masonry encourages in the business and intercourse of life preferences for its own members, destruction of fair competition, and is deeply prejudicial to the industry of others. It creates in favor of Masons a monopoly of public offices and public honors injurious to the services of the Republic, and a fraudulent invasion of the constitutional rights of the rest of the community."^d

The recent utterances of Wolf on the internal improvement question, together with a growing opposition to Jackson because of his known policy on the bank question and his suspected hostility to the protective tariff, made the nucleus of a party of anti-Wolf-anti-Jackson Democrats, whose chief leader was ex-Governor Schulze. This party, on January 9, met at Harrisburg and nominated Schulze for governor, made an electoral ticket, and appointed delegates to the Baltimore convention.^e Governor Schulze's declination finally broke up the movement, important only in showing the drift of political sentiment. After he declined, however, he published a letter

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, May 7, 1832.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, December 9, 1831.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, December 16, 1831. Rush, whose home was in York County, had become popular among the Antimasons because of his stirring letters on Freemasonry.

^d Proceedings of the convention. Pennsylvania Telegraph, February 25, 1832. Albany Evening Journal, February 29, 1832.

^e Albany Evening Journal, January 16, February 29, 1832. Niles's Register, XLII, 274. Niles says: "Governor Schulze while in office took an obstinate stand against extravagant expenditures for improvements." Niles's Register, January 8, 1832.

which served as good campaign literature to opponents of the party in power. In this letter he stated the change in his sentiments and acknowledged that the course pursued by General Jackson since his elevation to the Presidency had compelled him "to come to the conclusion that neither his education, his acquirements, or his previous habits, have, in anywise, fitted him for the station to which he now, after experience, and in violation of his pledge, desires to be elected."^a

The regular Democratic convention, which met in March, nominated Wolf for governor and ratified Jackson's nomination. As somebody must be made a scapegoat for Jackson's unpopular policy in Pennsylvania, William Wilkins was nominated for Vice-President instead of Van Buren. The position of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania may be seen in the resolution which passed the House of Representatives unanimously on June 1 in favor of the tariff and signifying its approval of the Bank in the following words: "And be it further resolved by the authority aforesaid that connected as the prosperity of agriculture and manufactures are with the successful financial operations and sound currency of the country, we view the speedy rechartering of the Bank of the United States as of vital importance to the public welfare."^b These resolutions were in the main approved by Wolf,^c and the "heads of the departments drank toasts on July 4, strongly and unequivocally supporting the same sentiments."^d

The Clay men were jubilant over this turn of affairs and many of them urged the support of Wolf. They said:

Here then are Gov. Wolf's opinions on the subject of the United States Bank * * * in part on the American system, and what National Republican can desire anything better? Has any man seen anything from Governor Wolf's pen or heard anything from his tongue that contradicts these sentiments? We have never seen or heard anything of the kind. * * * If Wolf should be chosen, the National Republicans taking no special part against him, his party leaders, knowing they are liked at Washington little better than they like Jackson and his course, would they not relax their efforts and let the electoral election take care of itself, leaving the ground to us and the Antimasons, and a great many of their party throwing in for our ticket a silent vote?^e We are in favor

^a Ohio State Journal, November 2, 1832.

^b Albany Evening Journal, June 8, 1832.

^c He added the word "judicious" to the tariff resolution.

^d Pennsylvania Telegraph, August 9, 1832.

^e Harrisburg Gazette (Clay), September 11, 1832.

of George Wolf because the same principles that led us to come out in opposition to General Jackson and in favor of Henry Clay and John Sergeant induce us to support George Wolf. ^b

However, after the veto of the United States Bank (July 10), Wolf did not break with Jackson, but accepted the inevitable result. In spite of the tenor of the above quotations, there is little doubt that he lost the support of a great part of the National Republicans, who thought that had he been persistent enough in his policy the Bank would have been saved. ^b

The Clay convention which had been held on May 5 had not nominated a governor, but had adopted an electoral ticket, which, foreseeing coming complications, it had left under the power of the State committee. The latter publicly stated that they preferred Wolf to Ritner, but, having awaited for some time his renunciation of Jackson, and finding on the contrary that he was about to support him, they urged the support of Ritner. They promised not only the support of the body at large, but also of the Masons, because, they said, "Masons will not stand by and see Gen. Jackson elected and the Constitution prostrated without exerting every nerve in their power to prevent so great an evil. Masonry has thus become not the principle but the collateral and subordinate consideration." ^c

Their next move was to appoint a convention for October 15, with the proviso that "if it shall then appear that we can not elect our own electoral ticket, and that by supporting it, we shall render the success of the Jackson ticket probable, we are prepared to abandon it." ^d We may truly say that the Whig party of the future in Pennsylvania had now been born. As we have seen, the difficulties were not over with, however. The committee acknowledged that their sentiments were not universal throughout the State.

Although Wolf had turned about, Ritner, on the other hand, met the issue squarely. In a letter written July 7, 1832, he said:

No consideration should induce Congress to adjourn before that question [the Bank] is finally disposed of. It is impossible to forget the deplorable

^a See Harrisburg Gazette, October 2, 1832. Quotation from the Patriot and Shield. See also Harrisburg Gazette, September 11, 1832.

^b Pennsylvania Intelligencer (Clay), September 6, 1832.

^c Address to the people of Pennsylvania, Albany Evening Journal, September 24, 1832. See, also, Pennsylvania Telegraph, July 4, 1832.

^d Ibid.

condition of the Government during the late war for want of such a Bank, and the wretched state of the currency up to the time the Bank commenced operations was no less so. I can scarcely persuade myself that the man who can oppose rechartering the Bank, with all these facts staring him in the face, possesses either a sound head, or a good heart.^a

His attitude upon the canal question is not so clear. As has been pointed out, it was caused by the conflicting interests of his supporters. We have no words of his own upon this subject, except the vague generalization that he was opposed to enormous expenditures. He was thought to be on the whole in favor of expending the State money on the main line. The Democrats put his position as follows:

Joseph Ritner, after voting for canals and railroads which have involved the State in all her difficulties and her present taxes, is now supported as the anticanal candidate in the anticanal counties where his friends pledge him to sacrifice all the money expended and put a stop to all future appropriations to complete the work commenced by his own votes; and in the canal districts, his friends support him as a friend to the whole system, branches and all.^b

If we turn to the Antimasonic newspapers, we find all kinds of conflicting and obscure statements. The Pennsylvania Telegraph contents itself with saying that his "views on this subject [canals] are too well known to create any alarm. The journals of the House while he was a member * * * disclose his views upon the canal system." It repudiates indignantly the idea that he was not a friend to the system.^c The Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, on the other hand, makes him emphatically opposed to the system.^d In a later edition the Telegraph changes around enough to condemn Wolf for approving of the appropriations for the Beaver and Shenango route in the session of 1831,^e while the Beaver Argus, another Antimasonic paper, advocated the election of Ritner "because he voted on the ninth of April, 1827, for a survey of the Beaver and Shenango route of canal, and because, as he says, Gov. Wolf is opposed to the Beaver and Shenango route."^f

All this shows how very hard it was to unite the opposition

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, June 19, 1835.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, October 5, 1832.

^c Pennsylvania Telegraph, May 2, 1832.

^d Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, August 28, 1832.

^e Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 5, 1832. Pennsylvania Reporter, September 7, 1832.

^f Quoted from Beaver Argus, September 1, in: Pennsylvania Reporter, September 7, 1832.

upon this one vital question. A few more examples will show more fully the sectional nature of the contest.

The Eastern Germans being naturally a conservative people and particularly opposed to heavy taxes, it was natural that the anticanal element should appeal to their prejudices. It was charged by the Democrats (and there appears Antimasonic evidence to sustain the charge) that Ritner and his followers excited the fears of these people by disparaging the value of the improvements, and also by "insinuating that the opening of the trade with the Western country would bring such a flood of Western produce to the Eastern market as would reduce the price and consequently the value of the property in that section."^a

In the West, especially around Pittsburg, the Democrats were urged to abandon Jackson for three reasons: First, because of local manufacturing interests; second, because of the supposed effect on business of the veto of the Bank; and third, because of his veto of a bill for the improvement of the Monongahela River.^b Ritner was lauded as the only man who would bring about direct communication with the East.^c The effect was immediately apparent; a great meeting was held in August in this section in favor of Ritner, and the Democrats admitted a large secession of former Jackson men.^d

In the northwestern part of the State the Wolf advocates strove to overcome the strong Antimasonic spirit by telling the people that "the only hope of seeing a completion of the canal to this region rests in the re-election of Gen. Wolf,"^e while along the branches they added considerable to their strength through a forged letter bearing the name of Ritner, which stated that if elected he would oppose the extension of the work in this direction. Ritner corrected this, but not until it had done its work.^f

Besides the issues presented above, the Antimasons, doubtless imitating their brethern of New York, appealed to the popular prejudices of the day. An instance of how the

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, July 3, 1835. See, also, Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, August 21, 1832.

^b Pennsylvania Intelligencer, September 27, 1832.

^c Pittsburg Gazette, August 3, 1832.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, September 21, 1832.

^e From Erie Observer, in Pennsylvania Reporter, August 10, 1832.

^f See letter with Ritner's remarks, Albany Evening Journal, November 6, 1832.

intense democracy and patriotism of the day was used for this purpose may be seen from the following extract:

The administration have not, and dare not deny that the state debt is not only held in Great Britain but by British nobility. For the information of the people we reassert the fact, that his Royal Highness, Charles, Duke of Brunswick, nephew of William the Fourth, ~~the~~ King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, owns nearly, or about one million of the state debt and that the citizens of Pennsylvania must pay annually to his Royal Highness about fifty thousand dollars, as a tribute for interest.^a

The temperance movement, then growing in power, was treated in a similar manner. Governor Wolf had recommended in a message that the use of whisky should be forbidden to laborers on the public works.^b This action tended to make him popular with the temperance advocates, and was widely published by his supporters.^c Unfortunately for his cause, however, the good effects of his action were lost by the licensing of the oyster cellars of Philadelphia with his approval. The Antimasons charged him with being in favor of "any scheme that promises him popularity, as is proved by his professing himself the friend of temperance, and licensing a thousand grogshops, that he may gain the votes of Philadelphia."^d

The election was close. Wolf received 91,235 and Ritner 88,186 votes.^e The Democratic papers state that 15 Democrats,

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 26, 1832. See also, for similar remarks, Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, August 21, 1832; Pennsylvanian, October 12; Albany Argus, October 24, 1832.

^b Harrisburg Chronicle, April 4, 1832.

^c Temperance conventions were being held at this period throughout the State. (Harrisburg Chronicle, February 7, 1831.)

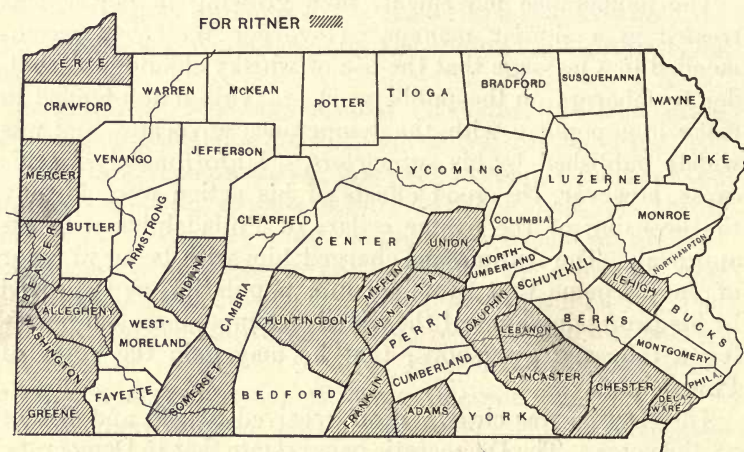
^d Pennsylvania Telegraph, March 31, 1832. See also *ibid.*, March 3, August 1, September 19, 1832.

The fact that Ritner was a farmer and Wolf a lawyer was made the most of. Ritner was described as the "real and practical plowman * * * the Pennsylvania farmer whose good husbandry, assisted by competent, intelligent, and industrious workmen * * * would put our good old farm into order by repairing the fences, clearing out the ditches, draining the meadows, driving the cows out of the corn and destroying the Wolves and Foxes that have too long run riot among our flocks and hen-roosts." (Pennsylvania Whig, quoted in Albany Evening Journal, May 7, 1832.) See also, for similar expressions and criticisms, Pennsylvania Telegraph, March 31, August 1, September 19, 26, 1832. The Telegraph at this time was edited by an artist in scurrility, Theophilus Fenn, who is described by the Democrats as a "Yankee adventurer." He was originally editor of the Lancaster Antimasonic Herald. He was constantly in trouble, and was at one time forbidden the floor of the House.

^e Albany Argus, October 24, 1832. See also *ibid.*, October 12 and 13; Pennsylvania Reporter, October 19, 1832.

8 Antimasons, and 5 Clay men were elected to Congress; to the State senate, 21 Democrats, 9 Antimasons, and 2 Clay men; while to the house, composed of 100 members, 32 Antimasons were chosen.^a In general the Ritner strength was in the southeast and south and in the western tier of counties.^b

The defeat was a great blow to both the National Republicans and the Antimasons. The general cause ascribed was that "in the canal districts the people were apprehensive that Ritner would not finish the Branch canals."^c Other causes also



Vote for governor of Pennsylvania, 1832. (Philadelphia city for Ritner but the county was carried by Wolf.)

were sought. It was thought that the Government officials exerted an undue influence, and that in the canal counties the

^a See *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 19, 1832. Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, X, 265, says 4 Antimasons were elected to Congress, 8 to the senate, and 34 to the lower house.

^b He carried the city of Philadelphia, and Delaware, Chester, Lancaster, York, Union, Franklin, Dauphin, Lebanon, Huntingdon, Allegheny, Indiana, Beaver, Mercer, Washington, Mifflin, Juniata, Adams, Lehigh, Erie, Somerset, and Green counties, while very large votes for him were cast in Philadelphia County, Montgomery, and Butler. The Democrats assigned this great increase to the "discontent with Gov. Wolf in consequence of the great expenses incurred by the extensive system of improvements and the taxes levied." (*Pennsylvanian*, in *Albany Argus*, October 15, 1832.) They also asserted that "in the German counties the enemy electioneered their tickets 'Jackson, Ritner, and no Taxation,' and carried thousands with them on this deceptive representation." (*American Sentinel*, October 16, *Albany Argus*, October 18, 1832.) In Philadelphia, Ritner obtained a majority of 1,379, which was ascribed to the existence of the Bank in that city. (*Albany Argus*, October 12, 1832; *Poulson's Advertiser*, October 10, 1832.) In 1829 Ritner received but 546 votes to Wolf's 11,393 in the city (*Albany Argus*, October 20, 1829), while in 1830 but 70 Antimasonic vote were cast there. (*Albany Argus*, October 18, 1830.)

^c *Albany Evening Journal*, October 16, 1832.

engineers distributed forged letters, and, as in "Cambria County, circulated handbills accusing Ritner of deism."^a

The Clay papers laid the blame on the Antimasons entirely, accusing them of deserting the ticket in large numbers. The attitude of the radical Antimasons also displeased them, as they believed they (the Antimasons) turned away many Masons who would otherwise have voted for the ticket. "The bitterness displayed by Richard Rush in his occasional effusions," it was said, "was calculated to disgust the friends of Mr. Clay wherever they have been circulated."^b

Both sides began to prepare immediately for the coming national election. The opposition saw that their only hope rested in the most perfect union and organization, and everything was done with a view to this end. The National Republican convention met in accordance with the call of the State committee at Harrisburg on October 16, and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That to preserve the Constitution of our beloved country and to enable the Anti-Jackson party of Pennsylvania to present an undivided front in the approaching election, this convention resolves to withdraw the electoral ticket adopted at their session in May last.

Resolved, That this convention adopt the electoral ticket formed by the Anti-Jackson convention which assembled at Harrisburg on the anniversary of the birthday of Washington, in February last, and earnestly recommend that ticket to the support of the National Republican party.^c

As to whether this ticket was pledged to vote for Wirt or not it is hard to say. It was probably not, for in response to the demand for the pledges the Pennsylvania Telegraph attempted to produce them, but published only four dubious statements. One of these, from a Philadelphia elector, will serve as an example. After pledging himself, the gentleman said:

But you will readily conceive that there may, before the election, be such a change of circumstances that the public interest would require a change of electors, and such too as would be appointed by the Antimasonic convention were they in session.^d

We have, then, here an arrangement similar to that in New York. There is every reason to think that had Clay had a

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, October 15 (?), 1832.

^b Columbian Sentinel, Boston, November 9, 1832.

^c Pennsylvania Intelligencer, October 18, 1832; Albany Evening Journal, October 23, 1832.

^d Pennsylvania Telegraph, March 28, 1832.

chance of success this ticket would have been thrown for him.^a

Desperate efforts were made to bring in the wavering German vote for Wirt. From the first they had been flattered with the idea that they were to vote for a German ticket. Said the Telegraph:

The Antimasonic ticket for the office of president and vice-president of the United States, is the first ticket composed of German descendants that was ever presented to the United States, and it would be a libel upon the national character of the German population of the state to suppose that when they are presented with candidates from the descendants of their own countrymen, possessing as they preeminently do * * * the avowed determination to support the "supremacy of the law,"^b that they will abandon them. * * * The German patriotism that fills the heart of the freemen of this state will triumphantly sustain these men in November next.^c

Although every effort was made to hold them—

The German Antimasons * * * deserted their own electoral nominations in a body, and went to the polls hurrahing for "Sheneral Shackson," as in 1824 and 1828.^d

Jackson polled 90,983 votes to 66,716 for his opponents. The coalition carried only Adams, Beaver, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Erie, Franklin, Lancaster, and Philadelphia city, while it polled a large vote in Montgomery, Allegheny, Dauphin, and Huntingdon.^e

The Antimasons ascribed their defeat to the "all-pervading popularity of Jackson,"^f together with the fact that the contest between the Antimasonic and Clay parties had been carried on in many sections to a very late hour, so that "when the Clay ticket was withdrawn sufficient time did not remain to explain the object and effect of the withdrawal."^g They also charged desertion of the ticket by the Clay Masons,^f but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that many Antimasons

^a Many prominent Antimasons seem to have believed that the ticket was pledged to Wirt. The members of the committee of superintendence of Philadelphia evidently thought this was the case, although there seems to be no positive proof of such a pledge. See *American Sentinel*, quoted in *Albany Argus*, October 25, 1832.

^b A phrase used by Wirt in his acceptance speech.

^c *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, August 1, 1832.

^d *New York Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in *Ohio State Journal*, December 1, 1832.

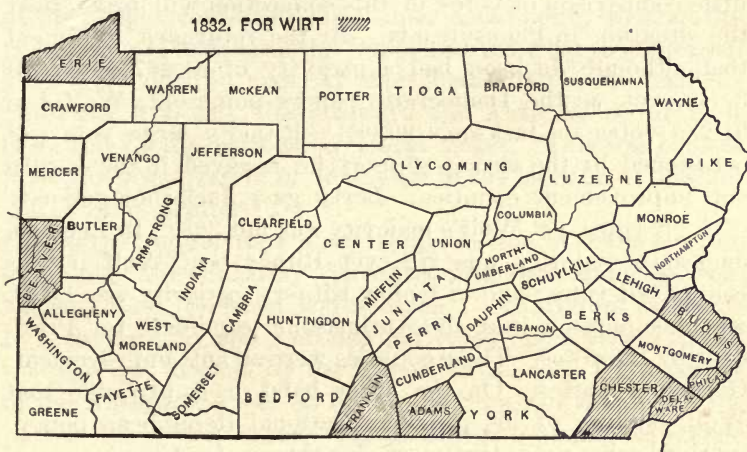
^e *Albany Argus*, November 27, 1832; *Columbian Sentinel*, Boston, November 26, 1832.

^f *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, November 21, 1832.

^g *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, November 14, 1832.

voted for Jackson because they thought the ticket would vote for Clay anyway if elected. The Pittsburg Gazette said:

In Allegheny County many Antimasons who had been Jacksonites were alarmed, and became suspicious that the Antimasonic electoral ticket would, if elected, vote for Henry Clay, * * * and even some of the Clay men, with more zeal than discretion, propagated the same opinion. * * * Under these circumstances * * * many who had not yet overcome the strong prejudices which they had against Mr. Clay, concluded that, if they must vote for a Mason they would prefer Gen. Jackson or not vote at all.^a



As in New York many sincere Antimasons became disgusted at the political juggling going on, and the leaders found to their sorrow that they had overshot the mark in their efforts for success.

The Clay papers ascribed the defeat to a letter written by Richard Rush to a man in Boston, who published it, so that it was received in Pennsylvania just before the election. The letter contained many of Rush's most radical views upon Masonry. "From the moment we saw that letter," said the *Columbian Sentinel*, "our confidence in the vote of Pennsylvania was destroyed. If people will cut their own throats, there is no helping it."^b "In the city of Philadelphia," said another account, "the letter was disregarded, but in York

^aPittsburg Gazette (Antimasonic), quoted in *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, November 14, 1832.

^b*Columbian Sentinel*, Boston, November 26, 1832.

County—the residence of Mr. Rush, and elsewhere—the National Republicans were equally enraged and disgusted at the letter, and in York they refused to vote at all, or, in the moment of indignation, threw their votes for Jackson.”^a

It is very evident from the above that the charge made by the Antimasons that the Clay men had deserted them was not wholly unfounded. Here, again, is evidence of similar phenomena to those in New York State, although on the whole we can say that there was less organization than in that State. A little comparison of votes in this connection will make clear the situation in Pennsylvania. By the returns it is evident that although Jackson had a majority of 24,267 and Wolf 3,049, yet, as the Democratic papers point out, Wolf had 91,235 votes to Jackson’s 90,983. Ritner’s large vote was occasioned by the strong support he received in the eastern anti-improvement counties. Berks gave Jackson a majority of 3,322 votes, yet Wolf’s majority was but 323. In Lebanon Jackson’s majority was 212, yet Ritner beat Wolf in this county 904 votes; and in Union Ritner’s majority was 1,110, whereas Jackson beat the Antimasonic candidate for President by 193 votes. These counties were all anti-improvement, German counties. On the other hand, it is probable that Wolf, because of his previous National Republican policy, received some votes that were also thrown for Clay.^b

Antimasonry had received a blow from which it took a long while to recover. It did not die out, as in New York, but lingered on to suddenly burst into strength again when the opposition to Jackson had grown strong. The next period we are to consider presents to us at first a receding of the movement. It seemed for a moment as if the storm had spent its force, but it was soon lashed into a fury again through the genius of one of the greatest fanatical leaders the country has ever produced—Thaddeus Stevens. Antimasonry in Pennsylvania, unlike that in New York, had needed a leader; it now received a mighty one.

^a New York Commercial Advertiser (Clay), quoted in Ohio State Journal (Clay), December, 1, 1832.

^b See very good summing up of conditions in Pennsylvania Reporter, June 19, 1835.

CHAPTER XII.—A PERIOD OF DECLINE.

The legislative session and in fact the whole political year 1832-33 presents little of an instructive or interesting nature. The opposition being demoralized showed little spirit and there was none of the fierce controversy and sectional bitterness of the preceding year. Wolf, taking his reelection as the voice of the people, continued his former canal policy without opposition,^a and in general the Democrats did what they pleased. They were aided in many of their plans by the National Republicans who felt bitter toward the Antimasons for their desertion of the national electoral ticket. This was evident upon the organization of the house in the election of speaker and of State printer.^b

A long struggle took place in this session over the election of United States Senator. The three principal candidates were Richard Rush, McKean, and Sergeant. An attempt was made to unite the Clay and Antimasonic votes upon Sergeant, but the plan was blocked by the friends of Rush.^c The hostility of the Antimasons was no doubt the result of the ill will the parties bore each other. McKean was a strong candidate because of his opposition to the constitutional convention and to Van Buren and because of his support of the United States Bank.^d The contest took up much of the session, and many balloting were held without result.^e

^a Message, Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, IX, 221.

^b Pennsylvania Intelligencer, December 10, 1832. Pennsylvania Reporter, December 6, 7, 1832. A National Republican, Anderson, of Delaware, was elected speaker of the house, and Francis Shunk, a Jackson man, was elected clerk.

^c Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, November 22, 1832. Pennsylvania Reporter, November 30, 1832.

It was urged by the Antimasonic papers supporting Rush that "although Sergeant is not a mason, yet he is one of the bitterest foes our principles can meet with and consequently they [the legislature] had as well directly vote for a mason as a man of the above class. We have nothing to do as a party but to look to our principles let the consequences be as they may." York Antimasonic Republican, quoted in Pennsylvania Reporter, December 18, 1832.

^d Niles Register, XLIII, 274. Pennsylvania Reporter, October 18, 1832.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, December 18, 1832. Albany Evening Journal, December 27, 1832. On the seventeenth trial the vote stood McKean 50, Rush 18, Sergeant 2. It was decided the next session. The Antimasons deserted Rush because of the fact that he wrote a letter sustaining the President in the removal of the deposits. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, December 9, 1833. McKean was elected. Niles Register, XLV, 294.

The Antimasonic convention was held on March 11, 1833. It was of little political significance except in so far as it was a rally and a reassertion of the fundamental principles. Speeches were made lauding the struggle under the discouragements of the past and praising particularly the work of the convention of 1829, "which amid discouragements, and under the taunts of Masonic devotees, firmly led the way as a faithful pioneer in the cause of equal rights and unshackled republicanism."^a

There is nothing in the meager accounts of this convention that would lead us to suppose that the organization of the party in Pennsylvania had reached that state of affairs that it did in New York where true Antimasonry was forgotten. In fact, the whole course of the party in Pennsylvania may be said to have been a great deal less inconsistent and more true and honest in purpose.

The most significant fact of the year, and perhaps in the history of Antimasonry in Pennsylvania, was the election of Thaddeus Stevens as representative from Adams County.^b

The election this year, as might be expected, did not show the union of forces of the previous election, the National Republicans, especially in the West, supporting their own candidates.^c The campaign, according to the Democratic accounts, resulted in the election of 23 Antimasons to the lower house and 10 National Republicans and 7 Antimasons to the senate.^d It is apparent that the party did not lose a great deal in spite of its disorganization. Their losses they charged to the hostility of the National Republicans.^e

^a Lancaster Examiner, quoted in Albany Evening Journal, March 13, 1833.

^b This great leader is described by his enemies at this time as a "lawyer of much cunning and adroitness, and of considerable celebrity. He was originally an Eastern man, and has been all his life an uniform and undeviating Federalist, a warm friend of John Q. Adams and as violent an opponent of General Jackson. He is now the great luminary of Antimasonry in Adams County, within whose orbit all the lesser planets of the new system revolve and reflect the light he dispenses." Pennsylvania Reporter, March 23, 1830.

^c Niles Register, XLV, 160.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, October 18, 1833. For other election returns, see Albany Evening Journal, October 16, 19, 1833. Pennsylvanian, October 16, 1833.

^e Albany Evening Journal, quoted in Albany Argus, October 25, 1833.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE BANK QUESTION AND THE REORGANIZATION OF ANTI-JACKSON FORCES.

The period which we are now to consider shows us many radical changes in the policy of the Antimasonic party. The first thing noticeable is in the election of speaker in the lower house. On the first ballot the Antimasons voted as a body for John Strohm, one of their own number, giving him 21 votes. On the second ballot, however, we find them uniting with the Clay party on Patterson, of Washington, and electing him by a vote of 53 to 41.^a

This marks the beginning of an alliance which was to last as long as Antimasonry was a party of strength in Pennsylvania. On the other hand, the Democratic party exhibited once more tendencies to disintegrate because of its lack of sympathy with the Jacksonian policy. Indications of this were shown when the members of the party held a meeting in which resolutions were passed upholding the President's policy. Dissatisfaction led to another meeting in which his enemies seemed to be in the majority. This meeting, or "adjourned meeting," as it was called, condemned Jackson's Bank policy, charged him with giving the public treasure to favorite corporations, of forestalling Congressional action, and of tampering with the currency.^b These meetings are but indications of the friction which had for some time been growing and which was soon destined to break the party in the State in twain.

The question of the banks was a delicate one, in Pennsylvania particularly. Already, in the previous Presidential campaign, the Democrats of the State had been accused of supporting corrupt State banks in opposition to the United States Bank,^c a charge which the opposition did not suffer to die out. In this session of the legislature a member from

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, December 20, 1833. Niles Register, XLVII, 163.

^b Pennsylvania Intelligencer, April 10, 1834.

^c Pennsylvania Telegraph, August 1, September 19, 1832.

Philadelphia offered a resolution in the lower house to investigate the State banks, but the resolution was killed, and the National Republicans were thus able to impute to the Democrats the suppression of such an inquiry in order to shield the State banks.^a Whatever may have been the attitude of some of the Democrats toward these institutions, Wolf, to his credit be it said, kept a strong rein upon them and repeatedly vetoed bills for their establishment. In his message of December, 1834, he states his attitude emphatically and speaks of the banking craze as "a depraved, insane spirit, evincing a vitiated anxiety for the establishment of banking institutions."^b

On their side the Democrats strove to prove that the United States Bank meddled in the affairs of Pennsylvania to such an extent that a large part of the canal loan which had been thrown on the market had not received a bid. Governor Wolf, in his message of February 26, said:

It can scarcely be doubted that it is from the course of operations that the institution has been pursuing for some time past (whether justifiable or not I will not undertake to determine) that the State is indebted in a great measure for its disappointments heretofore, and for the failure to obtain its [last] loans. * * * An immediate suspension of the works upon the several lines of improvements until the loan is negotiated will be indispensable.^c

In the several battles over the Bank the Antimasons and National Republicans voted together, putting up a strong opposition, although the Democrats had the majority. Stevens made many brilliant but bitter and harsh speeches, in which he reproached the administration of the General and State governments and lauded the Bank and the principles of Antimasonry at one and the same time.^d In the Senate, also, we find the same combination supporting a resolution to recharter the Bank, which, however, was defeated by a vote of 22 to 10.^e It was clear that radical changes were going on in party politics and that the opposition had at last found an issue upon which all could unite. Hereafter the National Republicans

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, January 24, 1834.

^b Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XIV, 371. Only a few banks succeeded in obtaining charters during Wolf's administration.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, February 28, 1834.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, March 4, March 21, 1834.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, March 21, 1834.

may be called the Whigs, while the Antimasons, although remaining a separate party, tend more and more to be absorbed into the ranks of the new party and vote with it upon all important questions.^a

Although the Bank question was now predominant, the canal question remained one of the strongest points of contention. If Wolf's policy was wise in regard to the restriction of State banks, his policy upon the canals can not be called so. From a conservative position he had gone to the wildest extremes. In his message upon this subject he reviewed the progress of the work. He admitted that it was not nearly finished, but nevertheless said:

With prospects so flattering, fellow-citizens, in the very infancy of our public works, the friends of the internal-improvement policy may rest satisfied that the day is not far distant when Pennsylvania, encouraged by the success which has attended her public improvements; their continually increasing productiveness; the overflowing treasury, for which she will be indebted to the redundant revenues derived from that source; and threatened, as she is on all sides, to be deprived of that commerce which the God of Nature seems to have destined for her use, will in her own defense force the waters of Lake Erie to mingle with those of the Allegheny and the Delaware; the Ohio canal to become tributary to her own extensive improvements; the waters of the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by means of the Elmira canal, to unite with those of the Susquehanna; and will cause the wilderness countries drained by the improvements by which all this will be accomplished to "smile and blossom as the rose." This may be regarded as fancy now, but it must become fact before long; and judging from the "signs of the times," it would not be surprising if it should happen in our own day and generation, and be achieved by the force of public opinion itself.^b

Suffice it to say that the spirit of the times favored such vast plans, and great sums were voted for these improvements.

The canal was brought forward prominently in this session, not through the appropriations, but through an effort at investigation. On January 24 a debate took place on the subject of the official conduct of the canal commissioners. It seems that a committee was appointed to investigate certain charges against them relating to misconduct and favoritism on the

^a The first mention of the name Whig in Pennsylvania is that in the Pennsylvania Reporter, April 25, 1831, although it was doubtless applied long before this.

^b Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XII, 373. A complete statement of the canals in Pennsylvania is given in *ibid.*, XI, 316.

North Branch division. The committee appointed informed the commissioners that certain witnesses would be examined by them in one of the committee rooms, where they might attend if they thought proper and hear the testimony. This the canal commissioners resented, and laid before the house a remonstrance signed by all the commissioners declaring that the committee had no power to investigate their conduct or to cite them to appear before them. It is unnecessary to say that the commissioners were upheld by the Democratic majority.^a The cry of fraud and corruption upon the canal was raised by the opposition. Their orators poured forth the most earnest protests against such proceedings, and Ritner took advantage of the occasion to write a letter in which he arraigned the Administration, complained of the excessive cost, and charged fraud and favoritism and blocking of investigation.^b

The rapid combining of the different elements of opposition in the various parts of the State led to a Whig convention which met on May 27. It was made up of men from all parties except the Van Buren Democrats. Ner Middleswarth, the old Antimasonic leader, was vice-president of the convention, and a few other Antimasons were present.^c From the first the members of the convention seemed to realize that it was hopeless to again tie their fortunes to Henry Clay. He had won the dislike of the Antimasons by his position at the last election, and his recent attitude of compromise upon the tariff made him particularly obnoxious to the members of the anti-Jackson party of Pennsylvania. As Stevens said previous to the convention:

The statesman of the West * * * has changed his position with his interests; abandoned the American System, laid violent hands on his own child; out of hatred to a successful rival joined the nullifiers, and become their apologist, if not their advocate.^d

It can hardly be said that the convention did anything of importance, however, except to draft a few memorials of a conciliatory and unifying character. In fact, it was but the

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 25, 1834.

^b Ritner's letter of April 15. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, May 8, 1834. Pennsylvania Reporter, July 31, 1834.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, May 30, 1834. The following counties were represented: Washington, Union, Northumberland, Erie, Adams, Bucks, York, Allegheny, Lancaster, Berks, Philadelphia, Dauphin, Huntingdon, Montgomery, Susquehanna, and Mercer.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, March 13, 1834.

merest preliminary step in organization.^a Henceforth, until the Antimasons were absorbed in the great Whig movement, they worked side by side with that party on all the great issues.^b That they were not immediately absorbed was due solely to the untiring zeal of Stevens, a Solomon Southwick as well as a Weed, who revived the radical spirit of opposition to Masonry and constantly and tirelessly kept the issue before the people. That Antimasonry pure and simple had had a revival is seen by the enthusiasm at many of the recent conventions and by resolutions which have the true ring of the party in its early days in New York. Said the Dauphin County convention:

Resolved, That we consider the question of the Bank as a matter of trifling importance, compared with the great principles for which we are contending, and that we will continue to wage an unintermittent war against masonry and masonic usurpation in defense of our dearest rights, let the Bank sink or swim.^c

The source of this new and fervid spirit lies in the activity of Stevens and his colleagues in the legislature of this year.

On February 6, 1834, Mr. Stevens presented the following resolution, in support of which he spoke at some length:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for making Freemasonry a good cause of peremptory challenge to jurors, in all cases where one of the parties is a Freemason and the other is not; and on the part of the Commonwealth; in all prosecutions for crimes and misdemeanors where the defendant is a Mason, and also where the judge and only one of the parties are Freemasons, to make the same provisions for the trial of causes, as now exists, where the judge and either of the parties are related to each other by blood or marriage; and that the said committee have power to send for persons and papers.

The resolution was rejected by a vote of 45 to 31,^d many of the Whigs, especially from Philadelphia, voting with the

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, May 30, 1834.

The Democrats perceived the new movement with evident surprise and alarm. The newspapers were set to work to print again the old charges against the National Republicans and apply them to the Whigs. The latter were charged, as the former had been, with being the old aristocratic Federalists in disguise, with being opposed to universal enfranchisement and the rights of man, and of aiding the Bank and the power of property. Pennsylvania Reporter quotes National Bank Gazette, April 11, 1834; Boston Courier, April 14, 1834; Richmond Whig, New York Courier and Enquirer, National Intelligencer, and many other Whig papers to substantiate the charges.

^b Richard Rush, supported by the Philadelphia Sun and Lancaster Herald, tried to bring about a divergence of the Antimasonic party in favor of Jackson, but without much success. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, January 9, 1834. Pennsylvania Reporter, March 7, 1834.

^c Vermont State Journal, September 1, 1834.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, February 11, 1834.

Antimasons. Mr. Stevens was not discouraged, but again brought up the resolution on January 21. In his speech upon this occasion he made the following significant remarks:

This vote will show who and what party are the protectors, the fosterers and guardians of that institution [Masonry]. That party which shall now oppose this resolution can never afterwards, by all their sophistry and denials, persuade a watchful and intelligent people that they are not the Masonic party.^a

The resolution was again defeated by practically the same vote.^a The struggle was kept up with great bitterness, and on February 24 Mr. Patterson, of Armstrong, brought in a petition, which was laid on the table, asking for an investigation of Antimasonry.^b Mr. Stevens on the same day brought up a preamble and resolution against "extra-judicial" oaths,^c and thus the fight kept on until the house, in order to get rid of it all, appointed two committees, one to investigate Masonry, and the other to investigate the "political motives and evils of Antimasonry."^d

Mr. Stevens's committee met and gave the clerk a precept for a subpoena for witnesses to be issued in the usual way and signed by the speaker. It was objected to, however, and the committee then asked to be given power to take "testimony of such witnesses only, as would appear and testify voluntarily before them." This the house by a large vote also opposed.^e Mr. Stevens's report speaks of the intentions of the committee in the following characteristic manner:

It was particularly desirable that the Governor of the Commonwealth should be a witness. It was thought that the papers in his possession might throw much light on the question, how far Masonry secures political and executive favor. Their inspection would have shown whether it be true, that applications for offices have been founded on Masonic merit and claimed on Masonic rights. Whether in such applications the "significant symbols" and the "mystic watchwords" of Masonry have been used, and in how many cases such applications have been successful in procuring executive patronage. It might not have been unprofitable also to inquire

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, February 21, 1834.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, February 25, 1834.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, February 27, 1834.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, March 1, 4, 1834. Harvey's History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkesbarre, 1897, gives a very good and accurate Masonic account.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, March 27, 1834. The reason was that the committee would probably take the testimony of renouncing Masons and thus bring in a strong report against Masonry.

how many of the convicted felons, who have been pardoned by the present governor, are "brethren of the mystic tie" and connected by blood or politics, with members of that institution; and how few of those who could boast of no such connections, have been successful in similar applications.

He proposed also to bring before them the judges to ascertain "whether * * * the grand hailing sign had been ever handed, sent, or thrown to them by either of the parties litigant, and if so, what had been the result of the trial."^a

On April 1 Mr. Patterson's committee reported. Included in this report was the following statement:

We are not Masons and have no peculiar motive or inclination to support the institution, except those to which we are driven by that unjust principle of Antimasonry which includes all in the general proscription who will not join in the chase and assist in running down their prey. Antimasonry owes its origin to the same latitudes which produced the celebrated blue lights and blue laws, and Golden Bibles and Mormon religion, and seems akin to the similar infatuation instituted against the fairer sex of Salem for witchcraft, who were tied by their legs and arms and thrown into deep water—to swim if witches, [and] be burnt; if innocent, simply to drown. The ordeal and justice of Antimasonry seems equally equitable and wise. The annals of our country have condemned such past folly, and your committee cannot sanction it. Antimasonry comes from the land of notions and is quite unadapted to the climate, common sense, and sober feelings of Pennsylvania. It aspires to public honors, without the stamp of merit. It envies the possession of office, and influences that power and respectability which it feels not to be its own.^b

These reports were both printed by the State and distributed as campaign literature. This was the beginning of a long-continued legislative struggle full of singular episodes.

In the election of this year the union of interests resulted in the choosing of 11 of the combined Whig and Antimasonic party as Representatives to Congress, 8 State senators, and 38 members to the lower house.^c Stevens and McSherry (a member of the last Whig convention and an Antimason who was to be very prominent in the future) were elected from Adams county.^d

As was to be expected, the combined party showed the greatest strength in old Antimasonic regions of the southeast

^a Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XIII, 223.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, April 3, 1834.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, October 28, 1834.

^d Pennsylvania Intelligencer (Whig), October 17, 1834. The Whig papers imply that they were elected by the Germans of that county.

and west and in the city of Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Reporter said:

Are not all the old Federal counties in the State strong in the opposition? Look at Adams, Lancaster, and Chester, and the city of Philadelphia. The truth is, the Federal Antimasons, the Federal National Republicans, and the Federalists proper, have by a natural affinity united in opposition to the Democratic party, and formed a party as distinctively Federal as any that has heretofore existed.^a

From what has been narrated it is evident that the political year just described saw the birth of two new forces in Pennsylvania politics—the Whig party, made from a gathering together of discontent and opposition of all sorts, and a new spirit aroused by the enthusiasm and persistent aggressive policy of Thaddeus Stevens, from now on the great political leader as well as the great high priest of Antimasonry.

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, October 31, 1834.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE YEAR 1834-35 AND THE LEADERSHIP OF STEVENS.

Upon the organization of the houses this year it became evident that, as before, the Whigs and Antimasons would stand solidly together. The coalition candidate for speaker, Middleswarth, received 33 votes, while the Democratic candidate received 57.^a

Immediately after the preliminary work had been accomplished, the irrepressible Stevens introduced a resolution against extra judicial oaths,^b which, however, was defeated by a vote of 58 to 38, Philadelphia and the National Republican districts voting with the Antimasons.^c By the aid of the above combination, Mr. Stevens then began a policy of obstruction by constantly bringing the matter before the house.^d The house met these measures by postponement or by laying the resolutions on the table, till at length Stevens gave notice that he would call the matter up every morning till the end of the session. At length his persistency was rewarded and the resolutions were passed after being amended by striking out the preamble and the words "Masonic" and "Odd Fellows" and inserting "secret societies."^e

The question of education was perhaps second to none in importance among the discussions of this session. The Germans and the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the strong supporters of Antimasonry, had for a long time had their own schools and consequently did not desire public education. Public sentiment, however, had long desired a change, and as early as the session of 1830 the question of a proper and modern school system had been considered. Governor Wolf, too, in nearly every one of his messages had urged the importance

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, December 3, 9, 1834.

^b This resolution, as it pictures so well the attitude of the Antimasons, is quoted to considerable length in the appendix.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, December 12, 1834.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, March 9, 12, 20, 1835.

^e Pennsylvania Telegraph, April 2, 1835. It is a noteworthy fact that so strong was the party feeling at this time that Dr. Anderson, of Delaware, a Whig and a Mason, voted constantly for Stevens's resolutions in order not to break the bargain and lose the support of the Antimasons upon other measures.

of the measure. In 1834 efficient aid came to this movement from a most unexpected quarter. Thaddeus Stevens had been elected by Antimasonic constituents, of whom many were Germans and opposed to the new educational ideas; but in spite of this fact he came forward as the champion of the cause, and it was his powerful personality and matchless eloquence which kept in check in the session of the previous year (1833-34) the various amendments which would have spoiled the system by pauperizing it.^a Although the bill did not entirely meet Stevens's approval, yet it passed both houses with considerable unanimity at that time.^b

In the session now considered a strong effort was made to repeal the law on the ground of unjust apportionment of taxes and money received to support the schools, and also struction expenses.^c The bill to repeal the act passed the senate because of the burden of taxes by reason of the canal con-
ate, but was defeated in the house by a vote of 57 to 35 by a sectional vote.^d A substitute, which was offered by Mr. Stevens, essentially modifying the law, of 1834, was finally adopted.^e Notwithstanding the position of Stevens and many

^a Proceedings of the house, January 21, 1834. See *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, January 27, 1834.

Stevens's fearless attitude upon all questions relating to education is shown in a letter written to some of his party who had opposed his support of the Pennsylvania College. He says: "You tell me, that my course, in relation to the college will injure your political party, and consequently injure you individually. If anything could change my purpose, a belief of this position would. For, however I may sacrifice myself, I do not assume the right to sacrifice you. But that could only happen upon the supposition that I become unpopular, and still continue to be your candidate. That, I will never do. I have already resolved that the weight of my name shall never again burthen your ticket. I will withdraw from any active part in your political discussions. And if it be necessary to the well-being of our country, dear to me as all my Friends and Constituents, I will withdraw from your county to some place where the advocates of Antimasonry may be advocates of Knowledge." *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, January 25, 1834.

^b As it provided for local option, however, it was defeated in the counties of Adams, Bucks, Berks, Chester, Columbia, Dauphin, Lancaster, Lehigh, Lebanon, Union, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Somerset, and Schuylkill, the German element and probably some of the Quakers voting against it. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, December 2, 1834.

^c *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, May 7, 1835.

^d *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 14, 1835.

^e It was upon this occasion that Stevens made one of the most remarkable oratorical efforts of his life. Democrats, Whigs, and Antimasons were united for once in admiration of the great orator. It was upon this occasion, too, that Stevens forgot his bitter animosity toward Wolf and described him as the leader "whose banner streams in light." The Democratic *Pennsylvania Reporter* speaks of his efforts upon this occasion in the following language: "The speech delivered by Mr. Stevens was particularly fine. The acknowledged talents of this gentleman were never exerted in a nobler cause or with greater effect than on this occasion, and we feel assured that a more powerful effort of oratory was never listened to within the walls of this or any other legislative hall." *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 16, 1835. See *McCall's Life of Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 41-45.

of the Antimasons, the question became of political significance in the coming campaign and Wolf certainly lost much popularity among the German Democrats.

The canal policy of Wolf had been supported by the Democratic majorities, and generally his suggestions were very nearly carried out. In his message of this year^a he went as far as to suggest the combining of the West Branch with the French Creek division, thus forming two proposed passages to Lake Erie. As this would bring a main line of canal through some of the strongest Democratic counties, it was very popular in these sections. The vote upon the bill in the house was the very close one of 47 to 45,^b the eastern German Democrats plainly showing their discontent. The senate returned the bill, striking out the Erie extension, and in this form it passed the house a second time.^c

Another matter of political importance was the action upon the amendment of the constitution. As early as 1833 Democratic meetings advocated changes in the old constitution because it did not fit present conditions and because of the great and arbitrary power given by it to the governor and the judges. In April, 1835, an act was passed providing for the submission of the matter to the people at the next election.^d The measure was unpopular with the Germans as a whole, and in the coming political movements and the campaign which followed we find these people, both Antimasons and Democrats, opposing the Democrats because of their attitude on this question.^e

That dissatisfaction would come sooner or later in the ranks of the German Democrats of Pennsylvania, supporting as they did a man who was practically a National Republican for so long, who had favored a vast and costly system of internal improvements and who had championed the school bill,^f was

^a Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XVI, 370.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, April 7, 1835.

^c Crawford Messenger, May 2, 1835. It provided liberally for nearly all the other lines.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, April —, 1835.

^e A respected citizen of Harrisburg of German extraction, who was a young man at this time, told the author that the natural hatred of the Germans to any change was the basis of this opposition.

^f The Germans did not want secularization, although not opposed to education. Henry A. Muhlenberg, in a letter to the workingmen of Philadelphia, January 26, 1836, says: "The Germans of our State are not opposed to education as such, but only to any system which to them seems to trench on their parental or natural rights." They had established and maintained schools and did not want to abandon them.

to be expected. The vote at the last election had shown that he was not popular in the German districts of the State. This, together with the fact that the supporters of Wolf were thought to be opposed to Van Buren^a and allied with the party that had all along disliked extreme Jacksonism, presaged trouble in the coming State convention. When the convention met on March 4 it was found that a faction from the counties of Adams, Beaver, Chester, Delaware, Dauphin, Erie, Fayette, Franklin, Greene, Lebanon, Luzerne, Lehigh, Montgomery, Mercer, Northumberland, Susquehanna, and Union were determined to nominate for governor Henry A. Muhlenberg, of Berks, a man of distinguished family, a former minister of the gospel, and one of the greatest preachers in the State.^b In spite of their efforts, however, the convention nominated Wolf after several days of fruitless quarrel over delegates. The Muhlenberg supporters withdrew and soon after nominated their candidate in a convention held at Lewistown.^c

The seceding delegates were generally understood to be in favor of Van Buren and opposed to internal improvements, and the school bill.^d It is apparent, also, that they came, to a large extent, from those German counties which had cast so large a vote for Ritner in the previous election.^e Every means was tried to close the schism. President Jackson even wrote a letter to Muhlenberg asking him to withdraw for the sake of harmony, but without avail.^f

The Antimasons again nominated Ritner,^g and though his policy was not clearly defined in regard to the canal system, we find none of the opposition to improvements manifested during the last campaign. He and his supporters confined themselves to criticising the administration for extravagance and for corruption connected with the work.^h

^a Niles Register, XLVIII, 198.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, April 3, 1835. Niles Register, XLVIII, 20.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, May 6, 1835. Niles Register, XLVIII, 190.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, May 1, June 5, August 28, June 26, 1835. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, May 14, 1835. Niles Register, XLVIII, 198.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, April 7, June 19, 1835.

^f Jackson's letter of July 1, 1835. Pennsylvania Reporter, 1835. In a Fourth of July address Jackson mentioned Wolf as the "patriotic governor," a phrase which was used against the other faction. Niles Register, XLIX, 189.

^g Niles Register, XLVIII, 20.

^h Pennsylvania Reporter, June 10, June 19, 1835. Centre Democrat, June 10, 1835.

The efforts made by the Muhlenberg faction to win over the German Antimasons singularly failed, and but a few of them, led by Richard Rush, entered into the support of Muhlenberg.^a

The northern counties of the State had received many favors from Wolf, and it was this section which displayed at this crisis the greatest enthusiasm for his cause. His supporters said:

When George Wolf was elected governor of Pennsylvania, the North was regarded more as a colony of outlaws than citizens of the State. We have now a firm prospect of having the State improvements extended through this section of the State. To whom are we indebted for this prospect more than George Wolf? He has boldly stepped forth and urged his measures upon the legislature. Is there a man in the North who can turn recreant to such a governor?^b

The people of Erie County, too, were indignant at the long neglect of their interests, and made an issue of the failure to extend the canal to the lake. At a meeting of the friends of the canal it was resolved "to support no man for the office of governor who was not its avowed and independent friend."^c Letters were addressed to all the candidates upon the matter, with the result that Wolf said it should be "completed without delay;" Ritner, as soon as the "circumstances of the State should justify it," and Muhlenberg admitted the work was "important," but did not commit himself.^a

One of the interesting phases of this campaign was the religious spirit connected with it. The Antimasons had long been called advocates of a union of church and state. The Wolf Democrats now imputed the same doctrines to Muhlenberg. "For upwards of eighteen years," says the Chester Democrat, "H. A. Muhlenberg professed to be a minister of the Message of Peace. * * * History portrays in glaring characters the danger of the unity of the civil with religious power. * * * Would every Pennsylvanian resist the encroachments of religious upon civil power, let him on this ground alone refuse to give his vote to Rev. Henry A. Muhlenberg."^d

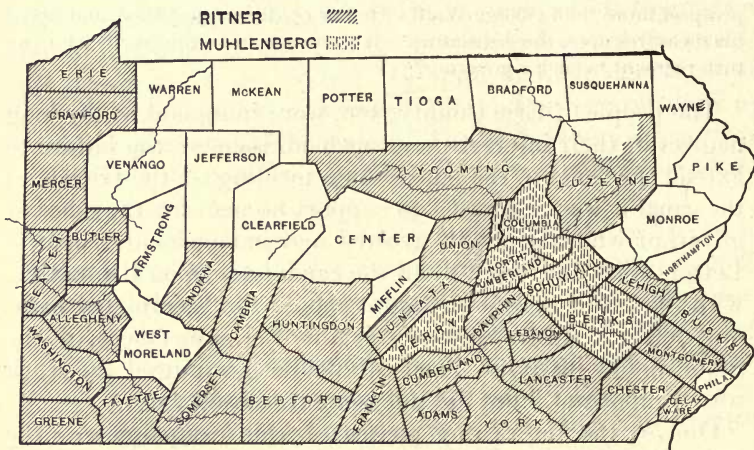
^a Pennsylvania Reporter, August 28, 1835.

^b Northern Banner, quoted in Pennsylvania Reporter, July 17, 1835. See also account of Center County Democratic meeting, Pennsylvania Reporter, September 11, 1835.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, September 11, 1835.

^d Chester Democrat, quoted in Pennsylvania Reporter, September 25, 1835.

Wolf in turn was attacked by his political opponents for having appointed a man to a position through the influence of a Catholic priest. "We have read much about church and state in this contest," said the Pittsburg Manufacturer, "and from whom has it come? none other than those who for the last six years have priest-ridden the Commonwealth." It was declared repeatedly that "Catholicism, Masonry, and infidelity were combined to crush the liberty of the Republic." In those days of religious disturbance and bitter religious feeling such accusations were not to be despised, and formed valuable campaign literature. This was the beginning of the strong anti-



Vote for governor of Pennsylvania, in 1835. (Philadelphia City for Ritner; Philadelphia County for Wolf.)

Catholic feeling in Pennsylvania with which so many prominent Antimasons, especially in the western part of the State, were later connected.^b

The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for Ritner. He carried the southern part of the State and the western tier of counties, receiving 94,023 votes to 65,804 for Wolf and 40,586 for Muhlenberg.^c According to the Demo-

^a Pittsburg Manufacturer, quoted in Pennsylvania Intelligencer, September 24, 1835.

^b Mr. E. Wilson's valuable History of Pittsburg, compiled largely from newspapers, gives a good picture of the struggle in the city of Pittsburg.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, October 30, 1835.

Specifically, he carried Adams, Allegheny, Beaver, Bedford, Butler, Bucks, Crawford, Cambria, Chester, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Erie, Fayette, Franklin, Greene, Huntingdon, Indiana, Juniata, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Lycoming, Mercer,

cratic account, 9 Antimasonic senators were elected, and in the lower house all but 28 were either Whigs or Antimasons. These two parties, if united, could control the lower house entirely, and on a joint vote both houses.^a

Montgomery, Philadelphia City, Somerset, Union, Washington, and York counties. Muhlenberg carried Berks, Columbia, Northumberland, Perry, and Schuylkill; all of these except Perry being adjoining counties. Berks was Muhlenberg's county, and had been the seat of political discontent for some time. In 1832 it had given Jackson 3,322 majority and Wolf but 323. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, June 19, 1835.

Berks, Schuylkill, and Northumberland also voted against the proposed convention for amending the constitution. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 30, 1835. Members from all these counties except Northumberland had opposed the improvement bill of 1835. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 7, 1835. These counties always elected Democratic members to the legislature, but were always decidedly opposed to the policy of Wolf. The split in the Democratic ranks undoubtedly caused the defeat of their party, although it must be admitted that the Muhlenberg ticket polled heavy votes in nearly all the eastern Antimasonic counties. Wolf carried 17 counties, 13 of which favored the convention. Every county in the State in which the German population predominated gave a majority against the convention. These counties were Lancaster, Berks, Schuylkill, Northampton, Lehigh, Lebanon, Dauphin, York, Montgomery, Union, Perry, Northumberland, and Somerset. Lancaster, the greatest Antimasonic county, gave the most votes against it, while Berks, the Muhlenberg stronghold, was next. Besides these counties, Adams, Bedford, Bucks, Center, Chester, Delaware, Mifflin, Northumberland, Philadelphia City, Philadelphia County, and Juniata voted against the convention. The convention was, however, decided upon by a vote of 84,611 to 73,008. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 30, 1835.

^a *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 23, 1835.

CHAPTER XV.—THE ANTIMASONIC-WHIG ALLIANCE IN POWER.

As soon as the session opened it became evident that not only was the Whig-Antimasonic combination supreme but also that several of the Muhlenberg Democrats showed a tendency to unite with them as well. In the senate, Cunningham, a member from the western part of the State who was understood to be opposed to Van Buren, was elected chairman; while in the house, Middleswarth was elected speaker.^a

In his inaugural address Ritner defined his policy toward the State improvements as follows:

With the vast debt already contracted before us, prudence would forbid the undertaking of any new, separate, and independent work, until those now in operation and in progress, prove by actual experience to be capable of sustaining themselves, and furnish evidence that they will, in a reasonable time, extinguish their original cost, without resort to taxation. But where further extension of the public works is necessary, to render those already made or in progress, profitable, and beneficial, economy and sound policy, and a just regard for the interests of the people, would require such extension to be authorized and completed.^b

His policy was soon put to the test, for both houses passed a resolution authorizing the canal commissioners to purchase and place additional locomotives upon the railroads of the Commonwealth. He returned this with his veto, and the remark "I regard this as the first question that has arisen, involving those principles of reform and economy for the support of which I stand pledged before my fellow-citizens."^c How the matter of improvements was finally settled will be

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, December 4, 1835. The Reporter estimated that a Muhlenberg man was elected clerk and an Antimason assistant clerk. Two of the printers are called Muhlenberg men and one a Whig. Cunningham received 20 votes to his opponent's (Reed) 10. He received all the votes of the Muhlenberg men, the Whigs, and the Antimasons. In the house, Niles estimates that there were 45 Antimasons, 26 Whigs, 17 Wolf men, 12 Muhlenberg men. Niles Register, XLIX, 230.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, December 18, 1835.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, January 5, 8, 1835. Niles Register, XLIX, 292. Hazard, XVI, 394.

considered in connection with the establishment of the United States Bank, where it properly belongs.

That Ritner looked upon his election as a triumph of Antimasonry is evident from the following statement from his message:

The supremacy of the laws, and the equal rights of the people, whether threatened or assailed by individuals, or by secret sworn associations, I shall, so far as may be compatible with the constitutional power of the Executive, endeavor to maintain, as well in compliance with the known will of the people, as from obligations of duty to the Commonwealth. In this endeavor I shall entertain no doubt of zealous cooperation by the enlightened and patriotic legislature of the State. The people have willed the destruction of all secret societies, and that will can not be disregarded.^a

In accordance with this recommendation a committee was appointed to inquire into Masonry, and on December 7 Mr. Stevens, chairman of that committee, reported a bill entitled "An act to suppress secret societies bound together by unlawful oaths."^b On December 19 a committee of five, with Stevens as chairman, was appointed to investigate the evils of Freemasonry, with power to send for persons and papers, and January 11 was fixed as the date for an investigation before the committee.^c As the witnesses took no notice of the summons, the next day Mr. Stevens made a report that the committee had summoned George Wolf and others to appear before them, but that they had all denied the authority of the house and the committee to serve process upon them, and had refused by letters to appear. He then offered a resolution that "attachments issue to compel the attendance of George Wolf, John Neilson, and other delinquent witnesses."^d

On January 14, after much debate, it was decided by a vote

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, December 18, 1835. See also Harvey, History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., and the American Free Mason, Louisville, Ky., II. This gives a Masonic history of Antimasonry.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, December 8, 1835, American Daily Advertiser, December 25, 1835.

^c Harrisburg Chronicle, January 11, 1836. American Sentinel, January 12, 1836.

^d Harrisburg Chronicle, January 14, 1836. Governor Wolf in his letter said: "I respectfully, but solemnly repeat my protest against and utterly deny the right of the committee: of the House of Representatives itself: or any human power to interfere with my constitutional rights as a free citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, with my privileges as a free agent, or with indulgence of my predilections to form such associations, not prohibited by law nor violating any provisions of the Constitution, as I may from time to time think proper, * * * or to interrogate me concerning the same, or to compel me to answer in anywise in relation thereto. I therefore respectfully decline appearing before the committee as requested by the subpoena." Franklin Repository, January 19, 1836. Harrisburg Chronicle, January 14, 1836.

of 59 to 29 to bring these men before the house. An analysis of the vote shows that many of the members from the Muhlenberg counties either did not vote or voted for the resolution, while the rest of the Democrats to a man voted against it.^a

On January 18 the witnesses were accordingly brought before the committee. The excitement was intense. Crowds of people attracted from everywhere were present to hear the secrets of the Masons revealed. Masons, Antimasons, "Mullies,"^b "Jacks,"^c "Bats,"^d "Collar Democrats,"^e "Canalers," "Anticanalers," Quakers, Dunkards, Mennonites, Lutherans fought with one another to get within hearing of the awful things to be revealed. All the terms that human ingenuity could devise were brought forth by the Democrats to describe the proceedings. The days of Salem witchcraft were held up as the only parallel in American history. It was called an "Old Woman's Curiosity Convention," with Stevens as "Chief Old Woman;" it was compared to the Inquisition, with Stevens the "Arch Priest of Antimasonry," as "Chief Inquisitor," and many other terms equally ingenious were invented and used.^f

The curiosity seekers and the investigators were disappointed. Each Mason, as he was summoned, refused to answer the questions put, and instead read a protest. Many of these protests were remarkably strong and dignified documents. The limits of this work do not permit their appearance here. As the reading was continued at great length, Stevens showed signs of impatience and is said to have lost his temper several times.^g

^a Harrisburg Chronicle, January 14, 1836. Franklin Repository, January 19, 1836.

^b Followers of Muhlenberg.

^c Men who were not Masons yet sided with them.

^d Those who neither were Masons nor sided with them, and yet did not see the "light."

^e A common name for the Democrats. It comes from a saying of Crockett's that each Democrat wore a collar upon which was inscribed "Andrew Jackson, his dog."

^f Stevens, indeed, appeared well in the part of an inquisitor. He is described at this time as a "gentleman with gray eyes, smooth hair, robust person, and a cold severe look." Harrisburg Chronicle, January 18, 1836. His Puritan ancestry, his fanatical spirit, his radical nature, all fitted him for the part he was playing.

^g Franklin Repository, January 19, 1836. Harrisburg Chronicle, January 21, 1836. Niles Register XLIX, 379, 381, 382. Mr. Egle says that when Rev. Mr. Sproul was reading his address he came to the expression "Gentlemen, if you are willing to convert yourselves into a modern Juggernaut, then roll on." "Stop," thundered the chairman of the "Inquisition," white with wrath, and further reading was dispensed with. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXIII, 137. Mr. Egle was a Mason.

On January 20 a resolution was adopted directing the sergeant-at-arms to take into custody 25 witnesses named in the resolution and bring them before the bar of the house.^a On January 21 Mr. Stevens offered another resolution that the prisoners at the bar be committed to the charge of the sergeant-at-arms, and there continue until delivered by due course of law. To this resolution amendments were offered in great number. One of these, by a member from Allegheny County, proposed that "the speaker of the house be instructed to apologize to the prisoners at the bar." The house was beginning to get tired of Stevens and his fruitless "inquisition," and political expediency could not hold them on his side much longer. Says an eyewitness: "For a time it was uncertain whether the prisoners would be committed or the house apologize to them."^b After a struggle the house decided to discharge the prisoners by a vote of 48 to 45.^c Stevens did not give up the idea of investigation, but continually brought the matter up, without, however, accomplishing anything, the Whigs being utterly disgusted at his disgraceful defeat.^d He finally gave up his task, but nevertheless vowed vengeance. In a speech in the house on March 5 he said:

The Antimasons in the State have been in the minority, and will be in the minority until they have exterminated the unholy orders. The troops from Switzerland and Cassel, after having sacked the archives of the temple will now turn and destroy the fair city itself. Sir, I will go home again in a minority, and call again and again upon the people and will either succeed in crushing that polluting order, which will sustain itself by trampling over the best interests of the country, or will go down to the grave never faltering in a righteous cause.

He said that he would appeal to the people, and in their decision all would soon perceive that there was "no other question than Masonry and Antimasonry."^e

As the election of Governor Ritner was a triumph for the friends of the Bank, efforts were made early in the session to incorporate it. On January 28 a bill passed the house to that effect by a vote of 57 to 33, the members from the Muhlen-

^a The vote was 47-43.

^b Editor of United States Gazette. Harrisburg Chronicle, January 28, 1836.

^c Niles Register, XLIX. 382.

^d Harrisburg Chronicle, February 4, 22, March 3. See also journal of house of representatives, 1835-36, II, pp. 810-921, and Document No. 268.

^e Harrisburg Chronicle, March 10, 1836.

berg counties voting with the Democrats.^a By the terms of its charter it had to pay \$4,500,000 as a bonus and contribute nearly \$700,000 to various improvements.^b The act was designated an "Act to repeal the State tax on real and personal property, and to continue and extend the improvements of the State by railroads and canals." The improvements to which the money was applied embraced nearly all the schemes then in existence. Many railroad companies—notably the proposed Baltimore and Ohio branch in Pennsylvania, and a proposed railroad from Columbia to Pittsburg, and the famous Gettysburg, Wrightsville and York Railroad—were helped. The turnpikes, especially in the southern and western portions of the State, received their due share, while the branch canals received large amounts. Even the survey of the West Branch to the Allegheny, the French Creek extension to Lake Erie, and the plans to connect the Pittsburg to the Ohio system were not forgotten. In this way the greater part of the money received was spent and comparatively little was assigned to the discharge of the public debt. Many improvement companies and speculative enterprises sprang up in every direction. Work was commenced which it would take untold wealth to complete. The logical result can be foreseen; the crash came in the next year.^c

Conditions so advantageous to all sectional interests and enterprises won many adherents to the Antimasonic-Whig party. This was noticeably true in the case of many Democrats who had shown some tendency not to follow their party as it then existed in the State.^d

Such a concession could not have been made without criticism, and almost immediately a senator accused another of trying to bribe him to vote for it. A committee was appointed

^a Harrisburg Chronicle, February 8, 1836. It was incorporated February 8, 1836. Ibid., January 25, 1837.

^b Harrisburg Chronicle, July 6, 1836.

^c For the text of the act, see Philadelphia Courier, January 30, 1836. See also Laws of Pennsylvania, 1835-1836.

^d Says the Harrisburg Chronicle: "The crisis in our State affairs was startling. Our commerce was sinking beneath the pecuniary agitation; our State treasury was bankrupt; our people were already overburthened with taxes. * * * Besides all this, our improvements would have gone to decay for want of means, and many valuable lines of improvements would have been checked altogether. Ruin, utter ruin, would have ensued." Harrisburg Chronicle, May 30, 1836. The Chronicle at this time bore at the head of its columns the names of Van Buren and Johnson, although just before the election it became Whig.

to investigate the matter, and although there was a great weight of circumstantial evidence against the accused he was acquitted, although publicly reprimanded. The committee reported that they were "satisfied that neither the Bank nor any person connected with it improperly interfered to promote the passage of the bill."^a

The chartering of the Bank set a precedent for the establishment of other State banks, among which was the Girard Bank, of Philadelphia. Although Ritner, in his message, had not taken as positive a position toward such institutions as had Wolf,^b yet he vetoed this bill, and in doing so made a restatement of the arguments in favor of the Bank of the United States. He seems to have favored that, and that alone.^c It is also probable that he tried to avoid the odium cast upon the previous administration by reason of the charters granted by the Democrats, in spite of the executive veto. As in the case of Wolf, the bill was passed over his veto. This opened the way for the establishment of many banks during his administration.^d

The friends of the Bank received a severe shock later in the year when George Dallas said that the constitutional convention then assembling could "possess within the territory of Pennsylvania every attribute of absolute sovereignty, except what may have been yielded to the United States and is embodied in the Federal Constitution." He recommended that the Bank be demolished by this method. Although this view of the matter caused an uneasiness bordering on panic in commercial centers, yet nothing finally came of it.^e

Another measure well adapted to please the thrifty German farmers of the State was the repeal of the direct tax. This

^a Harrisburg Chronicle, February 15, March 14, 1836. Niles Register, XLIX, 434; L, 110.

^b He promised to limit the amount of paper money, etc., but said, however, that "public accommodation and the demands of business will be consulted." Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XVI, 394.

^c Franklin Repository, March 29, 1836.

^d Ibid. Stevens, in a characteristic speech, condemned Ritner for his veto. "For his part," he said, "he could see nothing to justify the act; and he could not stand by and see kingly prerogative exercised without always being opposed to the exercise of such power. It was no new doctrine with him. He had always been opposed to the exercise of the veto power, whether it was done by his political friends or foes. He never retraced his steps to please in any quarter. He would look upon the success of this veto as a triumph over the deliberations of legislative action and independence." Harrisburg Chronicle, March 21, 1836.

^e Harrisburg Chronicle, November 2, 9, 1836.

tax went into effect October 1, 1832, and was levied especially upon such articles as mortgages, bonds, notes, bank stock, turnpike stock, and other personal property, and provided for an increase of county rates.^a The law had been the cause of great discontent and of much severe censure of Wolf,^b and various attempts had been made to repeal it.^c

The act was finally repealed on March 10, 1836. The following resolution shows how the party in power made a strong bid for the patronage of the people:

Whereas, although the law levying taxes on real and personal property for the use of the State will expire on the twenty-fourth day of March next, yet it appears by the report of the State Treasurer, made to the legislature at the present session, that these taxes are estimated in the receipts of the current year at two hundred and eight thousand, nine hundred and sixty-three dollars, and that the same would have been collected from the people, notwithstanding the expiration of the same law, but by the passage of the late act entitled "An act to repeal the State tax on real and personal property, and to continue the improvements of the State by canals and railroads, and to charter a State bank to be called the Bank of the United States,"^d the treasury will be supplied in lieu thereof, and it is thereby rendered unnecessary to demand the payment of the same from the citizens of the Commonwealth.

Another strong bid for public favor was a resolution introduced by Stevens instructing the delegation in Congress to use their influence for the passage of a law making an appropriation for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio. Only ten Democrats had the hardihood to vote against the measure.^e

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 28, 1831.

^b Wolf, in his last message, however, had advocated that it be allowed to expire. Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, XVI, 370.

^c For controversy over this before its existence and after, see Harrisburg Chronicle, April 20, 1830. Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 28, 1831; March 10, September 19, 1832. Pennsylvania Reporter, September 14, 1832.

^d Harrisburg Chronicle, September 28, 1836. See also *ibid.*, February 29, 1836, for debates in Senate of February 15, 1836.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, January 12, 1836. They were instructed also during this session to vote against the expunging resolutions, and in the extra session they were instructed to vote against the distribution of the surplus revenue among the States. Niles Register, L, pp. 16, 291.

A resolution which was of comparative insignificance at this time, and yet must be noticed because it marks the beginning of the political antislavery movement in the State, came up in this session. The governor, in his message, had alluded to resolutions from the States of Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky relative to abolition and incendiary publications. This was referred to a committee, of which Stevens was appointed chairman, and on May 30 it reported the following resolutions: "*Resolved*, That the slave-holding States alone have the right to regulate and control domestic slavery within their limits." "*Resolved*, That Congress does possess the constitutional power, and

As the time of the national election was approaching, much interest was manifested in the position of the Antimasons. Would they unite with the Whigs or would they run an independent ticket of their own? Already early in 1835 some of the counties had instructed their delegates to the State convention to bring the name of Harrison before the convention as a candidate for President.^a Letters were addressed by other conventions to prominent men of the country asking them for their views upon Antimasonry. Harmar Denny and others of Allegheny county addressed a letter to Webster. He replied in a letter in which he positively announced his belief in the doctrines of the party and said:

Under the influence of this conviction it is my opinion that the future administration of all such oaths, and the imposition of all such obligations, should be prohibited by law. * * * I have ever found the Antimasons of Pennsylvania true to the Constitution, to the Union, and to the great principles of the country. They have adopted the "supremacy of the laws" as their leading sentiment, and I know none more just or more necessary.^b

Stevens had meanwhile been negotiating with Harrison. According to the Democratic accounts, he asked Harrison the following questions: (1) "Do you believe that Freemasonry and all other secret oath-bound societies are evils and inconsistent with the genius and safety of republican government?" (2) "Will you join your Antimasonic fellow-citizens in the use of all constitutional, fair, and honorable means for their final and effectual suppression?" Harrison replied that he believed in Antimasonic principles, but that, although he was "far from asserting that evils arising from Masonry do not form a proper subject for the deliberations and action of some constituted authorities in our country," yet he was "certain that there exists no such power either in the whole Government of the United States, or in any of its departments,

it is expedient to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the District of Columbia." *Harrisburg Chronicle*, June 2, 1836. These resolutions may appear exceedingly mild to come from a committee of which Stevens was chairman, but it must be remembered that the opposition in Pennsylvania was considering the national unity of parties opposed to the Democrats, and was therefore more careful than ordinary. However many of the leaders of the Antimasonic movement in the State were soon to become out-and-out abolitionists, as would be expected from such natural extremists.

^aJuniata and Union meetings, *Pennsylvania Reporter* February 24, 1835. *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, February 23, 1835.

^bBoston, November 26, 1835. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, January 5. *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, December 9, 1835.

and that the attempt to exercise it would constitute an usurpation of power, pregnant if tolerated by the people, with mischief infinitely more fatal than those which it was intended to remedy."^a These last few words were wormwood and gall to the fiery Stevens. Able politician though he was, he yet could not be reconciled, and determined to throw his weight in favor of Webster.^b

When the State convention took place (December 14, 1835), the Harrison men, who were in the majority, effectually opposed a recommendation to send delegates to an Antimasonic national convention, and nominated Harrison for President and Granger, the former New York gubernatorial candidate, for Vice-President. These nominations were not made without a struggle. When it became evident that such a course was to be pursued, the radical Antimasons, like Denny and Stevens, entered their protest against such a step, and finding a majority determined upon the measure, withdrew from further participation in the proceedings.^c

Soon after, the seceders met and approved of holding a national convention on May 1, and appointed delegates to it. These delegates included Stevens, Denny, and Ellmaker.^d They also issued an address which is interesting because of the light it throws upon Antimasonry in Pennsylvania. After saying that the delegates to the previous meeting had disobeyed the call, the object of which was to nominate delegates to the national convention, the address said:

A Masonic Whig or Harrison convention was called to meet in Harrisburg at the same time with the Antimasonic convention. It met and organized by electing a Masonic president, and one or more Masons, vice-presidents. A large number of their body were adhering Masons, and most of the others the strenuous defenders of the lodge. A regular intercommunication was kept up between the members of the Masonic and such of those of the Antimasonic convention as were privy to the plans of both. James Todd, esq., who, it was well known, was to be appointed attorney-general under the new administration, caused his son, as is believed, who was a delegate, to create a vacancy, and came into the convention as his substitute, notwithstanding the solemn remonstrances of those who believed that the purity of deliberative bodies could be preserved only by excluding from them all official influence. It is ascertained that

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, January 8, 1836.

^b See in this connection Adams's Diary IX, 273.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, December 18, 1835. Niles's Register, XLIX, 177, 287. American Daily Advertiser, December 17, 18, 19, 1835.

^d Pennsylvania Reporter, December 22, 1835.

sixty-four members of the convention were applicants for office, either to the governor or attorney-general for themselves or relations. Mr. Todd was believed to possess the special confidence of the governor, and was known to hold the patronage of more than fifty appointments. Without any authority, and as we believe in express violation of the feelings and intentions of the governor, he had induced the belief, that the sure road to Executive favor lay through the immediate nomination of General Harrison without regard to his political Antimasonry. * * * The coalition with the Whig convention was completed, and resulted in their joint nomination of the same candidates for President and Vice-President. * * * A motion was made to read the instructions of the several counties to their delegates, which was opposed by the amalgamation party, and rejected. We shall not pretend to state what occurred in the Masonic convention, as it sat with closed doors a considerable part of the time. After General Harrison was nominated, Mr. Gest offered the following resolution, which was rejected by a large majority: "*Resolved*, That if Gen. William H. Harrison will give such unequivocal expressions—declarative (if elected to the Presidency of the United States) that he will not knowingly appoint adherents of oath-bound secret societies to office—that such expressions will be evidence that he is sufficiently Antimasonic to be the Democratic Antimasonic candidate for the Presidency of the United States and consequently, as such, ought to be unanimously sustained by the Antimasonic party of Pennsylvania." It is firmly believed that every true Antimason in the State will refuse to sanction this coalition, but hold himself bound by the decisions of the national convention about to be held. In addition to the sixty-four applicants for office, the convention contained, as we believe, twenty-four Whigs and one Mason. Fellow-citizens, after much toil and some suffering in your company, in defense of "equal rights," we had hoped to be permitted to repose from our labors. But the enemy has assumed a new, and most dangerous shape. Permit us therefore to exhort you to buckle on anew your armor, as we have already done, to meet and again overthrow the evil monster whose slightest touch is pollution. Signed, Thaddeus Stevens, W. W. Irwin, Samuel Parke, committee of delegates."

They were sustained in their position by the radicals throughout the State and particularly in the west. Repeated calls went up for the dismissal of Todd,^b and it seemed for a while that another nomination would be made, but the action of the other States was not favorable to a convention, and Harrison had to be sustained, although it is probable that he lost many votes through the spirit engendered.

The campaign of this year showed an increase of the anti-Catholic spirit that appeared in the previous election. Martin Van Buren was declared to be a correspondent and eulogist of

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, January 5, 1836.

^b Allegheny County meeting, December 26, Pennsylvania Reporter, January 5, 1836.

the Pope and a friend of many Catholics. These insinuations were used effectually among the severe Presbyterians of the western part of the State.^a

The State elections resulted, according to Whig accounts, in the election of three Whigs to Congress and four Antimasons. Eighteen of the senate were classed as "Whigs," "Antimasons," and "State's Rights Democrats,"^b while eleven of the lower house are called "Whigs," and twenty "Antimasons." The Antimasons came from the west and from Philadelphia City.^c It was apparent that in spite of all their tactics, their popular measures, and their gerrymandering,^d the party was badly beaten, and, above all, Stevens was not returned.^e

Some of the attempts made by the coalition to explain its defeat are, to say the least, very weak. The Chronicle ascribed its defeat to the fact that the party, which was composed of so many German farmers, could not gather its voters at the polls because "the day of the election comes at a bad season * * * just at a time when their buckwheat and seeding must be attended to."^f

The real fundamental cause of the defeat, however, was due, no doubt, to Stevens's arbitrary measures in the legisla-

^aA sample of this spirit can be seen from the following: "Van Buren and the Pope! * * * now for the first time a candidate for the first office in the Union, comes before the people, as the correspondent of the Pope of Rome, as the fawning sycophantic flatterer of a foreign tyrant—for the purpose of arraigning one religious denomination against another—of making a sectarian party in politics, and of securing the influence of what he impiously calls the 'Holy Father' upon the Catholics of the United States, to unite in a body, in politics. * * * In a letter to the Pope, Martin acknowledges the Pope to be the 'head of the great Christian Church' and offered 'congratulations to the Holy Father upon his recent accession to the tiara!'" Pennsylvania Intelligencer, September 15, 1836. For similar remarks see same paper, October 17, 1836. Allegheny County meeting, November 11, 1835. Boston Independent Chronicle, November 21, 1835. American Daily Advertiser, September 14, 1835. See also Wilson's History of Pittsburg. The Antimasonic spirit with its own peculiar patriotism furnished a good basis for the anti-Catholic Know-Nothing movement of the future. This was the period, it must be remembered, of the publication of "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," the troubles over the convent in Pittsburg, and a little earlier (1832) the burning of the Charlestown convent in Massachusetts.

^bDemocrats who were opposed to the distribution of the surplus revenue among the States. It was held that it would give the Federal Government control over the States. They were generally anti-Van Buren Democrats.

^cHarrisburg Chronicle (Whig), October 26, December 7, 1836. It is hard to tell just what the politics of the papers were at this period, they swung around so rapidly. There were ten newspapers in Harrisburg, although it was but a town of about 5,900 people.

^dThere were several gerrymanders during the period discussed by this paper, but the limits of the work forbid any study of them here. See Harrisburg Chronicle, June 8, 1836.

^eFor that matter, Dallas and William Wilkins were both defeated for Congress.

^fHarrisburg Chronicle, October 26, 1836

ture with regard to Masonry, and to the fact that the investigation ended in such a fiasco. Coupled with this was the dissatisfaction of many of those who did not participate in the benefits derived from the chartering of the Bank. Many felt that their particular enterprises had been slighted or discriminated against by the administration. Considering the great works projected, it is easy to realize how nearly all were dissatisfied. No doubt also a great many votes were lost because of the charges of corruption which had marked the struggle for the incorporation of the Bank. Conservative and careful business men doubtless saw the inevitable result of the policy pursued, and used their influence against it. Many of the conservative Germans could not but be alarmed at the condition of affairs, and consequently withheld their votes or threw them against the State administration.

In the Presidential election, however, in spite of the divisions, Harrison polled 86,784 votes to 91,383 cast for Van Buren. He carried the counties of Adams, Allegheny, Bedford, Beaver, Bradford, Bucks, Butler, Cambria, Chester, Delaware, Dauphin, Erie, Franklin, Huntingdon, Indiana, Lancaster, Lebanon, Mercer, Somerset, Union, and Washington, and Philadelphia city. The Germans again showed that although they may have been rebellious upon State issues, yet in Presidential elections they were good Democrats at heart.^a Of the counties recognized as German counties, but Lancaster, Somerset, Dauphin, Lebanon, and Union threw their votes for Harrison. The old Muhlenberg districts gave very strong majorities against him.^b The northern part of the State was on the whole Democratic.

The election plainly showed that the elements of opposition had become solidified, and that Antimasonry was practically absorbed into the new Whig movement as far as national questions were concerned. In State matters it was yet to make one more final struggle before its complete overthrow and absorption into the triumphant Whig party of the future.

^aThe Wolf party had ratified the Baltimore nomination of Van Buren and Johnson, and this took the wind from the sails of the Muhlenberg movement. At their convention January 8, 1836, they, too, ratified the electoral ticket.

^bThe vote in Berks was 4,967 to 1,584; Columbia, 1,560 to 544; Northumberland, 1,421 to 712; Schuylkill, 1,380 to 687; Perry, 1,107 to 473. Official returns, Harrisburg Chronicle, November 23, 1836.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE YEAR 1836-37—THE BANK, IMPROVEMENTS, AND ABOLITION.

As usual after a general election the political excitement subsided somewhat in the year 1837. This may be also attributed to the great strength of the Democratic party in the lower house, and perhaps still more to the fact that Stevens was not returned to the legislature.

The State treasurer having still a great amount of money on hand, it is not surprising that a desire should be felt for its disbursal among the different improvements. Ritner, in his annual message, mentioned those improvements which seemed to him to demand the greatest attention. One of these was the long-contested Erie extension. This work had from time to time received dribblets, which served but slight purpose. Even the previous legislature had not provided completely for its needs. Ritner said of it:

The extension of the main line of canal to the harbor of Lake Erie has the strongest claims to the attention of the legislature. This work will complete the original plan of a connection between Philadelphia and Lake Erie, and will throw business upon the whole length of the improvements between these points. Though the amount of business upon the line will not be so great as upon other sections of the canal, yet the profit to the State will be equal to any. This will be caused by the description of articles to be transported upon it. They will be mainly merchandise from the seaboard for the West and Northwest, to the early shipment of which upon the lake, the harbor of Erie offers peculiar advantages; and the heaviest articles of produce seeking an Atlantic market, for whose transportation this route to Philadelphia, composed as it chiefly will be of canal, presents the greatest facility.^a

As will be remembered, this plan accorded with Ritner's original ideas and with the ideas of those Philadelphians who wished direct connection with the Great Lakes.

In the claims for the money in the treasury every little

^a Franklin Repository, December 20, 1836.

crossroads speculation, every proposed railroad, beginning nowhere and ending nowhere, every private company of almost any sort cried for its share. The bill as it was drawn up provided for so many different works that if they were all carried to completion they would increase the State debt, it was estimated, from \$24,330,000 to \$45,120,000.^a The proposed appropriation itself was over \$3,000,000. "It is, in fact," says the *Intelligencer*, "a bill to distribute the surplus revenue among the people for internal improvement, and we do not know how it could be better expended."^b The Erie route was to receive \$400,000, the North Branch \$100,000, and the Gettysburg Railroad \$150,000, and nearly all the rest went to turnpikes and proposed railroads.^c

The bill finally passed both houses, the southeastern members, as a general rule, opposing it.^c Ritner, however, vetoed it on the grounds that—

(1) Its main feature is the distribution of the great portion of the present resources of the Commonwealth, among works not owned by the State, and its consequent withdrawal from the future prosecution of the public works and from the present decrease of the State debt. (2) It bestows on capitalists and speculators the money which is the property of the whole people, thereby enriching individuals and sections, to the injury of the rest of the community. (3) It not only thus fritters away the means which should now otherwise be applied, but by enabling the companies who are the recipients of its liberality to commence and prosecute works which they will not be able to complete, it embarks the State so far in those works that she will at no distant day be compelled to increase her present debt for the purpose of finishing them, or lose what is now proposed to be given. (4) It will increase the State debt in four years to \$45,000,000, etc.^d

The veto was sustained, although the vote stood 47 for the bill to 45 against it, but, as a two-thirds vote was necessary, the State escaped this misfortune. An analysis of the vote shows no particular party division, the south and southeastern German sections generally voting against the bill, while the city of Philadelphia, the home of so many speculative enterprises, voted for it.^e

An important and significant part of Ritner's message dealt

^a Franklin Repository, April 11, 1837. See also *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, March 23, 1837. *Wilson's History of Pittsburg*, 785.

^b Quoted in *Franklin Repository*, April 4, 1837.

^c *Franklin Repository*, April 11, 1837.

^d *Franklin Repository*, April 11, 1837. *Niles Register*, LII, 104.

^e *Harrisburg Chronicle*, April 5, 1837.

with the proposed Gettysburg Railroad. Many plans had been made to construct railroads through the southern counties which would connect with the Baltimore and Ohio system to the west and in some degree restore to these counties the prestige lost since the coming in of the canal route. These efforts had met with strong opposition from Philadelphia and those interested in the canal to Pittsburg.^a Stevens now stepped forward as the champion of the new scheme,^b and Ritner, in order to placate the southeastern section of the State, mentioned the matter favorably in his message.^c As we have seen, the canal bill was defeated and the scheme for the present remained in abeyance.

As to Antimasonry itself, the governor in his message, after denying Washington's active support of the Masonic order, said:

What was comparatively restricted and harmless in his day has assumed the dangerous character of regularly organized oath-bound, secret-working, widespread, and powerful societies. Of these * * * the society of Freemasonry is the fruitful mother. Their efforts are: The propagation and support of principles and doctrines by concentration of influence, * * * to the justification or even avowal of which individual character and responsibility would shrink; the disregard of all law and right, both constitutional and legislative which, if unchecked, is the sure precursor of anarchy and the first step to despotism; the demoralization of society by the administration of unlawful and wicked oaths, which, if kept, produce the result for which they were intended; and if broken, accustom our citizens to make light of that which is the great agent of justice, and one of the bonds of society: the promotion of monopoly and prostration of the

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, March 19, 1830, January 24, 1832, April 7, 1835.

The Philadelphians were against many of the first railroad schemes because they were designed to run south and consequently might take trade away from Philadelphia. The Gettysburg Railroad was designed to run from that city to the west, and consequently found favor with a large body of the business interests which were not satisfied with the canal, which, at the most, could run only part of the year and was constantly breaking down, besides causing a costly reshipment at the Allegheny portage.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, April 7, 1835. He had tried to get an appropriation of \$75,000 in the previous legislature, but had failed. He was afterwards elected president of the company which was known as the "Wrightsville, York and Gettysburg Railroad."

^c He said: "It will be perceived that the board recommends an appropriation of two hundred and eighty thousand dollars to the Gettysburg Railroad. This improvement is intended to connect, westwardly with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and eastwardly by means of the company road from Gettysburg to the Susquehanna at Wrightsville opposite Columbia, with the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, communicating through the heart of six of the southern counties of the State and terminating at our commercial metropolis. The propriety of such a work, at a time when it can be prosecuted without increasing the public burthens, can not remain a moment problematical, particularly when it is remembered that the counties to be benefited have heretofore derived no advantage from the State improvements." (Franklin Repository, December 20, 1836.)

uninitiated man of business. These inevitable and indisputable results are sufficient to arouse, and, I have no doubt will receive the attention of the legislature. Permit me to recommend the subject to your early and deliberate consideration. At the last session it was partly acted upon. The question of the constitutional right of the legislature to investigate and legislate on the subject of secret, oath-bound societies was settled, after a full and deliberate discussion. You meet under different and, permit me to say under peculiarly favorable auspices for the final disposal of this unpleasant matter. Whatever you do will not be attributed to party zeal or excitement. You have in your power by a full investigation of the nature of secret societies, and by the passage of proper laws for their suppression or control forever to remove the stumbling block. The people of the State expect the emergency to be met by the legislature, not as partisans, but as freemen, determined to perform their duty to the country, regardless of mere political consequences, and of every obligation except those which bind us all to the support of the Constitution and the laws.^a

As might be expected, the Democratic majority did not see fit to carry out these suggestions, but on the other hand called upon the governor to explain the basis of his opinions upon Washington. This he did in a most able document which the house did him the justice to have printed.^b

The increasing agitation throughout the country on the question of slavery found many champions among the Antimasons of Pennsylvania, especially among the Quakers. This agitation had greatly increased in the last two years.^c Governor Ritner in his message charged the Democrats with "basely bowing the knee to the dark spirit of slavery." This statement aroused the ire of not only the Democrats, but also of many of the Whig allies of Antimasonry, seeking, as they were, to form a strong united party North and South.^d Says the Democratic Pennsylvania Reporter:

That this is the hobby [abolition] which the friends of the existing State administration now intend to mount for the purpose of retaining their ill-gotten power can not be disputed. * * * The decided ground assumed by Governor Ritner in his message, * * * the incendiary articles which have from time to time appeared in the organ of his administration here, * * * the vehemence with which Mr. Stevens

^a Franklin Repository, December 20, 1836.

^b See Vindication of General Washington, printed in Boston, 1841, by Ezra Lincoln. It contains the proceedings as well as the document communicated to the house on March 8. See also American Freemason, Louisville, II, 106, for Masonic account.

^c Says the Pennsylvania Reporter: "The publication of Dr. E. W. Channing's eloquent and powerful though visionary letter in favor of Abolition has infused a new spirit into the hearts and movement of the Abolitionists of this quarter." Pennsylvania Reporter, January 31, 1837.

^d The Pennsylvania Intelligencer, one of the strongest Whig papers, was decidedly proslavery.

and Mr. Burrowes,^a his excellency's confidential advisers, are urging the promulgation of their dogmas, and the fidelity with which the presses owned and controlled by officeholders in various counties of the State reecho the doctrines, and obey the orders of the masters, all combine to show, that this is hereafter to be regarded as the leading policy of that body of individuals who formerly ranged themselves under the equally proscriptive but less bloody banner of Antimasonry. ^b

The Antimasons agitated the matter in the legislature, but, as was to be expected, with no result. A bill introduced by them to give jury trial to fugitive slaves was defeated.^c They seem, however, to have stood quite solidly together on these measures.

It was but natural that the Democrats, now in the majority, would do what they could to destroy the Bank, and accordingly a resolution passed the house for the appointment of a committee to make certain inquiries touching the management of that institution and the mode by which its charter was obtained.^d Stevens was called before the committee and testified that one of the reasons for the chartering of the Bank was that Ritner was elected upon an implied promise to his political friends that neither the State debt should be increased nor taxes imposed,^e and that consequently the chartering of the Bank furnished a means of fulfilling his promise. He vigorously protested against the investigation, and it was no doubt largely by the influence of his great powers that the report of the majority and the minority of the investigation committee acquitted the officers of the Bank and the members of the legislature of having used corrupt means to procure the act of incorporation.^f

The Democrats had failed to injure the Bank in this manner, but new strength was soon added to their cause by the suspension of specie payment by the banks of Pennsylvania on May 11. The proposed issue of paper money aroused a storm of protest throughout the State, and matters were so alarming and the distress so great that pressure was brought to bear upon the governor to convene the legislature for an extra

^a Thomas Burrowes, afterwards noted for his great work in building up the school system of the State, now one of the most prominent Antimasons.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, January 31, 1837.

^c Niles Register, LII, 34.

^d Harrisburg Chronicle, January 25, 1837.

^e Harrisburg Chronicle, March 1, 1837.

^f Niles Register, LII, pp. 69, 94. The report of the majority held that the State could annul the charter if it so wished, while the minority denied this power.

session. This the governor did not do, and in his message relating to the matter he reviewed the situation and showed how useless temporary laws such as stay laws or any other makeshifts of the moment would be.^a

A resolution instructing the delegation to Congress to use their influence against any measure which would interfere with the rate of duties passed through the house by a vote of 56 to 22. It is significant of the attitude of Pennsylvania toward the Democratic party that such a motion should have been passed by such a majority in a Democratic house. The opposition came from the strong Democratic counties, such as Berks, Philadelphia County, and Westmoreland.^b

The campaign resulted in the election to the senate of 18 members of the Antimasonic-Whig party and 40 of the same party to the lower house. Stevens was returned again for Adams County.^c It was a great gain over the previous election, but still it did not give the united party the necessary majority in a combined vote, although it had a majority in the senate.^d

^a Niles Register, LII, 200. See also Wilson's History of Pittsburg, 785.

^b Harrisburg Chronicle, February 1, 1837.

^c Pennsylvania Reporter, October 27, 1837.

^d The majority in the senate was due to a great extent to the redistricting plan put in operation by the Whig administration of 1836.

CHAPTER XVII.—LEGISLATIVE ISSUES AND THE ELECTION OF 1838.

Upon the opening of the legislature, Burden, a Whig, was elected chairman of the senate by a vote of 18 to 11, while the Democrats elected a speaker in the lower house by a vote of 53 to 42.^a

The legislature found itself with an unexpected balance of over \$2,000,000 in the treasury, thanks to the veto in the previous session. This was a tempting state of affairs to the different enterprises which were being hurried forward in the State. The same spirit which had characterized the previous house took possession of this one, and an act was passed appropriating a large amount for repair and expenses and continuing the work on the Erie extension and also on the North Branch Canal and the Gettysburg Railroad. The governor in a message pointed out that the bill contained appropriations entirely inadequate for some portions of the work while other portions, whose needs were not so urgent, received the full estimated amounts. He pointed out also that the railroads, and especially the Gettysburg Railroad, did not receive sufficient amounts.^b

The bill became a law, however, without his signature. The Gettysburg Railroad appropriation was not decided until March, when it was finally passed by a vote of 55 to 38. Millions were squandered on turnpikes, railroad and canal companies, and enterprises of all kinds. Philadelphia City voted for the Gettysburg Railroad, but Philadelphia County gave it only one vote; a sufficient number of Democrats from the north and west supporting the project to make the appropri-

^aNiles Register, LIII, 325.

^bSee message, Harrisburg Chronicle, January 13, 1838. See also *ibid.*, January 10, 1838. American Daily Register, January 13, 1838.

ation a surety.^a Though the measure could not have gone through without Democratic votes, yet it was made one of the chief grievances against Ritner in the coming election, it being alleged that he was under the control of Thaddeus Stevens in this matter.^b

That the Democrats had not ceased their efforts against the banking system was made apparent by the introduction of a bill for the regulation of banks, especially in regard to the issuing of notes and the resumption of specie payments. The suspension of specie payment of the previous year, together with a flood of paper money, formed good grounds for the regulation of this business. In spite of meetings protesting against the bill, "because if it become a law it will compel many of those institutions [banks] to wind up their affairs and require payment of debts due to them without allowing such indulgence in the periods of payments, as the circumstances of their debtors in most instances will absolutely require,"^c the bill passed the house by a vote of 56 to 40, the opposition being either Whigs or Antimasons, except one member (Reed) from Philadelphia County.^d It was defeated in the senate by a vote of 17 to 13.^e

The resumption of specie payments by the New York banks had raised such a clamor in Pennsylvania^f that the banks decided on June 5 to resume payment on August 1. The United States Bank, or, as it was called in derision by its opponents because of a previous utterance of Ritner's, the "Balance Wheel," voted against this move. Ritner accordingly issued a proclamation requiring "all banks of the Commonwealth, on or before the thirteenth day of August * * * to resume and continue the redemption of their respective notes, bills, and other obligations in gold and silver coin, according to the

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, March 20, 1838. Niles Register, LVI, 72. American Daily Advertiser, March 19, 22, April 6, 1838. It received \$195,000. For other matter relating to the railroad, see American Daily Advertiser, December 9, 13, 16, 1837 and January 11, February 8, 9, 17, 1838. For appropriations to improvements see Laws of Pennsylvania, 1837-38, acts No. 4, 74. Act No. 74 received the governor's signature and carried by far the larger appropriations.

^b Account of Center County Democratic meeting. Pennsylvania Reporter, February 6, 1838.

^c Lebanon meeting. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, March 7, 1838.

^d Pennsylvania Intelligencer, May 2, 1838. Pennsylvania Reporter, April 31, 1838.

^e Pennsylvania Reporter, May 11, 1838. See also *ibid.* February 2, March 6, 1838. The Whigs introduced a bill to allow the banks to issue notes under \$5, but failed because of the Democratic majority in the house. Pennsylvania Reporter, July 26, 1838.

^f Pennsylvania Reporter, April 27, July 20, 26, 1838. Franklin Repository, May 1, 1838.

true intent and meaning of their charters." It was also required that "all persons or bodies corporate who have violated the laws of the State by the emission and circulation of notes of any denomination under five dollars, commonly called 'shin plasters,' to take instant measures for the full and honest redemption of the same * * * under penalty provided in such cases."^a

The abolition question came up again in this session upon a petition presented by a member from Chester asking for the use of the hall of the House of Representatives to deliver lectures on the "Rights of Man." It was defeated by a vote of 56 to 27. An analysis of the vote shows that these 27 were nearly all Antimasons. Many Whigs voted against it. But one man from Philadelphia city, the Whig stronghold, voted for it.^b

A bill of this session which clearly showed the tendency of the Democrats of Pennsylvania to differ with the national leaders upon party questions was the bill instructing the Pennsylvania delegation to move for a postponement of the subtreasury bill then before Congress. This passed the house by a vote of 51 to 49, the Whigs and enough Democrats to carry it voting for it.

The campaign which followed these events was the most exciting in the history of the Antimasonic party in Pennsylvania. The racial element was prominent from the first. The

^a Proclamation of July 10. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, July 20, 1838. *Niles Register*, LIV, pp. 304, 320. The question of doing away with the Bank was discussed in the constitutional convention, but nothing was done. *Harrisburg Chronicle*, January 5, 1838. For further matter relating to the Bank in Pennsylvania politics see *American Daily Advertiser*, January 11, 12, 16, 24, 25, February 3, 23, December 8, 13, 22, 1837; and January 10, February 26, March 5, 15, 1838.

^b *Niles Register*, LIII, 354. "That Governor Ritner," said the *Pennsylvania Reporter*, "is entitled to take rank among the abolitionists of Pennsylvania we presume will not at this late day be doubted. If his private sentiments be thrown entirely out of view, his public acts, his appointments to high and responsible stations of individuals notorious for their zeal in the cause of abolition and its consequence of amalgamation, leaves no room for doubt. He stands before the freemen of this Commonwealth as a candidate for their suffrages, and the fact of his being a collaborer in a cause so disorganizing in its tendencies, to the political institutions of the country, as the spread of abolitionism must be; and so repulsive to public feeling and public morals as amalgamation, evidently must not be lost sight of in the canvass." *Pennsylvania Reporter*, May 25, 1838. Many Antimasons, however, denied the abolitionist tendencies of their party. See Dauphin County Antimasonic convention. *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, August 21, 1838. It was not so popular among the Germans on the whole as it was with the Quakers and the New England element. In the vote just mentioned some members from Lancaster voted against it. See also *American Daily Advertiser*, January 14, 19, February 2, 3, 1837; and January 20, February 1, 5, 1838.

Whigs and Antimasons again put Joseph Ritner forward as their champion, while the Democrats nominated David Rittenhouse Porter, of Huntingdon, one of the Democrats who had voted with the Whigs for the postponement of the subtreasury bill. He was an iron manufacturer and had been in the State senate in the session of 1836-37. As he was of Scotch-Irish extraction, the Whigs tried to turn the German vote against him, and immediately upon his nomination their papers raised the cry of "conspiracy against the Germans," and pointed out the fact that only a few Germans were delegates to the convention.^a

Everything that had happened to the State was loaded upon Ritner by the Democrats. "Since Joseph Ritner came into power," said the Reporter, "he has received, in addition to all the ordinary revenue of the State, a large amount in the shape of bank bonuses, and near three millions from the General Government, * * * yet not a mile of additional

^a Pennsylvania Intelligencer, March 10, 1838. See, also, Harrisburg Chronicle, March 5, 9, 1838. Niles Register, LIV, 16. It was obviously sound political policy to cause another split in the Democratic party. As Porter was a Democrat of the Wolf stripe it was hoped to split off the former German supporters of Muhlenberg. The German vote was appealed to in every manner. It was asserted that "ever since Joseph Ritner has been placed in the executive chair he has been systematically slandered and abused, and through him the Germans of Pennsylvania. The most opprobrious epithets have been heaped upon him, and them, originating in that peculiar hatred which is entertained by a portion of our population against German citizens. * * * When the Germans of Pennsylvania are thus treated, the native Germans—the quiet, steady, and sober farmers of the greatest portion of the State—it becomes them, as men who love their language and their institutions, to hurl back with scorn the foul imputations attempted to be cast upon them and to rise in their might in support of German interests. * * * Joseph Ritner is a German born of German parents in the German county of Berks. Will not the German farmers flock to his support in opposition to a candidate of but doubtful character, a portion of whose supporters always make it a point to ridicule and defame the German name? Yes; they will this year show that the German farmers will not tamely submit to the calumnies of their bitter enemies any longer." Lebanon Courier, quoted in Pennsylvania Intelligencer, August 31, 1838. A great deal of this was inspired by the attacks made upon Ritner under the title of letters to his "Kitchen Cabinet," which were printed in some of the Democratic papers and which were imitations of the famous Maj. Jack Downing letters about General Jackson. Ritner, like Jackson, was pictured as an uneducated and unstatesmanlike figure, depending upon his "Yankee Kitchen Cabinet," composed of Stevens, Burrowes, Todd, and Penrose. The Democrats had many able writers who replied to the pro-German articles in like strain. The following is an instance: "'Our German Administration.' This is the war cry of the present humbug State administration. Does a man laugh at one of Governor Ritner's simple messages, he forsooth abuses the Dutch. Does he scoff at the palpable humbug of the last proclamation, he opposes Dutch measures. Does a friend of General Porter salute the secretary of the land office with 'Wie Gates?' he thereby makes light of the Dutch. If we were not almost all Dutch in Pennsylvania, means so vile, as are in daily use to convince us that Governor Ritner's men and measures are not all Dutch would not be made use of. His excellency's measures may be all German for aught he or anyone else can understand them, * * * but it cannot be so easily proven that his men are the very 'perl druck of Dutch.'" Pennsylvania Reporter, July 20, 1838.

improvements has been brought into use, * * * the State debt has been increased, * * * the treasury is bankrupt, not having sufficient funds to meet the demands of the appropriation bill, * * * and the next legislature will be compelled to resort to a permanent loan or stop the public improvements."^a Ritner thus entered the race handicapped by being made the scapegoat of the extravagance and speculative spirit of the time, to circumstances which owed their origin fundamentally to national and not State issues.

Never in any election so far considered were there more reckless accusations, blatant falsehoods, obscene poetry, and general bitterness displayed than in that of 1838. Ritner was accused of being the tool of designing politicians for corrupt ends and of being under the thumb of Stevens, whom he had appointed president of the board of canal commissioners.^a The Gettysburg railroad, pictured in the form of a letter S, nicknamed the "Tapeworm," and ending at Stevens's iron works, was exhibited in all the leading Democratic papers; the church people, too, were warned that there was a "Deist" in the executive chair; in short, every sort of device was used to belittle and degrade him in the eyes of the people.

But if Ritner was abused, Porter was even more abused by the artistic and ever-ready hands of Theophilus Fenn and his fellow editors. He was accused of being grossly immoral and of having illegitimate children, and supposed letters from them were published in the papers with all sorts of ribald poetry and comments. He was accused, too, of being a forger and a swindler and the papers were full of affidavits on both sides of the question. Political elections are notorious for such as the above, but the election of 1838 in Pennsylvania will rank as one of the worst in American history in this respect. It is but natural that this boiling caldron of political excitement should have led to the contested election, and the mob law and violence, known as the "Buckshot War," the result of which left the Democrats triumphant and the Antimasons as a political party crushed out of existence.

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, May 25, 1838.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE BUCKSHOT WAR.

What is known as the Buckshot war was the outcome of election difficulties in Philadelphia County. Conditions were such that if either party succeeded in electing its candidates to the lower house, it would have a majority in that body. There never was any question but that the senate was Whig, and, consequently, the election of Whigs or Democrats to the senate from this county made no difference, and was but a minor point of contention. It made no difference either as to the number of votes cast for Ritner or Porter, as whatever the results in this county, Porter was elected.^a The main struggle, then, was over the legality of the votes cast for members of the lower house—each party claiming that it had elected its candidates.

Of the troubles in Philadelphia County, and the right or wrong of the case, it is impossible to give a clear account. There is no doubt but that both sides used illegal methods at the polls, and the returns thus obtained were supported by partisan officials. After the election board had met, a disagreement over the results occurred, and the Whigs held a meeting of their own. At this meeting a return was made out and forwarded to Harrisburg by express. By this return the Whig ticket was declared elected. Burrowes, the secretary of the commonwealth, received this return in due form and in a legal manner, while the return from the Democratic judges was received by an agent of the sheriff and not by that official in person. Burrowes considered that he could do nothing but acknowledge the returns received in the most legal form.

The district concerned particularly was Northern Liberties, which the Whigs claimed by 1,000 votes. Some of the votes

^a The Whig account says by 5,496 and the Democratic 9,152. See *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 26, 1838. *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, October 10 (?), 1838.

for this district had been lost and trouble of a complicated nature had arisen, consequently the judges by a vote of 16 to 7 had declared that the whole district vote should be thrown out. This elected the Democratic ticket. The Whigs contended that the judges could not do this, but that it was a matter for the legislature to decide upon as a contested election.^a

There seems to be no denial that the Whigs acted within the technical meaning of the law, and there is no doubt but that the secretary had a technical right in considering the returns which he received in the legal manner as the correct ones. But who was to decide on the correctness of these returns? If the members designated by these returns were allowed to take their seats, it would put their party in the majority temporarily, and they could then easily vote their party in the majority permanently. Stevens claimed by a very clever argument that this should be the manner of proceeding. According to him, the house was not a house until its members were sworn in, and the only way to organize it was to swear in the members who had been designated in the legal returns. "Until then," he said, "no parties exist between whom to form the issue. It is absurd to say that the *prima facie* decision of the contested seats in the house of representatives can be postponed until all the undisputed returns are read and those members decide the disputed ones; because until the speaker is elected and the members duly qualified they are not a body competent to entertain any question. * * * Everything anterior to that is a mere consentable agreement among so many gentlemen. And by the constitution and laws there must be one hundred members capable of voting for speaker and taking their seats at the organization. If the disputed seats are to be postponed until such organization is perfected, it would be easy to defeat it altogether, by contesting all the seats and leaving none as umpires. * * * The house is competent to take no vote as to the right of members to seats. They must, in every instance, be sitting members upon the returns furnished by the secretary of the Commonwealth; and the only way which they can be unseated, is by a petition presented by the claiming members, and that petition referred to a committee se-

^aStevens's address to citizens of Adams County. Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839. For Democratic account see Pennsylvania Reporter, October 26, 1838.

lected by lot, according to the act of 1791; whose report is final and conclusive."^a

As the time approached for the organization of the legislature, wild threats were made on each side. The Democrats said that if the Van Buren members did not have their seats upon the first day of the session, "twenty-thousand bayonets should bustle at Harrisburg." Threats were made that Secretary Burrowes would be punished for not turning the election returns over to the clerk of the house of the previous session upon his demand^b and for stating that the election should be treated as if there had been no defeat.^c

As the time drew near the Democrats began to organize their forces. Squads of men came from Philadelphia, "committees of safety" were formed, leaders appointed, and everything made ready. The result was that upon December 4, the day upon which the legislature was to meet, the little town of Harrisburg was full of armed belligerents, most of whom came from Philadelphia County. When the session of the house began on that day, the hall was crowded to the doors with outsiders.^d

The secretary of the commonwealth appeared and announced to the house that he delivered to them "the official returns of the late election for members of the House of Representatives." The clerk read these till he got to the county of Philadelphia, when a member arose, and pulling from his pocket a paper, said it contained the certified legal returns. After commotion

^a Stevens's address, *ibid.*, Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

^b Pennsylvania Reporter, November 3, 1838.

^c Niles Register, LV, 205. Mr. Ruldoph Kelker, a prominent citizen of Harrisburg, now living, was an eyewitness to many of the transactions of the time, and has a great amount of literature upon the subject. He is perhaps better fitted than anyone else living to write a correct history of the events. Much of the present account is based upon his corroborative testimony. Dr. Egle's account in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, XXIII, is not to be trusted, as he was a Mason and gives an unfair account of the matter. He says, for instance, that what Burrowes said was that "the election would be considered as not having taken place," which is not true, as shown by letter in Niles's Register, LV, 205. McCall's Life of Stevens, 51 et., gives a fairly good account of the proceedings; as also does Callender's Life of Stevens, Chapter III.

^d Stevens in his partisan language describes them as follows: "An unusual number of people filled the galleries and lobby. Several of the aisles, and the open space in front of the speaker's chair, were choked up with rude-looking strangers and the chairs of several members were surrounded with rough brawny bullies. My seat had the honor of being guarded by eight or ten of the most desperate brawlers of Kensington and Spring Garden, who thrust themselves determinedly against my chair, and when I left it occasionally, one of them occupied it until my return. Most of them wore coats with outside pockets, in which their hands were generally thrust: and it was afterwards satisfactorily ascertained that they were armed with double-barrelled pistols, bowie knives, and dirks." Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

and heated debate, Stevens proposed that they should proceed to organize by electing a speaker, and that the names returned by the secretary should be called, and then "if any gentlemen thought any other mode legal, they would call such names as they pleased, and if in so doing two speakers should happen to be chosen, they certainly would be courteous enough to find room for both on the speaker's platform until the law decided between them."^a

Accordingly General Cunningham, a Whig, was declared elected, receiving 52 votes, while Mr. Hopkins, a Democrat, was elected by that party. The two speakers proceeded to the platform and occupied it jointly, but as no business could be transacted both houses, now known as the "Hopkins house" and the "Stevens rump," adjourned until the next day at 10 o'clock.^b

The leaders of both parties now proceeded to the senate, which had organized by using the Whig returns. Brown, of Philadelphia County, who was excluded, attempted to make a speech, but was called to order, whereupon a great tumult broke forth in the gallery and lobby, and cries of "Hear him! Hear him!" together with threats against Penrose, the speaker, and against Burrowes and Stevens, who were present. Brown was finally allowed to speak, and loudly and persistently demanded his rights. While he was doing so, the attitude of the crowd became so threatening that the whole proceedings had to be abandoned, and the speaker and his friends had to beat a hasty retreat through the rear windows.^c The crowd then proceeded to hold a meeting in the senate rooms, where excited speeches were made.^d The attempt made by the Whig mem-

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

^b See Stevens's address, Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839. See also Pennsylvania Telegraph, December 13, 1838, for Whig account, and for Democratic account American Volunteer, Carlisle, December 6, 1838.

^c Niles Register, LV, pp. 237, 238, 240. Stevens gives the following account of their escape: "Mr. Burrowes and myself were standing in front of them near the fire. We were urged several times to withdraw as the only means of safety, and of preventing the effusion of blood. * * * Private information was conveyed both to Mr. Penrose and myself, by persons from the crowd, that the ruffians were arranging it to 'stab' or 'knife' us. Mr. Burrowes * * * had left the house by a back window, and as the tumult grew thicker and nearer, after dark Mr. Penrose and myself did the same, and were followed by a large number of gentlemen, senators, and members of the house, as well as others. We had scarcely got behind the Treasury building when twenty or thirty of the mob broke out of the capitol and ran around to the window whence we escaped. On seeing it open, a person present testifies that they said: 'We are a minute too late', and inquired for Penrose." Stevens's address, Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

^d See address of Whig and Antimasonic senators, Pennsylvania Telegraph, December 10, 1838.

bers of the lower house to hold a meeting was also frustrated by the mob who pulled the temporary chairman from his seat and the scattered fragments of the house adjourned to a hotel.

The whole city now was in the hands of the rioters. Upon a rumor that Ritner had seized the arsenal a savage crowd assembled before it and began an attack upon it. They were calmed, however, by being assured that no arms would be distributed by the governor.^a The mob next organized a "provisional" government which ran things as it pleased.^b The Whig officers did not dare to appear upon the streets, and it was publicly asserted that if they should again try to organize a legislature, Harrisburg "would be smothered in blood."^c

Meanwhile Governor Ritner issued a proclamation in which he described the existing disturbance and state of lawlessness, which he said was encouraged "in person by an officer of the General Government from Philadelphia," and he called upon all good citizens to help to suppress these conditions, and ordered the militia to be in readiness.^d The part of the proclamation calling on the citizens produced no impression, for the sheriff of the county, being a Democrat, insisted in a counter statement that there was no rioting. Accordingly Ritner made a special requisition on Major-General Patterson, commanding the first division of the Pennsylvania militia. He obtained a quantity of the ammunition then used by the Regular Army, consisting of buckshot cartridges, and proceeded

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, December 6, 1838.

^b Stevens said: "They prefer provisional governments! Next will come the 'revolutionary tribunal' and the guillotine, and these leaders of the 'people' will shine forth the Dantons and Robespierres of the age!" Stevens's address, Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

^c Statement of Rudolph Kelker: Stevens describes the mob in the following language: "The most respectable of them, the 'Captains of Tens,' were keepers of disorderly houses in Kensington. Then came journeymen butchers, who were too worthless to find regular employment, next professional boxers, who practice their pugilistic powers for hire; low gamblers, who infest the oyster cellars of the suburbs. A portion of them consisted of a class of men whose business you will hardly understand—dog keepers, who in Spring Garden and Southwark, raise and train a ferocious breed of dogs, whom they fight weekly for wages, and for the amusement of the 'indignant people.' Their troop was flanked by a few professional thieves and discharged convicts. These men, gathered up from the holes and hovels, were refitted with such cast-off clothes as their employers could command, and hired at fifteen dollars the head and freighted to come to Harrisburg and instruct the legislature in its duties, and protect their rights." Stevens's address, Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 17, 1839.

^d Pennsylvania Telegraph, December 10, 1838.

to the city with his troops.^a He arrived on December 9, and immediately quieted the opposing forces, although he wisely did nothing to decide the case. Many of the men from Philadelphia, however, were arrested and many more were compelled to leave the town.^b Ritner also applied for the United States regulars stationed at Carlisle, but was refused.^c Patterson's troops stayed but a few days and were superseded by a new detachment commanded by a Whig general.

Quiet having been restored and the houses again organized, the Whig majority in the senate was found to be unquestioned. The question now arose, which house would the senate recognize as legal. As was to be expected it refused to recognize the "Hopkins house" by a vote of 20 to 13,^d but three members of the "Stevens rump" went over to the Democrats, thus giving them the majority and breaking the deadlock. A resolution was therefore offered in the senate recognizing the Democratic house which passed by a vote of 17 to 16 on December 25.^e

Montelius, of Union County, a member of the lower house, stated his reason for changing, as follows:

In joining my party friends in organizing the house of representatives with the eight Philadelphia County members of the Whig party, I thought these had been elected by a majority of the votes of the county, and had been returned by a majority of the judges, but I soon found that this was not true, and that eight members of the opposition party from the county of Philadelphia had been elected by a majority of about five hundred in the whole county, and had been returned elected by a majority of the judges. I am sorry to say that the secretary of the State kept back these returns,

^a From this and from the fact that a negro was caught who was carrying some of the ammunition made by the Whigs at their headquarters, comes the name "Buckshot War." A verse of a popular doggerel of the day, entitled "Last days of Governor Ritner," contains an allusion to the incident:

"Come up and come down,
Come from country and town
And obey the fat Deutchlaender's writ, sir.
Come one and come all
With buckshot and ball
And take care of Governor Ritner."

From *Pennsylvanian*, quoted in *Carlisle Volunteer*, December 27, 1838.

^b *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, December 10, 1838.

^c This was made the subject of a very interesting debate in Congress. See Twenty-fifth Congress, third session, debate in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, December 19. These proceedings and accompanying documents are given fully in *Niles Register* LV, pp. 268, 294.

^d *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, December 19. See also *Ibid*, December 13, 1838.

^e *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, December 27, 28, 1838. January 14, 1839. *Niles Register*, LV, 273.

which I think was wrong. Under the circumstances I could not continue to act with men who had no right to their seats no more than my opponent had to mine.^a

Of the members who changed in the senate, Mr. Strohm explained his act by stating that he could only recognize the house when it was legally assembled, and that he had done so according to his oath, and because he wanted especially to end the matter and restore peace and order.^b

So ended the "Buckshot war,"^c and so ended practically the Antimasonic party in Pennsylvania.^d

It seems from all the evidence that the Democrats did elect their members, but the matter is hidden by conflicting statements and affidavits. Philadelphia County had been Democratic through the whole period, and it was probably so in 1838, although signs of change had been seen in the attitude of Reed, member of the house from that county in the previous legislature, and in the fact that in a special election held there the previous year a Whig had defeated a Democrat for Congress.^e There seems to be no doubt, however, of the culpability of the Democrats in causing the riot at Harrisburg and using illegal and extreme methods.^f

Stevens, fuming over the defeat of all his plans, stayed away from the house in protest until May, filling the papers meanwhile with his denunciations of the Democrats. The house finally expelled him from his seat for using disrespectful language, declaring, too, that he had forfeited it by his long

^a Carlisle Volunteer, December 27, 1838.

^b Pennsylvania Telegraph, January 22, 1839.

^c J. Q. Adams in his diary says of it: "The whole series of these events is a development of our condition of no good omen to the future of our political institutions."—Adams's Diary, X, 65.

^d The Carlisle Volunteer (Democratic) of January 10, 1839, has the following amusing notice: "For Salt River! To sail on Tuesday, the 15th of January [inauguration day under the new charter]. The schooner *Peg Beatty* [a disreputable character whose name his opponents had connected with Porter's in the campaign], with a full cargo of wooden nutmegs and other notions, together with a considerable supply of live stock. The vessel will be commanded by Thaddeus Stevens, and is expected to navigate the headwaters of the aforesaid celebrated river. The following-named persons have also taken passage, viz, Joseph Ritner, Thomas H. Burrowes, Theophilus Fenn, Chas. B. Penrose. * * * The company will be select. No 'bullies' or people with 'ugly noses, ugly looks and no shirt collars' will be permitted to interrupt the delightful harmony of the voyage. An excellent band of music will be provided for the voyage, which will from time to time play the delightful and popular air called the 'Rogue's March.'"

^e Special election, Third district; Harrisburg Chronicle, July 5, 1837.

^f They were charged, and it seems with much truth, of a design to blow up a train load of soldiers on the way to Harrisburg. Niles Register, LVII, 27.

absence.^a He, however, was triumphantly returned by his constituents.^b

The Antimasonic spirit did not immediately die out in the State, but continued to live in the western part, where it was connected with the temperance, antislavery, and anti-Catholic movements, certainly as late as 1855.^c

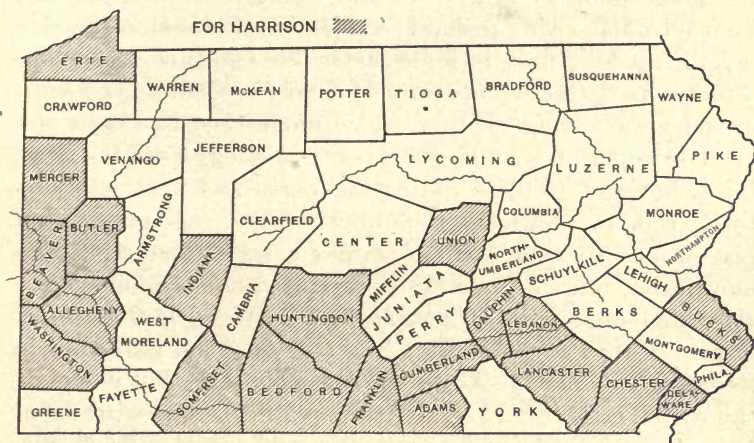
As compared with New York, we have noted many like conditions. The chief points of difference seem to be the following: (1) The party in New York was composed almost exclusively of National Republicans, while in Pennsylvania a large number were undoubtedly Democrats, as shown by the vote for Jackson. How, then, did the union come about? This question brings us to another great difference. (2) The Antimasonic policy in Pennsylvania was primarily an anti-Wolf policy and anti-improvement policy, in fact, just opposite to what it was in New York. Many Antimasons in the early days, especially among the eastern Germans, were practically Jacksonian Democrats, but in later days were turned by Stevens into anti-Jackson as well as anti-Wolf men. This was the more easily accomplished because of the union of Wolf and Jackson. That this could be done leads us to the third fact. (3) Antimasonry in Pennsylvania was a far more honest and real movement than in New York, and was deeply rooted in the soil furnished by the various radical sects of the State. It was because of this fact that the eastern Germans could be led to unite with the Whigs upon so many questions. (4) The fourth difference lies in the fact that the New York Antimasons had from the start a galaxy of brilliant writers and able and ambitious politicians in their ranks, while Pennsylvania had few of these. To Thaddeus Stevens must be given the credit of uniting the Whigs and Antimasons of Pennsylvania after the partial union of 1832 had proved a failure and when

^a Pennsylvania Telegraph, June 12, 1839. Ibid, January 3, June 19, 1839. Niles Register, LVI, 228.

^b Niles Register, LVI, pp. 216, 277.

^c Gazette and Advertiser, February 22, 1846; Pennsylvania Reporter, October 22, 1841; Wilson's History of Pittsburg, 803. Stevens, in 1843, tried hard to revive it, but without success. (See McCall's Life of Stevens, 61.) The Scotch-Irish of the west had condemned Masonry, even before the Morgan incident. Wilson's History of Pittsburg, 793. This section contains to-day great numbers of the United Presbyterians, who do not allow their members to belong to secret organizations. The "Christian" party, which has gathered a few votes in nearly every national election from 1866 till the present time, has had a strong following in this region. The pardoning of a man named Pluymart, a Mason who had robbed a bank, formed in the early days one of the strongest arguments against the Masons in this region.

the opposition was disorganized and declining. The Whigs were comparatively few in number, and by showing them that in cooperation with him in his crusade against Masonry lay their only chance for success he united these opposite interests. When the farmers of the east saw that they would have to pay taxes if the Bank was not rechartered, they were reconciled to a large extent to Whig doctrines. Of the other elements, the western people about Pittsburg were already in strong opposition to Jackson because of their manufacturing interests, and looked upon the Bank question as all manufacturing districts naturally would, while the people of the north-



Presidential election in Pennsylvania in 1840.

west saw the only realization of their plans for connecting the Lake with Philadelphia bound up with the Whig policy and the Bank. We have here, then, the elements of the strong Whig party which in 1840 carried the State of Pennsylvania for their candidate, General Harrison.^a

After all is said, the great fact in the history of Antimasonry in Pennsylvania is the personality of Thaddeus Stevens, a Yankee leader of Pennsylvania Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and German Sectarians.

^a Pennsylvania Reporter, November 20, 1840. Harrison carried the State by a vote of 445.

CHAPTER XIX.—VERMONT.

We have to consider briefly a group of States which are of less importance in the history of the Antimasonic party than the great political centers of the country—New York and Pennsylvania. This group is comparatively unimportant for several reasons; first, in some States like Ohio and Massachusetts the party was comparatively weak; second, where Antimasonry was strong, as it was in Vermont, the State itself was of little importance in the great political struggles of the time; third, in many of these States the party was not really distinct from the National Republican party, had no original platform of its own, and was rather a social than a political movement; fourth, these States produced no such able politicians and organizers of Antimasonry as Weed in New York or Stevens in Pennsylvania. It is true that the party had in its ranks such men as Adams in Massachusetts, but it was on the whole more of a social than a political issue with them. With these preliminary remarks we will consider briefly the State of Vermont.

Vermont was well fitted for such a movement. The State bordered upon New York, and in the exciting days of the early agitation caught some of the spirit of Antimasonry prevalent in that State. To this had been added the fact that some of the witnesses wanted in the Morgan abduction trials had escaped into Vermont. Again, the soil was favorable because the people were almost entirely small farmers of the religious New England type, and it was in this sort of community that Antimasonry found its most fruitful soil.^a

^aThe newspapers of Vermont at this time seem to have been all weekly. They reflect the life of the State very well. They usually contain very little political news, but contain a great many stories, mostly of a moral or religious nature—sermons and temperance exhortations. The sessions of the legislature were of but a few weeks in length and the matter transacted was trivial, such as the repair of the roads, bridges, etc. The papers reflect in fact the life of a rural population absorbed in religious matters.

As early as 1827 the excitement appeared in eastern Vermont, especially in Caledonia County, and was spread largely through the efforts of the Danville North Star, which may be said to have been the pioneer paper devoted to Antimasonry in the State. The county of Caledonia was henceforth to be considered the headquarters of the "blessed spirit" in the State.^a

In 1828 Weed's paper was ordered from all parts of the State,^b and town meetings were held upon the subject in many of the towns of Orange and Caledonia counties.^c In the fall of that year a hot contest for a Congressional Representative was waged in the Caledonia district (fifth), and as the Antimasonic candidate, Cahoon, did not receive a majority of the votes, the election had to be contested many times. The struggle in this district was clearly between the National Republicans and the Antimasons, the Jackson party never polling a large vote.^d By October the battle throughout the State had begun in earnest, and we hear of the mutual recriminations and abuse of the rival sects, the troubles in the churches, the renunciations by Masons, and renunciations by Antimasons because of the "domination of unprincipled political leaders," in fact, all the bitterness and feverish excitement that marked the contest in the other States.^e

It is well to note here that Vermont was a strong National Republican State. The National Republican support of the American system could not but meet the approval of an isolated and declining agricultural community such as this State was. With the decline of agriculture came an effort to grow wool and to manufacture woolen goods and iron. Petty manufacturing concerns were springing up in many directions, especially in the eastern part along the upper course of the Connecticut.^f With these industries came projects for better communication. A scheme was formed for a canal to unite Lake Champlain at Burlington with Dover and Portsmouth, N. H., through the valleys of the Onion and Wells river to the Connecticut, and then to connect with a route formerly

^a Albany Evening Journal, September 16, 1831. Seward's report in the national convention, September 11, 1830.

^b Weed, Autobiography, I, 309.

^c Seward's report in the national convention, September 11, 1830.

^d See Albany Argus, September 23, 1828. New Hampshire Patriot, September 15. Salem Gazette, September 16, 1828.

^e See Albany Argus, October 24, 1828.

^f See Vermont Watchman, April 21, 23, 1829.

surveyed for the New Hampshire canal at the mouth of the Oliverian River in Haverhill, and from thence to Lake Winipiseogee.^a Actual surveys were made by United States engineers upon this route.^b Schemes for the improvement of the navigation of the Connecticut were also much discussed.^c Keeping these facts in view, it will readily be seen that any efforts to disrupt the party which the great majority of the people of Vermont thought favorable to her future happiness and prosperity would meet with the strongest opposition. It will be readily seen, too, why the Antimasons, with their strongholds in the eastern part of the State along the Connecticut, would have the same national policy as the National Republicans. That they should secede from the latter party and form one of their own was looked upon as evidence of sheer wantonness and selfish desire for office upon the part of the leaders. These conditions made the hatred between the two factions more intense, perhaps, than even in Pennsylvania or New York.

On August 5, 1829, the Antimasonic party was first truly organized in the State. Upon that date a State convention was held, which, after much the usual proceedings of such conventions, nominated a candidate for governor. Among those present, it is significant to note, were the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, a noted Antimason of New York, and Henry Dana Ward, one of the great agitators and writers from that State. The convention was composed mostly of ministers. Much of the time was taken up with discussing plans by which the movement upon the west side of the mountains, where it was still weak, could be strengthened. The candidate for governor soon afterwards declined the honor.^d

The party polled over 7,300 votes, and elected 33 members to the legislature, the National Republicans electing 136 and the Democrats 45.^e As this gain is astonishing, we are not surprised to find that there was a cause for it in an incident which happened immediately before the election.

About this time a man named Cutter, of Woodstock, made

^a North Star, Danville, September 8, 1829.

^b Governor Craft's speech, Vermont Watchman, October 8, 1829.

^c Vermont Watchman, October 27, 1829.

^d Vermont Watchman, August 11, 1829. Seward's report in the national convention, September 11, 1830.

^e Albany Argus, September 10, October 20, 1829. Vermont Watchman, September 8 (?), 1829. Seward's report in the national convention, September 11, 1830.

an affidavit before a magistrate that he had in July met in New York one Joseph Burnham, a Mason who had been sent to prison, and was supposed to have died there on October 15, 1826. He was formerly intimate with Burnham, and positively identified him. As Burnham was a Mason, and the superintendent of the State prison was a Mason, this was sufficient to convince the Antimasons that Burnham was not dead, but was still at large. The legislature immediately began an investigation. A committee was appointed, one of whom went to New York and hunted up the man seen by Cutter and found that he was not Burnham. This did not, however, satisfy the Antimasons, and Burnham's body was afterwards several times disinterred, and finally identified by his wife.^a The incident caused feverish excitement for a while, and was afterwards made the subject of a great deal of ridicule by the enemies of the Antimasons.

The long-continued struggle in the Fifth Congressional district ended this year with the election of Cahoon, the Antimasonic candidate. The contest had been going on for a year, and had resulted in the gradual increase of the Antimasonic vote till a majority was obtained.^b

The election of 1830 showed a remarkable increase in the Antimasonic votes, so great, indeed, that of the three candidates none received a majority, and the election had to be decided by the legislature. Crafts, the former National Republican governor, received 13,486 votes, while William A. Palmer, the Antimasonic candidate, received 10,925, and Meech, the Democratic candidate, received 6,285. After thirty-two ballotings of the legislature, Mr. Crafts was elected by a small majority.^c

An analysis of the vote shows that the strongest Antimasonic counties were Caledonia on the east and Addison on the west. Samuel Prentiss was elected senator this year, receiving 120 National Republican votes, while William A. Palmer, Antimasonic, received 60, and the Democratic nominee 29.

^aSee Albany Argus, November 8 (?), 20, 1829. Records of governor and council of Vermont, VII, 360.

^bVermont Watchman, November 10, 1829. Albany Argus, November 23, 1829. See, also, Albany Argus, September 23, 1828, May 22, September 17, 1829. Vermont Watchman, January 13, 1829.

^cDanville North Star, September 21, 1830. Albany Argus, October 26, 1830. Thomson's History of Vermont (Burlington, 1842), gives a short account of the election.

This shows a distinct gain for the Antimasons. It probably puts the National Republican strength too high, as there is some evidence that many Democrats, hopeless of electing their candidate, threw their votes for the National Republicans.^a

Although the National Republicans had full sway in the legislature, they did not dare refuse the demands of the Antimasons that the charter of the grand chapter and grand lodge of the State should be repealed. There is no doubt that if they had refused it would have but added greater strength to the Antimasonic cause.^b

1831.

The year 1831 was a very important one for the party in this State. The State convention assembled on June 15, at Montpelier, and nominated William A. Palmer for governor and appointed seven delegates to the national convention. The temper of the convention and its dislike for Jackson is shown by the following resolution, which was offered:

Resolved, That the convention views with great regret and astonishment the influence of Masonry—that no man is duly qualified to be President of the United States unless he is a high Mason, murderer and a duelist.

The convention distinctly declared that it “considered adherence to Masonry a disqualification for any responsible office in the State or nation.”^c

The National Republicans thought that by nominating a man who was in sympathy with the Antimasonic movement they would help their cause and possibly unite the broken party. They accordingly nominated Heman Allen, who had received the Antimasonic nomination twice and declined both times.^a Ezra Meech again received the nomination of the Democratic party. The election resulted in no choice, but Palmer received about two thousand more votes than Allen. The Antimasons carried the counties of Windsor, Addison, Orange, Caledonia, Franklin, Orleans, and Essex, of which all but Addison are in the eastern part of the State. They also elected 114 members to the house and council, while the National Republicans

^a North Star, November 1, 1831.

^b See Albany Evening Journal, November 20, 1830. New York Commercial Advertiser, quoted in same, December 3, 1830. Niles Register, XXXIX, 188. Niles says that it passed without opposition, the Masons generally voting for it.

^c Albany Argus, June 23, 1831.

elected 63 and the Democrats 31.^a Palmer received 15,258 votes, Allen 12,990, and Meech 6,158. When the legislature assembled, Palmer was elected governor on the ninth ballot, the National Republicans dividing their votes between Crafts and Allen.^b

In his message of this year Governor Palmer defined the policy of his party in Vermont. It in no way differed from the National Republican principles on the matter of tariff and internal improvements.^c He differed, however, in recommending the abolishment of "extra judicial oaths" and in his idea that in the appointment of officials only those "who are unshackled by any earthly allegiance" should be recommended.^c

The work of the session was trivial; a few bank and railroad incorporation bills were passed, but nothing was done about "extra judicial oaths." In fact, from the opposition accounts, there was no particular hostility to the Masons.^d

Meanwhile, a very exciting contest was going on in the Second Congressional district, composed of Addison and Rutland counties, in the western part of the State. Addison was strongly Antimasonic, while Rutland was National Republican. This contest proved a victory, after many trials, for Slade, the Antimasonic candidate.^e In the Fourth Congress-

^a Vermont Watchman, September 26, 1831. See, also, Albany Argus, September 17, 23, October 20, 1831. Albany Evening Journal, September 13, 16, 20, 24, 1831. Vermont State Journal, August 6, 1832.

^b Albany Evening Journal, October 20, 1831. See Records of Governor and Council, VIII, pp. 6, 7.

^c "The approbation uniformly expressed by the people of this State of the policy of a protecting tariff and the encouragement given to works of internal improvement by the General Government can not fail to produce in us a hearty cooperation in suitable measures for the promotion of these great objects." Albany Evening Journal, October 27, 1831. Vermont Assembly Journal, 1831, p. 26. Albany Argus, October 29, 1831. Records of Governor and Council, VIII, p. 263.

^d Says the Vermont Watchman (National Republican): "After the struggle that has resulted in the complete triumph of Antimasonry in the legislature of Vermont, to see that legislature, with an Antimasonic majority, and in full and free exercise of its power, abandon every principle held sacred before the election in relation to the appointment of members of the Masonic fraternity to office—now to see them turn to the 'right about face' and deliberately place two high Masons upon the bench of the supreme court, * * * place other adhering Masons in the sheriff's and many other important departments of the government, and even commit their souls to the keeping of a Sir Knight Templar as the chosen chaplain and their bodies to the care of a Royal Arch Door Keeper; to witness all this, we must acknowledge would most certainly excite some little astonishment among the people, did we not believe they feel disposed to make very great allowance for the frailty of poor human nature." Albany Argus, November 21, 1831.

^e Albany Argus, November 21, 1831. See also Albany Evening Journal, July 9, 11, 18, November 5, 1831. Vermont State Journal, July 16, 1831. Slade was a noted Abolitionist. Schouler, History of the United States, IV, p. 301.

sional district, composed of Franklin, Chittenden, Orleans, and Grand Isle, a lively fight was carried on despite the fact that the Antimasonic candidate had once turned his vote over to the National Republicans.^a In 1832 Heman Allen, of Milton (National Republican), was finally elected.

1832.

The year 1832 opened with Antimasonry in full control and hopeful of national success. The State convention of this year met at Montpelier on June 27, and there resolved—

That in order to prostrate and destroy the power of Freemasonry, to maintain the protective system, to sustain the authority and integrity of the Supreme Court, to support the United States Bank, to continue the construction of necessary and national works of internal improvements; to arrest the heresy embraced in the doctrine of nullification, and to vindicate the pledged though violated faith of the nation to the poor Indian, we will ourselves support, and recommend to the support of all our citizens in every quarter friendly to the same measures, William Wirt, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and Amos Ellmaker as a candidate for the office of Vice-President, believing them to be men to whom these and every interest of the nation may be safely intrusted for maintenance.

They also resolved that a “repeal or modification of the duties on wool and woollens which shall cease to afford adequate protection to the wool grower and manufacturer will completely prostrate and paralyze the prosperity of this part of the Union.”^b

Palmer was again nominated for governor and again the election was thrown into the legislature. Palmer received 17,318 votes; Crafts, 15,499, and Ezra Meech, 8,210. In the legislature Palmer was elected on the forty-third ballot.^c The national election resulted in a plurality for Wirt, he receiving 13,106 votes, while Clay received 11,152 and Jackson 7,870. Wirt carried Windsor, Addison, Orange, Caledonia, Franklin, and Orleans counties, while Clay carried Windham, Rutland, Chittenden, and Grand Isle. The counties which had projects for internal improvements or expected to gain

^a Vermont State Journal, June 11, 1832. Albany Argus, June 13, 1832. See also Albany Evening Journal, December 27, 1830, April 30, June 13, June 30, 1831. Vermont State Journal, December 26, 1831. Albany Argus, December 28, 1831.

^b Albany Evening Journal, July 16, 1832. Vermont State Journal, July 2, 1832.

^c Albany Evening Journal, September 8, 1832. Albany Argus, September 18, 1832. See also Albany Argus, September 18, 19, 20, 1832. Records of Governor and Council, VIII, pp. 58, 60.

from the National Republican policy as a rule gave either Antimasonic or National Republican majorities.^a

Governor Palmer's message of this year referred again to the "imposition and multiplication of extra judicial oaths," and spoke of the necessity of high tariff and the rechartering of the United States Bank.^b In accordance with these recommendations, the delegation to Congress was instructed to prevent a reduction of the tariff and the appropriation for internal improvement, to work for the recharter of the Bank, and to uphold the Supreme Court. The matter of "extra judicial oaths" came up again, and a committee reported favorably upon it, but as there was not a sure majority in its favor it did not finally pass till the next session. A law was passed also redistricting the State and changing the election laws upon Congressional elections so that a plurality only was required on the third trial if no person had a majority on the first two.^c

At the January Congressional elections, in accordance with the new law, the party succeeded in electing three members to Congress. They asserted that they were beaten in the Second district by a coalition of Democrats and National Republicans.^d

The bitterness which the followers of Clay felt after the election of 1832, showed itself in Vermont in the form of a coalition or union with the Jackson forces in order to defeat the Antimasons at the coming election. The Antimasons evidently foresaw the move, for in the State convention held at Montpelier on June 26, 1833, they passed resolutions upon this subject.^e

The Democratic and the National Republican State conven-

^a Albany Argus, November 26, 1832.

^b Albany Argus, October 30, 1832. Records of Governor and Council, VIII, p. 265. Albany Argus, October 30, 1832.

^c Albany Evening Journal, December 21, 1832. The districts seem to be on the whole favorable to the party.

^d North Star, May 20, 1833. See also Albany Argus, January 30, February 5, March 25, 1833. Albany Evening Journal, January 18, 1833. Vermont Courier, May 10, Vermont State Journal, March 11, 1833.

^e They resolved that "a coalition between two opposing parties to put down the third at the expense of the abandonment of their distinctive party principles is a most manifest departure from consistency, integrity, and republican independence, and is substituting the blindness of party zeal or the mandates of party leaders for the honest convictions of truth and a laudable adherence to principle." "Resolved, That such is the character of the coalition now forming between the Masonic parties of this State against Antimasonry notwithstanding they shrink from a fair discussion of its principles before the public and dare not meet its advocates in the field of honorable argument." "Resolved, That Antimasonry being in opposition to Freemasonry with an intent to abolish

tions assembled at Montpelier on the third of July. They united on a ticket, with Ezra Meech, the former Democratic nominee, at the head of it. The Burlington Sentinel said these proceedings resulted from "the universal desire manifested by all for a thorough reform of the political character of the State. In the selection of an union ticket it will be perceived that the delegates have been governed by a desire to advance men to public office who are of sterling sense and acquirements; and we can not but believe the great mass of the people, * * * the lovers of good order and equal rights will cheerfully come forward in their support. * * *

The fate of Palmer and Antimasonry is sealed in Vermont."^a

The nominee for lieutenant-governor and 8 councillors were National Republicans and 4 were Jackson men. The Middlebury Free Press classified 9 out of the 15 councillors nominated as Freemasons.^b

The union was the cause of much excitement, which extended to the neighboring States. Many of the National Republican papers openly expressed approbation of the course of their political brethren in Vermont, while on the other hand the radical Jackson papers and the radical National Republican papers, together with those of the latter party with an Antimasonic tinge, denounced the scheme.^c Many of the National Republicans and Democrats within the State were dissatisfied with the combination, and the dissatisfied National Republicans nominated Horatio Seymour, who had been Senator from 1821-1833.

The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Palmer. The Antimasonic ticket received 20,565 votes, the Union ticket 15,683, Seymour 1,765, and Roberts, dissenting Democrat, 772. The Antimasons carried the counties of Windham, Rutland, Windsor, Addison, Caledonia, Franklin, and Orleans.^d The Democrats blamed the National Repub-

it, such a coalition for such purposes, as its advocates allege, of 'putting down Antimasonry' is a coalition to save Freemasonry from destruction." "Resolved, That we continue to support the leading measures of national policy in relation to the judiciary, currency, protection to domestic industry and internal improvements of which we have heretofore expressed our approbation." Albany Evening Journal, July 11, 1833.

^a Albany Argus, July 15, 1833.

^b Albany Evening Journal, July 9, 1833. The Vermont State Journal, July 22, 1833, calls ten of them Masons.

^c See letter of Edward Everett in Albany Evening Journal, August 3, 1833. See also Vermont State Journal (Antimasonic) for further effects of the scheme.

^d Albany Evening Journal, October 14, 1833. See also Albany Evening Journal, September 6. Vermont State Journal, October 11, 1833. Albany Argus, September 9, 16, 17; October 16, 1833. Burlington Sentinel, September 6, 1833.

licans for the defeat. They said that the newspapers of the latter "have denounced the ticket as one which ought not to be supported because it would be considered favorable to the administration. * * * In general, the National Republican editors opposed the ticket and denounced it to the last."^a

It was found upon the opening of the legislature that the Antimasons had a majority in the house and council. With this decided victory, the act forbidding extra judicial oaths was passed November 7, 1833.^b The party also attempted to arraign the supreme court of the State, but failed to prove its charges.^c

1834.

The year 1834 found Antimasonry in Vermont, although triumphant, yet despairing of national success. In New York the party had become practically Whig, and many urged the necessity of uniting with the Whigs in Vermont. This question was discussed in the State convention of this year. It was pointed out by many that the Masonic institution was practically abolished and that the party had all other interests in common with the Whigs. The opinion, however, prevailed that the Whigs were "Masonic," and it was decided not to join them. Consequently Palmer was again nominated for governor.^d The Whig convention nominated Horatio Seymour, who had been the candidate of the National Republicans of the previous year.^e

The election resulted in a plurality for Palmer. He received 17,131 votes, while Bradley, the Democratic candidate, received 10,365, and Seymour 10,159. The State Journal (Antimasonic) claimed that 102 Antimasons, 57 Whigs, and 49 Jackson men were elected.^f As Bradley and Seymour both refused to be candidates in the assembly, Palmer was again elected.^g

^a Albany Argus, September 17, 1833.

^b Vermont State Journal, December 2, 1833. Vermont Assembly Journal, 1832, pp. 150, 152. This act, as far as could be ascertained, has never been rescinded.

^c Records of the Governor and Council, VIII, pp. 291, 294, 296.

^d Vermont State Journal, May 26, August 4, 18, 1834. Boston Independent Chronicle, June 4, 1834. See also Slade's letter against the union, Niles Register, XLVII, 238.

^e Vermont State Journal, July 14, 1834.

^f Vermont State Journal, September 15, 1834.

^g Records of Governor and Council, VIII, 164.

Governor Palmer, in his inaugural message, expressed the opinion "that a national bank, with proper powers and restrictions is both necessary and constitutional. * * * I deem, however, the charter of the present bank exceptionable in several of its provisions, and am opposed to its renewal at the present time."^a

These opinions led to a great deal of criticism of him. Many thought him about to break away from Whig principles, and some of the Democrats even claimed him as a convert to their opposition to the Bank.^b

1835.

Palmer became unpopular, and some of the Antimasonic county conventions in the year 1835 refused to ratify him, putting Paine's name in his place. He received 16,210 votes, while Bradley, the Democratic nominee, received 13,254, and Paine, the Whig candidate, 5,435. Jennison, the Antimasonic candidate for lieutenant-governor, received the Whig vote also, making his total vote 21,316.^c The Antimasonic and Whig votes could not be united upon Palmer, and after many ballotings with no result, Silas H. Jennison became governor.^d

1836.

The next year both Whigs and Antimasons united upon Jennison for governor and Harrison and Granger for Presidential candidates.^e General Harrison's letter upon Masonry made it easy for the Antimasons of Vermont to become Whigs, now that their main issue was dead. Many of their prominent leaders, nevertheless, became followers of Van Buren.^f Jennison was elected, and Harrison carried the State, receiving 20,990 votes to 14,039 for Van Buren. The counties of Bennington, Windham, Rutland, Addison, Orange, Chittenden, Orleans, Grand Isle, and Caledonia were carried by the Whigs. All of these but Grand Isle had been Clay or Antimasonic counties in 1832.^g

^a Records of Governor and Council, VIII, 270. It is probable that he followed Weed in this matter.

^b Boston Independent Chronicle (Clay), October 29, 1834.

^c Independent Chronicle, Boston, October 17, 21, 1835.

^d Niles Register, XLVIII, 36. Records of Governor and Council, VIII, pp. 215, 218, 219, 220, 245.

^e Niles Register, L, 33. Boston Independent Chronicle, November 23, 1836.

^f North Star, September 6, 1836.

^g See Vermont State Journal, November 22, 1836, for returns by counties.

CHAPTER XX.—MASSACHUSETTS.

Long before Antimasonry received a political character in Massachusetts its social phase was apparent there and newspapers had been established to propagate its principles. Massachusetts at this time furnished excellent soil for the cause. In the cities and large towns in this exceptionally democratic age there had been a remarkable growth of free thought. This was shown particularly in religious matters, especially in the Unitarian movement. The spirit was chiefly felt in the more wealthy and aristocratic communities, as may be seen from the literature and religious controversies of the day. In these social centers, Masonry, a select society which tended to bring within its ranks many of the wealthy, educated, and influential men, found its strongest foothold. In these centers, too, the strictest Hartford convention Federalism had existed. In the country, on the other hand, there was more conservatism on religious matters and much hatred of the cities for their aristocratic influence, power, wealth, and cosmopolitanism. These conditions, together with that natural reforming spirit, jealous patriotism, and proscriptive religious zeal of the New Englander which has so often displayed itself in American history, formed an excellent basis for the movement which is being described.

On June 20, 1828, the first number of the Boston Free Press was issued, and soon afterwards another paper, the Boston Antimasonic Christian Herald, was founded. This paper in its prospectus stated that it would "give a general view of the progress of evangelical religion throughout the world, while its columns will be open to cool and candid discussions of the principles of Freemasonry."^a By February, 1829, there were four newspapers in Boston alone devoted exclusively to the subject of Freemasonry.^b

^a Antimasonic Herald, Lancaster, Pa., January 30, 1829.

^b Ibid., February 5, 1829.

Political Antimasonry is traced back to a meeting on November 1, 1828, in Fall River, which led to a political organization in the Congressional elections of that year. Other meetings soon followed, one at Dedham January 1, 1829, and one in Boston August 27, 1829. At the latter, what was known as the "Suffolk committee" was chosen.^a

A slight movement was noticeable also in the spring elections of 1829,^b but nothing of real importance was accomplished. Every effort was made to spread the doctrines, and thousands of copies of the Antimasonic convention report upon the abduction of Morgan were distributed in these places, especially in Bristol County.^c

In 1830 the party showed its first real political strength and succeeded in electing three senators and from twenty to twenty-five members of the house, in the April election.^d

Until 1831 they seem to have had no great political differences with the National Republicans. This year, however, they considered that they had been unfairly dealt with in the filling of vacancies in the senate.^e This fact infused new life

^a Seward's report in national convention, September 11, 1830. See Boston Free Press, November 14, 1828, and January 9, 1829.

^b See pamphlet "Doings of the Plymouth County Antimasonic Convention," Abington, March 10, 1829. This convention supported Lincoln for governor.

^c Report of committee on press in Antimasonic national convention. See Albany Evening Journal, March 1, 1831.

^d "Proceedings of convention, May 19, 20, 1830," Boston, 1831.

^e J. Q. Adams speaks of the Masonic influence exerted and says: "In every instance they chose the Masonic candidate with the smaller number of primary votes in preference to the Antimasonic candidate with the larger number." Adams's Diary, VIII, 364. He speaks also of the selection of a Jackson man in place of a National Republican Antimason, although the latter had from three to four hundred more votes of the people. Ibid., 400.

The following account of resolutions adopted by a legislative caucus of the party June 17, 1831, illustrates their temper at this time: "*Resolved*, That the conduct of the legislature of this State on the recent occasion of filling the vacancies in the senate affords the most conclusive evidence that Masonry is political and possesses the entire control of the National Republican party of this Commonwealth." "*Resolved*, That we cordially respond to the resolutions adopted by the late Antimasonic State convention in Pennsylvania; that Antimasonry is necessarily political; that with attacking Masonry at the ballot box where it is entrenched behind the political patronage and power of the Government all efforts to destroy its usurpations on the rights and privileges of the people must fail, and like a rebellion suppressed, must contribute to the power and vigor of Masonic despotism." "*Resolved*, That it be strongly and urgently recommended to the people of the different senatorial districts of this Commonwealth to nominate and support for senators men of known and decided Antimasonic principles." "*Resolved*, That we adopt with great pleasure the spirited resolutions of the recent Antimasonic State convention in New Jersey; that Freemasonry is a positive evil, inasmuch as its obligations require the performance of acts in direct violation of the constitutional authorities of our country, which seriously affect the equal rights of individuals and the civil and political rights of the public, for it is an alarming fact which can not be too generally known 'that 10,000 active, efficient men, embracing almost all in office, from the President

into the party and in the spring they showed surprising strength, especially in the Bristol district.^a The convention, too, was well attended and enthusiastic. The Masons were denounced in a masterly document in which questions were asked for them to answer.^b

A committee was also appointed to wait upon Governor Lincoln and ask him his position upon the question.^c Governor Lincoln, in his reply, stated that "Sincerely and earnestly" as he desired the "dissolution and extinction of the institution of Freemasonry," an institution "obnoxious to the spirit of republican jealousy," as "chief magistrate of the Commonwealth" he could not unite himself with any "combination of men in means for its suppression."^d As this, of course, did not agree with their ideas, they tendered the nomination to Adams, but found that he approved of Lincoln's course and could not be made to run against him.^e

In a convention in October they nominated Samuel Lathrop, who had been president of the senate in the previous year.^f As in Vermont, the National Republicans viewed this split in their ranks with alarm, and did what they could for a while to unite the parties, but with little success; later they turned to vituperation and denunciation.^g

In the election Lincoln polled 28,804 votes, while Lathrop polled 13,357, and Morton (Democrat) 10,975. Lathrop carried the counties of Franklin and Hampshire, and polled a large vote in Bristol. Morton carried Berkshire.^h The Anti-

downwards, banded together with sanctions of blood and oaths of perdition, with discipline, with concert, with signs of recognition, and ciphers of secret correspondence, armed with public press, and bearing in their train the artillery of slander and of ruin of men, are united to engross all power and influence, and to direct the resources of a great nation to the separate profit of their order.'" Says the *Argus*: "In its remarks upon this meeting the *Boston Press* says, 'We helped the Nationals last year to elect their quorum, and most of the very men elected by our help voted for Jackson Masons in preference to Antimasons. This fall we hope everything will be allowed to stand on its own bottom.'" *Boston Free Press*, June 17, quoted in *Albany Argus* June 24, 1831. See also *Albany Evening Journal*, June 24, 1831.

^a *Albany Evening Journal*, April 12, May 20, and July 1, 1831.

^b They were answered in December by a declaration of 1,200 Masons, which only added fuel to the fire. See pamphlet, "An Address to the Freemasons of Massachusetts," Worcester, 1832. See also *Commercial Gazette*, December 31, 1831; *New England Galaxy* and *Masonic Magazine*, December 31, 1831; *Niles Register*, XLI, 385.

^c Account of the convention, *Boston Free Press*, May 20, 1831.

^d *Niles Register*, XLI, 86.

^e *Adams's Diary*, VIII, 414.

^f *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1831.

^g See *New York Whig*, quoted in *Albany Evening Journal*, June 10, 1831. *Boston Patriot*, quoted in *Albany Argus*, October 12, 1831. *Albany Argus*, September 27, 1831.

^h *Independent Chronicle*, January 7, 1831. *Boston Free Press*, quoted in *Albany Evening Journal*, January 9, 1832.

masons claimed 150 members elected to the lower house out of a total of 490.^a

1832.

The year 1832 was marked by several attempts to get the Antimasons to unite upon Clay or to make some arrangement like that existing in New York and Pennsylvania, but the New England Antimasons were of stern Puritan stock and were firmly imbued with the necessity of carrying out their fundamental principles. If the National Republicans "contended that there was no difference in principle between the National Republicans and Antimasons, to this the fair reply was that if so, the electoral vote might well be given to Mr. Wirt, 'whose moral character was fair, rather than to Mr. Clay, whose days and nights had been spent in the brothel.'" Again it was urged that as the Clay men in New York had "with a magnanimity beyond all praise joined the Antimasons, they being the stronger party in the State, it was but fair requital of that kind of service that the Antimasons in Massachusetts, they being the weaker party, should unite with the Nationals. This overture was indignantly rejected * * * the utmost favor they would grant was the privilege of voting for the Antimasonic ticket, with an assurance that that ticket 'will on no occasion support an adhering Mason.'" ^b

The Antimasonic convention met at Worcester September 5 and nominated Samuel Lathrop for governor and Timothy Fuller for lieutenant-governor.^c They organized an electoral ticket pledged to vote for Wirt and Ellmaker, and adopted an address in which they said they would not vote for Clay because "no public man in the nation [has] placed himself so directly in opposition to the fundamental principles of Antimasonry as he has done * * * however eminent as a statesman [he] is so far behind the ordinary standard of morals that there is no intimation of virtuous example in his private life."^d

^a New York Whig, in Albany Evening Journal, November 28, 1831. See also Albany Evening Journal, November 19, December 2, 1831, and Albany Argus, November 21, 1831.

^b See letter from Springfield, Mass., October 16, 1832, in Albany Argus, October 25, 1832. For other evidences of desire to unite, see Boston Independent Chronicle (Clay), August 25, 1832.

^c Fuller is said to be the author of the pamphlet in which Mr. Clay was charged with "spending his nights at the gaming table and in the revels of the brothel." Adams was not present at the convention, and the National Republicans intimated that he was not in favor of the movement. John Bailey, however, wrote a letter in which he explained that the reason why he did not attend was that he had made a rule to take no part in the pending Presidential election. Independent Chronicle, September 12, 19, 1832.

^d Proceedings of the Antimasonic convention, Boston, 1832.

The Boston Free Press said:

Any man who was in that assembly and who witnessed the thrilling response when * * * the President, in a speech declared that Henry Clay, by his own acts had severed forever the ties which once bound the Antimasons of New England to him, and might as soon hope to constrain them to vote to establish a monarchy as to vote to sustain Masonry through Henry Clay," would not doubt the intention of the party to oppose him in New England.

In the election Lincoln received 33,946 votes, Morton 15,197, and Lathrop 14,755. Lathrop again carried Hampshire. The votes for the national candidates were approximately the same as those given for governor.^b

1833.

The meeting of the legislature at the beginning of this year shows in many ways the extreme hatred that the National Republicans bore toward the Antimasons for the part they had taken in the State and national election. Among these evidences of hatred may be cited various hostile acts shown in the selection of the council, opposition to the petition to do away with the grand lodge, and a gerrymander of Antimasonic districts of the State.^c

The Antimasonic State convention was held in Boston on September 4. In the call made by the State committee was a curious circular, in which it was requested that the delegates "furnish the State committee * * * a correct list of adhering Masons in their towns, their places of business and occupations, * * * the several offices each have held or now hold; their general character for morals, temperance, charity, and [knowledge of] science, especially geometry;^d what number of indigent persons, widows, and orphans, are known to have been relieved in their town, and to what

^a Rochester Republican, quoted in Albany Argus, October 15, 1832.

^b Boston Independent Chronicle, November 14, 17, 21, 24, December 1, 1832; January 5, 1833. Albany Argus, November 12, 26, 1832. Boston Columbian Sentinel, November 20, 1832. Niles Register, XLIII, 213.

^c Adams's Diary, IX, 41. See also "Address to the People" on the political influence of Freemasonry, Boston, 1833. The county of Bristol as a congressional district was divided. It had 49,592 inhabitants, while 47,700 was the ratio. The Antimasons of New Bedford and Fairhaven were neutralized by adding Nantucket and Barnstable. There was also gerrymandering in Franklin and Norfolk. The Norfolk district was made to extend nearly from Buzzards Bay to Boston.

^d The Masons were supposed to use a great deal of geometry in their ceremonies.

amount, what good or bad acts are known to have been done by Freemasons in their towns, and whether Freemasonry has tended to restrain or encourage the commission of crime."^a

As it was well known that Adams did not want the nomination, and that because of his radical position toward the Masonic order there was less chance for the National Republicans to unite upon him, the nomination was offered to Edward Everett and then to John Bailey. As both of these gentlemen declined, it was offered to Adams. The letter addressed to him said that "No citizen * * * is at liberty * * * to refuse * * * especially where the citizen so nominated is best qualified to concentrate public sentiment in favor of those principles, and to heal the divisions of party."^b He very reluctantly accepted,^c stating that he did so "with a fervent prayer to the Ruler of the Universe that the voice of the people of the State should concur with yours [that] the final result may be to heal the division of party, to promote the harmony of the Union, and to maintain the freedom of industry and the purity of the Constitution."^d

In preparing for the election of this year it soon became evident to the National Republicans that Lincoln could not be run again, as a combination of both opposing parties might defeat him.^e There were, however, two men who if nominated by the National Republicans would unite the whole party. One was Adams, who had already been nominated by the Antimasons, and the other Edward Everett. Both were sincere Antimasons. Everett had never declared his belief in political Antimasonry, and therefore was not so likely to unite the two parties, while he was Antimasonic enough to be looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the Masons.^f Adams, on the other hand, although he had supported Lincoln in the last election, had written a letter to a gentleman in Rhode Island, in which he advocated the election of such members to the legislature of that State as should vote for

^a Albany Argus, August 30, 1833.

^b Proceedings Massachusetts Antimasonic Convention, September 11, 12, 13, 1833; Boston, 1833. Independent Chronicle, September 14, 18, 1833.

^c Adams's Diary, IX, 6. See also *ibid.*, p. 25. "The controversy seems destined to destroy the comforts and tranquillity of my last days, and to bring my life to close in hopeless conflict with the world."

^d Albany Argus, September 12, 1833. See also *ibid.*, September 16, 18, 1833.

^e Adams's Diary, IX, 45. See also *ibid.*, p. 25, where Lincoln attributes to Adams's publications on Masonry the falling off in his support.

^f Independent Chronicle, May 15, July 27, 1833.

the repeal of the Masonic charters.^a He was well known as one of the most influential opponents of Masonry on social and religious grounds in the country. He was, therefore, opposed by all the Masonic power in the National Republican party and by Lincoln and his friends. On the other hand, he had behind him the powerful support of Daniel Webster and his friends.^b

As the convention drew near it was apparent that Boston and the Masons would do their best to oppose him,^c and so successful were their efforts that the man once President of the United States was put aside, and John Davis was nominated instead.^d

The campaign created considerable interest and animosity. The part that Boston and Worcester Masons had played in defeating the nomination of Adams, together with the hatred of the city by the country districts where Antimasonry was strong, gave the Antimasons a greater enthusiasm, perhaps, than they had before possessed.^e Mr. Davis, however, obtained a plurality, receiving 25,149 votes, while Adams received about 18,274; Morton, 15,493; and Allen (Workingmen), 3,459. Adams carried Norfolk, Bristol, Franklin, Middlesex, and Plymouth.^f The election went to the legisla-

^aIndependent Chronicle, October 2, September 28, 1833. He was not proscriptive, however. See letter to Davis, Niles's Register, XLV, 86; Adams's Diary, VIII, pp. 426, 428. His opinion of the order is characteristic: "It is a matter of curious speculation how such degrading forms, such execrable oaths, and such cannibal penalties should have been submitted to by wise, spirited, and virtuous men. It is humiliating to the human character."

^bWebster had been nominated on January 10, 1833, for President by the Antimasons of the legislature.

^cAdams's Diary, IX, 16. "The National Republicans of Boston have elected 63 delegates to the Worcester convention, 35 of whom are Freemasons."

^dIndependent Chronicle, October 19, 1833. The address of the convention condemned Antimasonry. Adams says one of the leaders against him was William Sullivan, of whom he remarks: "Sullivan has the double venom of Hartford convention Federalism and of spurious masonry in his blood." Adams's Diary, IX, pp. 20, 24.

^eThis spirit is evident in the proceedings of the convention, where the "aristocracy of the cities" and the "monarchical" tendencies of the Masons were harped upon. Davis was accused of being the tool of the manufacturers. General Dearborn, who was running for Congress, was called "the most eloquent and grandiloquent representative of the Boston aristocracy."

See Independent Chronicle, August 16, November 9, 1833, quotations from Boston Advocate. See, also, Proceedings of Convention, Boston, 1833. S. D. Green was editor of the Advocate. He had been a member of the same lodge with Morgan, and had lectured on Masonry around the country. His adventures are set forth in his book called the "Broken Seal." His paper constantly harped on "Boston aristocracy," and later followed Richard Rush into the Democratic ranks. Adams's Diary, IX, 48.

^fIndependent Chronicle, November 13, 15, 16, 20, 27, December 21, 1833. Albany Argus, November 12, 20, 1833. Albany Evening Journal, November 15, 1833.

ture, whereupon Mr. Adams withdrew from the contest in order to unite the two parties.^a

1834.

The National Republicans in the legislature carried out their policy of filling the senatorial vacancies with members of their own party without reference to the actual votes of the people.^b They were well paid for this partisanship, however, when it was seen that a resolution on the removal of the deposits could not be forced through without the aid of the Antimasons. Through the influence of Adams, who saw the danger of the Antimasons going over to the Democrats, as they did in Rhode Island, if the National Republican policy was kept up,^c efforts were made to conciliate them. Accordingly a bill to enlarge the powers of the grand lodge in order that a building which they were erecting in Boston could be completed was defeated. This led to the surrender of the act of incorporation.^d

In response to many petitions, a bill was introduced against extra judicial oaths. It produced a great debate, the house on the whole favored it and the senate opposed it. It was finally passed by leaving out the word "masonic" and softening its provisions so as to make them very easy to evade.^e An investigation into Freemasonry was also begun, the house, as before, favoring it and the senate opposing it. The house went so far as to favor giving the committee on the matter full power to send for persons and papers, but this was killed in the senate, and consequently the investigation amounted to nothing.^f

^a Adams's Diary, IX, 71. Independent Chronicle, January 11, 1834.

^b They had a majority over the other two parties. Niles Register, XLV, 330, says there were 297 National Republicans, 135 Antimasons, and 126 Jackson men in the lower house. The Independent Chronicle, January 4, 1834, says that in all but two cases the Democrats and Antimasons combined. See also Niles Register, XLVII, 182. Adams calls the National Republican party a "Union of federalism and Freemasonry." Adams's Diary, IX, pp. 17, 70.

^c Adams's Diary, pp. 9, 65, 66, 103.

^d Niles Register, XLV, 331. Independent Chronicle, January 4, 1834. They had already tried several times to have their power increased. They did not dissolve their organization, although a large part of them in Worcester County especially resolved that the society was unnecessary, and disbanded. Niles Register, XLVI, 447. Independent Chronicle, August 23, October 1, 1834.

^e Independent Chronicle, January 29, February 1, March 13. A great deal of the debate was caused by the Boston Masonic Mirror's statement that it would not harm Masonry.

^f See Independent Chronicle, January 31, February 5, 22, April 4, 1834. See also pamphlet, "An Investigation into Freemasonry," printed by order of the house of representatives, Boston, 1834.

These useless measures did a great deal to drive the more radical Antimasons away from the Whig party, then forming, and to turn them toward the Democrats. It was only through the efforts of Adams, Everett, and Webster that they were kept in the party at all.^a These gentlemen tried to heal the split by every means in their power. In declining to be a candidate for United States Senator, Adams had stated that the Antimasonic party was in hopeless minority, and as they had the same policy as the National Republicans they should unite with them.^b

Early in the year the Antimasons addressed a letter to Davis, questioning him as to his position on the matter of Masonry. His reply did not satisfy them, although he greatly desired peace and was supported by Adams.^c The Whig convention made no overtures, but nominated Davis and Armstrong.^d

The Antimasonic convention was ruled by the radicals, and its proceedings were decidedly interesting. Mr. Hallett, one of the members, spoke of the efforts at conciliation made by some of the party, and advocated an independent position. In the course of his remarks he said:

Who is to blame, then, if this party now resolve to depend on their own resources; to select able and sound and efficient candidates? 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, * * * men of moral courage, the middling interest of the Commonwealth to whom alone, in these degenerate days our country can ever look for the exercise of that moral courage which achieved her independence.^e

^a Adams's Diary, IX, pp. 65, 170. Independent Chronicle, November 8, 1834. The plan of the radicals was to unite upon Morton.

^b Vermont State Journal, January 20, 1834.

^c Adams's Diary, IX, 184. For Davis's letter, see Niles Register, XLVI, 433.

^d Independent Chronicle, August 23, 1834.

^e Substantially the same language was used in the convention of 1831. See Albany Evening Journal, May 23, 1831. As to the nomination of Davis in the previous year it was said: "It was pretended at the 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 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; * * * but the name of Edward Everett was received by the Masonic convention at Worcester with scarcely less scorn than that of Mr. Adams although Mr. Everett never had and never has in any

As neither Adams nor Everett permitted their names to be used, John Bailey was nominated for governor.^a

The party, however, was unsuccessful. Davis received 43,757 votes, Morton 18,683, Bailey, 10,160, Allen 166.^b

1835.

The beginning of the year 1835 saw Antimasonry very feeble in Massachusetts. The Whigs showed their hatred of the party by electing John Davis senator over Adams.^c Never-

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." Proceedings of convention.

"Proceedings of convention. Bailey was a graduate of Brown University. He was a tariff man in 1824. He attacked Otis in 1820 for his defense of the Hartford convention. In 1831 he was a senator from Norfolk, and again in 1833. As he was not a lawyer it was said: "His views are not narrowed down by a profession which in modern times is almost always arrayed on the side of wealth and aristocracy against the people." The convention report is full of such expressions, directed against "Ultra Federalists," "aristocrats," "lawyers," etc. Heman Lincoln was nominated for lieutenant-governor, but declined, and George Odiorne, of Boston, was substituted. A convention ratifying the choice of Bailey was held in Norfolk. This convention said that "John Davis * * * is * * * from the manner in which he was forced into office, so completely under the control of ultra aristocracy, the ultra Federalism, and the ultra Freemasonry of Boston and Worcester [Worcester had been called the "very throne of Masonry in the Commonwealth" by Adams in 1833. See Adams's letter to the legislature of Massachusetts, January 1, 1833.] * * * that he could not, if he would, act for the people and with the people, * * * whereas John Bailey * * * 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 the great cities and towns. * * * [As] farmers, mechanics, and workmen, while we respect highly talented and distinguished men, and rejoice to do them honor wherever we find them acting honestly as friends of the people and not as 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." See proceedings of Antimasonic Republican Delegates to convention for the county of Norfolk, held in Dedham, the 20th of October, 1834. The Suffolk meeting, November 3, 1834, resolved: "That too much influence has been unconsciously exerted over the legislature of the State by means of the social influence of the aristocracy of Boston," etc. An editorial in the Boston Advocate, November 4, 1834, says: "Will they [the people] exercise their rights as legislators for their own best interests, or will they send men to the legislature merely for the benefit of the great capitalists of Boston and Lowell? * * * Shall Boston make the laws for the State; * * * shall lawyers fix the statutes to their liking? * * * The Whig party * * * [being] entirely under the control of the aristocracy * * * laws * * * will be framed * * * to suit especially, monopolists, men of large capital, and lawyers. * * * Boston will strive to send a regiment of Whigs, all in the interests of monopolists. The country must send her full complement of sound and firm men to meet this army and watch their movements."

The State convention adopted a resolution which has great significance when the future is considered. It was 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 and foreign allegiance to a like renunciation of all oaths to secret societies."

^bIndependent Chronicle, November 12, 15, 19, December 27, 1834; January 14, 1835. Vermont State Journal, March 10, 22, 1834.

^cNiles's Register, XLVII, 387.

theless, with the Presidential contest coming on, something had to be done to unite the parties. This union was brought about by the nomination of Edward Everett by the Whigs. Such a move could not but be approved by the great mass of the Antimasons, and consequently the choice was ratified in their convention.^a Only a few radical Masons and Antimasons refused to concur in these proceedings.^b The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Everett.^c

As the Presidential election was approaching the Antimasonic State convention resolved to have a national convention,^d but as no other States agreed the matter was dropped. However, a portion of the party in the legislature met and nominated Webster and Granger.^e

The Antimasons of Massachusetts, with the exception of a few radicals, were completely united with the Whig party in the election of 1836.^f

^aIndependent Chronicle, February 28, 1835. The Whigs of the legislature put his name in nomination. On October 11, 1835, the Antimasons ratified the choice, but substituted William Foster instead of Armstrong for lieutenant-governor. Proceedings of convention.

^bArmstrong was dissatisfied because Webster, Everett, and Davis had shut him out, and did not accept the nomination but ran himself. (Adams's Diary, IX, pp. 242, 243.) For other discontent see Independent Chronicle, October 17, 1835.

^cIndependent Chronicle, November 11, 14, 18, 1835.

^dPennsylvania Intelligencer, March 5, 1835.

^e"Resolutions adopted by Antimasonic members of the legislature opposed to the nomination of Van Buren and Johnson," March 9, 1836. See also Vermont State Journal, March 22, 1836.

^fSome of the party worked for Morton, as there was still great hatred of the "aristocratic Whigs." Independent Chronicle, October 28, 31, 1835. Adams's Diary, IX, 313.

CHAPTER XXI.—OHIO.

The Western Reserve of Ohio, settled by a New England population and connected directly with the Antimasonic line of counties which led through Erie County, Pennsylvania, into the "infected district" of New York, formed good soil for Antimasonic doctrines. These counties were also thorough National Republican counties and thus shared the fate of that party.^a

Weed says that in 1828 his paper was ordered from all parts of this district. In his report upon the press in the Antimasonic convention of 1830, Seward traced the beginnings of the agitation in the State to the fact that an "editor fourteen months ago, by invitation, went with only his printing materials from the city of New York, and commenced an Antimasonic paper in Portage County."^b Another account makes Ashtabula the first county in the State to accept the doctrines.^c By September, 1830, Antimasonic presses had been established in Adams, Knox, Tuscarawas, Harrison, Wayne, Richland, Huron, Portage, Geauga, and Ashtabula.^d

Notwithstanding the introduction of the issue into politics in 1829, yet there seems to have been very little political bitterness such as marked the cause of Antimasonry in other States. In fact it is extremely hard to tell the Antimasonic candidates for the legislature from the National Republican. In spite of the great canal system of the State, in politics Ohio contrasted strongly with New York and Pennsylvania, and was more like Vermont. There were no great

^aIn 1828 Jackson carried the State, but the chief support of Adams came from this northern tier of counties.—*Pennsylvania Reporter*, November 11, 1828; *Ohio Sentinel*, Columbus, November 15, 1828. The State, however, elected a National Republican governor by a majority of 2,120. See *Ohio State Journal*, December 4, 6, 10, 18, 1828.

^b*Albany Evening Journal*, March 1, 1831.

^c*Ohio Star*, quoted in *Albany Evening Journal*, October 28, 1831.

^dSeward's report on the press, September 11, 1830.

party questions apparently and no fierce or bitter contentions over sectional matters, such as in Pennsylvania. Each member of the legislature seems to have voted as a general thing independently of party issues. Questions such as roads, canals, and other matters of "purely legislative character appear to have been decided solely on their own merits, without any reference to the political predilections of the members with whom they originated."^a In all the course of Antimasonry in Ohio, there were no controversies upon the subject such as rent the other States.

In 1830 a convention of 30 delegates from 12 counties was held at Canton, Ohio, on July 21. It elected delegates to the national convention, but outside of that does not seem to have been political in its character.^b The party did not grow to any extent, and in 1831 it had but 15 members in both houses together.^c

The nomination of Wirt was received without any great bitterness by the National Republicans. It was said "that aside from our dislike to the party grounds upon which he was nominated, and the decided preferences which we have for another, we feel no objection to his elevation to the Presidency."^d The truth was that the Clay leaders saw that the only hope for their party in Ohio was some kind of a compromise with the Antimasons. If the party split, the case was hopeless. Said a Clay paper of the time:

We must examine our position, and if it promise nothing but defeat, we should agree to change it. * * * If we do not, but plunge on in reckless and hopeless desperation, defeat is an inevitable consequence. * * * If we are so devoted to one man that, if he can not succeed, we care not who does, then, indeed, we ought not to succeed. * * * If petty personal predilections control us, or "coalition" terrify us, the case is hopeless—utterly, irretrievably hopeless; it is consummate folly to proceed in the contest.^e

^a Ohio State Journal (Clay), February 19, 1829.

^b Ohio State Journal, August 5, 1830. This year the National Republicans again elected their candidate, Duncan McArthur, by about 1,000 votes.—Ohio State Journal, October 28, November 4, 1830.

^c Hamilton (Ohio) Telegraph, quoted in Albany Argus, December 9, 1831. It is probable that many of these were indistinguishable from the Clay members. The Moral Envoy, November 10, 1830, an Antimasonic paper, said that in that year members were elected from Portage, Ashtabula, Geauga, and Huron counties. The Albany Evening Journal claimed Senator Thomas Irwin as an Antimason.—Albany Evening Journal, February 28, 1831. Jonathan Sloan, elected from the Fifteenth district (Lorain, Cuyahoga, Portage, and Medina), in the northeast, was probably an Antimason.—Adams, Diary, IX, 114.

^d Hamilton Intelligencer (Clay), November 19, 1831.

^e Cincinnati Gazette (Clay), May 2, 1832, quoted in Columbus Sentinel, May 31, 1832.

The Antimasonic convention which met on June 12, 1832, at Columbus, after tendering the nomination to several gentlemen who, although Antimasons, refused to split the opposition to Jackson, finally chose Darius Lyman, of Portage County, previously a member of the senate from that district, and pledged an electoral ticket to Wirt and Ellmaker.^a

The nomination was, however, not immediately concurred in by the Clay party, who nominated Governor McArthur. That gentleman, however, declined when it became evident that the lack of unity would defeat him. He gave the following reason for his actions:

With a view of uniting all who are opposed to the reelection of General Jackson, upon one candidate for the office of governor and also upon an electoral ticket for President and Vice-President, and with the hope of accomplishing so desirable an object I have come to the determination to have my name withdrawn from the list of candidates for that office at the ensuing election.^b

Immediately after the above announcement the papers which had been warmly supporting McArthur and abusing the Antimasons turned about and praised the nomination of Lyman upon the ground of expediency and of the necessity of opposing Jackson successfully.^c The union of the parties, however, came too late to quiet all dissensions, and in many counties it was hardly known at all. This was true especially in the southern counties, and led directly to Lyman's defeat. Lucas, the Democratic nominee, received about 8,060 majority. Lyman polled his strongest vote in the northern tier of counties.^d

The Antimasonic State committee, immediately after the election, issued an address recommending the abandonment of

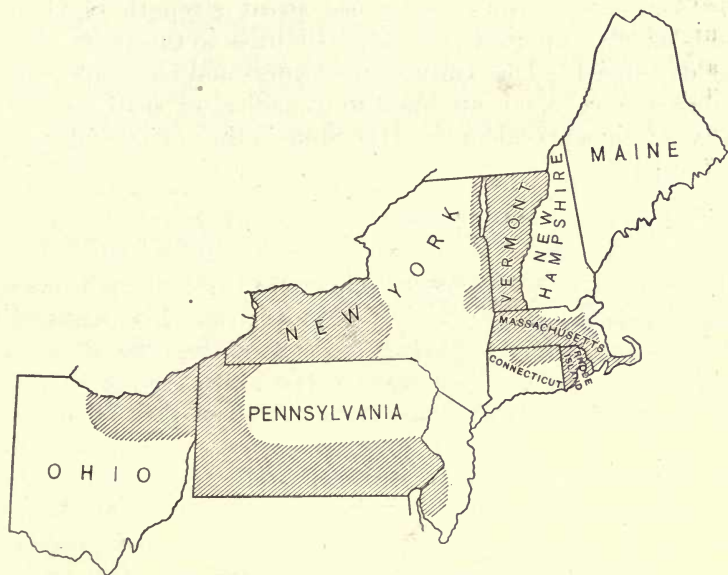
^a Ohio State Journal, June 23, 1832. See also Albany Argus, June 27, 28, 1832. Columbus Sentinel, June 21, 1832. National Historian, St. Clairsville, July 14, 1832.

^b Ohio State Journal, September 15, 1832. See also Albany Evening Journal, September 24, 1832.

^c Said one of these papers: "Darius Lyman * * * is a gentleman of unapproachable character, he is in favor of the Constitution, the independence of the judiciary and the supremacy of the law. He is in principle a National Republican. * * * We are opposed to political Antimasonry, but when we have to choose between a man whose principles we oppose and whose moral character is disreputable; and one who stands high for his talents and integrity and whose politics are National Republican, we can not hesitate." Hamilton Intelligencer, September 27, 1832. For similar expressions, see Ohio State Journal, September 29, 1832.

^d Columbus Sentinel, October 25, 1832. See also Albany Argus, October 18, 20, 22, November 2, 1832; New York Standard, October 17, 1832; Albany Evening Journal, October 29, 1832; National Historian, St. Clairsville, October 27, 1832.

the Antimasonic electoral ticket and the support of the Clay electoral ticket, with the idea that if Wirt had the greater number of votes throughout the country the ticket would be thrown for him—in fact, they proposed somewhat the same arrangement as in New York.^a This brought a storm of protest from the radical Antimasons throughout the State, and led to dissensions and to the dividing of the opposition to Jackson,^b although the National Republican papers tried to keep before the minds of the Antimasons that it was a mu-



Shaded portions represent the strongholds of political Antimasonry.

tual ticket, which would be given to the highest number of votes.^c The coalition was unsuccessful, as Jackson received 4,707 votes for a majority. There were only about 500 votes given to Wirt independently in the State.^d It is entirely probable that the Antimasons of Ohio voted with a fair de-

^a See Columbus Emigrant Extra, quoted in Albany Argus November 2, 1832. See also Albany Argus, October 26, 1832; Hamilton Intelligencer, October 20, 1832; Ohio Sentinel, October 25, 1832; Niles' Register, XLIII, 138.

^b Albany Argus, November 1, 2, 1832; Boston Columbian Sentinel, November 26, 1832. Protests "condemning any bargain" had been made before the union took place. See National Historian, October 13, 1832, report of Uniontown, Belmont County, Antimasonic meeting.

^c Ohio State Journal, October 27, 1832.

^d Ohio State Journal, November 17, 1832; Columbus Monitor Extra, quoted in Albany Argus, November 17, 1832.

gree of enthusiasm for the Clay electoral ticket. They were accused of treachery by the National Republicans throughout the country, but the Ohio Clay papers did not support this charge and praised them for their zeal.^a

This election was the deathblow to Antimasonry in Ohio and although conventions were held after this^b and petitions were sent to the legislature constantly,^c political Antimasonry united in 1834 with the new Whig movement in Ohio which arose over the opposition to the nomination of Van Buren.^d The Antimasonic cause never had great strength in Ohio and is chiefly important for its possibilities to the party if it had developed. The Antimasonic leaders and newspapers of the East gave much attention to it, and as we shall see the party sought a president from the State in the person of Judge McLean.^e

^a Ohio State Journal, November 24, 1832.

^b Pennsylvania Telegraph, March 12, 1834; Pennsylvania Intelligencer, November 26, 1834.

^c Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress, Columbus, 1899, p. 166.

^d Ohio State Journal, October 25, 1834.

^e For other States see the appendix.

CHAPTER XXII.—ANTIMASONRY IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

As early as 1827 the leaders of the party in New York had already formed the plan of a great national organization, and efforts were made to ascertain the position of Henry Clay upon the question of Masonry, in view of making him a possible candidate.^a

In 1828, as we have already seen, Adams made himself the national leader of Antimasonry by his letter upon that subject during the campaign.^b He, however, did not suit the purposes of the leaders; the "cause needed a new name not before identified with its history. * * * It felt that it could derive no strength or prestige from the nomination of one of its well known and practiced leaders."^c Then, too, he was unpopular in New York and his nomination would hurt the cause there.^d

It was to Henry Clay, therefore, that the party turned for a leader who would unite all the elements of opposition to Jackson; but, unfortunately, Clay was a Mason. As he was known to be but half-hearted in his adherence to the order every sort of pressure was brought to bear to make him renounce it, or at least show that he was in sympathy with political Antimasonry.^e But the actions of the Antimasons

^aWeed, Autobiography, I, 350.

^bAlbany Argus, August 6, 26, 1828.

^cSeward, Autobiography, I, 90.

^dSeward to Weed, September 14, 1831. Weed, Autobiography, I, 41.

^eClay's Correspondence, 304, January 23, 1831. "I have been urged, entreated, importuned, to make some declaration short of renunciation of Masonry, which would satisfy the Antis. But I have hitherto declined all interference on that subject. While I do not, and never did care about Masonry, I shall abstain from making myself any party to that strife. I tell them that Masonry and Antimasonry has legitimately in my opinion nothing to do with politics; that I never acted, in public or private life, under any Masonic influence; that I have long since ceased to be a member of any lodge; that I voted for Mr. Adams, no Mason, against General Jackson, a Mason." See letter to Antimasons in Niles's Register, XLI, 260, in which he said that to use the power of Government to "abolish or advance the interest of Masonry or Antimasonry * * * would be an act of usurpation or tyranny."

of New York, as reported throughout the country,^a as well as the inconsistency of renouncing Masonry for merely political purposes, led him to "disclaim and repudiate the party."^b This was a hard blow to Weed and his fellow-politicians, who had carefully worked the matter up for some time under trying criticism and adverse circumstances.^c

The Antimasons "generally sympathized with Mr. Clay upon questions of Government policy, and especially in regard to the question of protecting American industries."^d So anxious, indeed, were they to secure Clay as a leader that the Antimasonic papers industriously tried to clear away and explain the Masonic stain. It was said that Clay looked upon Masonry as a "mere bauble." He had but to utter the slightest platitudes (as was afterwards the case with Wirt) to become the candidate of the party. Said the Antimasonic Providence American:

We care not about his renouncing Masonry, but he should let us know that he is bound by no oaths and no ties that have not for their [aim] his country's welfare, his whole country's good. Another year will not pass before we shall see this, or Henry Clay is not the "frank and peerless man" he has ever shown himself.^e

Hopeless of securing Clay, the leaders looked around for a candidate who would in some way be in sympathy with their doctrines and at the same time be popular in the three great States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Calhoun was considered, because, as Seward said, "Calhoun, more than any other of the candidates, talks Antimasonry,"^f but he was an impossibility, because "the stain of nullification" was "too

^a Weed, Autobiography, I, 353.

^b Ibid.

^c The action of the Clay Masons in New York in the election of 1830 aroused the indignation of many of the Antimasons and made it exceedingly hard to put his name forward. The executive committee of the Antimasonic party in New York wrote to him, November 24, 1830, and told him they could "not directly support him because of the election of 1830." Clay's Correspondence, 290.

^d Weed, Autobiography, I, 350. See also Clay's Correspondence, 309. Independent Chronicle, September 12, 22, 1832. This was true everywhere, except among some of the Germans of Pennsylvania.

^e Albany Evening Journal, June 6, 1831. See also Ibid., August 3, 1831, and the account of the Antimasonic and National Republican meeting at Abingdon, Mass., July 4, 1832, for similar expressions. Certificates, probably false, were made to show that he had demitted. Niles Register, XLI, 346. Rush offered his services to Clay, if he would conciliate the Antimasons. Clay's Correspondence, 299.

^f Seward, Autobiography, I, 184. He did not believe in proscription, however.—Calhoun's Correspondence, Manuscripts Commission, 1900, pp. 293, 296.

black upon his record.”^a Richard Rush was then thought of, but he soon made it known that he should decline if offered the nomination.^b

Negotiations were next opened with McLean, of Ohio. Ohio seemed to furnish good ground for the Antimasonic spirit, because of its large National Republican New England population, and it was hoped that if McLean was nominated the State would become Antimasonic. The party would then, it was thought, control the three great States.^c McLean was communicated with and gave his consent on condition that no other candidate should be put forward against Jackson.^d New England, however, strongly favored Adams and was jealous of McLean, because it was thought that he was “a protégé” of Calhoun’s, a feeling which was thought by Seward to have been “grounded upon conversation with Mr. Adams regarding McLean.”^e Seward went to Boston to patch the matter up, and found Adams unwilling to run, although, if nominated, he would not decline. He did not wish to disrupt the National Republican party, and regarded “a harmonious choice at Baltimore” as “vastly more important than a personal question.”^f

Before the convention assembled it became known that Clay would accept a nomination from the National Republicans. This brought a letter from McLean declining the nomination.^g The party was thus left without a candidate when the convention opened. However, Weed, accompanied by John C. Spencer, Albert H. Tracy, of New York, and Dr. Abner Phillips, of Boston, called upon William Wirt and induced him to become a candidate,^h although he was a Mason and had never renounced the order. He was, nevertheless, nominated.^h

^a Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 184. Says Seward, “the free, the cold, clear, intelligent North is the field for the growth of our cause. Let us not jeopardize it by transferring its main stalk into South Carolina sands. The great States which we need, and must combine, are Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. In these Calhoun is lost.” *Ibid.*, I, 195.

^b Adams’s *Diary*, VIII, 403.

^c Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 195.

^d Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 389.

^e Weed, *Autobiography*, II, 41.

^f *Ibid.* See, also, Seward, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 198, 206.

^g Weed, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 390, 391. I have not included an extended account of the convention, because the proceedings throw no new light upon the subject. The proceedings contain the average Antimasonic speeches and are of little significance.

^h Stevens opposed his nomination to the last moment, thinking that if the nomination was forced upon McLean he would accept. Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 90.

His letter of acceptance states his ideas upon the subject. It may be called a practical renunciation of Masonry, although he nowhere announces the fact explicitly, nor does he condemn and denounce the order. In fact, his letter makes light of the whole affair, and is in astonishing contradiction to the supposedly proscriptive tendencies of the movement. He does not say that no Mason should be elected to office. In short, he says nothing which could be objected to by the Masons of the National Republican party. This remarkable document said, in substance:

I have repeatedly and continually, both in conversation and letters of friendship, spoken of Masonry and Antimasonry as a fitter subject for farce than tragedy and have been grieved at seeing some of my friends involved in what appeared to me such a wild and bitter and unjust persecution against so harmless an institution as Free Masonry.

He then acknowledged that he had received a sudden change of ideas upon the subject, and did find some harm in the action of some of the overzealous members of the order. As to Antimasonry he said:

I had supposed that the very principles of your union was a war of indiscriminate proscription against all persons throughout the United States who had ever before borne the name of a Mason; that you would put in nomination no person who had ever been a Mason himself, and who would not moreover pledge himself to become party to such a war of indiscriminate extermination, and wield the appointing power of the office under your dictation; who would not, in short, become the President of your party instead of being the President of the United States. I am happy to find that this is an error; * * * I am relieved from both these apprehensions by learning since your assemblage here that you have no other object in view than, in effect, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the land; that you seek to disturb no portion of the peaceable and virtuous citizens of our country.^a

Such equivocation and so entire a reversal of all they had been fighting for disgusted the more earnest Antimasons and it was held by many that from the principles he avowed he "had no claim for the support of the Antimasons superior to either Jackson or Clay."^b Wirt's actions, too, after the nominations were not such as would inspire hope or confidence. He was old and sick, and no sooner was the step taken than he

^a See "Letters of Rush, Adams, and Wirt." Boston, 1831, p. 46. Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*, II, 304. "Proceedings of Convention of 1831," Boston, 1832. Niles's Register, XLI, 83.

^b *Huntingdon Gazette* (Pennsylvania) quoted in *Albany Argus*, October 18, 1831. Niles's Register, XLI, 378.

wished to withdraw. He said that his only object in accepting the nomination was to unite the party, and as he could not do this, he did not want to continue in the race, but desired the election of Clay.^a The leaders were, however, more than satisfied and immediately set about forming schemes for getting the votes thrown upon Antimasonic grounds for Wirt to benefit Clay, the Mason who had scorned their cause. How well they accomplished this we have seen. We have seen that their plans miscarried in every State except New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and even in Pennsylvania the Germans broke away and threw their votes for Jackson.^b

The national election of 1832 proved the futility of trying to run a national ticket again on the Antimasonic issue. Indeed, the chief leaders thought the party politically dead.^c But if it was dead as a national party, yet it was obvious that the support of these sections was absolutely necessary to the next anti-Jackson nominee of 1835. It was also obvious that Clay, because of his lack of prestige in those districts on account of his previous campaign position and his compromise upon the tariff question, could not hope to unite these elements into the anti-Jackson party of the future.^d

Daniel Webster had upon various occasions shown his sympathy with the Antimasonic cause,^e and Clay being an impossibility, the party now turned their eyes toward him. On January 10, 1833, he was nominated by a meeting of the Antimasons of the legislature of Massachusetts, and all through that year he intrigued with the great leaders in New York for their support.^f We have already seen how he gained the support of the radical Antimasons in Pennsylvania by his letter in which he severely condemned Masonry and agreed with their tenets.^g The fact that he came from New England, together

^a Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*, II, pp. 317, 319, 363, 369.

^b Weed and Wirt both assert that Clay's refusal to renounce Masonry spoiled his chances for the Presidency. Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 354. Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*, II, 380. It is probable that he could never have secured it even if he had renounced. If Clay had become an Antimason he would have lost many votes not only in Pennsylvania and New York, but in New England, especially in the cities where the Antimasons were bitterly hated, and it is probable that he could not have gained much from the German Antimasonic Jackson vote of Pennsylvania.

^c Seward, *Autobiography*, I, 232. Adams's *Diary*, IX, March 27, 1834.

^d See extracts from *Ontario Phoenix*, New York, and *Boston Free Press*, in *Albany Evening Journal*, March 30, 1833. See also *Albany Evening Journal*, February 26, 1833.

^e Adams's *Diary*, IX, 71.

^f Tracy to Weed, June 10, 1833. Weed, *Autobiography*, II, 49.

^g *Niles Register*, XLIX, 293, gives the letter.

with his attitude toward the South, made him difficult to accept throughout the country. A new man of no positive principles was demanded for such a disjointed movement as the Whig party. Accordingly Harrison's statement, that Freemasonry was a "moral and political evil," was made to serve what purpose it could, and although the Massachusetts Antimasons again nominated Webster and coupled with his name the champion of New York Antimasonry, Francis Granger,^a Harrison had not only all the important States at his back, but a large following in the South, and, as we have seen, remained the candidate of the party.^b

On September 11, 1837, fifty-three Antimasons from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts met in Philadelphia and decided to hold a nominating convention the next year. On November 13, 1838, this convention met in Philadelphia, and after denouncing the Administration, and especially the subtreasury plan, upon the motion of the reconciled Stevens, nominated Harrison and Webster.^c Webster was again sacrificed to the interests of the Southern Whigs and Tyler was nominated in his place. This marks the closing scene of the Antimasonic party in national affairs.^d

Although various attempts were made to unite the Antimasonic members in Congress into a party, yet they all failed,^e and Antimasonic members voted with the National Republicans almost without exception.^f

^a Vermont State Journal, March 22, 1836.

^b The ticket was Harrison and Granger, finally.

^c Niles Register, LV, pp. 176, 221. Pennsylvania Intelligencer, November 16, 1838. Pennsylvania Reporter, November 16, 1838. An electoral ticket, pledged to support this ticket, headed by ex-Governor Shulze, was nominated soon after in Pennsylvania. Niles Register, LV, 209. The Pennsylvania Telegraph, the organ of the Antimasons, kept these names at the head of its columns till December 11, 1839, when they gave place to the regular Whig nominees.

^d The National Christian party, founded in Illinois in 1867, kept up the idea. On September 12, 1882, they erected a monument to Morgan. Weed says that Seward's anti-masonry hurt his chances for nomination in 1860. Weed, Autobiography, II, 295.

^e Adams's Diary, VIII, 430, gives the only instance of such organization. At the beginning of the Twenty-second Congress eighteen of the party threw their votes for John W. Taylor, of New York, for speaker. For Antimasonry in Congress see also Adams's Diary, VIII, 441, IX, pp. 114, 372.

^f See votes on bank question, Albany Argus, January 9, 1832; Albany Evening Journal, July 6, 1832. Deposit bank bill, Harrisburg Chronicle, June 29, 1836. The bill to prevent the circulation of the notes of the Bank, Pennsylvania Reporter, April 27, 1838. On the tariff, Albany Argus, January 11, 14, 1833; Pennsylvania Intelligencer, January 10, 1833. The act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of public lands, Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 20, 1832.

CHAPTER XXIII—ANALYSIS OF ANTIMASONRY.

Having considered the political history of the party, it is well to inquire before completing this study as to the conditions that caused the movement and to point out some of the significant factors in its organization and the incidental aids to its growth. That antimasonry should have sprung into prominence from apparently so slight a cause leads us to suspect that there were a great many more reasons for its rapid growth and strength than the excitement over the abduction of William Morgan.

The peculiarly desperate and declining condition of the opposition to Jackson and the connection of this opposition with the young strength of Antimasonry has been already considered in this paper. There are, however, conditions favorable to the growth of Antimasonry and incidental to it which have received but slight mention and must now be summed up and given their place before a history of the Antimasonic party is complete. The first thing that strikes our attention upon closer inspection is that this strange agitation occurred in the remarkable period of the Jacksonian Democracy, an era in America of the Renaissance of the Rights of Man, and of renewed Jeffersonism. It was a period, too, of the extension of the franchise, of humanitarian movements such as temperance, abolition of capital punishment, and of imprisonment for debt, of the struggle for workingmen's rights, of educational reforms, of Owenism, of Fanny Wrightism, of the beginnings of the Abolition agitation, and of many other equally radical movements. In religion also it was an age of free thought, discussion, struggles over dogma, and with it a strong reactionary spirit which was almost fanatical in its hatred of the new French ideas and of Unitarianism and free

thought in general. The religious activity of the time is shown by the agitations over the Sunday mail, the proposed Christian party in politics, the increased zeal for missions, Bible and tract societies, the growth of the Mormons and other peculiar sects, and of the powerful Campbellite agitation in the South. Europe was occupied with the French and Polish revolutions which especially excited American sympathies. It is not surprising that out of this seething mass Antimasonry should have risen. We must, then, in order to find the true basis of the party look beyond the mere Morgan incident and examine into the conditions we have observed and find the reasons outside of those already mentioned which made possible the rise of so great a political movement from so apparently trivial a cause.

The first fundamental consideration is the attitude of the Masons. All evidence points to the fact that at the time of the Morgan affair the Masonic institution "may be said to have been in its palmy state"^a and had in its ranks the wealthy and influential men in all walks of life. When it was attacked because of the Morgan abduction, its loyal members sprang forward at once to defend it by tongue and pen. Papers were established and able editors secured to defend the order,^b while other papers under the influence of the order or from political purposes either fought its battles or sought to hush up the outcry.^c The strength gained by this means was so great that in the early part of 1827 there was actually a reaction in favor of Masonry.^d The members of the order grew confident, entered politics, and boldly upheld their principles.^e

^a Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 237.

^b The Craftsman of Rochester, the Masonic Tyler and Anti Masonic Expositor of Philadelphia, the Xenia Athenaeum of Ohio, New York Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston Masonic Mirror, Anti Masonic Opponent of Lancaster, Pa., and many others.

^c Such was the case with nearly all the Democratic papers and some of the National Republican papers, such as the Ohio State Journal, Boston Columbian Sentinel, Albany Advertiser, Boston Independent Chronicle, Pawtucket Chronicle, Groton (Mass.) Herald.

^d Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 249.

^e Weed, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 300, 350. At this time they openly called the men who had pleaded guilty of abducting Morgan "Masonic martyrs." It has been asserted by Rush (Letters on Freemasonry, Boston, 1831) that not a single one of these men was expelled from the order. Notices of such expulsions have been looked for, but have not been found. Masonic papers and histories since have been industriously engaged in seeking to disprove the Morgan abduction. The American Freemason of Louisville was especially strong in its arguments. See also *The Masonic Martyr*, by Robert Morris, Louisville, Ky., 1861. This gives a Masonic account of the conviction of Eli Bruce, sheriff of Niagara County.

Such determined opposition and such strength displayed served only to prove their opponents' arguments that the organization was using its strength for political purposes,^a and that they were trying to subvert the Government. This added fuel to the flame and led to a white heat of excitement which finally demolished their lodges and destroyed their organization. If they adhered to their doctrines they were accused of fostering the "spirit of their indomitable opponents,"^b while, on the other hand, when they renounced it was looked upon as an additional proof of their misconduct and original evil intentions. Said Harvey, a Mason:

Lodges by scores and hundreds went down before the torrent and were swept away. In the State of New York alone upward of 400 lodges, or two-thirds of the craft, became extinct. * * * In June, 1838, there were only 46 lodges at work in Pennsylvania.^c

The majority of the Masons were thought to be naturally opposed to the Jacksonian Democracy,^d forming as they did a select class in the community; but whether this was so or not, it became evident that the most of them were driven eventually into the Jackson party. The reason for this is twofold: (1) The union of the Antimasons with the National Republicans, especially in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. (2) The attitude of Jackson, who alone of the great leaders supported and praised the Masonic institution openly, and even in the midst of the excitement complimented the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and declared that in his opinion "the Masonic society was an institution calculated to benefit mankind and trusted it would continue to prosper."^e In Pennsylvania it was said that the grand lodge became a body of Democrats;^f in New York the Democratic party became full of

^a Quotations were given in the Antimasonic papers showing that Masons had appealed to brother Masons for votes upon purely Masonic grounds. One of these was from the Boston Sentinel, March 30, 1816, in which an article appeared stating that a Mason was under obligation to vote for a brother Mason and signed by a Master Mason. Another one was an appeal to the Masons to support Clinton for governor of New York. This article appeared in the New York National Union October 30, 1834. These can be found in almost any volume of Antimasonic newspapers.

^b New York Commercial Advertiser, in Ohio State Journal, December 1, 1832.

^c Harvey Lodge 61, F. and A. M., Wilkesbarre. See also notices of dissolution in Albany Argus, March 13, 1829; Albany Evening Journal, December 2, 1830, and July 2, 1833 (proceedings of grand lodge held June 5); Independent Chronicle, Boston, August 23, 1834. Schultz History of Freemasonry in Maryland, III, 6; Niles' Register, XLVII, 281.

^d Weed, Autobiography, II, 40.

^e Seward, Autobiography, I, 145.

^f Harvey Lodge 61, F. and A. M., Wilkesbarre.

Masons,^a and in the other States the same tendency was exhibited. As time went on, however, it became apparent that the Antimasonic party was little more than an Anti-Jackson party, and consequently the Masons crept back into the National Republican ranks and worked with so-called Antimasons like Weed. The various "coalitions" which have been previously described show us this plainly.^b

The next element to be considered is the religious and moral basis of Antimasonry. We have already noted that the period was one of intense religious activity. On July 4, 1827, in the Seventh Presbyterian Church of the City of Philadelphia, Ezra Stiles Ely preached a sermon in which he said:

I propose, fellow citizens, a new sort of union, or if you please, a Christian party in politics, which I am exceedingly desirous all good men in our country should join, not by subscribing to a constitution, but by adopting and avowing to act upon religious principles in all civil matters.^c

Such a statement could not but cause excitement in so democratic a period, and when a great petition was drawn up requesting Congress to pass a law forbidding the transportation of the Sunday mails, it was immediately thought that a party was in formation which had as its object the union of church and state.^d At this time also the more orthodox members of the Congregational Church were alarmed at the different beliefs creeping into their fold and strove to have their creed more strictly defined. For this purpose it was proposed by many to adopt synods like those of the Presbyterian Church in order to define their tenets exactly. A large body of the church even desired the union of the two churches.^e Under these circumstances, many people became uneasy and feared lest the final outcome of these conditions and such expressions should result in the union of church and state. Charges that the union was in progress were frequently made, particu-

^a Hammond, *Political History of New York*, II, 402, Whittlesey's account.

^b For Masons voting for Antimasons, see Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 369. Albany Argus, August 4, 1828; February 5, June 3, 1831; August 14, October 9, 1832; Albany Evening Journal, September 24, 1832; August 3, 1833. Mr. Holcomb's speech in the Pennsylvania house of representatives, *Pennsylvania Reporter*, March 4, 1834. For Antimasons voting for Masons, see Albany Argus, March 22, 26, October 5, 14, 16, November 27, 1830; September 18, 1832. The Sun, of Philadelphia, quoted in *Pennsylvania Reporter*, September 10, 1830.

^c Ohio State Journal, February 2, 1831.

^d Vermont Watchman, May 5, 1829. Ohio State Journal, November 4, 1830. Pennsylvania Reporter, January 29, 1830; March 4, 1834 (?).

^e Cincinnati Christian Journal (Presbyterian), January 14, 1831.

larly by the liberals and the opponents of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.^a

The Antimasonic party, having so many of the prominent religious men of the country in its ranks and being at this time in a crusade in which "churches were distracted,"^b naturally entered as another element in the religious distress of the period. In New England this was especially true as the party there was composed of the ultra religious country people already in opposition to the liberal spirit of the cities. It can be easily seen from these circumstances that the party soon received the stigma of the "Christian party in politics."^c

Indeed if there was a religious party in existence it was the Antimasonic, for it wielded religion as one of its strongest weapons. Not only was every effort directed against Masonic preachers and laymen,^d but the churches in their councils condemned the order. The charge was made that the—

Masonic Society professes to find its foundation in the sacred volumes, to have an intimate relation with Solomon's Temple, and to be a religious fraternity—a household of faith—a band of mystic brethren. Examining it in the light, we find the religion of the association to be a mixture of Paganism and Mohammedanism, with a corruption of Judaism and Christianity; for many professed Christians, many Baptists, Jews, and even Gentiles are found in its community. We also find that it perverts the meaning [of Christianity] and is full of names of blasphemy and [is guilty of] administering illegal, profane, and horrible oaths.^e

^aChristian Register (Unitarian), Boston, August 23, 1828. This paper contains also a reference to the Christian Advocate and Journal, New York, August 15, to the same effect. The orthodox in New England were charged with the "design of electing an orthodox State legislature, with the ultimate purpose of renovating our supreme judicial court and bringing it under subserviency to the dictation of orthodox ecclesiastics." * * * The Recent Attempt to Defeat the Constitutional Provisions in Favor of Religious Freedom Considered in Reference to the Trust Conveyance of Hanover Street Church, Boston, 1828.

^bWeed, Autobiography, I, 289.

^cAlbany Argus, September 25, 1829; November 29, 1831. Lancaster Anti-masonic Herald, April 16, 1830. So strong was the fear of the union of church and state that a paper was founded with the avowed object of preventing it. The paper was called "The Defender of Our Religious Liberties and Rights," and in its prospectus it announced its purpose to be "to expose and resist such measures, in either sect, the design or tendency of which appears to be the union of spiritual and temporal power or sectarian ascendancy or aggrandizement." Albany Argus, June 10, 1831. The Antimasonic papers of the day all have a religious tone. The Albany Evening Journal, the Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, and Vermont papers all show this.

^dSuch as to exclude them from communion. Albany Argus, January 5, July 19, 1829; September 10, 1831; November 24, 1832. Weed, Autobiography, I, 249.

^eProceedings of the Dutch Reform Church, in Hackensack, N. Y., June, 1831: in Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 21, 1831. See also like phrases in North Star, Danville, Vt., April 12, 1831, copied from the Boston Christian Herald; and also proceedings of joint meeting at Sangerfield, N. Y., March 14, 1830; in Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, February 12, 1830.

The Antimasons in their political meetings passed resolutions similar to the above.^a

Even before the disappearance of Morgan the Presbyterian Church, in the synod of Pittsburg which met January, 1821, condemned the Masonic institution as unfit for professing Christians.^b After the Morgan incident occurred the church took a decided stand against the society throughout the country, bade its ministers renounce it, and its laymen to sever all connections with it and to hold no fellowship with Masons.^c

What the Presbyterians were to the West the Congregationalists were to New England and eastern New York. They attacked at one and the same time the Unitarians, the Universalists, and the Masons. In New England Antimasonry was looked upon as "nothing more than orthodoxy in disguise."^d

^a See report of committee appointed "to consider nature, principles, and tendency of Freemasonry as regards its effects on the Christian religion," in the proceedings of the national convention of 1830. Maynard was probably the author of this report. See also proceedings of the convention of delegates opposed to Freemasonry, at Le Roy, Genesee County, N. Y., March 6, 1828; proceedings of Massachusetts convention, 1829; Boston Daily Advocate Extra, October 5, 1832, for reply to statement of 1,200 Masons, December 21, 1831. For Democratic accounts see Freeman's Journal, Cooperstown, N. Y., September 20, 1830, and Albany Argus, September 17, 1830.

^b Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, January 22, 1830. See also Harvey Lodge, No. 61, F. A. A. M., Wilkesbarre, p. 81.

^c See proceedings of Genesee Synod, September 30, 1829; Oneida Synod of February, 1820, in Boston Christian Herald, quoted in Vermont North Star, May 3, 1831. See also North Star, September 28, 1830, for other notices. It was said by the Masons that "nearly every Antimasonic press is under Presbyterian surveillance." Craftsman (Masonic) in North Star, Danville, Vt., May 5, 1829. This in the language of the day would include the Congregationalists. Wirt says that it was suggested to him that the Presbyterians were coming to his aid. Kennedy's Life of Wirt, II, 314. For a typical Antimasonic document by a Presbyterian preacher see, "Masonry proved to be a work of darkness repugnant to the Christian religion and inimical to the Republican government; by Lebeus Armstrong, late pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Northampton, * * * in the State of New York." Hartford, 1833.

^d Adams's Diary, IX, 11. Adams says that Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong was nominated by the National Republicans for his orthodoxy so that the orthodox party might be conciliated. The orthodox as a whole leaned toward Antimasonry. See Boston Recorder (Congregationalist), July 27, 1831, "Anti Universalist" quoted in Moral Envoy, September 22, 1830. For the views of a Congregational Antimasonic minister, see "An address delivered at Weymouth South Parish, June 21 (1829 ?), by Moses Thacher, pastor of the church at North Wrenthams, Mass. Beecher, the celebrated Boston Congregational preacher of the time, was apparently an Antimason. Adams's Diary, VIII, 379. For the attitude of the church in New York, see "Reply of the Genesee Consociation to Joseph Emerton," 1830 (?). The Unitarians and Universalists condemned the excitement and refused to take part in it, a proceeding of course which ranked them with the Masons in the eyes of the Antimasons. See Christian Register (Unitarian), Boston, September 12, 1829, December 19, 1829. See also quotations from the Universalist magazine, the Olive Branch, of New York, in American Masonic Register, September 21, 1839. In one of the Vermont papers opposed to the Antimasons appeared a curious letter in which the writer made the following appeal: "Universalists, awake! awake from thy slumbers; and show to these orthodox [Antimasons] that we are yet a majority and that we calculate to retain the majority." From Vermont Patriot, quoted in Vermont State Journal, March 11, 1834.

As early as 1823 the General Methodist Conference prohibited its clergy from joining the Masons in Pennsylvania, and during the Masonic excitement it was said by the Antimasons that "No religious sect throughout the United States has done more for the Antimasonic cause than the Methodists."^a It forbade its members to join lodges or to be present at any of their processions or festivals, and passed strict rules against ordaining any ministers who belonged to the order.^b The Methodist Church was rent and torn by the struggle, and many churches fearing the strife did not allow the question to come up, but passed nonpartisan resolutions.^c

The Baptist Church also was rent with dissensions over the question, although not to so great an extent as the churches previously mentioned. Papers which opposed Masonry were founded by members of that faith (or of some of its more radical branches),^d and different church communities throughout the country passed resolutions denouncing the order.^e Many other sects also condemned the order or had already provisions in their creed against it. Among these were the Dutch Reformed,^f the Mennonites, the Dunkards, and the Quakers.^g

Many of the friends of temperance, at this time a very strong and growing reform, were also enemies of Masonry.

^a Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, October 9, 1829.

^b See proceedings of the Pittsburg annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, September 24, 1830; also, resolutions of the annual conference of the Methodist ministers held at Perry, Genesee County, N. Y., July 29, 1829, in Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, August 14, 1829; proceedings of the Massachusetts Antimasonic convention of 1831; account of the quarterly meeting of the Methodist society on the Sparta circuit and resolutions in the Rochester annual State conference in Rochester, June, 1829; in the North Star, Danville, September 18, 1829; also, the same paper, January 6, 1829, for resolutions at Monkton, Vt., and account of the renunciation of many ministers in the Ohio conference of that year; account of meeting of Methodists in Marengo County, Ala., May 13, 1829, condemning the order, in Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, July 31, 1829.

^c See notices in Albany Argus, June 11, 1829, and also resolutions of a nonpartisan nature passed at Portsmouth, N. H., at a Methodist conference. Albany Argus, November 25, 1829.

^d Baptist Herald of Boston.

^e Baptist Church at Ira, Vt., in Danville North Star, September 28, 1830; Conquest, N. Y., June 6, 1829, Second Baptist Church of Oneida County, N. Y., May 23, 1829, in Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, August 14, 1829. See articles in Albany Argus, April 15, August 8, 1829, relating to Baptist churches. See also New York Baptist Register, September 14, 1827; Le Roy Gazette, December 29, 1827, for troubles in the churches of Le Roy, York, Elba, Stafford, and Byron. Weed, Autobiography, I, 249.

^f General Synod, June, 1831, condemned Masonry and bade its ministers renounce, and forbade the receiving into communion any member of the order. Pennsylvania Telegraph, September 21, 1831.

^g Antimasonic Herald, August 27, 1830.

The Masons frequently used wine in their festivals, and it was claimed that their associations tended in many ways to spread the drink evil.^a Many of the temperance papers were either entirely in favor of the Antimasonic movement or were inclined that way.^b

The connection of the Jacksonian party with the increasing foreign population, composed as it was of so many Irish Catholics, added another element to Antimasonry. "Masonry, Roman Catholic Faith, Monks, and the Inquisition" were often put in the same category.^c "Popery and Freemasonry" were denounced as "schemes equally inconsistent with republicanism," and every escape from the "trammels of these horrid oath-binding systems" was viewed as an "emancipation from the very fangs of despotism."^d Such a spirit led naturally to the Native American doctrines of the future; indeed, many of the prominent Antimasons became leaders of that excitement.

The party, as we have already seen, was active in organizing the political phase of antislavery in Pennsylvania; and in New York it was the western part of the State, the "infected district," which afterwards took up the abolition agitation in that vicinity. Some of the great leaders, like Weed, Seward, and Stevens, were afterwards among the great leaders of national antislavery activity.

Another fact to be noted about Antimasonry was that it was essentially democratic and partook of the democratic spirit of the age. This may appear to be a strange statement

^a See discussions in Massachusetts house of representatives, in which the Antimasons tried to fasten the charge of intemperance upon the Masons. *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, February 20, 1830. See also proceedings of the Massachusetts Antimasonic convention of 1829. See also *Fall River Moral Envoy*, June 30, 1830.

^b *The Genius of Temperance*, of Albany, was looked upon as an Antimasonic paper. *Albany Argus*, April 16, 1833. Frequently papers were, like the *Ithaca Chronicle*, devoted to Antimasonic, temperance, moral, and religious news. *Moral Envoy*, April 14, 1830. The *Albany Evening Journal* made some pretensions of being a temperance paper when it was first started. Mr. Rudolph Kelker, of Harrisburg, an eyewitness of the movement in Pennsylvania, mentions intemperance as one of the strongest arguments put forward against the Masons.

^c See quotation from the *Tuscarawas Chronicle* (Antimasonic) in *Ohio State Journal*, April 16, 1829.

^d See quotations from the *Indiana County Free Press* in *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 15, 1830; see also quotations from *Greensburg Gazette* (Antimasonic) in *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 30, 1830; also quotations from the *Saturday Protestant* in *Harrisburg Chronicle*, August 22, 1838(?). Egle's account of the Buckshot war, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXIII, 137. See, in general, the account of Antimasonry in Pennsylvania.

at first glance, because it seems contradictory when we examine the religious and social composition of Antimasonry and find that the conservative elements made up its membership, but it must be remembered that even the conservative classes were influenced by the spirit of the age. It has been before stated that the Masons as a class occupied the higher positions of society and the State.^a They were therefore looked upon as members of an antidemocratic institution, the object of which was to "benefit the few at the expense of the many, by creating a privileged class in the midst of a community entitled to enjoy equal rights and privileges."^b

The names and ceremonies used by the Masons were especially the subject of attack. We read:

Will the people of the Republic suffer slavery and oppression because it has assumed the name of masonry instead of monarchy? Will they suffer grand kings and grand princes and rights and privileges because they hypocritically feign to be republican when by no other name could Americans be enslaved?^c

And again:

Resolved, That the Antimasonic party is an organization of the people against a secret society—of republicans against grand kings—of American citizens against the subjects of the Masonic empire, which extends over Europe and America and is governed by laws paramount to all other law.^d

^a Lists given in the Antimasonic papers of the day bear this out. We find by examining this list that the Masons had a very large number of doctors, lawyers, merchants, teachers, bankers, and politicians in their ranks. This fact can be very easily verified by examining the lists of notable men of the period or by turning the leaves of such a book as Harvey's History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkesbarre. For statements from the Antimasonic side, see Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, August 14, 1829, Anti-Masonic Statesman, Harrisburg, May 4, 1831, and the address of the State convention of May 25, 1831, in the same paper for June 1, 1831.

^b Journal of the Proceedings of the Second National Anti Masonic Convention at Baltimore, printed in Boston, 1832. See also similar expressions in account of the national convention of 1830; Mr. Holley's resolutions, in the Albany Evening Journal, September 22, 1830; Herkimer, N. Y., county convention, in Albany Evening Journal, October 9, 1830; Anti Masonic Review, p. 257.

^c Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, July 10, 1829.

^d Dauphin County (Pa.) meeting, August 15, in Pennsylvania Intelligencer, August 18, 1836. For similar expressions see Steven's resolution in the appendix; the Anti Masonic Statesman, Harrisburg, June 1, 1831; Pennsylvania Telegraph, May 9, 1832; Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, July 10, August 5, 14, 28, September 25, 1829; Vermont State Journal, June 9, 1834; Le Roy Gazette, September 27, November 15, 1827; proceedings of Massachusetts conventions of 1829 and 1831; account of the meeting at Dedham, Mass., Christian Register, Boston, January 17, 1829; Everett's letter to Middlesex County committee, Independent Chronicle, July 17, 1833; The Broken Seal, by S. D. Greene, editor of Boston Christian Advocate, printed in Boston, 1870, page 211; An Oration Delivered at Faneuil

The revolution in France had many friends in America, but there were also many who had no sympathy for the revolutionists or their principles. The New England Antimasons and Antimasons elsewhere of New England affiliations viewed the revolution in France with suspicion and distrust. They had a horror of any sort of a democracy which would lead to disorder or atheism. It was well known that secret societies had played a large part in all the French democratic struggles. These facts furnished the Antimasons in America with good ammunition at a very opportune time. As early as 1828 the Le Roy convention passed a resolution "That we discover in the ceremonies and obligations of the higher degrees of Masonry principles which deluged France in blood, and which led directly to the subversion of all religion and government."^a This view, however, was not universal, for many instances occur, especially outside of New England, where praises of the revolution were sung and resolutions were passed favoring it.^b The guarded and eclectic sort of republicanism manifested by the party in New England was expressed by the opposition to foreigners, as shown in resolutions favoring restriction of the naturalization laws.^c In Pennsylvania it is shown, as we have seen, in the hatred for Catholics, but there, too, one may see traces of all the New England prejudices, in such documents as Steven's resolutions.^d

Another peculiarity of Antimasonry is that it found its chief support in the country and not in the city. Everywhere

Hall, July 11, 1831, by Timothy Fuller, Boston, 1831. The Moral Envoy, June 9, 1830, gives an extract purporting to be from Hardie's Masonic Monitor, which says that "men in low circumstances, although possessed of some education and of good morals, are not fit to be members of the institution. They ought to know that Freemasonry requires not only knowledge but ancestry, and decent external appearance, to maintain its ancient respectability and grandeur." Quotations of this sort, without regard to time, place, or country, were considered by the party as good material to prove their charges.

^aProceedings of a convention of delegates opposed to Freemasonry, Le Roy, Genesee County, N. Y., March 6, 1828. See also report of committee to consider the connection between French Illuminism and the higher degrees of Freemasonry, in proceedings of a convention held at Faneuil Hall, December 30, 31, 1829, January 1, 1830. Printed, Boston, January, 1830. For controversies over the question see, Ancient Freemasonry Contrasted with Illuminism or Modern Masonry, by "Tubal Cain," Utica, 1831. Proceedings Massachusetts convention of 1829 gives a history of Illuminism and connects it with Masonry. See also article in Le Roy Gazette, October 18, 1827; Report of Committee of Grand Lodge of Maine in American Free Mason, II, 82; Moral Envoy, July 14, 1830.

^bSee Proceedings of national convention of 1830.

^cSee Proceedings of Massachusetts State convention, September 10-11, 1834.

^dSee appendix.

throughout the country the Antimasons boasted of their strength in the rural districts and acknowledged the strength of Masonry in the cities.^a

Another fact about Antimasonry is that it was essentially a New England movement. Of course there were exceptions to this in the German sectarians, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Pennsylvania, and the Quakers; but in New England and New York^b and throughout the path of New England emigration the party was strongest. Most of the leaders in New York like Weed, Granger, Holley, Ward, and Maynard, were of New England extraction; the party in Pennsylvania was led by Stevens and Burrowes and others, also of New England extraction; and was called by the Democrats "a Yankee concern from beginning to end."^c Moreover the

^a Mr. Winden, in a thesis upon the influence of the Erie Canal on New York politics, University of Wisconsin, 1900, very carefully compiled statistics of the election of 1830 in New York. He shows that it was the tier of towns removed from the cosmopolitan life of the canals that voted for Granger in that year. For statements from Antimasonic sources as to their strength in the country see Weed, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 301, 304, 368; *Proceedings of Anti Masonic Convention at Cayuga*, January 1, 1830, printed in *Auburn* 1830; *Anti Masonic Review*, 257; *Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald*, October 1, October 22, 1830; address of the State convention of Pennsylvania; *Anti Masonic Statesman*, June 1, 1831; account of Fourth of July celebration in *Anti Masonic Statesman*, July 6, 1831; *Proceedings of the County of Norfolk, Anti Masonic Convention*, October 20, 1834; Hallett's speech in Massachusetts convention, September 10, 1834; *Albany Evening Journal*, May 23, 1831, and November 10, 1831. It is a fact, which is shown by the vote cast, that the large cities had only very few of the party. Even Pittsburg showed no activity in this direction till 1835, when other interests than Antimasonry were at stake.—*Wilson's History of Pittsburg*. In the early elections Pittsburg was distinctly against the party.—*Ibid.*, 769. See *Albany Evening Journal*, April 23, 1833, for Rhode Island returns, in which Providence and Newport are shown to be against the coalition. See returns for Lancaster County, Pa., in *Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald*, October (22)?, 1830, which shows that even in that radical county the city of Lancaster was against the movement. See returns for Dauphin County in *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, October 12, 1831, for city of Harrisburg, etc. The great cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia cast but few votes for the cause. Connected with the fact that it was a movement in the country is the curious fact of the constant condemnation of the lawyers, seen in so many agrarian movements. The lawyers were said to have banded against the people.—*Pennsylvania Telegraph*, September 12, 1832. Articles appeared in the papers, one of which, after discussing the feasibility of destroying lawyers' "shops," concluded with the statement, "Would it not be better to cut lawyers' throats at once and save the 'shops' for the poor women and children whose substance they are eating out?"—*Penn Yan (N. Y.) Anti Masonic Enquirer*, May, 1831, quoted in *Albany Argus*, June 3, 1831. The *Boston Advocate* constantly railed against lawyers and Freemasons. *Boston Advocate Extra*, November 4, 1834.

^b Winden's thesis proves that the districts in which the New England stock was strongest cast also the strongest vote for Granger in 1830. See also *Albany Argus*, April 10, 1827.

^c *Pennsylvania Reporter*, September 17, 1830. For similar expressions, see *Harrisburg Chronicle*, January 18, 1836, toasts at the Fourth of July Masonic celebration in *Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald*, July 10, 1829; quotations from *Pittsburg Mercury* in *Pennsylvania Reporter*, September 14, 1832.

cause received its strength and vigor largely from New England newspaper editors who established themselves in the State and took up the cause.^a

Having considered these conditions we find that the Morgan incident was but the spark that lit the fire. The fire was fanned and controlled by some of the shrewdest leaders this country has ever seen; so it is necessary for us to consider another fact powerful in its effect upon the movement; the influence of great leaders and their methods. Outside of the influence exerted by the writings of Rush, Adams, and Everett, and the known sympathy of John Marshall,^b Calhoun, Madison,^c Webster,^d Harrison, and many others of lesser light^e which did so much to convince people of the supposed danger of Masonry; they had in Weed, Seward, A. Tracy, Maynard, Granger, Whittlesey, Spencer, Holley, Ward, Fillmore, Stevens, Burrows, and Fenn, some of the brightest men of the generation; some of the most brilliant newspaper writers and politicians of the time. The greatest of all these is Thurlow Weed, the magician whose wand controlled and directed the operations of the party.^f The next greatest in the State of New York was perhaps Albert Tracy, the shrewd politician whose leadership was acknowledged by Weed himself and who did so much to unite the jarring elements.^g The next is Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, who was to that State what Weed was to New York. His work, together with that of others of the first rank, like Seward and Maynard, we have already sufficiently described. Among the lesser lights, few did more to spread the "Blessed Spirit" than Henry Dana Ward, who acted as a sort of missionary for the cause.^h Fred

^aTheophilus Fenn, the famous editor of the *Pennsylvania Telegraph*, was probably such.—*Pennsylvania Telegraph*, July 11, 1832. Huntingdon County had an able editor in A. W. Benedict.—*History of Huntingdon County*, Lytle, Lancaster, 1876, page 124. The *Pittsburg Gazette* was also edited by a New Englander.—*Lancaster Antimasonic Herald*, December 17, 1830.

^bLetter to Everett, July 22, 1833.

^cLetter in proceedings of Massachusetts Convention, 1832.

^dCurtis' *Life of Webster*, I, pp. 508, 511.

^eAmong these were Cadwallader D. Colden, mayor of New York, whose letters exerted a powerful influence.—*Anti Masonic Review*, No. 6.

^fSeward, *Autobiography*, I, 179.

^gWeed, *Autobiography*, II, pp. 177, 299, 336, 421. He came near being nominated for Vice-President in 1839. *Ibid.*, 77.

^hWe find him in the Vermont convention of August 5, 1829 (*Watchman*, August 11, 1829); in the Massachusetts convention of December 30, 1829 (*Proceedings of Convention*, printed in Boston, 1830); in a meeting at Faneuil Hall, September, 1830 (*Boston Free Press*,

Whittlesey was an active campaigner in New York as well as an organizer in Pennsylvania.^a Myron Holley, after helping to organize in New York, established at Hartford, Conn., a paper which helped to keep alive the cause in that vicinity.^b Among those in New England that did a great deal for the cause must be mentioned Hallett, of Rhode Island; Dr. Abner Phelps, Moses Thacher, Micah Ruggles, George Odiorne, and S. D. Greene, of Massachusetts.

The methods used by these leaders for spreading the spirit were unique. The first great factor was the newspapers—the “free presses,” as they were called. It was held by the leaders that the press was muzzled by the Masons, and that it was necessary to spread the doctrines by the establishment of Antimasonic papers.^c The New York committee bought the first materials for a newspaper, and they soon sprang up in every direction. In 1832 there were 141 of these papers in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, Alabama, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. New York had 45 weeklies and 1 daily, while Pennsylvania had 55 weekly papers.^d These presses turned out tons of tracts, addresses, almanacs, reports of conventions, histories of the Morgan abduction and the trial, and letters by Rush and Adams.^e

The party, having few members in Congress, could not nominate a President by that means, so they resorted to the national convention, a device which gave their cause unity as well as advertisement.

Lectures by prominent leaders was another means of spreading their doctrines. A host of lesser lights also traveled about,

September 3, 1830); at the Rhode Island convention of 1830 (*Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald*, April 10, 1830); active as the editor of the *Anti Masonic Review*, and active in the national plans of the party as correspondent of McLean and Calhoun before the election of 1832 (*Adams' Diary*, VIII, 412).

^a See page 68.

^b *The Free Elector*, Albany Evening Journal, December 28, 1833.

^c Many of the papers, especially the Democratic papers, observing the political tendencies of the movement, either would not print the accounts of the trials and other Antimasonic matter or else laughed at the whole affair. There is no doubt, however, from the tone of many papers that they had Masonic editors.

^d *Albany Evening Journal*, February 24, 1832. See accounts of founding of these papers in *Ohio State Journal*, April 7, 1831; *Cincinnati Chronicle*, June 11, 1831; *Albany Evening Journal*, March 1, June 3, 1831; *Lancaster Antimasonic Herald*, January 30, 1829, and in the Catalogue of Antimasonic books.

^e See Catalogue of Antimasonic books.

lecturing and giving exhibitions. Chief among these were S. D. Greene, the author of the *Broken Seal*, a member of the same lodge with Morgan, and Jarvis Hanks and Avery Allen, who were both recanting Masons. That these methods were successful is shown by the quickness with which the spirit spread and became a strong factor in the national politics of the country.

Having now carefully examined the fundamental conditions of the question, as well as the facts which helped its growth, it is apparent (1) that the Antimasonic party owed much of its strength to the conditions of the times, and was not wholly the product of the abduction of Morgan; (2) that pure Antimasonry had a slight and ephemeral existence politically, and that Antimasonry as it appeared in the election of 1832 was a complex of political and social discontent guided by skilled leaders. Political Antimasonry, disregarding the basic principles of the party, nominated a man for President who did not believe in its proscriptive basis, who had been a Mason and had never formally renounced the order. Having nominated him, it combined its electoral votes in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, with a party whose leader not only was a Mason, but who publically declared his objections to the principles of Antimasonry, and scorned its proposals. The party in the political history of America has its chief importance in that it furnished the first solid basis for the Whig movement of the future.

APPENDIX.

RHODE ISLAND.

Early in 1829 Antimasonry appeared in Rhode Island, and a paper was established known as the Anti-masonic Rhode Islander. The next year a convention was held which sent delegates to the national convention and organized the party in the State.^a

This year a few votes were cast for the party, but it was not until 1831 that it gained any strength. In January, 1831, a memorial was drawn up and presented to the legislature asking for the repeal of the charter of the grand lodge. An interesting but fruitless investigation was the result of this act.^b In 1832 their nominee for governor, William Sprague, polled 811 votes.^c They refused to unite with the National Republicans upon the national question, and repudiated such coalitions as occurred in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. "Their object," says the New York Commercial Advertiser (Clay), "was to rule or ruin."^d They polled but 875 votes for Wirt,^e and Clay carried the State by 684 majority.^f

Although the vote of the party was so insignificant, yet it was very important because it held the balance of power.^g Each party consequently tried hard to win this vote. The Democrats by uniting upon Sprague for speaker of the house elected him, and won the political gratitude of the Antimasons.^h

^a Moral Envoy [Antimasonic], Fall River, Mass., March 24, 1830. Massachusetts Yeoman, April 2, 1830.

^b Proceedings of Rhode Island convention of 1831, printed at Providence, 1831. See also Albany Evening Journal, November 11, 1831. April 20, 1833. See also A Legislative Investigation into Masonry—before a committee of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, Boston, 1832.

^c Rhode Island Manual, 100. Albany Argus, July 28, 1832.

^d New York Commercial Advertiser, quoted in Ohio State Journal, December 1, 1832.

^e Columbian Sentinel, Boston, November 29, 1832.

^f Rhode Island Manual, 177. Independent Chronicle, November 24, 1832.

^g As the Rhode Island constitution required a majority, Lemuel H. Arnold (Clay), who had been elected in 1831, held the office until 1833, as, after five trials, no majority was obtained. Rhode Island Manual, pp. 95, 96, 99, 100.

^h Independent Chronicle, November 3, 1832.

The Clay papers called it a bargain by which the Jackson members voted for Sprague in order that the Antimasons would help^a to elect Elisha R. Potter to the senate. It is certain that the Antimasons combined with the Jackson forces thereafter.

The Antimasons profited by the coalition to push their particular doctrines, and an act passed the house this year requiring the several Masonic corporations to show cause why their charters should not be forfeited. It was put over until the next session by a vote of the senate.^b However, they succeeded in having a law passed against extra-judicial oaths.^c

This spirit of combination also manifested itself in the election of senator, many Antimasons throwing their votes for Elisha R. Potter, Democratic candidate. Asher Robbins, nevertheless, was elected. This election produced one of the most interesting contests in the history of Rhode Island.^d

1833.

In this year Mr. Sprague declined the nomination and John Brown Francis was nominated by the Antimasons. The Democrats afterwards concurred in this,^e and the election resulted favorably to the coalition, Mr. Francis receiving a majority of nearly 750.^f

The Antimasons looked upon the result as a rebuke to Arnold, the National Republican candidate, "who pretended to be favorable to the views of the Antimasonic party * * * until he was elected * * * when he threw off the mask and did everything in his power to annihilate them as a party."^g They were especially bitter toward the National Republicans, who were hostile to their pet schemes and actively opposed their candidates. There is some evidence even of combinations between Masonic National Republicans and Jackson

^a Independent Chronicle, November 7, 1832.

^b Independent Chronicle, January 26, 1833.

^c Albany Evening Journal, January 29, 1833. Pennsylvania Telegraph, February 20, 1833.

^d Independent Chronicle, January 23, 1833. Rhode Island Manual, 139.

^e Hartford Anti-masonic Intelligencer, quoted in Danville, Vt., North Star, May 13, 1833. This account says that Francis had been a delegate to the convention which nominated Henry Clay.

^f Albany Evening Journal, April 20, 1833. Albany Argus, April 20, 1833. Rhode Island Manual, 101.

^g Boston Daily Advocate, quoted in Albany Evening Journal, April 23, 1833. The cities of Providence and Newport were National Republican.

supporters to oust Antimasonic National Republicans, notably in the case of Dutée J. Pearce, who turned to the Antimasonic-Jackson coalition because of this action and was elected to Congress.^a

In the October session of this year the coalition succeeded in having the "perpetuation act," as it was called, repealed. This act provided that in cases of no quorum because of some candidates having no majority the old organization held through. The act had helped the election of Robbins for senator in the previous year, and now his election was declared null and void and the office declared vacant. In the grand committee Elisha Potter, the coalition candidate, was declared elected by a unanimous vote, the opposition refusing to vote.^b

An act was passed in this session by which the charters of certain Masonic lodges were repealed and those which continued to exist were put under the most careful inspection and surveillance.^c

1834.

Mr. Francis was again elected, although his majority was but 156.^d However, the Whigs secured a majority in the house. This majority did not dare to offend the Antimasons, and Sprague was again elected speaker.^e The senate was still Democratic. The Whig majority succeeded in passing resolutions favorable to the Bank.^f

^a Adams's Diary, IX, 46. Vermont State Journal, December 9, 1833. Niles's Register, XLIV, 226.

^b In Congress the election was contested and Robbins again given his seat. Senate Journal, first session Twenty-third Congress, 1833-34, p. 285. See Rhode Island Manual, 139. The "perpetuation act" came up several times after this. Niles's Register, XLVI, pp. 173, 188.

^c Independent Chronicle, February 5, 1834. Proceedings of Massachusetts convention of 1834. It was provided that every lodge which may continue to exist is required to make returns in writing "yearly and every year to the Secretary of State of the number and names of its members and officers, the number and names of the persons who have been admitted within the year last preceding the date of said returns, with mode and manner of their admission and the form of promise or obligation which such new members have taken on their admission, the place and times of the meetings of such society holden within the last year together with a schedule or inventory of all funds and property, real or personal." The grand lodge gave up its charter.

^d Independent Chronicle, April 19, 16, 23, Rhode Island Manual, 101. Vermont State Journal, May 12, 1834.

^e Independent Chronicle, April 19, 16, 23, August 30, November 1, 1834. Niles's Register, XLVII, pp. 7, 150.

^f Independent Chronicle, November 1, 1834. Niles's Register, XLVII, 150. The vote was 46 to 23.

1835.

In this year Francis was again elected over Nehemiah Knight by a majority of 106,^a but the Whig candidate for lieutenant-governor was elected. In the legislature the Whigs still retained the majority and succeeded in electing Nehemiah Knight to the senate.^b In the fall, however, matters had changed, and Pearce and Sprague were both elected to Congress.^c

For a considerable time, many of the prominent Antimasons had showed a tendency to split off from the coalition. This was particularly noticeable in the election of 1835,^d and as the party was in hopeless minority they were practically divided up between the great parties. Francis was elected in 1836 and 1837, but in 1838 he was opposed successfully by William Sprague, who had become a Whig and led that party and the remnants of the Antimasons.^e

CONNECTICUT.

In Connecticut the movement began to be agitated in the last few months of the year 1828. A State convention was held in February, 1829. In 1830, according to Antimasonic accounts, they elected six senators and about one-fourth of the house of representatives.^f By combinations with National Republicans they were able, in 1832, to elect 67 members in the lower house and 8 senators and^g 1 United States Senator.^h

On the national question the party kept their integrity and gave Wirt 3,335 votes.ⁱ He polled the most votes in Windham and Tolland counties in the northeastern part of the State. In 1833 the party cast but 3,250 votes for Storrs, their can-

^a Independent Chronicle, May 13, 1835. Rhode Island Manual, 101.

^b Independent Chronicle, January 24, May 16, 1835. Rhode Island Manual, 140.

^c Independent Chronicle, August 18, October 3, 1835. Niles's Register, XLIX, 153. Adams wrote to Pearce congratulating him on his victory over the "base compound of Hartford Convention, Federalism, and Royal Arch Masonry," which he said had betrayed Tristram Burgess by not electing him United States Senator.

^d Independent Chronicle, April 8, 1835.

^e Niles's Register, LIV, 176. Van Buren carried the State in 1836 by 234 majority. Rhode Island Manual, pp. 101, 177.

^f See Seward's report to national convention, September 11, 1830. It is probable that many of those elected were practically National Republicans, although favoring their cause. The Antimasons were prone to look upon such men as their own.

^g Albany Evening Journal, April 12, 1832. Vermont State Journal, April 16, 1832.

^h Vermont State Journal, May 23, 1832.

ⁱ Albany Argus, November 13, 21, 1832. Columbian Sentinel, November 27, 1832.

didate for governor, but by a coalition they succeeded in electing four Congressmen favorable to their cause.^a In 1834 they cast but 2,108 votes for Storrs and elected fourteen members to the house of representatives.^b In 1835 their vote for governor had dwindled down to 757,^c and after this they practically disappear as a political party, being absorbed by the Whigs.

NEW JERSEY.

Antimasonry early took root in Salem County, which was largely impregnated with the Quaker element opposed to secret societies. It also bordered on a similar Antimasonic vicinity in Pennsylvania.^d

In 1831 a convention was held at Trenton, by which delegates were appointed to the national convention and Richard Rush nominated for President of the United States.^e Although they cast a few votes this year they accomplished practically nothing.^f

In August, 1832, a convention was held at Trenton, which approved of the nomination of Wirt and Ellmaker and nominated an electoral ticket pledged to them.^g They cast less than 500 votes for their candidate, however.^h As small as the vote was, if it had been cast for Clay it would have carried the State for him. The National Republicans also charged them with the loss of three members to Congress. They were accused of purposely ruining Clay's chances in the State. We had it from the lips of one of their candidates for electors," says the New York Commercial Advertiser, "that if the friends of Mr. Clay would not abandon their own principles and their own candidate, their design was to throw the state into the hands of Jackson."ⁱ After this election the party dwindled into insignificance.

^a Albany Evening Journal, April 29, 1833. Niles Register, XLIV, 131.

^b Independent Chronicle, April 2, 23, May 14, 1834. Niles Register, XLVI, 109; XLVII, 103.

^c Niles Register, XLVIII, 186.

^d See Albany Argus, November 28, 1830.

^e Albany Argus, June 16, 1831.

^f Albany Argus, October 20, 1831.

^g Albany Argus, September 4, 1832.

^h Columbian Sentinel, Boston, November 29, 1832. Albany Argus, November 26, 1832.

ⁱ Quoted in Ohio State Journal, December 1, 1832.

MICHIGAN.

It is but natural that the stream of New England emigration reaching westward should bring the seeds of Antimasonry with it. According to their own accounts it appeared in Michigan territory as early as 1828, and the first convention was held in February, 1829. The county of Washtenaw, especially, took up the cause, while Monroe, Oakland, Wayne, Lenawee, Macomb, and St. Claire had some Antimasons among their inhabitants.^a

A convention was held in June, 1829, which nominated John Biddle as Territorial Delegate to Congress.^b He was elected by a majority of 800.^c These triumphs were short lived, for in the succeeding elections they were beaten^d and the party died out.

In many other States Antimasonry as a political institution had an ephemeral existence. In Indiana a convention was held as early as March, 1830,^e and in 1832 it formed a factor in the elections in Decatur, Franklin, Fayette, Hamilton, Jennings, Knox, Marion, Ripley, Switzerland, Union, and Wayne counties.^f

In Maine they nominated candidates for governor in 1832, 1833, and 1834.^g In New Hampshire, across the river from the Antimasonic district in Vermont, a convention was held June 1, 1831.^h In 1832 the leaders in this State did not dare to put forward a ticket, as it would surely throw the election into the hands of Jackson.ⁱ

In the South movements more or less political took place in Alabama (Marengo County),^j in Maryland, especially in the Boonsboro district,^k and in North Carolina in Mecklenburg County.^l

^a Seward's report, September 11, 1833. See also Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, January (28) ?, 1829.

^b Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, June 19, 1829.

^c Ibid., August 14, 1829.

^d Albany Argus, September 17, 1832; September 17, 1833.

^e Lancaster Anti Masonic Herald, April 30, 1830. Moral Envoy, Fall River, Mass., May 5, 1830.

^f Albany Argus, November 21, 1832.

^g Albany Evening Journal, July 18, 1832. Maine Register for 1901-2, 119.

^h North Star, Danville, June 7, 1831.

ⁱ Letter of William Plumer, October 26, 1832. Independent Chronicle, Boston, November 3, 1832.

^j Lancaster Antimasonic Herald, July 31, 1829.

^k Schultz's History of Freemasonry in Maryland.

^l Vermont North Star, July 3, 1832.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS ON PENNSYLVANIA.

STEVEN'S RESOLUTIONS UPON EXTRA JUDICIAL OATHS, DECEMBER 10, 1834.

Whereas it is alleged and believed by a large and respectable portion of the Commonwealth; that the Masonic institution is injurious to the rights, and dangerous to the liberty of the people; that it imposes on its members oaths and obligations unauthorized, by and inconsistent with the laws of the country; that it binds its members to give a preference to each other in all things over the rest of their fellow-citizens; to "apprise each other of all danger," whether such danger arise from the legal prosecution of their own crimes and misdemeanors or otherwise; to conceal the secrets and crimes of each other, not excepting even murder or treason; to espouse each other's cause, and if possible extricate them from all difficulties, whether they be right or wrong; to avenge even to death, the violation of any Masonic oath, and the revelation of any of their secrets; that the rules and ceremonies of the lodges are of a degrading, immoral, and impious character; that the candidates are stripped nearly naked, and led to the imposition of their awful oaths, hoodwinked, and with a rope or cord around their necks, called a "cable tow;" that in the Royal Arch degree, they affect to enact the sublime and sacred scene of God appearing to Moses in the burning bush of Mount Horeb.

[Here was a long statement accusing them of intemperance, drinking wine out of a skull, etc.]

That it is an antirepublican and an insidious and dangerous enemy to our democratic form of government; that it creates and sustains secret orders of nobility, in violation of the spirit of the Constitution; that it is a regularly organized kingdom within the limits of the Republic, assuming and secretly exercising all the prerogatives and powers of an independent kingdom; it has its knights, its grand commanders, its kings, its high priests, and its great grand high priests; it has established a central and controlling government, extending its branches over all the civilized world, which they denominate the "holy dmpire;" the seat of this government in America, is in what, in Masonic language, is called the "Valley of New York." This branch of Masonic power is called "The Grand Supreme Council of the Most Puissant Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the Thirty-third Degree at the Grand Orient of New York;" it sends ambassadors to and receives them from all the Masonic kingdoms of the earth; it forms secret treaties and alliances offensive and defensive with those powers, continues its correspondence and relation with them, although our own Government may at the same time, be at open war with the governments in which such Masonic kingdoms are located; it secures an undue, because unmerited advantage to members of the fraternity over the honest and industrious uninitiated farmer, mechanic, and laborer, in all the ordinary business transactions of life; it prefers a corrupt "brother" to honest citizens, in appointments to office; it prevents the wholesome enactment and due administration of laws; it enters and corrupts our legislative halls, our executive affairs, our courts of justice; the trial by jury, instead of being the palladium of our rights, it converts into an engine of favor-

itism and Masonic fraud; its whole tendency is to cherish a hatred of democracy, and a love of aristocratic and regal forms and power.

The truth of all these things has been repeatedly proclaimed to the world under the signatures of thousands of honest men by authentic documents procured from the lodges themselves, and by the testimony under oath, of numerous adhering Masons of good character; and it has never yet been contradicted by the sworn testimony of a single witness: Therefore, *Resolved*, That the committee on the judiciary system be instructed to bring in a bill effectually to suppress and prohibit the administration and reception of Masonic, Odd Fellows, and all other secret, extrajudicial oaths, obligations, and promises in the nature of oaths. (Pennsylvania Reporter, December 12, 1834. Steven's Resolutions of December 10.)

APPENDIX TO NEW YORK.

The following is an amusing and instructive political writing, which is illustrative of the struggle in New York. It was printed in the Albany Evening Journal, April 29, 1831, and is copied from the Schoharie Free Press. It is "most respectfully dedicated to the 'distinguished editor of the State paper.'" [Croswell.]

THE PARTY.

This is the house that Mat^a built.

The people's money. This is the Malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Wright, Croswell, Flagg, Bouck, the modest adjutant-general, Fat Salaries, Direct Taxation & Co. These are the ~~pest~~ rats ~~that~~ that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Free Presses.—These are the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Officeholders and Office hunters.—These are the dogs that bark at the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Enos T. T. ~~b~~—~~that~~ This is the man all tattered and torn, that kissed the handmaid all forlorn, that bribed the "Small light" with her "wine and her corn"—that fondles the lap-dogs that growl at the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Antimasonry.—This is the Lion with eyes flashing scorn, that shakes "little Enos" all tattered and torn, that kissed the maid with the crippled horn (alas for the ribbons, no more to be worn), that fondles the lap-dogs that whine at the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Pope Martin.—This is the priest of his prospects all shorn, that married the man all tattered and torn, that kissed the handmaid all forlorn, that

^a "Mat" or "Martin" is Martin Van Buren.

^b "Enos" Throop.

shrinks from the Lion's glance of scorn, that tosses the lap-dogs that yelp at the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

Jack Masons.—These are the asses that bray night and morn, that serve the "Magician" all shivering and shorn, that married the man, scurvy, tattered, and torn, that ogled the handmaid all naked and lorn, that cursed the day the "Blessed Spirit" was born ~~and~~ that is crushing the puppies that snarl at the cats that are killing the rats that eat the malt that lay in the house that Mat built.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

There are a very few accounts which give us any inkling of the political basis of the Antimasonic party. In nearly all the accounts of the time we find mention of the excitement produced by the disappearance of William Morgan and discussions about the aims and methods of the Masonic fraternity, but we find little of value to the student of political Antimasonry. The principal sources may be divided as follows:

A. Lives and letters of contemporaries. Of these the most valuable are:

1. Autobiography of Thurlow Weed.
Weed gives a good history of the political conditions of the times, but his work is colored by his desire to prove his own consistency. He is especially valuable for the history of the party in New York and national affairs.
2. Autobiography of William H. Seward.
The same criticism which applies to Weed's Autobiography applies to this work.
3. Diary of John Quincy Adams.
A valuable source not only for Adams's position, but also for an insight into the politics of Massachusetts.
4. Kennedy's William Wirt.
Valuable for Wirt's letters upon the subject.
5. Bancroft's Life of Seward.
It gives a sane and consistent account of Seward's connection with the party in New York.
6. Curtis's Webster.
Valuable only for Webster's letters showing his connection with the party.
7. McCall's Life of Thaddeus Stevens.
Too short to be of great use.
8. Clay's Correspondence.
Useful for incidental references showing his ideas upon Masonry and negotiations with Antimasons.
9. Calhoun's Correspondence.
Contains a few references in regard to his attitude toward Antimasonry.
10. Letters of Jackson, Van Buren, and others.
Very few and unimportant references.

B. General histories.

Of no use with the exception of a short account of the beginnings of Antimasonry in New York in McMaster's History of the People of the United States. Vol. 5.

C. Local histories.

1. Wilson's History of Pittsburg.

A work of great value compiled from original sources.

2. Other local histories of counties and cities.

Of value only in the accounts which they give of individuals.

D. State histories.

1. Egle's History of Pennsylvania.

Valuable only for the short account it gives of Pennsylvania history during the period studied.

2. Thompson's History of Vermont.

Useful only for outline of political events.

3. Other State histories.

They sometimes give us brief outlines of political activities in the State, otherwise unreliable and unimportant.

E. Political histories.

1. Hammond's Political History of New York.

This is the best book upon Antimasonry in New York. It has two contemporaneous accounts. Hammond's account is that of a fair-minded National Republican, while Whittlesey's account is colored by his Antimasonic beliefs.

2. Other political histories.

Too general and superficial in character. They do not touch the basis of the movement. They do not go into the State questions at all.

F. State records.

1. Laws and statutes.

Very useful when other material is not accessible. The official State papers of the times publish the same material with comment and debate, and therefore are more useful to the student of a political party.

2. State legislative journals.

Often useful for records of votes upon questions, but as the State papers also give this material, and with it the politics of each man, they are much more useful. Journals, however, are of great use where the other material is missing. The records of the governor and council of Vermont are of especial use in this connection.

3. Governors' messages.

Often useful, as they give us a condensed account of the affairs of the State and the policy of individuals. These messages, however, are printed in the official State papers, and have been used in connection with those sources.

4. Financial affairs, canal reports, etc.

Valuable material for the study of State questions. They are generally printed in the official papers, and the newspapers of the day, and have been used in that connection.

5. State manuals and registers.

Of use in giving the names of officers, terms of office, votes, etc. Williams's New York Register is of especial use in this connection.

G. Congressional debates, proceedings, etc.

The Antimasonic party had no Congressional career, and was but once or twice referred to in Congress. Votes upon national questions are in some cases of use.

H. Masonic histories and proceedings of lodges.

They have very little to say about the matter, and whatever is said bears merely upon the abduction of Morgan or is in defense of the order. However, Harvey's Lodge, No. 61, Free and Accepted Masons, Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1897, has a very valuable account of political Antimasonry in Pennsylvania.

I. Miscellaneous.

1. Catalogue of Books on the Masonic Institution in Public Libraries of Twenty-eight States of the Union * * * by a Member of The Suffolk Committee of 1829. Boston, 1852.

This is a very valuable compilation, as it gives not only the books and pamphlets, but also the principal Antimasonic arguments and the dates of the different conventions.

J. Pamphlets, broadsides, etc. In giving a list of pamphlets, it is necessary to distinguish between the pamphlets of political significance and those which deal merely with the social side of the question. The following selected pamphlets are useful for the light which they throw upon politics:

1. Extracts from the Proceedings of the First Antimasonic Convention. Boston, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Of great importance for the study of national organization of Antimasonry.
2. The Proceedings of the Second United States Antimasonic Convention. Boston, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Valuable for the study of the national aspects of the question.
3. Vindication of General Washington from the Stigma of Adherence to Secret Societies by Joseph Ritner. * * * Together with a letter to Daniel Webster and his reply. Boston, 1841. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Especially valuable for the negotiations with Webster.
4. Proceedings of an Antimasonic Republican Convention of the County of Cayuga. Held at Auburn, January 1, 1830. Auburn, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Pamphlets such as these give us an insight into the political basis of the party in rural districts.
5. Proceedings of the Rhode Island Antimasonic State Convention, September 14, 1831. Providence, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Important for the study of the history of the party in Rhode Island.
6. A Legislative investigation into Masonry * * * before a committee of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, by B. F. Hallett, George Turner, and others. Boston, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A curious pamphlet, showing the legislative aims of the more radical Antimasons.

7. An Official Report of William Sprague, jr.; one of the Committee of the House of Representatives of Rhode Island, upon the Subject of Masonry. Providence, 1832. (In Pa. State Hist. Society Library.)
Shows the result of the coalition between the Democrats and Antimasons in Rhode Island.
8. Doings of the Plymouth County Antimasonic Convention held at Abington, March 10, 1828. (Broadside in Wis. Hist. Library.)
One of the earliest pamphlets issued by the party in Massachusetts. It shows us the early efforts for organization in rural districts.
9. An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Antimasonic State Convention of Massachusetts. Boston, December 30 and 31, 1829, and January 1, 1830. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A rare and useful pamphlet of great political significance.
10. A Brief Report of the Debates in the Antimasonic State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Held in Boston, December 30, 31, 1829, and January 1, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
It has but slight political value, but it gives us a good idea of what the grievances of the members were, and also their attitude toward the masons of the State.
11. Address to the People. From the Antimasonic Convention * * * Held in Faneuil Hall, January 1, 1830. (Broadside in Wis. Hist. Library.)
Practically a platform of the party.
12. An Oration Delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, January 11, 1831, by Timothy Fuller. Boston, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Mixed up with the tirade of denunciation is a good deal of matter showing the attitude of the party on the questions of the day.
13. An Abstract of the Proceedings of the State Convention of Massachusetts, held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 19, 20, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A useful source for State politics.
14. Antimasonic Republican Convention of Massachusetts, held at Worcester, September 5, 6, 1832. Boston, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Valuable especially for the attitude of the Antimasons toward the National Republicans upon the question of a National candidate.
15. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Antimasonic Convention, September 11, 12, 13, 1833. Boston, 1833. (In New York State Library, Albany.)
16. Antimasonic Republican Convention of Massachusetts. Held at Boston, September 10, 11, 1834. Boston, 1834. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
17. An Address to the People of Massachusetts. In relation to the Political Influence of Freemasonry on some of the * * * proceedings of the Legislature at the last session, for the year 1831. Boston, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Very important, as it shows the whole political struggle of the National Republicans and the Antimasons in the Massachusetts legislature.
18. An Investigation into Freemasonry. By a joint Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts * * * March, 1834. Boston, 1834. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
The results of the investigation show us little, but the pamphlet reveals the purposes and methods of radical Antimasons.

19. Proceedings of the Sixth Antimasonic State Convention of Massachusetts, held in Boston October 1, 1835. (Broadside with the Boston Daily Advocate Extra. In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Reveals the growing dissolution of the party in Massachusetts.
20. Resolutions adopted by the Antimasonic members of the legislature of Massachusetts * * * opposed to the nomination of Martin Van Buren. * * * March 9, 1836. Boston, 1836. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
It is important, as it shows the attitude of the remnant of the Antimasons of Massachusetts.
21. The Character of General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, by Alexander H. Everett, in 1832, also Notions of Antimasonry, by the same author in 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A political pamphlet directed against the aspirations of Alexander Everett.
22. Proceedings of the New York State Convention at Albany, 1829. (In New York State Library, Albany.)
Important for a study of the political organization of 1829 in New York.
23. Proceedings of the New York State Convention held in Utica, 1830. (In New York State Library, Albany.)
Reveals the growing power of Weed and his followers.
24. Light on Masonry. David Bernard, Utica, 1829. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Contains some political matter such as the Proceedings of the Le Roy Convention of New York Legislature of 1828.
25. Narrative of the Anti-Masonick Excitement in the Western Part of the State during the years 1826, 1827, 1828, and part of 1829. Henry Brown, Batavia, N. Y., 1829. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A Masonic account, dealing but slightly with political matters.
26. Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates opposed to Free Masonry, Le Roy, Genesee County, N. Y., March 6, 1828. (In New York State Library, Albany.)
An important pamphlet, showing the genesis of Antimasonry in New York.

K. Books and pamphlets showing the social side of Antimasonry. A great many pamphlets, almanacs, broadsides, etc., were issued by each side upon the Morgan affair and the Masonic Fraternity. The Antimasonic pamphlets are quite fully given in the catalogue of Antimasonic books. The following pamphlets are especially useful.

1. The True History * * * of the Abduction of William Morgan. P. C. Huntington. New York, 1886. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
2. The Masonic Martyr. The Biography of Eli Bruce. Rob. Morris, Louisville, Ky., 1861. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
A Masonic defense of one of the individuals on trial for the abduction of William Morgan.

3. The Broker Seal, or Personal Reminiscences of the Morgan Abduction and Murder, by Samuel D. Greene. Boston, 1870. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Greene claimed to be a member of the same lodge with Morgan, and was afterwards editor of the Boston Advocate.
4. Letters on the Masonic Institution, by John Quincy Adams. Boston, 1847. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Important for the attitude of Adams.
5. Illustrations of Masonry. William Morgan. New York, 1827. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
6. Letters on Masonry and Antimasonry. Addressed to Hon. John Quincy Adams by William L. Stone. New York, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
7. Letters of Hon. Cadwallader D. Colden upon the Secret Order of Free Masons. New York, 1829. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Mr. Colden was mayor of the city of New York.
8. Another Masonic Murder. By Samuel G. Anderton. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
9. Letters addressed to William L. Stone, esq., of New York, * * * upon the subject of Masonry and Antimasonry, by John Quincy Adams, to which is added a Portrait of Masonry, by John C. Spencer. Providence, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
10. History of Masonic Persecutions. Rev. George Olive, D. D. 1866. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
11. Nathaniel Very's Renunciation of Free Masonry. Worcester, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
12. Renunciation of Free Masonry. Hiram B. Hopkins, esq. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
13. Rev. Joseph Christmas's Renunciation. 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
14. Renunciation of Free Masonry. By Hon. Pliny Merrick, of Worcester, Mass. Worcester, 1871. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Merrick's renunciation took place in 1832.
15. Constitution of the Young Men's Antimasonic Association for the Diffusion of the Truth. Boston, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
16. A Portrait of Masonry and Antimasonry, as drawn by Richard Rush, John Quincy Adams, William Wirt, etc. Providence, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
17. Masonry Proved to Be a Work of Darkness, Repugnant to the Christian Religion and Inimical to a Republican Government. By Lebbeus Armstrong. Hartford, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
Useful as an example of religious opposition to Masonry.
18. Free Masonry, in Reply to Anti-Masonry; in the American Quarterly Review, March, 1830. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
19. A Brief Defense of John the Baptist against Foul Slander and Wicked Libel of Free Masons. John Gest, 1834. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
20. Reply to the Declaration of 1,200 Masons. Boston, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)

21. Letters on the Entered Apprentice's Oath, by John Quincy Adams. Boston, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
22. A Collection of Letters on Freemasonry, Chronologically Arranged. Boston, 1849. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
23. A Letter on Freemasonry, by the Hon. Richard Rush, to the Committee of the Citizens of York County, Pennsylvania. Boston, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)

This latter did much to break up the National Republican Antimasonic coalition in Pennsylvania in 1831.

24. Letters of Rush, Adams, Wirt. Boston, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
25. An Address Delivered at Weymouth, South Parish, June 21, 1830. Moses Thacher. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
By a leading Antimasonic Congregational minister.
26. A Freeman on Freemasonry, 1831(?). (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
27. An Address to the Freemen of Massachusetts, by a Freeman. Worcester, 1832. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
28. A Voice from the Green Mountains on the Subject of Masonry and Antimasonry, by Samuel Elliott. Brattleboro, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
29. The Opinions of the late Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, Concerning Freemasonry. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
30. Letters of John Quincy Adams to Edward Livingston. Boston, 1833. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
31. A Letter on Speculative Masonry, by Charles Pinckney Sumner. Boston, 1829. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
32. Ancient Freemasonry Contrasted with Illuminism, or Modern Masonry, by Tubal Cain. Utica, 1831. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
33. Address Delivered Before the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, * * * by Joseph Jenkins, 1829. Boston, 1830. (In Wis. Hist. Library.)
34. An Address Delivered before the Members of the Antimasonic State Convention, Augusta, Me., July 4, 1832. Moses Thacher. (Pa. State Hist. Society.)
35. Solomon Southwick's Speech. New York State convention, 1829. (In New York State Library, Albany.)
36. Reply of the Genesee Consociation to Joseph Emerton. 1830. (In New York State Library, Albany.)

Very important for the religious standpoint.

L. Newspapers. The newspapers furnish the best means by which we can get at the political basis of the Antimasonic party. To give the complete list of the newspapers would result in a volume by itself. I have sought to give a list of such as are of greatest use. Many of the newspapers, and especially the official organs, publish the laws and the proceedings of the legislatures, together with the most important debates. An official paper, such as the Albany Argus or the Harrisburg Reporter, furnished hardly anything but political

news, while some of the great city dailies are of but little use in this way. In using newspapers, I have tried to compare the statements, where possible, of papers representing different factions. I regard this as the only historical method. I have included in this list also papers which help us to study the religious and social basis of the movement.

1. Connecticut newspapers:

Connecticut Courant, Hartford.

1828, 1830-1834. In New York Public Library.

Jan., 1828-Dec. 16, 1828. In Library of Congress.

Hartford Weekly Times.

Mar. 2, 1829-Dec. 26, 1831. Jan. 7, 1834-May 6, 1834. Semi-weekly edition, May 10, 1833-Dec. 29, 1838. In Library of Congress.

Columbian Weekly Register. New Haven.

Jan. 2, 1830-Dec. 29, 1832. Jan. 4, 1834-Dec. 30, 1837. In Library of Congress.

2. Maine.

Eastern Argus. Portland.

Mar. 31, 1829-Sept. 18, 1832. Jan. 6, 1833-Dec. 20, 1835. In Library of Congress.

3. Massachusetts.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

Jan. 3, 1832-1837. In Library of Congress. 1827-1836. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester, Boston Public Library, and Harvard College Library.

Boston Free Press.

Jan. 20, 1831-Mar. 19, 1834. In Library of Congress.

An Antimasonic paper and one of the most important sources not only for Massachusetts but the movement throughout the country.

Boston Recorder.

1829-1837. In Library of Congress, Boston Public Library, and Harvard College Library.

1831-1832. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A Congregational paper and valuable for occasional references as to the attitude of the sect toward the politics of the State.

Daily Evening Transcript. Boston.

1831-1836. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

Oct.-Dec., 1831. Apr.-Sept., 1833. Jan.-Sept., 1834. In Wis. Hist. Library.

Independent Chronicle. Boston.

1829-1837. In Boston Public Library and Harvard College Library.

1829-1832. 1833-1836. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A National Republican and Whig paper opposed to the Antimasons. It published the laws and the proceedings of the legislature. Chief source from the Whig side.

3. Massachusetts—Continued.

Columbian Sentinel. Boston.

1828-1837. In Albany State Library, Boston Public Library, and Harvard College Library.

1829-1832. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A very important National Republican paper opposed to Antimasonry.

Christian Register. Boston.

1828-1830. 1833-1839. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A Unitarian paper important for occasional references as to the attitude of Unitarians upon Antimasonry.

Boston Advocate.

1829-1835. A few scattered copies in the Wis. Hist. Library.

An Antimasonic semireligious paper, edited by S. D. Greene. It had Democratic leanings.

New England Galaxy.

1829-Dec. 20, 1834. In Library of Congress.

1831-1833. In Wis. Hist. Library.

1829-1835. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester, and in the Boston Public Library.

A literary magazine of Masonic affiliations. It is not a rabid or distinctly partisan paper. Useful for occasional references.

Berkshire Advocate. North Adams.

Nov. 20, 1833-June, 1834. In Library of Congress.

Worcester Paladium.

1834-1837. In Library of Congress.

Worcester Spy.

1829-1836. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester, and the Boston Public Library.

1829-1830. 1831-1837. In Library of Congress.

Massachusetts Yeoman.

1828-1837. In American Antiquarian Library.

Aug. 30, 1828-Aug. 8, 1829. In Library of Congress.

Valuable for the political views of western Massachusetts.

Moral Envoy. Fall River.

1830. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A rabid Antimasonic paper. Very useful from a political as well as a social standpoint.

4. Michigan.

Detroit Courier.

Feb. 17, 1831-Dec. 22, 1831. In Library of Congress.

Detroit Free Press.

Jan. 15, 1832-1835. In Library of Congress; also in Detroit Public Library.

5. New Hampshire.

New Hampshire Gazette. Portsmouth.

Jan. 26 1829-Dec. 23, 1830. In Library of Congress.

New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette.

Aug. 17, 1829-1835. In Library of Congress.

6. New Jersey.

West Jersey Observer, Bridgeton.

May 14, 1829–Nov. 21, 1829.

Jan. 9, 1830–Dec. 25, 1830.

Jan. 1832–Dec. 28, 1833. In Library of Congress.

Trenton Emporium.

Jan. 1, 1830–1835. In Library of Congress.

Jerseyman, Morristown.

Jan. 7, 1832–Dec. 12, 1832; Jan. 2, 1833–Dec. 17, 1834. In Library of Congress.

Newark Daily Advertiser.

Mar. 28, 1832–Aug. 31, 1832; Jan. 2, 1833–Jan. 30, 1835. In Library of Congress.

7. New York.

Albany Argus.

1827–1834. In New York State Library, Albany.

Jan. 1, 1828–Dec., 1830; Jan. 1, 1832–1834. In Library of Congress.

A Democratic paper, edited by Croswell, one of the Regency. This paper is one of the most important sources, as it published the laws and legislative proceedings and often the speeches of the members.

Albany Evening Journal.

1830–1834. In the office of the Albany Evening Journal, Albany, N. Y.

Thurlow Weed's paper. It was the greatest Antimasonic paper in the country.

Albany Daily Advertiser.

1827–1834. In the office of the Albany Evening Journal.

Jan. 1–Dec. 31, 1833. In Library of Congress. The New York State Library also has a few numbers.

A national Republican paper, strongly opposed to Antimasonry.

National Observer. Albany.

1827–1831. New York State Library, Albany.

Edited by Solomon Southwick. A very radical Antimasonic sheet, with Democratic leanings.

Albany Microscope.

1832–1834. In New York State Library.

Christian Intelligencer.

1830–1834. In New York State Library.

Albany Masonic Record.

1828–1834. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

New York American, New York City.

1827–1834. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

1831–1833. In New York State Library.

1827. Boston Public Library.

1827–1828. In Boston Athenæum.

May 14, 1831–May 17, 1834. In Library of Congress.

New York Commercial Advertiser. New York City.

1827–1829. 1831–1833. In New York State Library, Albany.

7. New York—Continued.

New York Courier and Enquirer.

May 26–Dec. 18, 1830; Jan. 1, 1833–Dec. 30, 1833. In Library of Congress.

1829–1830. Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg.

New York Evening Post, New York City.

1827–1834. Pennsylvania Historical Library and New York Public Library.

1830. In New York State Library.

Rochester Observer.

1827. In New York State Library.

Rochester Republican.

Jan. 1–Feb. 26, 1828. Jan. 3, 1832–Aug. 20, 1833. In Library of Congress.

New York Statesman. New York City.

1827–1834. Harvard College Library.

1827–1828. New York State Library.

New York Mirror. New York City.

1827–1834. Harvard College Library and American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

Freeman's Journal. Cooperstown, N. Y.

1827–1829. 1830–1832. In Wisconsin Historical Library.

Masonic Intelligencer. Batavia, N. Y.

Feb. 21, 1827. Wisconsin Historical Library.

Le Roy Gazette.

1827. In Wisconsin Historical Library.

Very important for the early movements, as it was an Antimasonic paper.

Anti-Masonic Review and Magazine. New York.

1828, 13 numbers. In Wisconsin Historical Library.

This magazine was edited by Henry Dana Ward. It incidentally keeps up with the political movements and is therefore very valuable.

Craftsman. Rochester.

A few scattered numbers in New York State Library, Albany.

The organ of the Western Masons.

Anti-Masonic Enquirer. Rochester.

1828–1830. A few scattered numbers in New York State Library.

This paper was edited by Thurlow Weed and is of great value for a study of early Antimasonic movements in western New York.

New York Miscellaneous Papers.

About 30 volumes in the State Library in Albany.

They contain occasionally a valuable local paper or fragment.

8. Ohio.

Cincinnati Advertiser.

June 6, 1829–Dec. 25, 1830. Jan. 5, 1833–Dec. 26, 1838. In Library of Congress.

Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

Jan. 4, 1828–Dec. 31, 1829. Jan. 7, 1833–Dec. 31, 1835. In Library of Congress.

8. Ohio—Continued.

Ohio State Bulletin. Columbus.

1829-1835. In State Library, Columbus.

Important for laws, state reports, and legislative proceedings.

Columbus Sentinel.

1832-1834. In State Library, Columbus. Western Reserve

Historical Library, Cleveland.

A leading National Republican paper.

Hamilton Intelligencer.

1829-1835. Ohio State Library, Columbus.

A leading National Republican paper.

Cincinnati Chronicle.

1828-1835. State Library, Columbus.

Cleveland Weekly Herald.

1829-1835. Western Reserve Historical Library, Cleveland.

National Historian. St. Clairsville.

1832. In State Library, Columbus.

Cincinnati Christian Journal.

Jan., 1830-July, 1831. In Wis. Hist. Library.

A Presbyterian paper, important for occasional references to Antimasonry.

Cincinnati Sentinel.

Nov. 21, 1829-Sept. 18, 1830. Oct. 30, 1830-Oct. 15, 1831. In Library of Congress.

Ohio Monitor. Columbus.

1830-1836. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

Jan. 3, 1831-Dec. 22, 1831. Jan. 3, 1833-Dec. 26, 1836. In Library of Congress.

Ohio State Journal. Columbus.

1832-1835. In State Library, Columbus. Also copies in Cleveland Public Library and Chicago Historical Library.

A National Republican paper which gives laws, discussions, etc. Devoted largely to politics.

9. Pennsylvania.

Statesman and Antimasonic Republican. Harrisburg.

Apr., 1831-Dec., 1831. Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A very important source for the study of political Antimasonry in Pennsylvania.

Harrisburg Chronicle.

Feb., 1828-June, 1840. Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A National Republican and Whig paper. After 1836 Nicholas Biddle was interested in this paper. It is important especially for the speeches, debates, etc., in the Pennsylvania State senate.

Franklin Repository. Chambersburg.

1830-1840. Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A bright Whig paper full of political news.

Pennsylvania Intelligencer. Harrisburg.

Apr., 1831-1840. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A Whig paper printing laws, debates, and full of political matter.

Pennsylvania Reporter. Harrisburg.

Dec., 1829-Jan., 1836. Jan., 1837-1840. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

Jan. 4, 1828-Dec. 26, 1828. Jan. 4, 1831-Dec. 30, 1836. Jan. 15, 1836-Aug. 4, 1836. Feb. 3, 1837-Nov. 20, 1840. In Library of Congress.

A most important source in Pennsylvania. It was the State paper and the chief Democratic organ. It printed laws, debates, and political matter.

Antimasonic Herald. New Holland, Lancaster County.

Jan., 1829-Aug., 1832. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

Edited by Theophilus Fenn. This was a pioneer paper in the cause and is especially valuable for the accounts it gives of the Antimasonic movements throughout the country.

Harrisburg Telegraph.

1832-1837. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

The leading Antimasonic paper in the State. Edited by Theophilus Fenn. It was the official State paper during the Antimasonic régime.

Harrisburg Gazette.

1832. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A Clay paper supporting Wolf.

Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania.

1828-1835. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg; Wis. Hist. Library, and Boston Atheneum, etc.

Useful for canal reports, governors' messages, State financial reports, etc.

Westmoreland Intelligencer. Greensburg.

1833-1834. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

Valuable as an example of an Antimasonic country paper.

American Sentinel. Philadelphia.

Jan. 1, 1829-Dec. 31, 1830. Jan. 2, 1832-Dec. 31, 1838. In Library of Congress. Pa. State Library, Harrisburg, has a file, but it is in such bad shape as to be practically useless.

American Daily Advertiser. Philadelphia.

1827-1839. In Library of Congress.

1829-1832. 1833-1835. 1837-1838. In Wis. Hist. Library.

American Volunteer. Carlisle.

Oct., 1831-1840. In Pa. State Library, Harrisburg.

A bright, country, Democratic paper, full of political news.

Lancaster Examiner and Herald.

April 15, 1830-April 30, 1834. In Library of Congress.

York Gazette.

May 27, 1828-Sept. 15, 1829. In Library of Congress.

9. Pennsylvania—Continued.

Pittsburg Gazette.

1829-1840. In Pa. Historical Library, Philadelphia.

A radical Antimasonic paper, which shows the opinions of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of western Pennsylvania.

10. Rhode Island.

Rhode Island Republican. Newport.

Jan. 1, 1829-Nov. 19, 1829. Jan. 7, 1830, Dec. 2, 1830. Oct., 1833-1838. In Library of Congress.

Republican Herald. Providence.

Jan. 7, 1833-Dec. 8, 1833. Jan. 3, 1835-1838. In Library of Congress.

11. Vermont.

Vermont Gazette. Bennington.

Feb. 9, 1830-Dec. 5, 1832. Jan. 7, 1834-1837. In Library of Congress. Nearly a complete file, 1827-1835, in Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

Vermont Intelligencer. Bellows Falls.

February 25, 1832-February 15, 1834. In Library of Congress. 1832-1833. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

Vermont Patriot and State Gazette. Montpelier.

May 4, June 22, June 29, 1829. August 6, 1832-1837. In Library of Congress.

1830-1833. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

Vermont Argus. Middlebury.

January 4, 11, February 28, 1832. January 5, 1836-September 26, 1837. In Library of Congress.

Burlington Sentinel.

1827-1830. In American Antiquarian Library, Worcester.

1830-1837. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

North Star. Danville.

1827-1836.

The pioneer Antimasonic paper of the State.

Vermont Watchman. Montpelier.

1829 and 1831. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

Also in Library of University of Vermont, Burlington.

A leading National Republican paper, containing important political news.

Vermont State Journal. Montpelier.

1831-1836. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier.

An official organ during the Antimasonic régime. Gives the best history of Antimasonic movements in the State from an Antimasonic standpoint.

Vermont Chronicle. Windsor.

1831-1836. In Vermont State Library, Montpelier. Also in Library of State University of Vermont, Burlington.

12. Miscellaneous papers.

American Free Mason. Louisville, Ky.

1854. In Wisconsin Historical Library.

Contains a Masonic account of Antimasonry. It is very useful from that standpoint.

Temperance Recorder. Albany, N. Y.

March, 1832–February, 1835. In Wisconsin Historical Library.

Important for occasional references as to the views of temperance advocates on the subject of Antimasonry.

Niles Register. Baltimore.

1827–1840.

One of the most valuable sources for election accounts, investigations speeches, incidents, etc.

