

THE A. M. STAR & REPUBLICAN BANNER.

National Anti-Masonic Convention.

From the Baltimore Patriot. BALTIMORE, Sept. 26, 1831.

At 12 o'clock, M. the Delegates to the National Anti-Masonic Convention assembled in the saloon of the Athenaeum, and were called to order by the Hon. Judge Burt, of New York...

JOHN C. SPENCER, of N. Y. President. JOHN RUTHERFORD, N. J. 1st. V. P. JONATHAN SLOAN, Ohio, 2d. V. P. THOMAS ELDER, Penn. 3d. V. P. JOHN BAILEY, Mass. 4th. V. P. Benjamin F. Hallett, Edward D. Barber, S. C. Leavitt, Caleb Emery, Secretaries.

On taking the Chair, Mr. SPENCER addressed the Convention as follows:—

GENTLEMEN—I return you my thanks for the distinguished honor you have conferred in calling upon me to preside over your deliberations. While I distrust my ability to discharge the duties of the Chair, I have yet learnt in the School of Anti-Masonry to decline no duty to which I may be called in the promotion of our great and growing cause.

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

Table with 2 columns: State and Number of Delegates. Includes New Hampshire (1), Maine (2), Massachusetts (13), Rhode Island (4), Connecticut (5), Vermont (5), New York (31), New Jersey (4), Pennsylvania (19), Ohio (5), Maryland (1), Delaware (1).

On motion of Mr. Walker of Mass. voted, that a regular roll of the members of this Convention be now made and that the State, County and Town, in which they reside, be fully designated.

On motion of Mr. Morris of New York, voted, that a Committee of three be appointed to invite the Hon. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, to take a seat in this Convention. Messrs. Rutherford of N. J. Burt of N. Y. and Elder of Pa. were appointed said Committee.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Phelps, that a Committee of one from each State be appointed to report upon the business of this Convention, viz:

Table with 2 columns: Name and State. Includes Phelps of Mass., Ward, N. Y., Jones, Penn., Hallett, R. I., Cram, Me., Emery, N. H., Terry, of Conn., Barber, Vt., Vanderpool, N. J., Sloan, Ohio, Gibbons, Del., Shriver, Md.

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

On motion of Judge Hopkins, of N. Y., voted, that Messrs. Hopkins, of N. Y. Jones, of Pa. and Walker of Mass. be a Committee to wait on His Honor Chief Justice MARSHALL, now in this City, and request his attendance on the sitting of this body.

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

The President of the Convention announced the appointment of the following Committees:

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

On Judicial Proceedings in the case of Morgan.—J. C. Spencer of N. Y. Ogle of Pa. Walker of Mass. Gibbons of Del. Russell of N. Y.

On the Address to the People.—Holley, of N. Y. Denny of Pa. Leavitt of Conn.

On publishing the Proceedings.—Phelps of Mass. Hopkins of N. Y. and Foote of N. York.

On Finance.—Irvin of Pa. Boynton of Conn. Beckman of N. Y. Jenkins of Ohio. Shriver of Md.

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

Four additional members took their seats in the Convention.

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

[The journey of Judge Marshall, Eastward, having been unexpectedly delayed, he attended the Convention this morning.—Patriot of the 27th.]

Tuesday, September 27.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock agreeable to adjournment. The proceedings of yesterday were read by one of the Secretaries. Seven additional members appeared and took their seats, making the whole number in attendance, 107.

The Secretary read a letter from the Hon. Samuel Stevens, of the city of New York, to the President of the Convention, expressing his regret at not being able to attend the Convention and expressing his ardent wishes for the success of the cause in which they are engaged.

On motion of Mr. Ward, of N. Y. voted that the letters of Mr. Stevens be entered on the records of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Phelps of Mass. voted, that the nomination assigned for 12 o'clock

this day, be postponed till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

On motion of Mr. Hallett of R. I. voted, that the Resolution inviting Mr. CARROLL to attend the proceedings of this Convention, together with the report of the Committee appointed on that resolution, be transcribed and certified by the presiding officer of this body, and the same transmitted to Mr. Carroll.

Mr. Burt, of N. Y. called for the reading of the Rules and Orders, which was done.

The Hon. Chief Justice MARSHALL, Mr. WIRT, and other distinguished citizens, appeared in the hall and took seats assigned them on the right of the President.

Mr. Hallett, from the Committee on Masonic Penalties submitted an elaborate report, which was read and laid upon the table.

Mr. Spencer, the President of the Convention, and Chairman of the Committee on the Judicial Proceedings in the case of William Morgan, offered a report of great length, which was read and laid on the table.

Voted to adjourn till 4 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon—met according to adjournment—three new members appeared, were accredited, and took seats in the convention.

The President announced that the reports upon the Masonic Penalties and upon the Judicial Proceedings in the case of William Morgan, were in order for consideration. Mr. Foote of N. Y. took the floor and spoke in favor of the reports. Mr. Hallett of R. I. addressed the Convention upon the reports under consideration. Mr. Ward of N. Y. Mr. Morris of N. Y. Mr. Seward of N. Y. Mr. Walker of Mass. and Mr. Harvey of Pa. followed on the same subject.

At a late hour in the evening, on motion of Mr. French of Mass. voted, that the Convention adjourn till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Wednesday, September 28.

The National Anti-Masonic Convention this day proceeded to the nomination of Candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. The vote (by ballot) was taken about 12 o'clock. The result was as follows:—

For PRESIDENT, WILLIAM WIRT of Maryland, received 108 out of 111 votes, and for VICE PRESIDENT, AMOS ELLMAKER of Pennsylvania, received 108 votes. Whereupon, it was

Resolved, unanimously, That WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, be nominated as the Anti-Masonic Candidate for the office of President of the United States at the ensuing election.

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

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

The Convention then passed a resolution expressive of their high gratification at the courteous and hospitable manner in which the Convention had been received and accommodated by the citizens of Baltimore, and directing that a copy of the said resolution be transmitted to the Mayor of the City.

At the meeting of the Convention at 8 o'clock P. M. the following communication from Mr. WIRT was received:—

GENTLEMEN:—The unanimous resolution of the National Anti-Masonic Convention assembled at this place, nominating me as their candidate for the office of President of the United States, at the ensuing election, is an honor very grateful to me, as a proof of confidence from so respectable a body, and quite as unexpected as it is grateful. My pursuits, habits and inclinations, have removed me so far from the political excitements and contentions of the day, and I know so well, from a close personal observation of twelve years, how little of attraction there is in the office of President of the United States, to any man who values his own peace, that it was as far removed from my wishes as my expectations, that it would occur to any portion of my fellow-citizens to present my name to the consideration of my countrymen for that office.

Not only have I never sought the office, but I have, long since, looked at it with far more of dread than of desire, being fully aware of its fearful responsibilities, and of the fact, demonstrated by past experience, that no degree of purity and intelligence that can be exerted in the discharge of its duties, can protect its possessor from misrepresentation and aspersion.

Give me leave to add, gentlemen, that one of the last quarters from which I could have anticipated such an honor, is the Anti-Masonic Convention; because, adopting, (too hastily, I am happy to find,) the current rumours of the day, I had supposed that the very principle of your union was a war of indiscriminate proscription against all persons throughout the United States, who had ever borne the name of Mason; that you would put in nomination no person who had ever been a Mason himself, and who would not, moreover, pledge himself to become a party to such a war of indiscriminate extermination, and wield the appointing power of the office under your dictation; why would not, in short, become the President of your party, instead of being the President of the United States. I am happy to find that this is an error; for I should have been grieved for my country, to see the rise of a party

that should affect to seize upon the reins of government, and, through the agency of an automaton President, to direct its powers to the vindictive purposes of party proscription and persecution; and I should be grieved, for myself, to learn that there had been any thing in my life and character that could mark me out as a fit instrument for the execution of such a purpose.

I am relieved from both these apprehensions by learning, since your assemblage here, that you have no other object in view than, in effect, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the land; that you seek to disturb no portion of the peaceable and virtuous citizens of our country in the enjoyment of those social rights which are secured to them by their constitution and laws; but on the contrary, that the principle which has embodied you, is one of self defence, in the enjoyment of those rights; that having become convinced by the disclosures made under oath, by numerous and respectable witnesses, in the trials which have been agitating the state of New York, for several years, and by your investigations consequent on those disclosures, that the Masonic Society has become a tremendous political engine, with the power and the disposition to set the laws of the land at defiance, to mark out and sacrifice its victims at pleasure, and with impunity, and to silence all individual opposition by the mysterious terrors which it diffuses throughout the community, you have come to the determination to root out this noxious institution, if you can, BY THE USE OF ALL THE PEACEABLE, LEGAL, AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS IN YOUR POWER; that the most effective means of this character which has presented itself to you, is by the exercise of your elective franchise; that deeming every man unfit for office, who, in accordance with the principles established on the trials in New York, considers his Masonic oaths and obligations as superior to his obligations to the constitution and laws of his country, you will support no man for any office who holds that principle or adheres to the society whose principle it is; that you consider a man's allegiance to his country his highest earthly obligation, and that no man is fit to be trusted with one of the offices of the country who will permit a doubt to rest on the fact of his allegiance.

These I understand to be your principles, and I see nothing in them which does not commend them to every man whose mind and heart are sound, for there can be no question among reasonable men, that in a free government like ours, the constitution and laws are our only sovereign; that the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of our people depend on the steady, faithful and effectual administration of our laws; that any secret society, which, by the force of mysterious oaths and obligations, and by the extent of its combination, seeks to disturb the action of those laws, to set them at defiance, to ride over and control them, to usurp the government, to hold the lives, peace and happiness of society at their mercy, and to establish a reign of terror over the initiated and uninitiated, is a political monster as fearful as the Invisible Tribunal of Germany, or the Inquisition of Spain, and ought to be extirpated, without delay, by the use of all the peaceable means which the constitution and laws of our country furnish.

I am further sure that, in our country, it is but necessary to establish the fact of the existence of such a society to insure its annihilation.

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

You must understand, then, if you are not already apprized of it, that in my early life, I was myself initiated into the mysteries of Free Masonry. I have been told by Masons that my eyes were never opened, because I never took the Master's degree; but my curiosity never led me thus far—and, although, I soon discontinued my attendance on lodges, (not having entered even from curiosity for more than thirty years, I believe) it proceeded from me suspicion on my part that there was any thing criminal in the Institution, or any thing that placed its members, in the slightest degree, in collision with their allegiance to their country and its laws.

On the contrary, having been before my initiation, assured by a gentleman in whom I had implicit confidence, that there was nothing in the engagement which could affect either my religion or politics (which I considered as comprehending the whole range of my duties, civil and religious, and as extending not to the first degree only but to the whole Masonic order) and being further informed that many of the most illustrious men of Virginia, with General Washington at their head, belonged to that order, and had taken the degree of Master, I did not believe that there could be any thing in the institution at war with their duties as patriots, men and christians; nor is it yet possible for me to believe that they could have understood the engagement as involving any such criminal obligations. I have, therefore, forward, continually regarded Masonry as nothing more than a social and charitable club, designed for the promotion of good feeling among its members, and for the pecuniary relief of their indigent brethren.

I have, indeed, thought very little about it for thirty years. It had dropped from my mind so completely that I do not believe I should have been able to gain admittance into any lodge at all strict in their examinations, where I should have had to depend alone on my memory; and so little consequence did I attach to it, that whenever Masonry has been occasionally introduced as a subject of conversation, I have felt more disposed to smile than to frown. Thinking thus of it, nothing has more surprised me than to see it blown into consequence in the Northern and Eastern States as a political engine, and the whole community excited against it as an affair of serious importance. I had heard, indeed, the general rumour that Morgan had been kidnapped and very probably murdered by Masons, for divulging their secrets; but I supposed it to be the act of a few ignorant and ferocious desperadoes, moved by their own impulse singly, without the sanction or knowledge of their lodges; and thus thinking, I have repeatedly and continually, both in conversation and letters, of friendship, spoken of Masonry, and Anti-Masonry as a fitter subject for farce than tragedy, and have been grieved at seeing some of my friends involved in what appeared to me such a wild and bitter and unjust persecution against so harmless an institution as Free-Masonry.

I have thought and repeatedly said that I considered Masonry as having no more to do with politics than any one of the numerous clubs so humorously celebrated in the Spectator; and that with reference to the gring in Morgan's case, it was as unjust to charge that on Masonry as it would be to charge the private delinquencies of some professed christianity itself. Thus I have thought and thus I have continually spoken and written in my private letters to several of my friends. It was not until the period of your assembling here that on the occasion of a friendly visit from one of your members, and my taking the liberty to rally him on the excessive zeal which had been excited on an occasion so inadequate, that he placed before me a detail of some of the proceedings on the trial of the conspirators against Morgan; when, for the first time, I saw the Masonic oaths as established by the testimony both of adhering and seceding Masons on the trials in New York. I observed that in one of them (called the Royal Arch) the candidate swears among other things that he will aid and assist a companion Royal Arch Mason in distress, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if in his power, whether he be right or wrong, and that he will conceal the secrets of a companion Royal Arch Mason given him in charge as such, murder and treason not excepted; and in other oaths, in still higher degree, I also observe that the candidate binds himself to avenge the violated secrets of the Lodge by the infliction of death on the offender, and to revenge the wrongs of a brother to the utmost extremity; and the whole mixed up with the most horrible imprecations and blasphemous mockeries of the rites and tenants of the Christian Religion.

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

But gentlemen, this was not, & could not be masonry as understood by Washington. The thing is impossible. The suspicion would be partridge. Nor can I believe that in the quarter of the Union with which I am best acquainted, intelligent men of high and honorable character, if they have been drawn in to take these shocking and impious oaths, can consider them as paramount to their duties to their God and their country. It is true that after the practical exhibition of masonry which we have had in N. Y. no man of common prudence can sleep over these discoveries, & will take care in every case of doubt to inquire. But both justice and prudence demand discrimination: for the powers of a President ought not, in my opinion, to be prostituted to the purpose of a blind and unjust proscription, involving innocence and honor with guilt and treason, and no man is worthy of a nomination to this high office in whose judgment and patriotism, confidence cannot be placed to make the proper

distinction between them. In the view of all honorable men he would deservedly become an object of disgust, if he could stoop to commit himself by any pledges, in a case like this, as the price of his nomination.

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

Be the final determination of your Convention what it may, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the honor conferred on me by this nomination, and I beg the Anti-Masonic Convention to accept the assurance of my respect for them and for their cause. I do not address them as a party, because I understand the principle of their union to be, TO ASSERT THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAWS; which I trust is and ever will be the sacred and immutable principle of our common country.

WM. WIRT.

Messrs. RUTHERFORD, SLOAN and ELDER, Committee of the National A. M. Convention. Baltimore, Sept. 28, 1831.

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

In the National Anti-Masonic Convention, BALTIMORE, 28th September, 1831. Resolved unanimously: That the answer of the Hon. WILLIAM WIRT, to the resolution of this Convention, nominating him as a candidate for the Presidency, be entered on the minutes of this Convention; as part of its proceedings, and that this Convention recommend to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, a cordial and vigorous support of Mr. WIRT, at the next election, as the Anti-Masonic Candidate, for the office of President of the U. States.

Resolutions of similar purport were unanimously adopted by the Convention, nominating AMOS ELLMAKER of Pennsylvania, as the Anti-Masonic Candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States; and for the appointment of a Committee to announce to him the nomination.

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

BALTIMORE, September 28, 1831. Messrs. John Bailey, John S. Shriver and Samuel P. Lyman.

GENTLEMEN:—I acknowledge with much satisfaction the friendly manner in which you have communicated the two resolutions this day adopted by the National Anti-Masonic Convention: one, nominating me as the Anti-Masonic Candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States at the ensuing election; the other, appointing you a committee to communicate the preceding resolution to me and to request my acceptance of the nomination.

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

With great respect I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

AMOS ELLMAKER.

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

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

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

A resolution was offered by Mr. PHELPS of Mass. and adopted, recommending a National Anti-Masonic Convention to be held in September 1835, in the City of Washington, unless otherwise ordered by the Central Committee of Correspondence.

A vote of thanks was passed in favor of the Central Committee of Correspondence, and for the continuance of their appointment till after the next Presidential election.

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

THE STARTLING FACT.

Let it be remembered that all those, now living, who by their own confession in court, as well as those who have been convicted on evidence, as being guilty of carrying off Morgan, have never been expelled from the lodge but are still members in good and regular standing. Also that it appears, by the confession of James Herring, grand secretary of the grand lodge, that the grand lodge have since paid Eli Bruce, now in jail, \$100 dollars, to relieve his necessities. Does not this look like Masonry's setting itself up against the law? These facts have induced a great many honorable worthy men, members of the Order, who have not publicly renounced, to unite with us in opposition to it.