

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

New York (state) -

ANTI MASONIC CONVENTION

FOR THE

STATE OF NEW YORK:

HELD AT UTICA, AUGUST 11, 1830.

WITH THE

Address and Resolutions.

PROCEEDINGS

Of the New York State Anti Masonic Convention.

A CONVENTION of delegates from the several counties of the state of New York, convened at the supreme court room in Utica, on the 11th day of August, 1830.

The convention was called to order by the Hon. James Geddes, of the county of Onondaga, on whose motion the convention proceeded to the choice of its officers.

Hon. PETER PRICE, of the county of Monroe, was chosen president of the convention; STUKELY ELLSWORTH, of the county of Otsego, and SAMUEL ST. JOHN, of New York, vice presidents; and Robert C. Nicholas, of the county of Ontario, and David D. Spencer, of the county of Tompkins, secretaries.

The names of the following gentlemen were reported, as delegates to the convention :

Albany county—James Walker, Thurlow Weed.

Allegany—Daniel Ashley.

Broome—Stephen Weed.

Cayuga—Elias Manchester, Glen Cuyler, Josiah Hopkins, Moses Dixon, Isaac Turner, Abijah Fitch, John A. Barber, William H. Seward.

Chautauque—James Hull.

Chenango—Obadiah German, Ira Wilcox, Peter Betts.

Columbia—John Cary.

Cortland—Eli Carpenter, Josiah Hart.

Delaware—David Penfield, Epenetus Webb.

Dutchess—Thomas H. Rickey.

Erie—Albert H. Tracy, Elijah Leech, Thomas C. Love, Joseph H. Smith.

Essex—Nathan Wardner.

Genesee—Benjamin Vail, Henry Hawkins, Arden Woodruff.

Greene—William Tuttle, Amos Hamlin.

Herkimer—Hiram Nolton, Benjamin G. Ellis, John Farmer.

Jefferson—Reuben Goodale, Albert P. Brayton.

Livingston—John E. Tompkins, Philo C. Fuller.

Madison—Samuel Hitchcock, John Foote, John F. Fairchild.

Monroe—Peter Price, Isaac Lacy, James K. Livingston.

Montgomery—Dennis Sunderlin, Peter Brooks, Jun., George Davis.

New York—Samuel St. John, Henry Cotheal, Thomas Fessenden, Henry E. Davies, Ebenezer R. Dupignac, Jonathan Eastman, David Graham, Jun., Roger Shearman Skinner, Elihu White, Richard R. Lansing, Moses Ritter.

Niagara—Lyman A. Spalding.

Oneida—Benjamin Hyde, Thomas H. Hamilton, William H. Maynard, John Davis, Willett H. Shearman.

Onondaga—James Geddes, Henry Chamberlain, Schuyler More, Lewis Beebee.

Ontario—Robert C. Nicholas, Hiel Warner, Enoch A. Hall.

Orange—William Phillips.

Orleans—Asahel Byington.

Oswego—William Burt.

Otsego—Stukely Ellsworth, James Hawkes, James Tripp, Arunah Metcalf.

Putnam—John Berry.

Rensselaer—Ambrose Mosely, Welcome Whitaker, Thomas Clowes.

Saratoga—Franklin Livingston, Daniel Morgan, Jun.

Schenectady—Samuel Ross.

Schoharrie—Peter Miles, Peter A. Hiltron, John C. Miller, Austin Knowles.

Seneca—Andrew Glover, Allen Boardman.

St. Lawrence—William Hewes.

Steuben—Josiah Dunlap, Jacob Van Valkenburgh.

Tioga—Horace Giles, William A. Ely.

Tompkins—Calvin Burr, David Bower, David D. Spencer.

Ulster—Robert T. Halleck, David L. Bernard.

Warren—Herman C. Adams.

Washington—Benjamin Joslin, Chas. Rogers.

Wayne—Annanias Wells, Henry S. Gilbert.

Westchester—Joshua Purdy.

Yates—Miles Benham.

On motion of Gen. Obadiah German, of Chenango, the convention proceeded to ballot for a suitable candidate for the office of governor of this state.

The president announced the appointment of Mr. Geddes, and Mr. Cuyler, as tellers.

The whole number of votes given, one hundred and two, were for Francis Granger; when

On motion of Mr. Maynard, it was

Resolved, That FRANCIS GRANGER, of the county of Ontario, be and he is hereby nominated as a suitable candidate for governor of this state, at the next election.

On motion of Mr. Seward,

Resolved, That the convention proceed to ballot for a candidate for the office of lieutenant governor.

Mr. Rogers submitted the name of JOHN CRARY, of the county of Washington; and Mr. Cotheal, that of SAMUEL STEVENS, of New York; as suitable candidates.

On balloting, eighty-seven votes were given for Samuel Stevens, seventeen for John Crary, and one for William H. Maynard.

On motion of Mr. Rogers,

Resolved, That SAMUEL STEVENS, of New York, be and he is hereby unanimously nominated as a candidate for the office of lieutenant governor.

On motion of Mr. Maynard, a committee of one from each senate district of the state was appointed to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the convention. The following gentlemen were appointed to constitute said committee: Mr. Seward of the seventh district, Mr. Graham of the first, Mr. Bernard of the second, Mr. Clowes of the third, Mr. Brooks of the fourth, Mr. Goodale of the fifth, Mr. Burr of the sixth, and Mr. Love of the eighth.

On motion of Mr. Weed, a committee of one from each senate district, was

appointed to prepare an address to the citizens of this state, to be submitted to this convention for its adoption.

The following gentlemen were appointed to constitute said committee : Mr. Maynard, of the 5th district ; Mr. Cotheal, of the 1st ; Mr. Phillips, of the 2d ; Mr. Mosely, of the 3d ; Mr. Adams, of the 4th ; Mr. Betts, of the 6th ; Mr. Hopkins, of the 7th ; and Mr. Lacey, of the 8th.

Mr. Seward, from the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted a series of resolutions, which were adopted by the convention.

Mr. Maynard, from the committee appointed for that purpose, submitted an address to the citizens of this state, which was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Seward,

Resolved, That five thousand copies of the proceedings of this convention be published for distribution.

On motion of Mr. Davies,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to superintend the printing and distribution of the proceedings.

Messrs. William H. Maynard, Beriah B. Hotchkin, and Nicholas Devereux, were announced as said committee.

On motion of Mr. Seward,

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the trustees of the village of Utica, for the use of the room occupied by this convention ; and to the Methodist Episcopal Society, of the village of Utica, for the offer of the use of their chapel.

On motion of Mr. Davies, it was

Resolved, That the officers of this convention are entitled to the thanks of its members, for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their official duties.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas the objects, principles, and motives, of the anti masonic republican party have been grossly misrepresented by selfish and designing politicians, who fear a loss of their power in the reform which that party is endeavoring to effect : And whereas such has been the influence of Free Masonry that it has to a great extent controlled the press, and thereby has been able to mislead and deceive large portions of the people : And whereas it is the right and duty of every party explicitly to state the objects it proposes, and the principles it adopts in relation to the affairs of government : Therefore,

Resolved, That the anti masonic republican party is opposed to the existence among this people of *all secret societies*, which by possibility may endanger the public peace, subsidize the public press, corrupt the legislative, overawe the executive, or obstruct the judicial department of the government. That the society of free masons holding its meetings in secret, owing its perpetuity to oaths of mutual affiliation co-extensive with the limits of the nation, and yet capable of concentrating its power at any and all points of this Union, is by reason of its very organization liable to be perverted to purposes inconsistent with the public safety and welfare. That in the events which called the party into existence we have proof that the society of free masons 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 this Union on the subject of that outrage, we have proof that Free Masonry 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

free masons 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 feeling, which when a judge he hailed as "a pledge that our rights and liberties are destined to endure," we have proof that Free Masonry has made a timid executive subservient to her will—and that in the escape of the guilty conspirators by means of the masonic obligation of witnesses and jurors, we have fearful proof that Free Masonry has obstructed, defeated, and baffled the judiciary in the high exercise of its powers. That for these reasons the society of free masons ought to be abolished.

Resolved, That to the abolition of that Order throughout these United States the anti masonic republican party is pledged. That we derive confirmation in our jealousy of the Order, from the fact that in all the investigations of the last four years it has made no answer to the high charges which have been preferred, but has sought to escape the condemnation of the people by avoiding an issue upon those charges. That we are impelled in the undertaking to abolish Free Masonry not by fiery excitement, or fanatic zeal, but by a deep sense of our responsibilities to perpetuate this government, the last hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world.

Resolved, That the anti masonic party, wherever organized, is principally composed of farmers and mechanics, as yet retaining too much of the blessed spirit of their ancestors tamely to submit under the thralldom of a privileged Order—too virtuous to be corrupted by ambition for office and preferment—too stedfast to yield to temporary excitement. That the fact cannot be disguised, that the opposition it encounters is principally that of the office holders and office seekers in the cities, towns, and villages. That reposing its confidence upon the yeomanry of the land, and the merits of its principles, its success is certain; and that the attempt to arrest the party in its progress by traducing the character and motives of its members, is as futile as it is false and calumnious.

Resolved, That the ballot box is the constitutional tribunal established by the founders of this government for the redress of all great political evils and abuses; that to the ballot box we bring the question whether Free Masonry shall stand or fall, casting our votes for those who accord with us in opinion on this all important subject. And that it is not proscription on our part to withhold our suffrages from those who, whether they be or be not members of the institution, refuse to co-operate with us in the attempt to abolish it, since the disqualification like all disqualification resting in opinion, is voluntary with themselves.

Resolved, That we do not require free masons to reveal the secrets of the institution, if any such secrets there be; that we require only of them as we do of all other citizens, that by their open and decisive conduct on the question at the polls, they prove themselves friends of the people, in opposition to the claims made upon them by the Order.

Resolved, That the endeavor to deter honorable members of the fraternity, who have become convinced that Free Masonry is useless, unnecessary, and liable to be perverted to purposes inconsistent with the public welfare, from co-operation with us in abolishing it, by representing that we wage an indiscriminate warfare against all free masons, carrying confusion and discord into families, societies, neighborhoods, and churches—exhibit a wanton violation of truth and moral honesty. That it has been left to another party than ours to say that Free Masonry ought to be made a subject of *social* discipline, against which sentiment uttered by the acting Governor of this state, we have always protested and do

protest; and that holding the members of the society to be under the same obligations to the country as ourselves, we do cordially invite those who are satisfied that the institution should be surrendered to the voice of the people, to a participation in our confidence, our councils, and our labors.

Resolved, That the anti masonic republican party, while it invites the co-operation of all who love their country and value her institutions, expressly declares that it cannot yield its support to any man for any office, who is not fearlessly and openly the opponent of Free Masonry, at the polls.

Resolved, That since the production of a public appeal, by the grand master of the grand lodge of Massachusetts, to the masons of that state, admonishing all members of the fraternity that it was their duty to vote for John Brooks, the federal candidate for governor, because he was a mason, and against Samuel Dexter, the republican candidate, because he was not a mason, the political character of Free Masonry is clearly established.

Resolved, That the present administration of this state, has proved itself entirely incompetent to all the following great and leading objects of government: The preservation of the funds and property of the state; the enforcing the demands of public justice; the securing the rights of citizens by equal legislation; the improving the moral condition of the people by necessary alteration in our jurisprudence; and the elevating the character, increasing the wealth, and developing the resources of the state, by means of internal improvement.

Resolved, That the attempt, by the present administration, known as the Albany regency, to relieve the banks from the just proportion of the burthen of government, by imposing a tax upon the people, shows palpably their imbecility and gross injustice.

Resolved, That the attempt of the administration, to levy a direct tax of more than three hundred thousand dollars, upon the people, to fill a treasury exhausted by its own improvidence and prodigality, justly calls forth the reprobation of the people.

Resolved, That the prosperity of the state of New York is identified with the policy of the protecting system, and works of internal improvement. That the present administration has deceived the people in relation to the former, while it has pursued the cruel policy of a stepmother towards the latter: That the Albany regency, in relation to the canals, have shown themselves incapable of appreciating their value, or pursuing the policy which will preserve them.

Resolved, That in accordance with the principles in the foregoing resolutions expressed, this convention recommend to the electors of this state, as candidate for the office of governor, FRANCIS GRANGER, of the county of Ontario, in whom the people will recognize a man of distinguished talents, pure republicanism, and the fearless advocate of all the rights and interests of the whole people.

Resolved, That we recommend to the people of this state, as candidate for the office of lieutenant governor, Samuel Stevens, of the city and county of New York, a firm and decided opponent of secret societies, a tried and faithful servant of the people—a man of extraordinary ability and moral worth, and one whose election is pre-eminently to be desired in view of the great work of redeeming the character of the Senate of this state, begun under so favorable auspices by Anti Masonry.

ADDRESS.

SINCE the dawn of the revolution, the United States have never witnessed a more interesting crisis. Measures affecting the character, the faith, the honor of the federal government, the prosperity of the country, even the integrity of the Union, engross the minds of the American people. Without attempting the discussion of the great subjects upon which the whole nation is intent, we find abundant employment for our immediate attention in the interesting condition of our own state. The founders of our republic were men of wisdom and sagacity. They thought they had provided safeguards for the liberty they adored, and the independence they had achieved, at every point, where human foresight could apprehend the approach of danger. Those unparalleled patriots, who in the estimation of royalty had sinned beyond forgiveness, SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANCOCK, to whom pardon was refused when it was proffered to all others, on condition of submission, imagined that they saw a lurking peril, in the secret conclaves of Free Masonry. But the danger was too small or too distant to be perceived by the less acute and powerful optics of their cotemporaries, and their prophetic forebodings were unheeded by a generation, happy in the enjoyment of unequalled freedom, and confident of its immortality. That generation has hardly gone, and the danger which those apostles of liberty discerned as by the power of inspiration, we have found increased to a magnitude that threatened the frustration of justice and the subversion of law. A vast effort has been made to shroud in mystery a transaction that now agitates this whole community. The story is as plain and simple as it is dreadful and alarming. Nearly four years ago, William Morgan was mysteriously absent from his family. His neighbors, obeying the impulse of sympathy, rallied to search for the lost man, and when they found he had been forcibly conveyed away, to detect and punish the malefactors who had feloniously stolen him from his country and his home, and as they soon apprehended, had deprived him of liberty or life. They were soon filled with unbounded astonishment, at finding themselves impeded at every step; that every effort was counteracted, and every exertion frustrated by the incessant activity of a portion of their fellow citizens. Alarm succeeded astonishment, when they discovered the appalling fact, that all concerned in the lawless deed, and all who labored to conceal the act, and its perpetrators, were members of a particular fraternity. When they ascertained that the immediate actors were men of blameless lives, bound to society by the strongest ties and endearments; of elevated standing, and distinguished by offices and honors,

they were forced to the conclusion that the act was not the deed of the implicated individuals merely, but that it was the institution of which they were members, which had sinned through their instrumentality. Hostility was transferred from the infatuated instruments of atrocity to the power that deliberately employed them. And a people born to be free, rushed together to preserve the government of liberty and law, secured by the toil and the wisdom of their fathers, for the benefit of mankind. Unforeseen difficulties awaited them, and thickened as they progressed. The press, exultingly regarded as the proud palladium of liberty, proved recreant in its service. At the command of the "all powerful" Order, it uttered forth its thunders to blacken the character of its intended victim, and mark him for destruction. When the sacrifice was effected, at the same command, it was silent as the house of death, or spoke only to mislead or defame. Every engine of detraction was put in operation, to discolor the acts and belie the motives of those engaged to effect the purposes of humanity and justice. The implicated fraternity turned their batteries of defamation against every magistrate and public functionary who dared to perform his official duty. Convicts, by their own confession, and by the verdicts of juries, were caressed, cheered, and represented as enduring the sufferings, and entitled to the honors of martyrdom. Unprincipled politicians declared the "blessed spirit" which animated the people, and gave assurance "that our liberties were destined to endure," to be only the zeal of aspirants struggling for ascendancy, and men in power, intent only to "uphold a domination that Heaven never gave by means that it can never sanction;" represented the effort to maintain the supremacy of the laws, and fulfil the requirements of justice, as a mean contest for the possession of the offices which they enjoyed.

Dangers and difficulties are the proper stimulants of generous minds. Perils try the souls of men. The contest with the Order was vigorously maintained. New presses were erected, called into existence by the energies, and sustained by the exertions of a virtuous and indignant people.

No cause in our free country ever encountered embarrassments so complicated, or difficulties so formidable, and yet none ever progressed so rapidly. There is no other subject, interesting to the whole human family, the discussion of which is forbidden, in this land of free inquiry, by any portion of our citizens. Notwithstanding all impediments, friends to the cause have multiplied as far and fast as information could be extended; and the anti masonic party, from a village meeting of a few neighbors, now probably numbers within its ranks, one fourth of the electors of this Union; and is now increasing with unprecedented rapidity.

The conflict is not yet ended. We have recently seen the characteristics of the Order illustriously displayed, in the refusal of masonic witnesses to be sworn, when a brother was on trial, and to answer interrogations, declared by the court to be pertinent and proper, after they had taken the oath to tell the whole truth. The severest penalties known to the laws, promptly inflicted by a firm and fearless judge, were powerless against the obligations of the institution. That was an instance of direct conflict between Free Masonry and the government; and deplorable indeed is the fact, that the Order proved triumphant over the prostrate laws of the land. Justice was resisted and mocked in her temple, and her ministers insulted and contemned at her altar.

Only one resource remains to overthrow an institution that has proved superior to the law, and too powerful for our courts of justice—the power of public opinion. To that tribunal an appeal is made. The people are charged with the high responsibility of preserving the republican government which they inherited from their fathers, and transmitting it to posterity. To them is assigned the duty of its defence, against internal foes equally as against foreign hostility. The execution of that high trust depends upon the exercise of the elective franchise. By that alone can the people display their sovereignty, preserve the integrity of their political principles, and the purity of their government. Those who are satisfied of the dangers to be apprehended from Free Masonry, seek to overthrow the institution, by refusing to advance to offices of trust and responsibility, the *adhering* members of the fraternity. By this peaceful mode, they hope to bereave the Order of power and influence, and give to their fellow citizens a practical illustration of the impolicy and folly of attempting to uphold it. Claiming the right of bestowing their confidence where it can be safely reposed, they contemplate the removal of the dangers which threaten the existence of the government, by the lawful and peaceful exercise of the sovereign power of freemen.

Founded upon this resolution, and in the hope of exciting sympathy, and prolonging a useless existence to their Order, the fraternity have preferred the charge of proscription and persecution. Nothing can be more remote from the truth. The charge manifests the arrogance of those who make it. No man has a right to claim the suffrages of another. The bestowment is exclusively the prerogative of him who has it to bestow. The bestowment is coupled with considerations affecting the safety, the interests, and happiness of the whole community. No conscientious elector can be unmindful of the high duty connected with this inestimable privilege. To withhold from any individual what he has no right to claim, and no

title to possess, until it is freely given, and which should always be bestowed under the influence of great and solemn responsibility, is no persecution. Nor is the charge of proscription founded in fact, or sustained even by plausible pretences. It is alleged that the refusal to bestow offices on the members of the Order of Free Masonry is indiscriminate and universal—that it involves the absurdity of imputing to a whole association the errors of a portion, and visiting upon the innocent the sins of the guilty. Far from this is the truth. A large portion of the members of that Order, since the development of its atrocious characteristics, have burst asunder the bonds that bound them, renounced their allegiance, and emancipated themselves from thralldom. Many more, who were masons only of a few degrees, finding in the institution nothing to interest, instruct, or benefit them, like the father of his country, who abandoned the institution THIRTY YEARS before his death, have long since discontinued their attendance upon the requirements of the Order, and all masonic association. Ignorant of modern Free Masonry and of the changes through which the institution has passed, they have no allegiance to renounce, because to the Order as it now is, they never acknowledged any, and bear none. They have no disclosures to make, for their knowledge, limited at first, has been impaired in the lapse of time, by inattention and forgetfulness, and knowing nothing of its recent pollution, they could only add small and unimportant items of testimony to the mass of evidence already before the world. There is another great and continually increasing class, who, obeying the high behests of patriotism, and yielding to the requirements of social, moral, and religious duty, convinced by their own reflections, have silently withdrawn from the institution and formed the firm determination to assist in its overthrow. All these classes, anti masons recognize as engaged in the same great cause with themselves, for the preservation of their government, the security of liberty, and the supremacy of law. The refusal to bestow their confidence and the stations of power, affects only those members of the fraternity who in the face of all the multiplied proofs of the abominations of the institution, and the dangers consequent upon its power and influence, continue to adhere to and uphold it. To such and such only, they deny their confidence. And why should they not? In refusing to entrust to them offices interesting to the public welfare, they act upon the declared law of the land, and upon a principle recognized by every free government, and essential to its existence. The members of the fraternity subjected to the exclusion, have sworn allegiance to an alien power. They refuse to renounce or dissolve that allegiance. All governments have found it essential to their

safety to refuse responsible offices to those who acknowledged any allegiance foreign or alien to itself. And that allegiance is foreign and alien, which may require from those who acknowledge it, the performance of acts inconsistent or conflicting with official duty. Upon this principle have been the decisions of our courts. It has been solemnly decided according to the established forms of law, by courts at which Judges Birdsall, Gardner, and finally Marcy, presided, that a free mason who adhered to the institution, and was under the influence of his masonic obligations, was unfit to be a juror in a cause where a brother mason was on trial, or Free Masonry was in question. That is the declared law of the land. Not the effect of acts of legislation, in the enactment of which, passion, prejudice, or "excitement," may have had an agency; not the result of statutory provisions made for other purposes, and construed by courts to apply to cases never contemplated. But those decisions are the conclusion to which our courts have been led by the principles of the common law, that glorious monument of illumination and wisdom—that inestimable inheritance of freemen. And why have our courts so decided? Because in the expressive language of one of them, the juror "was hampered by his masonic obligations." He was not free. The bonds that bound his mind in thralldom might prove too strong for the oath of God which the law imposed upon his soul. His masonic obligations might conflict with the performance of the duties which his country required of him.

Precisely similar is the condition of free masons in relation to every public office. Instances of conflict between their masonic and official duty, may occur. The community can have no assurance that they will not; and if they should, can have no reliance upon the fidelity or integrity of the officer. We have seen the duty and the oaths of free masons in office, deliberately and flagrantly violated, in obedience to their masonic obligations. Those who will continue this alien allegiance, have no right to complain of the disqualification to which it subjects them, because its assumption and continuance are voluntary, and may be renounced at pleasure, and in safety; excepting only the dangers to which they may be exposed from the alien institution. If they will continue that allegiance, it is most righteous to them and essential to the public safety, that they should encounter the disability which the law prescribes.

By whom is this charge of proscription and persecution preferred? By a party which embraces the same principle they condemn, as the first and most indispensable article of their political creed; the cardinal point of their policy; and insist upon it in practice, as essential to their existence as a party.

Does the dominant party elect or appoint an opponent of Free Masonry to any office or station? Far different is their profession and their practice. The moment an individual is suspected of an intention to oppose his exertions and influence to the "all powerful" Order, he is denounced and marked as a victim. If he be in office, in the "plenary exercise of power," he is hurled from it; and if he be out of office, it is an all sufficient objection to his preferment, whatever may be his merits. No matter how exalted his standing, superior his talents, or ample his qualifications; no matter how pure his character, or unquestionable his republicanism; he may have triumphed with Jefferson, and supported all his republican successions; no matter how many winters may have bleached his locks; or what may have been his sacrifices, sufferings and services. He may have fought the battles of his country and his party, and served faithfully during his whole political life, in the ranks of democracy. If he be bold enough to arrange himself in maintenance of his principles under the banner of justice and the law, against the power of the institution, he is denounced as a recreant and traitor from his party, unworthy of all political and official trust and confidence.

The preferment of this charge by our opponents, manifests a strange obliquity of intellect, depravity of disposition, or matchless confidence in imposition upon human credulity.

And why is this effort of a political party in behalf of an institution that has no visible merits?

The institution of Free Masonry has now been in existence more than a hundred years, and where are the records of its benefits to mankind? Where is the evidence of its useful acts, or the memorials of its glorious achievements? Where are its proofs of indigence relieved, of genius patronised, of art encouraged, of intelligence diffused, of misery diminished, or humanity befriended; of civilization advanced, or religion propagated? What have been its discoveries in science, or its services to the republic of letters? The leaf that should contain the record of its acts of goodness or greatness, is yet a blank. Its merits have no page in history. Yet its life has not been barren of important incident. At an early period it was denounced in Holland and Switzerland as dangerous to republican freedom, condemned in France for its machinations against the government, and reprobated by the church as a foe to religion. More recently it has been put under legal restraints and royal surveillance in England and Russia, and has spread wide its desolations in Germany, by its pestiferous connection with Illuminism. It has had a turbulent and pestilent existence, and has now upon it the "eldest primal curse—a brother's murder." For all its paucity of usefulness and abun-

dance of positive demerits, it seeks refuge alone under the mantle of its charity. Broad indeed must be the mantle of the charity of the world, if it can cover such a multitude of sins. Its charity, its only redeeming quality, confined within the narrow boundaries of its own precincts, beginning and ending at home, is the charity of an insurance company, which pays its policy for the premium received, when damage has been sustained by the occurrence of the peril insured against. An insurance company receives little, and pays much. Free Masonry pretends to ensure against the calamities which "flesh is heir to;" but it reverses the rule, and receives much and pays little. With a calculating prudence, it protects itself against hazardous risques, by excluding from its association all the probable subjects of want, or misfortune; and then lavishes thousands for refreshments and trappings for the hale and robust, and doles out cents for charity. Can this institution be necessary at this age of the world, for the purpose of such parsimonious and exclusive distribution, when all Christendom is moved in the cause of benevolence—when an enlarged and enlightened philanthropy embraces in its benign intents every child of misfortune, every object of misery, every victim of vice? How infinitely superior do they appear who strive with great and manly efforts to diffuse a useful education, render its benefits and blessings universal, and thus meliorate the miserable condition of humanity—who proclaim the benevolent sentiment, that their charities and their duties are not confined to themselves, but embrace the objects of calamity and suffering throughout the world—who act upon the principle that idleness and ignorance are the most prolific sources of vice and woe—and who labor to elevate the character and increase the happiness of man, by devoting him to useful employment, enlightening his mind, enlarging his views, restraining his vicious propensities, and purifying his morals?

Free Masonry displays the emblems of intelligence, and boasts of its light. But at this day, with the broad and clear effulgence of science, civilization, and Christianity, the darkness of the world would not be perceptibly increased if an extinguisher were put upon this dim taper, that ever since it was lit, has been hid under a bushel.

Intelligence is essential to the existence of liberty. And in every community the system of education should be conformed to the character and the nature of the government. Republicans should be taught to abhor the names of prince, potentate, and king; to despise the decorations of privileged and titled orders, and the trappings of royalty. Free Masonry displays to the senses and the minds of our youth, "stars, and garters, and titles of nobility," and "those other 'gewgaws' that in

monarchical governments 'amuse so many children in the shape of men.' " If Free Masonry can be safely tolerated any where, it can only be under those governments to which its despotic structure and tendency are adapted. Its aristocratic and princely distinctions are unsuited to a republic, and it should be banished from our country as the insidious foe of democracy, the lurking enemy of our free and equal institutions.

A subject heretofore much agitated will require from us little discussion, because it is exclusively within the action of the federal government, and public opinion seems to have finally determined its course, and immovably settled its policy. The protecting system for the industry of the country, is essentially the result of southern policy and southern efforts. The embargo gave the first powerful impulse to manufacturing employments. The non-intercourse and war increased the establishments devoted to that branch of national industry, in strength and numbers. The tariff of 1816, advocated by southern statesmen and carried by southern votes, extended the protection and the justice of the government to those great and growing interests which had been created and fostered by governmental acts. The eastern states, more essentially commercial, opposed the system and reluctantly submitted to its adoption. New and increasing wants of the manufacturing establishments, produced by the changing condition of the world, required for them further protection, and it has been afforded. Relying upon the faith and policy of the nation, vast amounts of capital have been diverted from other employments and invested in those new interests which the acts of the government forced into existence. In those interests great numbers of our fellow citizens are now employed, and every other great interest of the country, has profited by enlarging the field of labor, and multiplying its rewards.

In vain will southern statesmen of southern feelings, or *northern* men with *southern* sympathies, demand of us, for their gratification, the relinquishment of the boon which their policy conferred. The abandonment of the American system, would now produce extended desolation and ruin. Its continuance is now most essential to the agricultural interest. Without it, the surplus products of the soil would find no adequate market, and industry no sufficient reward. In addition to sustaining the price of other agricultural products, its continuance multiplies the subjects of employment and wealth, and will soon constitute the wool of the north, formerly an almost unmerchantable commodity, as safe a dependence and as rich a source of income, as the cotton of the south.

The delegates of your appointment, in fulfilment of the duty assigned them, met in convention at Utica, unanimously recom-

mend as a candidate for your suffrages at the ensuing election, for the office of governor of this state, FRANCIS GRANGER, of the county of Ontario, and SAMUEL STEVENS, of the city of New York, for the office of lieutenant governor.

The brilliant and useful career of Mr. Granger, in the Legislature, has made him universally known to the electors of this state. The son of a distinguished republican, a man eminently gifted with genius, eloquence, and talent, and educated among the sages of the country, he imbibed in early life the purest and soundest principles of democracy. With a mind active and strong, and devoted from his youth to the political concerns of his country, he came into public life, possessed of the most ample stores of knowledge, and the discriminating observation which supplies the place of experience. Endowed with eloquence, and assiduous in business, he became immediately distinguished. Familiar with the police of the state and the subjects of legislation, no man understands more perfectly what is necessary to promote its interests and advance its prosperity. Having a deep stake in the soil, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, his interests are identified and his sympathies are enlisted with those of the great body of the people.

The public conduct of Mr. Granger has been bold, frank, and explicit. The cardinal points of his policy, as manifested in his legislative career, are the preservation of our stupendous works of internal improvement, and increase of their usefulness; a diminution of the expenses of their maintenance; the safe and prudent investment of their ample revenues; now amounting annually to twelve hundred thousand dollars, and yielding a surplus of half a million of dollars over all expenditure; the payment of the canal debt, at the earliest possible period, that the abundant income now devoted to that object may be applied to the other purposes of the state, and its inhabitants rendered for ever free from taxation for the direct support of their government.

SAMUEL STEVENS, of New York, who is presented as a candidate for the second office in the state, derived his existence from a distinguished revolutionary source. His father, Gen. Ebenezer Stevens, was second in command of that bold band, who put the first hand to the work of independence, and frustrated the designs of the British ministry by throwing overboard from the ships in Boston harbor, the tea upon which the obnoxious tax was imposed. Fleeing from the hot pursuit of the enraged officers of the crown, the youthful Stevens repaired to Rhode Island, where he obtained a commission, assisted in raising a company, and at the commencement of hostilities marched back to the memorable heights in the vicinity of Boston, to face the foes of his country. At the head of a

company he joined the army that under Montgomery made the campaign of Canada, and the attack on Quebec. Acquiring distinction by his early services, the state of New York offered him promotion in her own line; and as commander of artillery, at Saratoga he flashed defiance on the legions of Burgoyne. Having contributed essentially to the humiliation and surrender of one proud army, he was transferred to the immediate command of Washington; and after years of eventful warfare, he saw at Yorktown the flag of his country wave in triumph over the subsequent conquerer of India. There closed the mighty scene of arms which Stevens and his daring coadjutors, unknown to their country, and uncertain of its support, commenced in the harbor of Boston. Returning to New York with the army under Washington, at its disbandment he made the state and city of his adoption the place of his future residence. Fond of military service, he engaged in the militia, and long held a distinguished command. At the commencement of the last war, age had dimmed his vision, and stiffened his limbs; but had not subdued his indomitable spirit, nor quenched his patriotic ardor. At the earnest solicitation of Gov. Tompkins, he engaged as commander of the artillery, in the active service of the state. Not content with devoting to his country the remnant of his life, after exerting his youthful energies in her service, he took with him to share the perils of the battle-field, four of his sons, one of whom is the gentleman now presented as your candidate. From such a stock, sprung SAMUEL STEVENS. From such a father, and such a whig and hero of the revolution, he learnt his political principles and his patriotic duties. Enjoying the confidence of his fellow citizens in New York, he has for some years been devoted to the public service of that city. As a member of the common council, he has been emphatically the man of the people—the champion of their cause—and the fearless advocate of their rights. Distinguished for talents, firmness and independence, he has never failed to expose the corruptions, and resist the encroachments of power.

Such are the men we present for the bestowment of your confidence. They are both in the vigor of life, and the maturity of intellect, and full of ardor for the advancement of the essential interests and glory of New York.

PETER PRICE, Prest.

STUKELY ELLSWORTH, }
SAMUEL ST. JOHN, } Vice Prests.

Robert C. Nicholas, }
David C. Spencer, } Secs.