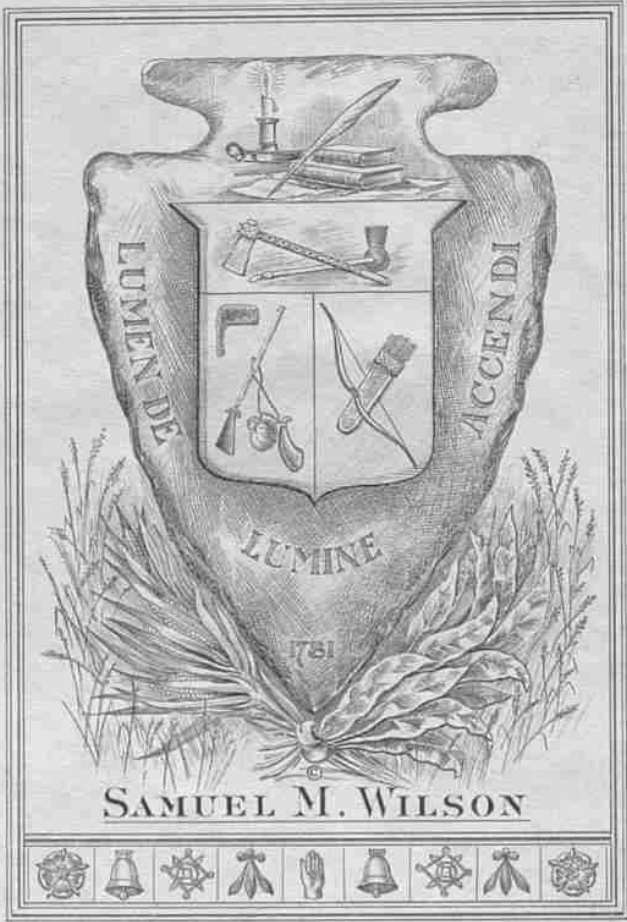




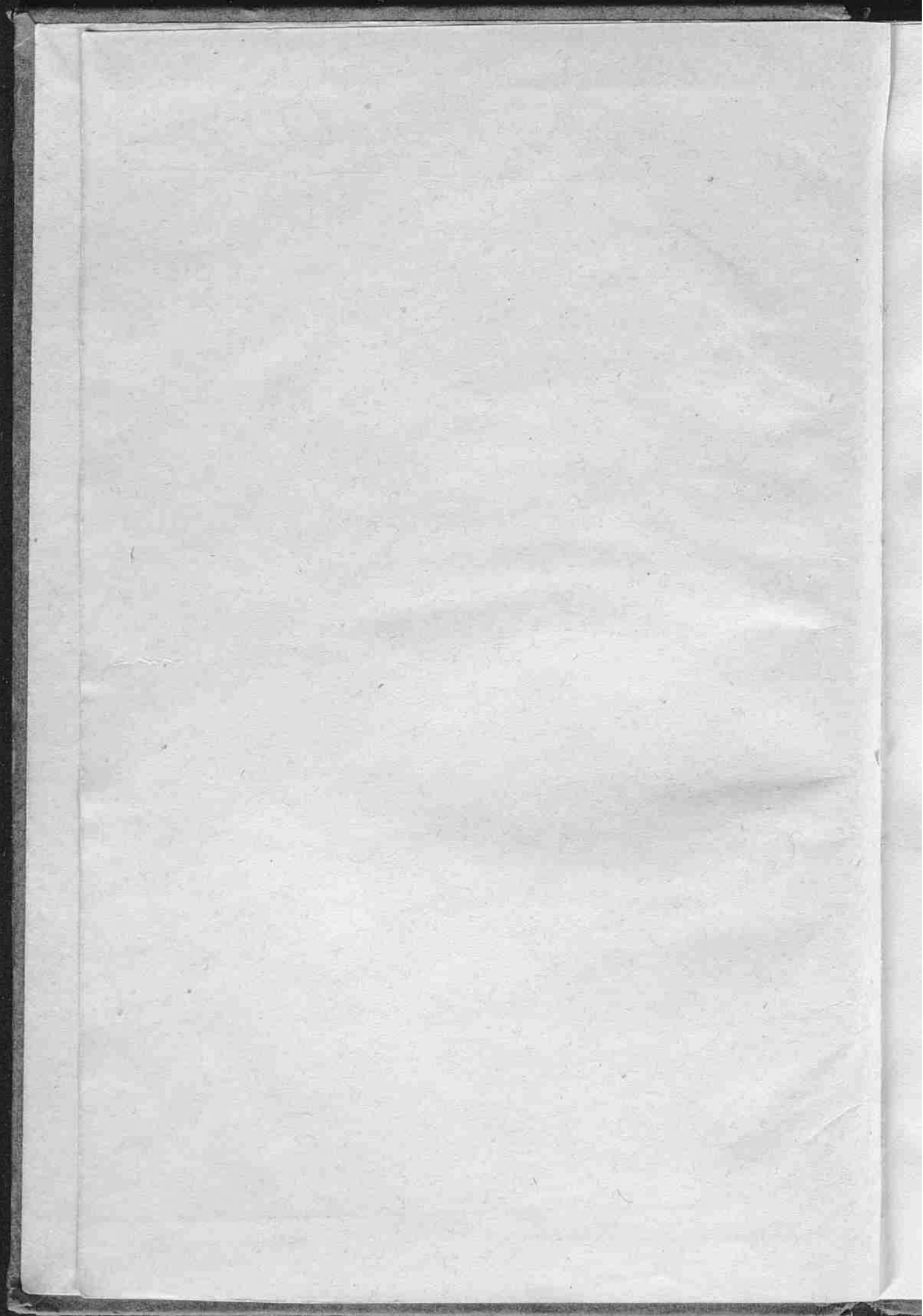
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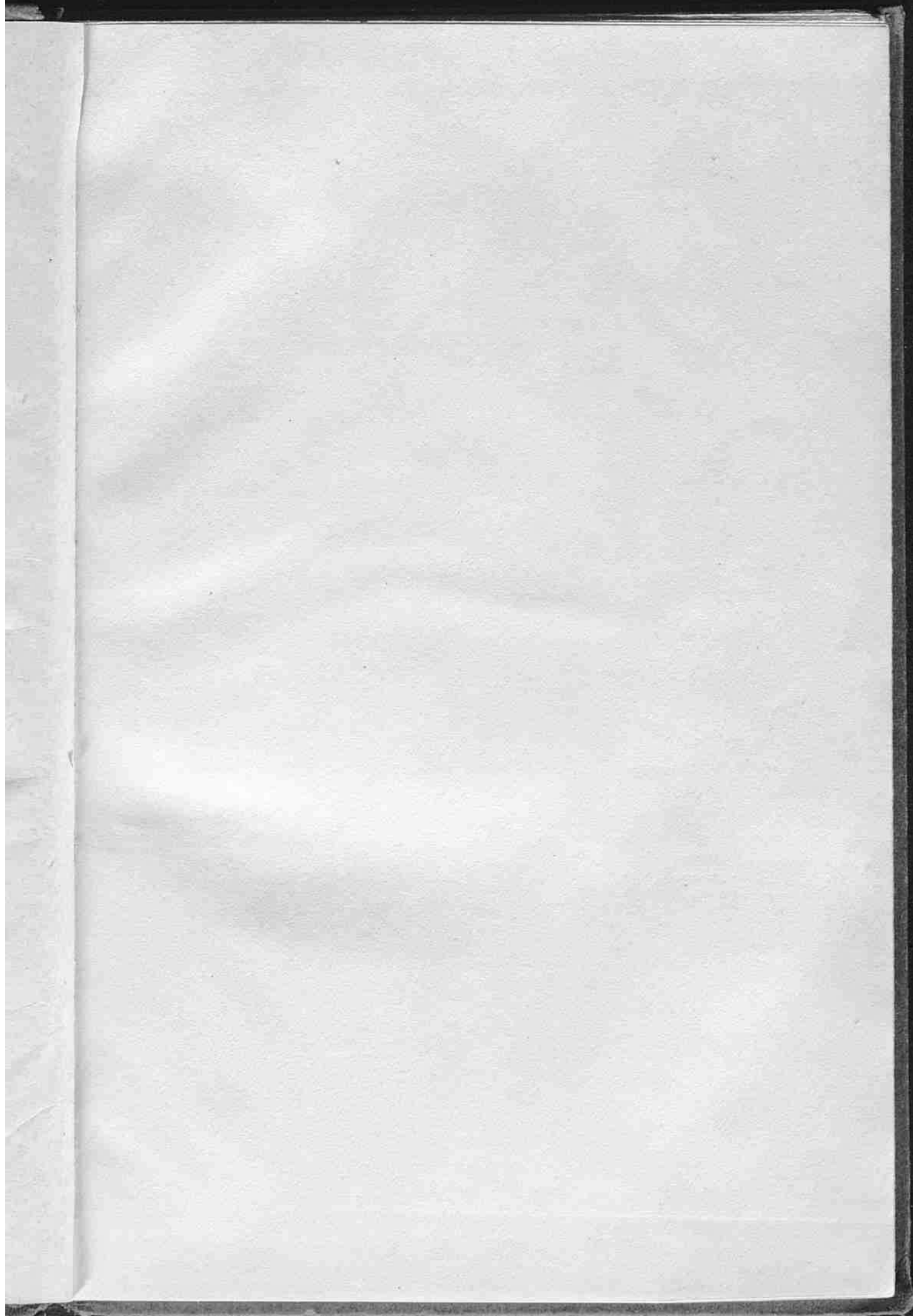


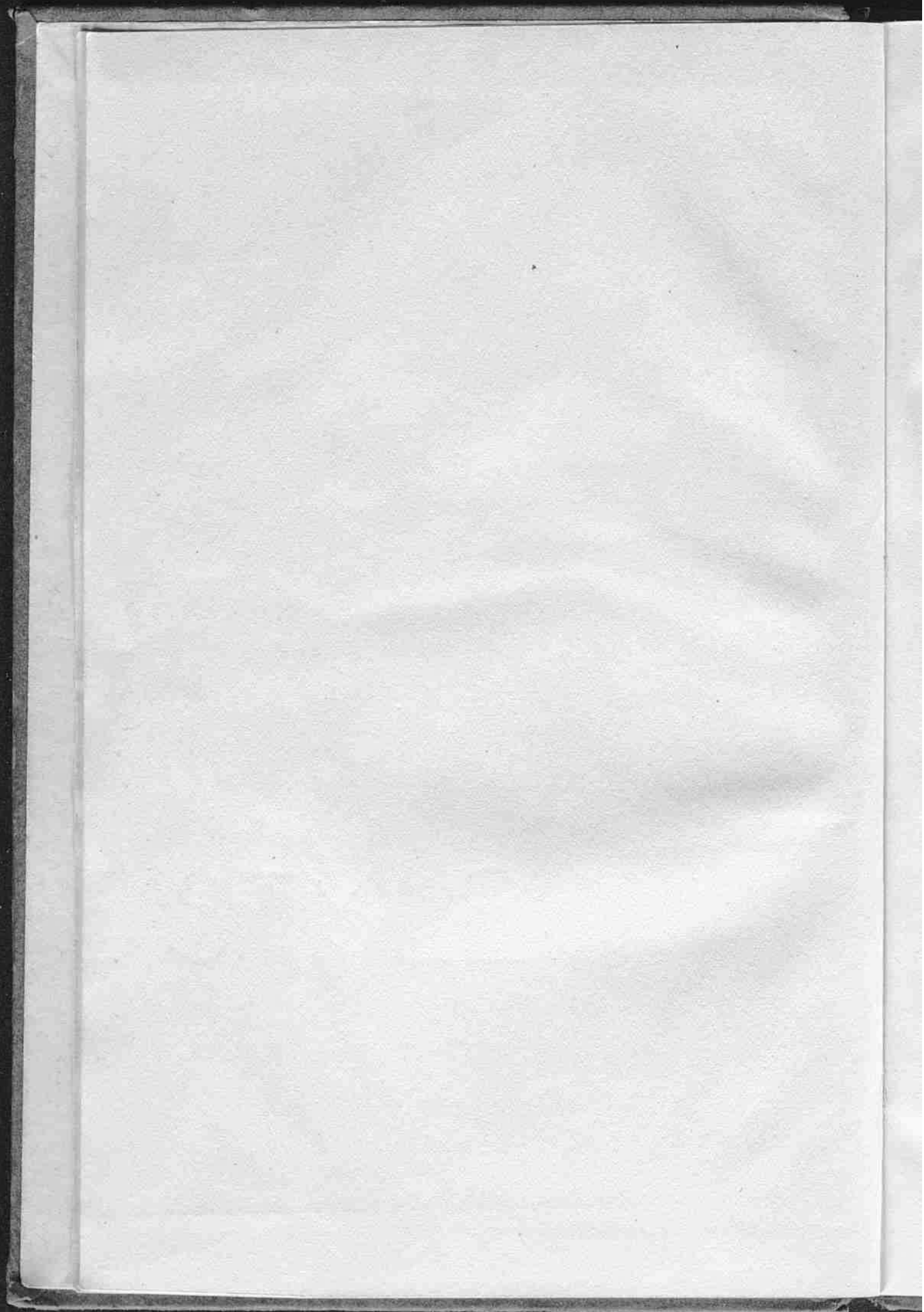
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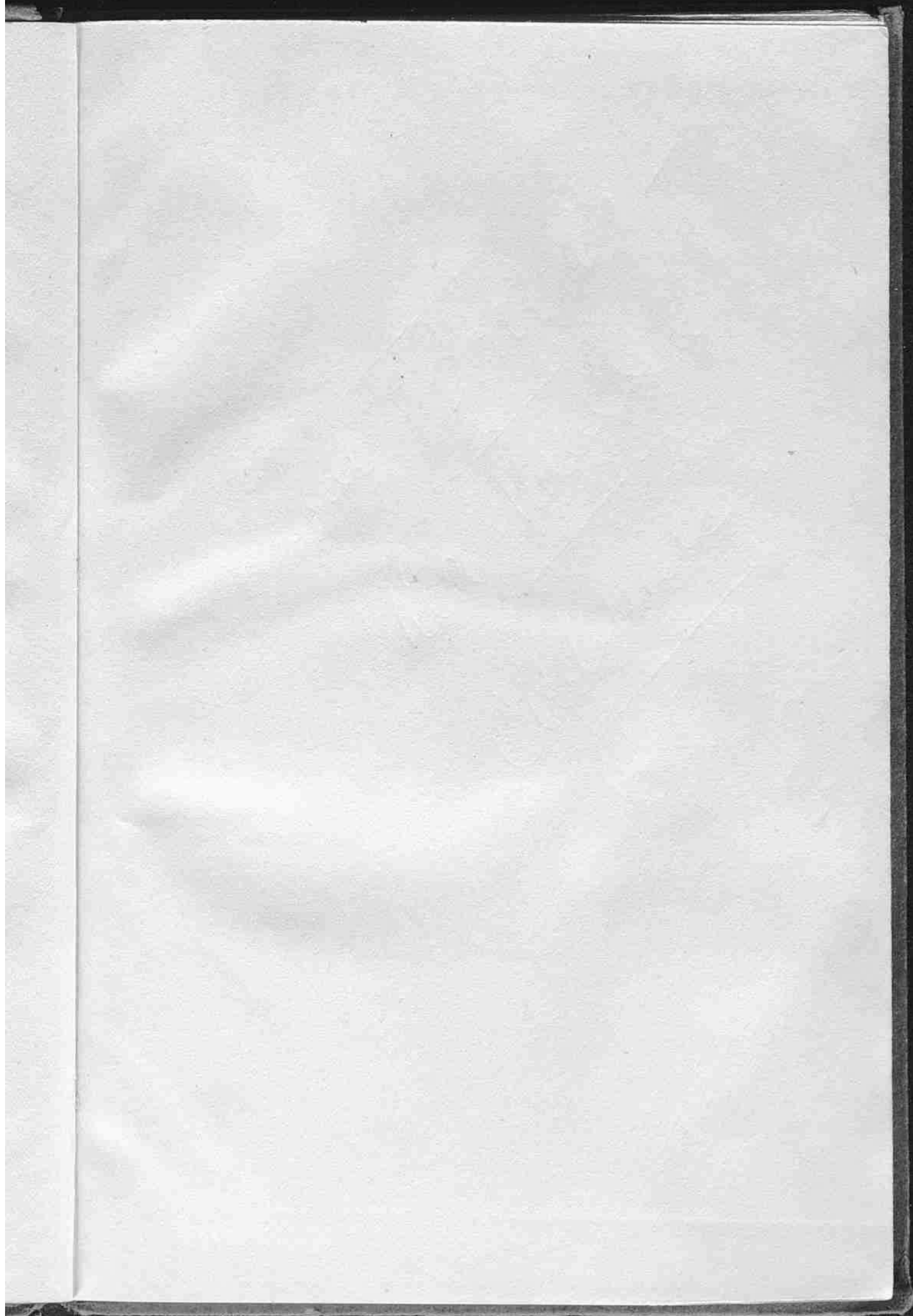
Samuel M. Wilson.

April 19th 1915.











HISTORY AND RECORD

Of the proceedings of the People of Lexington and its vicinity in the suppression of the "TRUE AMERICAN," from the commencement of the movement on the 14th August, 1845, to its final termination on Monday the 18th of the same month.

The 'True American' of the 12th August contained matter, as the following pages will show, well calculated to excite the indignation, and to awaken the apprehensions of the people of Lexington and its vicinity. The popular proceedings to which it led, and the event in which it terminated, has already awakened general attention, and will probably lead to a great deal of discussion in every part of the United States. A disposition to misrepresent the motives and the conduct of some of the earlier movers in the matter, has been manifested by some of the presses, even in the city of Lexington. To preserve, in a connected form, the published proceedings, as well the publications of the Editor of the True American, as those of the different committees and meetings which acted on the subject, and to furnish a faithful history of the origin of this movement, and the different steps of its progress, the persons whose names are appended hereto, have determined to publish the whole in pamphlet form.

After the appearance of the True American of the 12th, it was manifest that the popular indignation in Lexington was rising to a pitch that threatened an outbreak in some form of violence. On the morning of the 14th of August, the following gentlemen met, accidentally, at the office of James B. Waller, who was himself not in Lexington at the time. They were, *Thomas H. Waters, James L. Hickman, Thomas B. Megowan, Henry Lockhart, and Tho. F. Marshall.* The last number of the 'True American,' and the high and dangerous excitement it was producing, became at once the subject of conversation. The apprehension of partial mobs and disturbances within the city by night, was expressed. The probabilities that Mr Clay's person and private dwelling were in danger from the growing exasperation of the people, were discussed. The fear that any

sudden or irregular movement upon the subject, might assume a political complexion, and produce the most unpleasant, if not the most disastrous consequences, was suggested. The propriety of a public meeting, to be summoned by a notice, which had already been prepared by Mr. Hickman, was also considered. Mr. Marshall alluded to the great delicacy of his own position in relation to the whole question. He deprecated the affair taking a party turn, and suggested the propriety of making out a list of citizens of both parties, and notifying them by private notice, to attend that evening at the Court House at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of opening a correspondence with Mr. Clay upon the subject. The list was made out, and Mr. Megowan undertook to notify the gentlemen.

In case of a failure to induce Mr. Clay to discontinue his paper by an application in writing, it was at the same time agreed among these gentlemen, that there should *then* be proposed a general call of the people of the City and County, and several days given for the notice. Above all, it was agreed that party should be kept entirely out of view. The design was from the beginning, to prevent bloodshed and violence if possible; at all events, by concentrating the public mind, and the whole people, to prevent partial movements and individual action, which under the peculiar circumstances of this case, and the relations personal as well as political, of the Editor of the True American, might have led to so much disaster, and would certainly have been subject to so much misrepresentation.

We have inserted, as part of these proceedings, an article signed "A Kentuckian." It was written after the adjournment of the meeting of the 14th, and was intended to sustain the first movement. It was published first in the Kentucky Gazette of the 16th, but on the same day in handbill form, and circulated along with the journal, correspondence, and address of the meeting of the 14th August, and has appeared to us properly to form a part of this history.

The undersigned have had the satisfaction of witnessing what they originally desired—a popular movement without distinction of party. The call made by a few citizens upon a generous and manly people, has been heartily and promptly responded to; and the whole affair, delicate and dangerous as it was, has been conducted to its fortunate issue, in safety and in honor. The meeting of the 14th was small, there having been no general or public notice of it; none indeed was intended. Of the Whigs who had been requested to attend, several were present, and the remainder it was understood acquiesced in the movement. C. M. Clay came into the room and remained some time. Several Whigs arrived after he had gone.

On the 15th, when C. M. Clay's answer was read, and Mr. Waters' address reported, the Court House was crowded; and never was there surely such silence and perfect order maintained in so large a body of men under such circumstances. The proceedings were had and the meeting adjourned without the slightest murmur. No religious assembly could have maintained profounder or more decorous silence and attention.

The following is the Notice prepared by James L. Hickman Esq. and postponed on account of the proposition to make out a list of particular citizens and notify them specially:

NOTICE.

The citizens of Lexington are requested to meet at the Court House this evening at 4 o'clock, to take into consideration the propriety of adopting suitable measures to protect the property, and defend the wives and daughters of the citizens of Lexington against the "*strong arms, fiery hearts and iron pikes*" of the so called True American.

The following is the list made out in James B. Waller's office of gentlemen to be requested to attend at 3 o'clock at the Court House. Of this list Tho. B. Megowan notified all the gentlemen but two: Thomas S. Redd and Parker Craig. Mr. Craig was absent from the city, and Mr. Megowan could not find Mr. Redd. All the gentlemen approved the procedure, and engaged to attend it if convenient.

"Invite the following named gentlemen to meet at the Court House at 3 o'clock this evening, to consult on what course would be proper to pursue, in relation to the publication in this city of the paper called the True American."

Aug. 14, 1845.

Dr. Ben. W. Dudley,	Parker Craig,	D. Mc. Payne,
John W. Hunt,	W. H. Richardson,	E. K. Sayre,
D. M. Craig,	John McCauley,	Wm. S. Waller,
H. T. Duncan,	Tho. Bradley,	Saml. R. Bullock,
H. H. Timberlake,	L. C. Randall,	J. C. Breckinridge,
Wm. Wilson,	Dr. J. C. Cross,	Thomas Grant,
Thomas S. Redd,	J. O. Harrison,	Maslin Smith,
Henry Johnson,	Ed. McAlister,	Ed. P. Johnson,
W. K. Higgins,	Jas. A. Grinstead,	B. A. Hicks,

The meeting, at least a portion of the gentlemen notified attended at the hour. Several gentlemen who had promised to attend not having arrived, after some conversation it was mo-

ved to adjourn. Mr Hunt, Mr Dudley M. Craig, and others of the Whig party coming in however, the meeting proceeded to business. The following is the journal of their entire proceedings:

TO THE PUBLIC.

At a meeting of sundry citizens of Lexington at the Court House on Thursday, 14th August, Beverley A. Hicks was called to the chair, and the meeting being organized, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, after which the meeting adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M. to-morrow 15th. Signed, BEVERLEY A. HICKS, Chairman.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to wait upon Cassius M. Clay, editor of the True American, and request him to discontinue the publication of the paper called the "True American" as its further continuance, in our judgement, is dangerous to the peace of our community, and to the safety of our homes and families.

2d. That the Committee report to this assembly to-morrow evening at 3 o'clock the result of their application and Mr. Clay's answer.

B. W. DUDLEY,
THOS. H. WATERS, } Com't.
JOHN W. HUNT. }

The meeting assembled pursuant to adjournment, and Thomas H. Waters one of the Committee of correspondence, reported the following letter and answer of C. M. Clay.

LEXINGTON, 14th Aug., 1845.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Esq.

SIR:—We, the undersigned, have been appointed as a committee upon the part of a number of the respectable citizens of the City of Lexington to correspond with you, under the following resolution.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to wait upon Cassius M. Clay, Editor of the "True American," and request him to discontinue the publication of the paper called the "True American" as its further continuance, in our judgment, is dangerous to the peace of our community, and to the safety of our homes and families.

In pursuance of the above, we hereby request you to discontinue your paper, and would seek to impress upon you the importance of your acquiescence. Your paper is agitating and exciting our community to an extent of which you can scarcely be aware. We do not approach you in the form of a threat. But we owe it to you to state, that, in our judgment, your own safety, as well as the repose and peace of the community, are involved in your answer. We await your reply, in the hope that your own good sense and regard for the reasonable wishes of a community in which you have many connexions and friends, will induce you promptly to comply with our request. We are instructed to report your answer to a meeting, to-morrow evening, at three o'clock, and will expect it by two o'clock, P. M., of to-morrow. Respectfully, &c.

B. W. DUDLEY,
THO. H. WATERS,
JOHN W. HUNT.

To which Mr. Clay made the following reply: —

SIRS:—I received through the hands of Mr. Thomas H. Waters, one of your committee, since candle-light, your extraordinary letter. Inasmuch as two of your committee and myself are not upon speaking terms, and when I add to this the fact that you have taken occasion to address me a note of this character, when I am on a bed of sickness of more than a month's standing, from which I have only ventured at intervals to ride out and to write a few paragraphs, which caused a relapse, I think that the American people will agree with me, that your office is a base and dishonorable one, more particularly when they reflect that you have had more than two months whilst I was in health to accomplish the same purpose.—I say in reply to your assertion that you are a committee appointed by a respectable portion of the community, that it cannot be true. Traitors to the laws and Constitution cannot be deemed respectable by any but assassins, pirates and highway robbers. Your meeting is one unknown to the laws and constitution of my country, it was secret in its proceedings, its purposes, its spirit, and its action, like its mode of existence, are wholly unknown to and in direct violation of every known principle of honor, religion or government, held sacred by the civilized world. I treat them with the burning contempt of a brave heart and loyal citizen. I deny their power and defy their action. It may be true that those men are excited as you say, whose interest it is to prey upon the excitement and distresses of the country. What tyrant ever failed to be excited when his unjust power was about to be taken from his hands? But I deny, utterly deny, and call for proof, that there is any just ground for this agitation. In every case of violence by the blacks since the publication of my paper, it has been proven and will be again proven by my representatives, if my life should fail to be spared, that there has been special causes for their action independent of, and having no relation whatever to the "True American" or its doctrines. Your advice with regard to my personal safety is worthy of the source whence it emanated, and meets with the same contempt from me which the purposes of your mission excite. Go tell your secret conclave of cowardly assassins that C. M. Clay knows his rights and how to defend them.

Lexington, Aug. 15, 1845.

C. M. CLAY

After the reading of the correspondence, Mr. Waters offered the following address and resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

The answer of the "Editor of the True American" to a note directed to him yesterday by a committee of this body of the citizens of Lexington, acting under a resolution of the same, demands at our hands a deliberate reply.

The editor in his response to the note of our committee which will appear in our published proceedings, uses the following language:

"I say in reply to your assertion that you are a committee appointed by a respectable portion of the community, that it cannot be true.

Traitors to the laws and constitution cannot be deemed respectable by any but assassins, pirates, and highway robbers. Your meeting is one unknown to the laws and constitution of my country; it was secret in its proceedings, its purposes, its spirit and its action, like its mode of existence, are wholly unknown to and in direct violation of every known principle of honor, religion or government, held sacred by the civilized world. I treat them with the contempt of a brave heart and a loyal citizen. I deny their power and defy their action. It may be true that those men are excited as you say, whose interest it is to prey upon the excitement and distresses of the country. What tyrant ever failed to be excited when his unjust power was about to be taken from his hands?" Appended to the handbill, which appeared this morning over the signature "C. M. Clay" there is an appeal to "Kentuckians," in which this meeting is denounced as a band of Tyrants worse than the "Athenian Thirty," and closing with the following significant summons: "Men who regard law—men who regard their liberties as not to be sacrificed to a single pecuniary interest, to say the least, of doubtful value—lovers of justice—enemies of blood—*laborers of all classes, you for whom I have sacrificed so much*, where will you be found when this battle between *Liberty and Slavery* is to be fought?"

The meaning and purpose of the man can scarce admit of question. For whom is it, that he has made such sacrifices? For which *class of laborers* in our community, is that particular description intended? Had the scheme of Abolition ripened to its final explosion among us, were the nonslaveholding laborers of our country prepared to make common cause with insurgent Blacks, and to flock to the standard of a "desperado," in a war for universal liberty, this *proclamation* of one who seems to be mad, would be, indeed, appalling. As our object, however, is not to put forth a *counter manifesto*, to unfurl the banner of civil war, or to advertise for recruits, we proceed calmly to examine the circumstances which led to our assembly and proceedings; circumstances, which, in our judgment, demand the suppression of the "True American," by the force of public opinion, if possible. We do not mean to discuss the question of slavery with the editor of the True American, or any one else. With his theory of human rights, or his application of the principles of the "Declaration of Independence" to the African race in America, we will have no discussion. We know that there is a party in the United States, waxing stronger, active, vigilant and utterly fanatical, who maintain that African Slavery should be abolished forthwith; the Freedmen remaining upon the soil, and admitted to all the political rights of Citizens. With this party, the editor of the "True American" is associated; by them he is sustained, and has erected his press in Kentucky, for the purpose of urging their principles and effecting their objects.

From the first establishment of the paper, the editor has borne himself like a man engaged, and conscientiously engaged in a desperate and unlawful undertaking. Defiance and threats were his

earliest heralds. This community have heretofore borne with patience, the continuance of the paper, from a variety of causes needless to be enumerated. The Tuesday's number, 12th Aug., however, contained matter so unequivocal, so unexpected, so audacious, that men must have been besotted, or stupified, or paralysed utterly, by the basest terrors not to have been roused, to notice the subject with decision. The leading article in that days paper, occupies three columns and a half, and is devoted to the detail of the *modus operandi* of Abolition. The fundamental proposition of the writer is this, in his own language: "Our Legislatures, *State and General*, should raise the platform upon which our free colored people stand. They should give to them, full political right to hold office; to vote, to sit on juries, to give their testimony, and make no distinction between them and ourselves."

This is bad enough, quite bad enough, but is by way of recommendation; the instrument upon which the writer relies is moral suasion, directed to the masters.—The editorial, however, of that day, assumes another tone. He does not persuade, but threatens. Discarding the mild, but as he thinks, hopeless agency of moral reasoning, he appeals directly to physical force, in its most appalling forms. The paragraphs to which we refer, and were the direct cause of our proceedings, are the most remarkable ever put forth in this community. In explanation of our conduct, we quote them at large. The editor, after anticipating that in case he should perish, some other philanthropist would arise to fill his place, proceeds: "It is the weakness and disease in the State that has forced us into our present position; and if we should perish, the same causes would raise up many more, and abler than we, to vindicate the same cause. We had hoped to see on this continent, the great axiom that man is capable of self government amply vindicated: we had no objections to the peaceable and honorable extension of empire, over the whole continent, if equal freedom expanded with the bounds of nation, gladly would we have seen untold millions of freemen, enjoying liberty of conscience, resting under their own vine and fig tree with none to make them afraid, standing upon a sacred and inviolate constitution at home, and just towards all nations—such was the vision of the Immortal Washington, and such was ours. But we are told the enunciation of the great and soul stirring principles of revolutionary patriots was a lie—as the dog returns to his vomit, we are to go back to the foul and cast off rags of European tyranny, to hide our nakedness: *Slavery, the most unmitigated, the lowest, the basest* that the world has seen, is to be substituted forever, for our better, more glorious, holier aspirations—the Constitution is torn and trampled under foot; justice and good faith in a nation are derided; brute force is substituted in the place of high moral tone: all the great principles of national liberty which we inherited from our British ancestry are yielded up—and we are left without God or hope in the World. When the great hearted of our land weep, and the man of reflection maddens in the

"contemplation of our national apostacy; there are men pursuing gain and pleasure, who smile with contempt and indifference at their appeals. *But remember you who dwell in marble palaces—that there are strong arms and fiery hearts, and iron pikes in the streets, and panes of glass only between them and the silver plate on the board, and the smooth skin woman on the Ottoman.*—When you have mocked at virtue, *denied the agency of God in the affairs of men, and made rapine your honied faith; tremble, for the day of retribution is at hand—and the masses will be avenged.*"

There is a miserable effort in C. M. Clay's handbill this morning to explain these horrible passages. He says in his commentary upon the article, that, "It will be perceived by the reader that the whole piece alludes to national policy and the loss of a high sense of justice in the administration of our national affairs. That he means by the masses the white millions who will in the course of time when that poverty the consequence of slavery presses on them follow the example of their plunderers and in turn plunder them. This is the idea, conveyed he says, "in his elliptical manner." It was of slavery the most unmitigated, the lowest, the basest, that the editor was writing. The passages are clear, distinct, and unambiguous. There is no ellipsis in the case—they are protuberant in their horrid fullness. "Tremble for the day of retribution is at hand!" By what elliptical figure can this be made to relate to the far future? There was and is but one impression in Lexington as to these articles. The excitement was great and natural. That an ally of the Northern abolitionists should claim the benefit of the press, and the full protection of laws, whose validity in one of the most important of our social relations he absolutely denies, that he should claim for himself the right to excite to sedition, by inflammatory publications, addressed to all the passions of our slaves, and to arm as though it were an arsenal the den from whence he fulminates his infernal bulletins against the settled institutions of the country, and the safety and the peace of our wives and daughters, and at the same time deny to us the right of meeting in peaceful and unarmed council to deliberate of the best mode of preventing frightful and threatened outrage, is of a piece with the terrible fanaticism of the sect to which the editor belongs. We assembled to endeavor, in advance of that just popular resentment which awaits the reckless incendiary, which does not always, and sometimes cannot pause, for the slow effort of laws, to endeavor by mildness and remonstrance, to turn him from his purpose, and consequently avert the storm of public indignation which he seeks to raise. We have made the effort, and encountered his denunciation. Mercy to our slaves, a regard for the public peace, self respect, and respect for the character of the community forbids us to be beaten back, by the outrage and abuse heaped upon us by one desperate man.

We assume not to decide for a society who have with us a common interest,—but as a portion of that community, recommend a general meeting of the people of the city of Lexington and county of Fay-

ette to be held on Monday next, Aug. 18th, to concert measures for the suppression of the farther publication of the "Abolition paper" called the True American. Be it therefore

Resolved, That a notice be published for a general meeting of the people of this city and county to be held on Monday 11 o'clock, a.m. at the Court-House, to take into consideration the most effectual steps, to secure our interests from the efforts of Abolition Fanatics and incendiaries.

Mr. Henry Johnson offered the resolution to print, which was adopted.

Resolved, That 1000 copies in handbill form of the Journal of proceedings of this meeting, along with their address be published for circulation, and that a committee of three be appointed to superintend the publication.

Mr. H. Johnson then moved an adjournment; which was carried unanimously, and the meeting adjourned.

BEVERLY A. HICKS, Chairman.

On the morning of the 15th, Mr C. M. Clay threw before the public his correspondence in the following handbill:

TRUE AMERICAN—EXTRA.—Aug. 15, 1845.

To a Just People.—I deem it due to myself and the cause of the people, the constitutional liberty of my State, that I make a few explanations before the enemies of all these proceed to extremity, that they may be left without excuse in the estimation of all just men. I learned a few moments before 3 o'clock, that a public meeting was to be holden at that hour in the Court House, to take measures for the suppression of the publication of the True American. Immediately, unwell as I was, I proceeded to the Court House, to vindicate, as I shall ever be ready to do, the principles and policy maintained in that paper. I found about twenty individuals, including some two or three personal friends who followed me in. I knew them all to be political, and three-fourths of them violent personal enemies. I saw but one so-called-Whig, and he has been ever since the publication of the paper, one of the most violent opponents. I will give the names of these men, hereafter, to the public. Two speakers proposed to dissolve the meeting, and Captain Henry Johnson, a cotton planter, declared that although he was ever ready to act boldly upon this subject, he would not then, nor hereafter, take any action in regard to the True American, unless the Whig party also came up and incurred the same responsibility. Thomas F. Marshall said that he had regarded it as a public not a private meeting, and that he conceived that the public dissatisfaction and excitement, were

based upon the editorial published by me in the last "American," where I spoke of the consequences of the disregard of the principles of justice by the leading men of the Nation; and another person remarked that dissatisfaction was also founded upon the opinion set forth in the leader in the last paper. Here several persons contended that it was a private meeting, upon which I started to leave the house, explaining to Mr. Marshall, in passing, that a construction had been put upon my article which it never entered my head to convey, as any sensible man who will read the piece, will see, who knows the circumstances in which I am placed, having regard to common sense, the effectuation of my own purposes, or the safety of myself and relatives, that I could never intend to give it. It will be perceived by the reader of that article, that the whole piece alludes to National policy, and the loss of a high sense of justice in the administration of our National affairs, resulting from the influence of negro slavery upon the national action, even to the habitual violation of the Constitution; and further meant to convey the idea, in my elliptical manner, that in a country like ours, where suffrage is universal, and standing armies impossible, that those men who are drawing substance and power from the existence and extension of Slavery, at the expense of the interests of the great masses of the legal voters of this Union, who are now and have been sacrificed at the shrine of Slavery; that these men, the White millions (having no allusion whatever to the Blacks of the South) would in the course of time, when that poverty pressed upon them which Slavery had been the most instrumental in causing, follow the example of their plunderers, and in turn plunder them. Such was the case in "France when the oppressed rose upon the Oppressor, and spared neither property, life, nor sex."

As to the Blacks, we have ever held in our printed arguments, and in our secret opinion, that the Slaves, whilst the Union lasts, are utterly impotent for any very extensive mischief, even in the Cotton countries, and I regard the idea of insurrection in Kentucky, where there are about six Whites to one Black, as ridiculous, and only used by the Slaveholders as a Bug-a-boo, to maintain the ascendancy of their power in the State; and even if an insurrection should take place, I feel myself as much bound, as any citizen in the state, to shoulder my musket to suppress it, and in the discharge of my duty I am not willing to admit that any person is more ready. With regard to the leader of the same paper, I said in the beginning that I intended to allow full freedom of discussion upon the

subject of Slavery, and I said for several weeks, at the head of my editorial columns, under my own signature, that I intended to allow under the editorial head also, great latitude of opinion, without comment. Differing as I did in some important points from the writer of this article, who I repeat is a large Slaveholder, I intended to give my individual views on the same subject, in my very next number, which when given will put my enemies under the necessity of denouncing, when they denounce me, the immortal Washington, a name sacred to the lovers of liberty of all time and place. I had not expected in the abundance of my charity, that the most fallen men would have taken advantage of my helpless condition, arising from a long and painful illness, to sacrifice me: when even in health, I stood almost one man against a thousand. I tell these men, however, that they much mistake their man, and that if they do succeed in accomplishing their purposes, and seal their triumph with my blood, that their banners of victory shall wave over a violated Constitution, the grave of Liberty, and the impious defiance of the Laws of God, and the moral sense of all mankind. If I stood in defence only of my own right, I might be deterred from the unequal contest; but when I stand for the six hundred thousand free white citizens of my native state, allegiance to which, and her interests, concentrated by all republican principles in the majority of her people, I cannot lay down my arms. To my children, and friends wherever found, if I know myself, it shall never be said, at least of one citizen of Kentucky, that he preferred life, to honor and duty to his country.

C. M. CLAY.

Thursday, August 14th, 1845.

Since writing the above handbill, I have received the following letter from the hands of Tho. H. Waters, on my sick bed, at my own house:

LEXINGTON, 14th Aug., 1845.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Esq.

SIR:—We, the undersigned, have been appointed as a committee upon the part of a number of the respectable citizens of the City of Lexington to correspond with you, under the following resolution.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to wait upon Cassius M. Clay, Editor of the "True American," and request him to discontinue the publication of the paper called the "True American" as its further continuance, in our judgment, is dangerous to the peace of our community, and to the safety of our homes and families.

In pursuance of the above, we hereby request you to discontinue your paper, and would seek to impress upon you the importance of

your acquiescence. Your paper is agitating and exciting our community to an extent of which you can scarcely be aware. We do not approach you in the form of a threat. But we owe it to you to state, that, in our judgment, your own safety, as well as the repose and peace of the community, are involved in your answer. We await your reply, in the hope that your own good sense and regard for the reasonable wishes of a community in which you have many connexions and friends, will induce you promptly to comply with our request. We are instructed to report your answer to a meeting, to-morrow evening, at three o'clock, and will expect it by two o'clock, P. M., of to-morrow. Respectfully, &c.

E. W. DUDLEY,
THO. H. WATERS,
JOHN W. HUNT.

To which I made the following reply, which will be delivered to-day, at the hour appointed :

SIRS:—I received through the hands of Mr. Thomas H. Waters, one of your committee, since candle-light, your extraordinary letter. Inasmuch as two of your committee and myself are not upon speaking terms, and when I add to this the fact that you have taken occasion to address me a note of this character, when I am on a bed of sickness of more than a month's standing, from which I have only ventured at intervals to ride out and to write a few paragraphs, which caused a relapse, I think that the American people will agree with me, that your office is a base and dishonorable one, more particularly when they reflect that you have had more than two months whilst I was in health to accomplish the same purpose.—I say in reply to your assertion that you are a committee appointed by a respectable portion of the community, that it cannot be true. Traitors to the laws and Constitution cannot be deemed respectable by any but assassins, pirates and highway robbers. Your meeting is one unknown to the laws and constitution of my country; it was secret in its proceedings; its purposes, its spirit, and its action, like its mode of existence, are wholly unknown to and in direct violation of every known principle of honor, religion or government, held sacred by the civilized world. I treat them with the burning contempt of a brave heart and loyal citizen. I deny their power and defy their action. It may be true that those men are excited as you say, whose interest it is to prey upon the excitement and distresses of the country. What tyrant ever failed to be excited when his unjust power was about to be taken from his hands? But I deny, utterly deny, and call for proof, that there is any just ground for this agitation. In every case of violence by the blacks since the publication of my paper, it has been proven and will be again proven by my representatives, if my life should fail to be spared, that there has been special causes for their action independent of, and having no relation whatever to the "True American" or its doctrines. Your advice with regard to my personal safety is worthy of the source whence it emanated, and meets with the same contempt from me which

The purposes of your mission excite. Go tell your secret conclave of cowardly assassins that C. M. Clay knows his rights and how to defend them.

Lexington, Aug. 15, 1845.

C. M. CLAY

KENTUCKIANS:

You see this attempt of these tyrants, worse than the *thirty despots* who lorded it over the once free Athens, now to enslave you. Men who regard law—men who regard all their liberties as not to be sacrificed to a single pecuniary interest, to say the least, of doubtful value—lovers of justice—enemies of blood—laborers of all classes—you for whom I have sacrificed so much, where will you be found when the battle between Liberty and Slavery is to be fought? I cannot, I will not, I dare not question on which side you will be found. If you stand by me like men, our country shall yet be free, but if you falter now, I perish with less regret when I remember that the people of my native State, of whom I have been so proud, and whom I have loved so much, are already slaves.

C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, August 15, 1845.

The following is the notice put forth under the resolution of the 15th August:

PUBLIC MEETING.

A meeting of the citizens of Fayette and the adjoining counties, is requested at the Court House in Lexington, at 11 o'clock, A. M. on Monday, August 18, to take into consideration the most effectual measures to secure our interests from the efforts of Abolition Fanatics and Incendiaries.

By order of the Meeting,

HENRY JOHNSON,
THO. H. WATERS,
DUDLEY M. CRAIG,

Committee

Aug. 15, 1845.

The Handbill signed "A Kentuckian," published first in the Gazette of the 16th August:

THE TRUE AMERICAN.

The establishment of this paper, taken in connexion with the previously published opinions of the editor, excited a strong sensation in the midst of the community. Mr. C. M. Clay had expressed himself very clearly in certain letters over his own signature, addressed to the New York Tribune, during the year 1844, detailing his plan for the ultimate emancipation of the Negro race in America. His cheme was comprehensive, and extended beyond

the limits of his own State. It was to be begun in Kentucky by a change in the Constitution of the State, and authorising the Legislature to pass laws of prospective emancipation. From this policy he anticipated the sale and exportation of the larger portion of the race. From the exclusion of Texas from the Union, and the abolition of slavery there under English mediation and influence, he anticipated the crowding of the African race in the Southern planting States in such numbers, as taken in connexion with the diminished value of their labor, would either drive the masters to abolition from interest, and incapacity longer to maintain such masses of unproductive slaves, or would enable the slaves themselves, by the physical force of superior numbers, to effect their own liberation by arms. These opinions, while theoretical, and published in the Northern papers, did not excite very general attention here, and were not probably even generally read.

Upon the establishment of his press in Lexington, many well meaning persons expected nothing more than a temperate discussion of the subject of slavery, intended to prepare and to lead the public mind to the consideration of some feasible plan of diminishing, checking, or finally getting rid, in safety, of an institution, admitted by many reasonable men, to be a political evil. The gasconading style in which Mr. Clay commenced his editorial career; his allusions to his bowie-knife, and his past deeds of daring, were regarded by some, as additional evidence of the constitutional bad taste and coarseness of mind for which the editor is distinguished; by others, as a politic contrivance to intimidate the lower order of bullies, who might otherwise have felt inclined to seize the occasion of the establishment of an 'abolition paper' in Lexington, to assail the person, or attack the office of the redouted editor. That even Cassius M. Clay should have calculated, by the terror of his single arm, to overawe a community like that of Lexington and its vicinity, into patient and continued submission to the promulgation, in the heart of a slave district, of sentiments and declarations amounting to invitations to armed sedition, to robbery, rape, conflagration, and all the horrors of servile war, is incredible. The proud patience with which this community has heretofore borne this man's outrages, without protest or argument, or violence, or threat, is evidence at once of the magnanimous temper of a people who abhor mobs, and of that conscious strength which scorns to stir or chafe under mere insolence. The editor, however, seems resolved to reach their sensibilities, and the 'True American' of the 12th inst., would seem to demand from a prudence heretofore courageous, first a stern rebuke, and then whatever else the public peace and safety may require.

The leading article of the number referred to, said to be from the pen of a slaveholder, and one of the first intellects of the age, is mere twaddle, and worthy of no attention, save from its inane absurdities, silly contradictions and puling verbosity. The editorial is masculine and to the point. Mr. Clay there treats slavery, under our municipal laws, as a violation of the fundamental principles of the Union, the rights asserted universally for all men under the declaration of independence, and winds up with the following pithy sentiments:

"Slavery, the most unmitigated, the lowest, basest that the world has ever seen, is to be substituted forever for our better, more glorious, holier aspirations. The Constitution is torn and trampled under foot; justice and good faith in a nation are derided; brute force is substituted in the place of high moral tone: all the great principles of national liberty which we inherited from our British ancestry are yielded up, and we are left without God or hope in the world. When the great-hearted of our land weep, and the man of reflection maddens in the contemplation of our national apostacy, there are men pursuing gain and pleasure, who smile with contempt and indifference at their appeals. But, remember, you who dwell in marble palaces, *that there are strong arms and fiery hearts and iron pikes in the streets, and pones of glass only between them and the silver plate on the board, and the smooth-skinned woman on the ottoman.* When you have mocked at virtue, denied the agency of God in the affairs of men, and made rapine your lionied faith, tremble, for the day of retribution is at hand, *and the masses will be avenged.*"

What masses? To whom and to what does the editor refer? and where is he writing? Here is an appeal worthy of remembrance. Our slaves are regarded as a portion of the people, deprived of their constitutional privileges, oppressed against law, and ground into servitude by haughty nobles, living in 'marble palaces.'

The editor assumes the port of a patriot summoning an oppressed people to the recovery of their birth-right, and a terrible vindication of their wrongs. "Strong arms, fiery hearts, and *iron pikes!*" There is point in this! Here is muscle, energy, determination! Slaveholders, who "live by rapine, tremble; the day of retribution is at hand." "The smooth-skinned woman on the ottoman, with nought between her and violation but a pane of glass!" These are images certainly to be held up by way of stimulus to our household slaves. God of peace, and mercy, and modesty, that a Kentuckian, and a gentleman, wearing a name of which he is wont to boast, reputedly connected, and honorably born, should have lent himself to excite and to vindicate—to rouse and to justify an insurrection of negroes, with "Beauty and Booty" for the watchword.

Mr. Clay aims to spur this community to indignation, does he? Has he ever seen an old saw which says, "beware the fury of a patient man?" Knows he not that the terrible images upon which he feasts his abolition fancy, are not to be named in a society of

brave men and beautiful women? Where be these iron pikes—who is to lead to vengeance and to the feast of blood and lust, these strong armed, fiery hearted sons of Africa? Does Mr. Clay write for rhetorical effect? Is he aware of his position and his argumant? Is he mad? The abolition party are strong to the North. Their plan is desperate. We know him to be connected with them. We know they have means, with which they will sustain him. For what does he take the men among whom he was born, that he thus beards and defies them, threatens violation to their women, and plunder and conflagration to their dwellings, and argues in justification of all the horrors he predicts, and excites by predicting?

We again invite the attention of the public to a close and critical examination of the article, the fiendish temper with which it is written, and its inevitable tendency. "The day of retribution is at hand." Ha! We are in immediate danger, then? "Strong arms, and fiery hearts, and iron pikes. The negro is taught his strength, 'The masses will be avenged: The constitution is torn and trampled under foot: justice and good faith in a nation are derided, brute force is substituted,' &c. "All the great principles of national liberty we inherited are yielded up:" Here is the summons of a patriot leader: here a justification, ardent and ample, for the last extreme of popular vengeance.

We again ask, Is Mr. Clay mad? Does he bear a charmed life? What though he be an emancipationist, knows he not that abolition here and now is impossible? Knows he not that in this City and County there are thousands of negro slaves embodied in factories and upon farms: that many of them can read: that from the mildness and humanity of their masters they have more leisure, perhaps, than any class of laborers in the world? Seeks he to throw a firebrand among them: to sow fear and distrust upon one side, and fiery hate upon the other? To extirpate humanity by destroying the principle of obedience. To teach the hereditary bondsman that he is in truth constitutionally and legally a freeborn citizen, entitled to all the fruits of the American revolution? Knows he not that all the terrors of the law have not been sufficient to protect, in all instances, female modesty from the fierce and brutal lust that scorches in the African's veins? Does he, Cassius M. Clay, paint the beauty of his countrywomen, his townswomen, first to inflame, and then teach the facility of enjoyment?

Quosque tandem Catilina,"

Longer patience in this community were a crime, and a temptation to threatened violence. Mr Clay is a fanatic and an incendiary. We were equally so, and would deserve the horrors he threatens, did we not take immediate steps to arrest the further publication of this infernal instrument.

We understand that a portion of the citizens have already taken steps to request Mr Clay to suspend his paper. Should he refuse, there will be a general call of the people, and something efficient resolved upon. The blustering about bowie knives and Russell's Cave, and bloodless

duels, will scarcely serve his turn! That a man should have undertaken to bully a whole community, while he preaches rape, robbery and conflagration, to menials who wait in our chambers, watch our slumbers and cook our food, is evidence possibly of insanity. But the madman must be chained. A KENTUCKIAN.

The following are Mr Clay's Handbills, in order:

To the citizens of Fayette county and the City of Lexington.

As my opponents, notwithstanding my sickness, will not wait to hear my plan of emancipation, and seem determined to precipitate measures to extremity, without giving me a hearing, and as they insist upon branding me as an "abolitionist," a name full of unknown and strange terrors and crimes, to the mass of our people, I will make a brief statement of my plan of emancipation. Although I regard slavery as opposed to natural right, I consider law and its inviolate observance, in all cases, whatever, as the only safeguard of my own Liberty and the Liberty of others. I therefore have not, and will not give my sanction to any mode of freeing the slaves, which does not conform strictly to the Laws and Constitution of my State. And as I am satisfied that there is no power, under the present Constitution, by which slavery can be reached, I go for a Convention. In a Convention, which is politically Omnipotent, I would say that every female slave, born after a certain day and year, should be free at the age of twenty-one. This, in the course of time, would gradually, and at last, make our State truly Free. I would further say, that, after the expiration of thirty years, more or less, the State should provide a fund, either from her own resources, from her portion in the Public Lands, for the purchase of the existing generation of slaves, in order that the white laboring portion of our community might be as soon as possible freed from the ruinous competition of slave labor. The funds should be applied after this manner, commissioners shall be appointed in each county, who shall on oath value all slaves that shall be voluntarily presented to them for that purpose. To the owners of these slaves shall be issued, by the proper authorities, scrip bearing interest at the rate of six per cent., to the amount of the value of their slaves, and to the redemption of said scrip this fund shall be applied, principal and interest. By this plan the present habits of our people would not be suddenly broken in upon, whilst, at the same time, we believe that it would bring slavery to almost utter extinction in our State within the next thirty years.

With regard to the free blacks, I would not go for forcible ex-

pulsion, but I would encourage by all the pecuniary resources that the State had to spare, a voluntary emigration to such countries and climates as nature seems particularly to have designed them.

With regard to the political equality of the blacks with the whites, I should oppose in Convention their admission to the right of suffrage. As minors, women, foreigners, denizens and divers other classes of individuals are, in all well regulated governments, forbidden the elective franchise, so I see no good reason why the blacks, until they become able to exercise the right to vote with proper discretion, should be admitted to the right of suffrage. 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' The time might come with succeeding generations when there would be no objection on the part of the whites, and none on the account of disqualification of the blacks to their being admitted to the same political platform; but let after generations act for themselves. The idea of amalgamation and social equality resulting from emancipation is proven by experience to be untrue and absurd. It may be said by some, what right would a Convention have to liberate the unborn? They who ask equity, the lawyers say, themselves must do equity, and whilst the slaveholders have rights, they must remember the blacks also have rights; and surely in the compromise which we have proposed between the slave and the slaveholder, the slaveholder has the Lion's share.

We have thus, in a very rambling and feeble, unsatisfactory manner, given something of an outline of the plan which we had intended to present. It may be that my paper has not been conducted in the most pacific manner, but is there not cause for mutual reproach between myself and the public in which I am placed? And those who now most denounce me, should remember that my paper was denounced even in advance, in the full avowal of all the incendiary purposes which my enemies now affect to impute to me. I am willing to take warning from friends or enemies for the future conduct of my paper, and while I am ready to restrict myself in the latitude of discussion of the question, I never will voluntarily abandon a right or yield a principle.

C. M. CLAY.

August 16, 1845.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Since writing my last handbill concerning a Convention, I have seen the handbill put out by Henry Johnson, Thomas H. Waters, and Dudley M. Craig, Committee, Beverly A. Hicks, Chairman. I thank God, that in his mercy, I am not yet "MAD," although these men, the public will perceive, since they know the state of my health, have done all in their pow-

er possible, to destroy not only my reason but my life, for I have had the Typhoid Fever for thirty-three days, during which time, almost incessantly, my brain has been affected. It will be perceived that they do not characterize their meeting as a private caucus, which all Lexington know it was. And I now thank God that a lifetime's regard for my word, will enable me, I feel confident, whilst I am lying on my back unable to hold a pen, and dictating all these handbills which I have put forth, unable to procure authority and testimony to sustain it, to use with power and truth of evidence, my bare assertion against a thousand calumniators. When I appeal to **LABORERS** for help, in my handbill, and I say I meant white laborers and no others, all who know me will believe what I say. And all who do not know me, when they remember that every blood relation I have in the world that I know of, and every connection, are slaveholders, and that with all these, with few exceptions, I am upon terms of the most harmonious and friendly feeling and association, although we differ about this thing of slavery, they will also know that I speak the Truth. Yes, I say it, the publishers of this handbill believe it and know it. If these men have had a six-pounder cannon and some 60 or one hundred balls, as we are credibly informed, ready to batter down my office, before the publication of this editorial of which they complain, it is proven to every honest man that they are now playing upon me the story of the "wolf and the lamb." Whether they "*are putting forth a counter manifesto or advertising for recruits,*" not only from our own city and county, but from adjoining counties, let the public judge. They say that I am "**ASSOCIATED**" with the Abolitionists of the North. The gentlemen either mean political association or nothing, for personal association at this distance is impossible. I utterly deny that I have any political association with them, other than that the opinions of all political parties, whatever, meet and mingle upon some common grounds. In my Prospectus, which was published for months in this city, I said that I should form alliance with no political party, but act as a "State party," so that then, once more, if I speak truth, these men do not. In the "True American," July 29th, in my letter to the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Convention, I declined to be present, and in the same letter I used the following language: "I abide the destiny of that party in which I have grown to manhood, until some other, numbering more friends of Liberty, than we, shall give indication of a more speedy success. I claim to be a **WING**, because I stand upon the same

ground of the illustrious declarators of '76." Now my countrymen, is not here most triumphant refutation of these assassin calumnies of these men? For if I have said to the Abolitionists themselves, that I am a Whig, whilst they were supporting me as one of their party, how could I hope to be estimated by them in any other light than as a base and false political adventurer. That I have many subscribers among them, is true, but to say that I am "SUSTAINED" by them, in the sense here meant, is false. I believe that they do not compose more than one fourth part of my subscribers in the Northern States, and I would far rather have their support, than that of such men as one of this Committee, who comes blubbing like a great fat baby into secret caucus, calling himself my "friend," whilst at the same time, as soon as my back is turned, he stabs me to the vitals. Ah! Dudley, pious Dudley, tear-shedding Dudley, write against me as you have in this handbill, with the view of avowedly violating the Constitution of your country, which you are bound to support, and you will prove yourself more my friend than by shouldering your musket to shed my blood. Now my countrymen! when you remember that such far-seeing and clear-headed statesmen as are appended to this handbill, and who have undertaken to become the guardians of the honor and interests of this State, must have seen these written declarations of mine, they must wilfully misrepresent me on this occasion. If defiance and threats were my earliest heralds, they came, if report be true, from one of this committee. They were the same heralds of 'defiance and threats' which now once more come from them, and if Lexington be true to the glorious name she bears, and if Fayette be true to the glorious name she bears, they will meet with the same fate—a dishonored grave of undisturbed centuries. I am satisfied to trust my explanation of my editorial of the last paper, to the people whom I address, but one more suggestion in addition to those which I have already made, that if they torture my meaning from the general context, which none but clear-headed men as these will do, that upon mere verbal and grammatical criticism and *literal* interpretation, I could not have meant the Blacks, for in the whole South, there are five millions of Whites to three of Blacks, not in Kentucky for there are six Whites to one Black; so then if a class is to be taken, and choice is to be made between the Whites and Blacks, even then the Whites are the "MASSES." No, these men cannot, they do not, believe what they say. They say that I deny the VALIDITY of the laws in one of the most important social relations:" this is absolutely false. Turn to the

number of the American in which Thomas Metcalfe's letter was published, and strange to say they will there find an article from my pen where I maintain with all the power of intellect of which I am capable, against the Albany Patriot, one of those Abolitionists with whom these men say I am allied, the proposition in relation to Slavery that "that is property which the law makes property." It is one thing to admit the legality of a thing and another thing to deny its justice. Oh! Henry, Oh! Thomas, Oh! Dudley, Oh! Beverley, surely ye are "Daniels come to judgment!" To say that "*Regard for the public peace*" induces Henry and Thomas and Dudley and Beverley to shoulder their muskets and drag one poor, little editor out of his "den" when they knew that he could neither pull a trigger nor wield a pen, and shed his blood, thus violating not only the express language of the Constitution, but every principle of right, religion and justice, is about as logical as it is magnanimous or likely to be carried into execution.

But if I am mistaken, and an outrage is to be perpetrated which will stain, with eternal dishonor, Fayette's heretofore proud and fair escutcheon, I pray you people of Lexington and Fayette, get some men of more truth, of more sense, of more eloquence than these men possess, to give you an excuse to say that you were driven from your propriety to the perpetration of this deed by the power of genius, which can at times obscure the clearest intellects and madden the noblest hearts into crime.

C. M. CLAY.

AUGUST, 18th, 1845.

At a meeting of the citizens of Lexington, Fayette and the adjacent counties held at the court House yard on the 18th August, 1845.

WALLER BULLOCK, Esq., was appointed Chairman and BENJ. GRATZ, Secretary.

The following communication from C. M. Clay, Esq., was read to the meeting:

LEXINGTON, August 18th, 1845.

The Chairman of the Public Meeting assembled to-day, will please lay before it the following communication:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF LEXINGTON, AND COUNTY OF FAYETTE,—
Being unable from the state of my health, to be present at your meeting, and even unable to hold a pen, having been sick thirty-five days with the Typhoid fever, I dictate to an amanuensis, a few lines for your just consideration. Having been the unwilling cause, in part, of

the present excitement in my county, and feeling, as I do, respect for the safety and happiness of others as well as my own, I voluntarily come forward and do all I conscientiously can do for your quiet and satisfaction. I treated the communication from the private caucus with burning contempt, arising not only from her assuming over me a power which would make me a slave, but from a sense of the deep personal indignity with which their unheard of assumptions were attempted to be carried into execution. But to you—a far differently organized body and a constitutional assemblage of citizens—I feel that it is just and proper that I should answer at your bar; and as I am not in a state of health to carry on an argument or vindicate properly my own rights, I shall, voluntarily, before any action is taken on your part, make such explanation as I deem just and proper.

During my sickness, my paper has been conducted by some friends. The leading article in the last number, which I am told is the great cause of the public disquietude, I have never read, because at the time it was put to press I could not have undergone the fatigue of reading such a paper through. Although it was read over to me at the time, yet I am fully persuaded now, that had I have been in health it would not have been admitted into my columns. But I felt the less hesitancy in admitting it, because it has been my avowed policy heretofore to admit free discussion upon the subject of slavery, by slaveholders themselves, and the author of this article is largely interested in that kind of property. You have seen before this time that the course of policy which I commend, myself, to the State, is widely different, in many essential points, to this author's views. The article written by myself, and published in the same paper, was written a few days after the leader was in type, and which has also been the cause of so much dissatisfaction, the justice of which, to some extent I am willing to acknowledge. I assure you upon the honor of a man, it was never intended to mean, or to bear the construction which my enemies have given it. I was pursuing the reflections of my own mind, without thinking of the misconstruction that could be put upon my language.

Had I been in the vigor of health, I should have avoided the objectionable expressions, for by sharply guarding against the cavils of my opponents, I would best guard at the same time against any thing which could be considered of an incendiary character. I cannot say that the paper from the beginning, has been conducted in the manner I could have wished. The cause of this it is not now necessary for me to mention. Satisfied, however from past experience, that the free discussion of the subject of slavery is liable to many objections which I did not anticipate, and which I had allowed in an excess of liberality, arising no doubt, from the fact that I had been denied the columns of the other presses of the country myself, I propose in future very materially to restrict the latitude of discussion. I shall admit into my paper no article upon this subject, for which I am not willing to be held responsible. This, you perceive, will very much narrow the ground; for my plan of emancipation which I put

forth a few days ago, is of the most gradual character. My other views put forth there also, are such as I learn are not at all offensive to the great mass of our people. By this course, I expect to achieve two objects, to enable me to carry on the advocacy of those principles and measures which I deem of vital importance to our State without molestation and without subjecting the people to the apprehensions and excitement which are now unhappily upon us. You may properly ask, perhaps, why was not this thing done before? I reply that I did not foresee any such consequences as have resulted from a different course. The denunciations of the public press on both sides, I conceived, and am still of the same opinion, arose from the desire to make both parties political capital.—And you will see also, when the excitement is worn off, that there have been many selfish purposes sought to be accomplished at the expense of your peace and mine by men who are professing to be actuated by nothing but patriotic motives.

Having said thus much upon the conduct of my paper, I must say also, that my constitutional rights I shall never abandon. I feel as deeply interested in this community, as any other man in it. No man is, or has a connection, more deeply interested, in the prosperity of this State, than myself. You ought not, you cannot, if you are just to me as you are to yourselves, ask me to do that which you would not do. I know not in reality, what may be the state of public feeling. I am told it is very much inflamed; I, therefore, directed my publisher, after the publication of to-morrow's paper, to exclude all matter upon the subject of Slavery, until, if my health is restored, I shall be able myself to take the helm.

My office and dwelling are undefended, except by the laws of my country—to the sacred inviolability of which I confide myself and property; and of these laws you are the sole guardians. You have the power to do as you please. You will so act, however, I trust, that this day shall not be one accursed to our County and State.

Your obedient servant,

C. M. CLAY.

The Hon: THOMAS F. MARSHALL then addressed the Chair as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF FAYETTE.—The vast concourse of men around me, independent of every thing else, gives ample proof of some deep and powerful excitement of the public mind.

You know, you all know, that this assemblage of the people has been convened upon a published notice, to take into consideration the safety of this community, and to adopt such measures as may secure your peace, and guard from the threatened danger your homes and families. I rise not as upon other occasions, to make you a speech. I seek not to inflame your passions, and will not hazard by one word of extemporaneous appeal upon the subject of this day's action, the

terrible responsibility of precipitating this already excited assembly. It is in keeping however with the order, decorum, and dignity, which have characterised all the previous steps in this great popular movement, and which mark the aspect of this crowd, that some one should formally explain what has gone before, and state the circumstances which have led to this extraordinary call of the people. I can but achieve this object, by reading to you the proceedings of a smaller body of citizens, the correspondence opened by them with the Editor of the "True American," and their address to the public, and the resolutions which accompanied it. (Here Mr. Marshall read the documents referred to, which will be found above, and then proceeded.) It had occurred to several gentlemen who had been active in the proceedings of last week, that the transactions of this day would extend, probably, in their influence, far beyond this immediate neighborhood. That they would become the subject of severe examination and the most rigid and scrutinizing censure, throughout the United States. That the character of our people, and the good name of our Commonwealth, would be involved in the resolutions we adopt, and the temper and the mode in which they may be executed.

Liabie as all these may become to misrepresentation, it was thought best for your honor and your interests, and it was hoped, that it would not be deemed by you presumptuous, to prepare such a statement of the facts and the principles upon which your action this day is based, as forms in their judgement a complete defence in morals and in laws for this great exertion of the original power of society: Such a statement, these gentlemen had instructed me to prepare and offer for your acceptance, not without the hope, that though imperfect in its execution, you may not deem it altogether unworthy to be sent forth to the world, as your declaration of the ground upon which you rest your justification at the bar of that public opinion, to which communities as well as individuals are amenable for their action. As such and under their instructions, I tender it and beg leave to read it in lieu of all other remark or argument. (Here Mr. Marshall read the address and resolutions, which when the question was taken upon them at the close of the reading, were adopted without a dissenting voice.)

The People of the city of Lexington and county of Fayette, together with many hundreds from the adjoining counties, assembled in the city of Lexington on the 18th August in pursuance of a general notice made by the authority of a body of the citizens of Lexington, calling a general assembly of the people, to concert measures for the suppression of the farther publication of the "Abolition paper" called the "True American," having heard the proceedings, correspondence, and address of the meeting which called this assembly, approve the same, and now make and publish to the world this declaration, to vindicate their resolutions and their action.

To have prevented the establishment of this press by legal means

would have been impossible. There is no regular judicial process by which it could have been achieved. To have resorted to means like the present would have been premature and perhaps indefensible. The Liberty of the Press and the freedom of political discussion are essential elements of our social system. An effort to establish a press in Kentucky devoted to the discussion of the question of domestic slavery and the propriety and practicability of emancipation by law, as an individual enterprise, might, in this simple view of the proposition, have been tolerated by the people, as it is in all probability not prohibited by our laws. The precise purpose and principles of the Editor of the "True American," and the position he meant to assume here in relation to the subject, together with the effect he, his principles, and his paper were to produce upon our peace and our property, were of course at the outset matters of speculation. After an experiment of some months however, there can be no doubt remaining in this community in relation to any of these particulars.

The institution of slavery existed in a portion of the States of this Union before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, by force of the municipal constitution of the particular States. The institution itself is clearly recognized and guaranteed by the articles of the Union, and left where it was found, under the exclusive control of State governments and laws. In the enumeration of the people three-fifths of the slaves are included as the basis of federal representation, and direct taxation upon the several States is subjected to the same apportionment. Fugitive slaves must be rendered up upon claim of the master, notwithstanding the law of the State into which they escape may not recognize the relation.

The United States shall guaranty every State against domestic violation upon application of the Legislature or the Executive, and shall provide for calling forth the militia to suppress insurrections.

These are among the securities taken by the slave States in the National Constitution; not only that they were not to be disturbed but that they were to be protected in this property by the national arm and authority.

A formidable party has arisen within a few years in the United States, who seek actively and practically to disturb these guarantees, to change the constitution in relation to some of them, and who deny its palpable import, or wrest to fearful purposes its powers in relation to others.

They aim at the Abolition of Slavery in America and halt not at the means. They are organized, active, united in pursuit of this object, and desperately fanatical.—They have found their way into the National Legislature, and already exercise a threatening influence there. They command a powerful press in the United States. They have among them a burning zeal, commanding talent, and a large amount of political influence and monied capital. They scout the idea of gradual emancipation or colonization. They treat the institution as equally opposed to religion, morals and law.—They main-

tain that the negro slave here is an American born, entitled to the full benefits and blessings of republican freedom, under the Declaration of Independence, which freed all of American birth. They maintain for him the right of insurrection and exort him to its exercise, and with an infernal subtlety claim, that the power conferred upon Congress to "suppress insurrections" gives to that body in which the free States have now so overwhelming a preponderance, the right to remove the cause by abolishing slavery. That a servile war becomes by force of this clause a national affair, and can be settled upon any terms under the national discretion. With this party, we believe, from the fullest evidence of which the nature of the case is susceptible, the Editor of the "True American" to be connected by sympathy of opinion, burning and fanatical zeal, and concert of effort.—With his speculative opinions we presume not to interfere; with his practical exertions, in our midst, to disturb the settled order of our domestic life, to inflame to discontent and rebellion our household slaves, we have the most direct and incontestible connexion. In proceeding by force and without judicial process, to arrest the action of a free citizen, to interfere in any degree with his private property, and if the necessity of the case and the desperation of the man require it, to proceed to extremities against his person, we owe it to our own fame, and the good name of our community, to set forth the facts, upon which arises in our justification the highest of all laws, the law of self-defence and preservation from great and manifest danger and injury.

Before the editor of the "True American" had established his press in Lexington, or made his celebrated visit to the North, he had corresponded with the New York Tribune, a leading Abolition paper. In certain letters over his signature some of the leading and most dangerous principles of the sect were avowed and defended. The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia—the exclusion of the three-fifths of the slave population in the apportionment of representation by a change in the constitution, thereby weakening still farther the slave States upon the floor of Congress—the exclusion of Texas from the Union, in pursuit of which object he avowed himself ready to take up arms—the enlisting the whole force of the non-slaveholders in Kentucky against slave property, and thus forcing a change in the constitution of the State, were among the means and instruments relied upon by him for effecting the entire abolition of slavery in America. In one of his letters, he anticipates from the abolition of slavery in Kentucky and some other of the Western States by the means above noticed, and the exclusion of Texas, that the slave population will be crowded upon the planting States to such an extent, that abolition, if not voluntarily achieved by law, will be forced by a war of colors exterminating one or other of the races, in either event, (and the editor seemed to contemplate either with equal serenity) terminating in that universal liberty so fiercely sought. Holding these opinions, and after visiting North-

ern cities and being received there in full communion by the abolition party, caressed and flattered and feasted, hailed in the stages of his triumphal progress by discharges of cannon, and heralded in the papers devoted to the cause as the boldest, the most intrepid, the most devoted of its champions, he returned to his native State, the organ and the agent of an incendiary sect, to force upon her principles fatal to her domestic repose; at the risk of his own life and the peace of the community. In the preparation and establishment of his office in Lexington, Mr. Cassius M. Clay acted as though he were in an enemy's country.—He has employed scientific engineers in fortifying against attack, and prepared the means of destroying the lives of his fellow citizens, it is said, in mines of gun powder, stands of muskets, and pieces of cannon.—The whole course of the man bears evidence incontestible that he was entering upon a career fatal to the peace of the community of which he was a member. The citizen has a right to arm in his own defence, and to protect his house and his person from unlawful assault; but why should a peaceful citizen engaged in a lawful calling, make preparations suited to repel an invading army? It is needless to our purpose, to notice the editor's ruthless attacks upon individuals, and his threats to terrify resistance of his course. We proceed at once to the last number of the "True American" and the publications since put forth by its editor, as conclusive evidence of his temper towards the community, and of the character, purpose, and inevitable tendency of the paper. In this paper of the 12th of August there is a leading article, for which, although not from the pen of the editor, the print is responsible to the public, and which at all events is evidence of the purpose of the print and the character and objects of those who support it. We make from this article a few extracts of the most ominous character. The fundamental proposition with this writer is as follows: "Our Legislatures, State and *General*, should raise the platform upon which our free colored people stand. They should give to them full political rights to hold office, to vote, to set on juries, to give their testimony, and to make no distinction between them and ourselves. After tracing the delightful effects of this equality, the article proceeds: "Our national character, our best consciences, our duty, all weigh nothing in the scales of slavery, *against the pride and selfishness of the master. The instrument called the Constitution, after pronouncing all men equal and having equal rights, suffers slavery to exist, a free colored person to be denied all political rights, and after declaring that all free persons shall enjoy a free intercourse with the States, suffers the free negro to be driven out of all and excluded from such rights. Deliver me from an instrument thus partial, thus unjust, that can be thus perverted and made to sanction prejudices and party feelings, and note the accidental distinction of color.*" We think nothing from the North can beat this. The Western apostle transcends, if possible, his mission. But again as to the necessity of our being civil and submissive to our friends, the abolitionists, and the danger of restiveness on our part.

"The slaveholders must calm themselves into just thinkers, and cease to provoke the Northern free States by putting them at defiance in Congress and out of it.—"

"They must look upon abolitionists as enthusiasts if they will, but also as in earnest, and in design at least as real patriots. *The Abolitionist is becoming as reckless as the slaveholder when thus provoked, and may add violence and injustice to his course, that was intended to be mild and conciliatory.*" Very rational and prudent advice.—Submit quietly or the matter will be forced upon you. But we quote farther the following pregnant sentences: "It is in vain for the master to try to fence his dear slaves in from all intercourse with the great world, to create his little petty and tyrannical kingdom on his own plantation, and keep it for his exclusive reign. He cannot shut out the light of information any more than the light of heaven. It will penetrate all disguises, and shine upon the dark night of slavery. *He must recollect that he is surrounded.* The North, the East, the West and the South border on him, the free Mexican, the free Yankee, the more than free Abolitionists of his own country. *Every thing trenches upon his infected district, and the Wolf looks calmly in upon his fold.*" We were mad not to listen to warnings like these. We have quoted these passages to prove the thorough identity between the doctrines and objects of this paper, and the worst principles of the ultra Abolitionists of the North. Here is the assertion of the equality of the African race under the constitution, and the repudiation of the practical working of the instrument: "Deliver me from an instrument thus partial, thus unjust—— that can be thus perverted."—Here too is the threat to the master of the consequences of the light and information, "*that the more than free Abolitionist*" of his country is pouring upon the negro mind.

When we contemplate the mild form of negro slavery in this district; the happy and peaceful, and contented relations of the master and the slave, where such a thing as cruelty was scarcely known, where the master was without fear or distrust, and the well fed, well clothed, intelligent slave bent to his lot of labor, the lot by the way of all mankind, without repining, regarding his master rather in the light of parent, and himself as a necessary and no mean portion of the family, we could pour curses on the fiends who would break up the intimate, and not the least endearing relation of domestic life, and when all was peace and mildness, plant discord and fury, and fiery hate, and render cruelty a necessary policy on the one side by inculcating disobedience as a principle on the other. But we must hasten with our proof. In the same day's paper, an editorial appeared, backing the reasoning of the article to which we have referred, and by a brief recapitulation of violated law, a trampled constitution, the triumph of brute force over moral right, the falsification of the great principles of the revolution, all illustrated by "slavery the most unmitigated, the lowest, basest that the world has seen;" and winding up with the following extraordinary threat: "When the great hearted

of our land weep, and the man of reflection maddens in the contemplation of our national apostacy; there are men pursuing gain and pleasure, who smile with contempt and indifference at their appeals. *"But remember you who dwell in marble palaces—that there are strong arms and fiery hearts, and iron pikes in the streets, and panes of glass only between them and the silver plate on the board, and the smooth skinned woman on the Ottoman.* When you have mocked at virtue, denied the agency of God in the affairs of men, and made rapine your honied faith; tremble, for the day of retribution is at hand—and the masses will be avenged." Here is more light and knowledge thrown upon the negro's mind, and horrible fires kindled in his already "fiery heart" by the hand of the daring incendiary, the audacious emissary of the "more than free Abolitionist." Roused and alarmed by these atrocities, and determined no longer to endure the presence of an armed Abolitionist, hurling his fire brands of murder and of lust into the bosom of a peaceful and polished city, a number of the citizens of Lexington undertook the task of remonstrance. To a mild—a wonderfully mild request—to discontinue the paper, the haughty and infatuated fanatic responded in terms of outrage, unparalleled, to the committee of gentlemen who waited on him, denying the right of the citizens to consult together on such a subject, and denouncing the meeting which had opened a correspondence with him, as a cowardly conclave, of pirates, robbers, and assassins, and assigning as the ground of their excitement, the apprehension, that their power was about to be taken away from them. The Editor himself has published this correspondence appended to a hand bill, which appeared before the call of this meeting of the people, and before his answer was laid before the first meeting referred to. The whole together, proves either that C. M. Clay is a madman, or that he meditated, and has prepared himself for a civil war, in which he expected the non-slaveholding laborers along with the slaves, to flock to his standard, and the war of abolition to begin in Kentucky. That we may not be suspected of that extravagance which we charge on him, we quote from his letter the closing sentence. "Go tell your secret conclave of cowardly assassins, that C. M. Clay knows his rights and how to defend them." To this he appends an appeal addressed to the Kentuckians. That we may not be suspected of garbling, we insert this extraordinary summons:

"KENTUCKIANS!—You see this attempt of these Tyrants, worse than the thirty despots who lorded it over the once free Athens, now to enslave you. Men who regard laws—men who regard all their liberties as not to be sacrificed to a single pecuniary interest, to say the least of doubtful value—lovers of justice—enemies of blood—*laborers of all classes—you for whom I have sacrificed so much, where will you be found when this battle between Liberty and Slavery is to be fought?* I cannot, I will not, I dare not question on which side you will be found.—If you stand by me like men, our country shall yet be free; but if you falter now, I perish with less re-

gret when I remember that the people of my native state, of whom I have been so proud, and whom I have loved so much, are already slaves.
C. M. CLAY."

That this infatuated man believed that the non-slaveholders of Kentucky would feel and act as a party against the tenure of slavery, and that through them he expected to change the Constitution of Kentucky, and finally overthrow the institution, is evident from one of his letters to the Tribune.—That he should have calculated on kindling the flames of civil and servile war, and rallying free laborers and negro slaves under his standard, would seem incredible, yet his acts and his words can bear no other construction: "laborers of all classes—you for whom I have sacrificed so much, where will you be found when this battle between Liberty and Slavery is to be fought? If you stand by me like men, our Country shall yet be free, but if you falter I perish, &c."

Such a man and such a course is no longer tolerable or consistent with the character or safety of this community. With the power of a press, with education, fortune, talent sustained by a powerful party, at least abroad, who have made this bold experiment in Kentucky through him, the negroes might well, as we have strong reason to believe they do, look to him as a deliverer.—On the Frontier of Slavery, with three free States fronting and touching us along a border of seven hundred miles, we are peculiarly exposed to the assaults of Abolition.—The plunder of our property, the kidnapping, stealing and abduction of our slaves, is a light evil in comparison with planting a seminary of their infernal doctrines in the very heart of our densest slave population.—Communities may be endangered as well as single individuals. A great and impending danger over the life or personal safety of a single man, justifies the employment of his own force immediately in his own defence, and to any extent that may be necessary to his protection. He whose aim it is, or the inevitable tendency of whose conduct is to bring about intestine convulsions and servile war, threatens to inflict upon society the greatest horror it can endure. Our laws may punish when the offence shall have been consummated; but they have provided no remedial process by which it can be prevented. To war with an Organ of Abolition by action or indictment for libel, would make that powerful party smile. To injoin the publication of the "True American" would only change its name. A perpetual injunction against the publication of any paper whatever by Mr. C. M. Clay, were beyond the power of the chancellor. The danger continues. An Abolition paper in a slave State is a nuisance of the most formidable character—a public nuisance—not a mere inconvenience, which may occasion delay in business or prove hurtful to health or comfort; but a blazing brand in the hand of an incendiary or madman, which may scatter ruin, conflagration, revolution, crime unnameable, over every thing dear in domestic life, sacred in religion, or respectable in modesty. Who shall say that the safety of a single individual is more important in the eye of the law than that of a whole people? Who shall say that when the case of danger—real

danger, of great and irreparable injury to a whole community really occurs—that it is not armed legally with the right of self defence? In either case the circumstances must be left to the judgment of the world, or the decisions of justice. An unauthorized crowd who inflict death upon persons or destruction upon property, for the gratification of passion or even for the punishment of crime, is a mob; and is the most fatal enemy to security and to freedom—But as in case of sudden invasion, or insurrection itself, the people have at once, independent of the magistrates, the right of defence, so when there be a well grounded apprehension of great, and, it may be, irreparable injury, the use of force in the community is lawful and safe. We hold the Abolitionists traitors to the Constitution of the country, and enemies to the terms upon which the Union was originally formed, and the only terms upon which it can continue to subsist. When they bring their doctrines and their principles into the bosom of a slave State, they bring fire into a magazine.—The “True American” is an Abolition paper of the worst stamp! As such, the peace and safety of this community demand its instant and entire suppression.

In some countries, Mr. Clay might have dreaded summary popular vengeance on his person, or secret murder. He is among a people who abhor mobs, who know no Lynch law, and where assassination is unheard of. He has pressed the patience of his countrymen to its utmost capacity of sufferance—they can bear no more, without being traitors to all the trusts reposed in brave and patriot men. Though he has bearded and defied them—attacked the tenure of their property, and outraged decency by the terms in which he has characterized them, they are too conscious of their strength to chafe at insult. They thirst not for his blood, and they would not injure his property. He is a trespasser upon them, they have requested him mildly to desist. He is contumacious, and they will remove him by force. M. Clay has complained in his recent handbills of his indisposition, and charged the people as deficient in courage and magnanimity in moving upon him when he is incapable of defence. If all that be said of him, his purpose, and his means, be true, his indisposition is fortunate. He may rest assured that they will not be deterred by one nor 10,000 such men as he. He cannot bully his countrymen. A Kentuckian himself he should have known Kentuckians better. His weakness is his security. We are armed and resolved—if resistance be attempted, the consequence be on his own head. For our vindication under the circumstances, we appeal to Kentucky and to the world.

It is therefore *Resolved* by this assembly:—

1st. That no Abolition Press ought to be tolerated in Kentucky, and none shall be in this City or its vicinity.

2d. That if the office of the “True American” be surrendered peaceably, no injury shall be done to the building or other property.—The presses and printing apparatus shall be carefully packed up and sent out of the State, subject then to Mr. C. M. Clay’s order.

3d. That if resistance be offered, we will force the office at all hazards, and destroy the nuisance.

4th. That if an attempt be made to revive the Paper here, we will again assemble.

5th. That we hope C. M. Clay will be advised. For by our regard to our wives, our children, our homes, our property, our country, our honor, wear what name he may, be connected with whom he may, whatever arm or party here or elsewhere may sustain him, he shall not publish an Abolition Paper here, and this we affirm at the risk, be it of his blood, or our own, or both; or of all he may bring, of bond or free, to aid his murderous hand.

6th. That the Chairman be, and he is hereby authorized to appoint a committee of sixty of our body who shall be authorized to repair to the office of the "True American," take possession of the press and printing apparatus, pack up the same, and place it at the rail road office for transportation to Cincinnati, and report forthwith to this body.

The following is the Committee:—George W. Johnson, ch'm., Jas. P. Megowan, Joseph Beard, Benj. Robinson, Moses Morrison, Richard Higgins, Henry H. Timberlake, Thos. C. Orear, Jesse Bayles, Hiram Shaw, Josiah Ennis, John J. Dudley, Wm. B. Kinkead, James B. Waller, George W. Norton, Franklin Tilford, G. L. Postlethwaite, William Elder, Nathan Payne, Dr. J. T. Lewis, Patterson Bain, Francis McLearn, David Glass, Nevil Blakemore, James H. Allen, John McCauley, George W. Stewart, Thos. H. Shelby, Thomas Hughes, Thos. S. Redd, Macy Thwaits, Henry Long, Richard Allen, Jas. Carter, Alexander Moore, John Anderson, Thomas Bradley, Benj. C. Wood, Dr. J. C. Darby, Alexander Moreland, James B. Clay, William Cooper, S. P. Kenney, John H. Cooper, Thomas Carr, William R. McKee, Garrett Watts, Richard Spurr, Edward Oldham, John R. Duntap, John D. McDowell, Benjamin Downs, John Overton, Robert B. Hamilton, Richard Overton, Dr. J. Bush, Col. Alexander Morgan, Nelson Dudley, Wilson Hunt, John Gilbert, and Francis Hostetter.

The meeting then adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock, p. m., to receive the report of the Committee appointed under the 6th resolution.

According to adjournment, the citizens met at 2 o'clock, p. m.

James B. Clay, Esq., in behalf of the Committee of sixty, made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

The Committee appointed by the meeting to take down and pack up the press, type, &c., of the "True American" printing office, beg leave respectfully to report to the meeting,

That, in pursuance of the direction of the meeting, they proceeded at once to the office of that paper, the key of which, on arriving at the door, was given up to the Chairman, by Mr. Dowden, City Marshal. The Mayor of the city was at the door, and gave notice that the Com-

mittee was acting in opposition to law, but that the city authorities could offer no forcible resistance to them.

The Committee, on answering severally to their names, were then admitted into the office, and the doors were closed after them. The Committee being called to order by Mr. Johnson, its Chairman, on motion of Josiah Ennis, J. B. Clay was appointed, unanimously, to act as Secretary.

On motion of Maj. W. R. McKee, it was then

Resolved, That the Committee hold itself responsible for any thing which might be lost or destroyed, whilst the Committee were performing the duty assigned to them.

On motion of R. Higgins,

Resolved, That James Virden and Joseph Scrguham, be appointed to take down the press, and Messrs. Cunningham and Hervey to put up the type, and that Messrs. Ennis, Barlow, Jouitt, Beard, Stewart, Robinson, Megowan, Oldham and Marsh, to assist them.

On motion of F. Tilford,

Resolved, That the Secretary take a list of the property as packed up.

The Secretary containing the private papers of the Editor of the "True American," by unanimous resolution, was sent to his house.

The Committee not being able to accomplish the duty assigned by 2 o'clock, the hour to which the meeting had adjourned, Messrs. R. Higgins, T. S. Redd, Macy Thwaites, Dr. Darby, B. Robinson, and J. B. Clay were deputed to report progress to the meeting. After which, all the type, presses, and other articles belonging to the office, were sent to the Rail Road office, to be shipped beyond the limits of the State, to the order of C. M. Clay.

GEO. W. JOHNSON, Ch'mn.

J. B. CLAY, Sec'y.

The meeting was then addressed by Gov. Thomas Metcalfe, who read a letter which he designed for publication, in reference to slavery.

On motion of Capt. Henry Johnson, it was unanimously

Resolved, That Gov. Metcalfe, be requested to publish the letter above referred to, or such portions of it as he may deem advisable.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the papers of the city. The meeting then adjourned.

WALLER BULLOCK, Chmn.

RENJ. GRATZ, Sec'y,

LEXINGTON, August 19th, 1845.

C. M. CLAY, Esq.: Sir—We have been directed by the Committee of the meeting held on yesterday, at the Court House, as its officers, to inform you that the press, type, &c., of the "True American" paper, have been carefully put up, and shipped by Rail Road to Cincinnati, to the care of Messrs. January & Taylor, subject to your

order; and that the charges and expenses upon them have been paid.
With proper respect, we have the honor to be, &c.

GEO. W. JOHNSON, Ch'm.

J. B. CLAY, Sec'y.

Upon the proceedings as given above, we have but few comments to make. The list of gentlemen whom Mr Megowan notified to attend at 3 o'clock of the 14th of August, contained about an equal number of Whigs and Democrats. The resolution adopted by that meeting appointing a committee to correspond with Mr Clay, was drawn and offered by Mr Marshall. The preliminary remarks of that gentleman upon offering the address, have been accurately reported by himself, and were not taken down by the Secretary, and consequently did not appear in the Report published in the Observer & Reporter. The whole affair, from the first small assembly in the Court-House on the 14th of August, viewed as one entire transaction (and in that light it ought to be considered) must be held by all candid men to reflect lasting honor upon the character and temper of a people, when such a transaction could be thus conducted. Upon the face of the record there is no appearance of party. Faction for the time seemed ended. It presents the appearance of a united people, roused by the sense of a common danger, exempt utterly from the rash precipitancy which is equally the characteristic of rage and fear, putting forth their calm and majestic strength as free from passion as from cowardice, to arrest at once and in advance of legislation, the steps by which Abolition seeks to force the terrible issue it has made with the Slave States.

The effort of the Editor of the Observer & Reporter, in his paper of the 20th of August, to make political capital out of this, and to charge some of the earlier movers with a design to involve him and his office in a like fate with that of C. M. Clay, on account of his known devotion to the Whig cause, and his threat to summon the Whig party to his support, is contemptible beyond expression.

The attack upon Mr Marshall by the Louisville Journal, for the authorship of the Lexington Address, is of a piece with the Observer and Reporter article. Mr Marshall is stigmatized by that print as an unscrupulous and unprincipled renegade, burning for revenge on account of his recent defeat for Congress, and charged with foisting this address upon the Whig party as a libel upon themselves. It is a poor compliment which the Louisville Journal pays the Whig party, and one which will certainly be disavowed by the larger portion of it in Kentucky, when he treats that address as an attack upon them. It cannot be so considered, unless that party mean to involve themselves with the principles and purposes of the Abolitionists; with which indeed, the Editor of the Journal seems to hold a marked sympathy.

The effort of Mr Prentice to direct anew the prejudice and the rage of Mr Marshall's former friends against him on account of the manner in which he has demeaned himself in the late transactions in Lexington, will most prob-

ably recoil upon the Editor himself. The course of these two prints, in relation to this affair, demonstrates one thing pretty clearly—That they are equally vexed and surprised at the commencement, course and termination of the whole matter. C. M. Clay himself evidently considered this, in the first instance, a partial movement, got up by the Democratic party. This idea is apparent upon the face of his first handbill. Such men as Mike Wickliffe and George D. Prentice would have delighted to have given the thing a party turn. It would have been quite delightful to have been enabled to charge it as a Locofoco movement, got up by the 'Apostate' and his friends for the accomplishment of their own selfish purposes. Such men could never have hoped to have engaged the great body of the Whig party in this City or County, to have defended Mr C. M. Clay as an Abolitionist, and they did not so calculate; but could they have once induced the belief that this was a Locofoco Party movement, for the purpose of making political capital against the Whigs, they hoped to have raised the cry of "mob and Locofocoism" with success, and summons the Clay party, not to support an Abolition party, at least not avowedly, but to maintain the peace of society, the majesty of the laws, and to curb the Democrats. There were symptoms in various quarters, of this temper. They were all overborne, however, by the prompt action and stern decision of the People. Had all Whigs been like Mike Wickliffe and George D. Prentice, their plan might have worked like a charm. The men, however, who set this matter on foot, were more of Patriots, and less of Foels, than to attempt to enlist faction in such a case as this, and to add the stings of political bitterness and party reproaches to the dangers of servile insurrection.

The statement in the Louisville Journal, that the Committee of 60 were met at the 'True American' office with the pledge, that if they would not enter the office or disturb the press, there should not be another paper issued is utterly false. No such thing occurred. No such proposition was made by or for Mr Clay at any time.

THOS. H. WATERS,
H. LOCKHART,
THOS B. MEGOWAN,
JAMES L. HICKMAN,
THOMAS F. MARSHALL.

LEXINGTON, August 25th, 1845.

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THOMAS H. WATSON
 H. LOCKHART
 THOMAS B. MCGOWAN
 JAMES L. HICKMAN
 THOMAS F. MARSHALL

Patented August 28, 1884

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