

THE COURIER.

"—TO THINE OWN SELF BE TRUE, AND IT MUST FOLLOW, AS THE NIGHT THE DAY, THOU CANST NOT THEN BE FALSE TO ANY MAN."

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POLITICAL.

A STRONG EPISTLE.—That well known writer, Randolph of Roanoke, has a powerful article in the Southern Press of Saturday. He shows, by tables compiled from authentic sources, that within the past 40 years the Southern States have lost in the escape of fugitive slaves *Twenty-two Millions of Dollars.*

This writer cites the official announcement of the secretary of the anti-slavery society of New York, which states that the society have aided within the past year 151 runaway negroes. He contends, after showing the vast loss sustained by the Southern States, that the citizens of the free States are liable—that the whole North is liable—and justly remarks that there is not a legal forum in Christendom where such a claim for such a cause, with equal proofs between man and man, or nation and nation, would not be recognised and enforced.

He contends that the clauses in the compromise bill relative to this subject impose additional burdens, expenses, and delays upon claimants of fugitives. He says, with truth, that the South does not want these clauses, nor had the North any need of them.

We give the concluding and eloquent paragraph of this epistle relative to the forbearance of the South:—*Carolinian.*

"No, no, Messieurs, all attributions of the South's forbearance to the state of the South's nerves, or the South's means, are wide, immeasurably wide of the mark. Had that been all, the North would have had a chance of shivering a lance with her long ago. The same cause that restrained her hitherto, restrains her now—an overwhelming love of the Union, which, if it shall last much longer and bring her no redress, will bring her to ruin and cover her with shame! It is alarming, it is alarming, yet it is admirable, to pause and ponder on a love of Union so profound and reverential and abiding—Any other people under the sun, victimized and arraigned as the South has been in the Union's name, would have shivered it to atoms from the might which slumbers in her soldierly arm! Had the North loved the Union as the South does, she would never have imperilled it, by degrading her with trials, so wounding to her honor and so onerous to be borne with. Had the South shown no deeper attachment to the Union than the North has, that Union would long have been numbered with the things that were."

To all seeming, the North's attachment to the Union is neither deeper nor holier than the South's derives from it; and her wanton injuries and ceaseless revilings of her brethren, what are they but proofs of it? With the South, it is as a sentiment and a passion; and what are her wrongs and her forbearance but the proofs of it? Will the South bear longer with her wrongs and with more from her oppressors? God of his forecast knows! She may; but woe-bless Providence and trust she may not! With States as with men, submission has its bounds. It is best to respect them. It is perilous to press them. When oppression's cup is full, it will hold no more; it will bear what it has, but a single drop besides causes an overflow, and carries away with it and spreads around the thousand drops which, unmolested, would have turned to vapor and have passed away; but that single drop does all the mischief, and compares with the ounce of the barthen which broke the back of the camel!"

Two nephews of the King of the Sandwich Islands joined, in the celebration of the Fourth at New York.

ANOTHER LINK BROKEN.—The correspondence which has heretofore existed, by an interchange of Delegates, between the General Association of Massachusetts (Congregational) and the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has been broken off, in consequence of the interference of the former body with the latter, on the subject of slavery. The Assembly after passing a resolution to the effect that such interference was offensive, and if continued, must lead to an interruption of the correspondence between the two bodies, appointed Rev. Dr. Baker, of Texas, as their Delegate to the Association, but he declined, and the subject was then laid upon the table. The Association at their meeting since held, passed a resolution that although desirous to continue the correspondence, yet being in doubt whether the General Assembly, by their recent action, did not intend to discourage such a continuance, they would omit appointing a delegate until the views of the Assembly should be more distinctly developed. The Presbyterian, the organ of the General Assembly, after giving a sketch of the proceedings of the Association, speaks of the suspension of the correspondence as a "settled fact," and expresses a belief that it "will never be renewed, unless the Association retract." It is not at all probable that the Association will retract. They are not in a mood for so doing. We may therefore consider the correspondence as broken off; a result more to be regretted in a political than in an ecclesiastical point of view. The Methodist and Baptist churches have already been sundered by this question of slavery; the Presbyterian church was divided partly on this ground; and now occurs a new rupture of relations from the same cause. Every such an incident is the breaking of a link of a chain which binds North and South in unity. When a certain number of links shall be broken, the rest will give way as a matter of course, unless some of the broken ones shall in the meantime be restored, or others substituted in their place. The political strands are apparently as much shattered as the ecclesiastical. It is time for men who love the Union, to rally in its defence.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

THE PORTUGUESE CLAIMS.—PRIVATEER GENERAL ARMSTRONG.—The news of the state of things existing at Lisbon, between the Portuguese government and the American squadron there, gives a particular interest to the affair of the privateer General Armstrong, destroyed by a British naval force at Fayal, in 1814, and now intimately connected, as one of its causes, with the misunderstanding, so likely, it would appear, to lead to a serious rupture between the two countries. The Philadelphia Bulletin says:—
The event made a great noise at the time, the defence having been heroic to the last degree. The Armstrong was lying in that port, when a British cruiser, accompanied by a frigate entered the harbor, and the same night endeavored to cut her out but the boats were repelled by the privateer's crew. Another attack was made, at midnight, no less than fourteen launches participating in it; but this was also repelled, the British losing three boats, in one of which were fifty men, of whom but a single one was saved. In all the enemy lost 130 killed.

The next morning, despairing of further defence, for the British now hauled one of their ships up close to the Armstrong, the Americans abandoned their brig, when the foe burned her. As all this took place within a half cable's length of the Portuguese fort, claim for indemnification is just, as the authorities at Fayal ought to have protected the Americans.

MR. WEBSTER'S LATE SPEECH.—As a matter of interest to our readers, we append the following extract from the late speech of Mr. Webster on the Compromise, which will perhaps be his last expression of opinion on the subject as a Senator. Let him be judged by his own words and acts, and not by the premature and fulsome eulogies of those who for their own purposes, would heap commendation on him for supposed sacrifices which he himself disclaims.
So far as we can judge, he has "taken no step backwards" from any position he has ever occupied as a decided friend of the limitation and restriction of slavery by Congressional action when necessary.

[Columbia Telegraph.]

But to the extract, which is as follows:

What does Massachusetts and the free States lose by this bill? They lose the application of the Wilmot proviso, and nothing more. California is admitted, they desire that; the Texas boundary question is settled, and that they desire, and desire to be settled upon liberal and just terms. What was the value of the Wilmot proviso as applied to New Mexico? Nothing. There was no sacrifice made by withholding that proviso. He alluded to the improbability of slavery ever being carried into New Mexico, as well on account of the country as the opinion of the people of New Mexico themselves. And repeated that, as regarded New Mexico, the proviso was nothing but an abstraction, for whether applied or not, things would remain precisely as they were before.

He alluded in terms of commendation to the speech of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Smith), upon the improbability of slavery being carried to New Mexico, and maintained that by that speech the exclusion of slavery was clearly demonstrated. He regretted that the Senator, however, did not intend to vote accordingly. The reason given by the Senator was, that he was under instructions from his State. He then examined the doctrine of instructing representatives, and the duty of the representative to obey those instructions. He examined how far instructions, based upon ex-parte considerations of a subject, and given under a different state of circumstances, by a small portion of the country, were binding upon one who is sworn to discharge a duty to the whole country; and by whose vote may be determined questions involving the honor, renown, and destinies of twenty millions of people. He examined it as a question of morals, and cited the case of a representative instructed by his constituents, and who pledged to vote according to the instructions, who, when he came to take his seat in the French Assembly, was objected to and rejected, on the ground that, being pledged beforehand to a small constituency, he was not a fair legislator for the whole nation.

He said that members ought to be free in their action in the public councils. The Senate should have a Wilmot proviso upon it. Members were not free to act according to their notions of what was just, wise, and expedient. He thought that if the genius of liberty, having power to enforce its decree, would appear in the heavens, bearing a scroll on which were inscribed the words, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist, in the Congress of the United States, except for the punishment of crime," that it would be a great blessing. How could the spirit of freedom free men's limbs and bodies in the Territories, and leave Congress bound and shackled?

He commented upon the evils of instructing representatives upon this one idea, while the very fact of being instructed upon it acted to the prejudice of the other great and paramount interests of the country. All the business interests, the laborer, the merchant, and the manufacturer, were now oppressed for want of proper legislation in their behalf, and this Wilmot proviso stands in the way and checks all things. Never were the vast business interests more depressed for want of proper protection than now, and yet nothing can be done till this subject is disposed of and settled. The people wanted the question settled, and they would demand it.

It was asked what the South would gain by this bill with respect to the Territories. He would take the State of Maryland, and say that Maryland gained exactly the same that Massachusetts lost, and that was precisely nothing.

THE COLUMBUS GATHERING.—The following extract from a letter received by a gentleman in Charleston, gives some indication of the feeling abroad in Georgia. We find it in the Mercury:

"We had a glorious day of it on the 16th. We had a meeting of the 36 30 or fight boys, yes, and girls too, for there were at least 500 of the best mothers and prettiest daughters that ever boasted a home in our sunny South, who graced the meeting by their presence. The ladies are decidedly with us, and I don't believe that there is a man of them but would shoulder a musket if, in defending at all hazards, their aid should be required, in the last extremity. We had from 2000 to 2500 of the bone and sinew; these, and the enthusiasm,

exceed the most sanguine expectations of the most ultra Southerner. The quiet of a month ago has been succeeded by a reaction that makes the heart of the patriot glow with joy and Georgia will, in her primary meetings, in unmistakable tones, repel the slanders of the *Northern press*, which, in various quarters of the State, has labored to produce an impression that the paucity of our vote was an indication of the public pulse, as opposed to the Nashville Convention.

"The people of Georgia are fully up to the ultimatum of the Nashville Convention; and, unless that is accepted by the present Congress, I think they will go back to where they ought to be now. They will insist on rebuking the fraud perpetrated in the organization of California; insist on her being remanded to a Territorial condition, and having the mines left open to the slaveholder for a reasonable time at least, so that a legitimate and not fraudulent expression of opinion can be had on the subject of slavery in the formation of the Constitution.

"Upon the Texas question there is but one opinion: her cause is the common cause of the South, and, whenever a call is made for volunteers to sustain the jurisdiction of Texas to the Rio Grande, they will go from this State by thousands, and the Government will learn that force bills must be dead letters upon the statute book—they cannot be carried into effect."

The Washington correspondent of the "Journal of Commerce" writes of the President's death:

"New difficulties were at the moment when he was summoned away about to beset him. He had determined, as we know, to meet them boldly and promptly—all occasion for temporising measures having passed by. How his successor is to meet these formidable difficulties, remains to be seen. One cannot, at this dark hour, see one's hand before him. If the first has been stormy, and if the present is clouded, the future is inauspicious. In six weeks from this day the crisis must take place, and convalescence or disunion must follow."

COL. WEBB IN ROME.—CURIOUS PERSECUTION OF A WIFE.—ST. PETERS SAVED BY MAJ. CASS.—The New York Courier and Enquirer has a letter from Col. Webb, at Rome, from which we take the following extracts:

"An Englishman of very eccentric character, has resided several years at Rome, in the Rossi Palace, near the vatican. He is far advanced in life, and it is the general opinion that he is deranged. Certainly his conduct warrants this belief. A few years ago he married a young Italian lady, of princely rank. Since their marriage, her life is represented to have been one scene of misery, owing to the treatment she has experienced from her husband. A week or two since, upon some pretext or other, he induced her to accompany him into the subterranean dungeons beneath the Palace, and immured her in one of the dark, loathsome cells. For nearly two days and nights she remained in that horrible place alone, in complete darkness, exposed to the disgusting and noxious reptiles that infest mouldering ruins. The servants of the Palace, after a diligent search, at length discovered the place of her confinement, and immediately concerted measures for her release.

The British Government, as you are aware, has no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Americans and Englishmen are very often indiscriminately confounded by the lower classes of Rome, and under the impression that Major Cass was the English Minister, two of the servants of the Palace Rossi repaired to his residence, and implored assistance for the liberation of their mistress whom they believed to be at the point of death. It was impossible, of course, to resist such an appeal, and Major Cass very properly gave immediate information of the circumstances to the police authorities. In less than an hour, the lady, I understand, was borne from the dungeon in a state of insensibility. A few days afterwards her husband had her conveyed to an obscure convent, accusing her of an intention to elope with three different individuals, of whom Major Cass, to whom she is a stranger, was named as one. As soon as this fact came to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities, an investigation was commenced at the instance of the Austrian Ambassa-

sador, which resulted in her immediate liberation. Her husband has left Rome, denouncing vengeance against the Government, Maj. Cass and all who have rendered assistance to his wife. She, I understand, has gone to Naples."

The Colonel pays a high compliment to Major Cass for the manner in which he discharges his duties.—The Pope, the Colonel says, gives Maj. Cass the credit of preserving St. Peters, in the following manner, from the fury of the mob:

Maj. Cass reached here after the flight of the Pope and his court. He was; consequently, the only representative of a foreign government at Rome, at a period when several of the leaders of the Revolution, finding that further resistance to the French was impracticable, resolved to destroy the monuments of Rome, and leave for their conquerors but a barren victory. Major Cass was aroused from his bed at two o'clock one night, and informed that several of the leaders, then in conclave, had just given orders to undermine and blow up St. Peters, the proudest monument of human skill the world has ever seen. Without loss of time, he presented himself before the assembled Vandals, and by appeals, remonstrances and threats, in the name of his country and in behalf of the civilized world, he compelled them to abandon their fiendish purpose.

"His services have been duly appreciated by the Pope, and at his request, for the first time in the history of Rome, Protestant worship is now permitted in the Eternal City."

WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT.

Before these lines go to press the final action on the Compromise Bill will, in all probability, have been taken; and men now inquire what will be the consequences of its adoption or rejection?

It is idle to indulge in speculation, but there some points in this controversy between the two sections of our country which enable us to form some opinion of the probable results in the one event or the other. We will briefly advert to these:

Should the Compromise be adopted by the Senate and pass the House one of two things must follow: The Southern States will submit to its provisions, or they will proceed, as indicated by the Nashville Convention, to adopt such measures as they deem necessary and expedient in defence of their constitutional rights. Should it be defeated, the admission of California *per se* will be insisted on by the dominant majority and pressed to an issue. In such an event the South will be more strongly bound, if possible, to take this step of self-preservation. No quibbling about abstractions, nor doubtful discussions about the expediency of this or that measure, can then be allowed to stand in the way of a united and harmonious action by the Southern people.

The country is fast verging to this trial, nor can the wisest men of the nation propose, with any chance of success, a preventive. The talk threats and ultimatums, compromises and adjustments, will soon have ceased. For nearly eight months the country has been racked, and if in that time the greatest statesmen in the confederacy cannot devise some measure to avert the threatened evil, what hope remains for the future?

The issue and its consequences, as far as human sagacity can judge, must soon come upon us. There are but two ways to decide both:—The Union can be saved by the forbearance and return to reason of the people of the North. It can also be saved, we presume, by the unconditional submission of the people of the South to the hard terms imposed upon them by the former. The latter mode of salvation we do not think practicable among men nurtured and cherished under our republican institutions. But the one way then remains, and that is a stern determination on the part of the sober masses of the North to put down and crush the demagogues and fanatics of their section. If their profession of love to the Union comes from honest hearts, they will do this.

There is no threat nor design of intimidation in the present action of the citizens of the slaveholding States. Every mail brings us accounts of gatherings by hundreds, and sometimes by thousands, of the Southern people. They do not assemble thus in such multitudes for mere vapor or empty threats. They feel and see the urgent necessity that requires

them to move in concert, and to give publicity to their sentiments and resolutions. The people of the North are sadly mistaken if they imagine their fellow-citizens in the Southern States meet now for mere pastime or for political effect. The next session of the Nashville Convention will deceive them.

We speak from the certain knowledge of the sentiment entertained in our own State, and from the sentiments of our sister States, so far as a large exchange list enables us to form an opinion. We speak honestly to as many of our Northern exchanges as this may reach, and tell them that the people of the South are nearer united now than they ever have been. The few dissentients, and they are few, will be compelled by the all potent sway of public opinion to wheel into line. And whether separated or remaining united with their Northern fellow-citizens in a political confederacy, we can give them the assurance that they are determined to submit to no more aggression upon their institutions or rights.—*Carolinian.*

It is announced that a promising son of Kossuth is about entering one of the colleges of Paris, to complete his education.

Telegraphed for Baltimore Clipper.

WASHINGTON, July 22.
SENATE.

After the usual morning business, the compromise bill was again taken up.

Mr. Clay then addressed the Senate in general remarks upon the whole system of measures reported by the committee of thirteen. He defended them in every possible light in which the arguments of their opponents had placed them. He defended them from all charges, and maintained their availability as a measure of peace and harmony.—His speech was a combination of his many defences of particular parts of the bill, re-enforced by new illustrations. In conclusion, he made the most eloquent appeals to certain Senators, and particularly to the Senators from Rhode Island, Delaware and Virginia, to support the bill and protect the Union. He was repeatedly applauded by the galleries. He defended the supporters of the bill from the charge of incongruity; and turned the charge upon the others.—He alluded to the speeches of Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, and ridiculed and denounced them.

Mr. Barnwell replied, defending Mr. Rhett.

Mr. Clay replied that if Mr. Rhett used the term which was attributed to him of his intention to unfurl the banner of disunion, and followed it up with any view to carry it out, then he was a traitor, and he hoped he would meet the fate of a traitor. (Applause.)

Mr. Barnwell replied.
Mr. Hale and Mr. Clay continued the debate, turning upon the fate of those from the North who had voted for the Missouri compromise.

And then the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
Mr. Olds asked leave to offer a resolution—that, the Senate concurring, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the Senate adjourn their respective Houses on Monday, the 28th of August, at twelve o'clock, meridian, and, resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the next session of the 31st Congress shall commence on the first Monday in November next.

The Speaker suggested that the resolution was not really in form, and said that the gentleman might attain his object by changing his it so as to provide for a recess of Congress.

Mr. Olds replied that he did not wish to adjourn on the 28th of August, unless the next session should commence in November, and modified his resolution according to the suggestion of the Speaker.

No action was taken on the resolution, the House having suspended the rules and took up the business on the Speaker's table.

Reports from the Executive Department, in answer to calls for information, were laid before the House; amendments of the Senate to the certain bills were concurred in, and bills were referred.

The resolution of the Senate, authorizing the committee on Public Buildings of that body, to act in conjunction with the committee of the House, with a view to deliberate on a plan for enlarging the Capitol, so