



THE CONSTITUTION... STATE RIGHTS.

The Richmond Whig.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DEC. 31, 1862.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Letters on business must be addressed to the Editor of the Whig. Articles for publication should be sent to the Editor, and will be no more published unless they are accompanied by a card containing the name of the author, and the address to which they should be sent.

Stolen and Deported Slaves.

The New York Herald, in a late article on Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which it declares can have no effect, except where there are armies in a position to enforce it, has the following paragraph:

Slaves taken from our citizens during the war will have to be accounted for at its end, either by restoration or indemnity. The matter will not admit of controversy, for, in addition to the obvious propriety of such a course, the exact question has been adjudicated by the United States, and stands on record against them. At the end of the Revolutionary War, and again at the close of the war of 1812, this point came up, and it was settled in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, and in the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, in favor of the restoration of slaves abducted by military authority from the South. A Southern contemporary, who has taken the trouble to refer to the record, presents the following abstract of history touching the case:

It is true that Great Britain took and strenuously resisted the fulfillment of these articles in the two treaties, and as to the first, finally succeeded by wearing out the patience of the American Government in causing the claim to be waived or dropped. During the revolution, thousands of slaves were carried away by the British upon precisely the same grounds as is now done by the Yankee Generals, to wit: for the purpose of weakening and annoying their enemies, and because as property of enemies, slaves were lawful prizes of war. History is replete with another parallel between British policy and Yankee policy, and its results. If in 1781, at Yorktown alone, 27,000 negroes taken from their masters, perished of disease in British camps. The same destruction of life is now going on in Yankee camps from disease, exposure, privation and neglect.

The satisfaction of the Union never remained satisfied with the inception of the treaty of 1783. In the seventh article of that treaty, it was stipulated that the evacuation (by the British troops) should be made "without carrying away any negroes or other property belonging to the American inhabitants." Yet thousands were carried away without restitution or compensation. The Congress of the Confederation, and afterwards the Federal Government, continued to insist on indemnity until the claim became obsolete by being waived at the conclusion of Jay's Treaty of 1794. But Gen. Washington's administration contended for its fulfillment at the war of 1812.

The United States Commissioners at Ghent provided against this old difficulty in the first article of the treaty in these words: "All places taken, &c., shall be restored without delay, &c., or carrying away of the artillery, or other public property originally captured in the said ports or places, or any slaves or other private property."

Plain as this provision was, Great Britain made it the subject of a long-continued controversy with the United States, and after seven years of vain efforts to come to an understanding, the two powers were unable to accomplish it, and it was agreed to refer the question to arbitration. The Emperor Alexander of Russia accepted the post of arbitrator, and the Emperor was as impartial as Great Britain as the treaty stipulation had been, a second misunderstanding gave rise to another negotiation which ended in an agreement to pay the value of

and we shall probably learn, from his pronouncement, what is the meaning of "conservatism" as understood among Yankee politicians, and what was determined in the late elections. As chief magistrate of a great and influential State, elected in opposition to the administration at Washington, and looked to to propound a new policy, Mr. Seymour occupies a position of immense responsibility; one which, if he rightly appreciates and uses it, may enable him to exert a controlling influence over affairs that involve the well-being of millions of his race. We forbear all conjecture and the expression even of our hopes as to the ground he may take, and await without undue solicitude the disclosure which a few days will make upon the subject.

A New Journal.

The "Southern Crisis" is the name of a new and spirited Daily just issued at Jackson, Miss. The Editor is J. W. Tucker, Esq., whose services and sufferings in behalf of the Southern cause in Missouri, and since his exile from that State, have given him an enviable fame. Mr. T. is a vigorous writer, bold in the expression of his opinions, and fearless in the advocacy of what he considers right. The temper of his first issue is enthusiastic and sanguine. The following paragraph illustrates his style and spirit:

"Although the Federal Government has put forth mighty energies upon a vast scale, it has failed to accomplish results proportionate to such means, and now it is evident that usurpation is making its last effort. The North will not much longer submit to a continuance of the war; and if it would, Europe would not. Financial ruin stalks that government in the face; whilst disaffection, confusion of councils and weakness begin to threaten its very existence. Courage! courage! A little more resistance, and this may be our last day of moral freedom—and the boon is gone. We feel to-day as if we could promise our people, in the name and on the faith of God's truth and justice, that if they are only true to themselves and their high destiny, the prize will be won before many months. And such a boon! Home—a home as free as the birds that cleave the air—a wise and beneficent government—liberty of speech, an eternal settlement of the vexed question of our domestic institutions—a commerce unfettered, and vast, and prosperous—our boundless dominion covered with rich harvests, happy homes, flourishing cities, and a people exalted in all the attributes and qualities that dignify and embellish the nature of man. A land blessed with the smiles of heaven! Courage, brave men, courage! A grateful country will wreath your brows with immortal honors, and children yet unborn will learn to read your noble history and reverence your names."

THE CRISIS OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

[From a stray number of the Baltimore Republican that has fallen into our hands, we take the following fragment of an article from Blackwood's Magazine—the entire article appearing in the Republican in continued issues.]

What more could he do but seek refuge in an Emancipation Proclamation? On two occasions, within a few weeks before, he had refused to adopt such a measure; but at length he gave way, and on the 22d September, two days before the meeting of the Governors at Altoona—he proclaimed the most atrocious act of war policy which has ever been adopted by a civilized State—not but in his sore bewilderment the honest (we doubt not) but impotent saying: "I can only trust in God I have made no mistake!"

A mistake in what? Only nine days previously, he had stated to a deputation from Chicago his objection to issue a proclamation of emancipation on the ground "that the whole world would see it to be necessarily as ineoperative as the Pope's Bull against a comet." In now issuing it, is the mistake which he dreads that the process may be too effective in rousing the slaves against their masters, or not effective enough? With every desire to do justice to Mr. Lincoln, as an honest but weak man placed in very trying circumstances, we must believe that his only apprehension, as to the effect of his proclamation, is not in regard to the awful horrors which it may occasion, but that it should fall in accomplishing the conquest of the South.

He said himself, not long ago—"I will proclaim emancipation entirely, or partially, or not at all, according to whichever of these measures shall seem to me best for the Government." Mr. Seward, in his despatch to Gen. Fremont, declares the same view of the matter. He says: "I have no objection to the issue of a proclamation of military act," adding with an effrontery purely American, that he does not doubt that it will be recognized as such by "all the good and wise men of all countries." We are greatly mistaken in Earl Russell if he allows Mr. Seward to continue in that consistent belief, and if he does not express in strong terms the reprobation by the British Government of this atrocious attempt to devastate the South by means of a servile war.

In the immediate effects, and so far as regards the position of the President, the proclamation has been a success. The tub has been thrown to the whales. The Northerners can no longer account for their reverses by imputing them to the half measures of the Government. It is extraordinary the amount of ferocity which exists among the population of the Northern States, especially among the Puritans of the New England States. The clergy, who are entirely dependent on their congregations, show themselves as the

FROM THE NORTH.

Northern papers of the 26th and 27th of December contain some interesting news, a portion of which was received at this office on Monday night last for insertion in yesterday's paper. The Baltimore American states that the Army of the Potomac will not go into winter quarters, and a correspondent of the New York Herald, writing from Stafford county, says:

"I feel assured we will not find winter quarters until at least another battle has been fought. Where this will take place it is hard to say. I incline to the opinion that the James river is to be our new route to Richmond."

There is, however, no indication of an immediate renewal of hostilities.

With regard to the recent fight in North Carolina the Herald has suddenly changed its tune, and now holds forth as follows:

What, we ask, have been the actual results of the expedition? Three or four bridges destroyed, a few miles of railway and telegraph lines torn up, and a quantity of property uselessly consigned to the flames. Every military man knows that the interruption of the rebel lines of communication thus effected can be repaired in a few days, or in a week at the farthest; so all that has been gained by the sacrifices in men and money which the expedition has cost is the destruction of property to the amount, as it is stated, of a million of dollars, the loss of which can in no way seriously damage or cripple the internal defenses of the enemy.

The expedition should never have been attempted unless it was intended to hold the Railroad Junction at Goldsboro, which commands the Atlantic seaboard line and constitutes the channel through which Richmond receives its supplies from Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina. The only result of the late effort will be to attract the attention of the rebels to the important link in their lines of communication, except with an overwhelming force. It is the more to be regretted from the evidence which it has afforded of the facility with which, under proper conditions, this long coveted object might have been effected. But the attempt and the failure are of a piece with all the other brilliant efforts of Washington generalship. What a pity that so much dash and heroism on the part of both officers and men should have been thrown away on an enterprise which, like the assault on the enemy's lines at Fredericksburg, was destined from the first to be fruitless.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Washington correspondents all agree that Lincoln is resolved to stand by his emancipation proclamation, and will issue a supplementary proclamation on the 1st January, indicating the States and parts of States in which slavery is forever outlawed. One of these correspondents writes:

There is reason to believe that in the President's last of January proclamation, in reference to negro emancipation, he will except such States and parts of States as have furnished evidences of loyalty, but have been prevented by the presence of a hostile army from complying with the terms of his proclamation of the 22d of September. A strong protest has been presented to him from Tennessee, signed by Governor Johnson and a large number of the most noted loyal Tennesseans, claiming to be exempt from the emancipation proclamation upon the ground that, if an opportunity were offered to the people of Tennessee to express themselves, unmistakable evidences of the loyalty of a majority of them would be shown; but that the occupation of their soil by contending armies has prevented the holding of elections, as required in the preliminary proclamation, and precluded for the present any other representation of the loyalty of the people than can be furnished by the assurances of men of undoubted patriotism, who are familiar with the people of that State. Similar representations have been made on the part of the people of the 8th Congressional District of Virginia, known as the Harper's Ferry District, composed of the counties of Hampshire, Page, Warren, Clarke, Berkeley, Jefferson, Frederick, Morgan and Loudon. Numerous letters have been received here by the Marshal of the District of Columbia, a native of that section, and other proud residents of Washington, complaining bitterly of the failure of Gov. Pierpont to order an election. There was a time when it might have been held with comparative safety, and the Union sentiment of the district been freely represented.

THE SERRAVALLO-BRISTOL DISASTERS—UNEXPECTED OPERATIONS AT WASHINGTON.

The Northern papers devote much space to a discussion of the report of the Congressional Committee on the war, and the officials at Washington get severely lectured on their responsibility for the failure at Fredericksburg. A long editorial in a New York journal concludes as follows:

From General Halleck's own testimony it does not appear that he is of any use whatever at Washington. He acts the part of a mere clerk, copying orders, but not signing them; he gives efficient assistance to the Generals who do plan and fight them. The necessary supplies were withheld from McClellan at Harper's Ferry, at the time when the radical journals were clamoring against him for not moving on, and so it has been in the case of