Ours are the plans of fair delightful peace Unwarp'd by party rage to live like brothers,"

RALEIGH, N. C. WEDNESDAY MORNING, JANUARY 21, 1863.

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advancing in the direction of Kinston. ly making a feint to cover an attack on Wilmington, remains to be seen. We are glad troops on hand to give the enemy a proper large numbers.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS. According to promise we lay before our readers to day the message of President Davis to the Confederate Congress. We are very sure that after perusing the Message our readers will agree with us that we could not have made a more profitable disposition of our space. A more admirable document than this Message never emanated from any Head of any Government, and it must produce a good effect, not only at home, but abroad. Its exposure of the conduct of foreign Governments, and particularly that of Great Britain, in relation to the recognition blockade, which, in defiance of the principle ris, has been permitted so long to interfere with the commerce of the world, is most masterly and unanswerable.

The tone of the Message in reference to our prospects of conducting the war to successful conclusion is bouyant and encouraging, and will inspire our gallant defenders with renewed zeal, and impel them, if possible, to still braver deeds.

High as President Davis has stood in the estimation of all his fellow citizens, whose good opinion is worth having, this Message will win for him a yet more exalted position in the admiration and affection of his countrymen. The veriest of the carpers and croakers, if they withhold their praise of the Message, will not dare to censure it in a single particular.

THE TEN REGIMENT BILL. The passage of this bill, the proper title of which is the Nullification Bill, has been heretofore urged on the ground that the necessities of the Eastern part of the State imperiously demanded the presence and protection of the men which it proposes to raise. Now, however, another ground is taken in behalf of the resolution : of the bill. The Senate, in which body it is now pending, is gravely told that if the bill is defeated, the result will be hailed as a triumph of the Richmond Enquirer over Gov. Vance. In other words, the Senate of North Carolina is invoked not to be swayed in its action by considerations of the welfare and dignity of the State, but to pass a bill for the purpose of spiting a newspaper published in another State. Verily, if the Senate is governed in its action by such a motive as this, the Richmond "Enquirer" may well plume itself upon the importance it has attained in North Carolina. But, as we have no idea that the Senate of North Carolina will pay any, the slightest attention to any such puerile and undignified appeals as this, we shall invite its attention to some facts which we think clearly demonstrate that the bill should be defeated. If this bill shall be passed, there will not be one thousand men. or the half of that number, raised under it in a twelve month. But suppose, for the sake of the argument, the whole ten thousand can be raised, equipped and put into the field, does anybody believe it can be accomplished in less than three months? The lapse of three months, if this bill shall be passed this week, would bring us to the latter part of April. What, then, becomes of the argument that the East is in need of immediate protection, and that these ten regiments alone can afford it? The three months during which these regiments are being raised, are the months during which the enemy, with his land and water forces, would be busy, as it cannot reasonably be supposed that he would chivalrously postpone his advande until we got ready to drive him back. These regiments, then, it is manifest, if raised in three months' time, would not get into the field until the Yankees had harvested it, and all the money which would be expended in recruiting and equipping them would be simply thrown away. But, it was contended in the outset of this discussion, that if the conscript law was further executed in this State, it would abstract from agricultural pursuits ten thousand men, and the consequence would be that food would become distressingly scarce, if downright starvation did not ensue. Now, we ask, if these ten regiments are raised, and placed in the field, and kept

men as effectually abstracted from agricultural pursuits as if they had been enrolled and mustered in under the conscript law? Would they be on the farms either to pitch crops or reap them? Most assuredly not. The Senate of North Carolina, then, is urged to consummate a measure which cannot by possibility attain the professed end, while it may establish a precedent that will either break down the Confederate Government, the common agent of all the States, and leave each State in turn at the mercy of the enemy, or, by bringing on internecine war, produce the same dire result. A cordial union among all the States of the Confederacy, and an only bearing all resistance by mere weight of numbers.

This hope, however, like those previously enter-tained by our foes, has vanished. In Virginia, entire harmony between them and their common agent, can alone save them from the curse of Yankee subjugation. A great re-There is no doubt that the Yankees are spensibility, then, rests upon the Senate, for upon its action may depend the safety not They have occupied Trenton. Whether they only of North Carolina, but the cause of the design an attack on Goldsboro', or are mere- South. These Regiments, if raised, cannot be raised in time to give the alightest protection to the points threatened by the enemy, to learn that we have a large number of whereas the Confederate Government is at this moment, by means of men raised under reception. A gentleman just from Goldsbo- the conscript law, furnishing to these points re' informs us that our troops are arriving in all the protection which can be afforded. We party feeling, rise to the dignity of the occasion, and save North Carolina's name from the foulest of blots, by defeating this bill.

After a protracted struggle, the Legislature of Virginia on Saturday last elected Allen T. Caperton, of Monroe county, a Senator of the Confederate States, to fill the vacaney caused by the death of Wm. Ballard

Mr. Caperton is a gentleman of ability, and during the existence of the old parties, was a firm old line whig. He was nominated inated for the post to which he was elected of our independence and the incomplete by Paulus Powell, who was the most intense domocrat we ever knew. So it seems that solemnly laid down by the Congress of Par old party lines have been ignored in the Old

> LEGISLATURE -- No QUORUM. There was no quorum of the "Conservative" Legislature on Monday, only 53 members of the House and 18 of the Senate answering to their names. The weather has been bitterly cold, and these "Conservatives" conserved their comfort by not stirring from their snug fires.

LECTURE. Our readers will no doubt have a rich treat in listening to the Lecture of Judge Shepherd this (Wednesday) evening. The subject of the lecture is "The times of the Apostle Paul and his character as a Christian soldier and Moral Hero."

ILLINOIS AGAINST LINCOLN.

The Hon. W. A. Richardson, the recently U. S. House of Representatives about two weeks since, in which he excoriated old Lincoln, and denounced his emancipation proclamation in the bitterest terms. The Washington "Chronicle" says Mr. Richardson's future course is to be judged by the resolutions of the caucus which nominated him; therefore the policy he will pursue is foreshadowed in the following abstract of some | month become more unalterably fixed, to endure

Second-That the administration, in suspending the writ of habeas corpes, in arresting private citizens, and incarcerating them in bastiles, issuing the proclamation of emancipation, and in other instances usurping power, has violated the Constitution, infringed upon State sovereignty, and disregarded the popular wish. Its perversion of the war into a war of abolition deserves our unqualified reprobation, and justly entitles it to the condummation of all true lovers of constitutional lib. erty and State rights.

Fifth-That peace, fraternal relations, and political fellowship should be restored among the people of the States; that the best interests of all and the welfare of mankind, demand this should be done in the speediest and most effective man-

Seventh-Favors a National Convention of all the States at Louisville, Ky., at the earliest practicable period, to adjust our national difficulties. Eighth-Recommends that the Legislature now n session appoint Commissioners to said National Convention, and invite other States to do so.

Ninth-That we earnestly recommend a cessation of hostilities for such period as may be necessary to allow the people of the North and South to express, through a National Convention, their wish for peace and a maintenance of the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is.

The U. S. Steamer Columbia, commander Coutchney, 12 officers and 28 men, ashore at Masonboro' Inlet, serrendered to Col. Lamb vesterday. Col. Lambkept off four blockaders that had come up to the Colombia's assistance. The prisoners are expected here to-day.

Since writing the above we have received the following official particulars of the capture of the

FORT FISHER, Jan. 17th, 1863. The U. S. Steamer" Columbia," carrying 7 guns, Commander Coutchney, grounded off Masonbore Sound on Wednesday night last. On Thursday the Commanding Officer of Fisher carried one gun and a detachment of cavalry and infantry to capture ber. On Friday at 7 o'clock, A. M., two shots were fired when the steamer hoisted a white flag. About 40 prisoners have been taken. After the surrender several blockaders came up, but were promptly driven off. But one boat was left on the ship, and owing to the delay caused by firing of the shore battery which did not perceive for respect the white flag, all the prisoners were not landed 'till to-day, with some valua-

The "Columbia" is a splendid Iron Steamer, built to run the blockade, and was captured by the "Tuscarora," on her first trip to Charleston. This is her first cruise as a War Steamer.

A letter from a lady in Portsmouth, Va., says. "General Viele's lady is going to govern us as well as her husband. She was coming over on the boat from Norfolk in a carriage on the 27th ult., and Mrs. Mercer and same other ladies were in the cabin, and Mrs. General Viele thought

Journal, exclaims in a late issue : "Even Spain is racy, alleging that these independent States were

MESSAGE

of the Confederate States: At the date of your last adjournment the preparations of the enemy for further hostilities had assumed so menacing an aspect as to excite in some minds apprehension of our ability to meet them with sufficient promptness to avoid serious reverses. These preparations were completed shortly after your departure from the seat of Government, and the armies of the United States made simultaneous advance on our frontiers, on the western rivers and on the Atlantic coast in masses so great as to evince their hope of overtheir fourth attempt at invasion by armies whose assured success was confidently predicted, has met with decisive repulse. Our noble defenders, under the consummate leade ship of their General, have again, at Fredericksburg, inflicted on the forces under General Burnside the like disastrous overthrow as had been previously suffered by the successive invading armies commanded by Gene rals McDowell, McClellan and Pope. In the West obstinate battles have been fought

with varying fortunes, marked by frightful carnaze on both sides, but the enemy's hopes of decisive results have again been baffled, while at Vicksburg another formidable expedition has been repulsed with inconsiderable loss on our side and severe damage to the assailing forces. On the Atlantic coast the enemy has been unable to gain a footing beyond the protecting shelter of his fleets, do hope, then, the Senate will lay aside all and the city of Calveston has just been recovered by our forces, which succeeded not only in the capture of the garrison, but of one of the enemy's vessels of war, which was carried by boarding parties from merchant river steamers. Our forgthened and improved, affording assurance ELECTION OF SENATOR INVIRGINIA. of our ability to meet, with success, the utmost

of their preparations for attack. A review of our history of the two years of our national existence affords ample cause for congratulation and demands the most fervent expression of our thankfulness to the Almighty Father who has blessed our cause. We are justified in asserting, with a pride, surely not unbecoming, that these Confederate States have added another to the lessons taught by history for the instruction of man; that they have afforded another example of the impossibility of subjugating a people determined to be tree; and have demonstrated that no superiority of numbers or available resources can overcome the resistance offered by such valor in combat, such constancy under suffering and such cheerful endurance of privation as have been conspicuously displayed by this people in the defence of their rights and liberties. The anticipations with which we entered into the contest have now ripened into a conviction which is not only shared with us by the common opinion of neutral nations, but is evidently forcing itself upon our enemies themselves. If we but mark the history of the present year by resolute perseverance in the path we have hitherto pursued; by vigorous effort in the development of all our resources for defence; and by the continued exhibition of the same unfaltering courage in our soldiers and able conduct in their leaders as have distinguished the past, we have every reason to expect that this will be the closing year of the war. The war, which, in its inception, was waged for coercing us back into the Union, having failed to accomplish that purpose, passed into a second stage in which it was attempted to conquer and rule these States as dependent provinces. Defeated in this second design, our enemies have evidently entered upon another. which can have no other purpose than reverge and thirst for blood and plunder of private property. But however implacable they may be, they can have neither the spirit nor the resources required for a fourth year of a strugglé uncheered by any hope of success, kept alive solely for the indulgence of mercenary and wicked passions, and demanding so exhaustive an expenelected Senator from Illinois, made a speech in the diture of blood and money as has hitherto been imposed on their people. The advent of peace will be hailed with joy. Our desire for it has never been concealed. Our efforts to avoid the war, forced on us, as it was, by the lust of conquest and the insane passions of our foes, are known to mankind. But earnest as has been our wish for prace and great as have been our sacrifices and sufferings during the war, the determi-

> and firmly established. In this connection, the occasion seems not unsuitable for some reference to the relations bet ween the Confederacy and the neutral powers of Europe since the separation of these States from the

nation of this people has with each succeeding

any sufferings and continue any sacrifices, however

prolonged, until their right to self-government

and the sovereignty and independence of these

States shall have been triumphantly vindicated

former Union. Four of the States now members of the Confed-

eracy, were recognized by name as independent sovereignties in a treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1783, with one of the two great maritime powers of Western Europe, and had been, prior to that period, allies in war of the other. In the year 1778 they formed a Union with nine other States under articles of Confederation. Dissatisfied with that Union, three of them, Virginia South Carolina and Georgia, together with eight of the States now members of the United States, seceded from it in 1789 and these eleven seceding swept the seas in pursuit of the commerce of our States formed a second union, although by the terms of the Article of Confederation express provision was .made that the first union should be perpetual. Their right to secede, notwithstand. ing this provision, was neither contested by the States from which they separated, nor made the subject of discussion with any third power .-When, at a later period, North Carolina acceded to that second union, and when, still later, the other seven States, now members of this Confederacy, became also members of the same Union, it was upon the recognized footing of equal and independent sovereignties, nor had it then entered into the minds of men that sovereign States could be compelled, by force, to remain members of a confederation into which they had entered of their own free will, if, at a subsequent period, the defense of their safety and honor omitted in the Constitution of 1789. therefore, in 1861 eleven of the States again thought proper, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, to secode from the second union, and to form a third one under an amended Constitution, they exercised a right which being inherent, required no justification to foreign nations, and which international law did not permit them to question. The usages of intercourse between nations do, however, require that official communication be made to friendly powers of all organic changes in the constitution of States, and there was obvious propriety in giving prompt assurance of our desire to continue amicable relations with all mankind. It was under the influence of these considerations that your predecessors, the provisional Government, took early measures for sending to Europe Commissioners charged with the duty

and making arrangements for the opening of more formal diplomatic intercourse. Prior, however, to the arrival abroad of those Commissioners, the. United States had commenced hostilities against the Confederacy by despatching a secret expedition for the reinforce-ment of Fort Sumter, after an express promise that Mrs. Mercey was laughing at her, and so she been fully unveiled in a former message. They ordered the guard to arrest her." Prentice, the Yankee editor of the Louisville ent Cabinets of Europe, in which they assumed the attitude of being sovereign over this Confede-

of visiting the capitals of the different powers,

Confederate States as having an independent existence. It soon became known that these pretensions were not considered abroad to be as absurd as they were known to be at home, nor had Europe yet learned what reliance was to be placed on the official statements of the Cabinet at Washington. The delegation of power granted by these States to the Federal Government to represent them in foreign intercourse, had led Europe into the grave error of supposing that their separate sovereignty and independence had been merged into one common sovereignty, and had ceased to have a distinct existence. Under the influence of this error, which all appeals to reason and historical fact were vainly used to dispel, our Commissioners were met by the declaration that foreign governments could not assume to judge between the conflicting representations of the two parties as to the true nature of their previous mutual relations. The governments of Great Britain and France accordingly signified their determination to confine themselves to recognizing the self-evident fact of the existence of a war, and to maintaining a strict neutrality during its progress. Seme of the other powers of Europe pursued the same course of policy, and it became apparent that by some understanding, express or tacit, Europe had decided to leave the initiative in all action touching the contest on this continent to the powers just named, who were recognized to have the largest interests involved, both by reason of proximity and of the extent and intimacy of their commercial relations with the States engaged in

It is manifest that the course of action adopted

by Europe, while based on an apparent refusal to determine the question, or to side with either party, was in point of fact an actual decision against our rights and in favor of the groundless pretensions of the United States. It was a refusal to treat us as an independent government. If we were independent States, the refusal to entertain with us the same international intercouse as was maintained with our enemy was unjust, and was | charge. injurious in its effects, whatever may have been the motive which promoted it. Neither was it in accordance with the high moral obligations of that international code whose chief sanction is the conscience of sovereigns and the public opinion of mankind, that those eminent powers should decline the performance of a duty peculiarly incumbent on them, from any apprehension of the consequences to themselves. One immediate and necessary result of their declining the responsibility of a decision which must have been adverse to the extravagant pretensions of the United States, was the prolongation of hostilities to which our enemies were thereby encouraged, and which have resulted in nothithg but scenes of carnage and devastation on this continent, and of misery and suffering on the other, such as have scarcely a parallel in history. Had those powers promptv admitted our right to be treated as all other in dependent nations, none can doubt that the moral effect of such action would have been to dispel the delusion under which the United States have per-

sisted in their efforts to accomplish our subjugation. To the contued hesitation of the same powers in rendering this act of simple justice towards this Confederacy, is still due the continuance of the calamities which mankind suffers from the interruption of its peaceful pursuits, both in the old

There are other matters in which less than justice has been rendered to this people by neutral Europe, and undue advantage conferred on the aggressors in a wicked war. At the inception of hostilities the inhabitants of the Confederacy were almost exclusively agriculturists; those of the United States, to-a great extent, mechanics and merchants. We shad no commercial marine. while their merchant vessels covered the ocean. We were without a navy, while they had powerful floets. The advantage which they possessed for inflicting injury on our coasts and harbons was thus counterbalanced in some measure by the exposure of their commerce to attack by private armed vessels. It was known to Europe that within a very few years past the United States had peremptorily refused to accede to proposals for abolishing privateering, on the ground, as alledged by them, that nations owning powerful fleets would thereby obtain undue advantage over those possessing inferior naval forces. Yet no sooner was war flagrant between the Confederacy and the United States, than the maritime powers of Europe issued orders prohibiting either party from bringing prizes into their ports. This prohibition, directed with apparent impartiality against both belligerents, was in reality, effective against the Confederate States alone, for they alone could find a hostile commerce on the ocean. Merely nominal against the United States, the prohibition operated with intense severeity on the maintaining, with some approach to equality, its struggle on the occean against the crushing superiority of naval force possessed by its enemies .-The value and efficiency of the weapon which was thus wrested from our grasp by the combined action of neutral European powers in favor of a nation which professes openly its intention of ravaging their commerce by privateers in any future war, is strikingly illustrated by the terror inspired among the commercal classes of the United States by a single cruiser of the Confederacy. One national steamer, commanded by officers and manned by a crew who are debarred, by the closure of neutral ports, from the opportunity of causvor as prizes, has sufficed to double the rates of marine insurance in Northern ports and consign to forced inaction numbers of Northern vessels, in addition to the direct damage inflicted by cap-

But it is especially in relation to the so-called blockade of our coast that the policy of European powers has been so shaped as to cause the greatest injury to the Confederacy, and to confer signal advantages on the United States. The importance of this subject requires some develop-

tures at sea. How difficult, then, to overestimate

hundreds of private armed vessels that would have

Prior to the year 1856, the principles regulating this subject were to be gathered from the writings of eminent publicists, the decisions of admiralty courts; international treaties, and the usages of nations. The uncertainty and doubt which prevailed in reference to the true rules of maritime law, in time of war, resulting from the discordant and often conflicting principles anshould, in their judgment, justify withdrawal .- | nounced from such varied and independent sources. The experience of the past had evinced the futili-ty of any renunciation of such inherent rights, and er a blockade was allowable against a port not inaccordingly the provision for perpetuity contain- vested by land as well as by sea; whether a blockmerely sufficient to render ingress to the blockaded port "evidently dangerous," or whether it was further required lor its legality that it should be sufficient "really to prevent access," and numeerous other similar questions, had remained doubtful and undecided.

Animated by the highly honorable desire to put an end "to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts," (I quote the official language,) the five great Powers of Europe, together with Sardinia and Turkey, adopted, in 1856, the following "solemn declaration" of prin-

1. Privateering is, and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under

enemy's flag. 4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a ferce sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the

Not only did this solemn declaration announce to the world the principles to which the signing powers agreed to conform in future wars, but it contained a clause to which those powers gave immediate effect, and which provided that the States, not parties to the Congress of Paris, should be invited to accede to the declaration,at last threatening and buttying us. Our country in rebellion against the remaining States of the must indeed, conclude that she is a sick lion when Union, and threatening Europe with manifestatis known to me of a refdsal; and the United Under this invitation every independent State in

tion which prohibited privateering, declared that the three remaining principles were in entire

No instance is known in history of the adop-

When therefore, this Confederacy was formed and when neutral powers, while deferring action on its demand for admission into the family of nations, recognized it as a belligerent power, Great Britain and France made informal proposals about the same time that their own rights as neutrals should be guarantied by our acceding, as belligerents, to the declaration of principles made by the Congress of Paris. The request was addressed to our sense of justice, and therefore met immediate favorable response in the resolutions of the Provisional Congress of the 13th August, 1861, by which all the principles announced by the Congress of Paris were adopted as the guide of our conduct during the war, with the sole exception of that relative to privateering. 'As the right to make use of privateers was one in which neutral nations had, as to the present war, no interest; as it was a right which the United States had refused to abandon and which they remained at liberty to employ against us; as it was a right of which we were already in actual enjoyment, and which we could not be expected to renounce flagrante bello against an adversary possessing an overwhelming superiority of naval forces at was reserved with entire confi dence that neutral nations could not fail to perceive that just reason existed for the reservation. Nor was this confidence misplaced, for the official documents published by the British Government, usually called "Blue Books," contain the expression of the satisfaction of that government

These solemn declarations of principle, this implied agreement between the Confederacy and the two powers just named, have been suffered to remain inoperative against the menaces and outrages on neutral rights, committed by the United States with unceasing and progressing arrogance during the whole period of the war. Neutral Europe remained passive when the United States, with a naval force insufficent to blockade, effectively, the coast of a single State, proclaimed a paper blockade of thousands of miles of coast, extending from the capes of the Chesapeake to those of Florida, and encircling the Gulf of Mexico from Key West to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Compared with this monstrous pretension of the United States, the blockades known in history, under the names of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in Council n the years 1806 and 1807, sink into significance! Yet those blockades were justified by the powers were retaliatory; yet those blockades have since been condemned by the publiciets of those very powers as violations of international law; yet those blockades evoked angry remonstrances from Britain and the United Sates in 1812; vet those blockades were one of the principal motives that led to the declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856, in the fond hope of imposing an enduring check on the very abuse of maritime power which is now renewed by the United States in 1861 and 1862, under circumstances and with - features of aggravated wrong without precedent in history. The records of our State Department contain the evidence of the repeated and formal remonstrances made by this Government to neutral owers against the recognition of this blocksde It has been shown by evidence not capable of contradiction, and which has been furnished in part by the officials of neutral nations, that the few ports of this Confederacy, before which any naval forces at all have been stationed, have been invested so inefficiently that hundreds of entries have been effected into them since the declaration of the blockade; that our enemies have themselves admitted the inefficiency of their blockade in the most forcible manner, by repeated official complaints of the sale, to us, of goods contraband of war, a sale which could not possibly affect their

interests if their pretended blockade was sufficient really to prevent access to our coast;" that they have gone farther and have alleged their inability to render their paper blockade effective as the excuse for the odious barbarity of destroying the entrance to one of our harbors by sinking vessels loaded with stone in the channel; that our commerce with foreign nations has been intercepted, Confederacy, by depriving it of the only means of not by the effective investment of our ports, nor by the seizure of ships in the attempt to enter them, but by the capture on the high seas of neutral vessels by the cruisers of our enemies whenever supposed to be bound to any point on our extensive coast, without enquiry whether a single blockading vessel was to be found at such point; that blockading vessels have left the ports at which they were stationed for distant expeditions, have been absent for many days and have right of neutral nations to trade with a belligerent under the sanction of principles heretofore universally respected; have been systematically and persistently violated by the United States. Neutral Europe has received our remonstrances and has submitted in almost unbroken silence to all the wrongs that the United States have chosen to inflict on its commerce. The Cabinet of the effects that must have been produced by the Great Britain, however, has not confined itself to such implied acquiescence in these breaches of international law as results from simple inaction, but has, in a published despatch of the Secretary enemy, if the means of disposing of their prizes had not been withheld by the action of neutral of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed to make a change in the principle enunciated by the Congress of Paris, to which the faith of the British Government was considered to be pledged; a change too important and too prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked. and against which I have directed solemn protest to be made, after a vain attempt to obtain satisfactory explanations from the British Government. In a published despatch from her Majesty's Foreign Office, to her Minister at Washington, under date of the 11th February, 1862,

occurs the following passage: "Her Majesty's Government, however, are of opinion that assuming that the blockade was duly notified and also that a number of ships is stationed and remains at the entrance of a port sufficient really to prevent access to it; or to create an evident danger of entering it or leaving it, and that these ships do not voluntarily permit ingress or agress, the fact that various ships may have successfully ed in the Articles of Confederation of 1778 was ade was valid by sea if the investing fleet was escaped through it (as in the particular instance here referred to) will not of itself prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law."

The words which I have italicised are an addition made by the British Government of its which were settled with deliberation by the com-Convention with this Government, as already explained, and their effect is clearly to re-open to the prejudice of the Confederacy one of the very disputed questions on the law of blockade which the Congress of Paris professed to settle .-The importance of this change is readily illustrated by taking one of our ports as an example.-There is "evident danger" in entering the port of dignation inspired by this conduct should make force, and by this test the blockade is effective. mass of the people who are subjected to the desirable to "Access is not really prevented" by the blockading fleet to the same port, for steamers are continually arriving and departing, so that tried by this test the blockade is ineffective and invalid. further reflection will induce the British Govern- wholly guiltless while permitting their continument to give us such assurances as will efface the ance without an effort at repression. painful impressions that would result from its language, if left unexplained.

From the foregoing remarks you will perceive that during nearly two years of struggle in which every energy of our country has been evoked for maintaining its very existence, the neutral nations in the field, if there will not be ten thousand she finds herself kicked by such a miserable ass." tions of their displeasure if it should treat the States, while declining to assent to the proposi- able to our epemies and most detrimental to us. of Europe have pursued a policy which nomi-nally impartial has been practically most favor-

The exercise of the neutral right of refusing entry into their ports to prizes taken by both bel. accordance with their own views of international ligerents was eminently hurtful to the Confederaey. It was sternly asserted and maintained.

The exercise of the neutral right of commerce tion of rules of public law under circumstances with a belligerent whose ports are not blockaded of like solemnity, with like unanimity, and by fleets sufficient really to prevent access to pledging the faith of nations with a sanctity so the m, would have been eminently hurtful to the United States. It was complaisantly abandoned. The duty of neutral States to receive with cordiality and recognize with respect any new confederation that independent States may think proper to form was too clear to admit of denial, but its postponement was eminently beneficial to the United States and detrimental to the Confed-

eracy. It was postponed. In this review of our relations with the neutral nations of Europe, it has been my purpose to point out distinctly that this Government has no complaint to make that those nations declared their neutrality. It could nether expect nor desire more. The complaint is, that the neutrality has been rather nominal than real, and that recognized neutral rights have been alternately asserted and waived in such mapner as to bear with great severity on us, and to confersignal advantages on I have hitherto refrained from calling to your

attention this condition of our relations with for eign powers for various reasons. The chief of these was the fear that a statement of our just grounds of complaint against a course of policy so injurious to our interests might be misconstru ed into an appeal for aid. Unequal as we were in mere numbers and available resources to our enemies, we were conscious of powers of resistance, in relation to which Europe was incredulous, and our remonstrances were therefore, pecuijarly liable to be misunderstood. Proudly selfreliant, the Confederacy knowing full well the character of the contest into which it was forced with full trust in the superior qualities of its poouwith the conduct of the officials who conducted with full trust in the superior qualities of its popusuccessfully the delicate business confided to their lation, the superior valor of its soldiers, the superrior skill of its Generals, and above all in the justice of its cause, felt no need to appeal for the maintenance of its rights to other earthly aids, and it. began, and has continued this struggle with the calm confidence ever inspired in those who with consciousness of right can invoke the Divine ble sing on their cause. This confidence has been so assured that we have never yielded to despondency under defeat, nor do we feel undue elation at the present brighter prospect of Life successful issue to our contest. It is, therefore, because our just grounds of complaint can no longer be misinterpreted that I lay them clearly before you. It seems to me now proper to give you the informstion, and although no immediate results may be attained, it is well that truth should be preserved and recorded. It is well that those who are to follow us should understand the full nature and character of the tremendous conflict in which the blood of our people has been poured out like wa-ter, and in which they have resisted unaided the that declared them, on the sole ground that they the shock of hosts which would have sufficed to overthrow many of the powers which by their hesitation in according our rights as an independent nation imply doubt of our ability to maintain our national existence. It may be, too, that if in future times, unfriendly discussions not not were the most conspicuous; yet those blockades anticipated shall unfortunately arise between this became the chief cause of the war between Great | Confederacy and some European power, the recollection of our for bearance under the grievances which I have enumerated, may be evoked with happy influence in preventing any serious disturbance of peaceful relations.

It would not be proper to close my remarks on the subject of our foreign relations without ad verting to the fact that the correspondence between the Cabinets of France, Great Britain and Russia. recently published, indicates a gratifying advance in the appreciation by those Governments of the true interests of mankind as involved in the war on this Continent. It is to the enlightened ruler of the French nation that the public feeling of Europe is indebted for the first official exhibitionof its sympathy for the sufferings endured by this people with so much heroism, of its horror at the awful carnage with which the progress of the war has been marked, and of its desire for a speedy peace. The clear and direct intimation contained in the language of the French note, that our ability to maintain our independence has been fulv established was not controverted by the answer of either of the Cabinets to which it was addressed. It is indeed difficult to conceive a just ground for a longer delay on this subject after reading the following statement of facts contained in the letter emanating from the Minister of his Imperial Majesty: "There has been established, from the very beginning of this war, an equilibrium of forces between the belligerents, which has since been almost constantly maintained, and after the spilling of so much blood, they are to-day, in this respect, inasituation which has not sensibly changed. Nothing authorizes the prevision that more decisive military operations will shortly occur.-According to the last advices received in Europe, the two armies were, on the contrary, in a condition which permitted neither to hope within a short delay advantages sufficiently marked to turn the balance definitively, and to accelerate the conclusion of peace." As this Government has never professed the intention of conquering returned, without notice either of the cessation | the United States, but has simply asserted its abilor renewal of the blockade; in a word, that ity to defend itself against being conquered by every prescription of maritime law, and every that power, we may safely conclude that the claims of this Confederecy to its just place in the family of nations cannot long be withheld, after so frank and formal an admission of its capacity to cope, on equal terms, with its aggressive foes, and to maintain itself against their attempts to obtain decisive results by arms.

It is my painful duty again to inform you of the renewed examples of every conceivable atrocity committed by the armed forces of the United States, at different points within the Confederacy. and which must stamp indelible infamy not only on the perpetrators, but on their superiors, who, having the power to check these outrages on bumanity, numerous and well authenticated as they have been, have not yet, in a single instance of which I am aware, inflicted punishment on the wrong doers. Since my last communication to you, one General McNeill murdered seven prisooners of war in cold blood, and the demand for his punishment has remained unsatisfied. The Government of the United States, after promising examination and explanation in relation to the charges made against General Benjamin F. Butler. has, by its subsequent silence, after repeated efforts on my part to obtain some answer on the subject, not only admitted his guilt, but sanctioned it by acquiescence, and I have accordingly branded this criminal as an outlaw, and directed his execution in expiation of his crimes if he should fall into the hands of any of our forces. Recently I have received apparently authentic intelligence of another general by the name of Mill-roy, who has issued orders in Western Virginia for the payment of money to him by the inhab tants, accompanied by the most savage threats of shooting every recusent, besides burning his house, and threatening similar atrocities against any of our citizens who shall fail to betray their country by giving him prompt notice of the approach of own authority to a principle the exact terms of any of our forces, and this subject has a'so been submitted to the superior military authorities of mon consent of civilized nations, and by implied the United States, with but faint hope that they will evince any disapprobation of the act. His manity shudders at the appelling atrocities which are being daily multiplied under the sanction of those who have obtained temporary possession of power in the United States, and who are fast um king its once fair name a by word of reproach among civilized men. Not even the natural in Wilmington from the presence of a blockading us, however, so unjust as to attribute to the whole potism that now reigns with unbridled license in the city of Washington, a willing sequiescence in its conduct of the war. There must necessarily exist among our enemies, very many, perhaps a The justice of our complaint on this point is so majority, whose humanity recoils from all particmanifest as to leave little room for doubt that ipation in such atrocities, but who cannot be held

The public journals of the North have been received, containing a proclamation dated on the first day of the present menth, signed by the Prosident of the United States, in which he orders and declares all slaves within ten of the States of the Confederacy to be free, except such as are found within certain districts now occupied

in part by the armed forces of the enemy. We may well leave it to the instincts of that