Business Notices.

Buy your SEWING-MACHINE from those who sell machines making both the GROVER & BAKER stitch and the shuttle stitch, that you may test both and select the best. At No. 495 Broadway, you can take your choice of either stitch, with the privilege of exchanging for the other.

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New-York Daily Tribune

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

No notice can be taken of Anonymous Communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer—not necessarily for publication, but as a guaranty for his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected Communications.

All business letters for this office should be addressed to "THE TRIBUNE," New-York.

The Republican State Convention.

The Republican Electors of the State of New-York, and all others willing to unite with them in support of the Government and a vigorous prosecution of the war, are requested to choose two delegates from each Assembly District, to meet in State Convention in the City of Syracuse, on WEDNESDAY, the 11th day of September, 1861, at 11 a. m., for the purpose of presenting candidates to be supported for the offices of Judges of the Court of Appeal, Secretary of State, Controller, Attorney-General, State Engineer and Surveyor, State Treasurer, two Canal Commissioners, and Inspector of State Prisons. By order of the Committee. SIMEON DRAPER, Chairman.

JAMES TERWILLIGER, Secretary.

The Tribune's War Maps.

LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

Now Ready, EXTRA TRIBUNE, containing the various Maps published in THE TRIBUNE since the commencement of the War. It also contains a list of the killed and wounded in the late battle, so far as ascertained. Price five cents. Three dollars per 100. Terms cash. Address

THE TRIBUNE, New-York.

Extra Evening Tribune.

During the continuance of the War which has been commenced by the Southern Disunionists and Rebels, we propose to publish at 4½ o'clock every week day afternoon, an EXTRA EVENING TRIBUNE, containing the Latest News from all quarters. This sheet may be procured at THE TRIBUNE Office, and of the news dealers and boys at the usual price—2 cents.

The Union meeting at Bridgeport, Conn., yesterday, of which we, this morning, present a full report, was a startling and efficacious rebuke to the Secessionists of that place and vicinity, and will probably be the means of causing the disloyal men who have too long flourished there to hide themselves from the sight of the upright and loyal. The occasion of the meeting was the reception of returning volunteers, and the whole affair was cheering and satisfactory to all except traitors.

THE LATEST WAR NEWS.

We have nothing of special importance from Washington this morning. The good feeling there increases from day to day as the loyal spirit of the North manifests itself, and the organization of the Army is going on with the same energy that has marked the movements of Gen. McClellan since he assumed command on the Potomac.

By order of the Navy Department a thorough examination of the lower Potomac has been made, but no signs of a hostile force were found.

It now appears that Ben McCulloch was not killed at the late battle in Missouri, in spite of the apparently trustworthy report that his remains had been sent to his friends encased in a whisky-filled coffin. We hear now that on the Thursday after the fight he went with 8,000 cavalry and nine pieces of artillery in pursuit of Gen. Sigel, but that he found it prudent to turn back without coming to close quarters. We have, moreover, a characteristically bombastic dispatch from him to the people of Missouri, in which he declares that he proposes only to fight against Northern foes, and to give the oppressed an opportunity of going free.

It is stated that Gen. Banks has advanced to and taken possession of Winchester, Va., in the face of 4,000 Rebels.

A skirmish has within a day or two taken place in Western Virginia, between 4,000 Rebels and the 11th Ohio Regiment. The time is not definitely stated. The precise place was at Hawks's Nest, eight miles beyond Gauley, in the Kanawha Valley. The result was the repulse of the Rebels, with the loss of fifty killed and many wounded. On our side none were killed, and only two wounded.

The Secession newspapers of the country appear to be in a bad way. Yesterday, at Philadelphia, the Marshal seized and stopped the circulation of *The N. Y. News* and *The Christian Observer*. The former sheet depends chiefly on its Southern patrons for its support, and the suppression of its issue in that direction must affect it seriously. At Allentown, Pa., the Sheriff has found it necessary to call out a guard to protect two disunion papers from the assaults of the indignant people.

The proclamation of Gov. Morgan, published this morning, will be read with interest, and responded to with enthusiasm. Rapidly glancing at the rise and progress of the Southern rebellion, it calls upon New-York to come forward with a spirit and alacrity worthy of her history, such as she showed when aroused by the summons of the President in April. Our local military column shows that the city and State are prepared to act with promptitude and zeal.

The authorities should have an eye wide open to the officers of the United States Navy belonging to the Rebel States who are returning from foreign service. Most of them will unquestionably resign and go into the service of the enemy, if they can; and they can't if they are promptly arrested and kept where they can do nobody any harm. Resigned naval officers are doing our commerce damage with the privateers. Resigned naval officers are closing up the Potomac, and it will be under cover of the guns planted by them, and by their skill in seamanship, if at all, that troops will cross the river and invade Maryland. Shall we supply the Confederacy with more valuable men for the work?

AN IRISH BRIGADE.

We learn from the best authority that a new Irish Brigade, 5,000 strong at least, is to be immediately organized in this city, the command of which will be tendered to Gen. James Shields. The 1st Regiment of the brigade is now forming under the gallant Lieut.-Col. Robert Nugent, of the 69th, and will be known as the 69th Volunteers. Already companies from Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and other cities have pledged themselves to press forward in this new and brilliant movement, which speaks volumes for the generous loyalty and unconquerable spirit of our adopted citizens. The Irish spirit of the North is thoroughly aroused, and thousands are ready to obliterate the sad memories of the first engagement in which the green flag waved gloriously beside the Stars and Stripes. In view of this organization, Capt. Thomas Francis Meagher will decline the high position offered him by Major-Gen. Fremont, and once more take his place in the ranks of his gallant and devoted regiment.

COULD CIVIL WAR HAVE BEEN AVERTED BY CONCESSION?

The Albany Evening Journal—whose proclivity to untimely and mischievous discussions seems to us a characteristic of recent origin—gave, some days since, a long leader, made up in good part of reprints from its own columns, and entitled "Let us Take an Observation." The sum and substance of the article runs thus: Soon after last year's Presidential Election, *The Journal*, in view of the Secession demonstrations at the South, proposed a fresh compromise respecting Slavery Extension—proposed, substantially, the Crittenden Compromise. This THE TRIBUNE condemned and resisted—hence Disunion and Civil War.

It is entirely true that *The Journal* did urge such a compromise, and that THE TRIBUNE inflexibly resisted it—as did also, we are confident, not less than nine-tenths of the Republican journals and ninety-nine hundredths of the Republicans throughout the country. Let us all now "take an observation" together, and see who were then wrong and who right.

Hostility to the Extension of Slavery is, beyond question, the cardinal principle, the quickening breath, of the Republican party. True, it did not originate with this party, but dates back to the infancy of the Republic. It was clearly affirmed in Mr. Jefferson's draft in 1784 of an Ordinance for the organization and government of the Federal Territories, and, though supported by more than two-thirds of the members of Congress then present, encountered an opposition that probably defeated the bill. The principle was revived and incorporated in the famous Ordinance of '87 and then unanimously adopted and enacted. It was ratified by the first Federal Congress (1790) and reaffirmed in the reports to Congress of John Randolph and Jesse Franklin (both slaveholders) rejecting the prayer of Indiana Territory to be allowed to hold slaves for a limited term of years—rejecting it expressly on the ground of the detrimental character of Slavery. In the Missouri Controversy (1818-20) the opposite principle secured a partial triumph, Missouri being admitted as a Slave State, after repeated votes by the House that it should not be. The ground of that triumph was "The equality of "the States"—that is, the right of each State to fashion and determine its own local institutions. Missouri was a part of the Louisiana purchase, came to us slaveholding, and had always remained so; yet at no stage of the controversy, so far as we can recollect, did any man deny the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in Federal Territory, nor intimate that it would be unwise to do so. On the contrary, one side of the Missouri Compromise was the express and peremptory prohibition by positive law of slaveholding in any part of said Territory lying north and west of the line of 36° 30′ N. latitude—that is, of the south-west corner of Missouri.

A quarter of a century later, Texas was annexed, with Slavery firmly imbedded in her institutions; but her admission was resisted by nearly half the American People, and mainly because of her Slavery. It was then decided that any State formed out of that part of said Texas which lies north of 36° 30′ must be a Free State.

Hitherto, we had been dealing with territories that came to us slaveholding, and whose whites wished them to remain such. But now the tables were turned—war on Mexico was made—conquest and acquisition seemed inevitable, and a strongly Democratic House, on motion of Mr. Wilmot of Pennsylvania resolved that Slavery should have no legal existence in the territory thus acquired. This was carried by 83 to 64—nearly every member from the Free States voting to sustain it. The principle was repeatedly reaffirmed in subsequent votes of the House.

In 1848 (Aug. 10) Mr. Douglas of Illinois moved the extension of the Missouri Slave line (36° 30′) westward to the Pacific Ocean. The Senate assented (33 to 21); but the House promptly refused to concur—121 to 82—only *three* members from all the Free States voting with the South to concur in Mr. Douglas's proposition. The settled determination of the Free States, including all parties, to consent to no partition of the Territories with Slavery was thus formally recorded.

The project of dividing the Territories, and allotting a definite portion of them to Slavery, was revived in 1850, and Mr. Jefferson Davis pressed it upon Henry Clay as a basis of Compromise. Said Mr. Davis (Jan. 29th, 1850), after scouting Mr. Clay's plan as giving the South nothing—

"That I may be understood upon this question, and that my position may go forth to the country in the same columns that convey the sentiments of the Senator from Kentucky, I here assert that I will never take less than *the Missouri Compromise line extended to the Pacific Ocean, with a specific recognition of the right to hold slaves below that line*," &c., &c.

To which Mr. Clay replied:

"I am extremely sorry to hear the Senator from Mississippi say that he requires, first, the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; and also that he is not satisfied with that, but requires, if I understand him correctly, a positive provision for the admission of Slavery south of that line. And now, Sir, coming from a Slave State as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to state that *no earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of Slavery where it had not before existed, either South or North of that line*," &c., &c.

—Now, this identical proposition of an establishment of Slavery by act of Congress in all Federal territory south of 36° 30′—which Jefferson Davis thus put forth as his ultimatum in 1850, and which Henry Clay, though a slaveholder and the representative of a Slave State, declared that no earthly power could induce him to vote for—is just what we were offered in the Crittenden Compromise of last Winter. It had been repeatedly and uniformly rejected by the Free States before there was any Republican party—rejected by nearly all their Democratic as well as by all their Whig representatives—it had been thrust upon the country and rejected by that country until it had become a nuisance—and yet the Republican party, to whose great cardinal principal it stood in deadly antagonism, was haughtily told, in the very flush of its first National triumph—"Accept and pass the Crittenden Compromise—unite in establishing "Slavery by law in all United States territory "south of 36° 30′—or the Union shall be dissolved, and the country devastated by civil "war." *The Evening Journal* counseled submission to this demand—THE TRIBUNE advocated resistance—and our conviction that this was right stands unshaken by subsequent disasters.

The Chicago Platform has been dragged into the discussion of this matter, as if we had insisted on adherence to its letter at the cost of civil war. But that is a false representation. Consistency is of small account, save as an evidence of honesty. That the Chicago Platform had said: "We deny the authority of *Congress*, "of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any "Territory of the United States," was of moment in our eyes only because it asserted what we believed and still hold to be a vital truth. So believing, how *could* we assent to the Crittenden Compromise?

The Journal seems to think its Compromise counsels were defeated by the opposition of THE TRIBUNE. The fact is quite otherwise. They were defeated because they stood in palpable and deadly antagonism to the principles, the convictions and the impulses of the Republican party. Had *The Journal* urged its readers to buy each his half-a-dozen slaves and embark at once in slave-breeding for the Cotton planters, it would not have more signally shocked and grieved nine-tenths of them.

But it is not true that we opposed *all* overtures for conciliation. We stood ready at all times to urge the call of a National Convention, provided the Slaveholding interest was willing to unite in that call and peacefully abide the issue of that Convention, as it could well afford to do. We would have heartily supported the Constitutional amendment which passed Congress last Winter (providing that Congress should have no power, by Constitutional amendment or otherwise, to abolish or interfere with Slavery in any State or States.) We were ready to do any thing that in conscience we *could* do to avert Disunion and Civil War. But the Crittenden Compromise was the least that would satisfy any considerable party or interest in the Slave States, and we could not swallow that. Nor could one Republican in each hundred. And so we are as we are.

The Journal commends its propositions of compromise as "venturing to suggest the propriety "of *cherishing Union sentiments in Border States*." Of course, this is as its Editor believes. We justify his adherence to his convictions. But we claim a like respect for *our* convictions that his "suggestions" of compromise were untimely and fatal. They encouraged the South to plunge into rebellion and treason, by diffusing the impression that Northern resistance to Slavery Extension was mere office-seeking pretense, and that, having clutched the "spoils," we Republicans cared not what became of our principles. They had served their end, and might now be turned out to grass. Thus tens of thousands of good Union men in the Border States, supposing the Republicans only needed a little more bullying to induce them to abandon their vital principle, were impelled to make the Crittenden project their ultimatum, publicly pledging themselves to rebel if their demand were not conceded. And so Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, were lured into the black abyss of Secession. In their anxiety to frighten us into apostacy from Republicanism, they unintentionally committed themselves to Disunion. Others may see differently; we must act according to the light vouchsafed us. And that shows us clearly that every offer to bribe the disaffected into loyalty by conceding what you cannot conscientiously grant and they have no right to claim, is a plain direct incitement to rebellion.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

Some of the journals which were presented as treasonable by the Grand Jury last week, and others which were accidentally omitted from that presentation, as for instance the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, printed in French, and the *National Zeitung*, printed in German, and both of them among the most pestilent advocates of the Rebel cause, are now making much ado about the Freedom of Speech, and the fact that the Republican party has always claimed to be the party of Freedom.

Now this is no question of the Republican party or of its principles. The controversy has assumed a totally different aspect. What is now at issue is the Constitution of the Union and the existence of Democratic Institutions. Nor is this any longer a matter of discussion. *It is a matter of war*, and the rule which held good while it was open for debate to be argued about and voted upon, holds good no longer. The only principle that now controls the case is this: that a Government at war cannot tolerate friends and advocates of the enemy among the journals published in its territory. It might about as well tolerate agents of the enemy among its civil and military officers.

That treasonable, Secession sheet, the *Courier des Etats Unis*—and none the less treasonable because it is published by unnaturalized foreigners—contends, in its impression of yesterday, that so long as the opposition press does not attack the existence of the Government its liberty should not be interfered with. This is a phrase which in its present application amounts to nothing. The truth is, that in a war like this every newspaper which gives aid and comfort to the enemy is guilty of treason; and it is equally the truth that every newspaper which now does this attacks the very essence and existence of the Government. This is also a very different thing from the criticisms which assail this or that act of the Government, and which are intended to render the war more vigorous and effective. The evident *animus* of the newspaper, as of the citizen, fixes the character of the action.

At the South, where the war sooner became a serious business, all newspapers that opposed it were long since brought to understand their duty. Here the Government acts with a leniency, deliberation, and absence of rigor which the people have not always approved; but it seems plain that the time is at hand when journalists who write and print in the interest of Jeff. Davis and his conspiracy will be dealt with according to law. Treason cannot always lift aloft its head in flourishing insolence among us.

—Upon the simple and indisputable principles which we have here laid down, the United States Marshal at Philadelphia yesterday suppressed the sale of *The N. Y. Daily News* in that city. We congratulate him on having done his duty.

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

Fifty years is a very long period of immunity from direct taxation. Yet, while the wars of European nations have made this most odious plan of raising revenue so much of a permanency as to make the prospect of escape from it hopeless, the people of this country, during this half century, have felt no pressure beyond a dog-tax. At one time direct taxation was so grinding throughout Great Britain that Dean Swift remonstrated with one of his visitors who was extravagant in his encomiums on the purity of the air in Ireland, and begged him not to praise it, as the Government would assuredly tax it. It is still the sheet-anchor of British finance, a national fixture, a burden, if you choose to consider it such, never to be removed or shaken off, but on the contrary, sure to be made more permanent and heavy. Yet, within the century during which British direct taxation has been heaviest, the nation has made the most rapid advances in every description of wealth. Like a well-constructed arch, the power of endurance has seemed to grow with each accumulation of pressure. It is true that at the prospect of every increase of the public debt, the nation takes alarm. The press utters its ever-ready warnings, the people remonstrate, the aristocracy protest, the money-lenders predict unfriendly consequences, the funds decline, yet every mind and interest quickly recovers its equilibrium. Vast loans are made and spent, old taxes are increased, new ones are enacted, but the funds soon rise to their former value, affording the best possible evidence not only that alarm was needless, but that the national ability to bear taxation has no apparent limit. The commerce and industry of the nation goes on increasing, wealth continues to accumulate, and under this accumulation the anticipated pressure fails to show itself. England, in fact, thrives by taxation. Her huge national debt has become a bond of union between all interests otherwise conflicting. Her financial energy is directed exclusively to providing means to pay the interest. Liquidation of the principal is only spoken of when one intends to be facetious. No one either expects it or cares about it. The ministerial effort to pay interest punctually absorbs the whole official energy, leaving no room for corrupt jobbing, such as has been frequently witnessed in this country, or the devising of plans for depleting a treasury because it happened to be full. While its great amount thus checks both corruption and waste, it neither destroys the national industry nor permanently impairs the national confidence in its being punctually paid. The simple fact is, that every public and private interest has silently adapted itself to the financial condition of the Government. All move on harmoniously, subject to occasional disturbances, but apparently free from danger of such a catastrophe as that of national bankruptcy.

Direct taxation, such as Congress has just enacted, has been resorted to because other ordinary sources of revenue were considered unequal to the emergency. As in all countries it is an especially unpopular mode of raising revenue, so it is generally the last to be adopted and the first to be abandoned. An exemption of fifty years from similar burdens has given us an exaggerated idea of the poverty of the Government, while the whole debt to be created has occasioned a most unnecessary alarm. Men speak of it as if *they* were expected to pay it, though knowing that it is represented by obligations having twenty years to run, and that at their maturity a new generation will be on the stage to provide for them, free from those political embarrassments which compelled their creation. Great debts suddenly incurred are never suddenly discharged. We came out of the Revolution with a debt of $300,000,000, a feeble community of 3,000,000, having not only neither commerce nor manufactures, but occupying a country which for eight years had been desolated by fire and sword. It was but a fraction of the whole cost of Independence. It was the war that impoverished us, not the debt; for, although the magnitude of the latter staggered the public confidence at first, yet peace so quickly put every stagnant industry into motion, that the masses, in their great prosperity, forget that such a debt existed. It occasioned no pressure strong enough to keep it continually before them, and in a few years was remembered only by the shrewd holders who, buying it at 70, realized par at maturity. If, in the dark day which overhung the first working of the Constitution, we lived and prospered under such a debt, it must be manifest that we are now able to live and prosper with one of ten times the magnitude we are likely to contract. Our condition now, measured by what it was then, almost defies comparison. The contrast must be apparent to every intelligent mind. In its imposing presence even moneyed apprehension ought to stand dumb. Doubts of the stability of the Government, then new, untried, and poor, may have been reasonable eighty years ago, when the past had left no record but that of unbroken gloom, and could shed no ray of light upon the future; but hesitation now, when those eighty years are crowded with experiences which challenge all antecedent history for a parallel, must find its inspiration either in latent treason, in fear, cupidity, or chattering imbecility.

As deep indebtment appears to be the normal condition of the British people, so they have continuously adapted themselves, their social and industrial conduct, to such condition with a flexibility peculiar to the race and to the freedom of their institutions. A common origin for both race and laws, with infinitely freer institutions, has given to the American character a flexibility far surpassing that of the race from which we sprung. Its industry has been repeatedly struck down by hostile legislation, but, even though prostrate and suffering, our faculty of adapting ourselves to new social conditions has been so remarkable that we have quickly recovered. It will be so now. Crushing us outright is utterly impossible. No national debt can paralyze us. We shall pay this as we have paid all former ones. As it was a chief glory of Gen. Jackson's administration that in his term the last dollar of a large debt was paid, so will it be the test of merit with future Presidents as to which of them will pay off the largest amount of what we are incurring. The competition will be to diminish, not to increase; for if debt were not hateful to the American people, that now accumulating would be viewed with more indifference. Meantime, we may be required to learn some wholesome lessons in the way of retrenchment. Luxury will be at a discount, but comfort will be at a premium. Elegance may be a good thing, but a full stomach, even without roast beef, is infinitely better. The pride that grew insolent and haughty in a brown-stone mansion must come down. Silks must be exchanged for calico of our own making. Fast nags and their fast owners must go into the country and practice with a plow between them. The unexampled extravagance of the entire nation must be checked. It is such as to amaze the world, and ought to amaze ourselves. Check it, and the recoil will be instant and astonishing—that alone will make us snug. But National Debt and Protection to Labor mean the same thing—they go together, and will thrive together. The latter will be as long-lived as the former. The supply of our own wants secured to us, and we shall be able to snap our fingers, even at direct taxation. Let no needless alarm be entertained. A century ago England would have stood aghast if told that her debt would ever rise to where it now stands. But she would have been equally incredulous had her present enormous wealth been then predicted. It is exactly so with us. Our wealth will grow at a rate outstripping both debt and taxation. The predicament we are in is formidable only because of its novelty. The only element we lack is pecuniary courage.

DISCIPLINE OF THE VOLUNTEER ARMY.

General McClellan is evidently an accomplished soldier. There is a quiet, unostentatious, but decided spirit in everything that he does, and an earnest, business-like purpose in his efforts to bring our volunteer army under discipline. With the quick eye of an energetic and experienced commander he has seen the defects of its organization, and has commenced the work of reform at once. In military science the leading principle of discipline and drill is to accustom men to prompt and rapid action in a mass, thus making companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions move as one man. The school of the soldier begins, therefore, with the instruction of the individual who learns the facings and the manual of arms, and ends in the drill of the squad in which the principles of marching and wheeling are taught. Next in the order of progression, the recruits having passed through the school of the soldier, comes the instruction of companies; then the drills by regiment or battalion, and at last by brigades, each step bringing every man in regular order to the great point of losing individuality and of becoming simply a part of a powerful and effective machine. The brigades, after proper organization and drill, are then assigned to divisions, which constitute a major-general's command, and the result of thorough instruction is that a division of 10,000 men, or a brigade of 3,000, can be hurled in a single resistless mass upon any assailable point in the enemy's lines. Until this essential feature in the organization of an army is introduced, its numerical strength will be greatly reduced or wasted.

The Stone Bridge or Bull Run battle furnishes conclusive evidence of the absolute necessity of thorough preparation in drill and discipline, and we shall probably find the lesson of defeat useful and instructive enough to make the next engagement a success. The regiments when attacking the Bull Run batteries were generally formed in column of companies, and in this formation opened fire successively by companies, the head of the column constantly advancing as each company discharged its volley. This would do very well in street firing, but in the face of a battery, when the shot of a rifled cannon might rake the whole column, it seems a very awkward formation. In line of battle a larger surface mark would be presented, but cannon are not sufficiently numerous to play upon a line with the same effect as upon a column. An effective shot in one case, perhaps, makes a hole through ten companies, while in the other it makes a gap in one. If it passes over the heads of the right wing in column, it may rake the left, while in line of battle it would perhaps pass harmlessly over the whole. This mode of charging batteries, therefore, seems a blunder of the first magnitude.

It is a melancholy fact that, in one instance at least, this column movement was attended by sad results, an eye-witness stating that one of the regiments fired in column of companies simultaneously and in a direct line, the rear companies decimating the ranks of some of the front by the fratricidal volley. This blunder was partly the result of excitement, and it was rectified as soon as possible, but it tends to show that the attack of batteries in column formation was in some respects unfortunate. Against infantry supporting batteries, perhaps the disposition of the attacking forces in column is the best; but the Bull Run battle, according to all accounts, was mostly a fight against the batteries, and the most serious casualties were probably from shot and shell. The infantry of the enemy were scarcely visible during the action in the open field; and, except during the retreat, we doubt if bayonets were crossed in the battle. The advantage of fighting with raw troops behind intrenchments, and under cover of masked batteries, is evidently well understood by the Rebel officers, and we infer from various reports that General McClellan proposes to take a hand in the game of artillery also. No better material for an army can be found in the world than that now gathered in the volunteer forces of the North, but it needs the instruction and discipline which render a body of men effective like a powerful machine, the component parts of which must work harmoniously and steadily together, or become useless. If General McClellan succeeds, as we believe he will, in molding this splendid material into the symmetrical proportions and working efficiency of a well-disciplined army, it cannot fail of success.

MR. SICKLES.

Is it not possible that some serious inconvenience may some time or other arise in permitting the assumptions of Mr. Daniel E. Sickles to pass unchecked and unrebuked? To sport the uniform and title of a Brigadier-General; to assume the authority of that office, as Mr. Sickles has done, have as yet been productive of no very great harm that we know of, except that he is supposed to have cost the Government two or three times as much for the men he has brought into the field as if they had been raised in the ordinary manner, and except also that he has disgusted a good many men with enlisting at all, and caused injustice to be done to some poor colonel or captain. But his example of assuming power and authority, and especially military power and authority, may, at some future time, be followed and appealed to as a precedent by some man with less modesty of character than Mr. Sickles, less ambitious of notoriety and authority, and who may be disposed to use the power thus illegitimately acquired to serve his personal ends. The purity of Mr. Sickles's patriotism, the entire unselfishness of his conduct, we do not mean to question; but, when we consider how cheap a little gold lace is, and what possible mischief may follow by permitting it to be put on with impunity, as the insignium of military rank, by any unprincipled man of bad ambitions who may presume on this first example, we can't help feeling that the immunity awarded to Mr. Sickles may be injurious. These are times in which it is wise to be over-cautious, with even the most moderate and most modest of men.

INSTRUMENTS OF INSURRECTION.

The Chicago Tribune publishes the following extract from the letter of a lady residing in Southern Virginia to a friend in Chicago:

"——, August 16, 1861.

"It seems to me this war is hurting the North much more than the South but I suppose I have only a one-sided view. Everything seems to be prospering swimmingly down here. Money is easy, crops of all kinds are in every being abundance. We think we have this advantage of the North: *we take all our men are taken for the war, the blacks who are left at home carry on the agricultural pursuits, and raise all that we at home and our men in the army need to live.* I do not see but we raise as much with our men away as we did with them at home, and our women are so fired with patriotism that some of us go right into the field and take the management of the slaves. We are thus able to raise all the men able to bear arms. There is but one young man left in our town, all the rest are in the army, and he will be there soon. The old men are formed into minute men and home guards, and will go if necessary. The Northerners have no one to support them when they are away. They must stay at home and take care of their families, or they will starve. Though our white population is much smaller than yours, yet with the blacks to work for us, we can keep as many men in the war as you can."

This is the partial view of one whose sympathies color facts, and whose lively hopes shut out from her sight everything that might interfere with her view of a brilliant future. She forgets that this abundant money is mere paper based on no actual value, but on an empty promise of redemption which will never, in any event, with most of it, be fulfilled; she forgets that, though food is abundant, clothing is scarce and any sufficient supply of it a physical impossibility; and while she boasts, as a representative fact, that but one young man is left in her village, she forgets what a fearful draft this is upon the people for a single army, which, to justify the slightest shadow of the hope of success, must be reënforced.

This last statement, however, if not universally true, must be so nearly so that the fact which the writer hangs upon it is unquestionably correct: "*The blacks who are left at home "carry on the agricultural pursuits, and raise all "that we at home and our men in the army need "to live.*" Is this true? A moment's reflection only is necessary to show that it must be absolutely true. The producing population of the South is almost exclusively slaves. A white man so poor that he *ought* to work for his living is "poor white trash" whom even the slave despises, and if he produces at all, it is only enough to keep his own poor miserable body and soul together. On this class there is no dependence in time of peace, and in time of war they are forced into the army. It is on the slaves, then, that the insurrection rests, and without them it has no foundation; for no army can exist a week without an industrial and producing class behind it on which it depends for the barest necessities of life. The soldier who faces the enemy with leveled bayonet is no more used in aiding and abetting the insurrection than the man who, by providing the food and other material of war, directly or indirectly, makes it possible that there shall be any soldier there to fight. The whole slave population of the South is used to aid and abet insurrection, not only because a large proportion of its labor is turned from the ordinary channels to raise food for the army, but because by the construction of Southern society an army cannot exist there except it be supported by this, which is the only producing class.

RECRUITING.

We take the liberty of making another suggestion, which seems to us to be of a good deal of practical importance. When a man proposes to enlist, the consideration of the support of his family is one of immediate interest. The moment he enlists he gives up any means of subsistence he may have relied upon before from his own labor. He gets no pay until one month after enrollment, and in the mean time his family, or whoever may be dependent upon him, may be reduced to want. How to tide over this interval between leaving his old employment and the first pay-day in the new is a serious question to the volunteer, and one which the allotment tickets we suggested yesterday do not provide for. That ticket puts him at ease as to the future, after the first pay-day, but that time is certainly a month, possibly six weeks or two months, off, and, in the mean time, how is his wife or mother to pay the rent, go to market on Saturday, and to the baker's every morning? The man who considers these things is all the more worth having as a soldier, and the aim should be to enlist just such men rather than those who rush recklessly into a regiment without a thought of the future.

Why not, then, in addition to the allotment ticket, give a bounty to every volunteer when mustered into service? It would set at rest at once all doubts as to the support of family or friends, leave the proposed recruit only one question to consider, namely—whether he is willing to go to the war? and no longer embarrassed by the other question—whether he can afford to go? Nor need such a plan add anything to the cost of recruiting. The law now gives to each volunteer $100 at the close of the war. Let him have $20 of it at the commencement instead, or such sum up to $20 as he chooses to take on the day he is mustered into service. As we see the raw recruits about the streets in squads, in our limited walks, they seem to us to be of a class of men who would appreciate a facility of this sort, and who are too respectable to take so important a step as enlisting without considering it in all its bearings. At any rate, the bounty, we do not doubt, would give an impulse to recruiting, and it is simply justice to the soldier, as well as wise for the country, that every inducement should be offered to promote enlistment.

If there is a genuine Democrat in the world, it is that true-hearted native of North Carolina, ANDREW JOHNSON, now Senator from Tennessee. Unlike many whose democracy is mere partizanship, he really believes in democratic institutions, as he ought to do, being himself, more than most of us, their child and creature. In replying to the recent invitation to a public dinner in this city, Mr. Johnson uses the following noble language:

"Upon my advent into public life, I took my stand in favor of free government based upon an enlightened public judgment. From 1833 down to the present time I have uniformly advocated the Union of the States, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws made in pursuance thereof.

"To their maintenance the best efforts of my life have been devoted, and for their continuance and preservation, if necessary, life itself will be sacrificed.

"All true patriots and lovers of our race should be willing to come forward and perish in this last struggle for the perpetuation of a Government based upon the virtue, intelligence, and capacity