Richmond Dispatch.

BY COWARDIN & HUMMERSLEY

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IMPROVEMENTS IN THE DISPATCH.

We regret that we are unable to make the promised improvements in the *Dispatch* on the first of September, when the increased price of subscription takes effect. The new types are not ready, and other difficulties stand in the way; but these causes of delay will be removed in a day or two, and by Monday next the paper will appear with such changes and improvements as we design making. If we can do this, and get some good printing ink to print with, we are sure our paper will present a very handsome appearance, and be so much more legible that the reader will gladly pay the increased price for it.

Moral Epidemics.

A library of very respectable size might be made up of histories and illustrations of the moral epidemics which, from time to time, have visited mankind. The remark of that sagacious philosopher, RALPH WALDO EMERSON, that "there is a crack in everything human," may have been suggested by his own consciousness; but finds confirmation, nevertheless, in the general experience of our race. The shallowness of the understanding, the corruption of the heart, and the force of physical sympathies render the human family liable to sweeping moral epidemics, as widespread and irresistible as cholera and plague. The history of the world abounds with examples of whole nations going stark mad, and in that condition, committing the most extraordinary absurdities and the greatest crimes.

The Crusades were a memorable example of this contagious moral madness. The fanaticism which inspired them chimed in with the natural desire of human nature to exchange the plain, irksome, self-denying virtues of every day life for some royal road, of its own invention, to perfection and happiness.—The arduous duties and requirements of Christianity were shamefully violated by the very men who professed to surpass all others in their devotion to its cause, and the armies which have existed to save the Holy Sepulchre from the trampling tread of the Moslem, did ruthlessly under foot every precept of humanity which ever emanated from Him who lay in that sepulchre holy. The madness of the Crusades may have been mingled with selfish ends on the part of some of its leaders, and avarice and piety were the animating impulses of others; but it was on the whole an epidemical frenzy, which has astonished all succeeding ages with its gigantic eccentricities, inconsistencies and crimes.

Witchcraft was another of the moral epidemics which sometimes sweep over the world, involving whole nations in its destructive influence. It was not confined to any particular class, or to the ignorant and degraded classes. England, France, Germany, New England, were alike disgraced and brutalized by this senseless and inhuman superstition. No religious denomination was exempt from the fiend-born fanaticism. Roman Catholics and Protestants alike its victims. The delusion which prevailed at the period of the Crusades, could not be assigned as an apology for the universal prevalence of this mania. The most learned and the best educated were equally its dupes with the ignorant and stupid. The most venerable judges upon the bench, the most eminent of the clergy, the most learned, and the most illustrious statesmen, were firm believers in the reality of witchcraft. Even Sir MATTHEW HALE, the learned judge, and hundreds of others, gave authoritative evidence in its favor. The people who were thus deceived were not men of imperfect physical organization; they were endowed with organs of sense of perfect construction—men who might be expected to be absolutely free from illusions and hallucinations—whose eyes would present to them none but real sights, whose ears would carry to them only real sounds, who would not be easily frightened by the Giant of the Inferno or enchanted by the castles of the Fairy MORGANA. Yet every man of that age believed in witchcraft and was the victim of hallucinations almost entirely inconsistent with the dictates of sanity. Old ladies of eccentric habits, of uncertain temper, were constantly seen flying through the air on broomsticks. Every hill and every hill-side had its spiritual visitants. The Devil, with long tail and cloven foot, was making himself visible every night, and he led an army of subordinate devils in no man could number. The deeds of cruelty and blood which were committed under this madness, in their number and character, are almost incredible. No people surpassed those of New England in the fanaticism and bloodthirstiness which characterized this extraordinary mania. The odious distinctive qualities of Puritanism shone out at this memorable period with the baleful lustre of the infernal pit. If ever there was a hell upon earth, it must have been New England during the prevalence of witchcraft.

We hope that, at this day, not a vestige remains in the Old World of this particular species of moral epidemic, and that in those regions in this country which were the principal theatres of its ravages, the madness of superstition has given place to the imbecility of dotage. New England has swung from the extreme of witchcraft to a condition of universal skepticism upon subjects of Divine Revelation. The only lingering trace of the disease that ran such riot in its veins is the *Spiritualism* which, a few years ago, numbered its millions of votaries among the Puritan race, and, in this nineteenth century of boasted light and civilization, was as firmly believed in by them as ever witchcraft was by their fathers. We have always thought that no better proof could be desired of the perfect fulsomeness of the pretensions of New England to mental learning and superior intelligence, and of the inextinguishable fanaticism which burns in Puritan veins, than the widespread belief in Spiritualism which prevailed a few years ago throughout the free States, and which, for aught we know to the contrary, has numerous votaries there to this hour. A bolder superstition, a more senseless, shameless, disgusting imposture, was never palmed upon barbarians than found its multitudes of willing dupes among the people of New England. It was an absurdity which the learned men of England, France, Germany, and all civilized Christendom, simply laughed at, but which was swallowed whole, with wide open, watering, hungry mouths, by those highly intelligent and educated New Englanders, who affect to look down upon the Southrons as little better than barbarians. We are aware that curious passages have been read in the lives of such men as BYRON, SAMUEL JOHNSON, POPE, GOETHE, Lord CASTLEREAGH, BENVENUTO CELLINI, BERNADOTTE, the first NAPOLEON, and others, and as each individual son of the Pilgrims is, in his own conceit, equal to any and all these personages combined, we are prepared to make all reasonable allowances for that union of moral unsoundness with intellectual power which demonstrates the proposition of EMERSON, that "there is a crack in everything human." But the instances of hallucination in the great men to whom we have referred, were only of occasional occurrence, grew out of the excitement of great enterprises, and did not exercise any permanent effect upon their conduct; whereas the phenomena of Spiritualism were as frequent and familiar in their occurrence as the stars, and exerted the most degrading influence upon the character of thousands of its votaries. The orgies of licentiousness and depravity to which Spiritualism has given rise in the Western States are so shocking as to be almost incredible, were they not attested by the best authorities, and actually sworn to before the Judges and juries of the land.

<# DAILY DISPATCH.

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What is it but a great moral epidemic which is now sweeping over the North and urging it on to this unholy war? It is the madness of the Crusades, and the cruelty and intolerance of the days of Witchcraft. What but insanity can it be which prompts a people, educated in the principles and practice of civil liberty, to throw away their own birthright? to trample under foot all the safeguards of their Constitution and of freedom, and to build up a military despotism on the ruins of a free Government, for no other purpose then to gratify their vengeance, if possible, against the Southern States? What but madness can be found in the various and conflicting aims which are alleged for this infamous invasion? The Crusades had a certain definite object; but few Northern men can agree as to the real object of this war. One faction proclaims that it is African emancipation; another, that it is the preservation of commerce; another, that it is to whip us well and let us go; another, that it is to subjugate, and another, that it is to exterminate us. Who but madmen could rush with such blind fury into such an enterprise as the conquest of these Southern States? The bitter disappointment they experienced at Manassas, when the stunning blow of their despised adversary felled their grand army to the dust, was like that of beggars suddenly awakened from a dream of boundless wealth to a reality of rags and starvation. None but madmen would persist in such a war after they have received at the threshold such a demonstration of its impracticability. But fanaticism learns nothing from experience, and takes no counsel even of its own interests. The fever of the brain must work itself out in every possible manifestation of violence and blood, and then, from sheer exhaustion, it will compose itself to peace.

"Order Reigns in Warsaw."

The natural consequences of the overthrow of State authority at the North and the consolidation of all power in the Federal Government, are rapidly manifesting themselves in the growth of a central army, in the supremacy of military rule, in the suppression of *habeas corpus*, in the seizure of private arms, in midnight domiciliary visitations, in the muzzling of the press, and in the ostracism of free opinion and free speech.

The history of all empire and all human government proves that republican institutions cannot be maintained over a large extent of territory, except by the aid of local jurisdictions possessing most of the sovereign powers of Government. In the light of recent events, it was political prophecy that was announced fifty years ago, by JOHN TAYLOR, of Caroline, in these words:

"Most political writers have concluded that a Republican government, over a very large territory, cannot exist; and as this opinion is sustained by alarming proofs and weighty authorities, it is entitled to much respect and serious consideration. All extensive territories in past times, and all in the present age, except those of the United States, have been, or are, subject to monarchies. As the Roman territory increased, Republican principles were corrupted, and an absolute monarchy was established long before the Republican principles and forms were abolished. The infirm of consolidated Republican government in France may probably have been accelerated or caused by extent of her territory, and the additions she made to it. Shall we profit by so many examples and authorities, or rashly reject them? If they only furnish us with the probability that a consolidated Republic cannot long exist over a great territory, they forcibly admonish us to be very careful of our confederation of republics. By this form of government, a remedy is provided to meet the cloud of facts which have convinced political writers that a consolidated republic over a great territory was impracticable; by repeating an attempt hitherto unsuccessful, we defy their weight and deride their admonition. *I believe that a loss of independent internal power by our Confederated States, and an acquisition of supreme power by the Federal department, or by any branch of it, will substantially establish a consolidated republic over all the Territories of the United States, though a Federal phraseology might still remain; that this consolidation would introduce a monarchy, and that the monarchy, however limited, checked or balanced, would finally become a complete tyranny.*"

At the North all the checks and balances of power are gone; and with them, all the safeguards and bulwarks of freedom. The prevalent idea there is that the States are nothing, the Federal Government everything. Congress votes, blindly, a sweeping law, making valid and binding a catalogue of confessedly illegal and unconstitutional acts of the President. The State Legislatures and Governors sanction without question a Presidential declaration of war, and comply with alacrity with repeated Presidential calls for troops. The Judiciary interposes a feeble resistance to Executive usurpations, but resists only to be overborne by military power, and to be silenced by a law of the subservient Congress authorizing a suspension by the military of the writ of *habeas corpus*. No check being thus interposed against the usurpations of the Executive, either by Congress, by the States, or by any other power, and a subservient army standing ready at all times to execute all orders without question, of course the customary acts of tyranny follow in rapid succession, and follow with impunity. The free exercise of opinion is suppressed by the midnight arrest, the fort and the dungeon. The freedom of the press is destroyed by Federal Marshals and lawless soldiers; and a general reign of terror and of mob law brings about that sort of "order" that "reigned in Warsaw" during the dark night of absolutism which the Czar established in Poland.

A returned minister of the United States, from the court of Prussia, (JOSEPH A. WRIGHT)—from one of those courts which took part in the partition and enslavement of Poland, notoriously the most despotic and barbarous act of modern times—comes home to assure his fellow subjects of the LINCOLN Dynasty, that "if they expect the sympathy of the *Governments of Europe*," they must carry out the arbitrary measure instituted by the power at Washington, and to repeat to them the last words of the Prussian King—"God grant that your people may be able to uphold the *supremacy of the laws*."

There is no law at the North but the *will* of the Federal Executive; and it is a notable circumstance in American history, that American ministers return home bearing prayers and congratulations from crowned heads for the success of the strong measures of the new-fledged American despot.

There is no hope for the restoration of constitutional freedom at the North, except through the complete overthrow of the Federal authority, the radical disintegration of what remains of the Federal Union, the re-establishment of the absolute independence of the Northern States, and the reconstruction of a Federal Union of those States upon the wholesome principles which they have now utterly lost, of inalienable State sovereignty. If all effective political authority in a large extent of populous country is consolidated in a central government, the preponderant strength of the central power becomes inconsistent with the independence of the States and the freedom of the individual citizen. The doctrines of consolidation have been in supremacy at Washington for only four months, and that short time has sufficed for the utter annihilation of State power and the overthrow of all the most sacred rights of free citizens.

## MR. RUSSELL'S THIRD LETTER.

ON THE

## BATTLE OF MANASSAS.

[Correspondence of the London Times.]

WASHINGON, July 29, 1861.

On this day week the Confederates could have marched into the Capital of the United States. They took no immediate steps to follow up their unexpected success. To this moment their movements have betrayed no fixity of purpose or settled plan to pursue an aggressive war, or even "to liberate Maryland if they have the means of doing so."

And, indeed, their success was, as I suspected, not known to them in its full proportions, and their loss, combined, perhaps, with the condition of their army, as much as a political and prudential motives, actuating their leaders, may have had a fair share in producing the state of inactivity with which the Federalists have no reason to be dissatisfied.

THE "SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT" ATTEMPTS A DIPLOMATIC VIEW OF OUR UNION POSITION

Let us look around, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away, and try to examine the condition of the ground.

First as regards foreign relations:

The personal good feeling and perfect understanding which exist between the representatives of the great European Powers directly interested in America, are founded on an appreciation of the exact demands of the interests they represent, and on the necessities of a common honorable policy. England, having a vast commerce directly involved in the contest, has naturally been the first to provide for its safety in American waters, and has also felt it desirable, in the face of the desperate counsels which have been given on this side of the Atlantic, to furnish a trifling reinforcement to her small military establishment in Canada. The fleet at present in observation is neither powerful nor offensively disposed, and no exception can be taken to the mode in which it has acted by the most sensitive American, although attempts have been made to arouse vulgar prejudices by erroneous statements respecting the views and declarations of Admiral Milne. The authoritative assertions on that subject in some of the journals here are destitute of authority, except that of the writer. What is of more consequence, perhaps, in respect to the preservation of friendly relations between England and the United States, is the fact that a great change has come over the views of the members or member of the Cabinet who was supposed to seek the reconstruction of the Union in a war with Great Britain, and that the most favorable supposition is entertained by Ministers of the Queen, not by any sacrifice of principle, but by the adoption of a course at once calm, just and dignified, which will be appreciated by the Foreign Office. It is not probable, either, that we shall hear much more about the immediate annexation of Canada, and the flight of 150,000 "better than French" soldiers with which we were threatened will be for a time averted.

THE MORRILL TARIFF AS A CAUSE OF EMBROILMENT

But if there are such pleasant changes in the diplomatic and press world, there is nothing at all like them in commercial relations. In the Senate it is proposed to clap a fifty cent per cent. on all the duties to be levied under the Morrill tariff, and Mr. Simmons, the father of this wicked little bit of political economy, declares he will thereby raise $45,000,000 of additional revenue. The House of Representatives, on the contrary, propose to raise revenue by taxes on coffee, tea, sugar, pepper, spices and articles of the sort, not of necessity nor of luxury, but in the intermediate position; so that every one who uses them now will continue to do so, notwithstanding the tax, and no one will be the worse for it. On these plans it is probable there will be a conference between the two branches of the Legislature, in which the contending systems may be adjusted or amalgamated. The income tax to be adopted will give some $40,000,000, according to the calculations of the designers, and the people fondly believe it will be removed as soon as the war is over.

THE MERCANTILE INTERESTS OF FRANCE AND RUSSIA—OPINIONS OF MINISTERS OF BOTH THESE COUNTRIES.

If the increase of ten per cent. on the Morrill tariff be actually passed, it is difficult to see how France can continue to regard with friendly feelings such a direct attack on her great article of exportation. England is accustomed to bear these things from the United States; but France cannot afford pay meddlers or mischief in her wine trade and her tobacco monopoly. M. Mercier, the energetic and able representative of our ally, is said to entertain strong notions that the contest now waging cannot terminate in the success of the North in what it proposes to itself.

M. de Stoeckl, the Russian Minister, who has lived long in America, knows her statesmen and the genius of her people and institutions, and is a man of sagacity and vigorous intellect, *is believed to hold the same views.*

Perhaps the only minister who has really been neutral, observing faithfully all engagements to actually existing Powers, and satisfiously avoiding all occasion of offence or irritability to an irritable people, rendered more than usually so by the evil days which have fallen upon them, is the discreet and loyal nobleman who represents Great Britain, and who is the only one threatened with a withdrawal of passports and all sorts of pains and penalties for the presumed hostility of his Government to the United States.

THE NORTH ON THE DEFENSIVE.

The world sees that the North has not treated the Southerners as rebels—we will not say it has not dared to do so. But the Federalists have treated the Confederates up to this moment as belligerents. Rebels are hanged, imprisoned, and shot at discretion. Their flags are not received; the exchange of prisoners with rebels is ridiculous. A regular "blockade" of rebel ports is quite anomalous. It remains to be seen, after Mr Davis' recent hints, what the Government dares to do in the case of the "pirates" whom its cruisers caught in the act, red-handed, of privateering policy. Meantime the arm raised to chastise and subdue has been struck down, and the attitude of the North is just now defensive. There will be on the part of the one people whom the American press has most insulted and abused every disposition to give fair play and to listen to the call for "time." But the quarrel must have its limits—the time must be fixed, and the sponge must be thrown up if one or other of the combatants cannot "come up" to it; nor does it seem a case in which any amolong the "ridiculous both-holding" can possibly be found. Now, at the present moment the North is less able to go into the contest than she was a month ago. She has suffered a defeat, she has lost *morale* and *materiel*. Besides killed, wounded and prisoners, cannon, arms, baggage, she has lost an army of three-months' men, who have marched away to their homes at the very moment the capital was in the greatest danger.

Up to this period the reinforcements received do not bring up the Federalists to the strength they had before the fight. No one can or will tell how many have strayed away and gone off from their regiments since they returned to the camps here, but the actual number of men who have come here are less than those who have gone away home by fully 8,000 rank and file. And the change has been by no means for the better. The three months' men at least had been three months under arms. They were probably at least as martial and as ready to fight as most of their people. Just as they are most required and likely not to be quite unserviceable, they retire to receive ill-deserved and ridiculous ovations, as though they had been glorious conquerors and patriots, instead of being broken and routed fugitives, who marched off from Washington where it might be expected the enemy were advancing against it. In their place come levies who have not had even the three months' training, and who are not as well equipped, so far as I can see, as their predecessors, to face men who are elated with success and the prestige of the first battle gained, and to be associated with regiments cowed, probably, and certainly, in some instances, demoralized, by defeat.

The artillerymen who cut the traces of their horses from caisson and carriage at least knew more about guns than the men who will be put to the new field batteries which the Government are getting up as fast as they can; and the muskets, of the best description, left on the field or taken, cannot be replaced for long time to come.

In fact, much of this army must be reorganized in face of an enemy. That enemy is either incompetent or artful; it is quite certain he is not actuated by clemency or a generous pity. Engineers are hard at work strengthening the position on the south bank of the river; but forts do not constitute safety. Without stout hearts behind their lines and breastworks, abattis and redoubts avail nothing.

A GRAND PLAN OF ATTACK ON WASHINGTON MAPPED OUT.

It must be that the Confederates are deficient in the means of transport, or in actual force to make an attack which is so obvious, if they desire to show the North it is not possible to subdue them. The corps which went from Winchester to Manassas under Johnston is put by the federalists at 40,000. Let us take it at half that number. Beauregard and Lee are said to have had 60,000 at Manassas, including, I presume, the forces between it and Richmond. Divide that again. There were certainly 20,000 between Monroe, the Court (?) and Richmond, of whom 10,000 could be spared, and on the western side of the capital of the Confederate States there was available at least another corps of 10,000, which could have been readily strengthened by 10,000 or 15,000 more from the South in case of a supreme effort. There seems no reason, not connected with transport, equipment, or discipline, why the Confederates should not have been able last week to take the field with 35,000 men, in two corps; one quite strong enough to menace the force on the right bank of the Potomac, and to hold it in check, or to prevent it going over to the other side; the other to cross into Maryland, which is now in part only kept quiet by force, and to advance down on Washington from the west and north.

In the event of success the political advantages would be very great at home and abroad, and there would be a new base of operations gained close to the enemy's lines, while the advantages of holding the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay would be much neutralized and finally destroyed. The Navy-Yard would fall into the enemy's hands. Fort Washington would probably soon follow. Fortress Monroe would be condemned to greater isolation. Philadelphia itself would be in imminent danger should the Confederates attempt greater aggression.

But, for one, General Beauregard will consent to no plan of operations in which success is not rendered as certain as may be by all possible preparations, and he might not favor a proposal which would lead to dividing an army into two parts, with a river between them and an enemy on each side. Monroe and Hampton, which are the true bases of operations against Richmond, have been weakened to reinforce the army covering Washington and Harper's Ferry, and yet I doubt if there are on the South bank of the Potomac at this moment 40,000 men all along the line, who could move out and offer an enemy battle, leaving any adequate guards in the trenches and garrisons in the *tete-du-pont* and works.

THE CAVALRY OF THE SOUTHERN ARMY.

The Confederates, as you were informed from the South, have enlisted men to serve for the war, and take no other. The staple of their army will undergo no change, and as it grows older it ought to get better, unless it be beaten.

You will pardon me for referring to a remark in one of my previous letters, that there might be fierce skirmishes, and even sanguinary engagements, between the two armies, but that these would be followed by no decisive results, owing to the want of cavalry—Strange to say though the panic and very discreditable rout was caused by alarms of and might be been prevented by the presence of cavalry, no steps are taken to remedy that great deficiency. The volunteers who were at Manassas will never stand the man on horseback again, and I believe the Confederates are quite aware of the disadvantage, though they may have to endure the loss of many gentlemen who fell during the day.

MILITARY EXCORIATIONS NORTH AND SOUTH.

The Northern papers are increasing the amount of butter in proportion as they diminish the loaves of their loaves, and they do not appear to perceive that the smaller the latter were the less it could be the layer of the former—for it is no credit to an army to lose baggage, abandon its positions, throw away its knapsacks, leave its wounded in the hands of the enemy, and run some thirty and odd miles from field of Centreville, not merely to Arlington, but to Washington, without any cause at all; for without loss there was no cause of retreat, and therefore no excuse for panic and rout. Again, they say there was only a portion of their army engaged. The greater shame for those who were not engaged to run, then. But before the battle, when M. Dowell's force was enumerated *in terrorem* at 50,000, it was said fifteen regiments had subsequently joined. Now it is averred only 15,000, or 18,000, or 20,000 were in action.—What on earth were the rest about?

And I am obliged to say that Mr. Davis' statements are quite as startling; for, while he declares the enemy were 35,000 strong, he astonishes us by asserting that of all his host only 18,000 took part in the battle. As to losses, of course it is beyond anything but imagination to give an estimate. Regiments reported to have been annihilated have turned up quite hale and hearty, neat as imported on the day of marching home; and fond parents, wives and relatives will be spared many pangs and a great deal of mourning. I think my estimate of killed and wounded was nearly correct. The prisoners may amount to more than 900 or 1,000, but the Federalists have lost more heavily than the totals under these heads would show, perhaps. It would be rather ridiculous to call it either a hard fought, bloody, or a glorious field; but it is an important one; it was a most trying one to the Federalists, who were badly fed and hard worked in a waterless country, on a July day, for twelve hours; they were exposed to the demoralizing effects of long continued artillery fire. In spite of their want of discipline and the very unaccountable rout, the Federalists at first showed alacrity, but after a time they became torpid and difficult to handle.

No one questions the general bravery of American, native or adopted, on either side; but a defeat is rendered worse than ridiculous by attempts to turn it into a triumph. Let the unfortunate brave rest content with the sympathy they deserve, and shun the ovations which are the due of the conqueror. Praise and flattery cannot retake a gun, nor save a standard, nor win a battle—even if it be from *vox populi* in Broadway or Bowery.

ARMY AND FINANCIAL MEASURES OF THE WASHINGTON CABINET.

The Government in some measure let the world see what they think of the charges made against the officers of the army in reference to the late battle. Here is an order just published.

[Mr. Russell here gives the order (July 25) of Adjutant General Thomas, United States Army, directing that volunteer officers shall undergo an examination, as well as the reconstruction of the military districts in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.]

He then continues—Yesterday a bill was passed by the House of Representatives imposing a tax on carriages of from $1 to $50; gold watches, $1; silver watches, 50c; excise on spirituous liquors, 5c. per gallon; and on fermented liquors, 60c. per barrel, or 2c. a gallon. All incomes over $800 per annum, three per cent., including money at interest, &c.—Every interest in the country is also taxed, including a tax on the net income of the banks, but not on their currency or bank circulation. Landed estates are likewise taxed, and if it be accepted by the other branches of the Legislature, the people of the North will begin to feel that fighting is an expensive luxury, particularly if it be unsuccessful.

GENERALS BANKS, BUTLER, AND THE FORTIFICATIONS OF FORTRESS MONROE—THE DEFENCES OF JAMES RIVER.

It will be weeks before we have done hearing and seeing accounts of Bull Run, or, as it may be better called, of Manassas, unless some other action intervenes, as is very likely indeed.

Gen Banks, not finding any advantage in occupying a point in front of Harper's Ferry, on the Virginia side, has, it is affirmed, withdrawn all his troops to a position in Maryland, which commands the passages from the Ferry; and Gen. Butler, at Fortress Monroe, feels himself compelled to abandon his advanced works at Hampton, which I described hurriedly the other day, and to retire to the cover of the guns of the place. Fortress Monroe is quite impregnable to the enemy, for they have not the means of undertaking a regular siege. If they get heavy guns and mortars, however, they can certainly make the interior uncomfortable, and should they open trenches the Americans may have a Sebastopol in petto near Old Point Comfort.

Meantime the command of Col Phelps, at Newport News, consisting of four regiments, is threatened by the enemy. His camp is intrenched and furnished with a few heavy guns and field pieces, and heavy guns on the river face. I heard him apply to General Butler, when I was there, for horses and harness for his guns, as if he wanted to move them. He is a grim, sour, stern soldier of the old Puritan type, and if attacked he will defend his camp to the last. Should he be beaten, the Confederates will have both sides of James river.

RELATIVE VALUE OF THE OFFICERS SLAIN ON BOTH SIDES.

The more closely the consequences of Manassas are investigated, the more serious they seem to be. It must be granted that the Confederates feel their losses more severely than the North does. Their Colonels and officers are men of mark, and even of privates killed or wounded one sees notices implying that they belong to good families and are well-known people. The O's and Macs and Vons, (few of the latter,) the Corcorans, Cameronians and Bruggers, prisoners, wounded or killed, are of less consequence to the social system of the North than the Hamptons, Prestons and Mannings are to the South. If Mr. Davis and a few of the leaders were to fall in battle there, would be less chance of the South continuing its struggle with the same heart and confidence; but if all the Cabinet were to go tomorrow from Washington, the spirit of the Northern States would not be diminished one iota.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE VICTORY.

From the South, as yet, we have only a few scattered details of the fight and of its results; but it can be seen that there was no very great exultation over the victory. The following interesting extracts from the Richmond Enquirer, of July 23, will furnish a good idea of the manner in which the news was received:

[Mr. Russell gives here the dispatch of President Davis to Mrs. Davis, announcing the triumph; also his official report to Adjutant General Cooper at Richmond, the speech of Mr. Memminger in Congress announcing the news, with the resolutions passed by that body on the occasion.]

He then adds—It will be observed when Mr. Davis telegraphed to his wife he spoke of a dearly bought victory and a close pursuit. Of the latter there are no evidences; many troops remained till next morning in Centreville, not four miles from the scene of the fight, and General Schenck's report states he withdrew his men in good order at his leisure. It will be seen, too, that all which has been said of the enemy outflanking the Federalists', left is rubbish, and that the main contest was, as I stated, on the right of the line.

Mr Davis returned by train to Richmond on the 23d a conqueror.

THE MEDICAL APPLIANCES AND SURGEONS OF THE ARMY.

The "luxury of ambulances" is a new and curious ground of complaint, and I suspect that there were not many articles of the kind in the rear of the Confederate army.

*Apropos* of this subject, I must remark that one class of officers in the federal army did their duty nobly—the surgeons remained on the field when all others were retiring or fled left. One is reported killed; six are prisoners in the hands of the enemy, engaged in attending the wounded of both sides—an invaluable aid to the scanty medical staff of the Confederates.

There is no reason to believe the treatment of wounded or prisoners was what it was reported to have been. There may have been some isolated acts of atrocity in the heat of battle or pursuit, and it is only too likely that a building in which wounded men were placed was set fire to by a shell, but it is only justice to say that the Confederate authorities to say that they seem to have done all they could for those who fell into their hands. Much invitation has been created by the false statements circulated on this subject, and the soldiers on guard over Confederate prisoners here would not permit them to receive some little luxuries which had been ordered by sympathizing inhabitants, on the ground that they did not deserve them after the treatment given by their friends to the Federalists.

TREASON EXISTS IN EVERY DEPARTMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—WHAT MR. RUSSELL SAW IN THE UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE.

And as I have used the word "sympathizers," let me add the expression of my belief that there is scarcely a department high or low, of the public service of the United States in which there is not "treason"—I mean the aiding and abetting the enemy by information and advice. It is openly talked in society—its work is evident on all sides. I went into the private department of the Post-Office the other day, and found there a gentleman busily engaged in sorting letters at a desk. The last time I saw him was at dinner with the Commissioners of the Confederate States at Washington, and I was rather surprised to see him now in the sanctum of the Post-Office, within a few feet of Mr. Blair, of the sangre azul of Republicanism.

Said he, "I am just looking over the letters here to pick out some traitor's southern friends, and I forward them to their owners as I find them;" and if the excellent and acute gentleman did not also forward any little scraps of news he could collect, I am in error.

Again, a series of maps prepared with great care, for the use of General McDowell's staff, are given out to be photographed, and are so scarce that superior officers cannot get them. Nevertheless, one is found in the hands of a Confederate officer, in the advance of Fairfax Court-House, which must have been sent to him as soon as it was ready.

It is also asserted that General Beauregard knew beforehand of McDowell's advance; but the Confederates left in such haste that much credence cannot be given to the statement that the enemy were fully informed of the fact any considerable length of time beforehand.

THE "ON TO RICHMOND" CRY OF THE ABOLITION PRESS AND THEIR SHAKY DENIALS OF IT—REVELATIONS OF THE "LITTLE VILLAIN," FRESH FROM GENERAL SCOTT'S DINNER TABLE.

The battle having been duly fought and lost, the Federalists are employing their minds to find out why it was fought at all.

The convulsions into which the New York press has been thrown by the inquiry, recall to mind the ludicrous scene which followed the wire of Galvani. "Who cried 'On to Richmond?'" "Not I, 'pon my honor. It was shouted out by some one in my house, but I don't know who. I never gave him authority. I won't shout anything any more."

"Who urged General Scott to fight the battle, and never gave anybody any peace till he was ordered to do it?" "Nobody!" "It was that other fellow." "Please, sir, it wasn't me!"

"I never approved it."

"I'll never say a word to a soldier again."

"Mr. President knows I didn't."

It is really a most curious study. I begin to think that the best possible instructors may sometimes be in the wrong at this side of the Atlantic.

The Tribune declares that General Scott, being absolute master of the situation, is responsible for the battle.

But the New York Times gives a statement of what took place before the battle at the General's table, which, therefore, is probably published with his sanction, as it is improbable to suppose a gentleman would print it without express permission, from which it would certainly appear that the veteran Commander was not, as I hinted, a free agent in the matter. Here is the statement:

[Mr. Russell here furnishes Raymond's Washington letter to the New York Times, commencing with: "General Scott, it is said, discussed the whole subject of this war in all its parts, and with the utmost clearness and accuracy. He had a distinct and well defined opinion on every point connected with it, and stated what his plan would be for bringing it to a close if the management of it had been left in his hands," &c.]

CAN THE GOVERNMENT MEET A REACTION?—GENERAL M'CLELLAN AT WORK.

It remains to be seen if the plans of General Scott can now be followed. The reaction along the Mississippi will be great, and Major General Fremont, with great respect for his courage and enterprise, is not the man, I fear, to conduct large columns successfully.

Missouri is anything but safe.

Cairo is menaced, and my friends at Memphis seem to be stirring from their rest under their General.

I regret that I cannot give any more interesting or important intelligence, but I have not been able to go out for the last two days to the camps, as is common with many people in Washington. I was suffering a little from the weather—thunderstorms, rains, bad odors, which produce the usual results in garrisons and ill-drained cities. However, it is some consolation that there is nothing of consequence doing.

There was an alarm the night before last.—Some foolish people got the loan of a steamer and a big gun, and went down the river with them. When they were opposite one of the enemy's batteries, some three our four miles away, they fired their big gun, and "Old," no doubt, at the shot as it plashed short in the water, the enemy treating them with a proper silent contempt all the while. Having done this, they returned in the evening and amused themselves by firing away as hard as they could just below the Long Bridge—I believe without ball—and it may be imagined there was some commotion, as the reports shook doors and windows.

General McClellan is doing his best to get things into order, and the outskirts of the city and the streets are quieter at night; but there is enough work with Zouaves and others in Alexandria—houses burnt, people shot, and such like sports of certain sorts of "chicken soldiery." They will soon be shouting "Money or blood," if not kept in order and paid.—These men form a marked exception to the general behavior of many regiments.

## FROM EUROPE.

### English Views of the War in America.

The English papers continue to devote much attention to the war on this continent. We append some extracts:

WAR EXPENSES AND WAR TAXES IN AMERICA.

[From the London Times, Aug 14.]

Every Englishman knows, by the experience of his own country, where the shoe would begin to pinch the American belligerents. In that country, as elsewhere, any number of men can be procured to fight, after some fashion, in any cause, good or bad, if they are only well paid, well fed, well clothed, well housed, and moderately well commanded, with some prospect, if not of booty, at least of a whole skin. So it becomes a question of money. A confidence in money alone has always proved false; but money there must be, and there is no country in which it is more necessary than in the United States, where wages are high and work is abundant. A war will cost there almost as much as it did here; for if the work is nearer home, and the area of the war somewhat less than the whole surface of this terraqueous globe, still, for that very reason, there is much interruption of the ordinary pursuits of life. In the first place, all the bonds of debtor and creditor, whether public or private, and all the relations of business in cotton and other cultivation, are at an end. The State Governments themselves set the example of repudiation by refusing to cash bonds or coupons, which can be traced to the possession of the other party in the struggle.—Searching interrogatories are put, and must be answered on oath, before a State will pay interest which may find its way to hostile hands. Meanwhile commerce is interrupted by blockades and privateers, and immense works commenced in the depth of peace are stopped by the withdrawal of hands and resources, and not less by a general diminution of confidence in the prospects of the country. At Washington, finance observes the old forms of Union, and supposes a tax to be levied on all the States. It is obliged, however, to condescend to fact, and calculate on the certainty that only half the States will respond to the call.

So the Congress of Washington is locking the difficulty, as they say there, "square in the face," not an "square," however, as they will one day have to look it. There appears to be no difficulty in the authorization of loans to any amount; indeed, at this moment Government has large powers for the issue of Treasury notes for three years, and has found the market, we presume, unfavorable for the exercise of its powers. The real question is how to find a proper basis for loans in an augmented and well paid revenue. This involves taxation, and, unfortunately, taxation appears to be a point on which the Eastern and Western States of the Federal Union are almost as much at variance as both are with the Southern Confederacy. The Western States have a particular objection to taxes; and when we read the war budget which the Congress seems finally to have decided on, one feels that such an objection may be expressed not only in good sentences on the floor of Congress, but also in a not less formidable manner far West. Besides a direct tax of $20,000,000 apportioned among the States, and expected from only half, the new budget proposes a tax upon carriages, varying from one dollar to fifty; a tax upon watches, an excise duty on spirituous liquors of five cents a gallon, and on fermented liquors of sixty cents a barrel; and a general tax upon incomes, the rate of which, as well as the incomes liable, is not yet decided. Meanwhile, the Morrill tariff is untouched except by the imposition of additional duties. Every item in this budget suggests a financial war, as difficult, if not so sanguinary, as the war in the open field.

But there is another government which presses itself to the capitalist before even the solvency of a State, or the yield of a tax, or the final success of a cause, and that is, the number and frequency of similar calls. If we are to judge from the immense figures on paper paraded by the Northerners, this is a war that may take rank with any of ours—with the European war, which cost us from first to last more than a thousand millions of money, or the Russian war, which cost us a hundred millions in two years. If the Government of Washington is obliged to ask for a hundred millions to-day, when and how soon will it have to repeat that demand? and how many such demands will it have to make this year, and for how many years? Every such demand will compete in the market with the bonds of the last, and our old folks can remember with what celerity a promise to pay £5 a year became worth not so much as £50.—Prudent people do not like buying stock at its present price when they know that twenty or thirty millions more will soon be thrown on the market for what it will fetch. Nor is this the only apprehension to damp the courage of the lender. Already, while this war is still in its early cradle, the bankers of the seaboard States are suggesting, in the form of Treasury bonds, a very large increase of the paper currency. How long would this be convertible? We may safely predict that if the war lasts as long as it now threatens to last, both sides will be driven to the same pitiable expedient of a depreciated paper currency as the mother country was in a similar extremity. No doubt there are enthusiasts in the United States who will lend money and buy Treasury bonds for three or ten years, all the more freely because they feel deeply the social and religious aspects of the quarrel. There may, too, for aught we know, be Abolitionists and philanthropists in this country who will buy American notes in a falling market, and prefer to give a good price for them rather than a bad one, because they care more for the credit of the Federal cause than they do for the amount of their own fortune. We cannot think, however, there are so many such people as largely to affect the quotation of American securities in our market.

SUPPLY OF COTTON IN LIVERPOOL.

[From the London News, August 12.]

The computed stock of cotton at Liverpool on last Friday evening was 989,070 bales, against 1,203,320 at the same period of last year, when the quantity was unusually large. As regards the American qualities the stock is equal to about twenty weeks' consumption at the rate lately witnessed; at this time last year it was equal to twenty-eight weeks' consumption. There then remains the important difference, as determining the market price, that last year there was every prospect of the American supply coming forward as usual, whereas now that supply is ordered to be stopped. Another point to be weighed is that the draught upon our stock for exportation will probably be larger this year than usual, as continental, and, perhaps, even American consumers will fall upon our market. This renders it more requisite that we should diminish our own consumption. As the home trade have of late possessed themselves of a considerable supply by buying at Liverpool, it is computed that the stock which they hold is of about the same amount as last year.

These are only a few of the more prominent considerations, pro and con, which have to be examined in attempting to arrive at conclusions respecting the probable future course of the cotton trade. We have adduced sufficient to convince the general reader of the serious