

The South.

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Th. W. Hall, Jr. Editor.

The South.

"Before Mr. Mark still gives his steers of brass, Their gilded collars glittering in the sun; But is not Mark's steers of brass in vain? Are they not brass? Venice, lost and won, Her thirteen hundred years of freedom done, Sink, like sea-weed, in the waves of time; Let her be whelm'd beneath the waves, and shun, Even in destruction's depth, her foreign foe, From whom submission wrings an infamous repose."

Haskell's Last Letter to the London Times.

WASHINGTON, July 25.—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. This momentary movement has betrayed no faith 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 a surprise, not only to them in its full proportions, and their loss, combined, perhaps, with the condition of their army, as much as political and prudential motives actuating their leaders, may have induced them in producing the state of inactivity with which the Federals have no reason to be dissatisfied. 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 the foreign representation of the great European Powers directly interested in America, are founded on an appreciation of the exact demands of the situation, 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 to take a fair share on this side of the Atlantic, to furnish a trifling reinforcement to her small military establishment in Canada. The fleet at present in operation is not intended to seek the mode in which it has acted by the most sensitive Americans, 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. It is of course, therefore, in respect to the maintenance of friendly relations between England and the United States is the fact that the great change has come over the views of the members of the cabinet of the United States who were members of the Union in war with Great Britain; and that the most favorable disposition is evinced to cultivate our good offices, not by any sacrifice of principle, but by the adoption of a tone at once candid, just and friendly, which will be appreciated by the foreign public. It is not probable either that we shall hear much more about the immediate annexation of Canada, and the fury of the 750,000 "better than French" soldiers with which we will be furnished, so long as we are in 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 round ten per cent duty on all duties to be levied under the Morrill Tariff, and Mr. Sumner, the aged father of this wicked little lot of political economy, declares he will thereby raise \$45,000,000 of additional revenue. The House of Representatives, on the contrary, proposes to reduce the duty on coffee, tea, sugar, pepper, spices, and articles of the sort, not of necessity nor of luxury, but of necessity, and to reduce the duty on all other goods now to 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 Houses, in which the Legislature, in which the contending systems may be adjudged or amalgamated.

The income tax to be adopted will give some \$10,000,000 according to the calculation of the designers, and the proposed tariff will be a source of some \$10,000,000. 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 property in the United States, and to bear these things from England is accustomed to France cannot afford any meddling or mischief in her wine trade and her tobacco monopoly. Mr. Merier, the energetic and able representative of our ally, has not only announced his intention to visit the United States, but he has also announced his intention to visit the United States, and to bear these things from England is accustomed to France cannot afford any meddling or mischief in her wine trade and her tobacco monopoly.

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, and whom it has treated with great leniency, and to listen to the call for "time." But the quarter 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 the time in which any "time" of "judicious bottleholding" can prolong the fight. 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 men and material, 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.

During this period the Confederates received no aid from 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. But the actual loss of men, who have been some of the best of the men who have gone away home by fully 8000 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 fit as men, and as ready to fight as the rest of their people. Just as they are most required and likely to be quite serviceable, they retire to receive ill-deserved and ridiculous orations, as though they had been glorious conquerors and patriots, instead of being broken and routed fugitives, who marched off from Washington when it might be expected that the enemy was advancing against it. In their places come levies, who have not had even the three months' training, and who are not well equipped, as far as I can see, as their predecessors, to face men who are met with success and to be associated with regiments crowded, probably, and certainly, in some instances demoralized, and the artillerymen who cut the traces of their horses from caisson and carriage, at least more about guns than the men who will be put to the new field batteries, which Government are getting up as fast as they can, and the mus-

kets, of the best description, left on the field or taken, cannot be replaced for a long time to come. In fact, much of the 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 fortifications on the south bank of the river, but forts do not constitute safety. Without stout hearts behind their lines and breastworks, abatis and redoubts avail nothing.

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 Federal lists at 40,000. Let us take it at half the number. Beauregard and Lee are said to have had 60,000 at Manassas, including, I presume, the forces between the river and the Potomac. 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 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 seventy-five thousand 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 parts 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, and 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 a plan of operations in which success is not rendered as certain as may be by all possible precautions, and as it 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 forty thousand men all along the line, who could move out and offer an enemy battle, leaving any adequate guards in the trenches and garisons in the *de de pont* and works. The Confederates, as you were informed from the South, have enlisted men to serve for the war, and take no others. The staple of their army will undergo no change, and as it grows older it ought to get better, unless it be beaten.

Now I 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 result, owing to the want of cavalry. Strange to say, though the panic and very discredit of war was caused by alarms of cavalry, no steps have been taken to remedy that great deficiency. The volunteers who were at Manassas will return to the man on horseback again, and I believe the Confederates are quite aware of their advantage, though they were who fell during the day.

The Northern papers are increasing the amount of their imagination, if they decrease the losses of their levies, and they do not appear to perceive that the smaller the latter were the less should be the layer of the former—for it is no credit to an army to lose its guns, abandon its positions, throw away its baggage, leave its wounded in the hands of the enemy, and run some thirty or odd miles from front of Centerville, not merely to Arlington, but to Washington, without any cause at all, for without loss there was no 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 Mr. Mellon's force was engaged, the Confederates had 50,000, it was said, if not 60,000, and the Federalists had 40,000. Now it is averred only 15,000, 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 startling; for, while he declares the enemy were 35,000 strong, he attributes a victory to the fact that he had only 15,000, 20,000, or 25,000 men in action. As to losses, of course it is beyond anything but imagination to give an estimate of the number of men killed, wounded and captured, and it is reported to have been annihilated have turned up quite hale and hearty, and as injured, on the day of marching home—and as to 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 7000 or 10,000, but the Federalists have lost more heavily than the totals under these heads would show, perhaps.

It is not to be wondered at that the Confederates should have been so successful in their operations, and that it was 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 12 hours, they were engaged in 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 timid. No one questions the general bravery of Americans, native or adopted, on either side; but a defeat is rendered more ridiculous by attempts to turn it into a triumph. Let the unfortunate brave men who were engaged in the battle, and who were so successful in their operations, and that it was 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 12 hours, they were engaged in the demoralizing effects of long-continued artillery fire.

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