

[From the London Times, May 24.]
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

THE RICHMOND CAMPAIGN—GRANT AND LEE.

Our recent anticipations of an important campaign in Virginia have been confirmed by a succession of the most obstinate and sanguinary battles which have signalized even this age of war. From the 6th to the 10th of the present month two great armies were incessantly engaged in conflicts so fierce as to surpass in carnage all former encounters on the same ground, and yet so indecisive as to render it difficult to say at the present moment to which side the balance of success inclines. It was not until the morning of Friday, the 5th, that Lee accepted the battle to which Grant was pressing him. Then the Federal commander advanced and fell upon the entire front of the confederate line with an onslaught as straight, as impetuous, and as stubborn as that of Tilly on the Swedes at Leipsic. Like Tilly, however, he was repulsed with dreadful loss, nor could he by repeated assaults, succeed in changing the fortunes of the day. So manifest, indeed, had been his failure that in the afternoon Lee discerned the opportunity of assuming the aggressive himself, and advanced in his turn upon the Federals, but without any material success till night was closing in, when he returned the right of Grant's army and drove it back upon the center with a loss of nearly seven thousand men. That the advantage at this time rested rather with the confederates than the Federals is not denied, but, nevertheless, on the night of the 6th Lee retired once more, and took up a new position at Spottsylvania Court House. To this point Grant lost not an hour in following him, and, after some sharp skirmishing on Saturday, he again assailed the confederates with unmitigated fury on Sunday morning. All through that Sabbath-day, all through Monday, and apparently all through Tuesday, the battle raged with little intermission but what the darkness of night and physical exhaustion imposed upon the combatants. Still, however, there was no decisive result. When the last dispatches left the field Lee retained his position, and was said to have been reinforced, while the aggregate losses of the Federals up to the evening of Tuesday were reckoned, in killed, wounded, and missing, at forty thousand. At this critical point we are left to wait in suspense for fresh intelligence. Never did American mail bring information more important than may be looked for by the next arrival. On the side of the North, it must be owned that the expectations entertained of Grant's prowess have received more confirmation than has usually attended the sanguine calculations of the Federals. If he has not achieved absolute success, he has bid for it more desperately and approached it more nearly than any of his predecessors in command. He has fully justified his reputation for dogged and unconquerable tenacity. After once breaking up from his camp he has marched straight on, incessantly closing with his adversary, always offering battle, never declining it, undismayed by losses, undeterred by the most imminent danger. For the first time in the history of this war, a great battle has been followed by an immediate pursuit, bringing on another battle equally obstinate and bloody. Grant, though slightly worsted in the actions of the 6th, refused to quit his hold upon the enemy, or to plead any of the obvious excuses for suspending the operations of the campaign. It was this stubbornness of purpose which gained him his success at Vicksburg and his favor with the Northern people. They never thought him a military genius, but they believed him to be a most determined man—a man who would bring everything to the immediate issue of hard fighting, and who might either beat or be beaten, but who would never be hesitating or inactive. This estimate of his character he has fully justified. He has fought unceasingly, and has clung like a bull-dog to his work. Nor can it be added that he has fought altogether in vain; for he has advanced as he proposed to advance, and is actually a few miles further on the road to Richmond. On the other hand, it now appears beyond all doubt that the successive retirements of the confederate commander were but so many judicious and preconcerted operations of the campaign. The whole road to Richmond, be it remembered, is a series of positions which have long been studied and strengthened by the confederates, terminating in a capital fortified by all the defenses which modern art could devise, through a period of three years. Lee, if he falls back, is only falling back from one strong post to another, till he finds himself in the strongest post of all. Grant, if he falls back ever so little, gives up the game, while if he persists in advancing he discovers harder work than ever before him at the end of each day's march, and separates himself from his supplies in the same proportion. Already, we are told, he has found his communications intercepted by the confederate cavalry, and been compelled to change the base of his supplies; and it is intimated, indeed, that the action of the 10th was not sought by him, and that he had intended to postpone it for a few hours until his supplies had come up. Undoubtedly Grant is in a more difficult situation than Lee, for if he falls back, which, if he cannot dislodge his adversary, he must do, it will be under disadvantage; and if he advances, either by force or upon the retirement of the confederates, it will be under disadvantage still. But he is invincibly obstinate, he has uncontrolled command, he has exacted the unreserved support of the government, and he has seen the southern general retire before him. He will, per-

haps, renew the attack upon Lee, but if he ever reaches Richmond with an effective army he will have achieved a miracle of military success.

[From the London Globe, Lord Palmerston's Organ.]
 The telegraphic reports of the great actions which have been fought in Virginia not only leave us in doubt as to the advantages gained by either side, but as to the actual occurrences in a district the topography of which is so little known. Four or five combats and battles had been fought between the 5th and 11th; very considerable losses were incurred by both sides; and the net results appear to have been that General Lee had fully succeeded in barring the road to Richmond through Spottsylvania, while Grant had, at great risk, brought his forces into a position which secured to him the road to Fredericksburg in his rear. These were the results of a week's marching and fighting among the woods and swamps about the sources of the Mattaponi, which is the great northern branch of the York river estuary.

[From the Morning Post, Government Organ.]
 Much blood has been spilt, but no appreciable advantage appears to have been gained by either side. The consequences of battles such as these are not, however, immediately apparent.

[From the Morning Star, Liberal.]
 If the Federal losses have been correctly reported, Grant has paid too dear for his victory; but even if the advantages gained had been at a moderate cost, the result, though great, would have been an indecisive success.

The *Morning Herald* (Derby's organ) thinks it knows almost enough of the campaign in Virginia to declare Grant's advance on Richmond a failure, and to express a confidential hope that the last fiery trial of the Southern Confederacy has been safely passed.

The *Morning Post* of the 24th feels convinced the Federal arms have sustained a crushing defeat.

The *Globe* thinks that Lee has fully succeeded in barring the road to Richmond.

THE ADMINISTRATION PLATFORM.

In a former issue we published in full the platform of the Cleveland Republican Convention, on which John C. Fremont is mounted as the candidate for the presidential chair, we here subjoin the platform of the Baltimore Republicans, another kind of document on which that wing of the Republican party hope to retain Abraham Lincoln chief magistrate of the Republic.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that, laying aside all differences and political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it. (Prolonged applause.)

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels or to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrifices, the patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions. (Applause.)

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic (applause,) and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense has aimed a death blow at this gigantic evil; we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people, in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy (applause,) who have perilled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism, and their valor and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. (Loud applause.)

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unwavering fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as deman-

ded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery (applause); and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war (applause,) and that any violation of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms should be made the subject of full and prompt redress. (Prolonged applause.)

Resolved, That the foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency. (Applause.)

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent (prolonged applause,) and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments sustained by a foreign military force in near proximity to the United States. (Long continued applause.)

[From the Philadelphia Press, June 6.]

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

THE PREPARATORY WORK OF NOMINATION.

The National Union Convention, which tomorrow will meet in Baltimore, is at once the least important of the political conventions of 1864. The least important, first, because it can declare no principle which has not already been embodied in the action of the government, and approved by the people; second, because to it the choice of a candidate for the presidency can scarcely be said to be entrusted. The Cleveland Convention had the elements of uncertainty and irresponsibility. Its members were not elected, were not instructed by the people, were pledged to no principle, and each delegate voted in absolute independence. It had, therefore, a special value and interest, as the beginning of a new political movement. The Chicago Convention has a similar basis.

The Baltimore Convention has no such work before it. Its course is plain. It is bound to reaffirm the radical principles, not less radical than those which at Cleveland were advanced as original discoveries, to which the administration is pledged, to which the majority of the people are devoted. If it can make these principles clearer, apply them more forcibly to the national situation, assert them more emphatically, we shall be better satisfied. If it can add radicalism to radicalism, so much more will be gained. But it can hardly advance one step. Nor can it retrograde. Its platform has already been formed by the people, maintained by the government, and justified by the events of the war. The convention cannot mistake or misstate one principle. * * * They are understood, accepted, and established as a permanent policy of the nation, and the platform of the convention is, therefore, predetermined by the people. For this reason it is the less important as a political body, as it cannot originate, but will simply republish a policy; yet for this reason it is transcendently the more imposing in its express on of the national will.

Nor had the convention a candidate to choose. Choice is forbidden it by the previous action of the people. It is a body which almost beyond parallel is directly responsible to the people, and little more than the instrument of their will. Independent authority it does not possess; only in case of sudden emergency could it repudiate the candidate of the people. The great majority of the delegates are instructed to vote for Abraham Lincoln. He has in effect been already nominated by the National Union party in every State, from Maine to California, and the convention will but formally announce the decision of the people. If this absence of independence lessens the mere political interest of the convention in one respect, the fact that it will thoroughly and unquestionably obey national instructions gives it higher importance. No convention has ever been so truly a popular expression as the Baltimore convention. Thus

we do not await with doubt or painful suspense the announcement of its nomination, but listen eagerly for the speaking of the certain word which will inspire with new enthusiasm the heart of the North, and be echoed with cheers from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

[From the Tribune, June 6.]

There was a National Mass Convention at Cleveland last week, which nominated Gen. John C. Fremont for President, with Gen. John Cochrane for Vice-President; and a delegated convention is to assemble at Baltimore tomorrow, which is morally certain to nominate Abraham Lincoln for re-election as President, with (probably) Daniel S. Dickinson or Andrew Johnson as Vice-President. The convention may have some trouble with contested seats; if not, it may complete its labors by Wednesday evening at furthest.

Our own conviction that the opening of the presidential canvass should be postponed to the latest moment was early formed and privately as well as publicly expressed, wherever and whenever it seemed likely to be heeded. It has been overborne, and we do not care to insist on it; but it remains unchanged. We could even now wish that the convention which meets tomorrow, would adjourn over to the middle of August, to await the developments of the ten probably eventful weeks before us. "Tell your brother, the governor," Mr. Lincoln is reported as having said to Jon F. Seymour, of our State, during the dark winter of 1862-3, "that if he wants to be President of the United States, he must take care that there shall be a United States." We heartily concur in the suggestion, and hold the question it raises first in order and of paramount importance. The convention which seems to us of absorbing interest is that which Gen. Grant is now holding on the banks of the Chickahominy; next to this we place that which Gen. Sherman is reassembling around the ramparts of Atlanta. As the policy of concentration and determined advance which we have always believed in has at length been adopted, we could wish the Presidency utterly forgotten or ignored for the next two months, while every impulse, every effort of the loyal millions should be directed toward the overthrow of the armed hosts of the rebellion. That effected, or its speedy accomplishment proved impossible, we should be ready to enter clear-sighted on the Presidential canvass. Now, we are not.

We feel that the expected nomination, if made at this time, exposes the Union party to a dangerous "flank movement," possibly a successful one. And we cannot realize that a postponement to August, or even September, would imperil any public interest or impair the efficiency of our ultimate efforts.

For these views, we ask no other consideration than is due to the calmly expressed convictions of every hearty well-wisher of the national cause. We purpose to act with the great body of our fellow Republicans in the approaching canvass; but we are in no hurry to enter upon that canvass. Let the country see and feel that we Republicans seek success for our country's sake more than for that of our party. Let it realize that our hearts are with our gallant brethren who are writing our country's history with steel and flame on the bloody fields of Virginia and Georgia. The triumph of the national arms should be our first aspiration; after that, everything else in its order. Live the republic.

A STRAY WOLF.

A correspondent of the *St. Louis Union* in his communication of May 31st, from Cleveland to that paper, opens with the following rather significant paragraph:

"I concluded my last at a point where the Convention was about to act upon the report of the Committee on Platform. The report was adopted as it came from the committee, but several efforts were made to amend different sections. The first which declares that 'the Federal Union must be preserved,' excited an earnest servant of the Church, who moved the words 'by the assistance of Almighty God,' should preface the words 'the Federal Union.' This created considerable merriment, and the preacher aforesaid remarked that, were Andrew Jackson alive, he would declare his support to the amendment; and furthermore, that without the help of God Almighty, the Union could not be preserved. The Chairman put the question in this form: 'The member from New Jersey moves that God Almighty help preserve the Union.' [Laughter.] All those in favor of God Almighty doing so, will say aye. [A few responses.] All those opposed say no. [Great laughter, and loud shouts of no!] The Chair decided that the motion was lost. [Laughter.]"

John C. Fremont or "any other man" is certainly not responsible for the taste of his admirers; but if he staggers through to the Presidential chair with such supporters the Lord help the people.

OUR DIXIE.—A correspondent writes from Washington, June 5th:

"Everything is progressing finely here; crops look promising for a large increase of grain. There has been an unusual amount of rain during the last three weeks, for this country, with prospects for more.

The health of the people is generally good; health, peace and plenty, seem to be for the contented and faithful. There is some talk about silver, &c., in this part of the country; but the people have but little faith in it; samples of the ore, exhibited here are pronounced worthless.