

Beginning at the south, we witness a war between Brazil, the Bande Orientale, and the Argentine Republic, on the one hand, and Paraguay on the other. The only novelty in this quarrel is the combination of parties. The stake, which does not appear upon the surface, is the control of the Plate River, and the consequent supremacy of the Hispano-Lusitano-Americans. There are besides internal revolutions, which the war may temporarily suspend but will not smother. Such in Brazil is the tendency toward the abolition of negro slavery, involving the overthrow of a landed aristocracy possessed of immense domains, and the cultivation of cereals to an extent sufficient to render the country self-sustaining. When grain shall have thus far encroached upon the tropical products of slave labor, Brazil will be independent of Uruguay, will have less reason to covet her territory, and will retain the colonists whom she now forces to seek sustenance and prosperity in the neighborhood of the little republic. Neither the Argentine Republic nor Paraguay is a government of the people, in a strict sense, but each is controlled by a single man, though with democratic show. The former is almost wholly subjected to one of its constituent provinces, Buenos Ayres, and there is discernible in the future a conflict for separation or complete subordination.

Next in order, or *disorder*, is Bolivia, where a self-elected President has been deposed by a popular movement; Peru, which is divided between two parties—the authorities, who are accused of misconduct in their negotiations with Spain, and a professedly patriotic body of insurgents, who have made some headway; and finally Ecuador, where an Ex-President leads a sudden attempt against a government whose offence is conservatism. Chili and the states to the north of those mentioned are at present tranquil, having had their epochs of commotion and bloodshed, but are not on that account secure from a repetition of them while the circumjacent lands are heaving as if with volcanic throes. It is impossible to predict the definitive results of all these dissensions, but the drift seems pretty clearly to be toward a higher application of the republican principle, and a broader recognition of the rights of man. Certain problems, which are more than matter for curious speculation, are being solved among the mountains and upon the plains of South America: whether, for example, the Monroe Doctrine finds its justification in a law of nature, forbidding monarchy to thrive in this hemisphere; and whether the mercurial temper of Castile is capable of the self-imposed restraints of constitutional government.

Still coming north, we hear of a rising in Panama, insignificant, perhaps, but in keeping with what we have observed elsewhere. Mexico is the empire of a year, but an empire which has not meant "peace," and is not likely to mean it—any more than his whose bayonets erected and now sustain the throne of Maximilian. Here are grave questions of Latin and Saxon, of autonomy and interference from abroad, of state religion and religious liberty. All these cannot be settled in a day, nor settled at all unless aright.

It is needless to speak of the transformations that are at work within the limits of the Union; yet it is worth while to note the great diversity of the processes and stages of reconstruction. Comprehensively, the entire South is undergoing a radical change in regard to labor and the social gradations based upon it. Individually, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and Virginia represent quite different phases of the passage from slavery to freedom; Kentucky still another, since it cherishes the moribund institution as long as it can, though not without very vigorous opposition from a growing minority of its own citizens. The free States are not exempt from the progressive impulse of the times, and are daily correcting their notions of democracy by the experience which every year increases in value. New Jersey is divided on the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment. Other States are considering the duty of freeing their charters from the stains of caste and color-prejudice, and Connecticut is presently "to go before the country" on precisely this issue. Then, in connection with negro suffrage, arises the broader question of universal suffrage, upon which the advocates of the freedman, the foreign immigrant, the native-born citizen, and the female sex, are to be heard, along with those who would restrict the ballot to the intelligent or educated. Not too trivial for mention are those experiments of which this State has now made so many, because the metropolis cannot be trusted to take care of

itself. And if we have our Metropolitan Police, our Central Park Commissioners, and our Metropolitan Fire organization, Massachusetts now has her Constable of the Commonwealth, whose special function, with the aid of proper subordinates, is to execute the laws of the State, which have hitherto given to the municipal police their chief employment.

Last but not least in our review is Canada, of which, speaking more at length in another place, we shall say little here. Her part in the continental agitation is an effort to bind the provinces into a confederacy, and what this has of prophecy in regard to her future separation from the mother country, and what in regard to her ultimate absorption in the American Union, we leave for others to determine.

LIFTED OVER.

As tender mothers, guiding baby steps,
When places come at which the tiny feet
Would trip, lift up the little ones, in arms
Of love, and set them down beyond the harm,
So did our Father watch the precious boy,
Led o'er the stones by me, who stumbled oft
Myself, but strove to help my darling on:
He saw the sweet limbs faltering, and saw
Rough ways before us, where my arms would fail;
So reached from heaven, and lifting the dear child,
Who smiled in leaving me, He put him down
Beyond all hurt, beyond my sight, and bade
Him wait for me! Shall I not then be glad,
And, thanking God, press on to overtake?

MARAH.

ANOTHER CRITICISM.

"A VERSE-WRITER in THE NATION calls the sword the 'High Bride of Justice.' We had until now supposed Justice to be properly represented by the feminine gender, whatever the sword might be; but we live and learn."
—*N. Y. Times*, July 8.

All this reminds me of an ancient doubt,
Which, now such kindly critics are about,
I will confess: Why has it ever been
Forbidden to the lordly race of men,
And counted woman's province, to present
The typic shape of Justice? Courteous meant,
Perhaps, in days of chivalry, and yet
Satire and falsehood in the figure met.
Justice, forsooth! When was a woman just?
Or when, to Justice, might a woman trust?
Methinks the poet had too keen an eye
And taste for truth to use the ancient lie;
And though, till times are mended, critics sneer,
We'll hail him in the right, Aubrey De Vere!

JUSTITIA.

JULY 8.

THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

I.

RICHMOND, Va., July 8.

It was a very pleasant change from the roar and heat of a June day in New York City to the cool breeze and the splash of the waves that greeted us sailing down the harbor on our way to Richmond. The voyage from wharf to wharf occupied three days, for a day was added to its length by our picking up at sea a disabled steamer, which we towed into Hampton Roads. The three days, however, were agreeably spent. In the little things, as well as in the great, one may perceive that the country has returned from war to peace. In the treatment which he receives in one of these private steamers the traveller finds a pleasing contrast to that indifference or insolence which he was forced to put up with in the days of army transports, when contracting owners were paid the same whether their vessels were full or empty, and when every official on board, from captain to steward, resented as an unnecessary evil the presence of every passenger.

Our cabin passengers on the *Creole* were perhaps fifty in number. There were officers returning to their regiments; officers' wives going down with children and waiting-maids to join their husbands; half a dozen excursionists intending to see Petersburg and to spend the Fourth of July in Richmond; a party of German Jews, ill-mannered and dirty, who fraternized closely with each other, and were profuse of attentions to the German nurses

and waiting-maids. "Look at those fellows now!" said a young man from Connecticut to me; "a'n't they a 'penny-ante' lookin' lot? But they'll make more money in the Southern country in this next year than you or I will." I afterwards saw one of them in the street at Portsmouth with two or three hoop-skirts under his arm, and a box of paper-collars in his hand, trudging along, as I suppose, to his shop; and another I saw and heard playing the harp on the boat between Norfolk and Richmond.

Besides these we had also some of the vanguard of that army of immigrants which is to occupy the South. My acquaintance from Connecticut was travelling with a friend of his, and they hoped to find somewhere in North Carolina an opportunity to establish themselves in business. The Southern climate would be better for him, he thought, than that of his native State. He wasn't particular what sort of business he engaged in, but he'd a little prefer to bring down a good lot of goods and sell them. There were eight or ten other men aboard going South with similar plans. None of them, so far as I could learn, had any intention of becoming farmers. They all looked forward to trading. Most of them were young men, and seemed to me imbued with all the love of change as well as all the acuteness that is said to characterize the Yankee. Of quite a different class was a German family going out to be laborers on the estate of a gentleman who owns a plantation not far from City Point. Neither the man nor the woman could speak a word of English, and I was told that they had been but a few days in this country. The woman wore a thick stuff dress and heavy shoes, and was without shawl or bonnet. She seemed home-sick, and spent a good part of her time in tears or in gazing out upon the water. The man was more cheerful. Both seemed robust and healthy, and their employer expected the substitution of their labor for that of negroes to prove a great success. Certainly, they looked as if they might be depended upon for steady, stolid industry for some years to come. What wages he proposed to pay them I could not learn.

We had on board, among the other passengers and not easily distinguishable from them, several rebels. Rebels I suppose they may fairly be called, for those with whom I have talked, while ready enough to admit themselves conquered, still declare that it is only because their country has been subjugated that they now pay obedience to the United States. With one of these Confederate soldiers I entered into conversation. He was a youth apparently not more than twenty-two years old, intelligent and of pleasing manners. He said he had been up to New York to look round a little and to get himself some clothes. Everybody South was pretty hard up for clothes, and he reckoned they would be for some time if they had to pay New York prices for them. I noticed that he wore a full suit of black broadcloth, and said to him that if a man bought that of course he had to pay high for it. "Yes," he replied, "but look at those boots. I paid a hundred and seventy-five dollars for them in Richmond a while ago, but I reckon it's just as bad to charge me sixteen dollars for boots in New York and make me pay in greenbacks." I asked him if the Northerners seemed to him friendly and well disposed. "Well, yes," he said; "they did so. Well, anyhow, the war was all a d——d foolish piece of business, he supposed. Still his State went out, and if she was to go again he'd go with her. He liked the Northerners better, now that he'd fought against them. He reckoned that a thousand Southern soldiers would whip a thousand Northern, because half the Northern army was made up of foreigners and bought men, to say nothing of the niggers. If the thousand men on each side were picked, of course that would be a different thing. All he knew about that was that he didn't want to be there." "What troops did you call the poorest in your army?" I told him that not having served, I did not know the army opinion. "Well, we always used to say in the army that your meanest troops were from Massachusetts, and ours were from South Carolina. But I reckon they only said so." The grand mistake of the Southerners, he thought, the mistake which cost them their independence, was in not having built a navy in the very first of the war. "Where would you have got seamen?" I inquired. "Seamen? we had Buchanan; you can't find better seamen than he is. The Merrimac whipped the Monitor pretty badly, and it would have been so right along if the Confederate government had turned their attention to naval matters instead of just keeping afloat a vessel here and a vessel there."

He denied strenuously that there had ever been any ill usage of Union soldiers in the rebel prisons. If there had been any such bad treatment, the President did not know of it, nor did General Lee. Of course President Davis didn't believe what he read in the Northern newspapers. No, sir, I might depend on it, Union soldiers in Libby and Belle Isle, or any other rebel prison, were just as well treated as rebel soldiers were in Federal prisons. His denial, though emphatic, was not at all indignant, as if the question

was merely one of fact and had no concern with morality. He seemed so much beyond the reach of argument as people in general, so we changed the subject, and I listened to some reminiscences of the battle of Manassas, and to a detailed account of the plot and incidents of the "Willow Copse"—"the very best play that ever was written, he believed."

This young man was quite frank and bold in his conversation, and his manners and language were gentlemanly. His opinions, I suppose, were the same, and his sentiments and feelings somewhat better, than those of his Confederate companions on board, whose appearance and language certainly were inferior to his.

A little after noon of a very hot day we arrived at the city of Norfolk. On the pier was a motley assemblage of whites and blacks, vociferous in their offers of pies, June apples, lemonade, and carriages to the hotels. The negroes and whites were seemingly on very good terms with each other, though for a week we had been reading of the murderous riots that had taken place between them. But strolling through the streets of the town, it was not difficult to see marks of past violence as well as indications of future trouble. Now and then I would meet a soldier with a black eye, or a negro with his head bound up; and the negroes, though here and there one would touch his hat as he met a well-dressed white man, seemed generally to wear a lowering and sullen aspect. Parties of sailors were frequent in the streets, and as one of these passed a drinking shop a sailor did or said something to a man lounging by the door. What the offense was I do not know; my attention was first attracted by seeing the citizen hurl a brick. The missile struck the sailor in the head and knocked him down. He rose, his head and face streaming with blood, and clamored to be let loose on his assailant. His friends, after a good deal of pulling and hauling, induced him to move on. The disturbance lasted for ten minutes, occurred in the main street of Norfolk, and attracted a large crowd, but no policeman made his appearance.

In the evening I had a long conversation with a gentleman resident in the city. The picture which he gives of its condition is not pleasing.

"Sir," said he, "there is no town in Virginia more violently secessionist than Norfolk. For all practical purposes, I mean. To be sure, we Union men cast over two hundred votes the other day at the election, and the Tabb men did not cast much over eight hundred, and some of our men voted the Tabb ticket because Mr. Tabb is a gentleman, and very well liked. But the secessionists are in the majority; then we've got between one and two hundred returned Confederate soldiers in the city; we've got the Navy Yard right handy, and that gives us a good many disorderly men; the city is full of low drinking saloons, and what these men wouldn't do sober they will do when they're drunk, and our secesh folks know it; and I tell you, sir, Norfolk isn't a very safe place for a Union man unless he's a very mild sort of a Union man. There are two men in Norfolk that are very strong Republicans. One of them is in favor of allowing the niggers to vote immediately. Well, sir, they'd better both of them leave the city at once. I wouldn't be in either of those men's shoes for half Norfolk. They'll be shot some night—some one 'll hear a cry, and that 'll be all any one 'll ever know about it."

"I suppose everybody goes armed."

"Of course. I wouldn't think of walking two blocks at night without my revolver. The Tabb government have increased the police force, and perhaps for the sake of its own reputation it may keep order in the city, or, at any rate, try to do so. But if a vote of the Union men could be taken to-morrow, I'm not afraid to say that there would be a unanimous vote to bring back the military government that has just left us. There never was a worse mistake made than giving back a civil government to a place like Norfolk, where all the power at once gets into the hands of the rebels. The loyal men right through the South ought to be protected by the Government for some time to come."

The negro, this Norfolk gentleman thought, must necessarily sink lower and lower in the social scale when working under a system of free labor. Slavery he believed to have been a curse to the white man, and to all the industrial interests of the country, but the negro freed would be a greater curse to it than he ever had been as a slave. Unless the colored people were removed to Texas, or some South American country, they would surely die out by reason of their laziness and shiftlessness.

A day or two after this conversation, looking over the *Old Dominion*, a newspaper published at Norfolk, my curiosity was excited by seeing at the head of a column the name of one of the two men whose lives I had been told were in danger if they remained in the city. "A card (somewhat lengthy) from Calvin Pepper," was the caption of the article. This card, it seemed to me as I read it, might fairly be taken as evidence corroborative of that given by my informant, although in it Mr. Pepper states that he intends to absent himself from the city for six weeks, and leaves the reader to

imply that he means to return. He appends to the card two letters, showing that he fought bravely in beating back the New York rioters in the summer of 1863, and that he was ready and eager to fight at Washington in 1861. "The annexed certificates are published," he says, "in order that there may be no mistake in regard, at least, to my courage, and that it may not be said that I left Norfolk, or any other place, from fear."

Mr. Pepper says that both his health and business demand that he should absent himself from the city, and he prints his card to notify his debtors and his creditors of his intention to go away. He then goes on as follows:

"And now I would say to my personal friends who are so apprehensive, without just cause, it seems to me, for my personal safety, on account of my radical, so-called, and outspoken views of the right of suffrage to colored citizens, and the *rumored threats* that have been so industriously and from sinister motives spread abroad, that since I have been in Norfolk I have not received, to my face, from man, woman, or child, a personal insult or threat, or disrespectful treatment of any kind, and that I verily believe that liberty of speech is freer and safer to-day in the city of Norfolk than in the city of New York."

Mr. Pepper sets forth his political views at some length. "The simple, just, and effectual remedy 'for preventing another rebellion' is equal rights of suffrage to all, and with loyal men in a majority nothing more is to be hoped or desired." These views he declares that he will always advocate—

"And in the exercise of this right of a freeman I shall not be deterred by any threats of violence, or persecution, or prosecution without law, or the perversion of its form and spirit. Free speech without licentiousness, or its abuse, I will exercise while life last, and if need be in the face of death."

At City Point the steamer from New York transfers its passengers to a small river boat. The trip thence to Richmond is made in about four hours, and the traveller is taken past many points that have become the property of history. The river is very winding, the banks are green and hilly, and as one approaches the city are filled with earthworks. We passed but little land under cultivation. Here and there could be seen a field in which the wheat sheaves were piled in stacks, and there were a few fields of Indian corn, but it was low and must have been planted late. In Norfolk I saw stalks nine and ten feet high, but on the James none that was more than three feet, and the greater part of the crop was somewhat less. The water in the river was rather higher than is usual at this time of year, I was told, but however that may be, our pilot took the vessel through the Dutch Gap Canal, thus shortening the voyage by about seven miles. Our boat was a small one, and she thumped on the bottom at the entrance, but in the Richmond papers I saw it stated that a steamer of forty-three feet beam had made the passage a week before. We passed the famous Fort Darling and several ruined bridges, and every now and then saw, just showing above the russet-colored water, the ribs of some sunken vessel. At last we could discern the three spires of Richmond on a distant hill, and the square bulk of the Capitol. The wharves at Rocket's were not so busy as those of Norfolk, and there were, perhaps, not more than twenty small craft in the port.

A little way from the landing stood a "Broadway and Ninth Avenue" omnibus, which rattled us over the ill paved streets to the hotel. Two rudely painted wooden signs, projecting from the corners of two ugly brick warehouses, told us where stood "Castle Thunder" and "Libby." Of these buildings the former is used as a city prison; the latter is set apart for the use of soldiers waiting for their regiments, and for the families of negro laborers working for the United States Quartermaster. Cannon balls can be seen lying about in the streets, which are little used by any vehicles but army wagons and public.

Traversing the main street, going up the hill, on which the Capitol is situated, in the centre of what was formerly the business part of the city, is the burnt district. For a quarter of a mile one passes nothing but toppling walls, forlorn-looking chimneys, heaps of bricks, with here and there a ruined safe lying in the midst, warped and red from the effects of intense heat. Some Virginia agent of a Hudson Street firm has painted and pasted in half a dozen places the advertisement of "Hubbell's Golden Bitters," but besides this evidence of enterprise, there is very little sign of business activity.

In the shops that still stand there seem to be plentiful stocks of goods, but no customers for anything except the bare necessities of life. One readily believes the often-repeated statement, "Our people haven't any money, sir." I went into two stores this morning to make some purchases, and perceived illustrations of this truth. In the first of the two I stood waiting to be served, while the shopman and a respectable-looking man talked about a tobacco transaction. The two men seemed to have been acquaintances. One, addressed as "Captain," urged the other to buy of him fifty pounds of hand tobacco. "I haven't got a cent, and I must get home. Pay what you think is right for it. There's only fifty pounds, and if I can't

sell it I'll have to pawn my watch. Must get home, you know." The tobacco was such as would command a dollar a pound at the North, and it was offered at fifty cents. At the second store which I entered, the article I wanted was a tobacco-pouch. I noticed among the new ones a pouch of better workmanship than they, but which had evidently been in use. I asked the price of it. "Sam, what do you want for that bag of yours?" said the man to the attendant. "Well, I don't know; it was given to me; I reckon fifty cents will be about right."

In almost all the Richmond shopkeepers there is an eagerness to sell which, to one accustomed to Northern traders, seems strange, and, when one considers the reasons for it, quite touching. As might be expected, goods are cheap. Just after the evacuation the city was filled full of merchandize of all kinds by the Northern dealers. The people could not purchase; and the result is that many articles can be bought cheaper in Richmond to-day than in Baltimore or New York. "Flour," says the *Whig*, "that sold in New York on Saturday for \$7 and \$8, sold here for \$5, and meats that were selling here for 15 to 20c., there stood on their dignity at 25 to 35c." A market with so little money was easily overstocked.

The Fourth of July may be said to have been celebrated in Richmond this year. Cannon were fired at morning, noon, and night. A few Chinese crackers were fired off by the vagabond boys, white and black, at the corners of the streets in the early morning and in the evening, their pyrotechnic resources, I take it, being too scanty not to make it advisable to husband them closely. In the morning a flag was hoisted at the Spottiswood Hotel, and a short speech made from the roof of the building by General Osgood. Somewhat later in the day a small crowd, made up mainly of negroes and Union soldiers, with a sprinkling of citizens and children, congregated in the Capitol Square. A lady was introduced to the assembly and read the Declaration of Independence, but in so low a tone and amid such noise of talking and walking about as made it quite impossible for any one to hear her. The conclusion of her reading was marked by music from a military band which was in attendance. Speeches were then made by a surgeon and two chaplains, and after a benediction the company dispersed. No applause was elicited by any of the speakers. The soldiers evidently were there in the character of onlookers; the negroes were doubtful if they were expected to applaud or would be allowed to do so (they were carefully removed by the soldiers detailed as police from the crowded steps near the speakers' stand); and as for the citizens—to ask any men, Union or secessionist, to hear such speeches and applaud them, would be asking too much. All places of business were closed throughout the day, but the city wore no holiday aspect. That part of the rebel population which appeared in the streets were seemingly indifferent spectators of what went on around them. The boys and the negroes, and the Union soldiers in a graver way, alone seemed to enjoy the occasion.

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, July 1, 1865.

Before this day week the title of M.P. will be in temporary abeyance. On Thursday next Parliament will be prorogued; on the following day the dissolution will be announced; and on Saturday the writs for the election will be posted to the different boroughs and shires of the United Kingdom. Such, at least, are the present arrangements; and there is no reason to expect they will be materially altered. The harvest is getting on with such unusual rapidity, owing to the long continued and unwonted heat of our early summer, that it has become a matter of national importance to get the elections over as soon as possible. The business of the House of Commons is entirely finished; most of the members whose seats are likely to be contested are away canvassing; and on Thursday night the House was almost being counted out while Sir Charles Wood was delivering his speech on the Indian Budget. Parliament would have been prorogued before now if the House of Lords had not stopped the way. The truth is, there is such a vast accumulation of private bill legislation, and the peers are so behind-hand with their work, that the session could not have been abruptly terminated without serious injury to very influential interests. On Saturday the House of Lords held its first morning sitting. Three peers met and sat for a quarter of an hour; and during that period read and passed some five-and-twenty bills concerning railways, harbors, enclosures, and other local matters—a feat of legislative rapidity which even in your back woods States would, I fancy, be considered remarkable. Each day during the present week similar sittings have been held; and by Thursday next it is hoped the arrears will be cleared off. I can see that before very long the subject of Parliamentary private business will occupy a good deal of attention. Every year the amount of local legislation enacted by Parliament increases with a portentous growth. The questions thus submitted to the legislature are not

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