The "Man on Horseback."

If any one has labored under the delusion that eneral Grant intends to be a dummy President a mere call-boy of Congress, or of any other ower—he must have been undeceived by his rief, frank, soldierlike, and statesmanlike meage of Wednesday, wherein he tells Congress ainty that it ought not to adjourn without king decisive action on the status of Virginia ith a view to her early restoration to her proper place in the Union. If she chooses to vote to tay out, that is her business; but, if she is ready come in under a Constitution which guarantees "the absolute protection of all citizens" of the United States "in the full enjoyment of freedom and security," then she should be allowed to do so forthwith. The same is true likewise of Mississippi; though the fact that her people have once voted down the pending Constitution here somewhat complicates the problem, and might justify the call of a new Convention. In the Virginia case, however, all is plain sailing. A Convention has been held; a Consutation was framed by it; but, though ready for submission long ago, it has not been submitted. General Grant thinks that submission should no longer be delayed; and therein he is in full accord with public opinion. He suggests that it should be so ordered that those who want to vote the State into self-government under the Union may do so without voting their own or their neighbors' permanent proscription; and herein he talks sense, as usual. In short, a message so wise, so just, so timely, so pertinent, had not emanated from the House for years prior to the appearance Will Congress heed the public voice, so plainly

yet so courteously attered by the President? We write before learning whataction was taken; yet we trust that the majority will prefer to keep abreast of public sentiment rather than be driven by it. If the only question is one of time, the more important is it not to lag behind the march of events. Virginia is certain to be reconstructed; she is to be restored to self-government and to representation in Congress; she is ultimately to be relieved of all pro-scriptions and distrauchisements; then why not push on the good work to its inevitable conummation? Our oldest living poet exhorts us, in view of death, to "go not like the galleyplaye at night, scourged to his dungeon;" and we Intrest the Republicans in Congress not to imilate, with regard to the late Rebels, their own stupid blunder in resisting the enfranchisement of the blacks until they have very nearly thrown away their chance of influencing and guiding political course. One such gigantic folly should suffice for a generation.

The country is emphatically with the President It longs for peace and restoration and harmony. It demands proper guarantees for the security and equal rights of all law-abiding citizens; but it prefers to find them in constitutions and laws rather than in Presidential edicts and military orders. It believes that the present is a favorable conjuncture for completing reconstruction on the basis of universal amnesty and impartial suffrage; and it prefers to take the risks of an unknown, impenetrable future. It is quite aware that there are still implacable rebels and inveterate wrongdoers at the South; but it feels that they can now be remitted to the discipline of a Government of the whole people. Virginia is certainly a less turbulent, more law-abiding community than Arkansas, where Governor Clayton has conquered a peace with no other force than his volunteer militia, first organized for this purpose, and where life, liberty, and property are now safer than before—which is not saying a great deal. We defy any one to give a reason to denying self-government to Virginia which would not be stronger if applied to Arkansas. "Let us have peace." Military rule is at best

but an armed truce. It costs money, and does not educate its subjects to respect justice more than force. Four years have now passed since the surrender of Appomattox, and he who dietated the terms of Lee's capitulation declare that the time has fully come for restoring Virginia to self-government and all its natural inci-dents. The country cordially, joyfully responds to the President; will Congress demur? so will be to abdicate the proud position it has hitherto maintained—to fall to the rear of the grand movement for universal liberty and national integrity. We pray that no adjournment may be had until Virginia, Mississippi, and even Texas shall have been enabled and invited to resume, under fit conditions and with needfu guarantees, the proud position they so madly abjured, of States, and the peers of all other States, in the American Union.

# The Approaching Termination of the Paraguayan War.

From the N. Y. Herald. The news from Rio Janeiro states that a commission is en route for Paragnay with proposi-tions for the termination of the war. The main features of the proposed treaty are the independence of Paraguay, free river navigation, and the renunciation of the Paraguayan claims to a portion of the Gran Chaco and Matto Grosso. The Gran Chaco and Matto Grass. The Gran Chaco bounds Paraguay on the west and is a vast desert and disputed territory between the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, and Paraguay. Matto Grosso, a Brazilian province, is only in dispute with reference to its southern boundary line. Brazil claims the line of the boundary line. Brazil claims the line of the Apa and Paraguay claims the line of the Ric Blanco and Ybineima-a strip which includes over twenty thousand square miles, or nearly one-third of the Paraguayan territory, as hitherto conceded by all the best maps.

Thus the allies terminate their great struggle. To htis inglorious end comes the famous secret treaty of May 1, 1865; and thus the views we have always held-that the objects of the war as expressed in that treaty would never be accom-plished—are confirmed. It has been our delight occasionally to flaunt this civilized treaty in the face of this century; for it bears the impress of European monarchical manufacture-a infringement upon the treaty for Mexican intervention by England, France, and Spain. danger, however, of a suit for damages; for the letters patent are royal and monarchical, and the Paraguayan war is waged in that interest.

To quote the words of Mr. E. A. Hopkins, celebrated American pioneer, whose single efforts have carried with them much of the destiny of La Plata valley, "The Rio de la Plata has been the focus of European intrigue since 1807, and systematic effort has been made to subject these countries to monarchical influences." How true this is may be proven by the fact that after the date of their independence, first the Braganzas reclaimed the right to rule then Napoleon wanted Joseph to be King of Spanish America. The empire overthrown, France again offered to support the Duke d'Orleans, Prince de Lucci, and even Don Francisco de Paulo, brother of Ferdinand VII, in an imperial effort. Upon the failure of the Whitlock English expedition against Buenos Ayres, England intrigued with the King of Poringal, then resident in Brazil, to create an independent throne fo rDona Carlota Joaquina orfor her cousin Don Carlos. This hady of Spanish Bourbons was first the wife of Prince Regent, and afterwards of the Infant Don Pedro of Braganza. The Brazilian Court entered heartily into the scheme. The whole of the Portuguese and Brazilian troubles with Uru-guay, which have finally culminated in the Paraguayan war, began through these complica-tions. It is too long a story to trace the con-stant intrigues of England, which have been a fruitful source of troubles on the Plata river from that date to the present. It may be stated, however, that British influence has never been exercised there except for the promotion of British interests. For a long time the Plata valley was the scene of warlike and diplomatic efforts on the part of England and France for commercial supremacy, and even to-day the

ground, first of Portugal and Spain, in their carly contests in the New World, and then of France, England, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic in their ambitious territorial, commercial, and monarchical struggles for the possessio a valley in no way interior to the great basin of the Mississippi. Paraguay, feeling that her turn interior to the great basin of for the same process of emasculation that has swept over Uruguay was threatened, battle I boldly against it. Entity or nonentity appears to be her war cry, and she does well. She may be

all that spiritual, mental, and physical enslavement can make of a naturally docite obedient people; she may be governed obedient people; she may be governed by as bloody a despot as ever disgraced even the pages of Argentine or Banda Oriental history; but she defends a glorious principle, which however well it may be applied in Europe, as in the case of Poland, is foreign to this continent. That principle is, no nation or combination of nations have a right to dictate to any people what shall be their form of govera-ment. Europe tried such dictation in Mexico and signally failed through the interference of the United States. A similar attempt at dictation s being tried in South America, and hitherto, to our shame, we have quietly seen it progress in the interests of Brazilian and European impe-

But while negotiations for peace are pending, the Paragnayan despot makes bold front and holds the Brazilian forces closely packed upon the sands around his desolated and sacked capi-The Brazilian Field Marshal has retreated to Rio Janeiro in disgust. The leader of the Argentine troops has quitted his command and gone to Buenos Ayres. The allied army is dis-pirated with the loss of half its number in the late campaign; the cholera is in their midst; their countryman in Brazil and the Argentine republic are fleeing to the interior to escape a merciless conscription; discontent and recriminations are met on all sides; the army threatens to disband, that the common soldiers may follow the commanders who have deserted their posts. In addition, Lopez is at the head of five housand men, and, well fortified, awaits an allied advance towards the interior; waits for them to cave the cover of their iron-clads; waits for them to fulfil article six of the allied treaty, which says that "the allies solemnly agree not to lay down their arms except by common consent and until they overthrow the actual Government of Paraguay."

#### General Grant and Reconstruction.

Nothing could be more admirable, in spirit and temper, than General Grant's brief message to Congress on reconstruction which we published on Thursday. It shows his earnest desire to restore, at the earliest possible moment, peaceful and harmonious relations to all sections of the Union, and to remove all the lingering results of the late Rebellion; and instead of provoking controversy on the subject, either as to the end itself or the best means of attaining it, he assumes that Congress is just as desirous of its attainment as he himself, and points to the people of the excluded States themselves as the

proper parties to bring it about.

The President suggests—that Congress provide for submitting to the people of Virginia the Constitution framed by the Convention of 1868, -and for submitting anew to the people of Mississippi the Constitution which they have once rejected. If both these constitutions should be now adopted, the basis would be laid for a practical restoration of both these States to the Union. Of Georgia the President says nothing, probably because Congress is already engaged in discussing its affairs.

agree with him in thinking that the States lately in rebellion ought to be restored

"At as early a period as the people of those States shall be found willing to become peaceful and orderly communities, and to adopt and maintain such constitutions and laws as will effectually secure the civil and political rights of all persons within their

This would seem to be a basis of restoration at once just and liberal, and we presume no party will be found in Congress or out of it that will make any opposition to it, in theory at all events. It may not seem quite consistent with Mr. Phillips' assumption that "no reliance can be placed on the present white generation of the South, though even most reflecting men will concede that it will do more towards making future generations "reliable than the policy which Mr. Phillips himself recommends. It certainly is closely in accordance with the civilized and Christian spirit of the age, and with the principles and sentiments which lie at the basis of our institutions, than the iron policy by which Peter the Great civilized Russia or Cromwell Christianized Ireland. And we are quite sure it will commend itself much more strongly to the approval of the American people.

#### Protection of American Citizens in the Cuban Waters. From the N. Y. World.

We lately attempted to set forth the proper attitude of our Government in respect to the Cuban insurrection. We presented the subject in its simplest view, disentangled from complications arising out of any injustice that might be practised against our citizens, or any injuries to our commerce, by the Spanish authorities. With a simple insurrection we had nothing to do but to stand aloof and maintain our neutrality. The practice of our Government in all such cases has been uniform, and has been regulated by the strictest principles of international comity. The doctrine on which it has always acted has been frequently stated in authoritative public doeuments, and never perhaps with more per-spleuity than in the proclamation of Van Buren warning our citizens against aiding the rebellion (or "Patriot War," as it was called) in Canada, in the winter of 1837-8. The rebellion had many points of similarity to the present insurrection in Cuba. That, like this, was a rebellion in a colony; was an effort to break the connection with the mother country and render the colony independent; was resisted by the local authorities; was encouraged and abetted by native insurgents who came to the United States and attempted to strengthen their cause by getting up demonstrations of American public sentiment, and lawless American expeditions in aid of the insurrection. President Van Buren, in the face of the most active sympathy all along the frontier, thought it his duty to issue a proclamation, from which we make the following extract:-

"If an insurrection existed in Canada, the amicable dispositions of the United States towards Great Bri tain, as well as their duty to themselves, would lead them to maintain a strict neutrality and to restrain their citizens from all violations of the laws which their citizens from all violations of the laws which have been passed for its enforcement. But this Government recognizes a still higher obligation to repress all attempts on the part of its citizens to disturb the peace of a country where order prevails or has been re-established. Depredations by our citizens upon nations at peace with the United States, or combinations for committing them, have at all times been regarded by the American Government and people with the greatest abhorence. Military incursions by our citizens into countries so situated, and the commission of acts of violence on the members thereof, in order to effect a change in its government, or under any pretext whatever, have, from the ment, or under any pretext whatever, have, from the commencement of our Government, been held equally criminal on the part of those engaged in them, and as much deserving of punishment as would be the disturbance of the public peace by the perpetra-tion of similar acts within our own territory.

Our Government has never held any different doctrine; and we have selected this particular expression of it, because the case to which it was applied tallies so perfectly with the present-So long as the Spanish authorities do not molest or injure our citizens, we have no call to intermeddle in the dispute between them and their insurgent subjects. If the Spanish authorities are foolish or imprudent enough to trespas against our rights, we are bound to interpose for protection and redress, and the redress must be suited to the nature of the wrong. The sending of Admiral Hoff to the Cuban waters and the accumulation of troops on the Gulf, are, under the circumstances, wise measures of precaution, rendered necessary by an insolent and meaacing decree of Captain-General Duice, issued on the 24th of March. We copy a translation of the objectionable part of the decree as follows:-

"In virtue of the extraordinary and discretionary commercial struggle continues, although in a more peaceable manner.

The little republic of Uruguay was long since completely prostrate. It has been the battle.

sea of men, arms, and munitions or such materials, in any manner whatever, may contribute to abstructioning the insufrection in this province, presentive of their point of departure or destination, ad after examination of their papers and register, it is considered as facts enemies to the integrity our territory, and freated as pirates, in accordance in the bayal ordinances.

The persons who may be thus captured, whatever it numbers, shall be humediately shot. Huyana, March 24, 1859. Doming) Dulor," Huyana, March 24, 1869. While it cannot be disputed that American ditizens who engage in this insurrection forfeit he protection of their Government, and may be astly left to such customary penalties as the panish government may inflict, it is equally true that if innocent citizens are punished, on the guilty punished with extreme atrocity, our government cannot stand still and tamely loo-The objections to this decree of the Can tain-General are, first, that it exposes innocent citizens to be summarily shot at the mere caprice of excited Spanish naval officers, without my semblance of a trial; and secondly, that even if guilty, they are threatened with punish ment for a different crime from that which they have committed. Persons giving aid to the insurgents are not "pirates." It is an abuse of language to call them so, and an abuse of justice to treat them as such. The same epithet was applied by the British government to the Americans who aided the Canadian insurgents in the "Patriot but Mr. Webster, in his reply to the British Minister, remonstrated against such a misapplication of the word. "The undersigned," he said, "does not admit the propriety or the justice of this designation. If citizens of the United States fitted out, or were engaged in fitting out, a military expedition from the United States intended to act against the British Government in Canada, they were clearly violating the laws of their own country, and exposin themselves to the just consequences which migh be inflicted upon them, if taken within the Bri-tish dominions. But notwithstanding this, they were certainly not pirates, nor does the undersigned think that it can advance the purpose of fair and friendly discussion so to denominate them. Their offense, whatever it was, had no analogy to cases of piracy."

The Captain-General of Cuba has made a grave mistake in using this offensive word, and threat-

ening to summarily shoot as pirates men who can be called such only by a gross misapplica-tion of the term, and who, being put to death at once without any trial, may be innocent of any crime. He needs to be very cautious how he carries out so barbarous a threat. Not only is intrinsic justice against him, but the zeal, haste or indiscretion of his officers is liable to aggra vate every wrong and set the United States in a flame. General Dulce ought not only to have treated our national dignity with more conside ration, but to have weighed with more care than he seems to have done the character of our new President—a feeble statesman but an energetic soldier, who would be glad of an opportunity to reawaken the flagging admiration of his countrymen by the vigorous prosecution of a popular war. The Captain-General could perpetrate no greater blunder than by giving him an opportunity to win new military laurels. In a war with Spain, we should, of course, be the allies of the insurgents, and Cuba would easily be wrenched from the Spanish crown forever. The Captain-General must not make it impossible for moderate, patriotic Americans to raise their voices with effect in favor of non-intervention and the strict observance of our neutral obligations. he will not deem it inconsistent with his dignity to withdraw his ill-judged decree; but he should lose no time in giving such instructions to his officers as will prevent its execution in the spirit in which it is conceived. His prompt compliance with the request of Admiral Hoff for the free withdrawal of American citizens from the island looks as if he appreciated the importance of treating us with consideration. It is to be hoped, in the interest of peace, that he will permit no greater severity against abettors of the insur-gents than may be necessary for foiling their

We have no complaint to make of the prompt precautionary steps taken by President Grant; and so long as he confines his measures to the simple protection of American citizens, enforcing their obligations of neutrality as well as defending their rights, he will be cordially supties; but he must not turn filibuster for the sake of getting up a new war; and so long as th Cuban authorities do not inflict any upon our citizens, General Grant must not interfere between them and the insurgents. It is his clear duty to prevent filibustering expeditions from being fitted out in our ports or leaving our shores; and if a few should escape in spite of reasonable vigilance, he owes them no protec tion in case of their capture, if they receive only such severity as is customarily practised in simi-

#### The Crisis in Spain. From the N. Y. Times.

There seems to be less prospect than ever of a atisfactory settlement of affairs in Spain. Dom Ferdinand of Portugal, as might have been ex-pected, refused to entertain the offer of the crown made him by the Provisional Government, and we now hear of the probable resignation of Marshal Serrano and Admiral Topete. This amounts virtually to a thorough break-up of the Provisional Government, and the executive power s now to be intrusted to be a directory.

Tuere are some strange influences at work in Spanish affairs which are not patent to the outside world. It is not easy to reconcile the action of the Provisional Government from the first with the existence of a sincere and disinterested desire on the part of its members for the welfare of the country, and there is too much reason to fear that its dissolution will only lead to further complications. There will be more parties than ever, each one working and intriguing for its own selfish ends, and there will be still less chance of establishing a permanent form of gov-ernment in a peaceable and constitutional man-We fear there is no chance of tranquillity for Spain until the people take matters into their own hands, and decide upon all the questions before them without the intervention of ambitious soldiers or intriguing adventurers.

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