SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CUBRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

FEDERALISM AND FRANCE. From the London Speciator. One of the few points which become clearer and clearer, as this otherwise confused and confusing revolution in Paris drags its slow length along, is that Proudhon's idea of federation as the secret of the only practicable mode of popular government in France has struck deep root into the minds of the Republicans, and will have to be very gravely considered indeed by French statesmen, whether they succeed in suppressing the present revolution or not. How serious the case is, and hopeless it makes even popular prophets like M. Louis Blanc, nothing shows more clearly than the letter in which M. Louis Blanc-(who headed the poll in Paris, when the Assembly chosen, and feels for Paris something at least of the veneration which Victor Hugo bas erected almost into a faith)-has declared against it, thereby, no doubt, sacrificing deliberately many of his adherents among the extreme party. For, well considered, there is hardly any legitimate escape from the royal and imperial principle in France except the Federal principle-while, on the other hand, there is hardly any legitimate escape from the fede-ralization of France except the royal or imperial principle. M. Louis Blane really knows this. He knows that the Assembly of which he is a member, elected by universal suffrage, would return to royalty or imperialism to-morrow if it were allowed to act freely. He knows that any successor to it, elected in the same way, would do the same. He knows that the only conceivable chance for "a republiclone and indivisible" in France is not the very republican proposal to restrict the electoral suffrage by a law excluding the mass of the peasantry. He knows that this would mean the towns governing the country districts, -against their will, -by ideas only popular in the towns. He knows, on the other hand, that a federation would be a security against royalty and imperialism on the same principle on which the cellular structure of a skip is a security against the mischief of a leak. Separate the State into distinct provincial compartments, and you have a guarantee against the spread of any centralizing enthusiasm, because no pro-vince could hope to place a king or emperor over all France without giving up its own local rights and liberties, to which the provinces would probably be even more deeply attached than to any central principle whatever. The very provinces, like Brittany, which are most deeply royalist, are also most deeply attached to their own local habits and rights. Grant them the latter, and they will gladly waive their demand for a king; but refuse them the local rights, and immediately they press for the acceptance of their single centralizing idea. M. Louis Blane knows all this, nay, has known and pondered it for years. And yet he cannot and will not admit the idea of federation:-"France advancing united and compact to the pacific conquest of its liberty and -for capital, is a prosp me," he says, "more, I admit, than France reverting, after being torn in pieces, to that Italian Federalism of the middle ages which was the cause of continual intestine contentions in Italy, and which delivered her, lacerated by herself, to the blows of every foreign invader." No doubt it does. But he does not tell us, what we suspect to be the simple truth, that the alternative to this miserable picture of France "torn in pieces" and reverting to "that Italiam Federalism of the middle ages which was the cause of continual intestine contentions in Italy, and which delivered her, lacerated by herself, to the blows of every foreign invader," is hardly France, free, united, and compact, but France united and compact under a government which suppresses either freedom of the country or the freedom of the towns. "Not," he goes on to say, "that I am for centralization carried to extremes. Far from it. I consider that the Commune represents the idea of unity not less than the State, although under another aspect. The State corresponds with the principle of nationality, the Commune corresponds with the principle of association; if State is the edifice, is the foundation,"-Commune which would be exceedingly well, if

torn and divided among a number of Communes, however free. This is a remarkable opinion to be passed by one who was really the most popular man in Paris, the representative, par excellence, of the higher Socialistic ideas, and therefore above all things likely to give the fullest weight to that craving after Federalism which seems to be the only distinct feature in the new revolution. And there is great reason to believe that M. Louis Blanc does not in the least exaggerate the hopelessness of any real Federal unity in France. We must remember that a Federal Government in such a country as France would have a very different duty indeed from the Federal Government of such a country as Switzerland, or still more such a Government as the United States. It would have to defend a country which would be far too large and too powerfal for neutralization-nay, too large and powerful for the policy of extreme caution and neutrality which is the traditional policy of Switzerland. Moreover, the French people

it only did not happen that the various "foun-

dations of the edifice" are laid on very dif-

ferent levels, and are not, therefore, in any

way suitable for the foundations of one and

the same edifice. But as it does happen in

point of fact that such Communes as those of

Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, St. Etienne, etc.,

would be foundations of one sort of edifice,

and the departmental or provisional organi-

zations would be foundations of quite an-

other, and that no common edifice could

be raised on these very uneven founda-

tions, M. Louis Blanc's letter must be

taken to mean that after weighing all the

evils of both solutions, he finds the evil

of Federalism, with the weakness and

probable impotence it would impose on

France, even more intolerable than the evils

of a civilization in which either the peasants

must govern the cities or the cities must gov-

ern the peasants. No doubt he would far

prefer the latter kind of centralization, if he

could see his way to it. But he must, we

think, be taken to have admitted that if, as is

probable, it is not possible—if the peasants

from their superior numbers must have a

greater weight in any homogeneous organiza-

tion of France than the cities-even so,

homogeneousness with vastly less liberty for

the cities, would be preferable to Federalism

with complete liberty. M. Louis Blanc wants "a republic one and indivisible," but yet

would prefer, as we gather, "France one and

indivisible," even if not a republic, to France

to the necessary restraints of such a policy. They are vain, vivacious, and full of brilliance. Their literature alone would provoke, as it has so often provoked, the bitterest enmities. They are restless, too, and their intellect is incisive and capricious. They would never long endure a lowly place in the world. Yet once federalize France, and you would find it an almost impossible problem for the central Government to overcome the local jealousies and animosities. If war were to break out, the animosities between towns and country, between commune and commune, between province and province, would be interminable. The central government would have no power to overcome these jealousies, and yet no power to face the enemy till they were overcome. Bretons and Burgundians, and Normans and Provencals would quarrel as to the relative magnitude of their contributions to the war and to its funds; icalousies of race as to the command of troops would be stronger than ever-and they were strong enough in the recent war-since the local principle would have been fairly consecrated by separate administrations of the various provinces. The foreign policy which approved itself most to Normandy would approve itself least to Provence. Nice and Savoy given up to their own local government would probably break away from France altogether. The department of the Jura would in all probability feel that, federalism once admitted, its national affinities are stronger with a Swiss federation than with a French. The Roman Catholics of the Flemish border would find the ties to Belgium growing stronger as the tie to France grew weaker. And against difficulties such as these the Federal Government would have to travel on its difficult and perilous way. Nothing can in fact be less like the situation of a federated France than the situation of the United States and of the Swiss Cantons, In the latter, all the traditions are of the same hue: all the dangers are of the same kind; all the political life is homogeneous; and, perbaps most important of all, all the local interests either far outweigh the central interests in importance, or at least did so during the period in which the federal principle was rooting itself in the minds of the people. Now, in France all the provincial traditions are of opposite hue; the dangers are very diverse; the political life is most heterogeneous; and yet important as are the local interests of the people, the central interests are inevitably still more important, and therefore certain to be the subject of the hottest possible rivalries and contests between the federated elements. Nothing, then, can be less favorable for federation than the conditions of public life in France, and we should fear that the federal experiment, if ever tried, would only be a name for chronic civil war. And so also, we take it, thinks M. Louis Blanc.

We hold, therefore, that the real alternative before France, if she is not to fall into chronic civil war, is either a strong central government dictated by the peasants, who are Royalists, or a strong central government dictated by the cities, which are Republican, and in either case one strong enough to put down and keep down the others. If the cities were to conquer, there would be the anomaly of a minority forcing a majority to accept a form of freedom which they were not free enough to reject. If the country were once more to conquer, there would be again the anomaly of the most ignorant and reactionthat of the world, with Paris-the immortal | ary governing the most intelligent and enereducation, instead of favorable to it as a means of government. The alternative is not a pleasant one. Either one branch or the other of it involves the gravest practical and moral anomalies. But either one or the other is, we fear, more feasible and less dangerous than the experiment of Federalism, which would probably involve all the evils of each and many of its own as well.

> THE THREE RULES. From the N. Y. World.

In order to appreciate how different the obligations of neutrality contained in the three treaty rules are from those for which Great Britain contended during our civil war, it is necessary to bear in mind that the court in the Alexandra case, and the Queen's ministry all along, insisted that unless a ship was actually armed in the neutral jurisdiction. and ready to commit hostilities the moment she left, she was not within the prohibitions of international law. Although all the elements of hostile expeditions against us were obtained in and issued out of the port of Liverpool, still if they were to be united outside the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain, that country was not responsible for the acts of hostile instruments when completed. England also claimed that a cruiser which escaped from Liverpool and became at sea an armed vessel of the Confederacy under the commission of Jefferson Davis was a legitimate war vessel of a lawful belligerent, and no more subject to British jurisdiction in the colonial ports of that country than a public armed cruiser of the United States. The three rules laid down in the treaty

change all this. By the first Great Britain should not only have prevented a cruiser from fitting in the port of Liverpool, but from departing. By the second rule she ought not to have permitted the Confederates to use her territorial colonial waters as a naval base to renew or angment in any manuer the supplies, or arms, or men of the Anglo-Confederate cruisers. By the first rule she admits her obligation to use "due diligence" to prevent the fitting, equipping, or arming any vessel about which there is "reasonable ground" to believe she is intended to cruise or carry on war against a friendly power. This disposes for ever, we repeat, of the claim that a vessel to be culpable needs to be armed in neutral waters. So in the second branch of the first rule the neutral is bound to prevent the departure of any vessel which has been in its waters specially adapted in whole or in part for warlike use. In addition to all this Great Britain obligates herself by the third rule to exercise "due diligence" in her ports and waters, imperial and colonial, over all persons therein, to prevent them from violating any of the provisions contained in the first two rules, and she stipulates not only to obey these rules as to us, but "to bring them to

to invite them to accede to them. To appreciate how unwelcome such doctrines must have been to a portion at least of the British members of the High Commission one has but to refer to the recent volume by Professor Bernard, one of the commissioners. In that most valuable and instructive book he contends that armament and a condition to immediately commit hostilities are necessary to make up such a hestile expedition as a neutral is bound to prevent leaving its jurisdiction.

the knowledge of other maritime powers and

The treaty tears up these doctrines, in their application to the inculpated cruisers and to the imperial and colonial ports of Great Britain, by the roots, because while Professor Bernard justifies that Government in giving military food, clothing, and shelter, in the West Indies and Australia, to escaped and are the last in the world to subject themselves | the fleeing

nais, the second rule declares explicitly that fa neutral shall not "permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men. The treaty comes quite up to, if it does not go beyond, our own neutrality legislation of 1818, as will be seen by consulting that law. If it be said that the doctrines embodied in these three treaty rules are not novel to us of this country, we confess; and we add that the admission does not diminish in the least the amount of concession which Great Britain has made in assenting to them as rules to govern the arbitrators. It is true that Parliament in 1870 strengthened its neutral code enormously, but stoutly asserted that England did it out of purely municipal considerations, and did not admit that public law as accepted by the nations of the earth required it. Now she concedes what she steadfastly refused to Mr. Adams and to Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and agrees that the arbitrators shall be governed by the treaty code and such other 'principles of international law not inconsistent therewith" as they may deem applicable. No one can contend for a moment that the rules do not cover the equipping of the cruisers done in colonial as well as imperial ports.

Another time we may have more to say as to whether there is anything in either of these three rules which was not already in the British enlistment law of 1819, rightly interpreted, and whether the rules go beyond our own law of 1818. For the prefent it is enough for us to remember that the Government of Great Britain in its every department-executive, legislative, and judicial-sternly refused either to arrest the now inculpated cruiser in home or colonial ports, or to adjust our claims for damages on such a basis. It is to be regretted on every hand that the debate on this branch of the treaty is not public. Our curiosity is greatly weakened to hear or see what those who repel these rules as the law of our claims would substitute in their place and still retain any rights at all in the hands of a neutral. To what neutral code is England to be required to submit if the treaty be rejected?

We see it suggested here and there that the verbal atonement of the treaty for the injuries of which we complain is not sufficient; and we concede it could be stronger. But how much further would we go as a nation to save war if the case were reversed? How does the apology of 1871 compare with that made by Lord Ashburton in 1812, and with which a vast majority of the Senate was satis-

We do not believe two great nations can get along together on spite, any more than we think the North and South can live happily or wisely undergoing such emotions towards each other. Either fight or be friendly! Malevolence and all uncharitableness towards the late insurrectionary States is the policy of General Grant and his partisans. It is not ours; and no more is it ours towards a foreign power which voluntarily comes forward with the olive branch.

AGRICULTURE AND TRANSPORTATION. From the N. Y. Tribune.

In 1850, we had but little over eight thousand miles of railroad in the United States. By the end of this year we shall have fifty thousand miles-one-third of all the railroads in the world. And, by the end of the decade. we shall touch the figure of seventy-five thousand miles. In the early history of railroading, passengers and freight were conveyed by the same trains; but the two interests soon demanded separate systems of carriage; and it is now becoming evident that entirely separate tracks are required. Narrow-gauge roads, running freight trains only, at low rates of speed, will-probably within a few years-be the practical answer to present questions as to adequate accommodation for passengers and freight. The introduction of such, or any equivalent system, may accelerate the growth of our roads in new ratios and to an incalculable extent. Lower cost of construction and lighter running expenses are new elements, involving possibility of new uses, the limits whereof are not to be foreseen. But to base figures on what has been, rather than on what may be, and taking the established ratio of increase as likely to be continued during the next ten years, we shall have at the end of that period, as stated, seventy-five thousand miles of road. The average tonnage per mile is now, in the older States, about sixty-three hundred tens. Putting the estimate at five thousand tons, we shall have carrying capacity of three hundred and seventy-five millions of tons per annum.

The industrial movements affording material for this vast freightage are agriculture, manufactures, mining, and importation. The contribution of the import trade is not likely to be rapidly increased from its present amount-say fifteen millions of tons-the increased traffic in fine and costly wares being offset by our growing independence of foreign markets for most staple commodities. The growth of our mining interests will undoubtedly give employment to immense additional tennage. The coal trade alone promises to offer freight that would tax the whole of our present facilities. It would be difficult to compute the probable product of our other mining pursuits; but we may state the total amount of metals and minerals to be moved as not far from one hundred and ten millions of tons-a great figure by itself, but only a small item in the way-bill we are making up.

We do not submit these calculations as indisputable, though based on authorized figures. It is sufficient for present purposes if we approximate the truth nearly enough to reason upon the probabilities established. Accepting the premises, as at least safely within these bounds, brings us to the conclusion that we are to transport, during the seasens of 1880 and 1881, two hundred and

fifty millions of tons of agricultural products. These stupendous figures seem at first incredible, demanding a development of our agriculture too rapid and extensive to be accomplished even by American enterprise. But, when we consider the marvellous impetus given to this industry by cheap and rapid transportation, we find it difficult to overestimate future possibilities. Only within the last twenty years have railroads afforded any considerable aid to the tillers of the soil; our roads, previous to that time, having been short lines, devoted mostly to passenger To show what has been done since, one illustration must suffice: - The cost of moving a ton of grain one mile averaged, in 1850, twenty cents. In 1870, the average freight tariff was one and a quarter cents.

This fact will indicate one of many ways in which railroads contribute to the development of agriculture. In like manner we would set forth the extension of railroads as one among many agencies tending to promote the same interest. The time is upon us when we are rapidly to realize the effects of these slowly accumulating causes—when this first industry of mankind is to lead our nation in crimi- a progress towards the golden age. The im- unrivalled,

perial areas to be made productive; the populations to be established in happy homes of successful industry; the era of new human experiences to be proven, give to this advance the character of a great forward movement of our race—a peaceful conquest, momentous as the grandest triumphs ever achieved by war. The stars in their courses are with us, and we bear the best hopes of humanity.

NEW JERSEY AND THE CENTENARY CELEBRATION.

From the Trenton State Gazette. The suggestion of our South Jersey correspondent in regard to the course to be pursued by this State in reference to the celebration of the centenary of American independence has been received with great favor by all classes of our citizens, and is likely to awaken a deep interest in the subject in other parts of the country. It is certainly meet that New Jersey, whose part in the struggle for independence was second, in the greatness of her sacrifices and the glory of her arms, to no State in the Union, should take a prominent part in the coming celebration of the success that crowned that grand effort. If the suggestion of our correspondent is promptly responded to, she may take a leading part in that great and glorious occasion. We have received another letter from our correspondent, not intended for publication, in which he says:-"As we of New Jersey, through our Legislature, set a precedent which has been followed by a number of States, why cannot we carry this proposition through and make it a precedent for our sister States? If so, we insure the grandest exhibition ever held by the human family. Start the movement in Trenton. Make Mr. Whitehead, of the First National Bank, treasurer for the State. I have no doubt that I can send one hundred names as subscribers to the fund from this section within six months. If we can carry the matter through, it will be a new laurel for our Commonwealth. Such an establishment, managed by some of our learned men, like Professor Cook, of Rutgers, would add much to our pleasure and credit upon that great occasion." We understand that Mr. Whitehead consents to act as the custodian of such a fund as it is proposed to raise, and we trust that patriotic and wealthy Jerseymen will emulate each other in their promptness to respond. The proposition is that a thousand persons shall contribute twenty dollars a year for five years, to create a fund to enable the State to be suitably represented in the celebration. Have we a thousand such patriotic Jerseymen? Let the answer be sent in the shape of the first \$20 to Mr. Charles Whitehead, Cashier of the First National Bank of this city.

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