

house of prayer, he would do the same by the houses of the worshippers. However this may be, it must be the care of a Government regardful of the best interests of the country to protect the labourer against so selfish an exercise of power as drives him and all his fellows from their homes, even though the prevention be as potent as a national poor-rate, or something more potent still.

JOHN BULL'S CATHOLIC BULWARKS.—A high Church journal has ferreted out an ecclesiastical grievance which has at least the charm of novelty. The *John Bull* is credibly informed that a treasonable design is on foot "to cast a slur upon one of the bulwarks of the Catholic faith within the precincts of the royal palace." Certain parties, it would appear, of a heretodox character, have taken it upon them to prohibit the use of the Athanasian creed in the Queen's private chapel. The *John Bull* affirms that the Athanasian creed is "one of the bulwarks of the Catholic faith," and if that be given up, what is there to hinder the whole edifice from being overthrown? What imparts a possible probability to this tale is the fact, that vast numbers in the Church of England have learned to condemn the Athanasian creed, as a proclamation of fierce intolerance; and even the *Ministerial Globe* has not long since given currency to a proposition for disusing it. One wants to know the truth of the new tale. Why should not the Bishop of London take it in hand—why should he not boldly come forward in the House of Lords, and ask why the Athanasian Creed is not read in the Chapel Royal? We should like to hear Lord Brougham's speech on the occasion—whichever side it may happen to adopt.

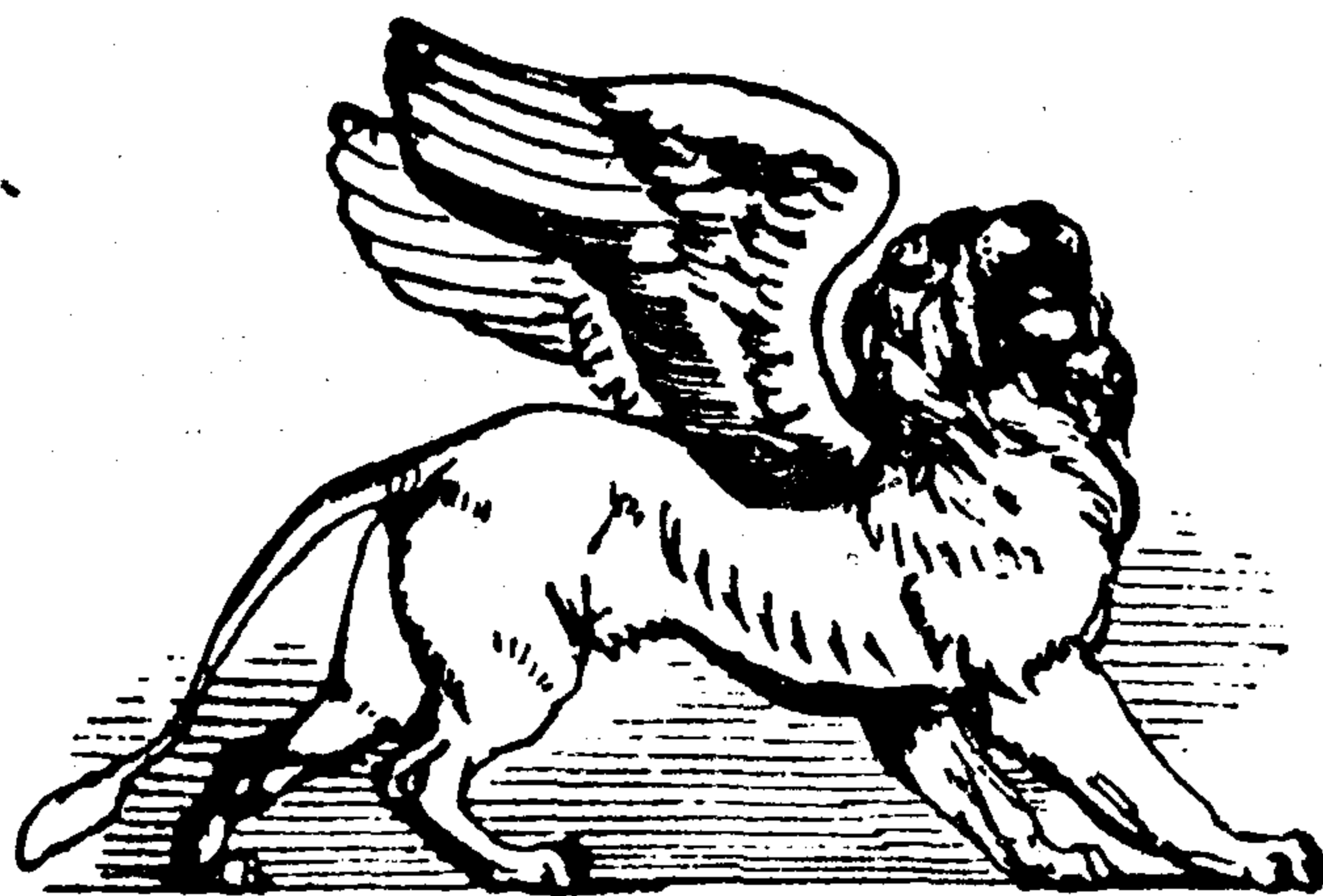
THE FREE PARTY IN FRANCE.—M. Emile de Girardin is rejected by the electors of Paris because he "sets universal suffrage above the Republic." His reply is noteworthy, inasmuch as it throws light upon the state of opinion in France; for it is a distinct expression of the doctrine of an important and increasing party, a school which forms a sort of link or transition between the French extreme Republicans, and the Free-Trade, Free-Church, Non-intervention, and Financial and Parliamentary Reform Party in England. M. de Girardin places universal suffrage above the Republic, but liberty above universal suffrage. He defines absolute liberty as all the liberties united together: the liberty of worship, of the press, of meetings and associations, of labour, of trade, of banking establishments—every liberty, in fine, required for the full exercise of individual sovereignty in the unrestricted development of human intellect. He sets nothing above absolute liberty, because he considers any government imperfect and condemnable which, in order to exist, needs to aim the slightest blow at liberty. For liberty is not to be made consistent with any form of government; but the government should be made consistent with liberty. To that word *Liberty* M. de Girardin refers every progress, universal suffrage, and the Republic. This is the school of Proudhon, which we may call the school of intellect, to distinguish it from Red Republicanism, or the party of faith—to whom the Republic is an article of belief; and also from the Reaction which bases itself upon a lower view of the national or party interest.

MAZZINI AND THE SWISS GOVERNMENT.—Swiss independence is no more. The "altar of liberty," so grandly described by M. Escher, in opening the Swiss Diet, a few days since, has verily some strange offerings upon it. The days are gone by "when the Morat men swept on—

"Like a pine-clad hill
By an earthquake's will
Hurl'd the valleys upon."

The brave burghers have discovered that discretion is the better part of valour, that "non-intervention" is safer than courage. *La Suisse*, of the 12th instant, publishes the answer of the Federal Government to the note of Sardinia, demanding the expulsion of Mazzini. The Federal Government is anxious to be at peace, does by no means intend to be a focus of plots and propagandism endangering its neighbours, had, therefore, even so long since as September last, ordered the expulsion of Mazzini, and will expel him when he can be found. But it must not be thought to take this step because it is threatened; nay, it thinks the Sardinian menace must have been applied, not to it, but to Mazzini. Else the Swiss Government would recollect what is due to its own dignity, and would certainly—protest. "Spiritedly" of course, like Lord Palmerston on behalf of Hungary. To that level has the Republic sunk!

MR. HUDSON IN IRELAND.—Mr. Hudson, M.P., has been paying a visit of inspection to several estates which are about to be brought to the hammer under the operation of the Encumbered Estates Bill, and the general impression is, that he intends to make large purchases. What his means may be of investing extensively in that kind of property we cannot pretend to guess; but one



Open Council.

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

We are still obliged to keep back some communications; although, with one exception, the full and compacted style in which the letters that we publish are written enables us to represent each class of the communications that have reached us. The subjoined letters, more than one of them by writers of standing, may serve as a useful example to other correspondents who have taken less pains to pack their meaning into a manageable compass.

The exception to which we have referred consists in a single letter, conveying a rather vehement imputation that we are hostile to religion. The writer somewhat mistakes our purpose. But, if Dr. Sleight will couch his statements and arguments in a more specific form, we shall be happy to accept the communication that he promises.

ON THE CREDIT SYSTEM.

SIR,—I perceive in your paper of April 13 a proposal to enact for the whole kingdom the principle which the *Standard* suggests as a cure for the bad debts and profligate expenditure at Oxford. I hope you will give more prominence to this suggestion, and endeavour to excite public discussion concerning it. For myself, I had feared that this was a theory which practical men would deride, until I heard it strongly advised by a Scotch farmer, a shrewd man of business, guiltless of superfluous theories. It now appears to me that minds of so different an order, in the most opposite circles, are disposed to assent to the doctrine as to give hope that public opinion is ripening towards this view.

I would begin by enacting that "no shop debts should be recoverable in law." This would cut off at once the disgraceful system by which fashionable gentlemen prey on tradespeople. It would lower all prices to the present cash prices. It would deliver tradesmen from an immensity of care, which at present ruins the happiness of thousands. It would diminish the bankruptcies of shopmen, and the severe losses which they inflict on the merchants who supply the shops.

When the measure had become established as to shops it would afterwards be clearer into what classes of mercantile debts it could safely and equitably be carried.

Direct investments of money and positive contracts must necessarily remain under the protection of law; but the credit system is so great a bane of English happiness that to cut it down from its present artificial luxuriance into real *trusting of one who deserves trust* would be one of the greatest boons to this trading nation.

Pray do not let the subject drop thus.

FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

DIFFICULTIES IN RECIPROCAL AID.

SIR,—As you have announced your intention in good earnest of giving scope for the discussion of all questions relating to social economy, some of us plain people may hope to see intelligible answers given to the multifarious suggestions which start up, as it were, to thwart us, as soon as we think we have obtained some ground to stand upon.

which he allowed to come into existence we necessarily perish.

When my thoughts wander into this channel,—who at the present day can refrain from thinking such matters?—it appears to my simple view a kin arrogant pretension on the part of one man to himself up as the caretaker of another. More or being a little accustomed to dealings with shrewd witted tradesmen, the unkind suspicion will itself that when, not merely individuals, but whole classes of a community, undertake to do that which, it seems, God intends that every man should do for himself, there must be some strong, and perhaps selfish, motive to impede what, in a well-ordered state of things, would be the work of supererogation. Such benevolent persons (at least some) to be more bent in making fellow-men satisfied with their actual lot than in striving to remove the causes which render them an unhappy one. As every human effort in a direction tends but more and more to disorganize the scheme of Providence, and thus eventual increase suffering amongst men, this difficulty, with a charitable mind meets at starting when called upon to provide for others, deserves some reflection.

To illustrate my meaning, I will take the case warmly advocated by your contributor of seamstresses and tailors' workmen. For the relief of this class of the labouring poor, the point held in view is an increase of wages. An unfair allotment of wages must arise from disorganization either in the labour market or in the sources whence employers draw their incomes, by which these incomes become smaller than they ought to be. Here, it is my point. Is it an effectual remedy for some to have abundance (a small minority) to order to make their neighbours contented with a vicious state of things; or would not their exertions be better directed to inquiring into the reasons why the consuming class has grown limited in numbers or straitened in resources? In the one direction the most ardent benevolence finds its field limited by exhaustion of means; in the other no bound would seem to be set to the perfectibility of national organization and freedom of exertion.

I find, too, a second difficulty, which has also struck many other readers, in the plan of society for the purpose of directly, *i.e.*, artificial raising any particular description of wages. No class of workmen (whether with the hand or with the hand) stands isolated. The interests all are so linked together that one part of the system cannot be affected by good or by evil without results being, with more or less force, felt by the remoter parts. Were we, for instance, violent to disarrange the present system of slop-selling, raising a portion of wages, which means raising the price of the articles now sold so cheaply, the assumption would inevitably be checked. To this, I know the benevolent protectionists or workpeople say that would make no difference, higher wages would be paid for what was sold, does not require much skill to point out that high wages would necessarily be confined to the hands, by which a new complication in the labour market would be caused. But it is surely wrong to confine one's views to this market only. I give up a glass of wine or a saddle horse to the increased cost of my own clothing or that of my family, I diminish the earnings of vinedressers, sailors, merchants, and glassmakers in one case the other I throw a groom, a grazing farmer, ploughmen, *pro tanto*, out of employment. I do not see how the richest can change his mode of life (expenditure) without deranging the system of which his expenditure has formed a part, nor how a piece can be given where no return is exacted without robbing the fund of the industrious.

This is my difficulty, and my firm belief is that Providence never intended one man to depend on the favours of another. But who can walk the streets without confessing that some grand derangement of the providential scheme has taken place that we have no time to lose in trying to set the house in order? The question is, how is this to be done? and I have troubled you here with the difficulties and difficulties originated by the scheme of what is called "Christian Socialism." Perhaps some of your correspondents will throw more light upon