

THE COURSE OF EXCHANGE BETWEEN NATIONS.

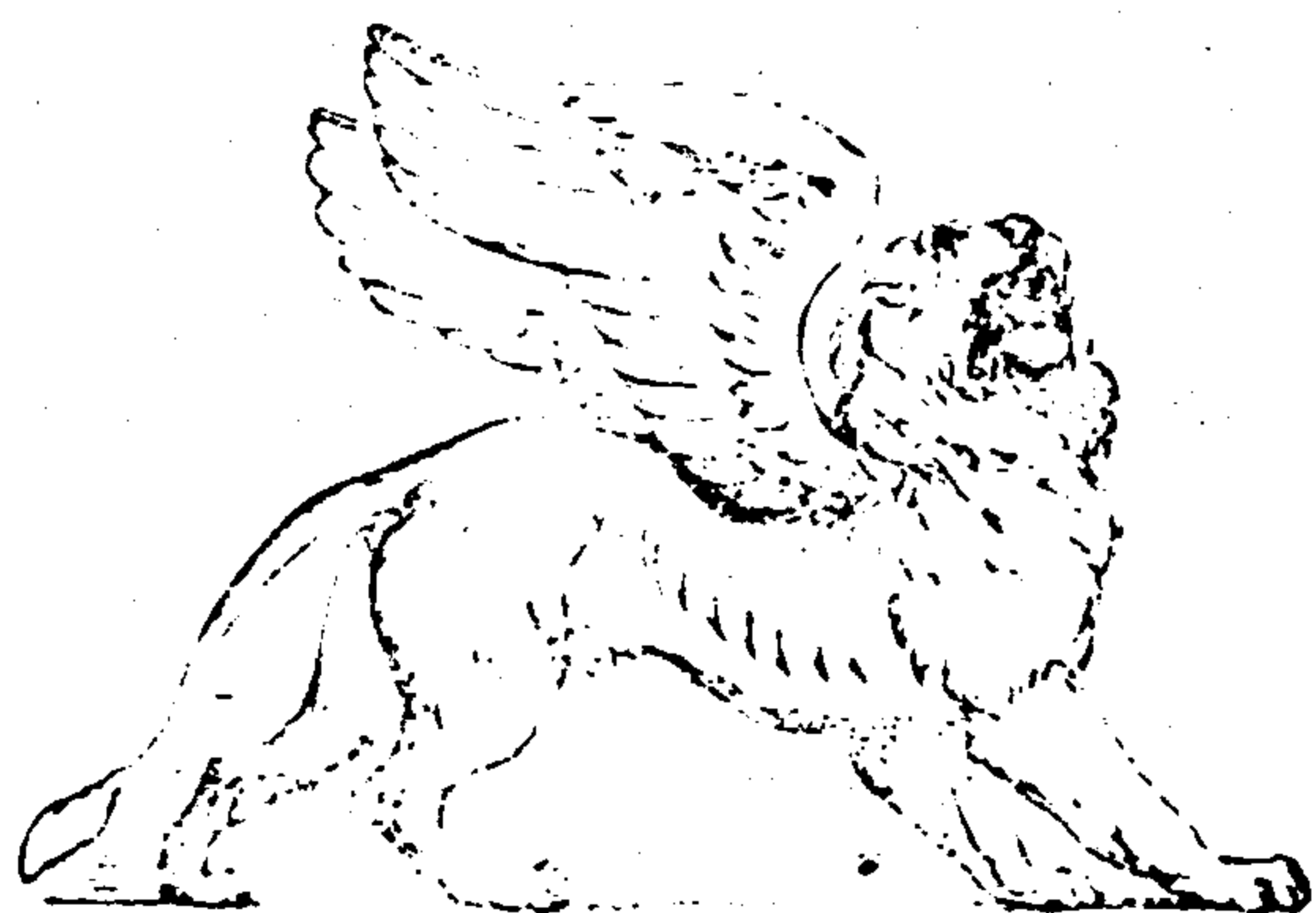
MR. EDWARD SEARCH makes the following valuable suggestion as a mode of regulating the course of exchange:—

Might not nations save their subjects the loss and inconvenience of adverse exchanges by receiving from their own subjects the amount to be remitted, and giving them bills on each Government for the sum paid, at a very trifling commission, or even without. Merchants would thus work out their indebtedness to each other without the loss of exchange, which represents the cost of the collection and carriage of gold.

The tendency of the exchanges is to equalize themselves. It would give to each merchant payment in his own country, and each nation will have value in hand for the notes it issues, before it makes the issue. There would thus be no issues in excess, because the issues would represent value previously paid. The money-order office in England for the transmission of money to Ireland is an illustration; and, supposing any two Governments to be of one mind, is almost a perfect illustration of the convenience that might be given to each nation, and the postal arrangements that have recently been made, show how easy Governments, disposed to make beneficial and peaceful arrangements for their subjects, may work them.

THE REBELLIOUS YEOMANRY.

THE significant threats of Messrs. Ball and Chowler, at the Protectionist demonstration, last week, regarding the use which the farmers intend to make of their draught horses, after the harvest is over, appear to have alarmed some of their friends in Parliament. Mr. Henry Berkeley has given notice that on an early day after the Whitsun holidays he will move a resolution, "that it is expedient that the yeomanry forces of Great Britain and Ireland be disbanded and abolished." The announcement provoked a hearty laugh from all parts of the House. In fact the plan would release the yeomanry and their trained bands all for service in the revolutionary cause. The safer plan would be to keep them all at muster constantly. But then what would become of the crops? It is a very embarrassing circumstance. Perhaps it would not be a bad plan to lame all the horses—a little: not too much for field work, after a fashion, but too much for charging.



Open Council.

There are many who are of opinion that the lion rampant is a very ancient symbol, and that it is the emblem of the British monarchy. It is also the emblem of the House of Commons. The lion rampant is a very ancient symbol, and it is the emblem of the British monarchy. It is also the emblem of the House of Commons.

INITIATION OF SOCIALISM.

SIR.—I am disposed to complain that the meaning of your "Socialism" is still obscure. Socialism I understand to be a Latinized and Grecized word for the English "Partnership." To voluntary partnership no Englishman objects; but to be subjected to involuntary partnership is something worse than being plundered; it is, over and above, to be kidnapped and enslaved. I think it important for the interests of your paper, that you should totally disavow the desire to subject any to partnership against their will, or to tax the nation for the benefit of separate communities of partners.

Supposing that you have no hidden scheme of enslavement and spoliation, and that you merely desire to recommend and facilitate "Voluntary Partnerships" as likely to affect much for the working poor, I cannot imagine why any should feel jealous of such an object. Yet, considering the actual violence of the Parisian Communists in June 1848, the calamitous results of the public workshops, and the vague talk (which certainly may mean violent revolution when possible) in which English Socialists indulge, I think your readers may claim of you a more explicit renunciation of all compulsory Socialism.

Voluntary partnership is of two kinds,—the temporary and the permanent. Neither of the two is perhaps sufficiently protected and facilitated by our laws, and (while I dare not call myself a Socialist) I accede to the belief that this whole question needs to

be much more discussed. Permit me to throw out a few suggestions.

I. The temporary partnership is that of trade, and is apt to be alone considered. A most important suggestion concerning it is that of Mr. J. S. Mill, who desires the French law of *commandite* to be extended to England. I hope that you will expound this matter more fully to your readers; for few understand it. Besides this, our existing laws of partnership exceedingly cramp the natural power of uniting. These are important matters; but they are matters of detail, which none but legal men can aid us to remedy. Can you not get some lawyer to expound the disease and the cure? Give a definite form to your Socialist demands, and then we shall understand if they are not revolutionary.

II. The only permanent partnership recognized in our law is that of marriage, and of the relations which grow out of marriage. Such a limitation is quite arbitrary, and I greatly suspect this is the quarter in which we most need to revolutionize our ideas of society. Our law does not recognize even a rite of adoption! A childless man is not able to adopt a child. I know a lady who has brought up several girls in her family, but they have all been taken away from her by some relation, and she does not retain one as the solace of her old age. The law of the Greeks and Romans was in this respect far superior to ours. A legal formula of adoption ought to exist, by which a man or woman may incur all the responsibilities and gain all the rights and powers of a parent. Children so adopted should count as children by nature, and be unable to intermarry with adoptive brothers or sisters.

Those who accede to the justness of this Roman principle will be prepared to ask further, why may I not adopt into my family, by a permanent tie, a servant (*client*) whose faithfulness I have proved? It must be by mutual consent, as in the case of marriage; and the rights and duties of the parties must be defined.

But, farther, why may not two or three families of brothers or friends, by some solemn act, unite into a single larger family, having elected one person as their head, or patriarch, to be the legal holder of the joint-property, in all dealings with those without? This is the basis of the old Hindoo village communities and composite families. If the law would take cognizance of such unions, society would of itself grow into *Gentes* or clans, like those of ancient times. The Hindoo system worked well until the English came thither, who, from not understanding it, violated all its cardinal principles and threw the joint-properties into irremediable confusion. Let rational Socialists ask after that which a century ago existed in Hindostan, and see how it may be improved. They must do as the Quakers with marriages—make the unions, and so force them upon the law.

III. It is on the permanence of human unions that their moral value depends. I have no moral relation with a man by buying something of him to-day, if I never expect to see him again; but if I buy of him every day, a moral relation rises out of it, and human society is formed. The law ought, therefore, to encourage, as far as possible, all lengthened engagements. In old days, *apprenticeships* for seven years were ordinary, and they had their value; we seem now to need many things analogous, which are hindered by the unhealthy relation of servants to masters.

If good workmen were willing to make lengthened labour-leases with their masters, the masters, I am told, would often be glad of it; but the want of tribunals to adjudicate speedily and fairly any disputes which might arise, is the unmanageable impediment. Thus, again, the lawyers are our ruin; and yet to them we must look for our deliverance. Yet no laws will suffice, if workmen are, as now, anxious not to unite with their masters.

IV. Partnership can do much; but there is one thing which, with deference to you, I still must say it cannot do, and that is, *cannot destroy competition*. To do this, the whole cooperating and cotrafficking class must be one partnership; and that is physically impossible. A partnership may contain two or three or, let us say, a thousand families; but it will never take in a nation of thirty millions, much less the entire human race. In fact, a voluntary partnership, which is without limitation of responsibility, will only take in so many as are either intimately acquainted or related by blood, as in the ancient *Gentes*. Each community will be as a large family acting towards its own members, in its divisions of property, by rules of kindness and sympathy, but by rules of trade towards other communities. Competition may be annihilated within, but will necessarily be as active as ever without.

Nor can I admit that this is an evil. To say so, is to call all equitable commerce an evil. Without competition there can be no market prices, but only a monopoly price.

In consequence of the competition to which every community must submit, it seems impossible at present that manufactures can be successfully carried on by combinations of workmen. If workmen will learn to discriminate good masters, and endeavour permanently to attach themselves to such, and demand

a legal method of so doing, they will gradually solve the problem of coöperation; but when, as now, they join in strikes against the best masters, they doom themselves to prolonged suffering and a most uncertain futurity.

FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

"F. B.," who writes from Liverpool, treats our view of Socialism as fallacious and unproved; but harmless, because it rejects every plan hitherto proposed. He proceeds to show where the difficulty lies:—

"Throughout our legislation, social and political, as well as fiscal, the most effectual measures have been taken (purposely or not, is of no present consequence) to prohibit the exercise of industry and the employment of capital. Of course, as the increase of population cannot be equally restricted, competition is thus exasperated, and profits, and wages with them, driven down to the present deplorable point. Now, is it not easier, Mr. Editor, wiser, and more within the scope of human means, to strike off these bonds and shackles, than to reconstruct society? To convince an industrious and commercial people, who love liberty, that labour and exchange are sacred things, whose perfect freedom ought to be as religiously guarded as that of thought and speech themselves; and that to persecute opinions or their utterance, is really no worse tyranny than to prevent man or woman from earning a living by any honest means, would seem to be no impossible undertaking. (N.B. Whether the prohibition be positive and intentional, or indirect, accidental, or conditional, does not signify,—it exists.) But to persuade us, difficult to move as we are, to destroy the institutions under which we have grown up, to cut off our social habits, renounce our cherished objects, and even principles, and begin to live anew; and this, for an idea never yet shown to be practicable, and still less, to be desirable if it were, is a task compared with which the purification of Downing-street, with both Houses to boot, were mere child's play.

"Do you ask me to name these bonds and shackles? It is but too easy. Ask any intelligent attorney or land agent the practical working of entails, manorial rights and copyhold tenures, and the present system of conveying real property; of tenancy at will, and game-laws; and I am much mistaken if the answer is not that farms half tilled, realising the idea of the sluggard's garden, insolvent tenants, and a pauperized, poaching peasantry, are their certain effect—as certain as for the crop to grow where the seed has been sown. What are all customs and excise duties and licenses but a huge and elaborate contrivance for the diffusion of beggary, bankruptcy, and rascality; and the putting down of honesty, civilization, and prosperity? Competition has never had a fair trial, nor can have it, until industry be emancipated from this barbarous thralldom. Let free the soil; let it be free to buy, to sell, and to hold, as iron or cotton; set free commerce; abolish utterly the customs and excise, and give us direct taxation instead, and you will hear no more of the evils of competition in your life time, or mine, Mr. Editor. Or, if you do, they will be the annoyances of employers, not the sufferings of the employed; the rich man's grumble, not the poor man's groan!"

"Liverpool, May 14th, 1850."

VITAL RELIGION.

Rectory, Burton by Lincoln, May 14, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—Your correspondent, W. Thomas, has strung together such a number of queries, that I cannot imagine he expects them to be answered in one number of the *Leader*, or that one individual will be able to solve all his difficulties.

Leaving to Mr. Lewes the task of explaining his views as set forth in the "Apprenticeship of Life," I wish to reply to Mr. Thomas's assertion of the *deadness* of religion amongst us. That Mr. Thomas is mistaken in this opinion, we are justified in declaring from our knowledge of the mighty works which love to God, and for his sake to man, is constantly producing. These works are not "noised abroad," nor done "with the sound of a trumpet," but consist in the constant, silent exercise of retiring Charity. Some are, of necessity, made public, their nature and extent demanding aid which can only be obtained by publicity; such, e. g., as efforts for the instruction and elevation of the ignorant and suffering masses, the protection of female virtue, the encouragement of the penitent, the emancipation of the slave, the relief of the starving and over-worked sons and daughters of toil. The objects of these and of similar exertions, can only be effected by public appeals, and thus public demonstration is afforded of the working of religion in the hearts of men; but who can count the hourly recurring deeds of benevolence, done in secret by the disciples of Him whose command is that they should in doing good avoid display, and that their left hand should not know the doings of their right. Mr. Thomas, it is true, does not hear of the works of Christian love done thus unobtrusively in every town and village in the kingdom; he does not hear the expressions of thankfulness to God and his instruments thus elicited from the sufferers; but let those works cease to be performed, and he soon would hear an universal groan of unassisted distress, that would teach him how much misery had hitherto been palliated by the living force of that Religion which he stigmatizes as dead.

We have lately heard much, I grant, of disputes, within the Established Church especially, upon de-