

material, which we may describe as including, in the latter class, all those movements, such as co-operation, savings banks, building societies, assurance and benefit societies, etc., which give us practical evidence of material progress; and, in the former, those other movements the object of which is to free men's minds from the old trammels of ancient superstitions of all sorts, and thus leave them open to discuss measures of practical progress, without fear of the policeman's club, the preacher's scowl, or the idle tongue of Mrs. Grundy.

### **The Socialistic Tendency.**

Nobody, we imagine, will deny that, whether rightly or wrongly, the tendency of the age has been steadily in favor of measures which can only be described as of a socialistic character. There may have been many advocates of a policy of anarchistic legislation,—and, so far as modern legislation has been of a liberal character, and its object chiefly to remit old restriction and give greater freedom to individuals, it must be admitted that it is of an anarchistic character;—but unquestionably measures which involve State interference in concerns hitherto regarded as strictly within the sphere of private rights have largely predominated in all civilized countries. This may be a necessary phase of progress, but, philosophically, we can only regard it as a temporary phase, inevitable in conditions of society in which the great bulk of the individuals are not yet sufficiently advanced for self-government. The question is, how can we regard this stage of partial State Socialism from an evolutionary standpoint? Is it in the direct line of civilized progress, or is it only a necessary stage—a product of preceding conditions affording rather a lesson of the practical effect of a principle which requires development on different lines?

### **The Great English Co-operative Movement.**

Mr. Holyoake's synopsis of the English Co-operative movement in another page affords us a striking lesson in the material branch of our theme, and seems to point the way to the only safely practical solution of such problems, though the experience of the Co-operative movement shows how slowly even a strikingly successful lesson can be absorbed by the masses. The world has never witnessed the inception and successful working out of a useful scheme in such a rapid manner as that of the Co-operative movement in England. That success is still almost entirely in one branch—that of distribution. Now, very early in its growth, Mr. Holyoake—who clearly saw the proper and full scope of the organization—pointed out that, in order to reap the full advantage of the principle, it would be necessary that, not only the distributive, but the productive branch of Co-operation should be fully developed. Indeed, to a certain extent, the development of the distributive branch, without a corresponding development of production, rather tends to aggravate existing conditions, by adding to the army of capitalists, whose savings have to be paid for in interest,

### **The Limitation of Government Control.**

If our reading of the lesson involved in this great organization be correct, then such organizations as are required for the ordinary social life should be undertaken and worked out by individual genius and individual effort, leaving the fullest liberty to individuals to avail themselves of the proposed advantages or not; and only such services should be undertaken by the State as manifestly, in the general interest, can only be properly managed by the central authority.