

intellect, superior to any ordinarily associated with itself. The only fundamental, as distinct from resultant, changes, which they propose to bring about, is the transference of personal superiorities from private enterprise to the State, and a similar transference, not the annihilation, of capital. Now, apart from the practical impossibilities latent in this programme (to which I shall refer in my next, and my concluding article), the contemplated change, from the labourer's point of view, is a change only in name. Everything against which the Socialists are urging their supporters to rebel reappears in the socialistic paradise under a very thin disguise. Ability reappears, and capital reappears; and these, in their relations to the operative, are just the same as formerly. Between the system contemplated by the more thoughtful Socialists and the system now prevailing, there is for him no more essential difference than there is between the Portsmouth Dockyard and the Elswick Works at Newcastle. In the one case, as in the other, his whole industrial actions are controlled by directing ability. In the one case, as in the other, the reward of his labour comes to him in the form of wages, or a payment contingent on his obedience to the technical orders given him. The wages may be called by some other fantastic name, such as labour-cheques; but they are wages none the less. The directors of labour may be called Government officials; but, so far as the individual operative is concerned, they do merely what was done by the old employers. They wield the same control, in virtue of the same superiorities—superiorities in scientific knowledge, in intellectual talent, or practical managing capacity. The individual operative may, through the exercise of a vote, exercise at distant intervals a nominal influence on their election; but he has no more to do with the daily orders which they issue to him than a postman in the Shetlands has to do with determining the mechanism of the wireless telegraph or the construction of a submarine cable.

And yet though all this, one would think, must be sufficiently apparent to anybody from an analysis of the con-