

a sack of potatoes, or spreads a coat of tar over a paling. But labour, as defined in this extended way, is evidently not labour as understood by the "Labour Party." If it were so, it would have no meaning expressive of their distinctive purposes. For they certainly do not mean, when they profess to represent labour, that they represent great artists living in ornate palaces, or world-famed doctors driving by in their carriages. They used the word, not in Ruskin's comprehensive sense, but in a limited one; and this is moreover the sense which is consecrated by the usage of mankind generally. They mean by it those kinds of ordinary industrial exertion which have always been necessarily practised by the great majority of mankind, and of which all average men would, if trained to them, be equally capable. Here we get a conception which, if not absolutely exact—for even in these kinds of labour there are certain grades of skill—is yet sufficiently exact for all practical purposes. It corresponds substantially with what are called the labouring classes, or the wage-earners, in whose distinctive interests alone the Labour Members profess to speak.

And now we come to a farther point as to which Ruskin's admirers among the Labour Members differ from Ruskin himself. What Ruskin said about labour in a comprehensive sense—namely, that all wealth is produced by it—the Labour Members say about it in a strictly limited and exclusive sense. They say that all wealth is produced, not by mental and manual powers of some kind, but by mental and manual powers of those kinds and qualities in respect of which all men are substantially and approximately equal, and in which the great majority of mankind have in all countries always supported their lives by exercising. In pointing out that this is the doctrine or working assumption of the Labour Members, I am by no means implying that it is peculiar to them alone. Ricardo lent his countenance to it by his language, if not by his meaning. Ruskin often, in contradiction of his matured opinion, inculcates it half consciously