

sole sense in which it stands for any distinctive class, contrasted with other classes, and having separate interests of its own—means, and can mean only, the majority of normal men who are united by the fact that they all work with their hands, performing individual tasks with an average measure of intelligence. And capital in its political sense when contrasted with labour as the Labour Members contrast it, really stands for men whose economic difference from the labourers consists in the fact that, with regard to the process of production, they possess faculties which indefinitely transcend the average.

Thus, the contrast between capital and labour is, when stripped of its accessories, not a contrast between living manual exertion and a dead accumulation of riches, or the merely otiose possession of them. It is a contrast between men and men—between men belonging to two equally active classes, who differ from each other in the efficiency of their productive faculties, and consequently in respect of the means by which their contrasted faculties operate—the faculties involved in the performance of average individual labour, and the exceptional knowledge, ingenuity, enterprise, personal energy, and industrial genius generally, by which the faculties of countless labourers are being constantly co-ordinated and directed. Capital, in short, means the highest acquisitions of knowledge, and the highest practical intellect, concentrated on the process of production, and, by imposing their joint guidance on labour, lending to it the larger part of the fruitfulness which it now possesses.

That the general culture moral and mental of the labourer, which all the Labour Members avowedly have at heart, depends on the influence of the highest minds over the ordinary, is perceived clearly enough by the Labour Members themselves. A great thinker lends his insight, a great poet his imaginations, to the readers who understand and appreciate him. The failure of the Labour Members to see that what holds good in the domain of general culture holds good equally in the domain of progressive industry, is mainly due to their present incom-