

ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This includes all that is good in the former principle, but it eliminates the objectionable. In the former conception evil as well as good was retaliated—hurt for hurt, insult for insult, etc. But Jesus said, "Resist not evil." This rule asks only for what is equal, fair and just.

Note Matt. 18: 23-35. Here the principle of justice includes the spirit of forgiveness. It is not merely reciprocity—use anyone as he has used you—but "treat every one as anyone has treated

buy at their stores. If he rebels they take away his wages, his home, his friendships, his whole existence from under him. The working man controls nothing. If he has a little money saved up, it is of his control into banks and other companies. The working man needs to be a sharer in the control of the industry, and have a living wage, so he may own his home. His property should consist of a guarantee of employment to last so long as he is efficient and honest, so that he cannot be discharged arbitrarily. He

they will give him or unite with others to strike.

"The form of association which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, and work-people without a voice in the management; but the association of the laborers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves."

The separation of the shareholders from



AT THE TOP.



BOSS OF THE STEEL CONSTRUCTION.



SWINGING INTO PLACE.

you for your good." Such an interpretation of justice is revolutionary.

3. The highest form of justice is enunciated in the second commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It embraces all previous teaching, but it steps on higher ground. Justice is not simply defending our rights from injury and attack by retaliation and revenge. It is more than doing to others as we would like them to do unto us. The Christian ideal of justice implies loving others as we love our own life. This new element in the interpretation of justice characterizes Christianity as a great social force.

#### WHAT DOES THIS LAW IMPLY?

(a) *Highest self-respect and personal liberty.* In all these ideals of justice the individual is the basis of judgment—injure as I am injured, I do as I am done by, I love others as I love myself. Note in the last instance it does not say—I love as others love me, but I love myself as I love myself. There is a double emphasis on the self, and a two-fold responsibility to love self as well as others. The basis of responsibility and duty rests not on any command from heaven, nor any decree of man, but on our own personality. It is a law of self-judgment. We should not love others less than we love our own life. We cannot manifest more justice to others than we demand for our own life. To develop justice and mercy we must develop our own self-respect. Our attitude to others reveals how highly we respect our life. This is the true principle of liberty. Our actions to others are the natural product of our character.

In the present system of capitalism we find a form of injustice based on this principle. Property is the economic basis of self-respect. The property-less man is like the slave. The working man to-day is propertyless. The capitalists are supreme. They provide the working capital—factory, tools, etc., and pay the wages. They provide the conditions under which the working man shall work; force him to live in their "shanties," and

should be protected in sickness and old age by the collective wealth of the community. The right of employment would not only revolutionize the economic conditions of the industrial worker, but would create a new spirit of self-respect. In order to have a full measure of self-respect, we need to possess ourselves in every sphere of life—politically by the franchise, economically by the right of a job, religiously by a consciousness of personal salvation. Only such a life can fulfil the obligations of justice.

*Questions.*—If industry were placed on a democratic basis so every worker shared the control, would not that very responsibility make him more interested? In the agricultural community which is preferable, large estates worked by tenants, or each man own his plot? What change in the character of the people will result in England when every farmer can possess his land?

(b) *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* That little word "as" contains so much meaning. It implies equality. Our love for others should equal our love for our own life. Democratic principles are based on this. It develops personal value and liberty, and makes all men equal in right and opportunity. "Political equality without economic equality is an uncashed promissory note, a pot without a roast, a form without substance. To-day we have neither free competition for business men, nor free contracts for working-men, nor free markets for the consumer." Our present economic conditions do not allow for equality. The capital of an industry is not owned and controlled by the operators as it should be. The shareholders are not in sympathy with the workers. Such divorce of capital from the industry permits of monopoly. A few men, not vitally interested in the industry or the workers, may control the whole affair. They may buy up all similar industries, and form a trust. Then they control not only the market, but they control also the very life of the workers. The worker cannot find a similar job without hiring to the same trust. Thus he must take whatever

the industry allows for further injustice. The railway companies can own the coal mines and bleed the people. The Standard Oil Company can buy sufficient stock in the railways to procure preferential freight rates and control the supply of cars, thus squeezing out their competitor. The Meat Trust can own shares in the Refrigerator Car Company and forbid its competitor to be supplied with cars. An insurance company can own many subsidiary companies through which all the profits pass, thus allowing for twofold control and double profit.

*Questions.*—Who should reap the dividends of a railway—the men who operate the road, or a few idle millionaires who put into it a little money? If the railway and other industries were financed by the savings of the men, and they were co-operatively and proportionately responsible for loss and gain, would monopoly be a curse? Is it in the best interests of the country to have a railway corporation control the coal mines? Is it conducive to honesty and justice to have a publicly subsidized railway company own many subsidiary companies that bleed the people? If we gave labor its fair share in the profits and control of industry, would a trust be possible?

3. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor." This Christian law of justice reveals the spirit of fraternity. Human equality is based on the principle of human solidarity. All men are equal and should be so treated. This spirit of fraternity is twofold—the desire to co-operate for achievement, and the identification of interests in time of danger and need. Economic individualism is strong in its emphasis on liberty and equality, but weak in the economic basis it offers for fraternity. Co-operation, not competition, is the ideal of fraternity. Human society does not consist of a group of independent entities. "The ideal society is an organism, and the Christianizing of the social order must work toward harmonious co-operation of all individuals for common social ends." John Stuart Mill said, "The social problem of the future is how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with