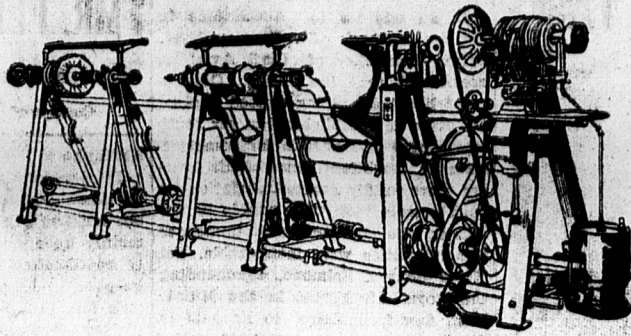


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(Continued from page one)

man beings, but as mere factors in production. There have been attempts made to overcome this evil the most successful being the banding of the laborers together to cut out or largely reduce this deadly competition which left untrammelled would fill our sweat shops and sap the physical strength of the nation. By controlling competition Labor Unions have forced up wages and secured a fairer distribution of work among their members and seek to do more in this direction, indeed to the extreme limit of their power. But it is evident that there is a point beyond which they cannot go. Just as the capitalist cannot for long hold wages below the subsistence line or below the minimum required for a full and healthy life, for that would entail the destruction of the laborer, so the laborer if he imposes excessive wages upon the capitalist so as to force him to produce at a loss will as certainly destroy him. Between these limits there is ever going on an ebb and flow, having to do with a division of the profits, and in the intelligent control of this lies the only possible solution of our problem. But, it is asked, cannot Labor and Capital together contrive to force up prices at the expense of the consumer. They can and do, but this power is also subject to limitations. Laborer and Capitalist alike are part and parcel of an interdependent Humanity.

Under enhanced prices the home market is restricted and outside competition is invited. Capital and Labor alike are dependent upon possessing markets and this in the long run involves that they shall produce so as to be able to compete in the markets of the world. Neither Capitalist nor Labor Unions can as yet dominate the world's markets. The day may come when co-operation will replace competition, but this is as yet in the distant future and meanwhile we must face facts as they are. Suppose, for instance, the German says: "We are prepared to work two hours longer and fifty per cent. harder than the Englishman." This will tend to make living very much cheaper in Germany than in England and we can work at a lower wage with a corresponding degree of comfort and a greater assurance of having continuous work. Ultimately we can close up English factories and force Englishmen—capitalists and laborers alike—with their high scale of wages and other restrictions, out of business. It produced cheaply enough our manufacturers will find their way to his markets through neutral countries such as Holland, Sweden, Denmark, the United States, in such a way that he cannot protect himself from them. If he tries to do it through a high tariff of customs that will align the farmer and consumers generally against the manufacturers and with the energies of the country wasted in internal strife we will effect our end in other ways.

Recognizing these limitations, our Capitalists and Laborers alike must realize that it revolves upon them first of all to make profits and later

to see that these are equitably divided. First of all to make profits. You know the receipt for making hare soup. "First of all you catch the hare." Before you can divide profits it is necessary to make them. A truism, yet one too often overlooked. Labor Unions must realize that the power of the Employer to pay wages depends upon his power to market his goods at a profit. They must take into account India, China, Japan, where there is an abundance of cheap labor which can be exploited by the white races and that capital has a tendency to seek the place where it can operate to greatest advantage. There seems to be a prevalent idea, particularly among the laboring class, that because we spent millions during the war, and because large wages and salaries were paid, often when not really earned, that this can go on without limit. The Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who commenced life as a laborer and who is one of the Labor Party's most trusted leaders, says: "The working classes in their own interest ought to understand that the war has left an enormous burden of debt, and not an enormous collection of wealth." During the war we were indulging in the luxury of spending money, regardless of the fact that we were running into debt. We paid wages and salaries without taking into account the cost of the thing produced because larger issues were involved that made it imperative that we should have them. But the war over it becomes necessary that we shall live within our income and that cost of production shall be governed by the possibilities of the market.

Any person can spend money, but it requires effort and efficiency to produce wealth and conserve it. Legislation and Labor Regulations will never produce wealth, only well-directed effort. The first step and an absolutely essential one is for Capital and Labor to come together. Probably 50 per cent. of their effective power is today lost through inefficiency, friction and strikes.

Inefficiency, ignorance, selfishness—these are our true foes which we must overcome or be overcome by them. If everybody was efficient and all were ready to play the game fairly, and if the work was so directed as to get the best possible results with a minimum of waste energy it would not be necessary for any person to work more than six hours a day and we would get a great deal more done than we do at present.

Let us not forget that we must get the work done. If we do not produce things or produce them in insufficient quantities some on must go without, and those who get them must pay an excessive price. And in production nothing counts as much as efficiency. A skilled laborer working in his own interests will do more in one hour than an ordinary man will in two, and it is in the public interest that he shall produce all he can. Yet the idea is prevalent in Labor Unions that a man should do as little as he decently can, in the mistaken idea that this will leave more work to go around. This is a very grave danger, and unless we realize the fallacy of it we are headed towards disaster. It will breed inefficiency, short production and high prices. These are not likely to make a nation great or prosperous, are not likely to help the laborer in the long run.

But the need of efficiency is not confined to the wage earner. Quite

as much depends upon the efficiency of the employer. Henry Ford can give his men \$6.00 a day and still roll up millions for himself. Why? Is it not because his methods of working, both as regards his intelligent perception of what is wanted by the purchasing public and his adaptation of skilled labor and machinery to meet these needs far transcend those of the average manufacturer? The Standard Oil has made untold millions. They should not be permitted to take so much profit for themselves and we must check this evil by an intelligent application of the graduated income tax, but we must realize that in virtue of the efficiency of their business methods the consumer gets his oil at half the cost he otherwise would even when the company gets ten times more profit than it should.

In trade a big concern, well organized, can make millions in handline pork at a margin of profit of one cent per pound, while a small one poorly managed will go to the wall on a margin of five cents a pound. There are dangers connected with the centralization and concentration of wealth, but these can and must be overcome. Labor must, however, face these facts and realize that they have a more practical bearing on the question of their obtaining higher wages than has anything that Labor Unions can do.

Our Economic Machine is a very complicated one, in which Capital and Labor are geared up together and nothing short of an intelligent appreciation of how to get the greatest possible efficiency out of it will really solve the problem for either party. To throw a monkey wrench into the Capital part of the machine may make necessary a general overhaul with some beneficial results but does not directly make for increased production.

This requires co-operation, not conflict. Capitalist and laborer alike must realize that one cannot be injured without the other suffering, and that the real object of life is not money but comfort and enjoyment not for a few, but for all.

We all want many things—Food, clothing, shelter, things of beauty. But to possess these they must first of all be produced and in sufficient quantity so that there may be enough to go around. We never have produced enough and we never will under present methods. We can glut markets but have never honestly sought to supply the needs of humanity as a whole. We need all that we at present produce and much more, for there are many, very many, who are in actual want. If our forces were intelligently directed there is no need that any should want save through vice and indolence and these can be dealt with. Half the energy of the world today—that of employers and employees alike—is wasted through lack of knowledge, friction, imperfect methods, slothfulness and lack of co-ordination. But we cannot find relief from our difficulties by ranging class against class; not in fighting for separate interests but in a larger measure of intelligence and an honest spirit of co-operation being brought to bear upon our problems which though confessedly difficult can nevertheless be solved.

An army without leadership is merely a mob of men. Our economic machine unless co-ordinated and provided with guidance will tear itself to pieces. What we need in press, in

books, on public platforms is a desire to get at the truth at all costs, instead of being told half truths that pandar to class prejudices and keep us in a fool's paradise.

We are getting at the facts slowly, but at a fearful cost of wasted energy and long delay for very meagre results. We can speed up immensely if we put forth an honest effort. Already much has been done in England which today is leading the world. The last agreement reached by Capital and Labor which provides a joint control of the vast industries concerned with regard to the distribution of profits, makes their interests identical and cannot fail to produce the most beneficial results so long as it is loyally lived up to. We in Canada can profit by their efforts and experience and in the light of this last more hopefully attack our own problems. You as leaders of public opinion in Prince Edward Island in matters of this sort have also a duty to perform. You can through special committees and a statistical secretary keep in touch with what is going on throughout the world; meet the labor leaders here and talk matters over with them having in view co-operation rather than a treaty between belligerents, and there is no reason why you should not play your part in the Councils of the Dominion.

Let it be clearly understood that wherever there is a man ready to work there should be work for him to do at a fair wage and that it is a public duty devolving upon each and all of us to strive to make this possible. We cannot produce too much. We may glut the immediately available market but that is an argument not to restrict production but to find enlarged markets. The key to success lies in developing a more unselfish type of public spirit. Democracy means liberty. Liberty, however, is dangerous, unless it is permeated with the spirit of service. Democracy without this may well be worse than Autocracy for it may mean only liberty for class selfishness.

Predatory Influences.

One is tempted to ask whether selfishness does not lie at the root of all our difficulties. To some extent it does; yet it would be a mistake to conclude that it dominates all our actions. We must discriminate between self-interest and selfishness. It is surely right that every man should desire all the joy, all the knowledge and all the development that life can possibly give him. Is such desire selfishness? No! But it may result in selfish action. All our desires are essentially good, but if not controlled by a keen sense of what is due to the other fellow, will bring confusion, disorder and disaster upon ourselves and the commonwealth. We are ignorant rather than vicious. We look at life too exclusively from the viewpoint of material progress. We know better, if we stop to think; but we act too often as though we believed that the only nexus between man and man is money, the highest type of pleasure self-indulgence. Hence with our eyes closed to the larger issues we lose direction. Money can do much. It can give us comfortable homes, art, music, rest and pleasure, but it will be found that the permanent joys of life depend, not mainly upon these but upon our relations to God and our fellowmen. The classes have sought fellowship within their class conceiving of the masses too often as

mere economic factors in the industrial machine, to be exploited as much as possible. Now the masses are waking up and are tempted to act upon the same principle. Having the power they think they are justified in using it exclusively in their own interests regardless of ultimate consequences to the community as a whole. The pendulum ever swings as far in one direction as it did in the other. The present movement involves an upsetting of the old order and temporary economic loss. We must needs accept it as the unavoidable penalty of our unwise actions of the past. It is folly to appeal to the wage earning class with the argument that if they do not work at a low wage the whole industrial structure will be menaced with disaster. This would be a sound proposition if every member of the community will make a like sacrifice, but as Blatchford puts it "To ask a man to work for 30s. a week (\$7.50), for the sake of England, while Lord Chancellors are pensioned at £5,000 (\$25,000) a year and while our big cities are studded with Banks and Grand Hotels and jeweller shops and mansions and gardens and motor garages, is to ride an elementary theory to death?" We must play the game as between man and man, and see what can be done in the way of dividing the profits more equitably before deciding what sacrifices may be legitimately asked for. The fundamental fact that has been ignored by both masses and classes is that Humanity is an organic whole. That only in the well-being of the all can the lasting happiness of the individual be found.

Try to conceive of a community in which every person puts forth all his energies towards providing for the general needs and in which each sought to guard his neighbor's happiness as his own. Could it not produce all it required and be an ideal place to live in, without any money at all? What is the basic idea in our concept of Heaven? Is it not co-operation—absence of friction can you conceive of Heaven on a competitive basis? We need not hope to establish the Heavenly Status on earth just yet, but we should realize that just in proportion as the spirit of co-operation and good fellowship exists in human relationships can a nation or a community satisfactorily solve the problems which mortal life present. In the past individuals gave little thought to the well-being of others. Each sought its or his own selfish aims at the expense of the other. The result of this has been made very apparent by the late war. The predatory instinct which finds greater or less expression in each and all of us must be brought under control. It is our greatest foe and yet we are prone to deem it a friend to whom we turn for protection—to secure our interests as opposed to those of others. Our first task is to find out where legitimate self-interest ends and selfishness begins and to discern how and to what extent the latter hampers and destroys the efficiency of our economic machine, having as our aim not merely the production of efficient mechanical units, but a satisfactory type of human being.

How Selfishness Lessens the Production of Wealth.

We have seen that wealth comes from one source only—the application of human intelligence and human effort to the production and distribution of such things as satisfy human de-

sires. The men who make the plough and the harvester, the men who build and operate the railway or the ships which carry the product to market, the Banks that provide the money to facilitate the exchange are all as necessary factors in supplying the needs of mankind as are the farmer or miner, and should be recompensed for their labor in proportion to the work they do. But much of the wealth of the world passes into the possession of those who perform no essential part in production or distribution—who are to all intents and purposes pirates. A farmer raises his wheat at a cost of eighty cents and sells it for \$1.00, Transport and Finance are entitled to fair remuneration for their services, but before it can reach the consumer a few men at a great distributing centre corner the supply and raise the price to \$2.00, pocketing the difference. This is Piracy. The owners of a great railway by watering its stock and claiming the right to pay dividends on such water, raise unduly the cost of transport to the consumer, forcing him to pay tribute to them for their predatory ability. Stock speculators, playing the market, not only disturb legitimate trade to serve their selfish ends, but obtain a lien on production for which they give no value. More piracy. A few capitalists purchase a mine, obtain a charter and capitalize it at a sum of tentimes very much in excess of a fair profit on the sum they paid for it. They immediately secure wealth in large sums which they have not legitimately earned, but which must come out of the pockets of coal consumers in the form of enhanced prices. More piracy. Some hundreds of years ago, the Dukes of Portland obtained possession of a large area of land in what is now the heart of London. They let it out on lease and obtained from their rents the full value of the usufruct of their land. But owing to the industry of the people of England the advantages which attached to the possession of land in London kept ever increasing so that the Dukes of Portland obtained in addition to their rentals a further return amounting to over 500 per cent. of its original value. A return which they did not earn—what in political economy is known as the unearned increment.

As economic organization develops, we observe that there are certain ownerships—such as railways, shipping lines, public utilities and large corporations which tend to become more and more monopolistic. Here again the Predatory instinct finds too free scope for action. Do not imagine that the men so employed are worse than the average. On the contrary they are often, in their individual capacities, the most generous mortals. Most of our great philanthropies we owe to men of this type, but our laws and public opinion so mould our industrial relationships as to provide opportunities of obtain wealth more easily and rapidly by such piracy than by legitimate production, and they had the ability to seize it. Before we condemn them, let us ask ourselves how many of us, if we knew that the government would soon require a piece of land which at present could be bought at a low figure, would refuse to step in with a view of making a profit.

It is not seemly, therefore, before we attempt to decide the maximum wages, that we can afford to pay, that we should ascertain how much money,

improperly abstracted by the methods just mentioned, could be conserved for the benefit of the laborer? You merchants know what too heavy overhead charges mean—there are too many overhead charges in trade cannot we get rid of some of them?

If Labor Unions were to turn their attention and direct their voting power to correcting this evil, they would be surprised at the result. Much can be done and each step gained will make easier the next. No company should be granted Letters of Incorporation until a competent government board has passed upon the legitimacy of its capitalization and the reliability of the statements set forth in its prospectus. All great public utilities should be under government supervision and control, and efficient management should be made a condition of the continuance of any charter. All buying and selling on margin, that is purely speculative, ought to be stopped as far as possible. Men should be taught to produce, not to prey upon production.

The Income Tax which involves the submission of full statements of account and which provides for the taking, for the public, a large proportion of any excess earnings, is a very important step in the direction of reform. Above all, each individual voter should be brought to realize the importance, in his own interests, of sending as his representative to the councils of the Dominion, men, not to fight for class or sectional interests—that means disaster—but capable of dealing with the momentous questions which must be settled in the immediate future, and settled wisely, if we are not to suffer, and to be settled wisely, they must be settled on the basis of co-operation—of human needs not merely industrial efficiency.

Robert Blatchford says: "Men who measure everything by money find it almost impossible to think in terms of human nature." I wonder how many more years it will be before the nation realizes the simple truth that men may be rich and miserable—poor and happy—successful and wicked—useful and despised? What good does it do a man to earn big wages at the cost of all human culture and natural pleasure, at the risk of his life or to ruin his health? The object of life

(Continued on page ten)

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