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M. Clays

THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

(Continued from Page 5.)
tion of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy. The Basis of an Industrial Constitution.
Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution for the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times and advance the highest interests of industry and of all its parties. Obviously, what is most needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is a vital concern to all four: to Capital, to Labor, to Management, and to the Community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which have long been regarded as obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Investigation.

The first of these principles, I should like to mention is that of Investigation. It is impossible to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Confidence is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, a suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Confidence between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found

absolutely necessary to the winning of the War. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the Community, invited Capital, Management and Labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of Round Table Conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions required to win the War. What was necessary to the winning of the War is equally necessary to the winning of Peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest.

The Principle of Investigation.

The second principle is that of Investigation. Investigation is but a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are certain evils which industry is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealing between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness—these can not endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes

a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain today. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its horrible consequences than actual war, it is because Capital and Management, Labor and the Community, are represented upon the Commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners and the condition of the coal mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it will only be through the acceptance of the principle of investigation before a severance of relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league, I believe, would lead, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international peace. Activist men to the adoption of fundamental principles in adjusting their industrial relations, something which immediately concerns us in our every-day life, and the application of the principles of international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action.

A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action. A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action. A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action. A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action.

To cope with them successfully, organization and Collective Action. The problems of industry are world problems. If its unions were not permitted to exercise, and large organization of business thereby rendered impossible? What would become of the Community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive managers of the right of membership in an employers' or manufacturers' association and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If Capital, Management and the Community have the right to organize, so also should Labor have the right.

Whom organization of Labor—where Capital, Management and the Community are organized—what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where, under such conditions, are the individual units of Labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where Labor is concerned than in the case of Capital or Management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; Capital and Management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation.

A fourth principle is that of Representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the State has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansions of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of the parties affected through organization, all enjoying the right of investigation and meeting in Round Table Conference—in such an obviously just and fair arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the State, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary lines, instead of along lines that are illegal and revolutionary.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils.

Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of em-

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ployers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the Community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The Service of Organized Labor.

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of Organized Labor. It has involved an amount of ill feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purpose of Labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of Capital and of Labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society in emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of Labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservatively directed unions; that it is among the unorganized and a-disciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction in a union of the organized forces of

Labor and of Capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation and representation, in dealing with their employees, and to concede to Labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that Labor needs education, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but, in the absence of other opportunities, whence are education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which Labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between Capital and Labor is certain, in its most highly developed forms, to take account of existing organizations of Labor and Capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary.

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; but without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if Freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy in politics. The latter combination is at ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit work against each other only till one or the other prevails. To democratic industry, so that along with democracy in government there

may be a true industrial democracy is the task that lies ahead.

A New Conception of Industry.

With the new spirit must come a wholly new conception of industry, no longer a mere revenue-producing process, in which Capital, Labor, Management and the Community, like so many rival and contending factions, each so appropriate to itself to force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, as the nature of social service and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

An Easter Hope.

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded volumes in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined today. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to lend them appropriate prominence to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering. "Is it too much to believe that having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Gethsemane, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labor and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and broken-hearted world the one hope it is entitled to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre today, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

A burly Irishman was brought to a base hospital pretty well "shot up." After giving his name, the doctor asked him: "You're an Irishman?" "Half of me," he replied. "Half of you?" asked the doctor, in surprise. "And what's the other half?" "German, sir," was the reply. "German shrapnel," bits of iron and holes."

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Toronto 36
Birmingham 27
Buffalo 29
Newark 27
Rochester 25
Jersey City 24
Reading 24

Yesterday's Result

Buffalo Baltimore rain.
Toronto Newark rain.
Rochester Reading rain.
Jersey City Birmingham rain.
GAMES TODAY
Toronto at Newark.
Buffalo at Baltimore.
Rochester at Reading.
Birmingham at Jersey City.

NATIONAL

Won 1

New York 34
Cincinnati 33
Pittsburg 30
Chicago 30
Brooklyn 26
St. Louis 25
Philadelphia 18
Boston 18

Yesterday's Result

Chicago 3; St. Louis 4.
St. Louis 7; Chicago 3.
Cincinnati 7; Pittsburg 0.
Brooklyn New York rain.
Philadelphia Boston rain.
GAMES TODAY
Philadelphia at Brooklyn.
New York at Boston.
Cincinnati at Pittsburg.
St. Louis at Chicago.

AMERICAN

Won 1

New York 32
Cleveland 33
Chicago 33
Detroit 26
St. Louis 25
Boston 22
Washington 21
Philadelphia 18

Yesterday's Result

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Detroit 1; Cleveland 0.
St. Louis 3; Chicago 2.
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