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WHAT'S THE IDEA
IS QUESTION ASKEDLittle Light in Respect to
the One Big Union is
Suggested

(By F. E. MERCEUR)

Preachers have a natural predilection for a text. I therefore may be excused for basing a few remarks on a quotation from the new "One Big Union Bulletin." On page 3, of the first issue the paragraph will be found:

"So vigorous and effective and insidious will the campaign against industrial unionism be made we will find great divisions in the ranks of the workers themselves and a condition will arise—in fact it has already arisen—where it will be necessary for the intelligent minority in the ranks of labor to carry on with increasing interest and power a campaign of education. There will be need of courage as well as of caution and of tolerance. The One Big Union idea is based on the everlasting truth and will win. The victory can be brought about only by the workers themselves."

Good To Be Told

It is good to be told that the campaign against industrial unionism in the form of the "One Big Union" idea will be vigorous and effective. It is good to be told that a campaign of education must be carried on with increasing interest and power. It is good to be reminded that the victory can only be brought about by the workers themselves. The questions which need to be answered are: Who is partaking in an insidious campaign? Who are the intelligent minority? What is the "One Big Union" idea?

Insidious is defined to mean "watching an opportunity to ensnare" and in the same paper it is insinuated that I myself in stating a fact about the resolutions at the Calgary convention desired to mislead my readers. It is also insinuated that Mr. Roper has acted falsely and that Mr. Parmilo sees only in labor organizations an opportunity for working into some government position. Insinuation is very closely akin to insidiousness. But to my mind the whole method of campaign of these gentlemen, who seem to assume for themselves the title of the intelligent minority, is insidious in the worst sense.

They know that the men referred to are all in favor of some form of industrial unionism and are working for its consummation; they know that these men have fought as hard in the real workers' movement as themselves; they know that there are many different theories as to the best form of a one big union and that therefore it is pure deception to ask men to vote in favor of a scheme which is not explained. They also know that the very leaders themselves, entrusted with the duty of drafting the form of referendum on the subject, have avoided reference to the very point on which the referendum was to be taken.

What is the Issue?

If this self-styled "intelligent minority" would be perfectly honest and declare their colors and their creed; if they would say something of this kind: "We are materialist socialists and believe that is essential to bring about a change in the method of administering the country. We find that our old method of political action is fruitless and have therefore undertaken the propagation of industrial action to gain the desired end after the example of the Russian bolsheviks;" then the debate between us would be straightforward. As it is the so-called conservatives find themselves involved in a struggle against men who will not define the issue.

The same "intelligent minority" are anxious that we should learn about Bolshevism and place in our hands a pamphlet by Rhys Williams entitled, "The Bolsheviki and the Soviets." The whole book is special pleading. Williams does not tell us of the supposed everlasting truth of materialism; on the contrary he is ready to say that "the Soviets have made the first great attempt to put into practice the teachings of Jesus." He puts questions before us which he wishes to answer. He tries to make us believe that Bolshevism and Sovietism are identical ideas. Either innocent or deliberately he also hides the main issue.

There are at least as many intelligent people among the labor men on the idealist side as on the materialist and they will now be stirred to carry on with increasing interest and power a campaign of education.

TO MAKE STUDY OF
TECH. EDUCATION

Ontario has appointed a committee of prominent school men to make a general study and report recommendations as to organization of education to provide better training for boys and girls who will become the skilled workers of tomorrow.

TURN OVER ENTIRE
PLANT TO EMPLOYEES

The Sewall-Clapp Envelope Co., of Chicago is reported to have turned over its entire plant, business and good-will to its employees as a personal benefit as a reward for faithful service. The transfer is reported as saying "in the spirit of world democracy and the reward of faithful service and fealty to duty." The employees now hold about 90 per cent of the stock of the company and will operate the plant themselves.

ALL LABOR REQUESTS
IS AN OPPORTUNITY

"Everybody is today calling upon the government to do this and do that for them, and organized Labor is not the least among the organizations who are asking the government to do things on its behalf. I say that labor does not want anything done for it so much as it wants to do something for itself, and before we have progress we must not pass more legislation, but repeal old legislation. In short, we must go backwards to go forwards." So declared Mr. L. L. Peltier, deputy-president of the Order of Railway Conductors of America, in a recent address to members of the Independent Labor Party.

LABOR DIVISION
SOCIAL UNREST

(Continued from Page 1)

endeavor is to satisfy the greatest number of human desires with the least effort. And what wonderful progress we have made. The poorest laborer of today can exchange eight hours of effort for luxuries denied the kings and queens of a few centuries ago, and the greatest factor in making this increased production possible is the Division of Labor.

Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, says that the Division of Labor tends to increase production in three ways:—(1) It increases the dexterity of the individual workman; one can increase his speed on a few operations easier than on a great many. (2) It saves the time lost in changing from one set of tools to another. (3) It increases the invention of machinery; by dividing the work into a multitude of operations, more of the work done by hand can be performed by properly designed machines.

Richard T. Ely, writing nearly 150 years later, added two more, namely: (1) Labor is used more advantageously by assigning hard physical work to the muscular and difficult mental tasks to the intelligent. (2) Capital is better utilized by employing all the tools, all the time.

But the result of this increased production has not been exactly what might have been expected. The laborer of today, enjoying the comforts and luxuries denied the wealthiest aristocrats of years ago, is not as contented as were the slaves of those former times, because the very thing that has enabled this satisfaction of more wants has at the same time bred discontent among the workmen.

The continued division of labor has brought about a condition wherein the worker no longer has pleasure or satisfaction in the work itself, but only in his recompense.

There is pleasure and satisfaction in building a complete automobile, but little in spending eight hours a day, which is one-third of one's life, at tightening nut No. 49 in an automobile factory.

One company subdivided its work to an extreme degree and produced two results: It built its product cheaper than ever before and brought about the biggest turn-over among its workers ever experienced. A worker would quit and rehire under another name in a different department, just for the change.

Also this extreme division of labor has had its effect upon the length of the working day.

The farmer can work 12 or 14 hours per day and enjoy it and live to a ripe old age. The men in officers' training camps were kept busy every minute from 5:30 in the morning until 9:30 at night and put on weight, gained color and increased health while doing it. But, on the other hand, the high-speed piece worker is exhausted at the end of eight hours and recent statistics in this state (Ohio) show a constant decrease in the number of older men at work and a corresponding increase in the inmates of old men's homes and similar charitable institutions.

One reason for the discontent among employees is obvious. The division of labor has all been made in terms of materials and operations, and not in terms of man's necessity for both physical and mental exercise.

The operations have been divided and subdivided and to each separate operation has been assigned a workman, forgetting that man is endowed by his Creator with the power of thought and that is the one thing that distinguishes a man from a machine. You can't design a machine that can think, neither can you convert a man into an unthinking machine.

Why is the farmer and the man in training camp able to work 12 or 14 hours a day and wax strong on it? Because there is a proper relation between mental and physical activities. And that is also the reason why the college student likes to get out and play football, the official of the firm likes to get out and play golf, and the molder and the hod carrier like to sit quietly in the movies, read or sleep.

Now, is there anything in the principle of Division of Labor which says the man doing physical work cannot also perform a hour or two at clerical duties or that prohibits the office man from doing some labor in the shop? No, nothing in the principle of division of labor that prevents such an interchange, but there are other things.

It is hard to conceive that in 1896 there were but four automobiles in the United States.

MANAGEMENT OF
INDUSTRY DEBATEDBut Knowledge of the Needs
of the Hour Are Absolutely
IndispensableY.M.C.A. and Dominion
Labor Party Men Discuss
Questions of the Hour

An interesting debate took place on Thursday between two representatives of the Dominion Labor Party and two representatives of the Y.M.C.A. Debating Society on Thursday evening, April 3, at the Y.M.C.A. The question under debate was "Resolved that it is essential that Labor should have equal representation with capital (and employers) in the management of industry." The labor men of course took the affirmative and the Y.M.C.A. men took for the sake of the debate at least, the negative.

Affirmative Argument

The arguments produced by the first Labor speaker were somewhat as follows: The democracy to preserve which the late war has been fought must be retained and developed so that in industry the same democratic privileges are won for the individual as have already been gained in the political field. Each industry must be made a living whole by having all who are engaged in any given industry have a real interest in its welfare. This desired unity is spoiled at present by the gulf between the management and the workers. Office secrets create impossible demands by the workers; office comforts conceal the sufferings of comrades in industry. Each industry should also enjoy the advice of every worker; at present the brains of the "hands" are not used though they are often full of improvements in technical, mechanical, and administrative procedure. The result of giving to each worker in the industry a vote for at least half the management would tend to make him interested in his work and therefore in life in general. A secondary result would be the strengthening of the independence of industry so that united the employers and employed could face the threatening bureaucracy, whether state-capitalist or bolshevik, of Scientific Industry and Management.

The second speaker for the affirmative dwelt on the experienced value of the trades unions which have already brought about vast improvements in all industries and had produced men of the calibre required for managerial posts. While the wealthy invested some of their superfluous wealth in industrial projects, the worker invested his life and strength. In return he was entitled to claim at least half of the management. Labor demanded nothing except justice. Justice demanded that all the workers should enjoy the results of their labors, that they should have shorter hours and proper salaries as well as the more fortunate present possessors of wealth. Man must be permitted to be master of his own fate.

Negative Argument

The Y.M.C.A. debaters in true lawyerly manner stressed the words of the resolution, especially the words "essential" and "equal" representation. They claimed that the scheme, if correct, should be applicable to small industries as well as large; for example, to a farm or a lumbermill wherein the employer and five or six helpers were engaged. They claimed that every capitalist would readily promote any inventor of improvements; that capitalists would hesitate to invest their money in concerns run by the proposed method of management; that management was a specialized calling at the present time. They were afraid that it was agitators consumed with jealousy who were behind the present demands and that such men would be elected by the workers. The result would be the crippling of industry by interfering with the production of the supermen who at the present time were the captains who had developed modern industry.

Decision for Negative

The judge gave his decision that while the labor men had been able to prove the necessity of some representation of Labor on the boards of management, they had not proved the essentiality of equal representation of the two forces. The question of having representatives of the consumers in addition to the two producing bodies did not affect the argument.

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