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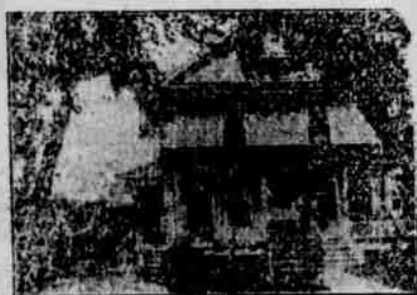
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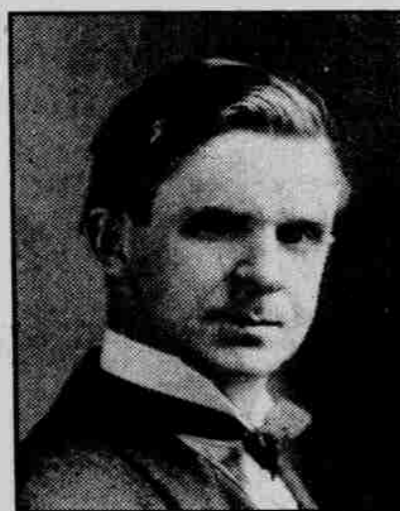
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Victims of Graft

It Is the
Average Man
Who Suffers

By **FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND**,
Technical Director of Bureau of Municipal Research.



The common fallacy that it is the direct tax-
payer who pays for graft and inefficient government
has been skillfully used and taught by too many
self-seeking demagogues urging support for officers
or for organizations which have abused public trust,
wasted public funds and misdirected the energies of
government by granting privileges and monopolies
for their private enrichment. What is more to the
point, by provoking class feeling and stimulating
prejudice, the argument is often successful. Through
dispensing to the needy a small percentage of the
subverted funds as gratuities and as evidence of per-
sonal interest in their welfare the grafter has suc-
ceeded in holding himself up as a more desirable
citizen than the man of wealth. In this way the
mind of the victim is adroitly led to the conclusion that it is the man
of wealth and not himself who suffers from political infidelity. In fact,
it is not at all uncommon to hear men seriously assert their belief that
it is no crime to steal from the government.

The subversion of revenues, the taking of public goods or the theft
of time and service which are paid for by the municipality, is a direct
loss to the weak rather than to the strong. Persons of wealth can protect
themselves; they have the means to secure for themselves wholesome food
and environment. Persons less fortunately situated must depend for
these benefits on government regulation and control. Their hope lies in
efficient administration and the most painstaking care in the application
of public wealth to public uses.

Most of the taxes are derived from real estate, and taxes on real es-
tate are usually shifted to the consumer. With increased taxes come
increased rents; with increased rents the retail price of goods goes up.
Generally speaking, it is found that retail prices of goods vary directly
as do rents and taxes. An unwarranted cost of government, therefore,
ultimately falls on the consumer rather than on the so-called taxpayer,
for the ratio of consumption to income decreases as individual wealth in-
creases.

Aside from the added cost of living which increased taxes entail,
what is lost by bad government and whose loss is it? What is the loss
entailed on the individual who while a child suffered from tuberculosis
of the spine and is left a cripple for life? What is the loss entailed
on a man, his family, the community through the fact that when a boy
he had no proper educational advantages? What is the loss to one who
in youth has been forced to live among the immoral and criminal, and
who has become a pervert or a social outcast? What is the distress en-
tailed upon a family through sickness and death from preventable dis-
eases? What discomfort, loss of vitality and lowered earning power result
from living in unsanitary tenements, in dark rooms, in crowded and
badly ventilated apartments? What happiness is destroyed through fear
of violence or lack of police protection in districts where the vicious live?
Who pays for the babies who die from infected milk? Who suffer from
the germ-laden filth of the streets? Who are the victims of the gambler,
the seducer, the vender of adulterated foods?

From any point of view, it is not the one who directly pays the taxes
who pays directly or indirectly for the waste of public funds or the in-
efficiency of public service. It is the wage-earning man or woman who is
handicapped. It is the one who to-day is flattered by the personal atten-
tion of the political infidel, and who eats a Christmas turkey which
is the gift of the despoiler, who is himself despoiled.

Why Enfran- chise Women?

By **REV. CHARLES F. AKED, D.D.**
New York City.

Why should women be given the ballot?
Because they are as intimately concerned
with the laws as men are. They are
equally subject to them. If an administra-
tion is corrupt they have to live under it.
If the laws are unwise or unjust they have
to suffer. And they know very well that
laws which are unjust to women would
be more quickly amended if women had a
voice in legislation. It cost the women in
the enlightened state of Massachusetts 55
years of effort to make mothers the equal
guardians of their children with fathers.

In Colorado, after women were once en-
franchised, the first session of the legislature put that wrong thing right.
Women have been agitating this injustice in America for half a century,
and to-day there are only 13 states out of 45 in which the woman is equal
guardian with the man. And you go on talking about the women having
enough to do to look after their home and children.

Women to-day have entered into the world of business. The profes-
sions are open to them. They are wage-earners to an extent sometimes
unrealized by richer women who sing the home-and-children lullaby and
have all these women want. There are more than 5,000,000 women
wage-earners in the United States. There are over 600,000 women in busi-
ness and industrial occupations in the state of New York. Yet these wom-
en are denied by men the right to share in making laws which vitally affect
their business, the conditions of their toil, that on which not only their
living, but their life depends. And they know and you men know, if you
will but look for the knowledge, that they need the ballot for their own
protection.

The woman worker is entitled to the vote because without it she will
never secure equal pay for equal work. In New York city alone there are
12,000 women teachers who are paid, not according to work, but according
to sex. One would think it a very elementary proposition that if the same
work is done by a woman and a man the same wage should be paid for it.
Such an unsophisticated view leaves out of account the chivalry of men—
the chivalry which is content to walk off with double the pay a woman
gets. That is the sentence of condemnation which he passes upon a fel-
low-worker who is guilty of the sex of his mother.

It is the conviction of my life that since the beginning of the Chris-
tian era nothing has promised such magnitude of blessing to the world
as the intellectual, social and political emancipation of the second and
nobler half of the human race. The final issue is with the women them-
selves. It may be that for the time at least, we men can do little to aid
them save by way of encouragement and cheer. But if we cannot share the
toil and glory of the fight we can proclaim ourselves their loyal and lov-
ing comrades. And we wait with eager hope the hour when, to welcome the
dawning of the morning the great world gates shall be flung wide, not for
the first time in history, by a woman's hand.

WHY WE OPPOSE INJUNCTIONS

Labor injunctions will be one of the issues during the
coming campaign and it behooves all workers to "book
up" on this usurpation of courts.

Here are a few points that will "floor" any defender
of labor injunctions:

From the foundation of our government, injunctions
have been recognized for the protection of property. Sec-
tion 917 of the United States Revised Statutes empowers
the supreme court to prescribe rules for its application.
Rule 55, promulgated in 1866, provides that special injunc-
tions shall be grantable only upon due notice to the other
party.

Labor injunctions are capitalistic applications of jus-
tice, masking under a hypocritical love for courts.

The labor injunction was invented by Alex Smith, at-
torney for the Ann Arbor railway in the strike of 1894.
It was applied by Federal Judge Taft, who committed
Frank Phelan to jail for six months, and since then near-
ly every court has granted these writs on demand.

Labor injunctions are not authorized or recognized by
any legislature.

Labor injunctions deny workers a trial by jury—a
right accorded the meanest criminal.

Labor injunctions outlaw acts committed at strike
times but legal at all other times.

Labor injunctions empower the court to act as law-
maker, judge and executioner.

Labor injunctions class workers as property.

Labor injunctions make no distinction between prop-
erty rights and personal rights.

Labor injunctions rest on the theory that when an ac-
tion by workers injures property, fundamental personal
rights can be enjoined.

Labor injunctions protect dollars at the cost of a free
press and free speech.

Labor injunctions disregard the wrongs of workers in
a desire to protect gold.

Labor injunctions are issued on the sole affidavits of
men who place spies in unions.

Labor injunctions class the patronage of workers and
sympathizers as a property right that cannot be jeopard-
ized by a statement of facts.

Labor injunctions still the voice of protest against
the grinding policy of unfair employers.

Labor injunctions differ from injunctions for the pro-
tection of impersonal rights.

Labor injunctions guess a violation of the criminal
code will be committed.

Labor injunctions are strike-time "laws."

Labor injunctions are not entitled to the respect of a
liberty-loving people.

Labor injunctions are judge-made laws, thanks to Wil-
liam Howard Taft.—Toledo Union Leader.

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