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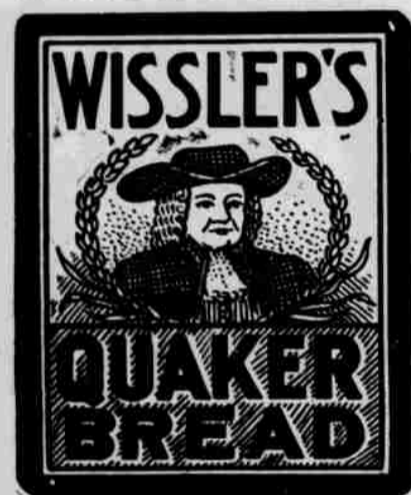
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EVILS OF FACTIONALISM.

Trades Unions Should Present a Solid Front to Their Foes.

There is altogether too much factionalism in the world of labor.

Of course every faction seeks to keep in stock a shop worn set of alleged excuses for its failure to get in line with the big family of unions, but none of them will stand analysis, because no logical reason can be given to justify any split in labor's ranks.

Quarrels over personal opinions or ambitions are personal affairs and should not affect the attitude of the workers toward the labor movement, nor should they prevent the workers from fully realizing the value and necessity of unity.

The moment a group of workers announce their independence of the general labor movement they convict themselves as being either ignorant or filled with selfishness of the narrow type that hopes to secure some temporary trivial advantage for a select few at the expense of the many.

The desire to hold office is perhaps the most common cause of factions among unions, but it is not a good reason.

The labor cause is of vastly more importance than any individuals in it, and when any alleged labor man advocates division of the forces of labor it is pretty clear that such a man holds his opinions and selfish interests as of more importance than the cause, and that he is unworthy of support.

Such differences of opinion as may exist between members of labor unions as to correct union laws or policy should always be settled within the union and never be made a pretext for factionalism.

When differing opinions are discussed within the union, the discussion is educational and beneficial, because the constant grinding of one intellect against another is broadening in its effect, serves to put the adherents of each side on their mettle and very probably will result in correct action.

But if the union splits, each faction being composed of men who think alike, deprives both factions of the educational effect which can only come through debate. Thus there is lost not only the unity essential to success, but also the broad educational influence of discussions based upon divergent opinions.

Imagine that members of a union seek to make some change in union rules or laws and when defeated they secede. They were very sure they were right, but when they see they took all the adherents of their pet reform out of the union and left the union to go unreformed. Now, assuming they were really right, if they had stayed in the union they would surely prevail in the end. Thus secession or factionalism not only tends to render the union weak, but to deprive it of the benefits of suggestions of reform, some of which might be valuable and might finally be adopted.

And labor needs unity now more than ever before, in spite of the progress that has been made, because our opponents are becoming better organized and because the pay envelope is not keeping pace with the increasing cost of living.

The old saying that "there is a time for everything" does not apply to splits in the forces of labor, because there is no time appropriate for labor to split.

Bear and forbear in the discussion of your differences, but preserve unity.

Say to yourself, to nonunionists and to independent factionists, that labor has no time to spend in factional discussion except to unite the factions that have already been created, and that the time to unite is now.—Shoe Workers' Journal.

TO SAVE THE CHILDREN.

Wisconsin Labor Commissioner Makes Recommendations.

After carefully investigating the cases of 6,000 children working under permits from the state factory inspector in Wisconsin, J. D. Beck, labor commissioner of the state, has issued a bulletin in which he makes recommendations to the governor. Chief among these recommendations are the following:

More vigorous and thorough enforcement of the truancy law.
Extension of industrial education.
A maximum working day of eight hours for children.

Requirement of a minimum amount of school attendance before children are allowed permits to work.

State agents and officers should be allowed broader discretion in refusing working permits for children.

Employers should be held more strictly responsible for the physical and moral environment of children who are employed by them.

Tentative bills along the foregoing lines are now in process of preparation at the hands of persons and societies interested in the "saving of the children."

Belgium's Factory Laws.

The laborer in Belgium is poorly paid and poorly treated. There is little in his working conditions to commend them to American workmen, except the precaution taken to protect him from needless slaughter in workshops and factories.

Belgium has very strict factory inspection laws. Every employer is supposed to know what is required of him. If, when an inspector visits the shop, he finds what he may regard as a willful failure to provide proper safety about all places where there is danger the employer is immediately ordered to appear in court.

Pressmen to Have School.
The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' union has decided to establish a technical school in Chicago.

THE OPEN SHOP VERSUS THE CLOSED SHOP

By Louis F. Post, Editor "The Public."

Most persons have come to know the meaning of the terms "open shop" and "closed shop." But greater certainty of being understood may be assured if we explain what the terms mean. Their origin is unimportant. The thing to know is what they mean now.

"Closed shop," then, is the term for a shop, factory, store, or other industrial place where workmen cannot obtain employment without being members in good standing of the labor union of their trade. This is demanded by the unions. Objecting to working in cooperation with "scabs," "rats," "strike-breakers," or other non-union workmen, they insist that the shop shall be "closed" against all employees who, not already belonging to the union of their trade, refuse to join it. If the union is able to coerce the employer, or he is friendly enough to yield without coercion, this demand is granted and that establishment is consequently a "closed shop."

But if the employer will not yield without coercion, and the union is unable to coerce him, then non-unionists as well as unionists may obtain employment there and the establishment is consequently known as an "open shop."

No term has come into vogue for establishments which exclude unionists from employment. The reason probably is that few employers make this exclusion. The issue usually raised is between the "closed shop," which employs only unionists, and the "open shop," which employs unionists and non-unionists without discrimination. And the reason why employers, however inimical to labor organizations any of them may be, seldom insist upon excluding unionists for being unionists, is because freedom to employ non-unionists is, in present conditions, sufficiently destructive of unionism.

Both sides of the labor controversy realize that the issue of "closed shop" versus "open shop" practically involves the issue of union or non-union. Consequently "open shop" or "closed shop" has become the issue over which workingmen's unions and employers' unions are struggling.

Without taking the space at this time to discuss the question of moral right or wrong, of freedom or coercion, of liberty or autocracy, which the issue of "open shop" versus "closed shop" involves, we invite an impartial comparison simply of the probable industrial results of either policy.

Much that is being said and written about the inherent right to work is for the most part pure hyperis, when not crass ignorance. Those who say it and write it are usually not worth arguing with, because in their hearts and heads they don't mean it. What they do mean is that non-unionists have an inherent natural right to work—when employers want to use them to break strikes.

This idea of the right to work is true enough as far as it goes. We do not deny it. But the broader one, that all men—not merely strike breakers in strike times, but all men at all times—have an inherent natural right to work, is still more true, because more comprehensive; and this doctrine is denied by the same speakers and writers, whenever its assertion seems hostile to the interests for which they speak and write.

Let us, then, confine this discussion strictly to the question of industrial results. What would be the effect of the "closed shop," and what the effect of the "open shop," on both workingmen and employers?

To avoid prejudice and the play of selfish impulses either way, we shall find it advantageous, in an inquiry involving so much feeling, sordid and otherwise, to be as abstract as the concrete nature of the question permits. For this purpose, then let us resolve industrial society into employers with jobs to give, workingmen with a life and death necessity for getting jobs, and a dragon to consume "surplus" products. And for simplicity and transparency of discussion let us suppose that the ratio of workingmen to jobs is as 10 to 9, and that 9 of the workingmen are unionists.

The figures are important only for comparison of greater with less; and the dragon may be ignored for the present.

Now, in those circumstances, what, in the first place, would be the industrial result of the "open shop" policy strictly enforced?

Every shop would be open to the 1 non-union man. But as there are only 9 jobs, his taking a job would disemploy one of the 9 union men.

This would compel the union to support their idle member. If they did not, he would have to leave the union and underbid one of their number for his job, and the latter in his turn would have to leave the union and underbid another, and so on, until the union had been completely disrupted.

But if the union did support its first

disemployed member, the wages of the unionists would be by that amount diminished and they thereby weakened in their contest with employers, whose sole object as to them is to get as much product for as little wages as possible.

As that is the employers' object, it is to be presumed that the non-unionist is getting less than the man he displaced. But if the non-unionist takes less than the unionist he displaced, an attack has been made upon wages. Yet the unionists cannot complain. As the establishment is an "open shop" they cannot object to lower wages for the non-unionist, so long as their own wages are not reduced.

After awhile the shop which employs the non-unionist finds it expedient to reduce its force. Whom will it discharge? Certainly not the cheaper prother idle member during the period of the unionist. This is not discrimination against unionism; it is discrimination in favor of economy of production.

And now the union must support another idle member during the period of stagnation (when jobs are temporarily less than 9), or have him leave the union and underbid them. In due time, however, demand for labor rises again to 9. But will the employer who reduced his force offer to pay the old wages? Why should he? What object could he have in paying more to the unionist seeking a job than to the non-unionist who is already at work? He will not pay more unless coerced; and the union, with two idle members on its hands, is in no trim for coercive action. So the union strains a point and consents to the return of the union man to work at non-union wages.

But now this employer has an advantage over the others; he can under-sell them in the market. So they demand a downward revision of the wages scale. They are good natured about it, for they offer to arbitrate; but as they really are at a disadvantage under the old wages scale, they win in the arbitration, and the whole level of wages is reduced.

The ratio of workingmen to jobs, however, remains unchanged. There are still 10 men and only 9 jobs. If, then, the "open shop" policy continues, what is there to prevent a further reduction of wages through the same process, and then another and another, until the union collapses, and all the 10 men are in a continuous unorganized, helter-skelter, cut-throat struggle for these 9 jobs? Nothing.

And what of the employers? As wages fall, general purchasing power declines, for workingmen are great consumers, and by the time the workingmen are reduced to pauperism the employers, with an abundance of products spoiling on their hands, are ruined by sluggish trade.

The tendency thus briefly and candidly illustrated, is the inevitable tendency under prevailing industrial circumstances, of the "open shop" policy. If the illustration is imperfect in any determinative respect, we should be glad to have the defect pointed out.

But would not the result of a strictly maintained "closed shop" policy, under conditions similar to those of the above illustration, be the very reverse? Incontestably.

In those circumstances the "closed shop" policy, generally and strictly maintained, would raise the wages of the workingmen and maintain an active market for the employers, and this without lessening opportunities for employment of the non-unionist.

Since the non-unionist would be locked out of every job by the "closed shop" policy, he would have to join the union. This might be an infringement of his rights, it is true but the concrete economic result to him, and it is that and not his abstract right that we are now considering, would be infinitely better than under the "open shop" system. When he had joined the union the 9 jobs would by trade union principles, be distributed so that in effect nine-tenths of each job would be done by one of the 9 men and one-tenth of each job by the 10th man. This would reduce wages below the natural standard, if every man wanted to work full time; but the reduction below that standard would be only one-tenth, whereas under the "open shop" it would be down to the lowest limit of subsistence.

Of course the 9 men might exclude the 10th man from membership. But that point is not involved. Trade union principles demand the admission of all workers. Even competency is not a requisite. Suppose, however, that we consider the possibility.

Remember, we are not discussing natural rights. What we are discussing is industrial results.

Suppose, then, that the union arbitrarily refuses to admit the 10th man to membership, and consequently that he cannot get employment, the "closed shop" policy prevailing. What would result? Why, the 10th man would die. But now there being only 9 men for

the 9 jobs, the employers could not coerce the men, nor could the men coerce the employers. Bargaining would be on equal terms, wages would consequently be at the level of the earnings of the workingmen, trade would be brisk, employers would prosper, and everybody would get what belonged to him,—except what the dragon exacted, and we are not now considering the dragon.

Considered simply with reference to industrial results, is it not evident that the "closed shop" policy is preferable to the "open shop" policy?

Do we favor a "closed shop," then? Not at all.

While, under the circumstances supposed, which we believe illustrate fairly the industrial conditions of our time, we should prefer the "closed" to the "open" shop, simply as a matter of industrial results, we do not prefer it as a matter of just social relations. We object to the principle of the "closed shop." But we object to it totally—not only to its use by and for workingmen, but also to its use in subtler ways to the disadvantage and undoing of workingmen.

The greatest shop on this planet, the one with limitless jobs, with jobs so limitless that there could never be more men than jobs if it were not a "closed" shop, is the earth itself. Yet the earth has by law been made and is still maintained as a "closed" shop, the gates of which can be opened only with a golden key.

Break down those gates, which enclose mineral deposits, farm sites, build-sites,—make this earth-shop, with all its industrial possibilities, an "open" shop—and there would be continuously more jobs than men. As an industrial result there would be limitless opportunity for employment in all legitimate vocations, full earnings for wages, brisk trade for employers, and no periods of stagnation. In these circumstances there would be no further contests over "open" or "closed" shops in any of the comparatively little shops regarding with these contests rage now. With the big shop "open" no shop could be "closed."

There would be no such contests then, because the demand for workers in all lines would be so much greater than the supply, all the time, that no workingman would wish to keep out another, and every workingman would be his own labor union.

When these employers and their spokesmen who now decry the "closed" shop which labor unions try so ineffectually to establish—when such men rise up with equal enthusiasm against the laws that make a "closed" shop of the earth, they may count us with them. So long as they only denounce the "closed" shop with which labor unions try to neutralize the industrial ill effects of the great "closed" shop which Nature freely offers as an "open" shop, they deserve neither support nor sympathy. While they maintain that attitude, they are not objecting to unfair things because they are unfair, they are only complaining because their own ox is gored.



ALBERT J. BRUSE, LINCOLN Musicians' Union

TOGO RESTAURANT.

In these days of advanced art, culinary holds no mean place, in fact properly cooked food is necessary to good digestion, and good digestion is the first and last step to success, hence it behooves us to select our place of eating with care and intelligence. The Togo Restaurant in their new location, 1028 P Street, requires no introduction to the people of Lincoln. They know how to provide "good things to eat." This fact is attested by their large and constantly increasing patronage. Nothing is too good for their patrons and they serve the best the market affords at all times. Their experience in the line of catering to the tastes of the public and serving them acceptably is too well known to need comment. Give them a trial.