

Congress Repudiated By Its Own Political Faith Says Angus W. McLean

In Opening Democratic Campaign in Columbus County, Lumberton Statesman Draws Contrast Between Weeks-Lodge-Gillett Group of Republican Party and Such Leaders of the Democratic Party as Woodrow Wilson — Discusses Government by Party.

WHITEVILLE, Oct. 20.—A. W. McLean, former chairman of the war finance corporation and presently mentioned as a candidate for governor in the 1924 election, opened the democratic campaign here Thursday in an address in which he criticized the national republican administration.

Mr. McLean praised the record of the democratic party, both in this state and nationally. While he was not as bitter in his condemnation of the republicans as some of the speakers who are taking part in the state campaign, he read criticisms taken from various republican journals which bitterly condemned Congress for its alleged shortcomings.

In reviewing the record of the present Congress, Mr. McLean discussed most of the major accomplishments and declared no Congress had ever been so completely repudiated by those of its own political faith.

The principles of the two parties were defined and a comparison made. Mr. McLean also drew a contrast between the Weeks-Lodge-Gillett group of the republican party and such leaders of the democrats as Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. McLean spoke in part as follows: "The only practical and effective way for a majority of the voters to express their will upon public questions and to select representatives whom they are willing to trust to carry out their will, is to affiliate actively with one of the two great political parties, now asking for the support of the voters in this country."

It becomes the duty of every good citizen, therefore, not only to align himself or herself with one of these parties, but also to be sure that the party to which allegiance is given is the party that can best be depended upon to administer the affairs of government in the interest of all the people. A large majority of the voters in both parties are conscientious in their efforts to carry out their votes for the common good. If incompetent or unworthy men or women are selected for offices, it is generally due to the fact that the good men and women who are entitled to vote have not taken proper interest in political affairs.

No government can be better than a majority of those who select its public servants. It is the duty of every God-fearing citizen, who is eligible to do so, should take a positive interest in the selection of those who are chosen to conduct our governmental affairs.

We are now approaching another biennial election, when it becomes the duty of the voters to take part in the selection of those who shall represent them in shaping the policies of government and also of putting these policies into practical effect.

Good citizens, when they come to exercise the franchise, may fall into either of two kinds of error. First, they may be guilty of the error of commission; that is, when they go to the polls and vote for those whom they know are unfit to hold office. And second, the error of omission, which many, unfortunately, are guilty of; and this occurs when men and women fail to take an active interest in the affairs of government, by remaining away from the polls on election day. It is probable that this is the sin of omission, if I may call it so, is the sin, which the good people of your county should be most careful to avoid at the present time.

In this country there are two political groups.

One group is composed of those who are generally seeking special favors at the hands of the government, either in benefits to be conferred, such as exemption from taxation, subsidies, or special favors in the way of high protective tariffs. This group believes in the centralization of power at Washington, and keeping the reins of government in the hands of a few influential persons—a select class highly organized and well financed.

They mistrust the political rule of the masses of the common people. Long before the adoption of the federal constitution, this group affiliated together in their political activities. The name chosen to designate them was changed from time to time until the organization of the present republican party. Since the organization of that party, the group mentioned has comprised the bulk of those who have affiliated with it.

In early days, Alexander Hamilton was the chief exponent of this group. While today it is typified in the leadership of men like John W. Weeks, secretary of war, in President Harding's cabinet; Henry Cabot Lodge, republican leader in the senate, and Speaker Gillett, of the present house of representatives.

Mr. Harding, in his campaign for the presidency, frequently declared that when elected President he would call to his active assistance a group of the "best minds" in the country. The identity of these "best

minds" was subsequently disclosed in the appointment of Secretaries Weeks, Fall, Denby, Hughes and others in the cabinet, and the appointment of men like George Harvey to the most important diplomatic posts. Secretary Weeks recently stated that the "agricultural bloc" composed of senators from the south and west were dangerous to good government, and that the country would be better off if it had fewer elections. Secretary Hughes recently stated that in his opinion the best form of government is that by "an intelligent minority."

From the days of Jefferson down to this good hour, they have generally espoused the banner of the democratic party, because the democratic party has been from the beginning the responsive instrument through which the masses of the people could express their desires and aspirations in government.

The democratic party stands today where it has always stood, for the great principles which brought it into existence—equal rights to all, special privileges to none, and for local self-government for the states and smaller sub-divisions in our scheme of government. Above all, it stands for that sentiment—you call it idealism if you choose, the status human beings above money.

It is and has always been the champion of the rights of the states and the various cities, counties and other local sub-divisions to administer their own local affairs by servants and aspirants in government.

Now since the war is ended, the democratic party believes that the line which divides the functioning of the federal government from that of the states should be clearly defined and fully respected to the end that our dual form of government and particularly that part which belongs to the states and localities, so wisely established by our forefathers, should be restored to all of its pristine strength and usefulness.

The democratic party has always opposed the centralization of power at Washington in time of peace. It believes in the respect of its great founder, Thomas Jefferson, who said: "It is not by the consolidation and concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

Duty of Women Voters.

A large majority of the white women of the south were reluctant to accept the franchise when it was given them by the amendment of the federal constitution.

This attitude was accentuated by the fact that the doubted the advisability of having the federal government intervene in matters relating to the franchise, preferring to leave that function of government to the states.

It seems to me that the democratic party should appeal very strongly to women at the present time, because women believe in the principles of social justice, and humanitarianism, which are the cardinal tenets of that party.

So the question which will be finally pronounced to each voter when he or she comes to cast the ballot is: Which of the two parties is most likely to serve the masses of the people most faithfully—which party will most probably provide the means for realizing the purposes of all government—the protection of life, the conservation of health, and the pursuit of happiness. The only safe way to decide between the parties is to view their past record of performance.

In the light of this past, I confidently offer the record of the democratic party, with the belief that your decision will be favorable to that great party, which has never more alive or more needed in the administration of the affairs of this government, than at this most important period in its history.

But not so with the leaders of the republican party. Most of them have done what they could to belittle the part which this government and the American army and navy played in defeating Germany. They have allowed their patriotic instincts to be dwarfed, and overshadowed by a jealous spirit and refused to admit that the democratic President and democratic administration contributed to the winning of the great war.

The republican party, under the leadership of Mr. Gillett, Massachusetts, in the house, and Lodge, of Massachusetts, in the senate, both of whom are principally noted for their hatred of Woodrow Wilson, labored in season and out of season to harass Mr. Wilson and to discredit the work of the democratic administration during the war and after.

They have continued their malicious insinuations and intrigues with the war returned to the peace of his private home. Only the other day Congressman Cordery, republican,

enjoy their business, social, cultural and religious privileges.

During less than two years of the period Governor Morrison has been at the head of the state government. During these two years more progress has been made and more has been undertaken in the way of internal improvement than in any other period in the history of the state. Governor Morrison has measured up to the best traditions of a great office. He has displayed wisdom, imagination, firmness, industry and courage in dealing with the great problems involved in the program of public improvements which has made his administration a notable one.

Mr. McLean then recited the wonderful progress made by the state under the democratic administration from Aycock to Morrison in driving out illiteracy by extending the public school system; increasing the value of school property from a little over a million dollars in 1900 to 25 million dollars in 1921, the length of the school terms from 75 days to 137 days, the number of public high schools from 30 to 582, appropriations for higher educational institutions from \$45,000 to \$1,400,000, reducing illiteracy from 25 per cent to 13 per cent; giving to the state a public health department, equal to any in the United States, and providing Confederate soldiers and their widows with aid for support and maintenance more liberal degree than any state in the south, the construction of a complete system of state highways, which places the state in the front rank of the states of the union in the matter of dependable public roads without levying any tax upon property, the wonderful expansion in the state department of agriculture, the creation of a department of revenue and the substitution of a system of taxation for the state under which no tax is levied upon either real or personal property for the purpose of raising revenue, the complete control not only with respect to the purposes for which taxes are levied but also free to assess and levy taxes on property at values determined by county authorities without interference or suggestions from the state authorities.

He dwelt at length upon the efficiency of the state tax department in collecting the revenues at a minimum cost.

He explained the misapprehension existing in some quarters of the state as to the method of levying the property for taxation and the purpose of such taxes, saying that the reformation of our system of levying and collecting taxes was one of the outstanding achievements of Governor Morrison's administration; in accord with the humanitarian spirit which characterizes the action of the democratic party in government, the state has constantly increased its facilities for the humane care and treatment of the afflicted and unfortunate, the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the lame, wayward boys and girls, the aged and feeble-minded, the orphaned and the afflicted with tuberculosis, thereby fulfilling one of the greatest functions of a highly civilized and Christian state.

Democratic Achievements in National Affairs.

During the eight years of Woodrow Wilson's administration—more constructive and beneficial legislation was enacted in the interest of the masses of the American people than in any other period of republican administration since the civil war. The nation, during these four years before we entered the world war, there was written upon the statute books legislation which benefited the business man and farmer of the nation from financial conditions which had hampered them for more than a generation. The gates of opportunity for the conduct of lawful enterprises were thrown wide open. The business man, the artisan, and the farmer were set free to enjoy the fruits of their labor unhampered by laws enacted for the special benefit of a financial oligarchy. It freed the farmer from the control of a system which has not adapted to farming operations and enabled him to sell his products at prices that gave reasonable compensation.

Measured by every possible standard—the volume of foreign trade, the expansion of domestic trade, the rate of wages paid our laborers, the volume of bank clearances, and by the general volume of our trade, the country enjoyed the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed at any period in our history.

Record in World War.

In 1914 the greatest war in all history broke out in Europe. The military record was almost instantaneous. Scarcely had our army arrived in France, before the German American marines gave the German army a taste of the metal of which they were made at Chateau-Thierry; the Hindenburg line was soon broken by the tremendous onslaught of the Thirtieth division, composed of men from the Carolinas and Tennessee; the Prussian guard crumbled, as its black eagles were driven from the Argonne forest. The proud words of Germany, "We are not a hand writing on the wall—confronted by these almost unlimited resources in man power and war materials—the morale of the German armies in the field as well as her people at home was finally destroyed by the powerful words of Woodrow Wilson, picturing in all its sordid outline the hideous conduct of their war upon humanity. The German throne tottered at first, and then crumbled into dust; the boastful but cowardly kaiser fled like a hunted beast; and his broken armies pleaded for mercy at any price. He finally accepted the verdict of ignominious surrender.

The German war lords have frankly conceded the major part of their final overthrow to the American armies and to the moral influence of Wilson's appeal made direct to the German people. Our associates in the war have generously conceded America's great part in the final result.

But not so with the leaders of the republican party. Most of them have done what they could to belittle the part which this government and the American army and navy played in defeating Germany. They have allowed their patriotic instincts to be dwarfed, and overshadowed by a jealous spirit and refused to admit that the democratic President and democratic administration contributed to the winning of the great war.

The republican party, under the leadership of Mr. Gillett, Massachusetts, in the house, and Lodge, of Massachusetts, in the senate, both of whom are principally noted for their hatred of Woodrow Wilson, labored in season and out of season to harass Mr. Wilson and to discredit the work of the democratic administration during the war and after.

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chairman of the ways and means committee, in congratulating the country on its good luck in getting rid of Wilson, said: "In 1920 the statement that the then President, Mr. Wilson, was going to change his boarding house on the 4th of March, and he did. I would say to him what I have heard sung at the close of the school I attended down in the backwoods, when I was a boy: 'Good-bye, school, good-bye school, good-bye school, you damned old fool.'"

Contrast this with the sentiment of ministers of the gospel and other good church people assembled on the same day in the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, which adopted and sent to Mr. Wilson the following resolution: "Resolved, that this general conference instructs its secretary to convey our greetings to Woodrow Wilson, the apostle of modern democracy and world peace; that we assure him that we stand for the great principles of international equity and good will, which he has so clearly enunciated. We pray God's blessing upon him, and pledge ourselves to the promotion of the great truths he has so ably set forth."

Republican Promises Broken.

The republican leaders in the congressional campaign of 1918 and the presidential campaign of 1920 obtained votes enough to give them control of the government by all manner of false pretenses. They appealed to the passions and prejudices aroused by the war. They appealed to race prejudices, engendered by the events of the war against the foreign born Americans. They vilified the President of the United States, and they made all manner of promises as to what they would do for the voters, if they were elected to power. After more than three and a half years, in which a republican Congress has been in session, they are unable to show that they have performed their promises, but on the other hand the record shows that they have broken all of their broken promises. But some of them may as well be mentioned.

(a) The republican administration in assuming control promised a radical reduction in government expenditures. It not only has not reduced expenditures, but has actually increased them to the level existing during the peace period immediately preceding the world war.

(b) The republican party promised us prosperity, but instead during the nearly two years in which they have been in control of all branches of the government, they have given us adversity and hard times. The total wealth of the country increased by 115 billion dollars during the past two years of the Harding administration 75 billion of the 115 billion increase has been lost by the time the republican administration party was voted into power in 1920. The American farmers alone have suffered a loss of billions of dollars in the shrinkage in values of their farm property and farm products.

(c) The republican party promised to stimulate business, both domestic and foreign, but they did not do so. The record shows that our total foreign trade during the past two years of 1921 and 1922 was 500 million dollars less than in 1920. The democrats were in power, to six billion dollars in 1922, under the Harding administration. The total value of our foreign trade during the past two years of 1921 and 1922 was 500 million dollars less than during the past two years of 1920 and 1921.

(d) The republicans promised full employment of labor at good wages, and peace and good feeling between capital and labor. This promise was also broken. There have been many as six million idle men at one time since the Harding administration took control of the government; wages have been reduced, strikes, disorder, discontent and great violence have been the result of every section of the country, to a more general extent than at times in its history.

The republican leaders in the campaign two years ago promised to reduce the cost of living. As a matter of fact the cost of living has increased within the last year, and is now 50 to 70 per cent higher than in July, 1921. Before the world war was commenced, the cost of living was bound to continue to increase since the enactment of the new tariff bill.

They promised to formulate a sound merchant marine policy. They have broken this promise, and are now proposing to sell ships which cost America three billion dollars at about 10 cents on the dollar, and those who purchase them at that ridiculous price 75 million dollars a year for 10 years, or a total of 750 million dollars, as a subsidy to operate them. Much of this disaster-like course in respect to our foreign relations can be attributed to republican policies in hampering our foreign trade by a high protective tariff and a failure to pursue a constructive and business-like course in respect to our foreign relations.

The republicans, through a statement made by Mr. Harding at Marion, Ohio, on August 16, 1920, promised to pay for completely Wilson's foreign policies.

Instead of doing this, they have followed in Wilson's footsteps and approved many of his foreign policies.

After denouncing the Wilson administration for proposing to pay Colombia 25 million dollars to pay for the illegal seizure of the Panama canal right-of-way by President Roosevelt, the republican administration, under President Harding, and Senator Lodge ratified a treaty, providing for the immediate payment of this 25 million dollars.

They denounced Wilson for refusal to recognize the liberal government of Mexico, and Senator Lodge promised that one of the first acts of the republican administration would be to settle the Mexican question. Nearly two years have elapsed, and the Mexican question is still unsettled, and the Mexican government has not been recognized.

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff, perhaps the most stupid and indefensible thing the republican party has done up to the present time in the enactment of the Fordney-McCumber tariff act, which the administration has just succeeded in jamming through Congress. In enacting this measure, the republican leaders have displayed such a disregard of the ordinary economic forces and trade relations that it is impossible for any sensible man to understand what could actuate men with any business experience whatsoever in adopting such a course. If

there ever was a time in the history of this or any other government in which the imposition of excessive high import duties was an economic absurdity as well as a serious injury to both the foreign and domestic commerce of the nation, it is now. It seems to be the purpose of certain leaders to destroy our foreign trade and to confine our commerce within the boundaries of the United States.

I have not the time to discuss the tariff in detail. All I desire to say is that in the tariff bill just enacted the republican leaders have departed from the position of their party, which has advocated in the past a tariff which would protect industries in this country from unfair competition on the part of foreign manufacturers. The bill just enacted, instead of being an ordinary protective tariff like Payne-Aldrich law, is in most cases a prohibitory tariff creating an embargo against imports not only upon some luxuries, but also upon many of the necessities of life. The tariff benefits have not been distributed, but have been levied in the interest of a few big trusts and monopolies. On account of this feature of the new tariff bill, it is generally admitted that there never was a time in the history of tariff legislation when the tariff was such a live issue; not only because the present law has been denounced by democrats but principally because it has been denounced and repudiated by thousands of trustworthy republicans and by many influential republican newspapers as unsound and dangerous to the welfare of the country in the present time. I shall not refer to what any democrat has said, but ask you to take the statements of such reliable republican newspapers as the *Shoe*, *the Reporter*, which says it is about the worst piece of revenue legislation in the history of the government.

The *New York Herald*, a staunch republican paper, has been denounced by Frank A. Munsey, referring to the tariff bill, recently said: "The *New York Herald*, reflecting the protective principles and convictions of the tariff bill, is a general and fast advocate of the American tariff system. But the owner of the *New York Herald* cannot stand for damn fool protectionism, and the *New York Herald* will not stand for it." Of the many republican business men who have denounced the tariff I will only quote the statement of one, Thos. W. Lamont, speaking to the American Bankers' association in New York two weeks ago, in referring to the tariff bill, said: "We shall be fortunate indeed if we do not find in practice that it protects a lot of industries that do not require protection and cuts off from our farmers and manufacturers a lot of foreign markets that are ready to buy our commodities."

It is also denounced either in words or in action by the following staunch republican newspapers: The *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, The *New York Evening Post*, The *New York Tribune*, The *New York Journal of Commerce*, The *Chicago Tribune*, The *Chicago Daily News*, The *Philadelphia North American*, The *Springfield Republican*, Ohio State Journal, Magazine of Wall Street, St. Paul Dispatch, New York Globe, Kansas City Star, St. Louis Globe and others. Many of these republican newspapers denounce the act for the reason that it will destroy our foreign trade, increase the cost of living, injure the interests of the trusts and monopolies, while others go further and say that it will make it impossible for us to collect 11 billion of dollars owed us by foreign nations.

Internal Revenue Taxes.

The democratic party believes that taxes should represent the cost of the benefits afforded by orderly government to the citizens that taxes therefore should be paid in proportion to the benefits derived by various classes of our citizens; that they should be equitably levied, so that the bulk of the taxes should be paid in proportion to the property and income which the citizen enjoys under the protection of the government.

Judged by its past record and particularly its action in framing and giving to the country the internal revenue act of 1921, the republican party remains true to its policy of conferring special privileges upon a favored few by reducing their taxes at the expense of the burden to the masses of the people.

The ways and means committee in the house, with the approval of President Harding, repealed the excise tax on liquor, which was paid principally by a few big trusts, and a few very rich individuals, like John D. Rockefeller and others, and thereby relieved these taxpayers of taxes aggregating 450 million to 500 million dollars.

The same committee, with the approval of President Harding, proposed to reduce the income tax on those who in the largest incomes from 65 per cent as fixed in the democratic revenue act to 32 per cent.

In the senate the democratic minority, led by Senator Simmons, made a strong fight against such a big reduction in the incomes taxes of the trusts, and big millionaires, and after a long fight succeeded in fixing the maximum surtax at 50 per cent instead of 32 per cent. The democrats were able to bring about this result by persuading some progressive republicans from the agricultural states of the west to vote with them and override the action of the reactionary republican leaders.

In the year 1920 there were ap-

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