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CASTORIA

# ANNUAL: MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Readjustment of Tariff System If Necessary; Recognition and Relief of Soldiers of World War.

Washington.-General recommends tions on legislation to combat the cost of living, labor unrest, radicalism and readjustment of nation to peace time basis were the feature

The peace treaty, the President told congress, will be discussed in a sep-arate message later, as will the rail-

For the second time only, since the President established the practice of addressing congress in person, his message was read by the clerks. "The establishment of the principle

egarding labor, laid down in the cov regarding labor, laid down in the cov-enant of the league of nations," said the message, "offers us the way to in-dustrial peace and conciliation. No other road lies open to us. \* \* Gov-eraments must recognize the right of men to bargain collectively for hu-mane objects., \* \* Labor must no longer be treated as a commodity." onger be treated as a commodity."

inviolable," continued the message, "and ought not to be interferred with s the right of the government to pro tect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the chal-lenge of any class."

The President was referring to the

The message closed with a pointe ference to radicalism and red doc ines, and referred to "Russia today with its blood and terror" as a "pain ful object lesson of the power of mi

"There are those in this country," said the message, "who threaten direct action to force their will upon a ma jority. \* \* \* It makes little difference what minority it is; whether capital or labor, or any other class; no sort of privilege will ever be permitted to dominate this country.

Orderly processes, the message de-clared, were the only ones by which relief and reform should be obtained. "Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country," the message said.
• • • "Let them beware who take the shorter road of disorder and revolu-

The text of the President's message

I sincerely regret that I cannot be present at the opening of this session of the congress. I am thus prevented from presenting in as direct a way as I could wish the many questions that are pressing for solution at this time. Happily, I have had the advantage of the advice of the heads of the several executive departments, who have kep n close touch with affairs in their de tail and whose thoughtful recommen

dations I earneathy second.

In the matter of the railroads and the readjustment of their affairs growing out of federal control, I shall take the liberty at a later date of address

ing you.

I hope that congress will bring to a e single ity resp one single authority responsible for the making of all appropriations and that appropriations should be made not independently of each other, but with reference to one single compre-hensive plan of expenditure properly related to the nation's income, ther can be no doubt. I believe the bur den of preparing the budget must, in the nature of the case, if the work is to be properly done and responsibility concentrated instead of divided rest upon the executive. The budget so prepared should be submitted to and approved or amended by a sinittee of each house of con gress and no single appropriation should be made by the congress, ex-cept such as may have been included in the budget prepared by the executive or added by the particular com mittee of congress charged with the budget legislation.

Another and not less important aspect of the problem is the ascertainment of the economy and efficiency with which the moneys appropriated meet to the economy and efficiency with which the moneys appropriated matter of recognition and relief to our soldiers. I can do no better than to congress acted. If the government's campaign is to be effective it is necessary that the other steps suggested this very action:

"We must see to it that our required to ascertain whether the turning soldiers are assisted in every money has been spent wisely, ecoparations was been spent wisely, ecoparations."

"We must see to it that our required to ascertain whether the turning soldiers are assisted in every which they are fitted in the daily work which they are fitted in the daily work.

to the secretary of the treasury.

I trust that the congress will give its immediate consideration to the problem of future taxation. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed indispensable service during the war. They must, however, be simplified, not only to save the tax payer inconvenience and expense, but

With reference to the details of the revenue law, the secretary of the revenue law, the secretary of the reasury and the commissioner of inreasury and the commissions for the certain amend-

your consideration certain amend-ments necessary or desirable in con-nection with the administration of the mection with the administration of the law—recommendations which have my approval and support. It is of the utmost importance that in dealing with this matter the present law should not be disturbed so far as regards taxes for the calendar year 1920, payable in the calendar year 1921. The congress might well consider whether the higher fates of income and profits can in peace times be effectively productive of revenue and whether they may not, on the contrary, be destrucmay not, on the contrary, be destruc-tive of business activity and produc-tive of waste and inefficiency. There is a point at which in peace times, high rates of income and profit taxes discourage energy, remove the incentive to new enterprises, encourage extravagant expenditures and produce industrial stagnation with consequenunemployment and other attendant evils.

> fundamental change has taken place with reference to the position of America in the world's affairs. The prejudice and passions engendered de-cades of controversy between two schools of political and economic thought-the one believers in protect tion of American industries, the other believers in tariff for revenue only— must be subordinated to the single consideration of the public interest in the light of utterly changed condi-

Before the war America was heavily the debtor of the rest of the world and the interest payments she had to make to foreign countries of American securities held abroad, the expendi tures of American travelers abroad and the ocean freight charges she had to pay to others, about balanced the value of her pre-war favorable balan ce of trade. During the war America's exports have been greatly stimu-lated, and increased prices have in-creased their value. On the other hand, she has purchased a large proportion of the American securities previously held abroad, loaned some ing it, heretofore existing. Europe can only have three ways of meeting the favorable balance of trade in peace times: By imports into this country of gold or of goods, or by es-tablishing new credits. Europe is in no position at the present time to ship gold to us, nor could we contemplate large further imports of gold into this country without concern. The time has nearly passed for international time to develop in this country a mar-ket for foreign securities. Anything, therefore, which would tend to pre-vent foreign countries from settling for our exports by shipments of goods into this country could only have the effect of preventing them from paying for our exports from being made. The productivity of the country greatly stimulated by the war must find an outlet by exports to foreign countries, and any measure taken to prevent imports will inevitably curtail exports, with credits to carry unsold products and produce industrial stagnation and unemployment. If we want to sell we must be prepared to buy. Whatever,

No policy of isolation will satisfy the should not be impatient or drastic, growing needs and opportunities of but should seek rather to remove the In you.

I hope that congress will bring to a conclusion at this session legislation looking to the establishment of a budget system. That there should be one single authority responsible for the new day in which we live, a day consistent with our reconstruction full of hope and promise for American business, if we will but take advantage of the opportunities that are ours in its criminal courts with those perfor the asking. The recent war has ended our great isolation and thrown abrogate our time-tested institutions upon us a great duty and responsibil. With the free expression of opinion ity. The United States must share the and with the advocacy of orderly poexpanding world market. The United licical change, however fundamental, States desires for itself only equal there must be no interference, but to opportunity with the other nations of wards passion and malevolence tend-the world, and that through the pro-ing to incite crime and insurrection the world, and that through the pro- lng to incite crime and insurrection cess of friendly co-operation and fair under guise of political evolution competition the legitimate interests of the nations concerned may be suc-cessfully and equitably adjusted.

cally and effectively. The aushould be highly trained offiwith permanent tenure in the developing and maintaining upon an
urr department, free from obliadequate scale the admirable organims to or motives of consideration zation created by the department of sequent administration, labor for placing men seeking work; d anthorized and empowered to ex. and it can also be done, in at least line into and make report upon the one very great field, by creating new sthods employed and the results ob- opportunities for individual enterprise the government. Their reports should be made to the congress and to the screetary of the interior has pointed out the was by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land if the hitherto undeveloped regions of the congress and the congress and

and dyestuffs industry in America.

"Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies be-fore the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relation between the manufacture of dyestuffs, on tween the manufacture of dyestums, on the one hand, and of explosives and poisonous gases, on the other, more-over, has given the industry an ex-ceptional significance and value. Al-though the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the program of international disarmament, it will, nevertheless be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well-equipped chemical plants. The German chemical industry, with tition, was and may well be again, a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a pecu-liarly insidious and dangerous kind."

During the war the farmer perform-

ed vital and willing service to the nation. By materially increasing the production of his land, he supplied America and the allies with the increased amounts of food necessary to keep their immense armies in the field. He indispensably helped to win the war. But there is now scarcely less need of increasing the production in food and the necessaries of life. I ask the congress to consider means of engouraging efforts along these lines. The importance of doing everything possible to promote the production along economical lines, to improve marketing and to make rural life more attractive and healthful, is obvious. I would urge approval of the plans already proposed to the congress by the secretary of agriculture to secure the essential facts required for the proper study of this question, through the proposed enlarged programs for farm management studies and crop esti-mates. I would urge also the continuance of federal participation in the building of good roads, under the terms of existing laws and under the \$9,000,000,000 to foreign governments, terms of existing laws and under the and has built her own ships. Our fad vorable balance of trade has thus been greatly increased. Europe has been deprived of the means for meet been deprived of the means for meet been deprived of the means for meet been deprived. The means for meet been deprived of the means for meet been deprived of the means for meet been deprived. sources, especially through the practice of better forestry methods on private holdings and the extension of the publicly owned forests; better support definite direction of their courses of study along lines related to rural problems; and fuller provision for sanitation in rural districts and the building up of needed hospital and medical facilities in these localities. Perhaps the way night be cleared for many of these desirable reforms by a fresh comprehensive survey made of rural conditions by a conference composed of representatives of

the farmers and of the agricultural agencies responsible for leadership.
I would call your attention to the widespread condition of political restlessness in our body politic. The causes of this unrest, while various and complicated, are superficial rather than deep-seated. Broadly, they arise from or are connected with the force curtailment of production, load failure on the part of our government the banking machinery of our country to arrive speedily at a just and perwith credits to carry unsold products and produce industrial stagnation and produce industrial stagnation and produce industrial stagnation and products are producted by the product of the sion of radical theories from seething European centers pending such delay, from heartless profiteering re-sulting in the increase of the cost of living and lastly, from the machinatherefore, may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust our own tions of passionate and malevolent economic lives to a changed condition growing out of the fact that American business is full grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world.

With the return to normal conditions, the unrest will rapidly discontinuous the meantime it does much evil. It seems to me that in the world.

there should be no leniency. Legislation to this end has been recom-There are other matters of impormended by the attorney general and
tance upon which I urged action at
should be enacted. In this direct conthe last session of congress which are
nection. I would call your attention still pressing for solution. I am sure to my recommendations on August \$ It is not necessary for me again to remind you that there is one immediate
and very practicable question resulting from the war which we should
cost of living, which contributes so meet in the most liberal spirit. It is a largely to this unrest. On only one

cessity of the extension of the present food control act as to the period of time in which it shall remain in operation. The attorney general has mitted a bill providing for an exten sion of this act for a period of six months. As it now stands it is lim-ited in operation to the period of the war and becomes inoperative upon the formal proclamation of peace. It is imperative that it should be extended has built up extensive machinery for the purpose of enforcing its provis-ions; all of which must be abandoned upon the conclusion of peace unless

to all goods destined for interstate commerce and to exclude them from interstate shipment, if the requirements of the law are not complied will hopefully lead to the building up

In the matter of tariff legislation, I beg to call your attention to the statements contained in my last message urging legislation with reference to the establishment of the chemical and dyestuffs industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dwestuffs.

As I pointed out in my last mes-sage, publicity can accomplish a great deal in this campaign. The aims of the government must be clearly brought to the attention of the coasuming public, civic organizations and state officials who are in a position to lend their assistance to our efforts. You have made available funds with which to carry on this campaign, but there is no provision in the law authere is no provision in the law ac-thorizing their expenditure for the purpose of making the public fully in-formed about the efforts of the goveriment. Specific recommendation has been made by the attorney general in this regard. I would, strongly urge upon you its immediate adoption, as it, constitutes one of the preliminary steps to this campaign.

I also renew my recommendation that the congress pass a law regulat-ing cold storage as it is regulated, for example, by the laws of the state of New Jersey, which limit the time during which goods may be kept in stor-age, prescribe the method of disposing of them if kept beyond the period permitted, and require that goods releas-ed for storage shall in all cases bear the date of their receipt. It would ma-terially add to the serviceability of the law, for the purpose we now have in view, if it were also prescribed that all goods released from storage for interstate shipment should have plain. ly marked upon each package the sell-ing or market price at which they went into storage. By this means the purchases would always be able to learn what profits stood between him and the producer or the wholesale

I would also renew my recommenation that all goods destined for in-terstate commerce should in every case, where their form or package makes it possible, be plainly marked with the price at which they left the hands of the producer.

We should formulate a law requir-ing a federal license of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce committee and embodying in the license, or in the conditions under which it is to be issued, specific reg-ulations designed to secure competitive selling and prevent unconsc able profits in the method of marketing. Such a law would afford a welneeded reforms in the business of interstate shipment and in methods of corporations which are engaged in it; but for the moment I confine my recommendations to the object immediately in hand, which is to lower the cost of living.

No one who has observed the march

of events in the last year can fail to note the absolute need of a definite program to bring about an improvement in the conditions of labor. There can be no settled conditions leading to increased production and a reduction in the cost of living if labor and capital are to be antagonists instead of partners. Sound thinking and an hon-est desire to serve the interests of the whole nation, as distinguished from the interests of a class, must be applied to the solution of this great and pressing problem. The fail-ure of other nations to consider this matter in a vigorous way has produced bitterness and jealousies and antagonisms, the food of radicalism. The only way to keep men from ag-tating against grievances is to re-move the grievances. An unwilling-ness even to discuss these matters produces only dissatisfaction and gives comfort to the extreme ele-ments in our country which endeavor to stir up disturbances in order to provoke governments to embark upon course of retaliation and repression

not suppression, but a deep consideration of the wrongs that beset our ma-tional life and the application of a remedy.

willingness to deal with these indus-trial wrongs by establishing the eighttrial wrongs by establishing the eight hour day as the standard in every field of labor. It has sought to find a way to prevent child labor. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding lives and health in dangerous industries. It must now help in the difficult task of finding a method that will bring about a genuine democratization of industry, based upon the full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly effects their welfare. It is with this purpose in mind that I called a con-ference to meet in Washington on De-cember, to consider these problems in all their broad aspects, with the idea of bringing about a better under-standing between these two interests. The great unrest throughout the world, out of which has emerged a

demand for an immediate considera-tion of the differences between capital and labor, bids us to put our own house in order. Frankly, there can be no permanent and lasting settle-ments between capital and labor which do not recognize the funda-mental concepts for which abor has been straggling through the years The whole world gave its recognition and endorsement to these fundamental purposes in the league of nation The statesmen gathered at Ver-sailles recognized the fact that world stability could not be had by reverting to industrial standards and conditions against which the average working-man of the world had revolted. It is, therefore, the task of the statesme of this new day of change and read justment to recognize world conditions and to seek to bring at

heme and in the workshop, surroundings that develop and do not retard his own health and well-being; and the right to progide for his children's wants in the matter of health and education. In other words, it is his desire to make the conditions of his life and the lives of those dear to him tolerable and easy to bear. The establishment of the principles

regarding labor laid down in the cove-nant of the league of nations offers us the way to industrial peece and conciliation, No other road lies open to us. Not to pursue this one is longer to invite enemities, bitterness and antagenisms which in the end only lead to industrial and social disaster. The unwilling workman is not a profitable servant. An employee whose life is hedged about by hard and unjust conditions, which he did not create and over which he has no control, lacks that fine spirit of enthusiasm and volunteer effort which are the necessary ingredients of greater pro-ducing entity. Let us be frank about this selemn matter. The evidences of world-wide unrest which manifest themselves in violence throughout the world bid us pause and consider the means to be found to stop the spread of this contagious thing before it saps the very vitality of the nation itself. Do we gain strength by with-holding the remedy? Or is it not the business of statesmen to treat these manifestations of unrest which meet manuestations of unrest which meet us on every hand as evidences of an economic disorder and to apply constructive remedies wherever neces-sary, being sure that in the applica-tion of the remedy we touch not the vital tissues of our industrial and economic life? There can be no recession of the tide of unrest until constructive instrumentalities are set up to

Government must recognize the right of men collectively to bargain for humane objects that have at their base the mutual protection and wel-fare of these engaged in all industries. Labor must not longer be treated as a commodity. It must be regarded as the activity of human beings pos-sessed of deep yearnings and desires. The business man gives his best The business man gives his best thought to the repair and replenishment of his machinery, so that its usefulness will not be impaired and its power to produce may always be at its height and kept in full vigor and motion. No less regard ought to be paid to the human machine, which after all propels the machinery of the world and is the great dynamic force that lies back of all industry and progress. Return to the old standards of wage and industry in employment is unthinkable. The terrible tragedy of war which has just ended and which

first to lay the foundation stones upon which industrial peace shall be built. Labor not only is entitled to an adequate wage, but capital should receive

is inviolate and ought not to be inter-fered with by any process of govern-ment, but there is a predominant right and that is the right of the government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the the challenge of any class. The government, when it asserts that right, seeks not to antagonize a class but simply to defend the right of a whole people against irreparable harm and injury that might be done by the attempt by any class to usurp a power that only government itself has a right to exercise as protection

putes which have led to war, statesmen have sought to set up as a remedy arbitration for war. Does this not point the way for the settlement of industrial disputes, by the establishment of a tribunaf, fair and just alike to all, which will settle industrial disputes which in the past have led to war and disaster? America, witnessing the evil consequences which have followed out of such disputes help for the past have any those contending forces. putes which have led to war, states putes between these contending forces must not admit itself impotent to deal with these matters by means of peace-ful processes.Surely, there must be some method of bringing together in a council of peace and amity these two great interests out of which will come happier day of peace and co-opera tion, a day that will make mer hopeful and enthusiastic in their vari-ous tasks, that will make for more comfort and happiness in living and a more tolerable condition among all classes of men. Certainly human intelligence can devise some acceptable tribunal for adjusting the differences between

capital and labor.

This is the hour of test and trial for America. By her prowess and strength and the indomitable courage of her soldiers, she demonstrated her power to vindicate on foreign battlefields her conceptions of liberty and justice. Let not her influence as a mediator be-tween capital and labor be weakened and her own failure to settle matters of purely domestic concern be pro claimed to the world. There are those For Sale in this country who threaten direct ac-tion to force their will upon a majority. Russia today with its blood and has brought the world to the verge of terror, is a painful object lesson of the choas and disaster would be in vain if there should ensue a return to the difference what minority it is; wheth-

of a comradably which will result not cally in greater contentment among the mass of workmen but also bring about a greater production and a greater prosperity to business itself.

To analyze the particulars in the demands of labor is to admit the justice of their complaint in many manters which have reasonable to their complaint in many manters that lie at their basis. The workman demands an adequate wage, sufficient to permit him to live in comfort, unhampered by the fear of poverty and want in his old age. He demands the right to live and the right to work amidest sanitary surroundings, both in home and in the workshop, surroundings that develop and do not retard ings that develop and do not retard the surroundings and the price of it all is enmity and comfort must be recognized by government have a complished and comfort must be recognized by governments and America should be the right to live and in the workshop, surroundings that develop and do not retard the surroundings and the price of it all is enmity and comfort must be recognized by government have a surrounding to the foundation stones upon which industrial peace shall be built.

Labor not only is entitled to an adequate wage, but capital or labor, or any other not sort of privilege will ever the to dominate this country a partnership or nothing that while. We are a democracy; water and the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and content have feated and forgotten. In America and the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the foundation stones upon the further of the foundation stones upon the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the process and purposes of the foundation stones upon the further of the foundation stones upon the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the price of it all is enmity and the foundation stones upon the further of the further of the further of the foundati majority are the masters, or a hopes and purposes of the mer founded this government have be is but one way by which great refor-can be accomplished and the rel-sought by classes obtained, and that through the orderly processes of re-resentative government. Those would propose any other method of form are enemies of this count America will not be daunted by th quate wage, but capital should receive a reasonable return upon its investment and is entitled to protection at the hands of the government in every of the name can "play" these elements against each other, for there is a mutuality of interest between them which the government must seek to express and safeguard at all costs. The right of the individual to strike is inviolate and ought not to be interpreted and sorted in the midst of this day of passion and unrest, to be self-contained and sure. The instrument of all reform in America is the straight road of justice to all classes to express and safeguard at all costs. Let those beware who would take the shorter road of disorder and revolution

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